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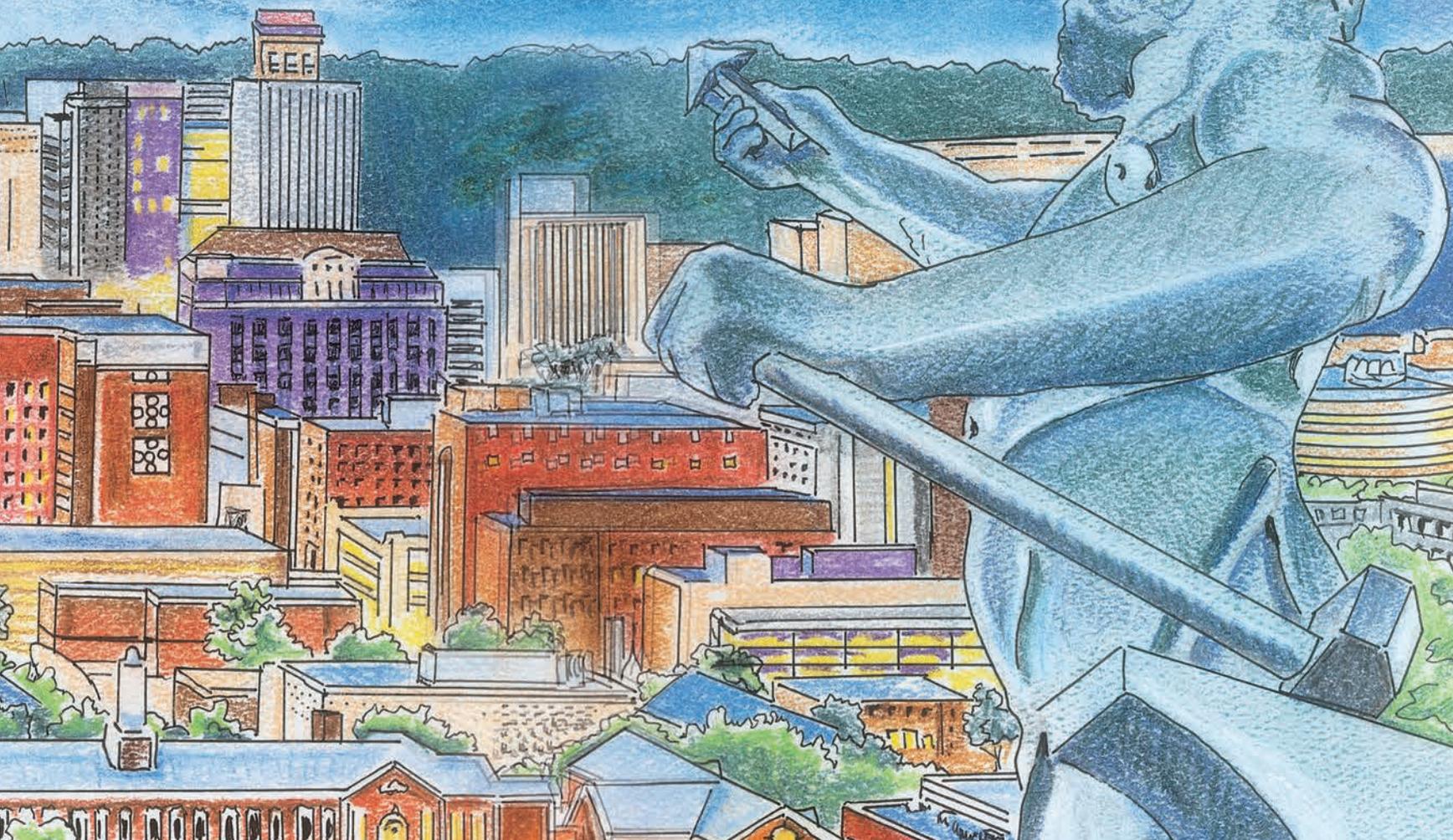
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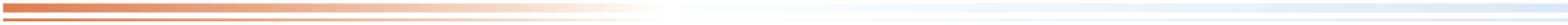# REVIEW 2017

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Cover art, "Vulcan's Birmingham," circa 2017, courtesy of Tina McManama.

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Letter from the Editors

*T*HE *V*ULCAN *Historical Review* stands as a long-running tradition at the University of Alabama at Birmingham. Having just celebrated our twentieth anniversary, our students and faculty continue striving towards academic excellence and progressive research. Our love of history and dedication to our craft propels our research, analysis, and claims about the past. With the integration of new ideas and historiographical concepts, our current editors, authors, and faculty have taken up the mantle of serious scholarship which constitutes *The Vulcan Historical Review*'s legacy.

Our current issue perpetuates the attention to detail required by the historian, as well as the critical examination of complex historical situations. We have also chosen to continue our use of Birmingham's iconic statue, the mighty Vulcan, for our cover, in solidarity with many previous issues. We again embraced debate amongst our scholars in an argumentative section pertaining to a controversial issue. In the wake of the contentious and divisive 2016 presidential election, we asked whether the United States should keep the Electoral College. The twenty-first edition of the journal additionally explores various different types of history in the hopes to expand scholarly consideration beyond nationalistic endeavors; our featured sections include transnational comparisons of labor history, cultural history, European history, and localized history. Keeping with tradition, the journal ends with an invited essay and a book review.

This journal could not have been possible without the support and advice of several knowledgeable and excellent people. Our deepest gratitude goes to the History Department of UAB for developing the honest, keen, and variegated interests of its students, and instilling the skills necessary to succeed in academia. We would like to thank our faculty advisor, Dr. John Van Sant, for his careful guidance, support, and kindness. Our gratitude goes to Dr. Colin Davis, our Department Chair, for earnestly supporting our publication and student research. Our special thanks must be extended to our administrative staff, Alisa Dick, our Office Service Specialist, and Melanie Daily, our Administrative Associate, without whom we could not have succeeded. Timothy Granger, Stephanie Womack, and Nadejda Bontcheva-Loyaga each deserve special mention for their counsel and help as previous members of *The Vulcan Historical Review*'s editorial staff. Our academic journal depends on the efforts of our students, both undergraduate and graduate alike, and to them, we extend our thanks. Our efforts would have proven fruitless if it had not been for the financial support of all of our sponsors, especially the Linney Family Endowment, Dr. Linda Lucas (Provost), Dr. Suzanne Austin (Vice Provost) and Dr. Robert Palazzo (Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences). Our heartfelt appreciation for all of our supporters can barely be expressed, but we hope that the continuation of the journal's success will speak for us. Thank you all for the hard work, genuine encouragement, and unparalleled support.

AUT CONSILIIS AUT ENSLE / BY COUNCIL OR BY SWORD

Should the United States Keep the Electoral College?

By Lance Ledbetter

Donald Trump's election to the highest office in the United States has been controversial to say the least. Trump gained his victory by winning the electoral college but losing the popular vote by almost three million votes. This has led to cries, signs, and hashtags of "not my president." It has also led to a call for the abolishment of the electoral college as a system of choosing our president and instituting election by popular vote. This argument appeals to American values of democracy, but in my opinion is a dangerous proposal that undermines the federalism that is the foundation of our constitution, leads to a more reactionary democracy and distracts from far more serious issues that are plaguing American politics.

The electoral college was put into place by our founding fathers as an extension of the federalism that lies at the heart of our constitution by making the states' representatives essential to the election of the president. More words are used in the section detailing the electoral college than most other parts of the constitution, a testament to how important an issue this was to those that sat at the constitutional convention. By using the legislative branch in the election of the president they spread the responsibility of government over more people and kept the system of checks and balances intact. A popular vote bypasses this distribution of power and puts it directly into the hands of the people. They feared that this action of cutting the legislative branch of the government out of the electoral process could lead to tyrannical behavior by the president and eventually a form of monarchy justified by a mandate to rule directly from the people.

Their fears may seem outdated to some but I personally believe that they are not. The expansion of the practice of unilateral action by the president is worrying. Even when they are pieces of legislation that I agree with,bypassingthe legislative branch that was frustratingly blocking actions for partisan reasons made me nervous about the reach of the executive branch.That power combined with a popular vote election could lead to candidates ignoring swaths of American citizens and focusing only on population centers that could win them the election, promising to ignore congress and push through laws that cater to only regional interests and justifying their overreaching legislation by a mandate of the people. The electoral college prevents this by forcing candidates to appeal to the largest possible constituency as no region in the United States has enough electoral votes for a candidate to win the presidency.

While this system has produced candidates that have been more centrist in their politics and less apt to push for change it also mostly guarantees no large backlash against policies and governments leading to a more stable democracy. Many, myself included, applauded the Obama administration for pushing progressive agendas in the United States in the face of vehement partisan opposition, but it has become clear that many Americans did not agree with the policies and I believe the election of Donald Trump is a reaction against that. For as much as I and other Americans desperately want progressive

change to occur in the US it is apparent that we cannot simply ignore the opposition. An election by popular vote would not change this, in fact it would exacerbate it. We as Americans must realize that to have true change in America it is going to take hard work. We must act as individuals to educate and debate those with different views and keep open minds. We must stay abreast of issues and informed about elections from the lowest form of government to the highest and push people to vote in elections. We cannot simply push responsibility of progress to the Supreme Court or to huge electoral changes like instituting a popular vote. In the end the most powerful political tool in any democracy is an educated and motivated voting populace. To those that say they have not the time or energy I say you must find it. No one said living in a democracy is easy. It is your responsibility as a citizen and become a living part of the body politic.

All of this is not to say that there is no room for improvement within the system. I believe that the "all or nothing" nature of most states in the electoral college is a mistake and other issues like gerrymandering, voter restriction, and campaign financing are issues that need to be addressed immediately. A change in the way we elect the president solves none of these problems. A call for a popular vote is, in the end, a short sighted and reactionary call to undermine federalism that the United States is founded upon, would lead to a more reactionary government, and does not address deeper issues with the political system of the United States.

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Should the United States Keep the Electoral College?

By S. D. Yana Davis

THE 2016 presidential contest joined a growing list of such elections featuring an Electoral College winner who failed to win the popular vote. The Founders intended the Electoral College to be gatherings of sage elders (in each state) who would deliberate and choose the most suitable statesman (this was prior to women being included in the political sphere) to lead the federal government for the next four years. To this day, the states have the power to choose Electors in whatever way the state legislature in each decides. [1] Later the method changed slightly when the Twelfth Amendment mandated separate ballots for president and vice president.

There is an argument that election of the president by electors constitutes an element of federalism, or the division of powers between the states and the federal government. So long as Electors remained representative of the state governments, this argument held. However, as early as the election of 1796, following the two unanimous elections of George Washington in 1788 and 1792, the Electoral College quickly became representative of voters (in that period, adult white men who owned property) as state legislatures provided that Electors be chosen by popular vote.

Thus, an argument can be made that if the Founders intended the Electoral College to be truly an element of federalism (i.e., the exercise of an important power by state governments) this intention was extirpated by the fifth election of Electors in 1804, when Thomas Jefferson was re-elected to a second term. All the Electors in 1804 and afterward were chosen by popular vote. An "indirect" popular election of the president and vice-president prevailed from 1804 on, with the winners receiving not necessarily the majority or plurality of the votes nationwide but the majority or plurality within enough states to win a majority of Electoral College votes. At no point from 1804 on did a presidential election hinge on the partisan sentiments of state legislators, since they had all left the task of picking Electors to the voters of their states.

In most elections since 1804, the Electoral College results have reflected the national popular vote results, with some notable exceptions. Abraham Lincoln won the presidency in 1860 with about 40% of the popular vote, a plurality over Stephen Douglas and two other candidates. Rutherford B. Hayes was elected in 1876 by a margin of one electoral vote over Democrat Samuel

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1   Article II reads: "The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows:

"Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

"The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. "

Tilden, who won the popular vote. Republican Benjamin Harrison ousted President Grover Cleveland in 1888 with an Electoral College victory although Cleveland polled more popular votes. (Cleveland came back four years later to oust Harrison with majorities in both popular and electoral votes.)

Most recently, Democrat Al Gore won the popular vote in 2000 but lost the Electoral College to George W. Bush and, last November, Donald Trump won bare majorities in four Midwestern states to gain an Electoral College majority despite losing the popular vote nationwide to Democrat Hillary Clinton by more than 3 million ballots.

Importantly as well, the way most states chose Electors (winner-takes-all of the state's electoral votes except in Maine and Nebraska) guarantees that votes for the losing party in each state literally do not count in the national election. Moreover, since larger states choose more Electors (equal to number of House and Senate seats), this means that voters in California determine 58 electoral votes while voters in Alabama only determine 9 electoral votes. Voters in Delaware and Vermont only determine 3 electoral votes each. This is inherently unfair and unequal, but since the Electoral College system is enshrined in the Constitution, the system cannot be changed except by constitutional amendment.

I have shown that, historically, the Electoral College ceased being an element of federalism as envisaged by the Founders as early as 1804; that presidential elections can, and have been, "won" by a candidate who lost the nationwide popular vote; and that the system works to give dramatically unequal weight to votes cast in states with larger numbers of Electoral votes.

All of these argue for ending the Electoral College system and replacing it with a direct, nationwide popular election of the president and vice president, in which every popular vote would count the same. There would be no compromise of federalism, as argued above, and the reform would end the possibility of "minority" presidents who received fewer popular votes than their opponents did.

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ARTICLES

Here and There: Labor History

American Labor Union Comparison

by Grace Larkin

DIFFERENCES IN the ideological fabric of the American labor movement affected the success of both the American Federation of Labor (AFL) as well as the International Workers of the World (IWW), albeit in different ways. Led by Samuel Gompers, the AFL chose to focus on independent politics to achieve legislative actions that would protect the rights and demands of the everyday worker divided according to individual industry, skill level, and economic class.[1] The relatively peaceful, middle-class, organized meetings resulted in slow-moving progress for specific unions, angering more radical members. Prompted by their unhappiness in the AFL leadership, liberal unionists such as Big Bill Haywood and Eugene Debs left to form the IWW,[2] or Wobblies, with direct action and leftist politics in mind. To unify all laborers as a single class to institute industrial democracy,[3] the Wobblies merged the political concepts of socialist anarcho-syndicalism and Marxism.[4] The division of the movement proves traceable to a split in the perception of workers by labor leaders, the use of varying tactics, and each group's approach to the existing capitalist structure. The following argument will focus primarily on the actions of both unions during the early twentieth century, the differences between the two union movements, and how their differing ideologies and

> **"** THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT BEGAN TO DIVIDE AS VARIOUS SECTIONS OF LABOR SIDED WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE CAMPS OF SKILLED VERSUS UNSKILLED, MIDDLE CLASS VERSUS LOWER CLASS, AND CRAFT VERSUS INDUSTRIAL.

tactics affected their success. Eventually, the American Federation of Labor compromised by aligning itself with the Democratic Party and merging with another union, the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO),[5] adopting a more industrial unionist approach. The International Workers of the World, considered a subversive organization by the United States government for outbreaks of violence,[6] backed away from extreme leftist political views while maintaining an industrial unionist approach.

1   Bernard Mandel, "Samuel Gompers and the Establishment of American Federation of Labor Policies," *Social Science* 31 (1956), accessed November 21, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41884456.

2   Joseph R. Conlin, "The I.W.W. and the Socialist Party," Science & Society 31(1967): 26, accessed November 21, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40401247.

3   Industrial Workers of the World, "Industrial Union Manifesto," (1905), accessed November 21, 2016, https://iww.org/history/library/iww/industrial_union_manifesto.

4   Patrick Renshaw, "The IWW and the Red Scare 1917-24," *Journal of Contemporary History* 3 (1968): 64, accessed November 25, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/259851

5   "Constitution of Industrial Union Department American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations," *ILR Review* 9 (1956), accessed November 25, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2519885.

6   Renshaw, "The IWW and the Red Scare 1917-24," 64-68.

IWW sticker advocating their "One Big Union" strategy, courtesy of International Workers of the World.

Craft Unionism versus Industrial Unionism

The importance of ideological differences remains underestimated in the discussion of labor history, particularly in the case of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the International Workers of the World (IWW). The examination of the practical applications of their individual ideological frameworks can wholly determine the success of each of these groups. The first difference in need of careful consideration is the dichotomy of craft unionism versus industrial unionism and the underlying motivations for the separation based on socioeconomic class distinction and skill level. Craft or trade unionism focused particularly on uniting workers of the same trade or craft to leverage their bargaining chip of skilled labor against a flaw in the existing economic system. Relatively a bourgeois ideology, craft unions approached workers' issues primarily through economic means before resorting to any sort of political activism; in particular, the AFL saw its members as "American citizens" before categorizing themselves as laborers.[7]Using the craft union paradigm allowed for the addressing of specific trade-related needs, but the exclusion of general labor meant the stalling of overall progress across the entirety of the American labor force. As growth in the industrial section exploded, laborers gradually became less skilled as technology and mass production took hold of the American economy.

The traditional methods of the labor movement would need to adapt to meet different demands; industrial unionism formed from the gaps in practice of the trade union paradigm. Industrial unionism implied one large union, or the big union method, which in simpler terms meant inclusion of all sorts of workers at varying levels of skill. Usually, industrial unions constituted the mass-production labor force and laborers of the non-skilled variety. A larger pool of representation meant the possibility of a louder voice for quicker results, but the drawback of disunity via lack of brotherhood based on trade or very specific needs remaining unmet drew criticism for supporters of the industrial union movement. Primarily in a lower socioeconomic class, the labor class recognized the hardships of maintaining a bargaining chip with less

7   Max Handman, "Conflicting Ideologies in the American Labor Movement," *American Journal of Sociology* 43 (1938): 537-538, accessed November 27, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2768481.

specialization in a trade, especially when industrial labor remained overwhelmingly underrepresented in unions.[8] The industrial class laborers strictly questioned the competitiveness and greed of the economic structure and demanded state intervention[9] to rebalance the power struggle between employers and employees, directly clashing ideologically with the craft unionists. Socioeconomic-based racial pride cut short any chance at the industrial laborers to be welcomed into the open arms of union brotherhood. Craft unionists felt superior because of their trade skills to the general laborer, further engendering a spirit of disunion and competition within the American labor movement. The American labor movement began to divide as various sections of labor sided with their respective camps of skilled versus unskilled, middle class versus lower class, and craft versus industrial.

Craft unionists saw existing economic capitalism as a permanent structure, and they found little reason to replace it. Instead, craft unionism, as in the case of the American Federation of Labor, worked within capitalism by removing workers' issues through careful mediation and economic means, possibly strengthening their collective to improve their specific lot.[10]Industrial unionists also shared the respect of collective solidarity as a means to achieve goals, but industrial actions reflected the homogenous representation of both unskilled and skilled workers as a social class,[11] rather than within an economic context. Industrial unionists demanded solidarity

THE UNION MAN'S BURDEN
Every Organized Worker Carries an Unorganized Worker "Strapped to His Back"

Cartoon from the AFL newspaper in 1922, courtesy of The Railroad Trainmen.

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8   Ibid., 527.
9   Ibid., 538.
10   Jack Barbash, "Unions and Politics," *Challenge* 12 (1964): 36, accessed November 23, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40721080.
11   Robert F. Hoxie, "Trade Unionism in the United States," *Journal of Political Economy* 22 (1914): 208, accessed November 25, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1820431.

across the entirety of a labor front,[12] so class recognition as laborers demanded modification of the existing capitalist structure. The International Workers of the World proposed to merge the political and industrial sectors to empower the laboring class as a political entity to solve workers' problems.[13] The already strenuous ideological dichotomy had teetered under the process of amalgamation, or the joining of various unions to work collectively for change. Although a federation of unions, the AFL withstood such industry modifications through no definitive action, but rather again their ideology.[14] Bureaucratic conservatives within the organization opposed the loss of influence of the individual trades as well as the divisive agendas of certain political affiliations. However, the revolutionary leaders of industrial organizations like the IWW plowed ahead with an inevitable political agenda as solidarity swept laborers into a national movement.[15]

Political Efficacy of Tactics

The split in ideological approach to laborer identity and whether or not to dismantle the existing capitalist structure affected the role of political affiliation or activism as these two labor organizations conducted their business. The leaders of the International Workers of the World sought improvement of labor conditions via improvement of the social condition, not unlike many leftist political affiliations,[16] leading to revolutionary tactics and political activism. Aligned with the Socialist Party of America from 1910-1913, the International Workers of the World practiced direct action through non-violent protests such as strikes, boycotts, and the passing out of propagandistic materials. The party's main interest lay in encouraging the labor movement for social reform; American socialists aided and supported the IWW, quite the militant labor union.[17] Eager to produce legislation that guaranteed a minimum wage, maximum hours, and political democratization, many socialists asserted that the agency of revolution rested on the shoulders of the unions, and they actively promoted the tactics of the International Workers of the World.

Militancy on behalf of labor unions did have a few drawbacks. Big Bill Haywood introduced the tactic of sabotage, or striking on the job by slowing the flow of labor.[18] Misunderstood as active destruction of life or property, the IWW's inclusion of more radical tactics crushed the faith of conservative socialists, which led to a loss in membership numbers and in socialist votes. Violence and militancy equally restricted the movements of industrial labor activists. The aggressive militancy

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12   Amy Hewes, "The Changing Structure of the Bargaining Unit of Labor," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 39 (1925): 613, accessed November 25, 2016. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1883268.
13   Robert F. Hoxie, "The Truth About the I.W.W.," *Journal of Political Economy* 21 (1913): 787-791, accessed November 29, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1819758.
14   Hewes, "The Changing Structure of the Bargaining Unit of Labor," 632.
15   Larry Peterson, "The One Big Union in International Perspective: Revolutionary Industrial Unionism 1900-1925," *Labour / Le Travail* 7 (1981): 42-47, accessed November 29, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25140021.

16   The author specifically remarks upon similarities between the IWW and anarchists, syndicalists, and socialists, generally grouping them together under the umbrella term of "social reformers". William M. Leiserson, "'Growing Pains' of the American Labor Movement," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 224 (1942): 4, accessed November 30, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1022978.
17   Joseph R. Conlin, "The I.W.W. and the Socialist Party," 23-26.
18   Known as the "Haywood Element," extreme militancy affected both the IWW and the Socialist Party of America in negative ways, mainly in membership and votes. Ibid., 27-29.

with which the International Workers of the World previously triumphed backfired as the United States government eventually classified the union as a subversive group; contrary to its poor reputation, some historians note that the IWW won public opinion through sheer controversy.[19]

Led by Big Bill Haywood and Eugene Debs, the IWW actually abhorred violence on principle, that while violence "is the basis of every political state in existence, [it] has no place in the foundation or superstructure of this organization."[20] The union instead imagined a new vision of society in which all minor strikes were simply practice for the eventual general strike to ultimately cripple the economy and place power in the hands of the working class. A notorious nonviolent tactic included sending the children of strikers out of town. This action made a splash in the media concerning the carelessness of authorities when handling strikes while relieving stress on union funds.[21] The question of violence remains a valid consideration of history when regarding the International Workers of the World, as many of their strikes ended in arrests and bloodshed. Several historians have pointed to xenophobic and conservative

IWW headquarters with leader Big Bill Haywood on the right, courtesy of Industrial Workers of the World.

backlash, especially in the case of the Centralia lumber industry strikes in 1917. Local members of the American Legion and the IWW disputed over class struggles and union meetings, sadly resulting in a destructive bloody riot that dissolved the strikes and led to martyr-status for several IWW members convicted of murder.[22] Incidents such as the Centralia riot littered the history of the IWW,[23] yet history may interpret the IWW not as transgressors of violence, but as victims.

In opposition to the earnest nature of organization promoted by the IWW, the American Federation of Labor seemed to wait for the labor force to organize into groups before assisting in achieving goals,[24] rather than actively pushing a political agenda such as the Wobblies' tactics. Using a more defensive approach that focused on

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19   See Conlin, Tyler, Genini, and Richardson.
20   Joseph Conlin,"The IWW and the Question of Violence," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 51 (1968): 319, accessed November 30, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4634357.
21   Joseph R. Conlin, "The I.W.W. and the Socialist Party," 34.

22   Robert L. Tyler, "Violence at Centralia, 1919," The Pacific Northwest Quarterly 45 (1954): 119-121, accessed November 30, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40487099.
23   Other examples include the Everett Massacre in 1916 (see Richardson) and the violent year of beatings and jail time during the Fresno Free Speech Fight (see Genini). John G. Richardson, "Mill Owners and Wobblies: The Event Structure of the Everett Massacre of 1916," *Social Science History*, 33 (2009), accessed December 1, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40267998. Ronald Genini, "Industrial Workers of the World and Their Fresno Free Speech Fight, 1910-1911," *California Historical Quarterly* 53, (1974), accessed December 1, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25157499.
24   William M. Leiserson, "'Growing Pains' of the American Labor Movement," 8.

legislative action within the existing construct rather than forcing the construct to bend to its will, the American Federation of Labor used less aggressive methods than the IWW. Whilst the IWW chose leftist rhetoric, sabotage, angry propaganda, and marching rallies to further their ideals, the AFL made great use of the "closed shop" and boycott methods.[25] The closed shop essentially functioned as a unionized shop in which all members belonged to the same union, primarily the American Federation of Labor, and thus solved their employee-employer arguments with in-house arbitration through the union body. While entirely supportive of one's right to do so, strikes existed only as "reserve weapons, to be kept ready but not used until other methods fail,"[26] and the organization threatened the withdrawal of important support[27] if a local union chapter went on strike without the AFL's blessing. Contrary to the International Workers of the World's enthusiastic zeal for political motivation for the American labor movement, the American Federation of Labor remained primarily apolitical until its later years beneath Democratically-aligned William Green.

Aligning any union politically remained restricted as well, specifically if the movement could be deemed radical, and therefore detracting from the AFL's labor agenda. The American Federation of Labor specifically armed themselves against claims of socialism and

Samuel Gompers, leader of the AFL, seated at his desk, can be located in the background of this photograph, courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

communism because of the militant nature of such political theories, a stance that could possibly disrupt their middle-class support. One could find long-time president of the AFL, Samuel Gompers, guiltily incongruous of anti-radical politics, especially when examining the labor leader's sources on labor theory. He regularly quoted Karl Marx in several of his writings, claiming that the "fundamental concept on which the A. F. of L….later developed"[28] stemmed from his understanding of Marx's conception of labor organization and controlling economic power. Gompers, as leader of the AFL, set the tone for his unionists, and that argument remained defensibly against political action until the labor movement had gained enough organization and strength to achieve

25   Jay Newton Baker, "The American Federation of Labor," *The Yale Law Journal* 22 (1912): 83-86, accessed December 1, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/785647.
26   George G. Groat, "Trade Unionism and the American Federation of Labor," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 179 (1935): 15, accessed December 1, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1020274.
27   Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor, "Strikes Reported by the American Federation of Labor, 1914-1915," *Monthly Review of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics* 2 (1916), accessed December 1, 2016,http://www.jstor.org/stable/41822953.

28   John R. Commons, "Karl Marx and Samuel Gompers," *Political Science Quarterly* 41 (1926): 281, accessed December 4, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2142097.

political success without disrupting the success of their economic agenda.[29]

Ostracizing local members of the same trades, but only those not belonging to the right union or shop, the AFL began to attempt cooperation with other unions to bring about broad, sweeping reforms through easy organization. The "If you can't lick 'em, join 'em,"[30] philosophy of the AFL deepened the ideological wedge between the craft unionists and industrial union movement, as well as incurring a blow to their reputation amongst employers. Boycotts provided a wider audience for support, as the AFL specifically targeted companies for union members to avoid. The traditionally craft union approach worked for the AFL simply due to its middle-class mindset, and the use of economic means to achieve economic ends without resorting to the dirtiness of politics suited the conservative leadership.[31] The American Federation of Labor firmly believed it could achieve labor progress without the intervention of the government.

Educating the Masses

As the differences between craft unionism and industrial unionism clearly delineated themselves within the tactics and political affiliations of the American Federation of Labor and the International Workers of the World labor unions, another notable difference stemming from ideology proved to be the approach to education. Both labor unions stressed the importance of education, but viewed education quite differently. The American Federation of Labor interpreted education as a learnable skill within the existing capitalist society. As a transitionary element to incorporate the unskilled laborers (mostly industrial unionists) into the fold of craft unionism, leader Samuel Gompers insisted that industrial education "must meet the needs of the worker as well as the requirements of the employer"[32] whilst being organized for public accessibility to benefit the community's next generation.[33] Viewing education as skills to gain also led to the AFL's push to reform education in favor of workers and their families.

At a union convention meeting in 1917, the AFL debated various improvements to not only the school system's syllabi but to the entire way American public school functioned. The union strove to return the power to the people through the democratic election of school boards, the inclusion of vocational and craft trade training classes to the existing school program, and the establishment of a teachers' union.[34] Union leaders hoped to establish a consistent replenishment of the workforce, ensuring the maintenance of control over labor production, through the gain of vocational skills taught at school. The AFL sought to control part of public education to further

29   Bernard Mandel, "Samuel Gompers—An Evaluation," *Social Science* 39 (1964): 211, accessed December 4, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41885042.
30   James O. Morris, "The AFL in the 1920's: A Strategy of Defense," *ILR Review* 11 (1958): 573, accessed December 4, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2519356.
31   William Green, "The American Federation of Labor's Wage Policy," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 248 (1946): 5, accessed December 4, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1025571.

32   Samuel Gompers, "Attitude of the American Federation of Labor Toward Industrial Education," *The Journal of Education* 83 (1916): 147, accessed December 5, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/42825806.
33   Ibid., 148.
34   Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor, "Convention Proceedings of the American Federation of Labor," *Monthly Review of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics* 4 (1917): 9, accessed December 5, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41823242.

promote economic-based labor skills, but the education of their members also had to be controlled.

> " THE SPLIT IN IDEOLOGICAL APPROACH TO LABORER IDENTITY AND WHETHER OR NOT TO DISMANTLE THE EXISTING CAPITALIST STRUCTURE AFFECTED THE ROLE OF POLITICAL AFFILIATION OR ACTIVISM AS THESE TWO LABOR ORGANIZATIONS CONDUCTED THEIR BUSINESS.

The *Federationist* newspaper, edited by both Gompers and Green over a period of consecutive years, actively manipulated educational material provided by academics, intellectuals, and contributors from outside union ranks. The AFL adamantly refused to allow intellectuals such as economists and professors (deemed non-wage earners or non-laborers)[35] to provide commentary on how the labor movement should conduct its business; the union's catty slight of academia in their press seemed more ideologically motivated, rather than being based on fear of educating their members. Besides the urge for political activism by many intellectuals, Gompers and his men diametrically opposed the academic support for more radical groups like the IWW who employed industrial unionism.[36] Gradually, as the American Federation of Labor loosened their middle-class conservatism and began politically aligning in later years, the newspaper editorials softened, allowing for workers to gain a more intellectual understanding of their conditions and meth-ods of improving them.

Contrarily, the International Workers of the World viewed education as promotion of a philosophy, or way of life, or in other terms, the realignment of a laborer's worldview through the spread of socialist and anarchist doctrine.[37] The IWW insisted on a common understanding of workers' conditions before organization and the reassessment of the role of the laboring class in capitalist society. At the risk of oversimplifying to the point of the view of the reductionist, the International Workers of the World viewed workers as creating wealth through production (labor) for capitalists and therefore holding the key to social and labor progress; if the workers used their power to overthrow the greedy system, they, in turn, could control the means of wealth and could distribute it as necessary.[38] Former American Federation of Labor member Eugene Debs stepped to the ranks of the IWW to further the socialist agenda when it could not gain traction in more conservative ranks, and he chose to arm his fellow industrial unionists with the weapon of education,[39] particularly in the reading, distribution, and lecturing on socialist materials, to learn how to economically and politically overthrow the capitalist system without any shedding of blood or violent action.

The more radical union leader Big Bill Haywood framed this major overhaul, known as industrial democracy, to the working American's lifestyle through replacement of the capitalist structure as development of individ-

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35   Lyle W. Cooper, "The American Federation of Labor and the Intellectuals," *Political Science Quarterly* 43 (1928), 391-392, accessed December 5, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2142973.
36   Ibid., 393.

37   Industrial Workers of the World, "Education and System: Basis of Organization" (1924), accessed November 25, 2016, https://iww.org/history/library/iww/education_and_system.
38   Industrial Workers of the World, "Industrial Organization the Vital Force" (1924), accessed November 25, 2016, https://iww.org/history/library/iww/isandisnt/4
39   H. Wayne Morgan, "The Utopia of Eugene V. Debs," *American Quarterly* 11 (1959): 125-127, accessed December 6, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2710669.

uals through the free opportunity to learn skills and gain experiences, which included the encouragement of not only of schooling but of leisure time as well as a valuable learning tool. The freedom to do so could only be brought about by the active dismantling of the existing economic paradigm, which for the IWW, appropriated all workers at all skill levels, regardless of trade division. Haywood hoped to promote a peaceful, all-inclusive coup against capitalism through the success of educationally sharing socialism, perhaps best stated by himself:

> Socialism is a message of hope. It is addressed to the working class. It will save the working class, or rather, show the working class how to save itself. The world does not need to be cursed by long labor, by low wages, by starvation, by worry, and by disease…When enough of the workers understand Socialism, believe in it, and are firmly resolved to have it, the time will be ripe for the change. That change is coming. It is coming soon. Every added recruit who will read and think brings it nearer.[40]

Ideologically incompatible understandings of education led to fundamentally different approaches to politics, economics, worker-employer relations, labor theory, and class theory by these vastly opposite union groups. The International Workers of the World likened the class struggle to "wage slavery,"[41] the epitome of all world

problems, and sought to alter the laboring force's future by systematically and actively destroying and then replacing the existing social hierarchy based on economics and politics; education served as the method to distribute the IWW's message and methods. The American Federation of Labor hoped to incorporate labor as an option, rather than the only option à la the leftist-based IWW, within the already established system of capitalist society. Working within such parameters, education represented the gain of skills and therefore respect as individual laborers possibly transitioned into a higher socioeconomic status.

Conclusion

While the International Workers of the World and the American Federation of Labor retain several differences, their dedication to their union members reveal similarities. Both unions fought for the improvement of their members' livelihoods, living conditions, and futures through active organization and cohesive solidarity. The differences between the IWW and the AFL starkly divide the groups, unfortunately cleaving the American labor movement of the early twentieth century into two camps. Radical leftist politics served as the vehicle of motivation for the International Workers of the World to improve the conditions of the laborer within a class construct. The middle-class mindset of the American Federation of Labor hindered political alignment but thoroughly propelled their cause forward as a safer option for Americans wanting to participate in union activities.

The divisory line of definition between craft and industrial unionism equally separated the IWW and AFL

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40   William D. Haywood and Frank Bohm, "Industrial Socialism," unknown date. Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, Chicago, IL, 10, accessed November 25, 2016, https://iww.org/PDF/history/library/Haywood/haywood%20industrial%20socialism%207th%20ed.pdf.
41   Eugene V. Debs, "Revolutionary Unionism," (speech delivered in Chicago, November 25, 1905). Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, Chicago, IL: 3-6, accessed November 25, 2016, http://

www.iww.org/PDF/history/library/Debs/Debs7.pdf.

in terms of their methods of executing their respective agendas. The Wobblies chose harsher, more active, and emotionally aggressive tactics such as wildcat strikes, street-corner proselytizing, sabotage, and propaganda to promote a peaceful takeover of capitalism in favor of instituting an industrial democracy. The more radical union wanted to place economic and therefore social power back in the hands of the worker, and an entire change to one's psychological perception of the world proved to be the requirements. On the other hand, the American Federation of Labor played a safer game, using an easily digestible campaign of unionized shops, sedate discussion forums, and passive boycotts. While the IWW suggested non-violence, history interprets the AFL's proposal to the labor movement as more pacifistic.

Education reflected this pacifistic approach; the International Workers of the World weaponized knowledge, quite literally arming their members with the philosophies and concepts necessary to repudiate and revoke capitalism as both an economic and social structure, while the AFL gently nudged their members towards skill-based education rather than an entire lifestyle change. The leaders of the more conservative of the two unions carefully selected the information disseminated to their workers, right down to the type of intellectual included within the editorial pages of the *Federationist* newspaper and pamphlets. Ultimately, the ideological foundations of these two unions determined their approaches to the labor movement within early twentieth century America. Ideology established the tactics, so the more extreme the ideology, the more extreme the tactics used by a burgeoning labor movement. Overall, the International Workers of the World proved to be the more brazen and outspoken of the two unions, whereas the American Federation of Labor slowly incorporated more conservative aspects of industrial unionism into their own agenda to continue functioning as a viable representative of the laboring folk.

Jewish Labor and Ideology: Comparative Histories of Poland and New York

by Zoe Zaslawsky

AT THE turn of the 21st century, the world experienced a boom in industry and with it, a profound devotion to efficiency in production. This massive industrialization meant the emergence of factories packed with workers who were valued only for their labor and seldom treated with dignity. In this era, two cities hosted not only deplorable working conditions with the consequence of arduous lives for workers but also groups of laborers determined to better their lives and the lives of future generations. These two cities, located in opposite hemispheres, grew labor movements within the textile industry that sought similar goals and were both influenced by their shared faith in Judaism. One city, Lodz, Poland, struggled amidst political turmoil while its working Jews developed (and competed with) labor movements. At the same time in New York, New York, specifically the Lower East Side, Jews became the labor movement leadership. Both cities' movements have differences, but because of their shared faith and the problems associated with it, the two shared strikingly similar obstacles and accomplishments. By analyzing the beginnings of the two Jewish labor movements of both Lodz and New York, the important events within the shared formative years of their movements from roughly 1890-1905, expose the similarities, differences, and significances of each labor movement.

Lodz, Poland once stood as a fairly small Polish city with virtually no Jewish population. In 1793, the Jewish population of Lodz totaled 11. Even twenty years

Map of The Pale of Settlement 1835-1917, Courtesy of Litwack Family History

later, the Jewish population remained minuscule at 259, but in 1897, the Jewish population had reached 99,000.[1] What accounts for this massive Jewish population growth? The Polish territories themselves, also called Congress Poland and the Kingdom of Poland while under Russian rule, had a relatively small population of seven million in 1816. However, industrialization and urbanization hit Poland incredibly fast. By 1897, the total population had ballooned to nearly 20 million. The rise of this population can be attributed almost entirely to immigration, rather than internal growth. Several factors encouraged industrialization in Poland, thus instigating population growth. First came the decision of the Russian government to reduce tariffs imposed on Poland; less barriers for trade and a greater demand for industrial goods "led to the mechanization of Polish textile production in the 1850s."[2] This change in trade policies ultimately created a more favorable environment for Poland than for cities in Russia to industrialize, and the growth of Russian railways provided a vehicle for trade. Then, in 1864, Russian serfdom became illegal which introduced a large labor source of landless peasants in search of work. An additional factor encouraged the growth of industry: the memory of Poland's failed attempt to assert its independence from Russia in 1830. Polish nationalists thought if the people of Poland enjoyed the better life that financial security brings, independence would become a more re-

> **AS ONE AMERICAN-JEWISH TRAVELER SAID OF THE FACTORIES OF LODZ: THEY RESEMBLED "SOME OF THE MOST SUCCESSFUL AMERICAN BUSINESS CENTERS."**

alistic possibility in the future. Poland quickly developed an allure for those wanting to enter industry as either employees or business owners, especially as the textile industry experienced acclaim "as one of the most important industries."[3] As industry grew, it needed a center to cluster around and sprout from, and Lodz became that center early as it adopted its nickname "Manchester of Poland."[4]

New York likewise welcomed the booming textile industry after 1860, and in large part, like the growing Polish economy, due to the actions of the federal government. In 1863 when the United States outlawed slave labor, wage labor became synonymous with freedom, and so industry grew sharply. This mirrors the Russian labor force freed from serfdom just a year later in 1864. Transportation, like in Eastern Europe, became commonly used, concentrating populations through urbanization. In 1860, New York's population sat at roughly 3.5 million, and by 1890, the population had doubled.[5] New York's Jewish population also rose in part because of the ease of transportation within the United States, but another influence came in the form of outside immigration from Eastern Europe. In 1850, records showed the Jewish population at 16,000, and by

1   Jason Levine, "Virtual Jewish World: Lodz Poland," *Jewish Virtual Library* (2012), accessed November 15, 2016, http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/vjw/Lodz.html.
2   Joshua D. Zimmerman, *Poles, Jews, and the Politics of Nationality: the Bund and the Polish Socialist Party in Late Tsarist Russia, 1892–1914* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004),3.
3   L.G. Manitius, "A Brief Review of the Polish Textile Industry," lecture in London Section (1945), accessed December 1, 2016, http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/19447014508661972?journalCode=jtip20.
4   Zbigniew Marcin Kowalewski and Christopher Phelps, " An Interview with Zbigniew Marcin Kowalewski," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 73 (Cambridge University Press), 106.
5   U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing, Table 1. United States Resident Population by State: 1930 – 1990,accessed December 7, 2016, http://lwd.dol.state.nj.us/labor/lpa/census/1990/poptrd1.htm.

1900, it had risen to 600,000 or 10% of the New York population.[6] This explosion in growth can be attributed to the waves of Eastern European Jews escaping persecution (though they were universally thought of as Russian by Gentile New Yorkers). These Jews, having a different language, culture, and fleeing an oppressive government, settled mostly in the Lower East Side, the location of 80% of the garment industry and 90% of the factories owned by German Jews already by 1890.[7] The reason immigrant Jews entered the textile industry proves twofold. For one, they searched for the same job they held in Eastern Europe as they were unaccustomed to search for work in a different field. Also, working for Jewish owners meant they could observe the Sabbath. They joined an already established German Jewish population who were highly assimilated and often incredibly successful business leaders. However, German Jews resided in the Upper East Side. The Jewish population in New York, in contrast to Lodz, would continue to rapidly increase due to a lack of violent anti-Semitism and pogroms that would later encourage emigration from Lodz. By 1920, Jews made up 29% of New York's population; 45% of American Jews lived in the surrounding boroughs.

Just as New York attracted the textile industry to the Lower East Side, Lodz, Poland proved especially well-suited as an industrial center for textiles. Because of its location near a river, its industrialization and urbanization occurred rapidly. In 1840, the population of Lodz stayed at 20,000, but by 1897, it reached nearly 300,000.[8] Jews in Lodz made up 31% of the city's population in 1897.[9] Polish Jews had a long history, dating back to the 16th century, of working in the textile industry. This explains why by 1864, "there were more than 50 independent Jewish manufacturers in Lodz," and just two years later, 11% of factory owners in the city were Jewish.[10] However, not every Jew became a proprietor. In 1898, there were a total of 131,371 working-class Polish Jews: 12,380 were industrial workers, while the majority, 119,371 were artisans.[11] There were essentially two types of factories in Lodz: those that were small and employed around 40 laborers at a time and, at the other end of the spectrum, factories that contained over 500 workers within their walls. By 1900, the average number of workers in a Lodz factory hovered at 164, and although conditions varied, they were typical statistics of the time.[12]As one American-Jewish traveler said of the factories of Lodz: they resembled "some of the most successful American business centers."[13] Generally, workers were not treated as poorly as they were in New York; entrepreneurs invested so heavily in technology that factories and the equipment used there were generally considered safe.

6   Paul Ritterband, "Counting the Jews of New York, 1900-1991: an Essay in Substance and Method," *Papers in Jewish Demography 1997,* 202,accessed December 5, 2016, http://www.bjpa.org/publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=2762.

7   Howard Sachar, "Jewish Immigrants in the Garment Industry," *A History of Jews in America* (Vintage Books), accessed December 7, 2016,http://www.myjewishlearning.com/article/jewish-garment-workers/.

8   Manitius, "A Brief Review of the Polish Textile Industry," accessed December 1, 2016, http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/19447014508661972?journalCode=jtip20.

9   Zimmerman, *Poles, Jews, and the Politics of Nationality: the Bund and the Polish Socialist Party in Late Tsarist Russia, 1892–1914,*3.

10   Encyclopedia Judaica, "Textiles," *Jewish Virtual Library* (2008) http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0019_0_19772.html (accessed December 5, 2016).

11   Zimmerman, *Poles, Jews, and the Politics of Nationality: the Bund and the Polish Socialist Party in Late Tsarist Russia, 1892–1914,*9.

12   Jan Toporowski, *Michal Kaleski: An Intellectual Biography: Volume 1, Rendevous in Cambridge 1899-1939* (New York: Palgrave Macmillion, 2013)

13   Jane Wallerstein, "Voices from the Paterson Silk Mills", (Charleston: Tempus Publishing, Inc.).

However, no factory limited working hours, and no factory had a sustainable wage system. Though some Jews worked for an incredible amount of hours with little to show for it, many other Jewish workers were refused employment at all by these enterprises. Gentile factory owners, as well as some Jewish factory owners, did not want to hire Jews who refused to work on the Sabbath; religion aside, these entrepreneurs were first and foremost interested in making money and needed a constantly working labor force. For this reason, many Jews were forced into "marginal Jewish firms that were ignored by government safety compliance inspectors, used outmoded equipment, and had abysmal working conditions and wages"[14] or simply remained unemployed. These smaller factories' conditions were more synonymous with what Jewish immigrants in New York faced.

In New York, contract labor quickly became the normal mode of employment for the textile industry. The system created high profits while it viciously disenfranchised the laborer. Contract labor operated with a contractor who acquired "components of garments" that workers then "assembled according to designs. Then finished products were returned to the manufacturers and marketed under the company's label."[15] Thus, the textile owners stood far removed from the labor process, while contractors, in an attempt to make the biggest profit, forced workers into horrifically long work days for meager wages. The amount of Jews affected, particularly Jewish immigrants, astonishes the historical reader. By 1897, 60% of Jews in New York were employed in the textile industry, and only 25% of workers in the field *were*

not Jewish.[16] Although workers experienced shared problems, working conditions in the factories of New York were exponentially more dangerous than in Lodz. Government regulations generally upheld safety regulations in Lodz, but these regulations were virtually non-existent in New York in 1900 because the federal government adopted a laissez-faire philosophy in dealing with business. As a New York state safety inspector reported about the contract labor system:

> In New York city, in the tenement house districts where clothing is manufactured, there exists a system of labor which is nearly akin to slavery... The work is done under the eyes of task-masters, who rent a small room or two in the rear part of an upper floor of a high building, put in a few sewing machines, a stove suitable for heating irons, and then hire a number of men and women to work for them.[17]

In fact, "even the most elementary safeguards of health and decency made the garment trades notorious as a 'sweated' industry."[18] To make matters worse, the exploitative conditions did not end after leaving the factories; because of the demands of contract labor and the profits correlating to the finished products and not hourly work, many families brought their work home with them. Journalist Jacob Riis commented on the squalor Jewish immigrants lived in at home: "Every member of the family from the youngest to the oldest bears a hand, shut in the

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14   Ibid.

15   Lower East Side Tenement Museum encyclopedia, accessed December 10, 2016, http://www.tenement.org/encyclopedia/garment_sweat.htm.
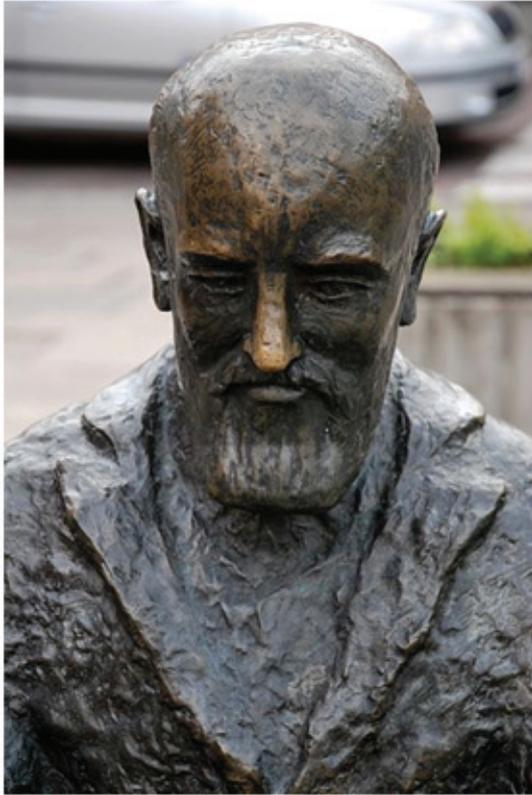
16   Sachar, "Jewish Immigrants in the Garment Industry."

17   Lower East Side Tenement Museum encyclopedia, accessed December 10, 2016,http://www.tenement.org/encyclopedia/garment_sweat.htm.

18   Will Herberg, "The Jewish Labor Movement in the United States," The American Jewish Year Book 53 (American Jewish Committee, 1952), 9.

Bust of Izrael Poznanski, Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons

qualmy [sic] rooms, where meals are cooked and clothing washed and dried besides, the livelong day. It is not unusual to find a dozen persons–men, women and children–at work in a single room."[19]While both the Lodz and New York labor force did tend to hold strikes frequently, they protested quite different conditions.

One Polish-Jewish factory owner, Izrael Poznanski, built perhaps some of the most famous factories in Lodz, Poland, and he embodies the growing conflict between workers and owners—the haves and have-nots. Poznanski inherited his family's company from his father, and became the new head at the young age of seventeen in 1850. Poznanski quickly built a textile empire, investing the huge surge of profits gained from the lack of competition for trading cotton during and after the American Civil War into more land and more factories. In two decades, Poznanski owned every element in the production process of textiles, and the company became "Joint Stock Society of Cotton Products I. K. Poznański."[20] However, the name may be deceiving: the company never publically traded and remained strictly a family business. Guided almost exclusively by profits, Poznanski envisioned another means to control labor: provide housing for his labor force. The workers' dwellings relocated next to the factory, and although the living spaces were meager, they were indeed better conditions than much of Lodz.[21] Certainly the living quarters of Jewish textile laborers improved in New York since the contract form of labor was not commonplace in Lodz. Poznanski found this housing terribly convenient as greater Poland began to have more explosive labor conflicts: if workers participated in a strike at a Poznanski factory, he and his family would immediately be fired and lose their housing. Poznanski also infamously constructed his own palace on the grounds of his factory and worker housing buildings; in fact, many entrepreneurs did this. Soon, Lodz proved "dominated by very large enterprises, with their factories and workers' dwellings, culminating in the factory

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19   Sachar, "Jewish Immigrants in the Garment Industry,"accessed December 7, 2016.

20   "Poznanski Izrael Kalmanowicz," Museum of the History of Polish Jews (Virtual Shtetl), accessed December 5, 2016,http://www.sztetl.org.pl/en/person/27,izrael-kalmanowicz-poznanski/.
21   Irena Popławska and Stefan Muthesius "Poland's Manchester: 19th-Century Industrial and Domestic Architecture in Łódź"*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (1986), 153.

owner's mansion."[22] The juxtaposition of the Poznanski palace with the meager worker housing exemplified an empirical illustration of the larger bourgeois and proletariat conflict festering not only in Lodz but in greater Congress Poland.

The growth of the Polish working class and social unrest from Russian rule joined to encourage a socialist-centered labor movement in Congress Poland. However, conflicting ideologies and a history of anti-Semitism divided the Polish and Jewish workers, which hampered labor movement successes and strengthened Russian control. Although Russian anti-Semitism can be traced back to the Middle Ages and earlier and Russian pogroms against Jews occurred in several waves, "organized anti-Semitism had steadily increased its influence"[23] within the Polish labor movement after 1881. As Polish workers unified under the Polish Socialist Party, Jewish labor groups, particularly the Bund, were seen as a hindrance to the Polish movement. The Polish Socialist Party's envisioned their goal as "a unified class struggle with one enemy: the szlachta [Polish nobility] and the Polish bourgeoisie."[24] However, Marxist ideas did not exist as the only influence on the leadership of the Polish Socialist Party. The first generation born after the failed attempt of Polish independence in 1863, these men were subject to the intense and oppressive Russification imposed on Congress Poland as a result of the revolt. This gave strong nationalistic undertones for their labor movement and subsequently encouraged a strong distrust of the Bund, the Jewish labor movement that was not nationalistic in nature. The Polish Socialist party listed their demands according to political and economic spheres:

> Political: 1. Direct and universal suffrage by secret ballot; 2. Complete equality of the nationalities entering into the composition of the republic on the basis of a voluntary federation; 3. Community and provincial autonomy with the right to elect administrative officers; 4. Equality of all citizens regardless of sex, race, nationality or religion; 5. Complete freedom of speech, press, and assembly; 6. Free court procedure, election of judges, and responsibility of officers before the court; 7. Free, obligatory, and universal education, with the state supplying student stipends. Economic: 1. An eight-hour work day; 2. Establishment of a minimum wage; 3. Equal pay for women for equal work; 4. Prohibition of child labor; 5. Complete freedom of workers' strikes; 6. Gradual nationalization of land, means of production, and communications.[25]

Although many demands seem to be entirely inclusive, the Jews who refused to fully assimilate and recognize themselves as Polish workers first, rather than with a Jewish identity, became targeted. In fact, they viewed the Bund and its leaders as being not only too Jewish, but too Russian in nature. The Bund remained neutral on the matter of the creation of an independent Polish state; meanwhile, a Polish state stayed as the immediate goal of the Polish Socialist Party, which led to hostilities between the two. Although a conflict of ideologies, the idea of Jews as enemies to Polish independence quickly spread to the working class. A Polish official in

22 Ibid.
23 Theodore R. Weeks, "Polish-Jewish Relations, 1903-1914: The View from the Chancellery," Canadian Slavonic Papers 40, no. 3 (Taylor & Francis, Ltd., 1998), 235.
24 Zimmerman, *Poles, Jews, and the Politics of Nationality: the Bund and the Polish Socialist Party in Late Tsarist Russia, 1892–1914*, 11.

25 Ibid., 16.

1903 reported "A hostile attitude toward Jews crops up noticeably not only among individuals, but also during workers' assemblies that almost openly call for a beating of Jews."[26] The Russian government essentially only benefitted from the groups violently colliding, but eventually violence would be redirected against the government.

In New York, no nationalistic movement and no memories of a repressed revolt fueled the labor movement, but a disparity in wealth certainly existed.

1903 Copy of Forverts, Courtesy of Tenement Museum

effectively unite them under socialist ideals. Jewish immigrants' "spiritual confusion, insecurity and normless" brought on by the shocking new way of life in America allowed "fervent young radicals the opportunity to establish predominant influence among the Jewish workers in the formative period of the Jewish labor Movement in the United States."[27] However, in Poland, unification of workers proved difficult and challenging to focus only on a labor movement

Although the federal government remained mum about the labor policies that kept workers in utter poverty, their horrific lives were painfully obvious, and change proved imminent. In some ways, the intellectuals behind the New York Jewish movement used a similar process of energizing Jewish workers as their Bund brothers, notably with their implementation of Yiddish, but New York Jews united under much calmer political conditions. For the New York Jewish intellectuals to be successful in inciting the Jewish workers, they had to understand the Eastern European immigrants, who found themselves in a drastically different political, economic, and cultural world. Once they understood the life concerns of the Jewish immigrants, New York Jewish intellectuals were able not only to attract a group of followers but also to

while political unrest remained so visible: something the New York movement did not have to face.

Jews founded the Bund in Vilna between October 7 and October 9, 1897. In explanation of the main reasons for founding a Jewish specific labor movement, a response of historical anti-Semitism threatened Jewish life but also predicted that a labor movement not centered around Jews would leave Jewish freedom compromised to other groups' interests. Although conceived mostly by intellectuals, the importance of the party lay in shifting the focus to the Jewish working class. This same form of conception, described as top-down, with intellectuals influencing workers (rather than bottom-up with workers beginning the movement themselves) also reflected the beginnings of the New York Jewish labor. Although typi-

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26   Weeks, "Polish-Jewish Relations, 1903-1914: The View from the Chancellery", 241.

27   Herberg, "The Jewish Labor Movement in the United States", 10.

cal with the Bund and the Polish Socialist Party, the direction of the New York Jewish movement did not follow normal American labor movement patterns. The Bund reached the working class by abandoning Russian as the language of the movement and instead utilized Yiddish; in 1897, 94.9% of Jews in Congress Poland identified

> ❝ YIDDISH IN THE NEW YORK MOVEMENT, JUST AS IN THE LODZ MOVEMENT, ESTABLISHED ITSELF AS INTEGRAL TO SUCCESS IN THE MOVEMENT'S FORMATIVE YEARS.

Yiddish as their mother tongue.[28] The first step in gathering support for a Jewish labor movement: produce all propaganda in Yiddish and make it the official language of the movement. This essentially took the movement out of the elite's hands and transferred power to the Jewish working class. As one Bundist remarked: "The switch to Yiddish in fact signified [the birth of] an autonomous Jewish workers' movement."[29]

Much like the leadership of the Bund, leadership of the New York Jewish labor movement recognized the importance in utilizing Yiddish in all propaganda.[30] To fully understand this similar decision in adopting the language of the worker, it is important to note that before 1890, New York Jewish intellectuals was rarely used Yiddish for several reasons. For one, the Jewish community (generally from Central Europe) already inhabiting New York when masses of Eastern Europeans arrived were

typically Americanized so few spoke Yiddish. Also, the Jewish intellectuals in New York, around 800-1,000, spoke Russian and felt "the Jewish vernacular lacked comparable prestige as a language of culture and education…"[31] However, perhaps inspired by the Bund's success in disseminating Yiddish propaganda, one famous newspaper in 1897, *Forward (*or in Yiddish, *Forverts),* became "the most popular Yiddish daily and among the most popular foreign-language newspapers in the United States." Notably seen as a "general interest daily" instead of a specific party organ that welcomed various opinions, the paper essentially became the umbrella for all Jewish thoughts about the labor movement.[32] This universal quality, and a focus on Jewish rights rather than focusing solely on labor party plans, explains the paper's extreme popularity. However, even with Yiddish being utilized as the vehicle to incite the working class, not all immigrants were equipped to understand the American vocabulary of the labor movement. Terms such as "trade-union," "surplus value," and "exploiter," among others, were foreign to new immigrants. The founder and editor of *Forverts*, Abraham Cahan remembers, "Many of our workers could barely read unvocalized tests. Not only did we have to teach them in our writings how to think, we also had to teach them how to read our writings."[33] Although the immigrants had difficulties in understanding some aspects of the language, the paper proved to be largely successful in disseminating ideas. Yiddish in the New York movement, just as in the Lodz movement, established itself as integral to success in the movement's formative years.

Although the Bund unanimously agreed on the

28   Zimmerman, *Poles, Jews, and the Politics of Nationality: the Bund and the Polish Socialist Party in Late Tsarist Russia, 1892–1914*, 8.
29   Ibid., 39.
30   Herberg, "The Jewish Labor Movement in the United States",6.

31   Tony Michels, "Speaking to Moyshe": The Early Socialist Yiddish Press and Its Readers," *Jewish History,* (The Press and the Jewish Public Sphere, 2000), 53.
32   Ibid., 69.
33   Ibid., 63.

decision to draft Yiddish as the official language, the groups had immense difficulty agreeing on much else. For instance, the Bund proclaimed that there should be an "insoluble bond" between their group, all proletariats, and Russian labor movements while at the same time refusing to join any other labor movement; "this dualism was to be the cause of ideological oscillation throughout the whole of the Bund's existence."[34] The Bund did not only separate itself from general labor movements; it also rejected other emerging Jewish labor movements' platforms (for example, those that promoted Zionism or other forms of Jewish autonomy). Specifically, the Bund would not formally request Jewish autonomy for fear of Polish or Russian reaction, something other Jewish groups felt enormously important.

United Hebrew Trades and Ladies Waist and Dressmakers Union Local 25 march in the streets after the Triangle fire, Courtesy of Kheel Center

Unlike the Bund's difficulties in uniting, the leading New York Jewish labor movement, United Hebrew Trades (founded on October 9,1888), was able to consolidate varying ideologies with a fair amount of ease. Of course, Jews in New York did not face the issues of nation that plagued Poland, but just as every movement emerges, differing ideologies break off and threaten efficacy. A group of Jewish intellectuals and a major leader in the Jewish movement (though not Eastern Euro-

pean), Samuel Gompers made the decision to make the labor movement specifically Jewish in nature. The goal of United Hebrew Trades (UHT) hoped to successfully organize Jews into unions. Jewish workers were notoriously known for their inability to unionize. They enthusiastically participated in strikes, but they "did not possess the tenacity or discipline necessary for enduring labor organization,"[35] most likely due to the world they were escaping. In Poland and Eastern Europe, entering unions remained unestablished as a reality for workers because

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34   Encyclopedia Judaica, "Bund," *Jewish Virtual Library* (2008), https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0004_0_03730.html (accessed December 1, 2016).

35   Herberg, "The Jewish Labor Movement in the United States", 6.

they would immediately lose their job and housing. New Jewish immigrants were often lamented for their individualism, but perhaps memories of violently feuding labor movements in the East kept them from committing to entering a labor union. However difficult the task would be, UHT seemed the best organ to accomplish the goal. The group consolidated unions from all fields, from Jewish actors, bakers, cap makers, choral singers, etc. Unlike issues with the Bund, UHT saw little resistance to organizing only Jewish unions. The biggest critic of this move, Samuel Gompers himself, felt uneasy organizing unions purely on religious criteria. Not simply a religion in New York during this time, Judaism proved to be a way of life. Workers observed the Sabbath, spoke Yiddish, and many new Jewish immigrants sought to preserve their traditions. Additionally, though no history of Jewish pogroms or virulent anti-Semitism existed in New York, anti-Semitism and xenophobia did rear their heads, especially against Russian immigrants. Therefore, Jews had a certain special interest compared to the general labor force, and Gompers soon recognized "to organize Hebrew trade unions was the first step in getting those immigrants into the American labor movement."[36] The UHT saw immense success; it typically acted as a protective agent for various Jewish unions by lending advice and dealing with employers but also organized an impressive number of strikes. Throughout its existence, UHT remained a socialist organization. In fact, *Forverts*, to gain support for this founding fundamental principle, translated *The Communist Manifesto* to Yiddish for the Jewish workers to read. However, not every union accepted a radical, socialist approach and those that did not met with great condemnation by UHT. A statement printed in 1909 by UHT reflects its frustration with the garment industry:

> It is not true, as the press committee states, that the Jewish labor unions are not quite ready to go hand in hand with the radicals. Among all the Jewish unions one will find a strong radicalism. The cap-makers union has, in their fundamental principles, recognized socialism, the bakers 'union recognize socialism and these strong unions stand one hundred per cent with the United Hebrew Trades. The only union not recognizing socialist principles is the garment workers and when this union was investigated, it was found that instead of doing good, it was just the contrary, that it did a great deal of harm to the union by being conservative and following the program of all the American conservative unions.[37]

Textile unionism, in fact devolved from radicalness, and with the new surge of Bundist influence who fled pogroms in 1905, this development became troubling for the labor movement. Starting in 1909, the textile unions noticeably lost their influence. Perhaps, this announcement of failure by the UHT helped to regroup the textile industry because quickly under the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, militancy and radicalism were brought back to the workforce. In a sense, the UHT created Jewish unions, and although not entirely successful in radicalizing them to socialism, the resurgence of these ideas came from Eastern European Bundist leaders and would ultimately revive the Jewish labor movement in New York.

36   Herberg, "Jewish Labor Movement in the United States: Early Years to World War I", 505.

37   United Hebrew Trades, Foreign Language Press Survey (National Endowment for the Humanities), accessed December 5, 2016, lps.newsberry.org/article/5423972_2_1731.

In Poland, the Bund believed that political reform prevailed as the best way to empower the Jewish proletariat. Strikes in Poland were a common reaction to the labor system but were met with such violence from Russian officials that the working classes' efforts proved unsuccessful. The Bund then developed a new plan to protect the Jewish proletariat: action through political means. However, the antagonism between socialist parties, increasing fervent nationalism, general social unrest, and anti-Semitism culminated in the violent Polish revolution beginning in 1905 and created a war zone in Lodz. A leader in an independent Polish labor union remembers the violent the clash of the Polish Socialist Party and the Bund well: "…there was sharp conflict between the nationalists and socialists, with armed struggle between them in the factories. On Piottrkowska Street, [the same street Poznanski's factories were located] ambushes after work. Yes, it was absolutely incredible! …during the period of degeneration of this revolution, there were a lot of assassinations, workers killing workers…"[38] By 1907, 260 police officers and 800 workers were killed in the violence with 2,800 people wounded.[39] The anti-Semitism between the two groups proved deadly, and "the perception of many Poles that in 1905-1907 their Jewish neighbors fought not for 'Polish' rights but for special 'Jewish' rights, separate from and possibly in conflict with 'Polish' rights" spurred a new wave of pogroms.[40] Jewish workers immigrated in droves to America. Although the Bund could not exact workers rights by 1905, the Bund would go on to influence American Jewish labor movements.

In conclusion, both the New York and Lodz Jewish textile labor movements had impressive beginnings. In Lodz, Poland, competing labor groups, anti-Semitism, and intense nationalism all became difficult factors for the Bund to contend with. Meanwhile, United Hebrew Trade's biggest obstacle lay in maintaining a radical, socialist nature in America, where history had not welcomed socialism as a theory as in Eastern Europe. New York's Jewish labor force found themselves in working and living conditions worse than their Polish counterpart, but while Lodz's workers had marginally better physical conditions, many more were forced into unemployment and abject poverty. Both movements formulated in a similar fashion: top down, rather than bottom-up movements, with intellectuals directing the causes. Both groups of intellectuals began their movements' propaganda in Russian, but each quickly realized in order to empower the working force, they must speak the workers' language of Yiddish. Finally the two movements collided after 1905. The Bund's attempts to empower the Jewish worker came to an immediate halt at the beginning of the incredibly violent 1905 Polish revolution. Meanwhile in New York, United Hebrew Trades lost its radical voice and had little success for its Jewish textile workers. After 1905, United Hebrew Trades found the revitalization it so desperately needed: Bundists escaping war-torn Poland. The varying differences and similarities in the formations of the movements help to explain the important influence of Judaism while also highlighting the great significance each movement created, culminating in an intersection of movements that greatly influenced Jewish labor rights.

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38   Zbigniew Marcin Kowalewski and Christopher Phelps, " An Interview with Zbigniew Marcin Kowalewski", 109.

39   James A. Mallory Jr., "American Perceptions of Poland During the Revolution of 1905," *The Polish Review* 35, no. 2 (University of Illinois Press on behalf of the Polish Institute of Arts & Sciences of America, 1990), 128.

40   Weeks, "Polish-Jewish Relations, 1903-1914: The View from the Chancellery," 242.

Profits and Pride: The National Origins of Labor Restriction in Baseball and Football

by Lance Ledbetter

THE TWO national games that gripped the United States and England during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were both products of their time and place. Shaped by social forces beyond their control, baseball in the United States and football in England represented their respective country's interests and values through their history. The history they share is remarkably similar. Bothsports were organized around the same time by a distinct socio-economic class, both were spread throughout the country by a major social event, and both professional leagues came about for many of the same reasons. Where they diverge in is their implementation of labor control placed on athletes. The reserve clause in baseball and the retain and transfer system in football were put into place for reasons unique to the genesisand the end goal of each league that reflected national values of each of their native countries of origin. Baseball centered its labor controls wholly on maximizing profit for the owners while football based its restrictions on solely maintaining the stability of their professional league justifying their position with the civic pride that local clubs instilled in their fans and holding amateurism as the highest ideal to strive toward in the sport while minimizing profit.

> **66** AMERICANS WERE OBSESSED WITH LIBERALISM, INDIVIDUALISM, AND CAPITALIST ECONOMICS. THE ENGLISH WERE MORE FOCUSED ON NATIONAL AND REGIONAL PRIDE AND LOFTY, OFTEN UNREALISTIC IDEALS.

Origins of the games

No one account can precisely determine where baseball originated, but one thing is certain:free enterprise has always been at its core. Even the myth of its foundation is one based on marketability and financial gain. The baseball establishment attributes the origin of the national pastime to Abner Doubleday.In rural Cooperstown, New York sometime around 1830 he supposedly organized and played the first game. This would have been improbable as Doubleday was a cadet at West Point and at no time during his prestigious career as a general in the Civil War did he ever give a hint that he even knew of the game, let alone played it or invented it. This myth, pushed forth by the men who controlled baseball in the 20th century, was an attempt to legitimize the sport as the quintessential American sport for maximization of commercialization and profit. Nothing sold better than the pastoral image of baseball and the golden age

of America. The Baseball Hall of Fame location, Cooperstown, New York is evidence of how committed they were to the myth.Truthfully, it was an organic game that had no explicit origin, but it certainly was not from the countryside. It evolved out of rounders, a British game that was ultimately derived from cricket. Rounders was a game played by children or women in England and generally looked down upon as a game not fit for men by British subjects. Yet throughout New England it became popular and often was called "town ball" or "goal ball."[1] This game was one of many regional rules and practices. It constantly evolved with different rules of the game being argued whenever different groups would get together to play. The first major unification of rules of the game would occur in New York City in the 1840s.[2]

In New York, the city was rapidly expanding. Urbanization drew many from the country into the city in the pursuit of a better life. Newly immigrated white collar workers epitomized the pinnacle of this new class of urban immigrants. Bankers, clerks, lawyers, insurance men, and merchants sought to find others like themselves to associate with. In the increasingly populated city there was a fear one would get lost in the crowd. These urban professionals wanted to create their own identity to fight back against the encroaching anonymity and to establish themselves as above the rabble of the lower classes. They distinguished their class from the others they saw as below them by their English heritage. They saw themselves as true Americans and better than the Irish immigrants that were flooding into the city and were mostly manual laborers. In turn theyadopted a sense of social class, dress habits, and models of gentlemanly behavior from English society. It makes sense then that they would want to participate in a game with similar origins.[3]

Why they didn't simply join or form cricket clubs if Anglo-centrism was key to their identity is simple. They had not the time. Cricket test matches could go on for days at a time and these industrious young men could not waste an entire day on the pursuit of sport. They were well-to-do with "proper" social connections but were not as a group wealthy, and so time was money.[4]Baseball only lasted a few hours at most and could be played, especially in the summer, after everyone quit work for the day. Theprofit-seeking attitudes of even the very first amateurs begins to show the cultural difference between the foundations of the two sports that would affect their early history.[5]

Football, unlike baseball, has its roots deep in native English society and was not connected to commercialization and profit but to civic duty and pride. Traditional football, which did not resemble an organized match as much as it did a mob rioting over placement of a ball, pitted different villages against each other or different social classes, i.e. young vs. old, married vs. bachelor, etc. This was a game embraced by the lower classes of rural and urban communities as a civic event. It survived numerous attempts to ban the activity. Eventually as England modernized it became a smaller part of people's lives.[6]

What would becomeknown as modern day football was developed in the public schools of the Victorian Era. Though moralists continued to attempt to ban the playing of traditional football in the schools, as they did with other violent and uncouth sports like cockfighting,

1   Leonard Koppett, *Koppett's Concise History of Major League Baseball* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998). 4.
2   Ibid. 5.
3   Ibid.
4   Ibid. 7.
5   Ibid. 10.
6   David Goldblatt, *The Ball Is Round: A Global History of Soccer* (New York: Penguin Group, 2006). 16-18.

The New York Knickerbockers pictured at their reunion in 1862, Courtesy of Robert Edward Auctions Archives

they held no power over the children of the landedgentry, aristocracy,or the new bourgeois class of merchants and industrialists that sent these children to public school to become gentlemen.[7]Students often remembered public schools as prison-like. The extremely unforgiving social atmosphere, the brutal and unpractical curriculum, and the authoritarian nature of the administrationled to disagreements between students and teachers and on more than one occasion led to riots.[8]While some administrators attempted to ban the game, one educator, Dr. Thomas Ar-

nold, saw the game as an opportunity for social control to keep boys from poaching, rioting, or fighting with locals. He reformed public school education from 1828-1848 as headmaster at Rugby School. He used the sport to help keep order by establishing a hierarchy with teachers playing with the students,and to help burn off the excess stress and energy pent up within the young boys. Though sport was tertiary to prayer, discipline, and educationit was successful in controlling the students. Arnold's disciples would make football a focal point when they spread the practice to other schools with equally unruly student-

7   Ibid. 24.
8   Ibid. 25.

populations like Harrow, Eton, and Marlborough.[9]These schools would become the incubators for the sport.

At the same time in English society a general move toward an emphasis on physical health and strong morals was taking hold. It was natural then that a game like football would be used to keep the next generation strong mentally, physically, and morally. Football could teach all three as evidenced by the success in molding students at public schools. Commensurately, as physical fitness and moral superiority were being held up as the perfect ideals, bookishness and learning were being cast down. This new moral masculinity being disseminated at public schools bound the top classes together and was thought prepare them to become the new leaders of the British empire. By the 1850s the game was being played at many different schools with two main ways of playing being developed: the handling game, which would become rugby union, and the kicking game, which would become association football.[10]

Standardization and spread of the games

The club which set down the rules that would become modern baseball was the first of many that sprang up all around New York. They called themselves the Knickerbocker Baseball Club and were made up of members of the new professional class. Alexander J. Cartwright, a twenty-five-year-old surveyor, would head the rules committee of the club and put to paper the first set of laws that would eventually become the game of baseball as we see it today. The two key aspects that made modern baseball possible were not novel to this set of rules, but their combination made all the difference in the

marketability of the sport. First,"pegging" or "soaking" the baserunner was illegal in this iteration of the game. That is, a player could not be called out by simply throwing and hitting him with the ball; they had to be tagged out by hand. This led to a much firmer ball being able to be used. Thus, balls could be hit for longer distances and contributed to a more watchable game. Second, bases would be flat stones instead of pegs. This meant that the baserunners did not have to stop and stoop down to touch the peg. This also made the game extremely more watchable and palatable to the crowds that would soon come to watch the game be played.[11]

The crowds were still some time off. There was no other club in New York at the time so the Knickerbockers played intramural games only. Seeking outside challenge, they picked a team based on the best players of ball throughout New York and Brooklyn, regardless of class, to play a game in 1846. The club dubbed them the New York Nine. The players picked because of skill trounced the players picked because of their class twenty-three to one. This would exemplify an important distinction between baseball and football. That is, that gentlemanly amateurism could not hold up against pragmatic and skilled players. In the United States, there was no argument for the nature of the player's status in the game. The only thing that mattered was who was better at playing.In the United States baseball, winningwas more important than ideology.[12]

Soon after, more clubs would pop up in New York mostly organized by occupation. In 1852, these clubs formed the National Association of Base Ball Players. This was the first national organization for baseball and was ran by the players who organized the clubs. These teams eventually found they were running out of service

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9   Ibid. 26.
10   Ibid. 28-29.

11   Koppett. 6-7.
12   Ibid. 8.

professional class members to fill their ranks and they also had a strong desire to win. As a result,they used their connections to bring in players based on skill and get them a "job" at a bank or a grocery store so they could be part of their club and help them win. These were the first professional players with job salaries or other under-the-table payments being paid to them in compensation for their skills. One of the most well-known of the time was Jim Creighton,a young pitcher who learned how to manipulate the pitching rules (at that time the pitcher was to simply put the ball into play by throwing it underhanded where the batter wanted it delivered). He mastered subtly flicking his wrist to put spin on the ball. He dominated in his performances on the mound and would become baseball's first star.[13]

The commercial prospects that such a display could garner would soon show themselves in an all-star game was held between the best players in Brooklyn and New York. People came from miles around to pay fifty cents to see the game. Almost seven hundred and fifty dollars was taken at the gate and the lesson was clear: better players equaled more spectators, and more spectators equaled more money. That was the only thing that mattered to most of these entrepreneur-laden clubs. The age of the gentleman sportsman was rapidly fading to the age of profit.[14]Soon Creighton was signed to the Brooklyn Excelsiors, a team looked down upon by the more upper class clubs like the Knickerbockers. They took him and their dominating team on the road in 1860 and spread the gospel of baseball all along the east coast.

The timing was superb to spread a game throughout the United States as the Civil War was looming. The massive amounts of people that saw the game soon spread it through army camps where baseball was a wel-come reprieve from long stretches of inactivity. Southern prisoners of war learned it in Yankee prisons. Likewise, Northern prisoners taught it to Confederates.[15]There had been fifty-five clubs before the war in the NABBP, but in 1866 there would be more than two hundred.

> **❝ THOUGH THE MARKET DID PRODUCE RIVAL LEAGUES THAT DROVE UP WAGES FOR PLAYERS, THE RESERVE CLAUSE STAYED INTACT AND KEPT MOST BASEBALL PLAYERS UNDERPAID AND MORE IMPORTANTLY KEPT COMPETITION BETWEEN CLUBS WITHIN THE NATIONAL LEAGUE TO A MINIMUM SO MAXIMUM PROFITS COULD BE HAD BY THE OWNERS.**

For football the game began to spread among the general population by way of less prestigious grammar schools where teachers from public schools went to teachstudents whose families belonged to the new industrial middle class from time to time, but it would be the elites that shaped it. With different schools playing different types of games, chaos reigned on the pitch. The "Old Boys" or alumni of the public schools were playing by different rules depending on school or region and the fear of standardization was that of mongrelization. Proponents of the beloved games believed their school's rules to always be superior to the others.[16]

Eventually in 1863 eleven representatives from these schools came together in London to standardize the game. Out of this meeting camea standardized set of rules and a name for the organization, the London Football As-

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13   Ibid. 10.
14   Ibid. 11.

15   Ibid. 12.
16   Goldblatt. 30.

sociation. The biggest point of contention of the meeting was the rule of handling the ball and that of the practice of "hacking" wherein the player would slide into or kick an opponent's shins to win the ball from him. Many clubs continued to play by their own rules and develop similar rules around the same time. A division was already growing between the industrial-class clubs in the north and the upper-class public school teams of the south. The Sheffield Football Association in the north challenged the London Football Association of the south for origins of the rules of the kicking game. Eventually in 1871 the LFA and SFA finally joined to form the Football Association which governs football in England even to this day.[17] The proponents of the handling game would leave to develop what would become the game of rugby. This governing body was dominated by upper-class public school graduates from both the aristocracy and the bourgeois industrial class and they would shape how the regulation of professionalism, commercialization, and profitability of the game of football would progress.

The FA was founded on the ideals of gentlemanly amateurism and would set up a tournament open to all teams to compete for the title of the best in the world. The "Old Boys" of the public schools would dominate the competition from 1872-1879; the tactics of the game revolving around individual dribbling skill with passing seen as a failure on the part of the player to outclass the defenders. In 1880, new clubs from the north filled with working-class players who had learned the game from former teachers of public schools. These teachers were in high demand due to the explosion of schooling in England from the Elementary Education Act of 1870, which made education compulsory from ages 5-12.[18] These teams were established by churches, educated upper class students coming home from public school who wanted to play their beloved game, and local colleges, but it was the working class that made up the bulk of the talent pool and the teams always had strong regional ties because of this.[19]

End of amateurism and beginnings of professionalism

By 1867 all real opposition to professional play in baseball had ceased though amateur clubs still existed. Teams no longer tried to hide the fact that they were paying players by giving them meaningless side jobs to cover their salary. In 1869, the first openly professional team, the Cincinnati Red Stockings, took the field and brought huge crowds while beating the club teams that sought to lord their amateurism over them. They completed an eighty-four game win streak and would compete in, and lose, what was then described at the time as the greatest game ever played against the Brooklyn Atlantics, a similarly dominating professional team.[20]

The major issue that arose out of this early professionalism was that theprofessional teams far outclassed local amateur competition. To field competitive gamestoattract a larger gate and thus make more money they had to travel to play other professional teams and that travel would cut into profits. On a positive note for the owners, it showed exactly how much money could be made if there was healthy competition, and the network to travel was in place with the explosion of rail lines after the civil war. Along with this,the press expanded in America at the same time and sought to publicize the score lines and box scores to sell more papers to those

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17   Ibid. 31-32.
18   Ibid. 37.

19   Ibid. 39.
20   Koppett. 14.

and went back to amateur status. The decline was linked to the fact that they lost the so called "greatest game ever played." Once they were no longer undefeated people stopped coming to games. In this new league, Wright declared that at the end of the year the team with the most wins would be the champion. This was a completely novel concept to sport in America but would prove to be a huge boon to business if used correctly.

The problems that would eventually doom this league were its lack of central authority and unstable finances of teams. The lack of strong central authority meant that no one could guarantee the teams played out their full schedule. Travel costs ate into profits and if a team was losing again and again they knew they could not win the championship and would withdraw from travel and league competition as a cost saving measure. They would not risk spending money on travel to be defeated and lose popularity when they could play exhibitions against less talented local teams to win easily and make admittedly less money, but also at a far lower financial cost. There were no penalties to this strategy as the fee to reenter the league was only ten dollars, an amount so low it would be cost effective to drop out if the season was going too horribly and suspend the team till the next year.[22]

Other problems with this league was that it was ran almost completely by the players themselves with

The Cincinnati Red Stockings first professional baseball team, Courtesy of The New York Public Library Digital Collections

that couldn't make it to the ball park but still wanted to know the outcome of the game. There was some hesitation from some of the older amateur clubs in the NABBP on how exactly to go about legalizing and regulating the professional teams within the league. To bypass this bureaucratic conundrum the professionals simply created their own league and named it the National Association of *Professional* Base Ball Players in 1870.[21]

Harry Wright led the preemptive strike to form the league. He had been president of the Red Stockings who, despite their success, had been dissolved in 1870

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21   Ibid. 16.

22   Ibid. 19.

no disciplinary authority to crack down on behavior that would hurt the league. Selfish behaviorran rampant, with players jumping from team to team to chase higher salariesand greater glory. This wouldn't have hurt an

Albert Spalding's baseball card, Courtesy of Boston Red Stockings

established league as much but to one just starting out it was devastating. Players frequently switching teams made the league boring and unprofitable as it confused the fans and led to "super teams" that could lure players away from smaller cubs. Wright's new Boston Red Stockings,established with players from the Cincinnati team that was dissolved in 1870, was one of these teams. They dominated the league with high caliber players that

Wright had the prudence to not only poach from other teams but to pay enough to keep them from jumping from his. A key to Wright's dominance was another young, innovative pitcher named Albert Spalding. Spalding saw exactly what was wrong with this league and he also saw the potential of sport to become a massive money making machine.[23]

In 1883 Blackburn Olympic, a northern industrial club, beat the Old Etonians, a southern public school club, in the FA Cup final. Preston North End and Blackburn Rovers, two more northern teams, beat two more southern teams for the titles in 1884 and 1885 respectively. Rovers would face off against West Bromwich Albion, another northern team, in 1886 and would win once again. This marked the end of amateur teams in the FA Cup final and the end of purely amateur clubs' competitiveness at the highest level of the sport. Every single one of these northern teams had paid players on its roster and so would every other team in the final from 1886 forward.

No one knows exactly where or when players began to get paid but the fierce local civic rivalries between clubs in the north made it attractive to find the best man to hire to help beat your rival. Under-the-table arrangements or securing "jobs" like in early professional baseball were common. These men were often Scottish migrants who practiced a game which focused on team play and passing the ball rather than individual skill touted by gentleman amateur teams. The effect of this tactic was devastating and professional teams mostly dominated in matches against amateurs. Things came to a head when Preston North End beat Upton Park by fielding nine Scottish professionals. The amateur side complained and the FA was forced into a difficult situation. The old gentle-

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23   Ibid. 21.

men who up to this point had tolerated professionalismin football had seen their game taken from them by people they considered their social inferiors but when thirty-one clubs threatened to leave the FA and form another association they relented and saw that they could not beat the combined capital and organization of the working class and allowed professionals officially but on their terms.[24]

They placed restrictions on roles the professionals could hold in administrative positions,among other small bits of injustice aimed at the new professional player. Amateurs were still somewhat competitive as they adopted the passing game, unlike in baseball where they were simply fodder for professional teams. The amateurs held their own and so did the ideals of amateurism, so much so that they created their own amateur cup competition and amateur players continued to play into the twentieth century on largely professional teams. With amateur idealists in the FA holding the key to regulation of football, including the professional leagues, they would work to foster a feeling less of commercialism and more of civic pride in the game which owners, players, and fans of the clubs felt as well.

The first professional league was started for the same reason the first one in baseball would be: the lack of central authority. The FA left scheduling up to the individual teams. Schedules would be erratic and teams would schedule themselves to compete in multiple competitions that would overlap. This over-scheduling was common. Sometimes teams would not show up for a match at all. In the FA Cup, there would be extremely lopsided matches between mismatched teams. The FA had the central authority of the rules of the game but not the organization or authority needed for an actual league, and so in 1888 William McGregor, a Scottish immigrant and industrial-

ist, along with the Aston Villa Football Club board of directors which he was a part of set up the Football League to solve the problems of centralized scheduling, labor, and, underused assets in stadiums.[25]

Separate paths: commercialization and pride

Spalding was lured to Chicago by another man who wished to make more money from baseball, William Hulbert. Hulbert was a coal magnate. He saw that stronger organization had to be implemented to make a lasting and profitable league. Spalding agreed and had an even greater vision: to create a sporting goods and media empire from the game to drive profits even higher. Together they hammered out the rules for the new National League to replace the old NAPBBP in 1876, and to their credit it still operates to this day as part of the highest level of professional baseball. The basic rules of the league were that the administrators set the schedule for each team and held absolute power to punish teams for not adhering to it. Also, to reduce players jumping from place to place the clubs would honor each other's contracts and observe a blacklist of players that broke the rules. This included gambling and rowdiness but also club suspension for any reason.[26]

The league began play and almost immediately its power over the teams was challenged and upheld. Hulbert expelled two teams in 1876 and 1878 for fixing games, not finishing schedules, and lowering ticket prices. Some of these were huge markets but it had to be done to assert the power of the league in its infancy.[27]The league kept surviving, with teams coming and going

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24   Goldblatt. 43-45.

25   Ibid. 55-56.
26   Koppett. 28.
27   Ibid. 31-32.

as they made and lost money with some teams folding and others being created in their place to try to capture a piece of the lucrative professional baseball market.

With the formation of the FL the structure of football in England was set for the next one hundred and twenty years. The FL provided rules and regulations for clubs as well as a set schedule. By 1890 teams were falling over themselves to get into the League. They added a second and third division soon after and began the promotion relegation system of teams moving up and down through the divisions depending on how well they played during the season. A professional championship was also created, though it was flawed and based on individual test matches between clubs. Eventually, it evolved into the familiar modern points system (3 for a win, 1 for a draw, and none for a loss) familiar to football fans today. Old north/south rivalries and biases were apparent. Most teams that were allowed to join the league would be from the north, with only a few southern teams being let in by the start of World War I.[28]

The rise of this league was not tied to commercial enterprise but to the populations of the cities that birthed the teams that made the league. Clubs were mostly located in the new textile and manufacturing towns. The

Blackburn Rovers Football Club, Courtesy of Blackburn Rovers

new industrial techniques led to a new economy which gave people more time and money to spend on leisure activities. With the rise of this new class a signal was sent to the old elite. Much like in football, there would be an evolution from the societal standards that said only the landed gentry could rule. Fans embraced this new feeling of identity and civic pride in the most visible way in supporting a local football club. Due to this,clubs were tied to the places they sprung up in due to civic pride and they did not move around or close their doors due to low profits, two practices common in early baseball.[29]

This rejection of capitalist pursuits was also a byproduct of the amateurism that the FA continued to hold as its highest ideal. Originally clubs themselves were operated as non-profits as decreed by the FA. The FA accepted paying players but could not condone rampant money-making by professional clubs. Even when allowed to be operated as for-profit enterprises it was not coal magnates or big business minds that owned the clubs as in baseball. Mostly owners operated small businesses and on average held eighty percent of the shares while another twenty percent were held by the working class that supported them. The FA, continuing its ideals of fair

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28   Goldblatt. 58.

29   Ibid. 59.

play and amateurism, capped the profit return on these clubs at only five percent. The extra profit would go to improvements in the squad or stadium. Although some would try to reinvest to help drive profits at their other businesses such as pubs, shops, etc. it was never guaranteed to work. It was not profitable to get into the football business as most would say at the time.[30]

Labor restriction

The biggest controllable expense of baseball teams who were seeking to turn a profit was the players' salaries. While blacklisting and other forms of player control were originally implemented to keep the league viable and thriving the later codified restrictions were based on maximizing profit and minimizing labor costs. The players were only signed to one-year contracts and so at the end of the season, to keep or acquire the best players, clubs would have to outbid the competition. The solution to stop rampant player salary inflation was simple to the owners: stop bidding against each other. In 1879, an owners meeting was called and the reserve clause was implemented. In this system players were bound to teams essentially for life. At the end of their yearly contract the team still held the players' rights, and unless the team released them or sold rights to another team they could not play anywhere else. If teams offered a lower salary than before the player essentially had to take it, quit baseball, or play as an outlaw in another league and be blacklisted. This would only be for the top five designated players on each team at first but shortly it was expanded to all players.[31]With this move the baseball owners had established a form of indentured servitude guaranteed to ex-

pand their profits considerably. Eventually, a return of up to thirty percent over gross was not unheard of for these clubs.Though the market did produce rival leagues that drove up wages for players, the reserve clause stayed intact and kept most baseball players underpaid and more importantly kept competition between clubs within the National League to a minimum so maximum profits could be had by the owners.

In football to keep smaller clubs competitive, the FA introduced the retain and transfer system and the maximum wage. Like the reserve system, after a player's contract was over he could not sign independently with another team but could be sold for a transfer fee to another club if both owners agreed.[32]The maximum wage also kept footballers from demanding too much and driving up wages across the board, which would have led to collapses in teams, much like baseball saw when salaries were regulated only by market forces. People would still invest even though there was no money to be made. They did it for the glory of civic achievement. The connection of these clubs to the towns they were located in was so strong that the pride of winning was enough of a reason to invest, something that baseball could not achieve with their sometimes fly-by-night teams focused solely on profit. The amateurists that governed football made sure that capitalism did not penetrate too far into a sport they saw as a beautiful game, not a beautiful business, and the owners were more than willing to play for pride instead of profit.[33]These regulations may have kept the free market from pushing out smaller clubs but it also neglected the players themselves. With no pension, if any medical issues came up from playing such a physical sport they had to deal with it themselves or hope for a show of pitying paternalism from club owners by giving them a low-

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30   Ibid.65-66.
31   Koppett. 35.

32   Goldblatt. 67.
33   Ibid.; Holt. 281-285.

level job to help them out.[34]So, the two restrictions on players were not motivated by profit but put in place as safeguards against the free market, pushing top clubs to spend huge amounts of money to win while smaller clubs floundered.

Conclusion

For all that baseball players in America had to complain about with the reserve clause their wages were not as low as footballers' even in the twentieth century. Everton and England forward Tommy Lawton said that, "For the majority of players there's little else to be made out of the game, other than a salary that an American baseball…player…wouldn't even look at;[35]it was a fact he knew from experience. In his championship winning season with Everton in 1938-1939, including all bonuses Lawton only made five-hundred and thirty-one pounds.[36]Even with under-the-table payments and FA Cup bonuses footballers couldn't touch the salary of someone like Babe Ruth, who inked a two year contract in 1929 worth eighty thousand dollars.[37]Why such a difference? The main factor is a difference in culture between the two nations and in turn how the game was created, standardized, regulated, spread, and professionalized. While football had its own type of player control in the retain and transfer system the reasons for its establishment are entirely different.Americans were obsessed with liberalism, individualism, and capitalist economics. The English were more focused on national and regional pride and lofty, often unrealistic ideals.[38]

The players in these two sports would spend decades to abolish the systems that kept their wages lowered and, in baseball, the profits high for the owners of the teams. It was a much longer and protracted fight inside of baseball to get rid of the reserve clause. Ultimately it took a player sacrificing his career and two other players playing without a contract or compensation for a year for an arbitrator to begrudgingly say that, due to murky language, legally they were not bound to the reserve clause in their contracts.[39]For football players it would take the collective action of a powerful players union leader to get rid of the retain aspect of their contracts.[40]It would be 1995 before the restrictions on foreign players and the transfer aspect of the system were abolished by a court case involving a player in the Belgian league, showing at once the complexity of football in the twentieth century and allowing for true freedom of movement for players across leagues.[41]The result for both of these cases is that, of course, the top players' salaries ballooned massively. Some of the highest paid athletes in the world play in both sports today. The true victory however is not for the superstars. It is for the average players, whose salaries rose commensurately, most of whom history will not remember save for a statistic in a reference book or player database.

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34   Goldblatt. 67.

35   Matthew Taylor, *The Leaguers: The Making of Professional Football* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005). 113.

36   Ibid.

37   Koppett. 186.

38   David Quentin Voigt, *America through Baseball* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1976). 80., Richard Holt, *Sport and the British* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). 351.

39   Goldblatt. 363.

40   Ibid. 445-446.

41   Matthew Taylor, *Moving with the Ball: The Migration of Professional Footballers* (New York: Berg, 2001). 213-214.

Religion and Myth: Cultural History

CúChulainn for the Modern Man:Influences of Celtic Myth in the Easter Rising of 1916

by Alice Grissom

IRELAND: A land at once both romantic and pragmatic, mythical and modern. With a legendary history reaching back to 500 BCE, a sizable part of Irish national identity stems from Celtic roots and mythology. In the Irish national identity, Celtic legend and factual revolutionary history come hand in hand, and at some points one seems to bleed into the other. In particular, the mythical figure of Cú Chulainn and his story of battle and sacrifice has inspired cultural and political Irish revolutionaries. The appearance of Cú Chulainn and the larger body of Celtic mythology in the Irish Literary Revival of the late nineteenth century, the writings of revolutionary leaders such as Patrick Pearse and Joseph Mary Plunkett, and the commemoration of the 1916 Easter Rising suggests a cultural continuity that intertwines the Celtic past with the republican spirit of the present through ever-present themes of blood sacrifice and doomed heroes.

To argue that this theme of cultural continuity exists in the Easter Rising of 1916 and its aftereffects, this essay will use works from various periods to demonstrate the veracity of its claim and the longevity of the Irish mythos. In addition to an introductory article on Cú Chulainn,[1] the mythologic overview will be supported by George Townshend's "Irish Mythology," in which he analyzes the three main mythic cycles of Ireland (the Children of Danu cycle, the cycle of Cú Chulainn and his contemporaries, and the Fenian cycle) and inks out similarities and differences between them.[2]

The Irish Literary Revival of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw the promotion of cultural nationalism and the enabling of political nationalism on the island. To describe the scope and content of the Irish Literary Revival, this essay turns to the informative "The Irish Literary Revival" by Cornelius Weygandt,[3] W.B. Yeats' anecdotal essay, "The Literary Movement in Ireland,"[4] and *The 1916 Irish Rebellion*[5] to contrast the myriad reactions to, and methods of involvement in, the Irish Literary Revival. Additional writings will provide insight into the minds of prominent figures in both the Irish Literary Revival and the 1916 uprising. Examination of an article on Pearse, "Patrick Pearse – the Evolution of a Republican"[6] will accompany Pearse's artistic

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1   David Bellingham, *An Introduction to Celtic Mythology* (London: Grange Books, 1998) 6-12.

2   George Townshend, "Irish Mythology," *The Sewanee Review*, vol. 23, no. 4, 1 Oct. 1915, pp. 458–467. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/27532846?ref=search-gateway:c4f34c04abd753321e86f29dfa420a81

3   Cornelius Weygandt, "The Irish Literary Revival." *The Sewanee Review*, vol. 12, no. 4, 1 Oct. 1904, pp. 420–431. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/27530648?ref=search-gateway:b15707111d368329f5aed404c60c87e9.

4   W.B. Yeats, "The Literary Movement in Ireland," *The North American Review,* vol. 169, no. 517, 1 Dec. 1899: 855–867. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/25104919?ref=search-gateway:f066d400bdbffdad77bc71a5f7a38c2f.

5   Bríona Nic Dhiarmada, *The 1916 Irish Rebellion* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2016), 18-33.

6   F.X. Martin, "Patrick Pearse – The Evolution of a Revolutionary," *Leaders and Men of the Easter Rising: Dublin 1916* (Ithaca,

Cu Chulainn statue ensconsed at the GPO in Dublin, courtesy of the Irish Times.

and literary contributions, as will a short excerpt from *The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland*.[7] The works and the accompanying texts will illuminate the thematic strain of "blood sacrifice" within the minds of the revolutionaries and the influence of Cú Chulainn on said revolutionaries. Finally, Robert Tracy's "A Statue's There to Mark the Place': Cú Chulainn in the GPO*"* explores the connection between Cú Chulainn and the 1916 rebellion in the public mind and the effect of this connection on the preservation of Irish themes of mythic greatness and blood sacrifice.[8]

Part god, part mortal, Cú Chulainn's origin story rivals those of the Greek heroes. Born of the god Lug to

alternately the daughter or sister of a king, the child Cú Chulainn (then called Sétanta) gains notoriety after he slays Culann's vicious guard dog in self-defense.[9] To repay Culann for the loss of his property, Sétanta offers to act in the dog's stead and thereby earns himself the name Cú Chulainn, or "Culann's Hound." While still under the auspices of childhood, Cú Chulainn sought the King's permission to bear arms after overhearing a prophecy implying that the warrior who assumed arms that day would achieve legendary status.[10] However, it was not until after receiving arms – the king's own, as none others could withstand his strength – that he learned the rest of the prophecy: although the warrior who took up arms would achieve lasting fame, he would die young.[11] Cú Chulainn's heralded status as an Irish hero stems from a battle he waged at the young age of seventeen, where he single-handedly defended Ulster from an invading army. "This war the romancers have handed down to us as the chief among all the stories of the cycle, and it was by his feats in this contest that Cuchulain won his deathless fame," writes Townshend.[12] As Cú Chulainn typified the warrior successfully protecting his land against overwhelming odds, Irish republicans, facing extremely unfavorable odds themselves, found the tale of Cú Chulainn particularly appealing.(It is somewhat ironic, readers may note, that Cú Chulainn became

NY: Cornell UP, 1967), 151-63.

7   Roy Foster, ed. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989): 278-279.

8   Robert Tracy, "A Statue's There to Mark the Place': Cú Chulainn in the GPO," *Field Day Review*, vol. 4, 2008: 202–215. www.jstor.org/stable/25469731.

9   Bellingham, *An Introduction to Celtic Mythology,* 7.

10   Ibid.

11   Ibid.

12   Townshend, "Irish Mythology," 466.

the inspiration for the forces of republican Ireland in addition to groups from his own Ulster.) "The [cycle] of … Cuchulain [is] animated by this spirit of heroic loyalty" which reverberated with the new Irish nationalists, who saw themselves as heroes in the ideals of Cú Chulainn and would rather face death, imprisonment, or any other punishment than abandon their cause.[13] Cú Chulainn's tragic yet honorable death in battle – he binds himself to an upright stone so that he may die courageously facing his enemies on his feet[14] – resonated with Ireland's idealistic republican groups in the early twentieth century. He spills his blood to thwart Maeb's revenge on his people, and though he dies in the process, he does so bravely and heroically – a process the leaders of 1916 eventually emulated in their stoic goodbyes.

Centuries after monks incredulously transcribed the last of the Cú Chulainn myths, the wave of Romantic writing that had spread throughout America and Britain in the mid-nineteenth century reached Ireland, where, in conjunction with a revived interest in the dying Gaelic language, it sparked a national movement known as the Irish Literary Revival that sought a uniquely Irish national literature. Spearheaded by organizations such as the Gaelic League (taught and promoted the use of Gaelic in speech and writing), the Gaelic Athletic Association (promoted traditional Irish sports and activities, such as hurling), and the political group Sinn Fein, the Irish Literary Revival promoted a culturally cohesive national Irish identity, and spurred a generation of Irishmen and women to explore their heritage, relearn their language, and reclaim the land on which they stood.[15]Many of the writings of the time exhibit characteristic "reshapings of old legend into poetry and drama," often using compre-

hensive myth-based texts, such as O'Grady's *History of Ireland*, as a blueprint.[16]Although the Irish Literary Revival did not have a wide impact on the global scale, it nevertheless contributed valuable works in "[h]igh poetry and noble drama with national spirit" to the greater body of English literature.[17] Of the contributors to the English canon, perhaps none is more remembered than the Irish William Butler Yeats, widely considered the greatest English poet of the twentieth century.

> ❝ AS CÚ CHULAINN TYPIFIED THE WARRIOR SUCCESSFULLY PROTECTING HIS LAND AGAINST OVERWHELMING ODDS, IRISH REPUBLICANS, FACING EXTREMELY UNFAVORABLE ODDS THEMSELVES, FOUND THE TALE OF CÚ CHULAINN PARTICULARLY APPEALING.

Throughout Yeats' incredible literary career, the wealth of which emerged through masterful poetry and drama, traditional Celtic and Irish myth truly galvanized him. Works from his early years of writing show elements of national mythology, such as "The Wanderings of Oisin," which retold and embellished segments from the Fenian cycle.[18] In addition to mythical influence, Yeats found influence in the political events and republicanism of the time. In fact, Yeats' works evidence the correlation between the burgeoning revolutionary fervor and the renewed fascination with Irish mythology during the Irish Literary Revival. Thanks to poems like "Septem-

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13   Ibid.
14   Bellingham, *An Introduction to Celtic Mythology,* 7.
15   Nic Dhiarmada, *The 1916 Irish Rebellion*, 18.

16   Cornelius Weygandt, "The Irish Literary Revival," 421.
17   Ibid.
18   W.B. Yeats, *The Wanderings of Oisin, and other poems* (London: Paul, Trench & Co., 1889).

ber 1913," which spurs readers to action with the memorable refrain of "Romantic Ireland's dead and gone,/It's with O'Leary in the grave"[19] and the incitingly patriotic, fiercely nationalistic play *Cathleen ni Houlihan,* which in turn inspired many a young man to take up arms on behalf of the cause for Irish freedom.[20] Therefore, Yeats, a prominent figure for both the republican movement and the Irish Literary Revival, provides a fitting voice to encapsulate the significance of the Irish Literary Revival on Irishmen and women themselves:

> But now we are growing interested in our own countries, and discovering that the common people in all countries that have not given themselves up to the improvements and devices of good citizens, which we call civilization, still half understand the sanctity of their hills and valleys; and at the same time a change of thought is making us half ready to believe … that the forms of nature may be temporal shadows of reality.[21]

Evidently, this motion of becoming interested in one's own country could so significantly create a populace receptive to the heightened passions and aggravations that characterized Ireland shortly after 1916. The effect Yeats observed did not go unnoticed by the leaders of the 1916 uprising, who hoped to harness public fervor in their revolution.

Of the many leaders of Irish republicanism in 1916, none show a greater reverence for the necessity of blood sacrifice than Patrick Pearse, Commander-in-Chief of the IRB and main voice of the rebellion. Before reaching total radicalization, however, Pearse operated an Irish language boarding school, St. Enda's, which eventually became a "hotbed of revolutionary nationalism" under the increasingly nationalist teachings of Pearse and his colleagues (several of whom, including Willie Pearse and Thomas MacDonough, would be executed for their involvement in the Easter Rising).[22]Traditional Celtic myths comprised an "important part of the curriculum,"[23] and both the dramatic plays frequently performed by the students and a mural on the walls of the school itself heavily featured Cú Chulainn.[24]Cú Chulainn had long served as inspiration for Pearse, who as a young boy had sworn to follow in Cú Chulainn's footsteps in the fight for Irish independence.[25]Pearse obsessed over the cult of Celtic heroes and fully believed that Ireland's freedom would require blood sacrifice, as he expresses in his writings: "'bloodshed is a cleansing and a sanctifying thing, and the nation which regards it as a final horror has lost its manhood'" and "'[t]he old heart of the earth needed to be warmed with the red wine of battlefields.'"[26] To Pearse, blood must be spilled for Ireland to rightfully gain freedom, and as "there developed in Pearse's mind a vision of the overthrow of injustice by the sacrificial death of virtue," he became more than willing to relinquish his life and let his blood be shed so that a free Ireland might grow from it.[27]

Many of Pearse's associates, including Thomas MacDonaugh, James Connolly, Joseph Mary Plunkett,

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19   W.B. Yeats, *The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats,* (New York: Macmillan, 1956).
20   W.B. Yeats, *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*, In John P. Harrington, ed., *Modern Irish Drama* (New York: Norton, 1991) 3-11.
21   W.B. Yeats, "The Literary Movement in Ireland," 855.

22   Nic Dhiarmada, *The 1916 Irish Rebellion*, 25-26.
23   Ibid., 25.
24   Tracy, "A Statue's There to Mark the Place': Cú Chulainn in the GPO," 206.
25   Ibid., 205.
26   Martin, "Patrick Pearse -- The Evolution of a Revolutionary," 160.
27   Ibid., 161.

Patrick Pearse, courtesy of Encyclopedia Britannica.

and Sean MacDermott also adhered to the belief that Ireland could only be "rejuvenated by a blood sacrifice."[28]The reticent Joseph Mary Plunkett prolifically wrote republican-themed poetry, notably the poem "The Little Black Rose Shall be Red At Last," in which Plunkett allegorically compares the blood sacrifice necessary to cause the "dark rose" of Ireland to "redden into bloom" as a free state.[29]Figures from both Celtic and Christian mythology served as inspiration for the men of 1916, who "belie[ved] they were reenacting the sacrifice of Cú Chulainn,"[30] and accounts of the deaths of both Cú Chulainn and Christ

reinforced the power of blood sacrifice in the minds of the predominately Catholic participants.[31]

The fatalistic nature of the Cú Chulainn cycle also exerted an allure over the minds of the leaders of 1916. After taking up arms under the prophecy of an early death, Cú Chulainn knew that one day, his actions would cause an untimely death. However, he did not exhibit cowardice or apprehension, and maintained a strict heroic code of conduct that did ultimately lead to his demise. Even in the face of certain death and defeat,Cú Chulainn neither gave up nor surrendered. Pearse and his contemporaries, committed to a doomed rebellion by the failure of Casement's arms deal, would have identified as group of modern-day Cú Chulainns facing sure execution for doing what they knew was right. Much like Cú Chulainn in his final battle, the revolutionaries knew of their slim odds for success, but even given the sheer impossibility of a victory due to the miscommunicated orders they persisted. For the Irishmen, the precedent they hoped their action would set, and the particular sort of nationalistic martyrdom they dreamed of would be its own award. They believed they would achieve fame through martyrdom– Pearse "[elevated] death to the status of a first principle."[32] Their willingness to exchange life for renown directly parallels Cú Chulainn's acceptance of arms that beget lasting fame but a short life.

Eamon de Valera's 1935 commemoration of the 1916 rising cemented both the lasting fame of Cú Chulainn and of the 1916 revolutionary leaders. As the G.P.O. where the events of 1916 had taken place had finally undergone full repairs and renovations in 1929, talk began of placing inside the GPO a memorial to the event.[33]These

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28   Ibid., 160.
29   R. Bryan Willits, "Joseph Mary Plunkett." *Irish America* (February/March 2016): 40.
30   Foster, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland,* 278.

31   Martin, "Patrick Pearse -- The Evolution of a Revolutionary," 161.
32   Ibid., 162.
33   Tracy, "A Statue's There to Mark the Place': Cú Chulainn in

The Easter Proclamation of 1916, courtesy of PBS.

discussions culminated in the 1935 unveiling of the statue *The Death of Cú Chulainn* by Oliver Sheppard within the G.P.O., accompanied with plaques denoting the occurrences of Easter 1916 and replicating the Proclamation of the Irish Republic.[34] The ceremony of the unveiling afforded controversial nationalist leader de Valera an opportunity to "remind his countrymen of the events of 1916, [and] to stress the republican ideal for which Pearse and his followers had fought," thereby furthering the revolutionary narrative in the mind of the public.[35]Although the selection of the statue sparked much debate, includ-

ing partisan arguments on the part of de Valera's political opponents, the Irish government eventually agreed on Oliver Sheppard's *The Death of Cú Chulainn*, initially created in 1911.[36] Not only had Sheppard's work been approved of by Pearse,[37] but Oliver Sheppard had been a schoolmate of Willie Pearse and a friend of Yeats (one of whose final poems, "The Statue," references *The Death of CuChulainn* in no unclear terms).[38]Just as Cú Chulainn embarked on a final battle to "become a heroic exemplar,"[39] so Pearse and his contemporaries staged the Rising to, in some degree, become martyrs, making this remembrance of Cú Chulainn's sad fate an "appropriate memorial to Pearse and the other leaders of the Easter Rising, but especially to Pearse, who had refused to postpone the Rising despite the near certainty of failure."[40] In this way, the memorialization and legacy of the 1916 Easter Rising upholds the tradition of mythical influence on Irish political ideals.

From the first bards to the great poets of the Irish Literary revival, Irish and Celtic mythology has held a prominent position in the minds of Ireland's artistic and literary elite. When the conditions arose, a combination of literary resurgence and political republican activism brought to the forefront of the popular mind legends of Cú Chulainn and tales of ancient times, which manifested in the increasingly militant and violent political movements of the early twentieth century as themes of blood sacrifice and nationalistic martyrdom.

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the GPO," 206.
34   Ibid., 206.
35   Ibid., 204.

36   Ibid., 207.
37   Ibid., 208.
38   Ibid., 215.
39   Ibid., 205.
40   Ibid.

The Belief in Holy Bones: Preservation of Local Catholic Culture through Reliquary Tradition

by Grace Larkin

SEEMINGLY BIZARRE, decadent, and antiquated, the beliefs and practices of the Roman Catholic Church have often been subject to attack[1] or revision.[2] While unfamiliar to people not of the Roman Catholic faith, those beliefs and practices create a culture that focuses on the cultivation of humanity through the messages of Jesus Christ, particularly love for all mankind. While culture may appear in the form of behavior, language, dress, and art, Roman Catholic cultural practices also manifest themselves in experiences that are firsthand for the individuals within a Roman Catholic community; the repetition of these ritualistic and personal experiences strengthens the sense of culture, in turn strengthening the community. An outsider to the ritualistic practices of the Roman Catholic Church may consider the veneration of relics strange.

An example of a relic, courtesy of the personal collection of the Larkin family.

The Roman Catholic Church defines a relic as an item, instrument, or body part that belonged to either Christ's Passion, a blessed person, or a saint; Roman Catholics hold these items in high esteem and honor them as reminders of the fulfillment of the Roman Catholic standard of behaviour, morality, and beliefs.[3] These deli-

cate, often ornately decorated, objects serve as a physical remnant to point to whom Roman Catholics may look to when wanting to emulate the Christian message of love, compassion, and concern for the well-being of mankind. The saints have always been used as guides and paragons of the Roman Catholic faith after which members of the Church community may model their own lives in order to live in accordance with Christian morals. Veneration serves as a ceremonial ritual "to foster the sanctification of the people of God"[4] and follows a strict code within the

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1   "The Ninety-Five Theses on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences" by Martin Luther in 1518 specifically led to the Protestant Reformation, birthing a split in Christianity.
2   The Second Vatican Council revised and modernized some of the Catholic Church's beliefs from 1962-1965.
3   Kevin Knight, ed. "Relics." *New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 12. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911. http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12734a.htm>, accessed Oct. 23, 2015.

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4   Code of Canon Law, c. 1186, §2, in *Code of Canon Law of the Roman Catholic Church: Latin-English Edition* (Vatican City, Rome, Italy: LibreriaEditriceVaticana, 1983). http://www.vatican.

canon law.[5] The Church's presence within local communities fosters a bond between people, and as the culture develops, local relics instill Roman Catholic doctrine to reinforce the cultural bond within specific communities. Specifically, as the veneration of relics literally embodies vital beliefs of the Roman Catholic faith, the Saint Bernard Abbey reliquary collection serves as one example of cultural preservation for localized Roman Catholic communities in Alabama.

Culture delineates the way of life of a specific people, particularly their beliefs, values, behaviors, and symbols that are perpetuated by the next generation through language, art, and cultural rituals.[6] Culture may help to produce an individual's sense of identity; in turn, the feeling of belonging to a specific community will most likely influence an individual's behavior and attitude with regard to the modern, interconnected world.[7] The tradition of reliquary veneration proves crucial to the preservation of Roman Catholic culture in local communities because of the relics' embodiment of the Roman Catholic belief structure. By passing on the tradition of venerating relics, the devoted members of a local church perpetuate their beliefs, values, and symbols; in other words, the veneration of relics perpetuates Roman Catholic culture. The veneration ceremony serves as a Roman Catholic ritual, while the relics themselves reflect symbols and beliefs central to life as a Roman Catholic. Ensconced in decorative cases, these religious items exist

additionally as Roman Catholic art. The varied nuances of doctrine reflected within the practice of veneration perpetuate the culture belonging to the Roman Catholic Church.

The Roman Catholic Church approaches the holy dead in a particular manner. Within the Roman Catholic profession of faith, each practitioner must believe in the communion of saints, in essence professing faith in the Church body herself.[8] The communion of saints may be understood as the unity of the Church's members in several ways. The ecclesiastical meaning suggests that Roman Catholics unify as a community by sharing the commonality of spiritual goods on earth such as faith, sacraments, and lifestyle. In addition to earthly unification, the communion of saints may also be understood as the unification of the corporeal church to the heavenly church; simply put, members of the Roman Catholic community on earth remain united with the religious dead in heaven, including saints and loved ones, as one family of God.

The belief in the communion of saints provides a ritual sense of belonging to the Church as a member of its community, a necessary aspect of cultural identity. Roman Catholic cultural identity ties inherently to the practice of venerating relics because the concept of the communion of saints gives Roman Catholics that basic human need of belonging and acceptance. Within this doctrine, the communion of saints may be deconstructed into two interpretations, communion in holy things or *sancta* and among holy persons or *sancti*.[9] Focusing on holy persons, Roman Catholic doctrine states that the

va/archive/ENG1104/_P4D.HTM, accessed October 23, 2015.
5   Code of Canon Law, c. 1186, §2, in *Code of Canon Law of the Roman Catholic Church: Latin-English Edition* (Vatican City, Rome, Italy: LibreriaEditriceVaticana, 1983).
6   Ifte Choudhury. "Culture." Texas A&M University, accessed November 29, 2015, http://www.tamu.edu/faculty/Choudhury/culture.html
7   Milena Miladinovic. "Forming Your Cultural Identity." AFS International Programs, July 23, 2013, http://www.afs.org/blog/blog/icl/?p=3606, accessed December 2, 2015.

8   Catholic Church. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*. sec. 946. Vatican City, Rome, Italy: LibreriaEditriceVaticana, 1994.
9   Catholic Church. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*. sec. 948. Vatican City, Rome, Italy: LibreriaEditriceVaticana, 1994.

saints will intercede with God on the believer's behalf.[10] However, this does not mean that Roman Catholics worship saints; in fact, the doctrine speaks further as to the clarification between worship and veneration.

Those who find the Roman Catholic Church's practices alien may not immediately see the difference between veneration and worship, but the Church doctrine provides clear definitions for separate categories of the act of paying homage based on religious hierarchy. First and foremost, Roman Catholics worship God in the form of the Holy Trinity. The doctrine of worship stems from the Latin word *latria*, meaning adoration; this theological concept signifies supreme honor for God and shows utmost submission to His will.[11]*Latria* applies only to God in the form of His divine personages—Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit—and in the form of the Holy Eucharist, or the physical "efficacious sign and sublime cause of that communion in the divine life and that unity of the People of God by which the Church is kept in being."[12] The Virgin Mary, saints, angels, and other blessed people do not fall within this category. The same reverence for God is not reserved for the rest of the spiritual hierarchy. *Hyperdulia* and *dulia* serve in *latria's* stead.

Hyperdulia and *dulia* stem from the original Latin

> **" THE PRACTICE OF PLACING A RELIC WITHIN AN ALTAR STEMS FROM THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH'S HISTORY, SPECIFICALLY THE HIDDEN COMMUNITIES FORCED TO WORSHIP IN THE CATACOMBS, WHERE A SLAB OVER THE TOMB OF A MARTYR SERVED AS AN ALTAR.**

meaning for veneration. As stated by the sainted Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa Theologica*, "*dulia*, which pays due service to a human lord, is a distinct virtue from *latria*, which pays due service to the Lordship of God. It is, moreover, a species of observance, because by observance we honor all those who excel in dignity, while *dulia* properly speaking is the reverence of servants for their master, *dulia* being the Greek for servitude."[13] The fundamental difference between these theological concepts therefore diverge on the basis of the intensity of reverence and intent of adoration for a holy personage. *Dulia* recognizes the sanctity of a holy person but does not exalt that person over God. *Hyperdulia* extends solely to the Virgin Mary, and as its prefix suggests, this theological concept exists as a heightened, more reverent version of *dulia*. God, as His spiritual form of the Trinity and physical form of the Eucharist, remains first in worship practices, followed by the Virgin Mary, then succeeded in adoration by the saints, angels, and dead in heaven as intercessors. The establishment of accepted social beliefs in the forms of hierarchy, the use of Latin terms, and published writings such as doctrine simply reaffirm the development of Roman Catholic culture through the practice of reliquary veneration.

The doctrine further clarifies the definition of *dulia* in both the absolute and relative senses. A distinction exists between the honor paid to the person and the hon-

10   Catholic Church. *Catechism of the Catholic Church.* sec. 957. Vatican City, Rome, Italy: LibreriaEditriceVaticana, 1994.
11   "Latria." *Catholic Dictionary*. Catholic Culture of Trinity Communications, www.catholicculture.org/culture/library/dictionary/index.cfm?id=34505, accessed November 25, 2015.
12   Catholic Church. *Catechism of the Catholic Church.* sec. 1325. Vatican City, Rome, Italy: LibreriaEditriceVaticana, 1994.

13   Thomas Aquinas. *Summa theologica: Complete English Edition in Five Volumes*. Vol. 3, Question 103, article 3, pg 1633. Westminster, Md: Christian Classics, 1981.

or paid to inanimate objects representing those persons, such as icons or relics. As the Protestant Reformation swept across Europe, the Roman Catholic Church faced many breaches in faith due to muddied dogma. She was forced to clarify her beliefs, and therefore her culture, writing against the claims of Protestant reformers that the veneration of saints—and their remains in the form of relics—remained contrary to scripture. In the final days of its convening in December of 1563, the Council of Trent clarified Roman Catholic teaching on the reverence towards relics through the issuance of a dogmatic decree.[14] A dogmatic decree can be defined as an order or church law for the direction of the church's members; dogma is the formalized version of doctrine or teaching. Any teaching that fell outside of the narrow dogmatic or doctrinal spectrum ran the risk of heresy. This particular decree expressed that saints retained an honorable state of being as the former living temples of God as the Holy Spirit, and as such, these holy people were due reverence in return for intercession on the believer's behalf.[15] Historical precedence for the veneration of relics combined with scriptural support to create a functional doctrine to apply to Roman Catholic communities.

In addition to defining the dogma and related practices of reliquary items, the Church also designated a carefully detailed physical reality to these items. The Roman Catholic Church created yet another, albeit small, hierarchy for her believers to follow that instilled the concept of cultural identity. Three classes categorize rel-

ics.[16] The first class denotes items associated with the life of Christ, such as a piece of the cross which Jesus died upon, or the physical remains of a saint, often bones or hair. The second class of relics usually comprises items worn or frequently used by a saint, whether it be clothing or a religious item, such as a rosary or book. The third and final class of relic designates any object that has been touched by a first or second class relic; this reliquary category implies the beautiful casing that houses each relic or small pieces of cloth that have touched the more important relic. The level of importance within the classes correlates with the allocation of reliquary use.

Relics dwell within containers known as reliquaries. These exquisite objects function not only as holy vessels but as expressions of Roman Catholic culture in the form of art. Reliquaries range in size, depending on how large or small the object an individual reliquary encases. These sacred items are often made of gold or precious metal and contain a glass viewing window. Decorative and occasionally bejeweled, reliquaries may incorporate shapes from biblical imagery or Roman Catholic architecture such as spires or domes. The lavish little boxes of those long dead and gone recall the rich tradition of the Church herself in both belief and appearance, crucial indicators of culture.

The doctrine surrounding reliquary objects as laid out by the learned clergy of the Council of Trent did not exclude scriptural bolstering for the veneration of the holy dead. Several instances within the Bible provide a basis for the Church's modern practices concerning the veneration of relics. The Roman Catholic Church wove multiple biblical verses into her argument of historical precedent to form a coherent doctrine.

The first of these verses focuses on the second

14   Kevin Knight. "Council of Trent." *New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 15. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912. <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15030c.htm>, accessed Oct. 23, 2015.
15   K. Waterworth. *The Council of Trent.* London: Dolman, 1848. Hanover Historical Texts Project, 1995, Hanover College, http://history.hanover.edu/texts/trent/trentall.html, accessed October 27, 2015.

16   One can compare the classes to degrees of separation; first class is closest to holiness, second further removed, etc.

book of Kings as it follows the reign of Solomon. The thirteenth chapter focuses particularly on the death of the prophet Elisha, known as a wonder-worker, or one who can heal, raise the dead, and perform other forms of miracles. After his death, the scripture states that vicious Moabite raiders traversed the area, plaguing the Israelites. Whilst a group of tribesmen are entombing a fellow Israelite, one of these bands of raiders causes the burial party to toss the "man's body into Elisha's tomb. When the body touched Elisha's bones, the man came to life and stood up on his feet;"[17]the miraculous resurrection of this Israelite provides a basis for the veneration of holy bones, known as first class relics.

Further examples of verses to support the Church's historical precedence of reliquary veneration draw from the New Testament. Within the book of Matthew, a woman's chronic hemorrhage heals after she touches the mere fringe of Jesus Christ's garment.[18] Such an account suggests that even the clothing of a holy person, and in this case of God, may result in a miracle; the verses describe a second class relic. The book of Acts provides two further cases of miraculous healing through the acts of a holy personage. The fifth chapter of Acts verifies again the significance of a first class relic in the form of the shadow of the apostle Peter: "And more believers were added to the Lord…they even carried out the sick into the streets…that as Peter came by at least his shadow might fall on some of them…the people also gathered…bringing the sick and those afflicted with unclean spirits, and they were all healed."[19] The nineteenth chapter of Acts shores up the third class of relics with

the mention of cloth that had touched the holy person of the apostle Paul: "…handkerchiefs or aprons were carried away from his body to the sick, and diseases left them and the evil spirits came out of them."[20] The Roman Catholic Church used biblical texts to provide a historical context that she imparted upon her members to continue as a cultural tradition, creating a bond between the people and their beliefs and practices.

These delicate fragments of sainted life have several functions. The Roman Catholic Church places first class relics within the main altars of individual churches;[21] no relic below the highest ranking level may be enshrined within an altar.[22]The practice of placing a relic within an altar stems from the primitive church's history, specifically the hidden communities forced to worship in the catacombs, where a slab over the tomb of a martyr served as an altar.[23] The Second Vatican Council issued several liturgical changes, including altar construction and adornment. The Church commended the placement of saints' relics within altars while insisting that the careful authentication of the relics remained necessary. The use of relics within altars from a very early time in Church history further constitutes a continuation of Roman Catholic culture through tradition, and as altars are usually the focal point within a church, members of a Roman Catholic community may remember their prede-

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17   *The Holy Bible: Memorial Edition.* Nashville, TN: Memorial Bibles, 1958. 2 Kings 13:20-21.
18   *The Holy Bible: Memorial Edition.* Nashville, TN: Memorial Bibles, 1958. Matthew 9:20-22.
19   *The Holy Bible: Memorial Edition.* Nashville, TN: Memorial Bibles, 1958. Acts 5:14-16.

20   *The Holy Bible: Memorial Edition.* Nashville, TN: Memorial Bibles, 1958. Acts 19: 11-12.
21   Code of Canon Law, c. 1237, §2, in *Code of Canon Law of the Roman Catholic Church: Latin-English Edition* (Vatican City, Rome, Italy: LibreriaEditriceVaticana, 1983). http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG1104/__P4K.HTM, accessed October 23, 2015.
22   Fr. Edward McNamara. "Relics in the Altar." *Zenit Daily Dispatch*, May 3, 2005, http://ewtn.com/library/Liturgy/zlitur80.htm, accessed November 18, 2015.
23   Fr. William Saunders. "The Devotion to Relics." *Arlington Catholic Herald*, January 1, 1999, http://www.catholicherald.com/stories/The-Devotion-to-Relics,6474, accessed November 17, 2015.

cessors in faith during any church service.

The reliquary tradition of the Roman Catholic Church does not remain confined to altars. Mass is often held in honor of the feast days of saints, but only on those days or if a specific church is the namesake of a saint, which may allow for the use of reliquary display;

Edward Leo Larkin's relic awarded by the St. Vincent de Paul Society, courtesy of the personal collection of the Larkin family.

otherwise, relics can not be used within the Mass service itself.[24] In these instances, churches publicly display a relic of any class of a specified saint. Known as an exposition, this practice offers the faithful community an opportunity to venerate the relic and in turn seek the intercession of that saint on their behalf. The intercession of saints implies that faithful members of the Roman Catholic Church ask saints in heaven to pray both for and with them, an act of unification between the heavenly and

corporeal churches.[25]

The act of veneration normally involves a blessing bestowed by the priest or celebrant of the Mass. Relics are often "incensed," or carefully washed in waves of incense smoke, before being held up to the view of the church members. After the incensing, the priest bestows a blessing or prayer in honor of the personage denoted by the relic, after which the congregational members will either bow their heads, in the case of a saint, or genuflect, as in the case of a reliquary item belonging to Jesus Christ or the Passion. The traditional ritual of veneration involves actions that are understood within a cultural context to Roman Catholics, such as incensing or genuflection, once again pointing to the preservation of Roman Catholic culture.

Reliquary tradition within the Roman Catholic community serves as an important reminder of the communion of saints, historical traditions, and culture of the Roman Catholic Church, and this practice trickles down into the private lives of Catholic members. Relics, while carefully kept in check by dogmatic and doctrinal practices, may be used in the private homes of Roman Catholics as well. Certain Roman Catholic organizations relating to monastic orders or the Vatican itself may grant relics as spiritual awards, as in the case of Edward Leo Larkin. For his charity work in New York City during the 1940s and 1950s, the St. Vincent de Paul Society granted Larkin a tiny personal relic of renowned St. Vincent de Paul.[26] Although no official church ruling has been issued on the subject to date, the current practice of personal ownership of relics remains controversial among the so-

24   Fr. Edward McNamara. "Venerating Relics at Mass." *Zenit Daily Dispatch*, October 13, 2009, https://www.ewtn.com/library/Liturgy/zlitur288.htm, accessed November 18, 2015.

25   James Seghers. "The Intercession of Saints." Saint Charles Borromeo Catholic Church. Picayune, MS, http://www.scborromeo.org/papers/interces.pdf, accessed November 25, 2015.
26   The case cited is personal to the author; the relic belongs to the author's family. Francis Xavier Larkin, Jr. November 2015. Phone interview with author.

cial, academic, and authoritative circles of the Roman Catholic Church. Due to horrific indulgent abuses by the clergy of the Middle Ages, some church authorities justify wariness of the personal dispensation of relics. However, when desiring to own a relic for personal veneration purposes, a Roman Catholic may write to the saint's order headquarters or an official branch of the Roman Catholic Church in Rome in tandem with a letter from the bishop of that church member's community in the hopes of attaining the ownership of a relic.[27] The possibility to continue a cultural practice within the private homes of Roman Catholics points to the preservation of the Roman Catholic Church's culture through its ubiquitous nature in its members' lives.

  The Roman Catholic cultural identity persists through its hierarchical belief and authoritative structures, historical and biblical precedence, and religious practices. The Church's members flock to the comforts of incense smoke curling through the air, a solemn building with the purpose of worship, and all of the spiritual gifts granted with such beliefs expressed by the Church. A sense of community grows from the shared beliefs, traditions, history, and practices, resulting in a highly developed culture belonging specifically to members of the Roman Catholic Church. Roman Catholic churches, often paired with schools, initiate the next generation into the culture, preserving the Church's traditions. Examples of this culture are scattered all over

St. Bernard Abbey in Cullman, AL, courtesy of the St. Bernard Abbey website.

the globe, but the culture becomes ingrained and habitual through local efforts, such as the St. Bernard Abbey Church in Cullman, Alabama.

  Entering the massive stone structure of the St. Bernard Abbey Church in Cullman, Alabama invites a solemn hush to settle gently over the curious and the believer alike. The pleasantly cool air within the building seems to vibrate with holiness and tranquility. With roots as deep as c. 700 C.E., St. Bernard Abbey has served the local Roman Catholic community since her establishment

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27 Michelle Arnold. "Saints relics Question from Marie on 9/21/2007: Is there a central source that you could recommend for Catholics to obtain relics of saints?." *Catholic Q&A Forum*. Eternal Word Television Network, 2007, http://www.ewtn.com/v/experts/showmessage.asp?number=515912&Pg=Pgnv=&recnu=, accessed November 23, 2015.

in 1891.[28] Dwarfed by the soaring ceiling with astounding acoustics and the towering stone statues depicting various important Church figures, a visitor cannot help but notice the serene beauty of the church, home to over thirty monks.[29] A long, open room stretches out from the heavy front doors. Rows of wooden pews fill the church before the main altar, behind which specific seating belonging to the monks can be found for religious services. Above the altar hangs a massive painted crucifix, reminiscent of the art style of the icon.[30] Two smaller adjacent wings create a cruciform plan for the building's structure. To the left, a visitor can find the door to a choir loft, the small devotional area to the Virgin Mary, and more pews. To the right, stained glass windows filter gem-toned light over the confessional booths, more pews, and a side entrance which opens up to a small garden. The walls are punctuated by stained glass windows and small alcoves bearing religious art. The St. Bernard Abbey reliquary collection lies a few steps inside such a reverent space.

A sizable curio cabinet of wood and glass is nestled against the back wall of the Abbey church near the entrance doors. Behind the gleaming safety of the glass, dappled sunlight drifting through the stained glass windows illuminates the metal orbs and boxes known as reliquaries. The collection itself proves extensive. While several constantly remain on display, including items supposedly belonging to St. Benedict, founder of the Ab-

bey's order, even more relics exist within the Abbey's archive. Brother Leo Borelli, sacristan, remains guardian of these historical and holy objects and estimates the number of relics belonging to the Abbey as far above fifty after recently discovering a small cache of relics tucked away in old archive drawers.[31] Br. Leo's dedicated role of caring for the St. Bernard Abbey reliquary collection evidences the preservation of the cultural tradition of venerating relics. He states that most of the relics belonging to the Abbey arrived as gifts from parishioners, visiting Roman Catholics, or monks on their return from studies in Rome at the Vatican.

Matching certificates of authenticity from the Roman Catholic Church authorities confirm a majority of the reliquary collection's validity, but over time, a few of the certificates belonging to the Abbey have been lost. Br. Leo provided a translation of the Latin text of one of the matching authentication certificates belonging to the Abbey, which reveals the careful, extensive lengths of preservation the Roman Catholic Church reaches when perpetuating her culture. The document lists pertinent information in order to identify the relic the certificate accompanies. The name of the saint, a description of the reliquary object, and an explicit warning against the sale or profit of relics by Roman Catholics serve as clear markers of the guidelines surrounding the Roman Catholic cultural practice of relics.

Certain relics of famous saints rest within the walls of St. Bernard Abbey. Roman Catholics immediately recognize and empathize with the people behind the household names. Saints such as St. John Bosco, the Abbey's namesake St. Bernard, and apostles St. Philip and St. Andrew[32] create an immediate cultural impact

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28   The St. Bernard Abbey website covers its history. Stemming from a Benedictine monastery established c. 700 AD, monks came to America to tend to German immigrants' spiritual needs in Pennsylvania, and in the 1870s, spread to Alabama. The St. Bernard Abbey was then established in 1891 to continue spreading Catholic culture via spiritual and educational services.

29   http://stbernardabbey.com/meet-the-monks/, accessed November 23, 2015.

30   An icon is a flat panel painting of Jesus, Mary, the angels, and/or saints with a distinct style originating in the Eastern Orthodox Catholic Church.

31   Br. Leo Borelli. Email correspondence with author, October-December 2015.

32   St. Bernard Abbey, St. Bernard Abbey: Relics. Unpublished

upon the members of the local Roman Catholic community tucked away in Cullman, Alabama. Several of the relics within the reliquary cabinet appear to be tiny fragments of bone, almost unrecognizable as such if not for the bones' use as religious item.[33] The saints that are recalled by these bits of bone and cloth fragments portrayed Roman Catholic culture in their lives. The cultural significance of these items for the local Roman Catholic community of the area may not be found only in the practices and doctrine of their veneration, but also in the lives of the saints themselves. The saints provide a historical reference of how to live a Roman Catholic life through the sanctity of their own lives; by following the saints' example, local Roman Catholics are drawn further into the fold of the Church's culture.

Giovanni Melchior Bosco, known to many Roman Catholics as St. John Bosco, forever marks the history of the Roman Catholic Church for his dedication to improving the conditions of the poor, particularly youth, and instilling within them the tenets of a Roman Catholic education. Called the Apostle of Youth, John came of age as a poor Italian shepherd. After joining the priesthood, he founded the Salesian Society "which offered shelter to homeless children and taught them useful skills and trades, …about their Catholic faith, and stressed their spiritual development."[34] At the time of John Bosco's death in 1888, the Salesian Society constituted 250 houses that provided educational and vocational training for children in over twenty six countries; the leaders of the Salesian houses encouraged their pupils to establish more houses throughout the world, spreading Catholic culture across the globe.[35]

Local Roman Catholics that follow the example of St. John Bosco may choose to focus on his dedication to improving the living conditions of the poor, in turn furthering the Catholic cultural expectation of charity. St. John Bosco's efforts in instilling Roman Catholic educational tenets such as the Latin language resonate with members of the St. Bernard Abbey community, particularly the students in attendance at the Abbey's school, St. Bernard Preparatory High School. The Salesian Society's tendency to encourage the spread of Catholic values serves as a vivid reminder to local Roman Catholics to preserve their own culture through education, language, and cultural values such as charity.

Francis Bernardone lacked nothing when born in Assisi, Umbria, on the peninsula of Italy in the late 1100s. Raised in a wealthy merchant family, Francis became known for his humility and great generosity towards the poor; he soon dedicated himself to poverty, peace, and brotherly life as St. Francis of Assisi, founding his own order, the brown-robed Franciscans, without taking the vow of priest.[36] He began preaching the values of the Roman Catholic Church to anyone who would listen, including animals and nature itself. St. Francis wandered through Italy, eliciting a message of a simple, peaceful life in harmony with nature, God, and Christian values.

listing of collection in reliquary. cabinet. Cullman, AL. Scanned to the author from Br. Leo Borelli, October 2015.

33   Melanie B. Smith. "Honoring the Saints: Relics in local church, Cullman monastery intended as inspiration." *Decatur Daily* online edition, October 1, 2005, http://www.legacy.decaturdaily.com/decaturdaily/religion/051001/relics.shtml, accessed November 14, 2015.

34   Louis M. Savary. "Saint John Bosco" from The Children's Book of Saints. New York: The Regina Press, 1986.

35   Kevin Knight. New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia. New York: Robert Appleton Company. Eugene Saxton. "St. Giovanni Melchior Bosco." Vol. 2, 1907. http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02689d.htm, accessed Dec. 1, 2015.

36   Kevin Knight. New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia. New York: Robert Appleton Company. Paschal Robinson. "St. Francis of Assisi." Vol. 6, 1909. http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06221a.htm, accessed Dec. 1, 2015.

St. Francis of Assisi brings a gentle smile to the lips of most Roman Catholics within the confines of St. Bernard Abbey's walls. Most imagine a stone statue in the form of a birdbath, and a Catholic representation in art of the man can be found in many yards belonging to local Roman Catholics. His relic at St. Bernard Abbey encourages the local church's members to dedicate themselves to a life of brotherly love and respect for one's environment; in addition, Roman Catholics find inspiration in St. Francis of Assisi's respect for all humankind and his advocacy of a simple life, both of which reflect cultural aspects of the Roman Catholic Church.

> 66 THE SAINTS PROVIDE A HISTORICAL REFERENCE OF HOW TO LIVE A ROMAN CATHOLIC LIFE THROUGH THE SANCTITY OF THEIR OWN LIVES; BY FOLLOWING THE SAINTS' EXAMPLE, LOCAL ROMAN CATHOLICS ARE DRAWN FURTHER INTO THE FOLD OF THE CHURCH'S CULTURE.

St. Bernard of Clairvaux, after whom the Abbey is named, joined the clerical fold of the Roman Catholic Church in 1120 in France. Using Scripture, faith, and mystical experience, he swiftly progressed in the spiritual ranks to found a monastery himself, where he developed his talent for spiritual writing as a theologian, particularly influencing Marian doctrine regarding the Virgin's role as mediator.[37] His wisdom, eloquence, and holiness drew support from both the secular and religious rulers of his

time,[38] and Bernard became quite the influential figure whenever controversies arose. At the time of the papal schism in 1130, Bernard exerted his peaceful mediation skills at several synods to help settle the matter of papal legitimacy and several heresies.[39]

Almost 700 years[40] after his foundation of 163 monasteries and a lifetime of developing and defending the Church's culture in the form of theology and practices, the Church posthumously granted St. Bernard the esteemed title of Doctor of the Church, a recognition given only to saints of great importance whose work transcends the ages and remains applicable to all Roman Catholics.[41] St. Bernard's relic recalls his patience in times of trouble on both a secular and spiritual level, while his published works detail Catholic theology in belief and practice. Members of the Abbey's Church fondly embrace the reminder of their cultural values and development.

Two of St. Bernard Abbey's relics stretch much deeper into Roman Catholic history than most; the ancient and fragile relics belonging to St. Philip the Apostle and St. Andrew the Apostle elicit a sense of wonderment and awe in the heart of any Roman Catholic at the

37   Basil M. Pennington. "The Cistercians: St. Bernard of Clairvaux 1090-1153." The Order of St. Benedict Liturgical Press, 1995, accessed November 2, 2015, http://www.osb.org/cist/bern.html

38   Leonard Foley. Pat McCloskey, trans. Saint of the Day: Lives, Lessons and Feast. "St. Bernard of Clairvaux." American Catholic Organization, August 20, 2015, http://americancatholic.org/features/saints/saint.aspx?id=1113, accessed November 21, 2015.
39   John J. Crawley & Co., Inc. *Lives of Saints*. ""Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, Abbot, Doctor of the Church—1153, Feast: August 20." Eternal Word Television Network. "St. Bernard of Clairvaux." http://www.ewtn.com/library/MARY/BERNARD2.htm, accessed November 21, 2015.
40   Molyneux, Rev. John, ed. "Chronological List of the Doctors of the Church." Catholic Faith *in Real Life*. Claretian Publications, 2013, http://www.uscatholic.org/church/scripture-and-theology/2008/07/chronological-list-doctors-church, accessed November 3, 2015.
41   "The Complete List of Doctors of the Church." Our Lady's Warriors. http://www.ourladyswarriors.org/saints/doctlist.htm, accessed November 3, 2015.

mere utterance of their names because both men stood at the side of Jesus Christ. St. Philip the Apostle, a native of Bethsaida, Galilee, may be found listed as one of the twelve followers of Christ in each of the four gospels and the book of Acts in the Christian New Testament. According to Church tradition, Christ personally called Philip from his home because of his ardent love of God to help spread the Christian message. Believed to have been present at the miracle of the loaves and the fishes, the Roman Catholic Church accredits Philip with the proselytization of parts of Greece and Turkey.[42] St. Andrew the Apostle, also listed within the ranks of Jesus' closest twelve followers, is widely considered the first apostle. Andrew left his life as a fisherman to follow in Jesus' footsteps. He dedicated his life to the teaching of Christianity to the local populations throughout Asia Minor, reaching as far as modern Kiev, Ukraine.[43] Both men were martyred for their dedication and teaching of the Christian lifestyle.

The ancient hallowed examples of St. Andrew the Apostle and St. Philip the Apostle inspire modern Roman Catholics within the St. Bernard Abbey community to persevere in faith. St. Philip's example encourages the development of a close, thoughtful relationship with God, particularly through his unshakeable and simple faith detailed at the miracle of loaves and fishes. St. Andrew's life reveals to local Roman Catholics that those who abandon earthly comforts for the enriching lifestyle of Christianity may reap the spiritual benefits. These two men's lives serve as a place marker for the birth of the Roman Catholic Church's culture within the context of history. As Roman Catholics follow the examples set by St. Philip the Apostle and St. Andrew the Apostle, they are reminded of the very beginnings of the Roman Catholic Church as well as the origins of her culture. Of St. Bernard's oldest relics, these two institute the Catholic cultural norms of spreading the lifestyle of Christianity, a strong faith in God, and the tendency to shirk the extraneous wealth of the material world.

In solidarity with saintly role models before them, the members of local Roman Catholic communities choose to live within the constructs of the Roman Catholic Church by following traditional practices and rituals, sharing beliefs, and incorporating Christian values into their everyday lives. St. Bernard Abbey's relics encourage the growth and preservation of Roman Catholic culture through their veneration. The Abbey provides public access to part of its reliquary collection through the display within the church building but does not limit reliquary usage to mere exhibition. On feast days, which are the celebrations in honor of saints, angels, or various days relating to the Virgin Mary or the Trinity, certain relics are used to bestow blessings upon St. Bernard Abbey's congregation. In addition, St. Bernard Abbey occasionally has the chance to present relics from other Catholic communities. This esteemed Roman Catholic monastery frequently uses social media as a tool for further sharing and preserving Roman Catholic culture with the residents of Cullman, Alabama, promoting veneration of its reliquary collection for feast days and on special occasions.

The usual reliquary display temporarily swelled in number on November 11, 2015. The St. Bernard Abbey hosted a traveling reliquary collection of Pope Saint John Paul II for an evening. Tightly laid out upon the small altar belonging to the tiny blue room within St.

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42   Rev. Alban Butler. *The Lives or the Fathers, Martyrs and Other Principal Saints*.Vol. 5. D. & J. Sadlier & Company, 1864. Reprinted by Eternal Word Television Network, http://www.ewtn.com/library/MARY/STPHILIP.htm, accessed Dec. 1, 2015.
43   Kevin Knight. New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia. New York: Robert Appleton Company. Joseph McRory. "St. Andrew." Vol. 1, 1907, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01471a.htm, accessed December 1, 2015.

Bernard Preparatory High School known as the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, the glittering relics of the well-loved former father of the Roman Catholic Church attracted several hundred people, roughly 200 of them the school's students. The atmosphere of the evening's cultural celebration balanced solemnity and excitement; Roman Catholic visitors shuffled in and out of the cramped room, their holy fervor quietly contained to a mild whisper. The collection included the former pope's zucchetto,[44] fascia or sash, cuff-links, personal rosary and cross, blood, and a small amount of hair. Local newspaper *The Cullman Times* captured the thrilling feelings of joy and gratitude sparked by the relics, as "students were excited to venerate the relics at the school's chapel."[45] The collection included other saints such as St. Ann, the mother of the Blessed Virgin, St. Bernadette of Lourdes, and Vietnamese Cardinal Van Thuan.[46] Evidently, the reliquary collection, including the hosting of borrowed relics, of St. Bernard Abbey preserves local Roman Catholic culture and continues to share it with the next generation through the institutions of organized religion and education.

As the relics of St. Bernard Abbey are sheltered within the church's altar and serenely displayed behind the protective doors of an elegant cabinet, they remind the members of the local parish of their predecessors in faith. Honor bestowed upon the holy dead encourages a stasis of belief within a Roman Catholic community, deepening the ingrained culture of faith belonging to its individuals. The infamously lavish, resplendent trappings of the Roman Catholic Church are not merely beautiful objects to ogle or envy; the spiritual belief structure of the Roman Catholic Church is mirrored in these physical objects, giving birth to an equally rich and rewarding faith-based culture.

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44   A zucchetto is a skullcap worn by Catholic clergy; this white relic featured prominently in Pope John Paul II's public appearances.
45   Tiffany Owens. "Saint John Paul II papal hat among relics displayed at St. Bernard." Cullman Times, November 13, 2015, http://www.cullmantimes.com/news/saint-john/paul-ii-papal-hat-among-relics-displayed-at/article_bb4f8c1c-89cc-11e5-816b-63b071e7512f.html, accessed November 16, 2015.
46   St. Bernard Abbey's Facebook page. https://www.facebook.com/stbernardabbey/posts/10153574343226609, accessed November 12, 2015.

War and Peace: European History

From the Disarmament Proposition of 1898 to the Willy-Nicky Telegrams: Looking at Nicholas II as Peacemaker of Europe

by Grace Larkin

THE FALL of the Russian monarchy remains a tragically sad event in the scope of history. With scholarly attention focused on violence, the rise of Bolshevism, and the ensuing Soviet Union, the final tsar fades into the tapestry of Russian history as a tarnished reminder of bloody rebellions, pogroms, and war. As Nicholas II attempted to institute political and social peace within his homeland and Europe, the variegated influences on the tsar reveal themselves through considerate examination of the Russian political situation at both international and domestic levels, the complicated nature of Nicholas II's personal life and its effect on his public persona, and early twentieth intellectual sources. This paper aims to present the final tsar as a peacemaker through deliberate understanding of his motives and the effects of political, familial, and personal influence upon his public persona and reign. Despite his nickname of Nicholas the Bloody, Nicholas II can be remembered as a surprising innovator for the cause of European peace because of his Disarmament Proposition of 1898 which led to the first Hague Conference and his attempt to prevent World War I with the infamous Willy-Nicky Telegrams.

Figure 1. International reaction to the Rescript for Peace from a Paris newspaper, courtesy of Getty Images.

Beginning Abroad

Nicholas II did not necessarily frame his own definition for his pacifism, but rather evidenced it through the words of his political statements, often delivered by the Russian court officials. Also known as the Tsar's Rescript for Peace, the Disarmament Proposition of 1898 presented the tsar's wishes for a peaceful Europe with specific goals in mind as both a humanitarian and as a major player within the European political climate. The

statement, presented on behalf of Nicholas II, suggested that the arms race beleaguering European countries not only taxed the individual finances of each state, but continued to waste the "intellectual and physical strength of the nations, labor and capital…diverted from their natural application, and unproductive, consumed."[1] In simpler terms, the countries of Europe detracted from their developmental progress in culture, economy, and accumulated wealth by continually upping their weaponry, essentially further crippling themselves in the pursuit of possible war. The Russian tsar suggested peaceful disarmament and a conference to discuss such plans in an attempt to not only create a sustainable peace for the region but to promote the quality of life for the peoples of Europe.

In addition to the statement's pragmatic reasoning, the Rescript for Peace presented the Russian tsar as a concerned ruler who insisted on peace as the essential burden of all European countries. Nicholas II directed his proposal for peace to all European governments, both small and large, in the hopes that cautious movements to disarm would ensure "maintenance of general peace,"[2] choosing to identify the necessity of such actions as an issue of international relations. The document recalls previous attempts at peaceful relations, citing that the failure to provide permanent peace could be traced to "general appeasement" and "powerful alliances," rather than focusing on the establishment of peace as the world order as a replacement for war.[3] Furthermore, the statement boldly suggests that the further collection of arms in the attempt to prevent conflict will only inevitably result in a disastrous war. The tsarist call for a peace conference reveals Nicholas II's hopes for a unified and peaceful Europe.

Both heavy criticism and supportive lauding of the Disarmament Proposition followed its publication. In January 1899, a mere five months after the tsar's invitation to create a durable peace via disarmament and diplomacy, T.J. Lawrence of the *International Journal of Ethics* summarized the reaction to Nicholas II's proposal. He affirmed the nobility and needful accuracy of the tsar's statement, particularly in relation to the financial predicament the arms race had forced upon many European countries without any noteworthy gains in domestic or foreign security. Lawrence himself seemed to support the tsar's initiative for European peace, stating European leaders had no choice but to support the proposal, as "No statesman cares to pose before the world as an enemy of peace and the things which make for peace."[4] He focused particularly on the practicality of the tsar's plan for peace, suggesting that the gradual process of disarmament will realign militarism into a more libertarian patriotism based in commerce and a healthy morality.

From economic impracticality to the tsar's true motivations, the author carefully critiqued each argument besieging Nicholas II's suggestions for peace, dispelling each one with solid logic. However, the bulk of Lawrence's personal criticism for such a plan lies in the fact that he believed the rivalries between European states would prevent total or partial disarmament and that only an agreement to prevent furthering the arms race could occur. Instead, he presented a Swiss-based commission of small, neutral countries to oversee the peace conference and the disarmament, which would publish an an-

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1   "Peace Conference at the Hague 1899: Rescript of the Russian Emperor, August 24 (12, Old Style), 1898," *The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy,* accessed November 13, 2016, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/hag99-01.asp#b1.
2   Ibid.
3   Ibid.

4   T.J. Lawrence, "The Tsar's Rescript," *International Journal of Ethics* 9, no. 2 (January 1899): 138, accessed November 12, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2375231.

nual report for public consumption.[5] His only advice to the governments of Europe warned them against revering Nicholas too early and too much.

Playing Political Chess: King or Pawn?

The First Hague Peace Conference of 1899 tried to embody Lawrence's clarifications upon the tsar's rescript. Twenty-six mostly European countries, yet strangely including the United States and Mexico, met in the Netherlands to discuss the conduct of warfare.[6] Historian Dan Morrill traces the fascinating amalgam of influence that led to Nicholas II's issuance of both the Disarmament Proposition and the following circular to call for the Hague Conference. He names various ministers of the Russian government, the tsar's personal disposition, and Nicholas II's mother, Maria Feodorovna, as direct agents for or against a Russian push for peace. His article plots the fluctuations of the tsar's decision-making process, noting that his weak will, lack of confidence in his own leadership skills, and constant questioning of himself led to thoughtful consideration in the construction of each document.[7] The Russian court officials surrounding Nicholas whispered their own opinions under the guise of advice, constantly trying to promote either peace or war.

Aleksei Kuropatkin, minister of war, appealed to the tsar's idealistic sense of mission, which Morrill suggests Nicholas II genuinely "did view himself as a champion in the case of peace and acted accordingly,"[8] with a quick secondary reason of financial consideration to the Russian treasury as the arms race continued. Michael Muraviev, minister of foreign affairs, pleaded for peace, or at the very least, slowing the manic collecting of weaponry by other countries, in consideration of the international situation; he proposed that the peace conference would insulate Russia against an anti-tsarist coalition led by Great Britain.[9] Further developing the tsar's conception of a peaceful Europe, military officer A. Bazili forwarded a summary of the Universal Peace Congress in 1896 to Saint Petersburg, in essence introducing a Russian-supported international court of arbitration on the basis of humanitarian reasoning.[10] Despite their pragmatic approach to Russian security, Morrill notes that the longer the tsar waited on a firm declaration of peace, the more time these ministers had to obtain and develop Russian armaments, possibly casting a less than honest light upon the motivations of the Russian government for the Hague Conference.

As months passed between Muraviev's first presentation of the idea in March 1898, its publication as the rescript on April 24 and its following circular,[11] and the eventual conference in May 1899, Nicholas flitted between the opposing opinions of his trusty ministers and his family. He began to think less in the terms of total disarmament and more in the postponement of the arms race. The change in his thought can be attributed to interactions with his uncle, Grand Duke Aleksei Aleksandrovich, and his mother, Dowager Empress Maria Feodorovna, both of whom disdainfully positioned themselves against the

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5   Ibid., 151.
6   "Hague Convention, 1899, 1907," *Encyclopædia Britannica,* accessed November 19, 2016, https://www.britannica.com/topic Hague-Conventions.
7   Dan L. Morrill, "Nicholas II and the Call for the First Hague Conference," *The Journal of Modern History* 46, no. 2 (June 1974): 305-306, accessed November 12, 2016. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1877523.

8   Ibid., 300.
9   Ibid.
10   Ibid., 304.
11   A circular is a letter or pamphlet distributed to a large audience; in this case, the word circular refers to the publication of Nicholas II's rescript.

circular and its implications. The Grand Duke, head of the Russian navy, desired a gradual increase, rather than decrease in Russian arms,[12] suggesting that he prioritized military might on behalf of Russian security rather than of European security. The Dowager Empress, in a dinner conversation with Kuropatkin,[13] suggested to her son that Russian tradition and security should be firmly rooted in the continuation of military achievement and the development of new weaponry. Wearied of being pulled in two directions, the tsar dragged his feet in the realization of his dreams for a peace conference. Political reality had tempered the tsar's optimistic idealism.

Success in International Stability and Political Peace

The first Hague Conference convened on Nicholas' thirty-first birthday, May 18, 1899. Several journalists attended the discussions among the leaders of nations and their various militaries. In 1911, *The Advocate of Peace*, an international relations journal published by the American Peace Society, presented the magnitude of the conference's international and historic significance. Though originally approached as "a huge diplomatic joke" taken up at the insistence of a vacillating, timid tsar,[14] the first Hague Conference matured into a successful system of international arbitration with a world judiciary and legislation. These diplomatic meetings spanned ten weeks without political disruption, concluding with the estab-

lishment of a legal precedence for peace. *The Advocate of Peace* cites various literary and philosophical threads, from Tolstoy to Bloch, as proof that the tsar's rescript and its consequences existed as no accident, but as the culmination of "centuries of Christian progress."[15] The article stresses the importance of the conference's humanitarian and global scope which marshaled the leaders of the world. The universal scale from which the men, who represented four-fifths of the world's population, worked included global economy, the democratic spirit, and respect for internationalism. From this platform, the conference "was to humanize…the inhumanities of actual war"[16] by redefining the customs of war, limiting armaments, and inaugurating the pacific settlement of disputes through arbitration.

While Nicholas II's original hope for disarmament ended in pragmatic failure, his intent for a more secure Europe began to take shape. To exemplify a Russian application of the tsar's pacifism, his influence through the Hague Conference came to fruition with the case of the Dogger Bank incident. In light of building tensions of the Russo-Japanese War, a panicked Russian admiral opened fire and demolished a fleet of English fishermen in the North Sea, mistaking them for Japanese war ships in 1904.[17] A delicate arbitration process through the international court set by the Hague Conference prevented a war between Russia and England with official Russian reparations and published apology. In later heated diplomatic meetings with Nicholas II, American president Theodore Roosevelt painstakingly engineered the end to the Russo-Japanese war through the Hague's conven-

12   Ford, Thomas K., "The Genesis of the First Hague Peace Conference," *Political Science Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (September 1936)" 372, accessed November 13, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2144022.
13   Morrill, 307-308.
14   Robert F. Raymond, "Hague Conferences and World Peace," *The Advocate of Peace* 73, no. 4 (April 1911): 83, accessed November 12, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20666167.

15   Ibid.
16   Ibid., 84.
17   Raymond A. Esthus, "Nicholas II and the Russo-Japanese War," *The Russian Review* 40, no. 4 (October 1981): 398, accessed November 11, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/129919.

tions.[18] Pacifist journals hailed these incidents as tangible success of the momentum spawned by the tsar's rescript. The intent for peace was proving to be as important as pragmatic application.

Practicing What He Preaches

After the tsar's serious foray into peace relations on an international scale, similar concepts began to trickle into his domestic policies as well, but succeeding at home proved to be much trickier than on the international stage the tsar had just graced. Russian society strained under the weight of deep ethno-religious divides, particularly between the privileged and legally protected Orthodox Church, other branches of the Christian religion, and non-Christian religions such as Judaism. On March 12, 1903, Nicholas II's government issued a ukase[19] of toleration concerning this highly pressurized social tension; the document granted religious freedom to the people of Russia, an action which accrued global acclaim as a peace-making action. The edict upheld the views of the Orthodox Church, which remained privileged by law, but guaranteed the rights of non-orthodox subjects to practice and worship according to other belief structures. Critical commentary predicted that the 1903 edict would ease the stress on the Russian populace by encouraging individuality and freedom as a gesture of goodwill towards deviance within the rigid Russian social strata. Journalists lauded Nicholas II's action as reminiscent of his father, Alexander III, claiming the ukase of religious toleration as "the most significant act of state since the emancipation of the serfs…",[20] genuinely born from the "earnest desire to remove the causes which recently produced such deplorable outbreaks…"[21] of violence based on religious discrimination.

The Advocate of Peace also revisited the tsar's movements for domestic peace following their positive critique of the earlier Disarmament Proposition of 1898. The journal stressed that the freedom of religion meant the beginning of all civil liberties demanded by human nature; Russia stood to gain domestic strength and security from such measures, therefore ensuring European respect for improving European living conditions. Russian history had been spattered with the bloody rebellions resulting from poor peasantry-nobility interaction, so a show of improvement at the tsar's behest painted Russia as a progressively civilized, modernized European society on par with the rest of the world.[22] Yet more important than the humanitarian value of the religious toleration ukase proved to be the historical significance to the practical application of the tsar's dreamy optimism. The edict meant the re-evaluation of Russian law, the inclusion of the domestic spirit in the operation of the Russian civil service, and the reform of local government to improve not only the general living conditions of the peasantry but to introduce of self-government through involvement of the populace in local concerns.[23] Despite thinking that

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18   Robert F. Raymond, "Hague Conferences and World Peace," 85.
19   "A Notable Document Issued at St. Petersburg: Muscovite Sovereign Plans Reform of Rural Laws," *San Francisco Call* 9, no. 103 (March 1903): 1-2, accessed November 27, 2016, https://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc?a=d&d=SFC19030313.2.11.2.

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20   Alexander III, Nicholas II's father, was known as the Peacemaker of Russia. The press actively drew parallels between father and son for their peacemaking actions. "What Moved the Czar," *The Advocate of Peace* 61, no. 2 (February 1899): 30, accessed November 13, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25751313.
21   Ibid, 2.
22   "The Czar Again," *The Advocate of Peace* 65, no. 4 (April 1903): 60-61, accessed November 13, 2016. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25752118.
23   *San Francisco Call*, 1.

Figure 2. St. Petersburg bulletin announcing the October Manifesto, courtesy of Alpha History.

more individuality would result in happier people, limiting disharmonious behaviour, the tsar's well-meaning actions regretfully backfired as he attempted to correct Russian governmental behaviour.

Swiftly followed by further documents of clarification in 1904 with the promise of the removal of legal constraints and prejudices for minority groups,[24] the

October Manifesto of 1905 spawned a wave of violence across the Russian landscape. The decree allowed for the conversion of faith without legal punishment, in essence establishing differences between the public (and governmentally regulated) sphere and the private sphere of Russian life; the change to the societal structure of Russia proved to be too threatening to the traditional regime. A hegemonic populace made for easy ruling, and the granting of civil liberties bucked the traditionally tight grip of the tsar upon his people. Prior to this progress, the existing ethno-religious divisions had provided easy scapegoats for flaws in Russian society, from alcoholism to famine to crime. With the added legal protection, minority religions and races now posed as competition to established Russian norms,[25] depositing extra stress on the already creaking existing social structure. In angry response, extreme right-wing tsarist groups lashed out in xenophobic and class-based pogroms.[26]

The Domestic Failure of International Intent

Nicholas II's attempts to preserve civil peace in Russia led to terroristic attacks upon Jews, students, the Russian intelligentsia, educated elites, and ethnic minorities such as Armenians. Ten months of vigilante bloodshed troubled the country in the form of angry rallies

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24   Eugene M. Avrutin,"Returning to Judaism after the 1905 Law on Religious Freedom in Tsarist Russia," *Slavic Review* 65, no. 1 (2006)" 91, accessed November 11, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4148524.

25   Social stressors stemmed from discrepancies between the practices of race and religion, such as Jewish Armenian as opposed to traditionally Orthodox Slavic. Sergei Podbolotov, "'… and the Entire Mass of Loyal People Leapt up': The attitude of Nicholas II Towards the Pogroms," *Cahiers du Monde russe* 45, no. 1/2 (January-June 2004): 194, accessed November 11, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20174849.

26   Pogroms are traditionally anti-Semitic riots, but the pogroms of 1905 extended to students and educated subjects at the hands of working class right-wing activists. Ibid., 193-207.

and street beatings, sparking further anti-tsarist and anti-Nicholas II sentiment. Minorities blamed Nicholas II for the violence because of the highly inflammatory use of his portrait by the super-right monarchist movement, furthering the rise of anti-monarchical revolutionaries. While no actual evidence of the tsar's support for the pogroms can be directly established,[27] the absence of state-sanctioned suppression of the pogroms remains startling. The tsar's own opinion concerning the response to his October Manifesto showed that he grouped the classist and minority-based pogroms and resulting revolutionary demonstrations together under the umbrella of general social disorder; he emphasized putting faith in arbitration rather than seeking social harmony through violence, echoing his previously established international sentiments. Nicholas II laid direct responsibility at the feet of local government officials, suggesting a mishandle of local enforcement of the new religious law, and he called for an observance of law and order. [28]

The established social order had begun disintegrating beneath the tsar's good intentions. The warring populace, minorities, and peasantry outraged at the injustice of inequality, the nobility and government officials furious at stepping away from rigid conservatism of Russian values, tumbled through social revolution while blaming their leader.[29] The resurgence of such actions af-

> " THE TSAR'S NATURAL HUMILITY, AVOIDANCE OF CONFRONTATION, AND GENUINE GOOD-NATURED ATTITUDE TOWARDS MANKIND PROMOTED A PEACEFUL PRIVATE PERSONA, ONE THAT PROVED DIFFICULT IN THE FACE OF ADVERSITIES SUCH AS CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE OR REGIONAL WAR.

ter his abdication cast further doubt on the tsar's alleged endorsement of the pogroms as pogromists returned to poking holes in the fabric of Russian social stability during the civil war.[30] Torn between the temptation to fall back to the familiar tsarist crackdown or easing burdens through further liberal legislation, Nicholas II reconvened the State Duma in 1906 in an attempt to provide a peaceful concession in the face of the swirling anger belonging to the Russian masses.

Established with initiatory legislative and oversight powers, the Duma can essentially be described as a lower house of a parliamentary system subject to the balance of the noble-dominated State Council and ultimately limited by the tsar's authority.[31] The governmental body tempered the utter disregard of the State Council for the peasantry because its reconvening represented the civil participation of the Russian people through petition and election of representatives to the State Duma. Laws could not be passed without the approval of one or the other body. The establishment of the constitutional monarchy of Russia ultimately failed in practice as class tensions flared in diplomatic discussion, especially as Duma members began flexing their newfound legal power to

27   Ibid.,197.
28   Ibid., 202.
29   Eugene P. Trani, "Russia in 1905: The View from the American Embassy," *The Review of Politics* 31, no. 1 (January 1969): 49-53, accessed November 10, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1406454.
30   Sergei Podbolotov, "'… and the Entire Mass of Loyal People Leapt up': The attitude of Nicholas II Towards the Pogroms," 206.
31   Serge L. Levitsky,"Legislative Initiative in the Russian Duma," *The American Slavic and East European Review* 15, no. 3 (October 1956): 314-315, 317-318, accessed November 26, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3001096.

quickly incorporate desperately needed reforms.[32] The legal deadlock and rise in revolutionary activities resulted in further social disharmony as the Russian Ministry manipulated the Duma as necessary to tighten the grasp of tsarist control. Between political corruption, class tension, and the hesitant production of reformatory promises, the seeds of revolution blossomed into a full-scale coup of the government;[33] the eleven year fiasco known as the Duma disappeared alongside the tsarist regime with the rise of Soviet Union. Once again, Nicholas II's hopeful plan for a peaceful society had been stamped out by the difficulties of its practical execution.

Personality of Peace (Or Non-confrontation)

The shy, reserved, and non-confrontational personality belonging to Nicholas II clearly bled into his style of rule and public persona. His surrounding entourage, family, and visiting dignitaries of other European nations provide commentary upon exactly how the taxing responsibilities of being Emperor of Russia proved ill-suited for his gentle nature.[34] Despite fierce devotion to his country and recognition of the importance of his role for his people, Nicholas II did not possess the charisma or powerful attitude commanded by other European rulers.

Starting from childhood, Nicholas II venerated his father, Alexander III, as a political and personal ideal; his father's rigid morality instilled a deep-seated reservedness and no-frills approach to life within his young son that carried over into Nicholas' ruling style. Conscientious of the magnitude of his role, the final tsar firmly believed in divinity of his actions; in particular, he believed that his mission emanated from God.[35] A.A. Mossolov, the Minister of the Court Chancellory from 1900-1916, recalls the tsar's reluctance to debate controversial topics, his natural timidity, and his tendency to be anti-confrontational, stating that when it came to important decisions concerning the welfare of his nation, Nicholas II preferred solitude, "to be alone with his conscience."[36] Reflective and prayerful, the tsar could spend hours in private deliberation upon the consequences of his political moves. In addition to domestic personnel, foreign ministers also took notice of Nicholas II's genuine hesitation at the execution of his duties.

Major General John Hanbury-Williams of Great Britain, while finding the tsar personally endearing, penned in his recollection of his years at the Russian court that Nicholas II seemed very much an optimist, prone to fidgeting and smoking when agitated or under pressure,[37] and that he preferred "entirely and absolutely…simple, plain and sober living."[38]The tsar's natural humility, avoidance of confrontation, and genuine good-natured attitude towards mankind promoted a peaceful private persona, one that proved difficult in the face of adversities such as civil disobedience or regional war. His own

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32   Robert L. Tuck, "Paul Miljukov and Negotiations for a Duma Ministry, 1906," *The American Slavic and East European Review* 10, no. 2 (April 1951): 118-119, accessed November 26, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2491547.
33   J.L.H Keep, "Russian Social-Democracy and the First State Duma," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 34, no. 82 (December 1955): 183-184, accessed November 27, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4204717.
34   Basil Maklakov, "On the Fall of Tsardom," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 18, no. 52 (July 1939): 73, accessed November 9, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4203551.

35   A.A. Mossolov, "Chapter 1," *At the Court of the Last Tsar* (Russia: Methuen, 1935), accessed October 12, 2016, http://www.alexanderpalace.org/mossolov/.
36   Ibid.
37   John Hanbury-Williams, "1916 Diary," *The Emperor Nicholas II as I Knew Him* (London: Humpreys, 1922), accessed October 13, 2016, http://www.alexanderpalace.org/hanbury/.
38   Ibid., "The Emperor After Leaving Headquarters."

wife, Alexandra, remarked that her "poor Nicky's cross is a heavy one to bear, all the more as he has nobody on whom he can thoroughly rely and who can be a real help to him. He has had so many bitter disappointments, but through it all he remains brave and full of faith in God's mercy. He tries so hard, works with such perseverance… "[39] In accordance with the tsarina's concern for her husband, the historical record shows she deeply influenced Nicholas II's life, therefore impacting Russian matters of state.

As Nicholas moved further from the advice on foreign affairs from his mother,[40] several of the people attending the royal court recount the resulting growth in the tsarina's sway over her husband. Pierre Gilliard, tutor to the royal children, emphasizes the motive of genuine concern behind Alexandra's actions, yet he acknowledges that her protective restriction of her husband's schedule through careful separation of the details of personal and public spheres[41] and her increasing activism in political affairs[42] did not endear her nor her husband to the common people. The effect of Alexandra on the domestic political situation hurt the public perception of the tsar, as Gilliard presents that the tsar misgauged the personal characters of his ministry and had been led to believe that the nasty circulation of vicious rumors could not possibly affect his relationship with his people.[43] Sophie Buxhoeveden, lady-in-waiting to the tsarina, blamed the royal family's intense desire for privacy for the build-up of events that led the inevitable failure of the tsar's reign:

> They [meaning the royal family] did not realise, of course, that the troubles of 1905 were only a general rehearsal of those of 1917, but they thought the times too grave for festivities. The mistake they made was in not replacing their large functions by more informal receptions of prominent politicians and people of note. By this means they would have kept in touch with the general atmosphere of the country, for, by their position, they were cut off from direct contact with public opinion…[44]

The tsar devoted every spare second he had outside of his political life to his wife and children,[45] a behaviour which clearly weighed on him as his public responsibilities as the ruler of Russia and peacemaker of Europe began to intrude on his privacy. Concern for Alexei, the young tsarevitch grievously afflicted with hemophilia, constantly occupied the tsar's mind, and under the influence of Alexandra, the ruler began to rely heavily on mysticism and religion to guide his life. Major General Hanbury-Williams remarked upon the tsar's personal beliefs as ultimately manifested in Nicholas' policies, which sadly resulted in "the combination of an Emperor so devoted to his Empress that her word was law, and of an Empress led unconsciously by the worst possible ad-

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39   Sophie Buxhoeveden, "Gathering Clouds," *Alexandra Feodorovna: The Life and Tragedy of AlexandraFeodorovna, a Biography* (Longmans, Green and Co., 1928), accessed October 14, 2016. http://www.alexanderpalace.org/2006alix/index.html.
40   Mossolov, "Chapter 3," *At the Court of the Last Tsar*.
41   Ibid., "Chapter 2".
42   Tsarina Alexandra's political actions progressed from protecting Rasputin through the dismissal of certain ministers to advising her husband during the build-up and beginning of World War I. Pierre Gilliard, "February-September 1915," *Thirteen Years at the Russian Court* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1921), accessed October 14, 2016, http://www.alexanderpalace.org/2006pierre/bio.html.

43   Gossip greatly tarnished Nicholas II's reputation, leading history to focus more on his violent failures than his peacemaking actions. Ibid., "Travels Abroad, Palace Life".
44   Buxhoeveden, "On the Standart, 1905-1912," *Alexandra Feodorovna: The Life and Tragedy of Alexandra Feodorovna, a Biography.*
45   Mossolov, "Chapter 2," *At the Court of the Last Tsar.*

visers, brought about their ruin and that - for the time being - of their country."[46] Beyond the influences of personality, familial concerns, and marital pressure, the circle of people around Nicholas II recorded the general reactions to and motives of his major domestic policies.

Personal Accounts of Nicholas II as Peacemaker

From the October Manifesto and resulting Duma to the Willy-Nicky telegrams on the eve of the outbreak of World War I, several recollections of the motives behind his political actions reveal their resulting responses from the tsar and his people. Concerning Nicholas II's motives for suppressing the violent revolution following the October Manifesto, A.A. Mossolov noted that the tsar's ultimate desire existed as the prevention of bloodshed.[47] Gillard and Hanbury-Williams applauded the institution of the Duma as a progressive step towards a peaceful Russian society and definite prevention of war, suggesting that Nicholas II remained plagued by the terrible thought of the possibility of war and wanted to attempt prevention at all chances:

> The Duma was in every way worthy of the occasion. It expressed the real will of the nation, for the whole of Russia smarts under the insults heaped upon it by Germany. I have the greatest confidence in the future now. . . . Speaking personally, I have done everything in my power to avert this war, and I am ready to make any concessions consistent with our dignity and national honour. You cannot imagine

how glad I am that all the uncertainty is over, for I have never been through so terrible a time as the days preceding the outbreak of war. I am sure that there will now be a national uprising in Russia like that of the great war of 1812.[48]

Following mentions of domestic and international policies in select memoirs reveal Nicholas II's hesitancy to declare war in general, as he claimed his unwillingness at signing a formal declaration of war against Bulgaria at the outbreak of World War I.[49] The tsar had attempted to prevent the use of violence through personal correspondence to Kaiser Wilhelm I of Germany, known as the Willy-Nicky Telegrams. Due to the German ancestry of his wife, Alix of Hesse, and the distant blood relation of third cousinship to the Kaiser himself, the Russian rumor mill depicted the Russian court as pro-German, something inherently opposite of the popular anti-German sentiment in Russian society.[50] Unfortunately, the rise of nationalism, sectarian violence within the Balkans threatening pan-Slavism, and the catalytic murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand reflected the diplomatic discrepancies between Russia and Germany, necessitating the tsar to act against the German plot for war. Nicholas II quickly reached out to the Kaiser, pleading on behalf of their personal friendship and kinship to prevent any violence.

Anna Vyrubova, close confidante of the tsarina, insisted on the peaceful motives of the tsar as he tried "begging his old friend and relative to stop mobilization, offering to meet the Emperor for a conference which yet

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46   Hanbury-Williams, "Emperor and Empress," *The Emperor Nicholas II as I Knew Him.*
47   Mossolov, "Chapter 1," *At the Court of the Last Tsar.*

48   Gilliard, "August 1914," *Thirteen Years at the Russian Court.*
49   Ibid., "September - December 1915."
50   Charles Johnston, "What Happened in Russia: Told from Official Documents," *The North American Review* 205, no. 739 (June 1917): 865, accessed November 10, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25121539.

Figure 3. Nicholas II at Tsarskoye Selo, after his abdication in 1917, courtesy of Library of Congress.

might keep the peace,"[51] but regretfully having to proceed with war preparations as the tone of the telegrams wilted into angry formality. Within the words of the documents themselves, Nicholas quite literally begs Wilhelm to avoid a European war,[52] which the Kaiser himself predicts as "involving Europe in the most horrible war she ever witnessed."[53] The telegrams start with urgent familiarity that quickly degrades to a formalized blame-game; the messages clearly reveal a push for peace on behalf of the Russian tsar and portray the discrepancy in international diplomacy that quickly led to war. After yet another failure of tsar-promoted peace measures, the tsar proclaimed, "The friendship is dead, it must never be mentioned again,"[54] paralleling the dying system of peace he had tried to incorporate at both domestic and international levels.

Pragmatism Must Ultimately Triumph to Achieve Peace

The social instability within his domestic domain often led to Nicholas II's indecision on an international level precluding the first World War. Scrambling to preserve whatever shred of peace or non-war that he could, the final tsar continually adjusted his domestic policies to try to meet the high bar he had set for international relations.[55] Even as his highly reserved personality, malleable will, family, and advisors interfered with matters of state, Nicholas II continued to attempt to impose a system of peaceful relations for Europe and his homeland. Finally, the shift of the Russian State Duma to the Provisional Government of 1917[56] led to the tsar's abdication, arrest,

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51   Most likely inspired by the tsar's earlier Hague sentiments and resulting system of international arbitration. Anna Vyrubova, "1914 - The Great War," *Memories of the Russian Court* (London: Macmillan, 1923), accessed October 15, 2016, http://www.alexanderpalace.org/russiancourt2006/index.html.

52   Isaac Don Levine, ed. "The Willy-Nicky Telegrams: Tsar to Kaiser, July 29, 1:00 A.M." *WWI Document Archive: 1914 Documents,* London: Hodder and Soughton Ltd, 1920, accessed October

16, 2016, https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/The_Willy-Nicky_Telegrams.

53   Ibid., "Kaiser to Tsar, July 29, 6:30 P.M."

54   Hanbury-Williams, "1915 Diary," *The Emperor Nicholas II as I Knew Him.*

55   Leopold H. Haimson," 'The Problem of Political and Social Stability in Urban Russia on the Eve of War and Revolution' Revisited," *Slavic Review* 59, no. 4 (2000): 859-861, accessed November 9, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2697422.

56   Sir Peter Bark, "The Last Days of the Russian Monarchy -

and, later, execution, tragically snuffing out most of his plans for peace. The success of the first Hague Convention borne from the Disarmament Proposition of 1899 bears the fruit of the tsar's labors for peace, standing as a modern reminder for historians and citizens alike that the intent for peace may be just as important as its practical applications. In conclusion, history may understand the final Russian tsar, Nicholas II, as a fateful figure posed against violence and warfare, ultimately a promoter of peace crushed by the weight of his predecessors' actions in spite of his best efforts against the political odds stacked against him.

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Nicholas II at Army Headquarters," *The Russian Review* 16, no. 3 (July 1957): 36-40, accessed November 12, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/125942.

The First World War, a Re(al)telling: The Christmas Truce as a Representation of Humanity and Soldiers' Ability to Enact Peace in Wartime

by Rachel Smith

THE HISTORY of Europe is often remembered as one of war; Europe's movement from one war to the next marks the historical timelines and maps for contextualizing today's modern continent. The common historiography of Europe's war history, however, reveals some missing details. The complicated nature of Europe's warring history leads historians to focus on the actions of the combatants as a whole—on the decisions and interactions made by the various sovereigns. This is a reasonable method for providing a general overview and highlighting the significance of war from the viewpoint of European development; this top-down approach to war history is especially pronounced in recounts of World War I. However, the tendency of adopting a big picture historical narrative leads to an oversight of the beating hearts of warfare: the soldiers. The missing narrative of soldiers in the war promotes further provocation: who is responsible for war and, on the other hand, who is responsible for peace?

Peace is not a concrete term; it is relative and at times, a dynamic term. Peace can indicate the absence of war, but it can also simply connote a non-aggressive state of mutual cooperation, or a truce. A working definition for the purposes of the current topic defines peace as a non-aggressive truce, which holds the potential to invite positive negotiations to produce a perpetuation of non-aggression and the possibility of lasting peace. The course of WWI showcases a distinct contradiction between the sovereigns and the soldiers' view of war and peace. Harry Patch, the last surviving soldier of WWI, highlights this divide: "I felt then, as I feel now, that the politicians who took us to war should have been given guns and told to settle their differences themselves, instead of organizing nothing better than legalized mass murder." [1] War is more than decisions made by men behind desks, men signing treaties, and men writing declarations. War is blood, death, courage, sacrifice, and fear. War involves men with families, men wielding guns, and men confronted with life and death.

WWI showcases a distinct war, a war that the majority of Europe was not prepared for. The realities of WWI meant little reprieve for the soldiers along the Western and Eastern fronts. In December 1914, with the war just months old, the fronts housed soldiers whose hope and faith were already being shot down, in a non-metaphorical way, with each passing day. The inability of the sovereigns to compromise meant more lives lost from the Allied and Central Powers. While the soldiers were confronted with the loss of life and their own humanity, the sovereigns were confronted with the loss of manpower. This loss of hope accompanied by the consistent confrontation with death, prompted the soldiers on the West-

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1   Hawtree, Christopher. "The First World War: Harry Patch." *The Guardian* (July 25, 2009).

ern Front to partake in an unofficial truce on December 25, 1914 referred to as the Christmas Truce. The truce is viewed as a miraculous moment of peace—a stunning representation of humanity triumphing in the midst of an inhumane and tumultuous war. The necessity of telling the soldiers' story alongside the events of the Christmas Truce is two-fold. First, due to the indoctrination of the troops through propaganda and widespread nationalism, the armistice of the truce was unlikely, indicating the power of its occurrence. Secondly, WWI was a turning point in European warfare. The technology of WWI created a war more violent and living conditions more repugnant than the world had ever seen. These conditions further engendered an exhaustion, fear, and longing for an end to the war. This shared despondency created a sense of empathy between the Allies and the Germans. These elements combine to create a comprehensive overview of the complex conditions and decisions presented to a soldier within the course of warfare. World War I is repeatedly cited as a prime example of the tragedy and futility of war. This further points to the necessity of understanding war and history from more than just the process of top-down analysis. Examining war in the bottom-up perspective creates a lens to view the realities of war in more tangible terms. WWI from the view of the soldiers removes the abstract retelling of numbers and maps and instead creates a story of real people who experienced the horrors of war. The powerful sovereigns may make the decisions to begin war, but the men fighting are in the physical position to end them. The Christmas Truce of WWI showcases the power of the everyday soldier on both the Allied and the German sides to

> " **THE CHRISTMAS TRUCE OF WWI SHOWCASES THE POWER OF THE EVERYDAY SOLDIER ON BOTH THE ALLIED AND THE GERMAN SIDES TO ENACT PEACE ALONG THE WESTERN FRONT.**

enact peace along the Western Front.

In European history prior to WWI, wars varied in length. War strategists held the general consensus that the WWI would be a fairly short one, decidedly won or lost within months. The reality the warring nations neglected to consider was the introduction of modern warfare. WWI was unlike anything Europe (apart from the Balkan states) had experienced. This new nature of war is why WWI was referred to as, "The War to End All Wars." The introduction of modern weaponry and a thoroughly divided, nationalistic European civilization dictated the climate of WWI. The assassination of the Archduke of Austria, Franz Ferdinand, by a Serbian nationalist on June 28, 1914 is commonly referred to as the event to incite the war. To pinpoint a singular event that served to perpetrate WWI, however, is the epitome of an oversimplification. Furthermore, attempting to track the war as the result of group behavior, or as the result of a series of top down decisions made by governing sovereigns is also too simplistic. The war was the result of an amalgamation of social, economic, and extraneous elements. These tethered elements are essential for understanding the context that created the attitudes of the soldiers during the Christmas Truce. It is useful to summarize the decisive actions taken by both the Central Powers (Austria-Hungary and Germany) and the primary Allied Powers (Russia, France, and Britain) in entering the war.

WWI was an opportunity for Germany to assert herself as a leading and united world power. The aggressive and ambitious leader, Kaiser Wilhelm II, became emperor of Germany on July 15, 1888 and sprung at the

chance to propel German expansion. Wilhelm is often cited as an emotionally unstable man, his political choices being the reflection and result of his instability. Wilhelm played a key role in the course of the war; referred to as the 'Blank Check,' he promised to fight with Austria if war erupted with the Serbs. Austria's view of Serbian defiance and the murder of Franz Ferdinand created an atmosphere conducive for revenge, or war. Wilhelm reportedly believed war to be unlikely, however, the promise of Germany's support gave Austria the courage needed to declare war on the Serbs. The Balkan states witnessed waves of violent wars in the recent years preceding Austria's declaration against Serbia. The advances in technology and warfare resulted in an ill prepared Austria against a smaller, but more technologically advanced and Russian allied, Serbian army. Germany, unlike Austria, was the most technologically and militarily advanced country in Europe when the war broke out. This alliance, therefore, proved to be indispensable to Austria's survival in the war.

The complicated nature of Wilhelm's differing opinions concerning Austria and the war does not detract from the nature of Germany's nationalistic ambitions. The power of Germany did not rest on the shoulders of Wilhelm alone; he was largely at the mercy of his general's decisions and strategies. Wilhelm is important in understanding the soldiers' attitudes during the war because he is a key component in the development of Germany's oppositional nationalism during WWI. Wilhelm's promotion of German supremacy helped to set the stage for an atmosphere of German entitlement and zealous loyalty to the 'Fatherland.' Wilhelm frequently cites his faith in the army; however, he also views soldiers' lives as nothing more than a tool for accomplishing his ambitious aims. In a speech given in 1891, Wilhelm remarks, "You [recruits] have sworn loyalty to me. You have only

one enemy and that is my enemy. In the present social confusion it may come about that I order you to shoot down your own relatives, brothers or parents but even then you must follow my orders without a murmur." [2] Here, Wilhelm expresses an apathetic attitude towards the lives of those going to war for Germany. In his article, "Germany and the Next War," Bernhardi, a Prussian general, discusses the need to encourage an attitude of German fervor in order to create support among the German soldiers. As he says: "We must rouse in our people the unanimous wish for power in this sense, together with the determination to sacrifice on the altar of patriotism, not only life and property, but also private views and preferences in the interests of the common welfare. Then alone shall we discharge our great duties of the future, grow into a World Power, and stamp a great part of humanity with the impress of the German spirit." [3]

While Germany might have entered the war under the pretense of aiding Austria, the ambitions of German leadership is certainly an additional and essential reason for her part in WWI.

Russia offered its support to all Serbian Allied countries; this implied their wary view of Austria. The Austria-Hungarian Empire was ambitious and bolstered a strong nationalistic agenda. The empire represented more than those of Austria-Hungarian nationality, yet the Austria-Hungarians were the only ethnic group with political power in the region. Therefore, the imbedded minorities within the empire viewed Austria as a direct threat to their identity. The Serbs particularly felt resentment for their second-rate status, resulting in revolts and the eventual

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2   Balfour, Michael. *The Kaiser and His Times*. London: Penguin, 1975. p.158.
3   Bernhardi, Friedrich V. *Germany and the Next War.* Translated by Allen H. Powles. Berlin: Stuttgart und Berlin, J. G. Cotta, 1912. p. 55.

assassination of Franz Ferdinand.

Although the alliance of France and Russia was a primary factor for France to join the war, it was not the only reason France viewed going to war with Germany as advantageous. France touted a proud nationalism, incited as early as the Napoleonic wars. France had a particular interest in the war after their loss to Germany in 1871 during the Franco-Prussian war. France had a strong desire to reinstate their former status as a national power and also to regain the provinces they had lost during the Franco-Prussian war. Their defeat created an ambitious France, similar to Germany's own ambition. Thus, France's alliance with Russia created an opportunity for France to enter the war under a seemingly justifiable purpose: aiding their ally. In reality, France held her own motivations.

Britain, known for the role of maintaining the European balance of power and as the guardian of peace, entered the war following the German influx into Belgium. Britain was also racing to strengthen its own navy; a reaction to Wilhelm's insistence to expand Germany's Navy. Certainly the reasons for WWI's occurrence are numerous and complex, however, it is clear the fear of a German expansion and nationalistic unrest in the Balkans contributed to the impending war.

The sovereigns of these various powers thrived on the nationalism of their respective countries and, simultaneously, found legitimization for their motivations in the war. The ambiguity and complexity of WWI further emphasizes the importance the role nationalism played in gaining the support of the prospective countries' citizens and building their armies. Nationalism was strong throughout Europe in the years during and leading up to WWI. It would be simple (and helpful for the sake of the current discussion) to claim that nationalism, particularly German nationalism, both instigated and perpetuated the

war and the soldiers' attitudes. History, however, does not entirely validate this claim. James Sheehan, a historian of warfare in Europe, provides an overview of the various possible causes of WWI in his book, *Where Have All the Soldiers Gone?* Sheehan provides an important warning against the attributing nationalism as the driving force for WWI:"However significant popular nationalism might have been as a long-range cause of international tension, it played little or no role in the summer of 1914. In July, when crowds in Berlin waited for news about the Austrian ultimatum, people were anxious and subdued, not belligerent. Most of the enthusiasm for the war came immediately after it began, not before."[4]

The purpose of this discussion is not to claim nationalism as the primary catalyst for the instigation of WWI, rather, nationalism was the force that created an atmosphere for the soldiers' approval of the war. Nationalism disguised the war, for all states, as a patriotic and honorable cause for which men ought to be proud to fight and die for. The nationalist and patriotic variables often serve to blur the real impacts on the soldiers during the war. Therefore, this paper's intention is to focus on the life of the soldier in the midst of this context. War was on the horizon; leaders chose to move toward a full-blown war, and soldiers fell in line.

The majority of the lives lost during the war occurred in Belgium and France along the Western Front. The Western Front is particularly relevant for the purposes of the present topic because it is where the Christmas Truce took place. The geography of the Western Front was the result of the German war strategy known as the Schlieffen Plan. This plan was created prior to the war and was predicated on Germany's impending war with

4   Sheehan, James J. (2008). *Where have all the Soldiers gone? The Transformation of Modern Europe.* Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. p. 59.

France and Russia. The plan was a two-front (Eastern and Western) fight, intended to take France first—as Germany presumed France's weakness in contrast to Russia's strength.[5] The weakness of this plan became manifest at the beginning of the war; Britain's declaration of war following Germany's invasion of Belgium further emphasized the ineffectual plan.

The standing armies of the European countries varied in number and resources: Germany counted 11,000,000; Austria-Hungary 7,800,000; Ottoman Empire 2,850,000; Bulgaria 1,200,000; Belgium 267,000; 8,410,000; British Empire 8,904,467; France 8,410,000; Italy 5,615,000; Russia 12,000,000; Serbia 707,343. These numbers do not include the troops from Portugal, Greece, Japan, Montenegro, Romania, the United States, Australia, India, Canada, South Africa, or the United Kingdom. The total number of troops wounded in action equaled 22,221,182. The total number of soldiers killed in action equaled 8,203,974. [6] The urgency for more troops and the call for volunteers resulted in ill prepared young men to be placed in positions where they were inadequately matched for the kind of war they faced. The deficiency of troops, alongside antiquated military leadership, produced a disastrous situation. France's losses were so immense during the first summer of the war that they were forced to utilize conscription. Additionally, France was not prepared for the style of warfare in WWI; they sent their military out in bright traditional uniforms, essentially creating targets out of their soldiers. The British forces had a mass of volunteers. Many lied about their age, with some as young as fourteen desperate to join the fight. The British forces were aware of the age issue among volunteers, but the alternative method of conscription was not a popular way to gain manpower for Britain until 1916. Germany gained troops from an already large standing army, volunteers, and conscription.

The geographical proximity of these various countries often indicated a familiarity and shared history among the soldiers. The British poet, Thomas Hardy, in his poem, "The Man He Killed," writes about the potential for familiarity among the soldiers:

> Had he and I but met
> By some old ancient inn,
> We should have sat us down to wet
> Right many a nipperkin!
> But ranged as infantry,
> And staring face to face,
> I shot at him as he at me,
> And killed him in his place.[7]

Many Germans were reported to have spoken intelligible English, having resided in England prior to the war. Due to the conscription system that Germany operated under, these Germans returned to Germany to join the German army. Due to this familiarity, fraternization seemed somewhat natural for many of the troops. The holiday season increased wariness among the respective commands concerning the possibility of fraternization. The Christmas Truce was largely anticipated among experts and even encouraged by Pope Benedict XV. On December 7, 1914 the Pope sent out the plea, " . . . that the guns may fall silent at least upon the night the angels sang."[8] The Pope's

5   BBC - GCSE Bitesize. "The Schlieffen Plan." http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/gcsebitesize/history/mwh/ir1/schlieffenplanrev3.shtml.

6   Clodfelter, Michael (1992). *Warfare and armed conflicts: a statistical reference to casualty and other figures, 1618-1991*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company. pp. 781-785, 787-788.

7   Hardy, Thomas. "The Man He Killed." *Military Review* 88, no. 3 (May 2008): 124. *MasterFILE Premier*, EBSCO*host*.

8   Hagerty, Edward (2015) "The Night the Angels Sang: Christmas 1914 At Home and On the Front," *Saber and Scroll*: Vol. 4: Iss. 1, Article 3. (p. 7).

plea was formally rejected on behalf of both the German and Allied leadership.

"It'll all be over by Christmas," was the inaccurate consolation uttered amongst the Allied troops at the dawn of the war; unfortunately, time would reveal that the war would extend far beyond that first Christmas. However, the Christmas Truce served as a brief interlude for many combatants along the front. The day consisted of an armistice that lasted from the evening of Christmas Eve to nearly the entirety of Christmas day. Information of the event is harried with romanticized accounts, some of which are accurate and many others, fictitious. It is said that the men sang carols, played football, and traded gifts. The truce was a time where soldiers put down their weapons and traded goods with the men, whom only the night before they had traded bullets. The truce spread differently across the Western Front, with no exact location or key event to cite as a catalyst for its occurrence. It was not authorized or made official by the leadership on either side; however, there are several references indicating agreements made between officers that there would be no fighting for an allotted amount of time on Christmas day.[9]The reason for the lack of clarity concerning the details of the truce is partially due to the strict censorship on the front.

British papers had fewer restrictions on censorship, especially in publications, than the German military. The German censorship guidelines were outlined so that all publication media outlets were informed that, "Publications that pertain to military events in *all* other countries must also be suppressed until the political situation is clarified, since we do not know what attitude these countries will adopt towards us. As soon as this clarifica-tion has taken place, the press will be informed."[10]This stringent censorship reveals that the most reliable stories of the truce are provided in the form of eyewitness accounts. The men providing these accounts experienced the truce at different points along the front, within an expanse of roughly thirty miles along the trenches. The typical regions cited for its occurrence are along Ypres and Saint-Yvon of Belgium. The majority of stories about the truce are found in letters and journals of British, German, and French soldiers. Despite the varied accounts, the truce is frequently cited as beginning with carols. Private Albert Moren of the Second Queen's Regiment describes the singing on Christmas Eve: "And then they sang 'Silent Night' – 'Stille Nacht'. I shall never forget it, it was one of the highlights of my life. I thought, what a beautiful tune."[11]Graham Williams, of the Fifth Rifle Brigade further adds, "First the Germans would sing one of their carols and then we would sing one of ours… we started up 'O Come, All Ye Faithful' the Germans immediately joined in singing the same hymn to the Latin words... And I thought, well, this is really a most extraordinary thing – two nations both singing the same carol in the middle of a war."[12]The truce, however, did not happen for all the soldiers during that first Christmas of WWI. There are accounts of snipers, officers forbidding fraternization, and a general distrust that compelled many not to take part in the truce.[13]The majority of the soldiers, however, report the general feeling that risking death dur-

9   BBC Documentary. "Peace in No Man's Land." Brown, Malcolm. Filmed [1981]. YouTube Video, 54:57. Posted [September 7, 2014]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8WgPi_me1p4

10   Wilhelm Deist, *Militär und Innenpolitik im Weltkrieg 1914-1918* [*Military and Domestic Policy in the World War 1914-1918*]. 2 volumes. Düsseldorf: Droste, 1970, vol. 1, pp. 63.

11   BBC Documentary. "Peace in No Man's Land." Brown, Malcolm. Filmed [1981]. YouTube Video, 54:57. Posted [September 7, 2014].

12   BBC Documentary. "Peace in No Man's Land." Brown, Malcolm.

13   "Christmas Truce of 1914 Was Broken When German Snipers Killed Two British Soldiers." *The Telegraph* (December 22, 1914).

ing the truce was more favorable than their likely death in the trenches.

Christmastime in Western Europe was, and continues to be, a beloved and cherished tradition. The Germans at the front manifested the effects of being removed from home during Christmastime in nostalgic ways. In his book, *Silent Night,* Terri Crocker writes about these tangible evocations of the holiday season by the troops: "…the Christmas Truce was preceded by German soldiers placing traditionally lit Christmas trees on the parapets of their trenches the evening before… As men from both sides sat on top of their trenches throughout the evening of 24 December… Armies 'talked German and asked them to sing a German Volkslied…' "[14] The mutual desire for the Christmas spirit created an empathy among the troops. In attempts to soften the pain of missing Christmas with families, both the Allied and German combatants' respective countries incited campaigns to send gifts to the soldiers along the front. For the British, consolation came in the form of a gift from Princess Mary. The gifts entitled "Princess Mary Gift Box" is described by the Duke of Devonshire in the December 23, 1914 publication of the *Daily Telegraph*: "They consist of an embossed brass box, pipe, tobacco, cigarettes, photograph [of Princess Mary], and a Christmas card."[15] The Germans, Belgians, and French also received gifts from home. The gifts usually consisted of small tokens of tobacco, chocolate, and the oc-

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casional photo of a ruler or reminder of home; for example, the Germans received a photo of Kaiser Wilhelm.[16] The transient and disposable nature of these gifts implies these simple pleasures were quite possibly the last thing that these soldiers would enjoy before they went over the top of the trenches, and statistically, to their deaths.

These gifts as demonstrations of support served part of their purpose in efforts to lift morale; however, reminders of home often hampered the soldiers' fighting spirit. In fact, the soldiers are recounted to have shared and traded their gifts with German soldiers during the truce. Henry Williamson, an eyewitness and prolific writer of the *Christmas Truce* writes his mother about the exchange of gifts between the Germans and the Allies: "In my mouth is a pipe presented by the Princess Mary. …In the pipe is German tobacco. Ha-ha, you say, from a prisoner or found in a captured trench. …no…Yesterday the British & Germans met & shook hands in the Ground between the trenches, & exchanged souvenirs, & shook hands. Yes, all day Xmas day, and as I write. Marvelous, isn't it?"[17]Williamson's letter indicates the great thrill of the gift of tobacco and the greater thrill of the truce between the Allies and the Germans. The multitudes of letters that went out from the front varied on both the Allied and the German sides. The nostalgia expressed in these letters during Christmas time is particularly pronounced. In a letter from a Ger-

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14   Crocker, Terri B. *The Christmas Truce: Myth, Memory, and the First World War*. University Press of Kentucky, 2015. p. 50.
15   "December 24, 1914" *The Daily Telegraph,* December 24, 1914.

16   Kohls, Gary. "World War I: Lessons from the Christmas Truce of 1914." *Global Research* (November 9, 2014). http://www.globalresearch.ca/world-war-i-lessons-from-the-christmas-truce-of-1914/5361162.
17   Williamson, Henry. "Dear Mother." The Henry Williamson Society. 1970. p. 9.

man soldier, the horrors of war interrupt even his pleasant thoughts and reminiscence of Christmas:

> Loos, December 17, 1914
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> My Christmas letters – however I may begin them – all bear the stamp of a softened, wistful frame of mind. I am thinking so much about the days of preparation for Christmas Eve, days I loved like few others. I especially remember just such a Sunday a few years ago. I went tramping about the festive town, first alone and then with you, and a sudden strange longing came over me, one that was realized afterwards in beautiful dreams. Such dreams and the thunder of guns, which is now disquieting me, do not go well together.[18]

The command and the citizens at home did not overlook Christmastime and the particular hardship the soldiers experienced at the front during the holidays. Yet, the real relief did not come in the form of letters and gifts, and it certainly did not come from encouragement to keep fighting. The true relief came in the form of the humanity of the truce. The relief did not come from relatives and fellow countrymen, real relief came in the form of a day of companionship with their combatants. This truce metaphorically represented the greatest gift of all for the soldiers on Christmas: one more day of life.

WWI is accompanied with imagery of muddy men in trenches. Following the German invasion into Belgium and the shutdown of their movement by the Allies, trenches became the norm for holding positions along the Western Front. Thus, rather than a war of movement and advancement, the trenches entailed a war that was won slowly and deliberately on the local level. Trench warfare in WWI was the result of technology developing too quickly for the war to find an alternative solution to entrenchment. Trench warfare was comprised of digging into the earth in an effort to avoid the onslaught of bullets and to serve as an alternative to retreat. The Germans and the Allies would dig miles of intricate trench systems, usually set very close to one another. However, the proximity was not the primary issue trench warfare presented to the soldiers; numerous soldiers' letters complained of the smell that surrounded the battlefield. The trenches were a putrid waste of human and animal decay mixed with wet remains rotting in the mud.[19]Trench Foot(an infection of the foot resulting from perpetual dampness) was rampant, as were diseases, which were introduced to compromised immune systems living in close-courters. Rats, lice, and birds shared the living space of soldiers, further increasing discomfort and disease rates. Henry Allingham, a veteran of the war in the trenches, makes a morbid joke about the reality of the rat's lifespan in contrast to that of a soldier: " . . . in my unit there were 4,700 casualties . . . killed in action. Blown to smithereens, bits and pieces everywhere. No wonder the rats survived."[20]These conditions were the same across both the Allied and the German side.

The nature of trench warfare fostered an environment of familiarity and empathy between the Allies and the Germans. This familiarization led to what is re-

18   Schmieder, Eduard. *Kriegsbriefe gefallener Studenten [War Letters from Fallen Students]*. 144-46. Translated by Jeffrey Verhey. Munich: Philipp Witkop, 1928.

19   Snow, Dan. "The Trenches." *Voices From the First World War.* Sept. 14, 2014.

http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b04n6016#play
20   Allingham, Henry. *Henry Allingham 111, "No Wonder the Rats Survived*." Film. Directed by Charles Wheeler. UK: BBC, 2006.

Repairing trench after bomb explosion, Courtesy of The U.S. National Archives

ferred to as the live-and-let-live system. The system was comprised of varying methods utilized by both the Allies and the Germans to avoid killing and being killed during battle. Trench warfare fostered a close-courters style of combat, in which soldiers felt the impact of their fighting in a real way. The mutual grief, hardship, and exhaustion that were common among the men in the trenches encouraged a sense of empathy between the Allies and the Germans. The acute awareness the soldiers had of their impending death, in many cases, created a greater appreciation for life; this appreciation extended towards the enemy's life as well. The live-and-let-live philosophy caused a hidden agenda among many soldiers to purposefully miss their targets. This was expelled when gas was introduced. However, the reports of soldiers not wanting to die, and genuinely not wanting to kill their enemies, are numerous. As the war extended, the soldier's fatigue and loss of purpose in the fight increased. A British soldier exemplifies this impending loss of hope among the soldiers: "Your life and your death are nothing to these fields - no more than it is to the man planning the next attack at headquarters. You are not even a pawn . . . Your death will not prevent future wars, will not make the

world safe for our children"[21]Soon, both commands were confronted with the consistent threat of fraternization on the Western Front.One British soldier, Isaac Rosenberg, known as a Great War poet, died during the war and was buried in a mass grave in 1918. The intimate nature of the trenches is exemplified in one of his poems:

> Droll rat, they would shoot you if they
>   knew
> Your cosmopolitan sympathies.
> Now you have touched this English hand
> You will do the same to a German
> Soon, no doubt, if it be your pleasure
> To cross the sleeping green between.[22]

The trenches maintained this gruesome atmosphere, which only increased in severity throughout the course of the war. However, despite this usually harsh environment, there was something mystical in the air on Christmas day of 1914.British officer and eyewitness to the truce, Bruce Bairnsfather, describes Christmas morning of 1914 along the Western Front: "Everything looked merry and bright that morning, the discomforts seemed to be less, somehow; they

Cooking Christmas geese at the front, Courtesy of Project Gutenberg

seemed to have epitomized themselves in intense, frosty cold. It was just the sort of day for Peace to be declared. It would have made such a good finale."[23]The formidable environment so long fostered by the trenches began to lend itself to a natural and empathetic conversation between the two lines. The kindness between the two sides, the ability to sit and enjoy a Christmas morning in what had only been the day before a disgusting, open grave shows the hearts of these men. The willing welcome to socialize with the other side was a comfortable solace and empathetically charged way to distract from what the soldiers knew to be a fatal war.

The concept of political propaganda is not uncommon; the propagandized claims made by both the Allied and the German sides, however, were exaggeratingly harsh. The ambiguity of the war and the dwindling nationalistic fervor necessitated this sort of propaganda in order to conjure up volunteers, justify conscriptions, and incite morale. The propaganda aimed to encourage soldiers to understand their enemy as animalistic war heathens. Bernhardi discusses utilizing the press to aid in Germany's ambitions: "It [the press] must continually point to the significance and the necessity of war as an indispensable agent in policy and civilization, together with the duty of self-sacrifice and devotion to State and coun-

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21   Rennel, Tony. "Horror beyond imagination." *Daily Mail* (August 3, 2014).

22   Rosenberg, Isaac. "Break of Day in the Trenches." In *he Norton Anthology of Poetry,* edited by Alexander W. Allison, 3rd Ed. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1983.

23   Bairnsfather, Bruce. *Bullets & Billets*. New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1917. p. 74.

try . . . Such education by a powerful policy is an absolute necessity for the German people."[24] It was under these sorts of ideals that the German army was being prepared to fight and die for their country. German propaganda usually presented men as strong and mighty warriors with the goal of defending their family and epitomizing German masculinity. German press presented art consisting of men holding their wives and children in one hand and a sword of protection in the other.

Utilizing propaganda for the purposes to rouse the fighting spirit of the men was the same for all sides. In Britain, the press regularly depicted the Germans as barbarous, in more ways than just warfare.[25]On the battlefield, however, the soldiers saw contradictions to these exaggerated claims. Arthur Parsonby, a member of British parliament and social activist was a progressive proponent in exposing the false nature of wartime propaganda for both sides and particularly in Britain. He provides the example of a circulated story of a German chopping off the hands of a Belgium baby.[26] Parsonby further adds to the Allies' manipulation of German songs: "A great deal of play was made throughout the war with the opening lines of a German patriotic song:"Deutschland über Alles auf der ganzen Welt." (Germany above all things in the whole world.) There must have been many people who knew sufficient German to understand the meaning of the phrase, but no protest was made at the mistranslation…It was popularly accepted as meaning, '(Let) Germany (rule)over everywhere in the whole world,' i.e. the

German domination of the world." [27] The contradiction that the soldiers saw between propaganda claims and the men they met served to further diminish morale. The military's control and censorship of the front meant that journalists were not allowed on the battlefield. Thus, any reporting about the content and happenings around the front were second person reports, at best. Nationalism propaganda utilized during WWI was immensely misleading and particularly belittling to those subjected to its claims. The Allies and Germans were forced to reckon with two conflicting ideas. On one hand, they were indoctrinated to see those they were fighting as animals and oppressors. On the other, they were discovering kindred hearts and sometimes even familiar faces in those they fired upon.

The truce was short lived and ended promptly with the passing of Christmas day. Captain Charles Stockwell of the Second Welch Fusiliers recalls how the truce ended in his vicinity of the Western Front: "I fired three shots into the air and put up a flag with 'Merry Christmas' on it on the parapet. He [a German] put up a sheet with 'Thank You' on it, and the German captain appeared on the parapet. We both bowed and saluted and got down into our respective trenches, and he fired two shots into the air, and the war was on again."[28]The sovereigns ordered that the war continue, despite the soldiers' willingness to stop it. Similarly, in *War and Peace,* Leo Tolstoy writes about the complex interconnection of events and decisions made by both the sovereigns and the soldiers during the course of the Napoleonic wars:"There are two sides to life for every individual: a personal life, in which his freedom exists in proportion to the abstract nature of his interests, and an elemental life within the swarm of

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24 Bernhardi, Friedrich V. *Germany and the Next War.* Translated by Allen H. Powles. Berlin: Stuttgart und Berlin, J. G. Cotta, 1912. p. 127-128.

25 Ponsonby, Arthur. *Falsehood in War-Time: Propaganda Lies in the First World War*. London: Bradford & Dickens, 1942. http://home.cc.umanitoba.ca/~mkinnear/16_Falsehood_in_wartime.pdf

26 Ponsonby, Arthur. *Falsehood in War-Time: Propaganda Lies in the First World War*. London: Bradford & Dickens,1942.

27 Ponsonby, Arthur. Chapter XI.

28 BBC Documentary. "Peace in No Man's Land." Brown, Malcolm.

humanity, in which a man inevitably follows laws laid down for him."[29] Tolstoy comments on how the soldiers' personal motivations collide with their inability to break command: a common occurrence among WWI soldiers.

Understanding the reason WWI was allowed to continue for four years is perhaps as complex as the cause of the war. Propaganda informed the men on all sides that their cause was a just one; however, as has been indicated, propaganda was losing its efficacy as the accounts continually contradicted the soldiers' reality. Despite the efforts toward the "live and let live" system of fighting, propaganda's ineffectiveness, and the terrors of trench warfare, there was not a great consensus for, or against, the justness of the Great War among the soldiers. Henry Williamson explains in a letter to his mother the German's outlook on the war during the Christmas Truce's fraternization: "We had a burial service in the afternoon, over the dead Germans who perished in the 'last attack that was repulsed' against us. The Germans put 'For Fatherland and Freedom' on the cross. They obviously think their cause is a just one."[30] Williamson's point here is helpful; many of the Germans believed they were fighting a just war for their fatherland. It is common for humans to want to believe they died for *something*; this is an example of one of the reasons the war might have continued

Soldier's comrades watching him as he sleeps, Courtesy of National Library of Scotland

after the truce. Soldiers may not have believed in waging war when it started, but they could not help but fight out of loyalty for their fellow soldiers. Despite the empathy between the Allies and the Germans, this empathy could never exceed the empathy and bond between the soldiers fighting with their countrymen. Not only were the men at odds with killing their enemies, they were also watching their friends and fellow soldiers suffer. Lieutenant J. A. Raws, an Australian soldier stationed on the Western Front comments, "We were smelly, unshaven and sleepless. My uniform was rotten with other men's blood and partly spattered with a friend's brains. It is horrible . . . I cannot describe the horror. I honestly believe these men were murdered through the stupidity of the men in

29   Tolstoy, Leo. *War and Peace.* New York: Penguin Group, 2006. (p. 1170).
30   Williamson, Henry. "Dear Mother." The Henry Williamson Society. 1970. p. 9.

charge."[31]

  The failures of both the Allied and German command to adapt to the advances of warfare only furthered the soldiers' dissolution. This sort of intense turmoil and confusion among the men created an atmosphere that was pro-fraternization, unless that fraternization threatened their lives or the lives of their comrades. The war was creating a situation where the soldier did not want to fight, had no choice but to fight, and furthermore began to desire to fight in order to save their comrades. The war did not deescalate following the events of the truce; instead it escalated. It would continue for five more years, introducing gas attacks and rougher leadership that gave stricter punishment to fraternization. Conscriptions became the norm for the British forces as they sought more troops, and conscientious objectors were ridiculed and ostracized. Shell shock increasingly became an issue for both sides. Shell shock, referred to today as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), manifested through various physiological symptoms. The technological advances during the First World War led to this new and misunderstood medical issue resulting in hospitalization, mania, and many men being shot for cowardice.[32] The sovereigns created a situation where the only way out of the war was to win in order to justify the outrageous number of casualties left in the war's wake. The inability for the sovereigns to compromise created a war that was self-perpetuating in nature: the longer the war went on, the more horrendous and brutal it would become, creating more resentment and more aggression among the men.

  World War I lived up to its moniker, "The Great War." Unfortunately, however, the war did not live up to its alternate name, "The War to End all Wars." The tragedies of the Great War provide invaluable lessons about individual decision and the importance of transparent motives. G.J. Meyer, a specialist in World War I history, discusses the lies enacted by the sovereigns to achieve their goal in his book *A World Undone*: "Men with the power to decide the fate of Europe did the things that brought the war on, and failed to do the things that might have kept the war from happening. They told lies, made mistakes, and missed opportunities . . . Little of what they did produced the results they intended."[33] The leaders' lies

> **" THE INABILITY FOR THE SOVEREIGNS TO COMPROMISE CREATED A WAR THAT WAS SELF-PERPETUATING IN NATURE: THE LONGER THE WAR WENT ON, THE MORE HORRENDOUS AND BRUTAL IT WOULD BECOME, CREATING MORE RESENTMENT AND MORE AGGRESSION AMONG THE MEN.**

began the war; however, the soldiers were able to create a truce despite those lies, in the midst of a horrific war. The story of WWI is not complete without the voices of the soldiers. The turmoil within these men's minds created through the conflicting ideas presented in propaganda and an ingrained nationalism was not enough to deter the truce Christmas morning of 1914. The horrific trenches and nostalgia for home during Christmas time emphasized the importance of humanity, not just nationality. These men found it within themselves for a multiplicity of reasons to rise above the horrors of war and

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31 Goodall, Jane, and Christopher Lee. *Trauma and Public Memory*, Palsgrave Macmillan Memory Studies, 2015. p. 145.
32 Leese, Peter. Shell Shock: Traumatic Neurosis and the British Soldiers of the First World War. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

33 Meyer, G.J. *A World Undone.* New York: Bantam Dell, June 2006. (p. 127).

to enact a truce with their combatants. The wipeout of generations for a cause that cannot entirely be reasoned cannot be treated as an abstract story. The story of WWI is a real story of death, bravery, and sacrifice. The story of the truce is a moment of humanity. The Christmas Truce showcases a moment where desperation for brotherly love prevailed and men were able to rise above the conflicting demands of their sovereigns. The truce represents mankind not only saying no to death and dying, but also men saying yes to life, to mutual compromise and cooperation. The heroes of WWI were not the ones who initiated or made the grand scale decisions in the war. The true heroes were the men who enacted an unlikely day of peace on the Western Front on that fateful day of December 25, 1914.

Obstacle and Progress: Birmingham History

Convict Lease: Continuing Slavery in the New Era South

by Haley Spence

As long as society has existed, problems with labor such as worker treatment have existed. Because labor is a commodity that is bought and sold in various ways to drive the economy, the system continues to evolve. In the first few years after the American Civil War ended in 1865, a new system of labor in the postbellum South was born: the convict lease system. This system relied on maintaining a high prison population that could be leased, for high profit, by the state. Born out of perceived necessity by the financially crippled, post-war Southern states, the convict lease system helped rebuild a broken economy by filling the labor void left from the abolition of slavery in the New South. However, it soon proved to be a roadblock, instead of a stepping stone, in an age of industrial, social, and political progress.

Rather than help Southern society move forward from the antiquated and immoral labor system of slavery, convict lease served to undermine emancipation and "legally" continue it. Much like with slavery, the drive for profits remained at the forefront while morals seemed to be forgotten. Despite this, its effects on the economy were palpable. Understanding convict lease requires examining the history of labor, what allowed its inception, what factors served to perpetuate it, and, finally, what led to its demise. At its core, convict lease was simply a new name for the old slavery system disguised as a way to rehabilitate criminals and provide cheap labor for the states.

A Brief History of Labor in America

Labor in America, traditionally, was at the expense of the laborer. Prior to the Civil War, the three most common types of laborers included conscripted natives, white indentured servants, and African slaves.[1] None of these types of laborers received monetary compensation for their work. Conscripted natives were placed into servitude and maltreatment, much like slavery, but had the advantage of an end to their conscription time, while slaves spent their entire lives in servitude. White indentured servants were undeniably better off than either conscripted natives or slaves. With the terms of their servitude laid out as a contract, white indentured servants traded their labor for no direct monetary compensation but, rather, for housing and food for the betterment of their lives. For example, during colonialism poor whites contracted themselves with wealthy colonists in order to immigrate to America.

Prior to the war, convict lease was used periodically. As far back as 1658 the Virginia Colonial Assembly voted to use prisoners for public works projects.[2] However, it would not become a region-wide institution until after the Civil War. The labor system of choice in America became slavery. Where conscription and indentured

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1   U.B. Phillips, "Plantations with Slave Labor and Free." *The American Historical Review* 30, no. 4 (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press), (1925), 739.
2   "Convict Labor for Road Work," *Monthly Review of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics* 4, no. 4 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor), (1917), 591.

'Slavery is Dead" wood engraving showing slave being sold as punishment for a crime before emancipation and African American being whipped as punishment for a crime in 1866, Courtesy of Library of Congress

servitude included set durations leading to a problem with turnover, slavery essentially eliminated turnover, save for overseers.[3] Even with the outlaw of slave importation years earlier, slave numbers continued to rise due to slaves reproducing. With the war came emancipation and the end of the "slave-plantation system" and left the economic infrastructure of the South in ruin. The Civil War left many of the Southern survivors, both black and white, impoverished.

The Labor Problem during Early Reconstruction

General Robert E. Lee, of the Confederate Army, encouraged young men to return home and do whatever possible to rebuild and rehabilitate their common country.[4] The best way to rebuild, Lee posited, was taking advantage of the raw, natural resources the South possessed, particularly coal, iron ore, and limestone.[5] Indeed

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3   Phillips, 740.

4   Judge Robert Ewing, "Gen. Robert E. Lee's Inspiration to the Industrial Rehabilitation of the South, Exemplified in the Development of Southern Iron Interests." *Tennessee Historical Magazine* 9, no. 4 (Tennessee Historical Society), (1926), 216.
5   Ibid., 218-219.

these materials brought industrial prosperity to the South. While it is certainly true that the South had raw materials, it lacked capital, as poverty was widespread.[6] Labor was an issue at the forefront because of the lack of capital. The flooded job market and no proof of preexisting capital made paying free workers problematic. Southern states concluded convict lease was the best answer to the labor problem.

The Beginning of Convict Lease as an Institution

The first to lease convicts were not mine owners but, rather, the "provisional and military governments."[7] In May 1868, General Thomas Ruger leased 100 black convicts to William A. Fort in Rome, Georgia, for the sum of $2,500, "to work on the Georgia and Alabama Railroad for one year."[8] This contract was the first convict lease in the state of Georgia. After the success of this project, it took just one year for convict lease to become an institution in Georgia. By the five-year mark (1873), convict lease provided considerable revenue to the state.[9]

Neighboring Alabama joined the band wagon with little encouragement. For its entire history as a state, Alabama used prison labor as the backbone of its workforce. Postbellum poverty, political and social conflicts, and a racist legal system provided an ever-growing number of convicts, especially blacks.[10] In fact, by the 1880s,

the Birmingham District employed nearly all of the state and county prisoners, working them in the mines.[11] Alabama as a whole used convict lease longer than many other states, such as Mississippi and Tennessee who abolished the system before the turn of the century, by refusing to abolish the system until 1928, fifty-three years after its inception.[12]

With growing numbers of convicts to care for, states like Alabama began looking into ways to reduce the states' financial burden. A set of criteria existed for the use of convict labor. Would convict lease be profitable, and under what conditions? Which system of discipline and management worked the best? What is the economic value? What is the cost of living for convicts (i.e. food, clothing, shelter, sanitation)?[13]The general consensus among the Southern states remained that convict lease was profitable, and the other concerns passed to the lessee.

In March 1874, Georgia passed new laws establishing leases with longer intervals, lengthening the durations from one year to between two and five years.[14] Though convict lease was by no means a new system, nor was it a Southern invention, the institution "received its most sustained and dramatic expression" during the New South Era.[15] The transition from an agrarian economy to an industrial one proved no easy feat to the impoverished South. Cheap labor was a necessity for the fledgling iron and coal industries, which, in turn, were essential to re-

6   Ewing, 220.
7   Matthew J. Mancini, "Race, Economics, and the Abandonment of Convict Leasing," *The Journal of Negro History* 63, no. 4 (Association for the Study of African American Life and History), (1978), 340-341.
8   Ibid.
9   Ibid., 341.
10   Mary Ellen Curtin, "Convict-Lease System." *Encyclopedia of Alabama*, (2007).

11   Ibid.
12   Ibid.
13   "Convict Labor," 591.
14   Mancini, 341.
15   Karin A. Shapiro, *A New South Rebellion: The Battle against Convict Labor in the Tennessee Coalfields, 1871-1896*, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press), (1998), 47.

build.[16]

The Civil War left the South, as a whole, in poverty, not just individuals. The state governments incurred enormous debts during and immediately following the war. Many businessmen and politicians argued that between building new prisons (at the expense of the state by way of the taxpayers) and leasing prisoners, leasing was the better option.[17]The potential to have the fiscal responsibility of the convicts taken away from the state, which had hemorrhaged money during the war, was too good to be true. Convict lease saved the state money while financially benefitting employers.[18]With the employers/lessees incurring all of the cost for the convicts they leased, the state not only made money from the leases, but also

> 66 CONVICT LEASE SAVED THE STATE MONEY WHILE FINANCIALLY BENEFITTING EMPLOYERS.

reduced prison expenses. On the other side, employers, while still responsible for all costs of the upkeep of convicts and the price per lease, found the financial benefits to still be much greater than if they employed free workers.

In addition to saving the state and employers/lessees money, the productivity from convict labor brought Northern capital to the South.[19] More money meant that industry could grow and expand. Karin A. Shapiro states, "The exertions of convicts helped propel the new ven-

tures underground, lowered labor costs, and indirectly assisted railway development in the state, as railroads depended on coal for both fuel and cargo."[20] Labor was a valued commodity, and as such convict labor was valued all the more.

States that did not practice convict lease put the burden on the taxpayers to pay for the convicts.[21] This caused many people in these states to view prisoners as freeloaders who did not have to earn their keep. States that did practice convict lease reportedly received an average of "372% of the costs" back, meaning that those states were, in fact, making a hefty profit from leasing.[22]There were still many that viewed leasing as exploitation, but others found ways to justify the profits. Some even argued that income made from leasing benefitted other publically funded institutions, such as the public school system.[23]

Initial Issue with Convict Lease

As long as it existed, convict lease had its naysayers. In trying to justify convict labor, some argued that freemen did not want to do the work.[24]In response to that idea, proponents of convict lease posited that working convicts gives them a better chance at rehabilitation. The idea argued that putting convicts to work would teach them a skill or trade to help them gain employment upon

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16   Robert David Ward and William Warren Rogers, *Labor Revolt in Alabama: The Great Strike of 1894*, (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press), (1965), 15.
17   Jeff Frederick, "Progressivism." *Encyclopedia of Alabama*.
18   Ibid., 21-22.
19   Mancini, 339.

20   Shapiro, 5.
21   Mancini, 339.
22   Ibid., 339.
23   John Mitchell, "The Wage-Earner and the Prison Worker," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 46 (Sage Publications, Inc. in Association with the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences), (1913), 13.
24   Shapiro, 49.

their release from prison.[25] Employed persons were generally considered less likely to commit crimes; therefore, the employed, rehabilitated convict should not become a repeat offender.

The system was not always profitable for all who invested in it. Due to economic downturns, lessees wound up stuck with convict laborers and nowhere to work them. They found themselves locked into the terms of their lease, regardless of the ebbs and flows of the economy and industry. If an employer had no work for his convicts, he was still responsible for their upkeep.[26] In this way, convict lease was a risky investment, but employers still found the investment worth the risk because it kept their labor costs so low.

Logistically and jurisdictionally, convict lease was a nightmare. In its article titled "Convict Labor for Road Work," the Bureau of Labor Statistics explains the complicated system: "The difficulty of placing the control in the proper State department is recognized because of the dual aspect of the work (in this case roadwork), and it is believed that the best results may be obtained under a system which clearly defines and separates the responsibilities of the prison and highway departments."[27] Ideally, who had jurisdiction and control would be clearly laid out, but in reality it was a muddled mess. Furthermore, the system itself was abused to secure labor for a profit.[28]Lessees often sublet their convicts making it even more difficult to determine who had control of them. Potentially, too, further sublet convicts could find themselves working across states lines, further compli-

Convict leasing, Courtesy of Equal Justice Initiative

cating things.

The question of management when using convict labor often came up. Which system was best: honor or guard? Both systems were "equally effective in preventing escapes," according to a study of the Colorado convict lease system which revealed that the honor system proved more productive, up to triple the productivity of guarded convict camps.[29]Just being outside prison walls became surprising incentive to prevent runaways. The prisoners regarded outside work as a privilege that they did not wish to lose.[30] The honor system, based on productivity alone, was the obvious choice, but what was

25   Oswald West, "The Problem of Prison Labor," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 46 (Sage Publications, Inc. in Association with the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences), (1913), 47.
26   Mancini, 348.
27   "Convict Labor," 594.
28   Mitchell, 12.

29   "Convict Labor," 595.
30   Thomas J. Tynan, "Prison Labor on Public Roads," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 46 (Sage Publications, Inc. in Association with the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences), (1913), 58.

the likelihood of a convict escaping in this system? In four years only about one percent of Colorado convict laborers escaped from camps, even as far away as 300 miles from the prison.[31] That is all well and good for Colorado, and it does provide valuable insight, however, it does not necessarily translate to the South due to geographical, social, political, and economical factors that were drastically different there.

Red Mountain iron mine, Courtesy of Library of Congress

Abuse in the System

Within a system like convict leasing, major problems such as abusing the system became prevalent. One sector that led the front lines of this abuse became law enforcement. Governor of Arkansas George W. Donaghey called this abuse of power "evil."[32] The abuse ranged from simple acts such as falsifying documents to extreme acts that caused the deaths of the convicts. Mary Ellen Curtin sites one such case, stating that, "coal officials often faked 'bad conduct' reports on prisoners to prolong their sentences and thus keep experienced men in the mine longer."[33] Abuses were rampant throughout

the legal system. The numbers of convicted criminals increased significantly, and in relatively short time spans. In North Carolina, inmate numbers increased from 121 to 1302 in twenty years. Likewise, Alabama's inmate numbers increased from 374 to 1183 in twenty-three years. This trend, traced back to the profitability of the convict lease system, spread across all of the Southern states.[34]

Sheriffs often served as "recruiting agents" for prospective lessees.[35] With a stake in ensuring there were enough laborers to go around, it is certainly conceivable that sheriffs created inflated or trumped-up claims regarding criminal charges. This abuse showed through the simple fact that most leased convicts had committed minor offenses.[36] More young offenders were convicted than before because they were more desirable laborers, also increasing the numbers. In Alabama during the 1860s and 1870s, convict laborers were divided according to their offences, those with misdemeanors worked in factories (1860s) or at the state-owned farm (1870s) while felons worked on the railroads.[37] During these decades, railroad work had the highest death rate, so the placing of felons with more serious crimes on this work seems to be intentional.

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31   Tynan, 59.
32   George W. Donaghey, "Why I Could Not Pardon the Contract System," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 46 (Sage Publications, Inc. in Association with the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences), (1913), 23.
33   Curtin.

34   Mancini, 345.
35   Mitchell, 13.
36   Donaghey, 27.
37   Curtin.

Similarities to Slavery

The convict lease system bore remarkable similarities to its preceding labor system. In an ironic twist, the men who wanted to abolish slavery and put "that old society behind them" were the very same men who leased convicts and thus continued the tradition, moving from the plantation to factories, mines, and roads.[38] Like slavery, the labor provided was inelastic. Just as slave owners were responsible for the care and upkeep of their slaves no matter what the agricultural season.[39]

The diet fed to convicts was similar to that of slaves. According to the whipping boss at Georgia Midland Railroad camp, C. C. Bingham, the diet provided to his convicts included: "½ pound bacon per day, milk once each day, syrup and flour bread twice a week, corn bread and vegetables without limit, and fruit – that is ripe peaches all they can eat."[40]The rations were better than that of the slaves, taking Bingham at his word, but not significantly so. Additionally, he does not provide a detailed diet of the convicts who were being punished for offenses that occurred during the lease.

In its own way, convict lease was arguably worse than slavery as an institution in that convicts were cheaper and they greatly outnumbered slaves.[41]Increasing the number of available laborers proved an easier and faster process with convicts than with slaves, because slaves became homegrown and bred like livestock.[42] That was not an option in convict lease. The sheer volume of convicts meant that there was a minimal vested interest in caring for them. Slaves were a larger investment, a fact that made them assets to their owners, again like their livestock. Individual convicts were not a large investment and more could always be found.[43]

New "restrictions" were placed on convict leasing, owing to a new law passed in February 1876. In reality, the law opened the door for more abuse. Leases could not be made for less than twenty years under conditions abysmally similar to slavery. Convicts could be leased and sublet multiple times to multiple corporations. The maximum workday, previously set to a ten-hour maximum, was repealed. The state was not required to reduce the sum of its annual payment in the event of convict death during the duration of the lease, even if *all* of the convicts died.[44]

In spite of the arguments promoting convict lease, namely that revenue to the state with reduced cost of convict care coupled with corporate profits were good for the economy, the fact remains that inmates were forced into horrible situations. Jeff Frederick goes so far as to equate the convict and slave conditions: "Convict laborers worked in dangerous, near slave-like conditions."[45] Thanks to the law that effectively removed preexisting restrictions, convicts were harshly treated in general, and were under fed, poorly clothed, and overworked. The institution of convict lease "promoted brutality" and "hardened prisoners," while leading the public to believe, falsely, that it was not in their best interests to provide for prisoners, and, therefore, that the state "should not spend money," especially taxpayer money, to house, much less rehabilitate or reform, criminals.[46]

In Alabama, after the steel industry boom in the Birmingham District, leased coalminers "suffered

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38   Mancini, 345-347.
39   Phillips, 740.
40   Mancini, 342.
41   Ibid., 345.
42   Phillips, 741.

43   Mancini, 345.
44   Ibid., 341-342.
45   Frederick.
46   A. Elizabeth Taylor, "The Abolition of the Convict Lease System in Georgia," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 26 (Georgia Historical Society), (1942), 274.

the worst death rates of any industry employing prison labor."[47]Reported and/or investigated instances of abuse are numerous. Whipping boss Bingham stated that he allowed "cruelty practiced" at his camp.[48] He negates to explain, however, the nature of said cruelty, nor does he explain to what extent the cruelty was carried out. It is clear that he lied, repeatedly, by omission. An incident report noted inmate Hardy Mobley, a black man serving time for manslaughter, from Carroll County Georgia, was brutally whipped on August 19, 1886. He was whipped until blood poured down has legs.[49]That report represents normal practices, and the less severe end of the spectrum. In 1924 in Alabama, a prisoner's death was investigated because of the absolutely appalling nature of his demise. The inmate had been dipped into a "vat of boiling water" as a means of torture and died as a result of his injuries.[50] Arkansas's Governor Donaghey recounted a number of instances of abuse that outraged him. One such case involved a young inmate who was abandoned, bleeding, at a railroad station in the hot sun. He, too, died.[51]

Donaghey was skeptical of the wardens' use of cruelty as a means of punishment, particularly due to the severity combined with the harsh sentencing for petty crimes. He pardoned a number petty offenders. Unfortunately for some, the pardons came too late.[52] Addressing those who criticized his pardons, Donaghey stated that he had been, "conservative in granting pardons" and had not issued them for "sentimental causes" nor for "political favors."[53]Donaghey reviewed the proceedings of the penitentiary board in response to the reported instances

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47   Curtin.
48   Mancini, 342.
49   Ibid., 342.
50   Curtin.
51   Donaghey, 23.
52   Ibid., 23-24.
53   Ibid., 29.

of abuse in the Arkansas penitentiary system. During his review, he discovered that the board had not visited a single camp, state farm, or penitentiary in four years.[54] As elected officials, they had failed to perform the duties of the offices they held.

Convict Labor Profiteering

The convict lease system allowed state employees and elected officials to earn substantial salaries. Many wardens, sheriffs, and deputies (state employees) were also on the payrolls of the lessees, who often paid them significantly more, in some cases more than double, what the state paid them.[55] Additionally, penitentiary board members were easily bribed. Loopholes were exploited wherein private contractors leased convicts from the state and would then become brokers, subletting them for a profit. The contractors paid the state employees in order to keep the supply up. Further removal from the state penitentiary system by sublet increased the likelihood for physical abuse.[56]

An Atlanta newspaper, *The Georgian*, reported the state received $225 per inmate per year. Lessees who sublet inmates often charged up to $600 per inmate per year.[57]This allowed lessees to fill their coffers with the complete and utter exploitation of convicts who became nothing more than numbers in this brutal system. John Mitchell, however, argues that there is more to it than that: "The State loses because these men from the convict camps and the mines return, at the end of their period of servitude, worse in body and in soul than they were

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54   Ibid., 28.
55   Taylor, 281.
56   Donaghey, 25-26.
57   Taylor, 277.

before. No state can afford to make a business profit out of the moral degradation of any of its citizens."[58] The state and the contractors sacrificed their morals for the almighty dollar, just like slave owners and slave traders.

Convicts working on the side of the road in North Carolina, Courtesy of Library of Congress

Convict Lease's Perpetuation of Racial Bias

Convict lease rose from economic need, real or imagined, but it became a means to perpetuate racial prejudice. Immediately following the Civil War, blacks, "found themselves in the midst of a white population that was angry over losing their war, their slaves, and their privilege." [59] For newly freed slaves, it was understood that they were expected to work to earn a living, but they

were largely ill-equipped to do so in the free market. As a result of system of slavery preventing the majority of blacks from becoming educated, nearly all were illiterate, had few skills outside of farming and domestic work, and very few owned land. These very reasons made it easy for convict leasing to force the struggling black population back into servitude.

Postbellum Southern "justice" saw a sharp increase in the number of blacks convicted of crimes while most Southern states were began using, or increased using, convict lease.[60] Because of the system of racial discrimination, along with no perceived intrinsic economic value to draw a white benefactor (as was the case during slavery), blacks had the judicial system stacked against them. One method that proved useful, and exploited the unemployment of the blacks, proved to be vagrancy laws that made unemployment illegal. If blacks could not prove their employment, they were arrested and often put into the convict lease system.[61] Furthermore, abject poverty led blacks to commit more petty crimes which were then harshly punished. The numbers of blacks in the penitentiary system swelled quickly, and longer sentences meant the numbers were not likely to shrink for some time.

Blacks were fighting disenfranchisement in addition to the prejudiced criminal justice system. The inability to vote or hold political office meant an all-white system wherein blacks had no say.[62] Jim Crow laws, coupled with "scientific" theories of the racial superiority of whites, furthered the abuse and exploitation of blacks. Mildred C. Fierce asserts, "Racial segregation and pseu-

58   Mitchell, 13.
59   Mildred C. Fierce, *Slavery Revisited: Blacks and the Southern Convict Lease System, 1865-1933*, (Brooklyn, New York: African Studies Research Center, Brooklyn College, City University of New York, 1994) 15.

60   Shapiro, 47.
61   Douglas A. Blackmon, Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II, (New York, New York: Anchor Books, 2009), 1.
62   Fierce, 35.

doscientific theories of racial inferiority were, of course, embraced by the race demagogues who littered the political landscape of the postbellum South."[63] Eugenics, social Darwinism, and even phrenology kept rich, white men in positions of power. The groups victimized the most by pseudoscience included poor women, mentally and physically disabled people, criminals, and blacks.[64]In essence, this science proved to be a justification for convict leasing during this time because the majority of leased convicts were black, reinforcing the belief they were inferior.

Alabama defined a person as black if they had "at least one black great-grandparent."[65] Regardless of an individual's actual skin tone, just having one-eighth black ancestry subjected them to segregation and its legal restrictions. Convict lease perpetuated the racial subordination of slavery. Alabama and Texas even carried over the slavery classification system to describe the "anticipated labor value" of convicts: full, medium, or dead.[66] Those classified as "dead" (i.e. "dead weight") were considered to have no real labor value, while those classed as "full" were the most valuable. The classification determined the lease rate paid to the state.

The discrepancies found in the numbers of free workers and convict laborers shows the abuse in the system. John Mitchell writes, "The process of legally putting poor and ignorant black men to work in the southern mines as convict laborers has all the look of a villainous form of conscription."[67]In Alabama, wage-earning, free miners were approximately 35% white and 46% black.[68] While the numbers of free workers is somewhat skewed,

the divide between black and white is still fairly close, certainly within a reasonable range of each other. This is in stark contrast to the numbers of convict laborers. The percentages of black convicts in the Alabama state and county penitentiary systems were 90% and 95%, respectively.[69] These percentages are consistent with the other Southern states. According to Matthew Mancini, "In the South, taken as a region, over ninety percent of the convicts were black."[70]

Wage-earning white miners held onto the belief of racial superiority. Whites often "fussed" when black miners were promoted to any position above "pick and shovel" work.[71] Even though white miners were economically in the same boat, namely that they were poor and often uneducated, they had the socially superior position of white privilege that set them apart. For instance, the Anti-Convict League in Alabama who thought that leasing black convicts in the Birmingham district would deter whites who would otherwise move to the area also believed in white social superiority.[72]The League did want to end convict leasing, not for moral reasons but because it concerned itself with helping whites gain employment.

Job Competition between Wage Workers and Convicts

The New South Era was "characterized by civil and social upheaval."[73]The Civil War and the abolition of slavery effectively destroyed the former agrarian economy of the antebellum South. Postbellum Southerners and

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63   Ibid., 24.
64   Frederick.
65   Julie Novkov, "Segregation (Jim Crow)." *Encyclopedia of Alabama*.
66   Mancini, 345.
67   Mitchell, 12.
68   Ward, 20-21.

69   Curtin.
70   Mancini, 343.
71   Shapiro, 43.
72   Fierce, 211.
73   Rob Dixon, "New South Era." *Encyclopedia of Alabama*.

immigrants found little to no financial incentive to continue in agriculture. Sharecropping and tenant farming led farmers into a cycle of debt from which they could not escape.[74] Because of this, and land scarcity, pre-war planters and farmers became post-war miners, rail, and road workers.

Convict labor proved to be the biggest threat to the livelihood of the wage workers. Historian Karin A. Shapiro writes, "When business depression and the growing reliance of coal companies on convict labor threatened their dreams, coal miners, their families, and many other locals became incensed – so incensed that they fought the institution of convict leasing with remarkable conviction."[75] Having their jobs taken from them and given to convict laborers embittered and agitated wage workers. Convicts, they believed, had the privilege of being provided for by either the state or their lessees, whereas the free workers had to earn their income to provide for themselves and their families.

Every convict leased for labor competed directly with a free wage worker. [76] When convict labor is used in place of wage workers, the money made from production goes to the state, the corporations, and upper-level white collar employees. As a result, blue collar workers make nothing to live on and when blue collar wage workers do not earn an income, there is little money circulating in the economy.[77] Additionally, those not leased out from the penitentiary system, for one reason or another, were a drain on the state's tax revenue, paid by workers who were employed and carrying the burden for all. Whether or not convicts were leased out, the wage workers lost, fiscally speaking.

Oswald West writes, "Though the prison competition is small, still it is sufficient as a disturbing factor. It is not the volume or the percentage that plays havoc, but the nature of the competition."[78] Not only were convicts taking jobs away from wage workers, their products themselves took jobs away as well. In Missouri in 1909, the state recorded revenue of $4,708,102 from prison-made goods, which in turn meant that $758,000 of wages were lost by the 1,700 free laborers who lost their jobs that year.[79] The principle at play in this case is that, because prison-made goods are made at much lower costs, they in turn become cheaper for the consumer. This means that prison-made goods sell first while free labor goods do not, leading to layoffs and, thereby, undermining the free market.

> **"** **CONVICT LEASE ROSE FROM ECONOMIC NEED, REAL OR IMAGINED, BUT IT BECAME A MEANS TO PERPETUATE RACIAL PREJUDICE.**

Workers pulled together to form various labor unions, such as the Knights of Labor and United Mine Workers. Labor unions created a sort of stalemate early on. Gaining momentum proved difficult. Striking seemed to be the best way for wage workers to have their demands (maximum workday, fair wages, better working conditions) met. Convict lease undermined the labor unions because they were often used as strikebreakers, replacing the wage workers who went on strike.[80] Convict labor, already cheaper than paying the initially unfair

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74   Shapiro, 3-4.
75   Ibid., 16.
76   Taylor, 279.
77   Ward, 46.

78   West, 48.
79   Mitchell, 11.
80   Ward, 24.

wages to workers, saved the companies money during the strike. Convict strikebreakers could keep up production and the striking workers would not earn wages for the duration of the strike. The management found that threatening wage workers who considered striking with convict strikebreakers was an extremely effective way to keep them in line.[81] It also meant that they could potentially increase their bottom line in the event of a strike.

The reality was a harsh one: convict labor prevented wage workers from gaining employment and/or retaining employment. Workers had every reason to oppose the convict lease system. It served as a "direct impingement on free labor opportunity."[82] As early as 1885, anti-convict labor unions were forming to combat the issue. The Miners Anti-Convict League and Union formed in Alabama in July of that year.[83] Unionizing, in and of itself, was problematic due to the racial tensions and prejudices at play. Those who unionized were at odds with those who did not. Authors Robert David Ward and William Warren Rogers explain, "Union labor, white and black, competed against non-union labor; white miners competed against Negro miners; and all groups of free miners were in competition with convict labor."[84] It was necessary for unionizing miners, white and black, to work together to have their demands met.

A New War and a Changing Economy

The beginning of the end for the convict lease system came from an unlikely place when World War I broke out in Europe. Once America joined in the war,

it completely altered the economy. World War I soldiers left a void in the market for labor and the war efforts took much of the resources away from their civilian applications. Out of necessity for the war efforts, civilian men and women began working for industries, especially those geared toward producing for the war.[85] The steel industry, even having deferred its normal applications to produce for the war efforts, saw a boom in production. The need for more workers during the war, and a common goal to produce for the cause, facilitated better working relations and cooperation between workers and management.

The changes in the economic structure led to other changes as well. Due to scarcity, commodity prices rise during wartime. In order to keep up with higher cost of living, and maintaining production with fewer workers, wages had to increase. [86] Decrease in cost and wages will also continue in a similar cycle. As a general rule, war increases costs, while peacetime decreases cost.[87] War profiteering effectively raised costs across the board from raw materials to shipping and from there trickled down to everyday necessities. This raised the cost of living. Private profiteering was already a concern for the government prior to World War I and regulations were being put in place to prevent it. [88]

Either by agreements or mergers, companies consolidated into monopolies. This kept wages low and undermined the free market economy by eliminating

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81 Shapiro, 6.
82 Ward, 25.
83 Ibid., 25-26.
84 Ibid., 21.

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85 Frank B. Gilbreth and Lillian Miller Gilbreth, "Scientific Management." *American Problems of Reconstruction*. Ed. Elisha M. Friedman (New York, New York: EP Dutton & Co.), (1918), 127.
86 Ray Morris, "The Railroad Problem." American Problems of Reconstruction. Ed. Elisha M. Friedman (New York, New York: EP Dutton & Co.), (1918), 213.
87 Ibid., 213.
88 Louis B. Wehle, "Capital, Labor, and the State." American Problems of Reconstruction. Ed. Elisha M. Friedman (New York, New York: EP Dutton & Co.), (1918), 155.

competition. Anti-trust legislation based itself on "the economic principle" that "unchecked monopoly power in trade and industry strongly and almost inevitably tends to excessive accumulation of wealth among the few and to exorbitant prices and high cost of living for the many."[89] It is because of this principle and resulting legislation that the economic structure prior to World War I was on the verge of drastic reorganization. Higher standards of living, increased wages, and increased costs of materials, all combine to create inflation. Inflation across all aspects of industry led to convict labor losing its profitability. The war expedited those changes. With higher wages for workers, the standards of living changed which resulted in companies having to reevaluate the use of convict leasing when they are responsible for the living expenses of the convicts. Post-World War I steel purchases by European countries were estimated to bring in between $6 and $10 billion.[90] The steel industry boom that began during the war did not quickly end. In order to draw the steel industry to the South, many counties and towns offered tax incentives to companies. With more companies bringing their operations to the South, inflation continued to grow, and paying wages was became cheaper than paying for convicts. Convict lease was becoming less and less profitable all the time.

The Demise of the "New Slavery"

Convict labor was believed to be vital in the early stages of Reconstruction and industrialization. After a few decades, however, it became clear that the benefits were outweighed by the costs, including guards, rewards for captured runaways, destruction of property, feeding, clothing, housing, and treating illness or injury.[91] Convict lease became detrimental to the balance sheets of companies. Once convict lease was no longer profitable to companies, and they did not renew their lease from the state, it was abolished. As early as February 1877, Georgia legislature tried to abolish convict lease in its state, but the bill was rejected. Another bill was "read twice and indefinitely postponed." In the 1908 State Democratic Convention in Georgia, it was announced that convict leasing would be abolished and would shift convict labor to public works for the state. One by one, the Southern states began to abolish convict lease: Mississippi (1894), Tennessee (1896), Louisiana (1901), South Carolina (1901), Arkansas (1913), Texas (1914), Florida (1919), Alabama (1928), and finally North Carolina (1933).

For its history, convict lease was simply a continuation of slavery. It perpetuated racial inequality while making a violent system of punishment. The convict lease system was not abolished due to public outrage, although for its entire duration it had its detractors. It was abolished because; financially speaking, leasing convicts became a liability rather than increasing profitability.[92] Chain gangs became a better use for convict labor. No longer leased out to private companies, convicts working on chain gangs did so through public works. This proved to be a cost-effective way for the states to work necessary maintenance projects, while reforming "the criminal element."[93] The taxpayers got their money's worth, and the convicts were not subjected to such harsh treatment.

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89   William B. Colver, "Concentration and Control in Industry and Trade." American Problems of Reconstruction. Ed. Elisha M. Friedman (New York, New York: EP Dutton & Co.), (1918), 180-181.
90   Charles B. Schwab, "Readjustment of Industries." American Problems of Reconstruction. Ed. Elisha M. Friedman (New York, New York: EP Dutton & Co.), (1918), 140.

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91   Shapiro, 5-6.
92   Mancini, 340.
93   Tynan, 58.

Early during Reconstruction, convict lease was the labor system of choice for the Southern states. Perhaps, initially, it was looked upon as the only fiscally and economically responsible way for the South to rebuild. In reality, it served to keep the old ways of the slavery system without drawing so much negative attention from the North. Eventually, due to the economic ramifications and changes in economic laws, convict lease was forced out of the South and the black communities, finally ending slavery.

Quenette Shehane: The Abduction and Murder that Shook Birmingham

by Laura King

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N DECEMBER 21st, 1976, the neighborhood of Graymont in Birmingham, Alabama shook with the news that recent Birmingham-Southern College elementary education graduate, Quenette Shehane, went missing during the night before while leaving a local convenience store. At the time, the neighborhood surrounding Birmingham-Southern had a large black population, but inside the school's boundaries existed a top-tier white institution. Despite Graymont's almost entirely white population in the 1960s, the area resembled the rest of Birmingham, deeply entrenched within the battle for civil rights; in fact, Graymont championed as a forerunner of school integration.[1] In early September 1963, the integration of Graymont Elementary School, Ramsey High School, and West End High School beckoned the usual picketers and protestors, but the demonstration of white supremacy proved futile in stopping the inevitable integration ordered after the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision to integrate schools in 1954.[2] This integration, however, brought out the lingering fears of what it really meant to be racially mixed due to persistent prejudiced socialization. Ten years later, with the murder of Quenette Shenane, a young, white woman, by three local black men, racial tensions proved themselves still alive and well in the city as many citizens viewed her murder as an affirmation of what integration would

Quenette Shehane, courtesy of Bham Wiki.

bring: innocent white women being sexually and physically brutalized by black men. Even though the city of Birmingham found it difficult to ignore the race factor with the murder, in truth, Quenette's abduction and murder actually happened as a random act that followed the nation-wide upward trend in "serious" crime during the

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1   "Neighborhood Analysis: Elyton," *Birmingham Planning Commission*. vol. 5. (1967) 26.
2   Herb Boyd, *We Shall Overcome* (Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, Inc., 2004), 7.

era.[3]Quenette's murder showed that even though the classical phase of the Civil Rights Movement had ended, the fear of what integration could cause remained.

Much like any other southern city post-Antebellum period, Birmingham struggled with the desperate need to find a way to handle the "Negro question," meaning, how to prevent change within the caste-like system of white supremacy over the black population. The adopted Jim Crow system segregated every aspect of life between the races, ranging from attending the same schools to walking on the same sidewalk.[4] Under the leadership of zoning plan expert Morris Knowles, Birmingham solidified these laws in 1926 after the Birmingham Zoning Commission successfully passed a racial zoning ordinance. The change almost immediately took effect in the white-dominated Graymont and the black Smithfield neighborhood, divided literally at Center Street. The commission approved the official city-wide ordinance in July 1926, and the statute quickly went into effect in early August.[5] Within a decade, this boundary line came into question; homeowners in Smithfield protested the inclusion of their homes in the area of development of Smithfield Court, chosen by the Public Works Administration's Housing

> **THE MURDER OF QUENETTE, AN INNOCENT BIRMINGHAM-SOUTHERN COLLEGE STUDENT, BECAME AN EASY OUTLET OF RACIAL FRUSTRATIONS BY LOCAL NEWSPAPERS AND BIRMINGHAM CITIZENS.**

Division because of the area's "poverty and blight."[6] They protested accusations of the area as blighted as untrue, arguing that the neighborhood remained "centrally located, convenient to car lines, surrounded by schools including the Industrial High School, and having many modern homes several of which have been recently improved. It would be impossible for the Home Owners to find a suitable site as good and convenient as the one we have."[7] These protests, for the time being at least, helped Smithfield residents preserve the already too small black neighborhood.

The results of the zoning laws forced Birmingham to face the task of expanding the African American zoned residential area so that the protestors would not be forced to relocate due to changed zones. To accomplish this, the Center Street dividing line shifted slightly further westward into the white zone so the homeowners could re-classify their homes from the construction zone to the new area in order to stay within Smithfield's borders.[8] Birmingham adopted the official rezoning in June 1935, but Graymont homeowners met the change with heavy resistance. The president of the Graymont Civic League, Walter L. McNeil, appealed this decision to change the boundary saying that, "Center Street was the logical dividing line… moving the line would devalue the properties owned by white residents."[9] Many other residents agreed with McNeil saying the commissions "sold out the white people

3   Andrew Kilpatrick, "Robbery Soars- City's Crime Rate Up 14.3 per cent," *The Birmingham News* (Birmingham, AL), Jul. 23. 1975.
4   Vann C. Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (NY, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 7.
5   Charles E. Connerly, *The Most Segregated City in America: City Planning and Civil Rights in Birmingham* (United States: University of Virginia Press, 2005), 46-47.

6   Ibid., 60-62.
7   Ibid.
8   Ibid., 63-65.
9   Ibid., 64.

to the Negroes,"[10]and if they allowed this change, the creation of such a precedent could later result in the boundary overtaking Birmingham-Southern College, just eight blocks from Center Street.[11] No compromise seemed within reach because the blackresidential areas did not grow as the black population grew, resulting in a lack of

Flyer for a meeting concerning the violence caused by the zoning in Birmingham's neighborhoods, courtesy of BhamWiki.

residences despite the expansion of the African American community.

The ever-growing African American population found the Birmingham Zoning Commission woefully unprepared. When the commission drew the boundary line in 1925, showing the white residents of Graymont-College Hills that their neighborhoods and way of life would remain stable, despite the black population, remained the main goal.[12] By the 1950s, however, the situation had changed. The black population in Birmingham had grown nearly twenty percent in the last decade, from 108,938 to 130,025.[13] This growth proved unsustainable for the few, already crowded, areas that blacks were permitted to occupy.[14] In 1945, the Birmingham NAACP chapter took up this housing battle by raising money and pushing against restrictions in normal NAACP fashion—through the courts. Birmingham dodged the attempt by conceding to the first case in which the city had ordered Alice P. Allen to vacate her new home because the inaction of the new zoning prevented her from occupying the house. When her attorney, Arthur Shores, began to challenge the city's commission, the commission declared that they had, "violated state law by providing inadequate public notice."[15] In reality, the commission hoped to avoid a public legal battle that would challenge the racialized zoning throughout the city. Shortly after this case, the NAACP tried again with Samuel Matthews who had purchased lots considered for rezoning from William Coleman's real estate company. The residents of Graymont-College Hills vocalized their displeasure and told Coleman, "We ain't going to stand for that at all. You better leave here now. You sold that lot down there to

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10 Ibid., 65.
11 Ibid.

12 Ibid., 71.
13 Ibid., 76.
14 Ibid., 75.
15 Ibid., 78-80.

that Negro knowing it was zoned for white people… you better get going. You'd better get going now. If you don't we are going to wait on you."[16] Once again, the battle diffused with the decision to allow the Matthews family to occupy their home. In this way, Birmingham's lawyers believed they could appease the NAACP by making case-by-case exceptions without having to test its zoning law in the courts where the outcome could not be guaranteed.

The battle to end racial zoning in Birmingham had not ended. Eight more cases followed that of Allen and Matthews, all from North Smithfield and tried jointly until 1950. Unsurprisingly, the area residents pushed for black occupancy became known as "Dynamite Hill."[17] Fed up with attempts at neighborhood integration, whites began frequently bombing the homes of the blacks attempting to live in the area. The series of bombings began in August 1947 at the home of Samuel Matthews. Investigations of these bombings produced no arrests and no deterrents for future bombings.[18] To make matters worse, Public Safety Commissioner, Eugene "Bull" Connor, and the Birmingham City Commission stood behind the residents of Graymont-College Hill to pass a law that "made violation of the city's racial zoning laws a misdemeanor punishable by a one-hundred-dollar fine and six months in jail."[19] The law rested on Bull Connor's reasoning that if neighborhoods were integrated, safety would become a major problem.[20] Despite the fact that Connor's justification seemed sound on the surface, he did not mention that there would be no attempt to protect the homes or the people being terrorized.

The law provided no major obstacle to Arthur

Shores who filed a suit in defense of the eight new cases with Monroe and Mary Means Monk as the lead case. The NAACP focused much of their attention and resources into this case, which included assigning NAACP attorney Thurgood Marshall to assist Shores. The issues, they argued, focused on the fact that the plaintiffs' were consistently denied their property rights.[21] Court precedent worked in their favor as they won the trial based on the decision in the 1917 case, *Buchanan v. Warley,* which stated: "Property is more than the mere thing which a person owns. It is elementary that it includes the right to acquire, use, and dispose of it. The Constitution protects these essential attributes of property."[22] This opinion came out of Louisville, Kentucky where racial zoning laws proved similar to those in Birmingham; while the laws had been enacted, the U.S. Supreme Court declared Louisville's zoning policy as an unconstitutional violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. Naturally, Birmingham appealed the use of *Buchanan v. Warley* in deciding the verdict, despite the case's use to end racial zoning in Richmond and New Orleans. Their efforts proved futile, however, and the appeal ended with the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upholding the decision and a refusal from the U.S. Supreme Court to hear the case.[23]

Even after the declaration of racial zoning as unconstitutional, the violence and prejudice in Birmingham continued as white citizens fought against the mixing of races and the unknown of what integration would bring. Specifically in the Graymont and Smithfield area, these zoning battles, coupled with *Brown v. Board of Education* and its forced implementation during the early 1960s, Southerners felt their way of life become threatened. With Graymont and Smithfield literally being side

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16 Ibid., 81-83.
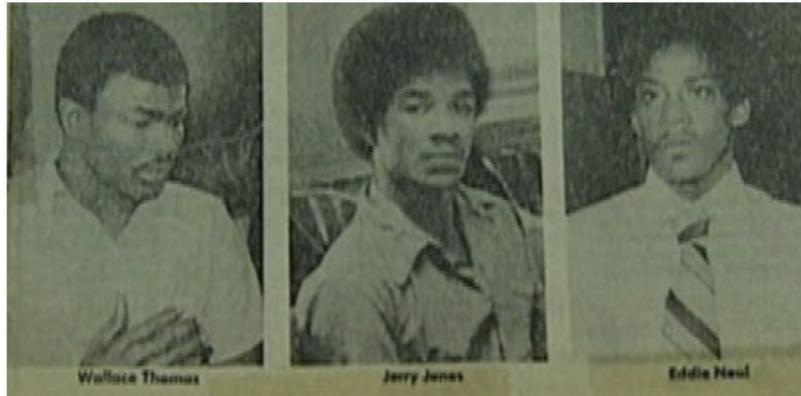17 Ibid., 84.
18   Ibid.
19 Ibid., 90-91.
20   Ibid.

21 Ibid., 93-94.
22 Ibid., 97-99.
23   Ibid.

by side, a lessening of these tensions remained difficult, so the murder of Quenette, an innocent Birmingham-Southern College student, became an easy outlet of racial frustrations by local newspapers and Birmingham citizens.

Birmingham, Alabama in late December 1976 shared many characteristics with any other city in the United States at the time. The many local colleges in the area released for Christmas break as families prepared for the holidays. No exception to the rule, twenty-one year old Quenette Shehane, Birmingham-Southern College graduate, eagerly looked forward to the break. Before leaving Birmingham to return to her family in Clio, Alabama, Quenette planned to have dinner with her boyfriend, Ramsey Lane, at his fraternity house. As the time for their dinner drew closer, Ramsey discovered that he had forgotten salad dressing, and Quenette offered to go to a nearby convenience store, U-Tote-M, to purchase some.[24] The errand should have taken only a few minutes, but after some time had passed, Ramsey began to worry about Quenette's whereabouts. He left in his car and began circling the neighborhood stores and streets looking for any sign of Quenette or her vehicle, but he had no luck in locating her. After he reported her missing to a police officer he spotted, he returned home to call her family with the tragic news. Her family immedi-

In 1976, Wallace Thomas, Jerry Jones, and Eddie Neal were accused of the murder of Quenette Shehane, courtesy of Birmingham News.

ately made the trip from Clio to Birmingham, but the twenty-four hour time frame for a person to be officially reported as missing restricted the actions of both concerned loved ones and the police.[25]

Early the next morning, Tuesday, December 21st, Birmingham police found Quenette's car down an unpaved road behind Daniel Payne College, a local historically black institute, during routine patrol.[26] The police immediately recognized that a fight of some kind had occurred because smeared blood lined the panel along the rear of the car. No sign of Quenette could be found. Inside the car, police found her belongings, including the clothes she was last seen in, all of which someone had clearly pilfered through. Around noon that same day, two bystanders called the Birmingham Police Department and reported a body lying on the side of the road. The murderers had left Quenette's body completely naked and frozen from the cold, having rolled her down into a shallow ditch. Her body had multiple gunshot wounds, including the fatal shot in her chest, and police found shell casings scattered about her body. Investigators on the scene reported their certainty she had not died instantly, but instead she suffered a cruel death in the freezing temperatures.[27] Just ten miles from the site of

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24   "Fatal Errand," *On the Case with Paula Zahn*. Investigation Discovery. Silver Spring, MD: ID, May 17, 2015.

25   Ibid.

26   Ibid.

27   Harold Kennedy,"'Southern Student from Clio," *The Birming-*

her discovered car, the crime scene and her body shed little to no clues for investigators to ascertain what really happened to Quenette the night before.[28]

During the initial investigation, Quenette's boyfriend Ramsey, the last known person to see her alive, became the primary suspect. Investigators became interested in Ramsey for two reasons: he owned a gun of the same caliber used to kill Quenette, and the couple had remained alone that evening. No one could corroborate

> **" ALMOST FORTY YEARS AFTER THE MURDER OF QUENETTE SHEHANE, A TALL METAL REMINDER OF HER BRUTAL MURDER REMAINS IN BIRMINGHAM.**

or verify his alibi that she had visited the fraternity house for dinner and had gone out for salad dressing while he waited for her return. The investigators suggestedhis motive as jealousy and fear of her near-future departure to begin her career as a teacher, despite Ramsey's insistence of their happy engagement. However, evidence supported his alibi when police recovered a bag with the salad dressing and a time-stamped receipt that fit his story about twenty five feet from Quenette's deserted car.[29]

Investigators began to treat the murder's motivation as a random act of violence rather than a crime of passion, and so the painstaking process of searching the area for witnesses began again.[30]Despite the convenience store's location alongside a busy intersection, investiga-

tors found no witnesses to Quenette's abduction. The store attendant on duty that night verified that he remembered Quenette entering the store to buy salad dressing and then heard commotion from the parking lot after she left the store, but he attributed the noise to normal college student behavior. To crack the case, the forensics team fingerprinted her car. With the palm print lifted from the rear of the car, they hoped for a solution, but the evidence found no matches to those currently in their criminal records. Investigators used ballistics testing on the bullets found inside of Quenette's body as well as in her car to try to match against any twenty-two caliber handguns confiscated by police.[31] Even though this method may have wasted effort if police never randomly recovered the gun, ballistics testing ended up leading investigators to a major break in the case.

About a month after her murder, victims called police to stop an armed robbery at a convenience store in the area. The police sent the robber's confiscated twenty-two caliber handgun to the lab for ballistics testing. After testing, investigator determined the gun as an exact match to the one used to kill Quenette Shehane.[32] Police immediately went to question the suspect, Wallace Norrell Thomas, a student at Daniel Payne College and president of his fraternity's chapter.[33] Thomas denied knowledge of Quenette or the crime, but he eventually gave police the name John Mays. When investigators questioned Mays, he admitted to seeing Quenette's kidnapping, that he watched her get thrown into her own car at the U-Tote-M as he walked to his sister's home, but he denied knowledge of the identity of the perpetrator, only that he recognized the car that trailed Quenette's leaving the parking lot as his roommate, Jerry Lee Jones'.

ham News (Birmingham, AL), Dec. 21, 1976: 1.
28   "Fatal Errand," *On the Case with Paula Zahn*.
29   Bruce Patterson, ".22 Shell Casings Found in Coed Death," *Birmingham Post-Herald* (Birmingham, AL), Dec. 23, 1976.
30   "Fatal Errand," *On the Case with Paula Zahn*.

31   Ibid.
32   Ibid.
33   Ibid.

Mays also testified in court that on the evening of Quenette's murder, he heard Thomas, Neal, and Jones say they, "were going out [to] pick up some young ladies."[34]

With a name finally tied to the crime scene, investigators wasted no time in finding Jerry Jones for questioning. To get a confession from Jones, investigators played on his guilt from the crime, and with that, Jones gave them the names of the other men involved in Quenette's death, Wallace Norrell Thomas and Eddie Bernard Neal. Even though Jones confessed the involvement of himself, Neal, and Thomas, he disclosed that after Neal raped Quenette, Thomas put forth the plan to murder her. He continued, stating that Thomas declared Quenette had to be killed because they spoke his name out loud. After this declaration, Thomas pulled the trigger and hid Quenette's car. Jones' confession resulted in the arrest of the three men involved and, when in custody, collected palm prints led to an exact match of those found on the car. Investigators concluded, without a doubt, that the prints placed Wallace Norrell Thomas at the crime.[35]

Multiple trials came before the final convictions of the three men because of a lengthy process of appeals and mistrials. Wallace Thomas, the ringleader of the crime, received a sentence of execution by the electric chair. It took two years to place him on death row, but even longer for the execution because of numerous delays, including his appeal against the cruelness of the electric chair. On July 13, 1990, in Atmore, Alabama, after the U.S. Supreme Court denied his final attempt to appeal, the state executed Wallace Norrell Thomas for the murder of Quenette.[36] Even though not deemed a racially

motivated crime, Thomas fought his sentence and made his conviction a matter of race until the electric chair ended his life. Before his execution, he read a final statement aloud: ''Let my death serve as an instigator that will awaken a nation to fight and adopt the philosophy of the late, great Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who said, 'Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.'''[37] Eddie Neal, originally sentenced to death by execution, received a sentence for life in prison without the possibility of paroleafter a third trial through appeal. He began his sentence in June of 1979 in St. Clair County.[38] Jerry Jones, because of his lesser role in the murder as well as his cooperation with the investigation, also received the punishment of life in prison with parole and began his sentence in March 1982. After denied parole in 2013, he continued his stay at the Staton Correctional Facility until his next parole hearing in 2018.[39] Quenette's mother, Miriam Shehane, expressed that the possibility of Jones' parole exists as something she knows may happen one day, but, "I try to dismiss it until I get the notice that he's up for parole again…That's one reason victims can never get over their victimization because it's thrown back in your face so much. It's always there. Your life is never the same. You have a life, but a different life."[40] Even though all three were rightly convicted in the trial, Miriam Shehane remains determined that when the time for Jones' parole hearing comes, the Alabama Board of Pardons and Parolesremembers the impact of Quenette's

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34   "Not in My Name, but They're Dead Just the Same: #133 – Wallace Norrell Thomas – AL – 7/13/1990," *Live Journal,* Jul. 13, 2012, http://notinmyname.livejournal.com/39325.html.
35   "Fatal Errand," *On the Case with Paula Zahn.*
36   Jay Reeves, "Governor Refuses Execution Stay," *Birmingham Post-Herald* (Birmingham, AL), Jul. 13, 1990.

37   "Inmate Executed in Alabama for 1976 Murder of Woman," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), July. 14, 1990.
38   Carol Robinson, "'Fatal Errand': Brutal Rape, Murder, of Birmingham-Southern Coed Featured on Paula Zahn Show," *AL.com,* May 15, 2015, http://www.al.com/news/birmingham/index.ssf/2015/05/fatal_errand_brutal_rape_murde.html.
39   Ibid.
40   Ibid.

death.[41]

Investigators admitted that the pressure they felt remained increasingly intense as the communities within Birmingham pushed for the case to be solved quickly.[42] Every step of the disappearance, discovery, and trial plastered the newspapers. The brutality of her murder proved difficult not only for her family and boyfriend, who were completely devastated, but also for those that worked on her case. Jefferson County District Attorney David Barber remembered the day Quenette's body crossed the mortuary table for examination, "Walking into the morgue and seeing her body on that stainless steel table is indelibly burned into my memory - nude, hands and knees scraped with dirt and asphalt, and a honeysuckle vine wrapped tightly around her chest where she had obviously tried to crawl off after being shot."[43] Investigators knew that in order to calm the fears of the people in Birmingham, the investigation must close the case quickly.

The murder of Quenette Shehane shook the communities of Birmingham because of the senselessness and brutality of the crime. Her murder struck fear in the community that a young, innocent girl may be victimized, abducted, raped, and murdered without even a motive other than what reporter for the *Birmingham Post-Herald*, Bruce Patterson, at the time called, "a crime of opportunity."[44] By stating this, Patterson vocalized the communities fears, but also paints the image that crimes like Quenette's murder are "opportunities" that result from integration. Thomas, Neal, and Jones took advantage of Quenette's vulnerability as a woman alone at night. The reactions of the community, that race still ex-

isted as a factor, should not surprise readers when put into the context of the classical phase of the Civil Rights Movement as recent history because a complete shift of a region's attitudes and ideologies in a mere decade remained an impossible feat. The 1961 *CBS Reports* documentary, "Who Speaks for Birmingham?," interviewed white citizens, including college students, and politicians regarding their opinions on integration. The college students, some from Birmingham-Southern College, either took a hard stance against integration or admitted that they knew the immorality of segregation. One of the arguments presented simply stated that they did not know black college students as anything other than a race and as such, difficulties existed for them to understand the problems of the black community. One student admitted that she knew she had an internal conflict about what was morally correct what she was personally comfortable with and that laws would be necessary, "to make her to what she ought to do even though she didn't want to do it right now."[45] The fear of the unknown served as the basis to many of their apprehensions about integration. By today's standards, one may scoff at such arguments as racially ignorant, but at the time, integration proved to be a completely foreign concept. When the brutal murder of Quenette Shehane happened just fifteen years later, white fears seemed validated.

Almost forty years after the murder of Quenette Shehane, a tall metal reminder of her brutal murder remains in Birmingham. While remembering the scope of the tragedy, Jefferson County District Attorney David Barber reflected on the fence build around Quenette's former campus after her murdering stating, "Now there is this very expensive fence around the Birmingham-Southern College campus, and every time I go by there

41   Ibid.
42   Ibid.
43   Ibid.
44   "Fatal Errand," *On the Case with Paula Zahn.*

45   Howard K. Smith, "Who Speaks for Birmingham?" *CBS Reports,* May 18, 1961.

I know why that fence is there. It's another reminder of all that's wrong with the world."[46] Even though her murder happened from a chance encounter more than a hate crime, it resulted in a literal boundary separating a white institution from the surrounding black neighborhood. This fence failed to show that Birmingham had followed the upsurge of crime that the rest of the country faced, but at a slower rate. Nationwide, "serious" crime, including things like robbery and assault, had increased eighteen percent, but in Birmingham, the increase held at just over fourteen percent.[47] Regardless of this trend, Quenette's murder showed that the dismantling of Jim Crow did little to shift racial attitudes as newspapers quickly sprang at the opportunity to paint the murder as a black on white crime, bringing to light the Southern argument that integration would bring nothing positive for either race.

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46   Bob Johnson, "Man Denied Parole in 1976 Birmingham Murder Case," *Tuscaloosanews.com* (Tuscaloosa, AL), Aug. 5, 2008.
47   Kilpatrick, "Robbery Soars- City's Crime Rate Up 14.3 per cent."

"The Difficult Way Breaketh Not Their Courage": The Evolution of Unitarianism and its Role as a Liberal Bastion in Bellicose Birmingham

by Lance Ledbetter

Unitarian minister Reverend James Reeb was beaten to death for his civil rights activism, courtesy of WYO History.

"To be a Unitarian in Boston is almost fashionable but to be a Unitarian in the Deep South requires courage."[1] This irrefutable statement concluded the field report on the progression of the Unitarian Church in Birmingham, Alabama to the American Unitarian Association in 1954. Unitarianism as a religion preached tolerance, the universal brother-hood of man, an elastic, secular view of the bible, and most importantly personal service to the community. The church in Birmingham practiced a similar dogma. Birmingham's Unitarian Church acted as a focal point for citizens with liberal views and a desire to bring about social improvement in the community.

The most important issue of improvement in Birmingham socially and economically during this era was undoubtedly the assurance of civil rights for the city's black citizens. As Joseph Volker stated in one of his lay sermons he delivered at the church, "No one will deny that the present crisis exceeds any others that mankind has faced." adding, "The leadership of those precipitating the crisis is well known. It is strongly entrenched and has demonstrated its capabilities nefarious as they may be."[2] In the pugnacious environment of conservatism in Birmingham led by the "nefarious" Bull Connor, Volker's outlook could lead to unemployment and threats of violence. However, the church did not disband. In the face of such pressures, it grew. As Volker said in another sermon, "We are not alone in our thoughts and hopes…we are the outpost of a wonderful group of people."[3] People ostracized and marginalized by the oppressive environment joined and found like minds promoting open discussion of issues and a sense of individual responsibility for social change as well as a refuge from their hostile en-

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1   Joseph Volker, "Report from the Field on the Unitarian Fellowship of Birmingham, Alabama," UAB Archive (Joseph Volker Papers 12.75).

2   "The Need for Leadership," UAB Archive (Volker's Papers 6.51).
3   "Town Hall Religion," UAB Archive (Volker's Papers 6.48).

vironment. The individual efforts of Dr. Joseph Volker in his creation of UAB and Charles Zukoski's Button Gwinnett columns highlight the unique individual nature of activism within the church, as do the recollections of members of the church during the time. The church evolved to take a collective role in the fight for civil rights when faced with major tragedies such as the 16th Street Baptist Church bombing and the murder of Unitarian activist Rev. James Reeb during Martin Luther King Jr.'s Selma march.

> **"** **VOLKER WORKED BEHIND THE SCENES TO PLAN A TOTAL RACIAL INTEGRATION OF THE CAMPUS AS SOON AS THE "CONGRESSIONAL COVER" CAME.**

The history of Unitarianism in Birmingham did not begin with the church founded in 1952. In 1916, Rev. Thomas Byrnes attempted to establish a church at 725 North 19th Street. His church much like the one that would eventually gain a permanent foothold later would work to help improve social maladies. They fought for such issues like women's suffrage, the end of the convict lease system, and education and care for the city's indignant population by creating women's leagues, distributing liberal pamphlets, creating schools, and funding charity drives.[4]

They faced massive resistance in their time as well. Industrialists, seeking to maintain the inequitable racial and economic environment they had created to exploit Birmingham's natural resources, dominated the local government.Eventually Rev. Byrnes left Birmingham and without his leadership, the congregation collapsed. This small bright spot did help to start some change. Eventually women's leagues they helped to pioneer would abolish the convict lease system, but overall Birmingham only became more ignorant, diseased, and violent as the city government refused to put any significant amount of money into public assistance. The Great Depression exacerbated this situation. Wealthy civic leaders tried to assist the general population as much as they could personally but eventually the coffers ran dry. President Roosevelt eventually declared Birmingham as the hardest hit city during the Depression.[5]

Eventually, with public funding from New Deal policies, Birmingham would begin to pull itself out of the mire of industry that was rapidly fading as resources began to run dry. Out of the ashes or the blast furnaces emerged the "New South" service economy of Birmingham. The University of Alabama Medical Center (now known as the University of Alabama-Birmingham) became the driving force behind the new, burgeoning Birmingham. The driving force behind the new burgeoning Birmingham was The University of Alabama Medical Center (now known as the University of Alabama-Birmingham) it sought to bring new ideas and minds to the area and helped to break down and replace the old industrial order that created and perpetrated the hostile environment in Birmingham. In the place of the former society that only benefitted the top industrialists and kept people from advancing socially and economically a community of meritocracy evolved. The keys to social mobility became the access to formal higher education.[6]

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4   Gordon D. Gibson, *Southern Witness: Unitarians and Universalists in the Civil Rights Era* (Boston: Skinner House Books and the Unitarian Universalist History and Heritage Society, 2015), 149.

5   Catherine A. Connor, "Building Moderate Progress: Citizenship, Race, and Power in Downtown Birmingham, 1940–1992" (The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2012), 29-30.
6   Ibid., 10-18.

Understanding the relationship between this new economy, UAB, and the Unitarian Church is key to understanding the importance of the Unitarian Church's role in Birmingham. The report mentioned earlier directly makes the connection between the growth of the church and the growth of the "New South" economy in Birmingham that the university fueled. The professionals from the university made up almost a quarter of the congregation of the church and students from the college contributed even more to their growing number.[7] Dr. Joseph Volker, who founded the Unitarian Church in Birmingham and guided the transition of UAB from a simple medical extension of the University of Alabama to a semi-autonomous, highly prestigious, civic research university, acted as a common thread between these two institutions. His individual actions greatly contributed to the advancement of African Americans in Birmingham.

Dr. Joseph Volker, known affectionately as "Big Joe" or "Papa Joe," was born Joseph Francis Hennessey Aloysius Volker in Elizabeth, New Jersey, on March 9, 1913, the middle son of three boys born to second-generation German and Irish immigrants Frank and Rose Volker. He was raised Catholic in a middle-class household in a multi-cultural neighborhood filled with immigrant families as well as white and black natives. This experience would help shape his views of tolerance and racial cooperation later in life. After high school, Volker enrolled at Rutgers University initially but transferred to the dental school at Indiana University. There he earned his dental degree and moved back to the east coast to complete an internship at the Mountainside Hospital in Montclair, New Jersey. While there, he would meet and marry his wife Juanita "Neet" Volker, a nurse, against the hospital's wishes of fraternization between doctors and

"Papa Joe", the affectionate nickname for Joseph Volker, courtesy of Encyclopedia of Alabama.

nurses. Volker would continually vilipend rules like these throughout his life especially when they conflicted with his vision of a better world. Volker continued his academic studies at the University of Rochester in upstate New York. While there, he became a Senior Carnegie Fellow and earned a master's degree and a doctoral degree in biochemistry. Through his research there, Volker showed that applications of fluoride prevented tooth decay. In 1942, Volker accepted the position of Professor of Clini-

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7   Volker, "Report from the Field on the Unitarian Fellowship of Birmingham, Alabama."

cal Dentistry and director of the dental clinics at the Tufts College Dental School in Boston, Massachusetts While at Tufts; he would have an apartment practically inside the Unitarian Church of Boston, the historical epicenter of American Unitarianism. Here he converted from Catholicism to Unitarianism. After five years, the 34-year-old Volker became the youngest dean of the Tufts dental school.[8]

After multiple applicants turned down the position of director of dental studies at the Medical Center, Volker accepted the offer in 1948, saying he "Wanted the intellectual challenge of building something from scratch."[9] His long-term vision included the creation of a public, civic university that would interact with its community. In Birmingham, he realized that as in other universities in the past the changing political climate would fuel and push the university forward and simultaneously, the university would push the city to change as well. In his rise from dental school dean to president of UAB, he accomplished just that. In the words of a colleague, "Big science and big medicine truly were not big enough for Joe."[10]

This vision is not a new concept to Unitarianism. In England the "red brick" universities that rose out of industrial cities, like Birmingham's sister city in the United Kingdom, rode a similar wave of social change in England. The Industrial Revolution's breakdown of parochial structures of social and economic class and its determinants educational access led to the advancement of formerly static agrarian society and subsequently the rise of a new middle class and worker class. Volker himself commented on the social change and upheaval that helped create the classical universities during the Renaissance and understood the social factors that led to the creation of southern colleges in New Orleans, Charlotte, Richmond, and Atlanta.[11] Thus although he never left anything in his large archive indicating that he understood the connection between the "red brick" universities and his own, Volker undoubtedly understood the significance of his actions as a continuation of those of the heroes of the Unitarian Church. In his own words the two communities of the university and the city of Birmingham, "could come to be more than if they were operating without the help of each other."[12] He also understood that a simple medical center would not be enough. For true democratically backed social change, he had to alter the fabric of the community.

To do that he needed to create a full university. As he said, "Physicians only seek to keep people alive and well, and well people can be dumb voters unable to choose good leaders for changing times, as we know from the history of Alabama."[13] He knew that the majority of the community did not have the opportunity to leave Birmingham for education and operating on the Jeffersonian and Unitarian logic of the imperative of an educated body politic that could choose the best candidates. He sought long-term political change, and therefore racial change, in the community from the inside by offering education and opportunities to the electorate.[14] He sought to create a community with free minds. He addresses this concept of free minds in one of his Unitarian sermons. Within he states that to think freely, "We must free ourselves from the bondage of other's thinking." He then uses words from another Unitarian, William Channing, to define the

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8   Tennant S. McWilliams, *New Lights in the Valley: The Emergence of UAB* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007), 75.
9   Ibid.
10   Ibid., 117.

11   Ibid., 116-118.
12   Ibid., 117.
13   Ibid., 118.
14   Ibid., 118.

free mind saying,

> I call a mind free…which recognizes in all human beings the image of God and rights of his children…and offers up a willing victim to the cause of mankind…which protects itself against the usurpations of society, which does not cower to human opinion…which respects itself too much to be the slave or tool to the many or the few…which does not live on old virtues…which forgets what is behind, listens for new and higher monitors of conscience.

Volker concludes that, "A free mind is the product of its environment."[15] Taken in the long-term context of the Civil Rights Movement and the advancement of African-Americans in America this action of creating an environment conducive to free thought **is** one of the greatest accomplishments by any individual person.

More directly, under Volker's continued guidance and influence of UAB, he would create avenues for African-American residents of Birmingham to rise out of the racially motivated institutional poverty. Even before the university officially desegregated, it created opportunities of gainful employment for black residents in professional support roles and spaces of personal interaction between races. This understated interaction, in what some called the most segregated place in America, challenged Birmingham's status quo.[16] A sermon by Volker labeled "Unitarian Views on the Bible" touches on this lack of inquiry. He admonishes that in Birmingham, "There seems to be a taboo against asking questions-even fair ones seeking honest info rather than dogmatic replies."[17]This new relationship takes away the institutional security of racism and the continued interaction humanizes the previously abstract concepts prompting questions of why exactly these people deserve to live as second-class citizens the forces that kept them down, especially when those forces turned to outright violence and terrorism. These jobs would also allow black residents to become part of a new lower-middle class that could have a greater income. Many of them used this income to help send their children to UAB when it desegregated, allowing black residents to join the new professional service economy that UAB fueled.[18] In addition, Volker would offer help with continuing education efforts at Tuskegee Institute, allow an illegal integrated meeting of the American Psychiatric Association in the medical center, and begin to offer continuing education classes to black dentists by way of the creation of the university funded Jefferson County Dental Study Club in 1954.[19] These types of actions showed his commitment to ideals he espoused in his sermons to help your fellow man saying to his congregation that the, "Only consideration is that he is in need and we are privileged to help him." and stressing that, "Freedom alone is not enough that every man must have the opportunity with dignity."

Volker had also wanted a black doctor at the university hospital for black residents but officials continually rebuffed him, citing the law mandating all practicing medical professionals had to be members of the all-white Jefferson County Medical Society. The board required unanimous approval to become a member, something they refused to do for black doctors. Volker and Charles Zukoski Jr., along with other liberal, Unitarian professionals like Roger Hansen and Frederick Kraus whom Volker had enticed to join him at UAB would redouble their efforts to petition the society to admit a black mem-

15   Joseph Volker, "A Free Mind," UAB Archive (Volker's Papers 6.44).

16   Connor, 26.

17   Joseph Volker, "Unitarian Views of the Bible," UAB Archive (Volker's Papers 6.52).

18   Connor, 27.

19   McWilliams, 118-119.

ber after the image of Birmingham continued to fall due to the attack on civil rights demonstrators by Bull Connor's police force. James T. Montgomery, a highly qualified cardiologist who also treated those injured in the demonstrations, applied to become UAB's first black doctor. If successful, he could operate his own floor at the hospital, allowing first class medical care for the city's black residents. After a long battle of phone calls, letters, and personal meetings, the society desegregated. Montgomery became the first black faculty member of UAB in 1963.[20] That same year Volker would privately order the "white" and "colored" signs removed from the medical college after receiving two memorandums from faculty and staff urging him to do so.[21] Also that year UAB officially, though tokenly, desegregated by admitting, more than five months after the token desegregation of its parent campus in Tuscaloosa, Ullman High School English teacher Luther Lawler into the graduate study program for education.[22] At this point, Volker froze all actions on civil rights; UAB became one of the last schools in the state to fully desegregate.[23]

This seems counter to Volker's liberal ideology of racial progress in Birmingham. Volker had to build his vision of a school that could make lasting change in Birmingham a reality from nothing in one of the most socially conservative and violent places in the United States under the supervision of a board of trustees that were extremely conservative in their social views and re-

Courtesy UAB Archives

UAB Hospital in 1960, courtesy of UAB archives.

garded the extension of their university in Birmingham as secondary the University of Alabama.

To secure UAB's future primarily the university had to be self-sufficient. The board made it clear that any advance in the UAB would have to come from their own budget and not from the funds designated for UA.[24] To accomplish this Volker funded UAB with a combination of federal and state funds. This presented a problem especially as the Civil Rights Movement gained momentum. Volker saw an example of what could happen to his beloved college in his friend Henry King Stanford, president of Birmingham Southern College. After openly calling for desegregation the state and boosters cut funding,

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20 Ibid., 151-152
21 Ibid., 150-151. Ken Pruitt, "A Memory," (Author's posession 1989).
22 McWilliams, 150.
23 Ibid., 158.

24 Ibid., 153-154.

eventually ousting Stanford from office. In turn, UAB, seen as too liberal, experienced a decrease in enrollment and endowment. Volker realized that this could easily be his fate if he failed in his balancing act and in turn, his progressive Unitarian mission would fail. He needed the courage to face the hostile environment. Courage as he said in one sermon "Must have eyes as well as strength. Courage is only a virtue when directed by prudent caution." Concluding finally, "Most problems cannot be solved today without men of courage."[25] This prudent caution to preserve his vision for the university and Birmingham was essential in this trying time

While he bravely accomplished much in the way of racial progress in Birmingham, Volker also had the courage to commit acts that were against his core beliefs as a Unitarian to be patient and liberal as he urged in his preaching. For example, when black citizens injured in demonstrations arrived at the emergency room for treatment he called Bull Connor and told him if he did not do something about it, he would go to the press.[26] Two other Unitarians, Roger Hanson and Frederick Kraus, sought to organize a defense for a Methodist minister injured in defense of civil rights and called for Chuck Morgan, the white civil rights attorney, to give a "time for change" speech to the faculty and staff. All of this occurred on public property and Volker berated Hanson fiercely until Hanson produced a letter from the American Association of University Professors promising to protect Hanson's right to free speech.[27] As Ken Pruitt summed up speaking of Volker in 1989, "'Papa Joe' protected his university from political vengeance" and, "He protected his faculty from the consequences of outspokenness on unpopular themes."[28]

The board's conservatism threatened Volker's ambitions, but its tendency to overlook Birmingham and focus on Tuscaloosa played into Volker's hands. During this time, Wallace's "stand in the schoolhouse door" brought so much attention to UA that the business of what they saw as a small extension of the campus sixty miles away rarely came up.[29] However, Volker decided to freeze all desegregation efforts on campus after the cooling of the Tuscaloosa crisis and the imminent passage of the Civil Rights Act to avoid seeming too liberal. Zukoski disagreed mightily and pleaded with Volker to take action. Volker was unmoved.[30] The wave of social change that fueled the university had to make the final push to achieve the most visible victory in Volker's vision. Meanwhile, Volker worked behind the scenes to plan a total racial integration of the campus as soon as the "congressional cover" came. When it finally did, he immediately enrolled forty-four black students, most who lived within three miles of campus.[31] The battle over desegregating the hospital persisted, but after consulting with his interracial "Kitchen Cabinet" and receiving the advice to desegregate immediately, Volker promised complete desegregation in four days. Two days later, dressed in a seersucker suit and with his bowtie drooping slightly to the left, Volker announced that the hospital would be completely desegregated. The desegregation went pleasantly with many angry white patients eventually bonding with black patients over their shared conditions.[32] With the desegregation of UAB Volker won one of the major battles needed to accomplish his long-term individual vi-

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25   Joseph Volker, "Courageous Living," UAB Archive (Volker's Papers 6.77).

26   McWilliams, 152.

27   McWilliams, 152.

28   Pruitt.

29   McWilliams, 153-154.

30   Ibid., 158.

31   Ibid., 158.

32   Ibid., 160-162.

sion. Finally, "The faces in the university of his dreams were black and white."[33]

This type of individual action Volker has historical precedent in Unitarianism in a sermon titled "Salvation through Service" he begins by saying that Unitarians do not have saints but they have heroes like Dorothy Dix, Theodore Parker, and Horace Mann that accomplished great progressive victories. Highlighting that, "The remarkable thing about these accomplishments is that they were almost individual effort." He ends the sermon by reminding the congregation, "We should not lose sight those possibilities-or should I say obligations…that have challenged us in the past-let's not fail to respond in this day and age."[34]

In "Brotherhood Revisited", Volker lays out the basic tenants of the response calling for his congregation to practice "Universal Brotherhood undivided by nation, race, or creed" adding that, "To be tolerant we must reject hypocrisy. To be understanding we must be tolerant and there can be no true love without understanding and the brotherhood of man cannot be attained without love of thy neighbor."[35]"Reverence for the Living" touches on the high cost of this action. "Provided we can accept our responsibility, provided we are prepared to sacrifice of our time, our monies, and our energies," says Volker.[36] The congregation can do as he said in "Courageous Living" and"Throw yourself into the task of fighting for the underdog-helping the underprivileged, lifting the down trodden-bringing comfort to the suffering and promoting happiness of others. Develop the courage to be a servant

of mankind."[37]

Ed Harris, who grew up in a working-class family in the heart of Birmingham, would eventually become minister in the Unitarian Church. He describes the church as a place that kept Alabama from becoming a closed society by fostering free and open discussion between the races.[38]Discussion occurred in interracial councils like the Greater Birmingham Council of Human Relations, a group with a large proportion of Unitarians.[39] A fiery activist, Harris remembers the church as "a leading force in positive constructive action in the civil rights field" and that "it was the issue that dominated our lives, our church, and later our communities." He goes on to say that as a layman of the church he remembers picketing merchants, writing letters, answering on talk shows, leafletting, and demonstrating long before widespread black activism, saying that the influence of white liberals mostly stopped after 1963 when the SCLC took over activities.[40]

Virginia Volker remembered the time differently. She recalls the congregation taking place in civil rights activities but stressed individual action.The church "was a refuge from battle a place to regain strength among friends before returning to the fray." Therefore, members of the Unitarian Church experienced it in different ways.[41]

Carolyn Fuller remembers the church much like Virginia Volker. Raised by her Unitarian parents and present at many sit-ins and demonstrations and when the first black student enrolled in her high school, she made it a point to talk to them, leading to her being ostracized. The church brought her and her friends closer

33   Pruitt.
34   Joseph Volker, "Salvation through Service," UAB Archive (Volker's Papers 6.54).
35   "Brotherhood Revisited," UAB Archive (UAB Volker's Papers 6.70).
36   "Reverence for the Living," UAB Archive (Volker's Papers 6.46).

37   "Courageous Living."
38   Harris, 10.
39   Gordon D. Gibson, "Unitarian Universalists and the Civil Rights Movement: What Did We Do What Can We Learn from What We Did," (Author's posession 1983). 14-15.
40   Ibid., 15.
41   Ibid.

together. Her youth group would organize and invite young black and white children during the summer of 1963 to help them adjust to integration. Two of these children were the victims of the bomb planted at the 16th Street Baptist Church.[42]

Another member Alice Syltie had this to say of the church's congregation "There is a special strength and a profound connection between these people…the deeply rooted understanding of what it means to work for justice under physically demanding and emotionally challenging conditions continues to touch the lives of the congregation," said Alice Syltie.[43] Other individual efforts headed by members of the church included an interracial dance troupe that would practice and perform at the church, the starting of various petitions, protests and public stands as well as President John F. Kennedy's appointment of former congregation president Paul Johnston to serve on the President's Committee for Civil Rights under Law.[44]

In Volker's sermon "Silence is not Golden" he asks, "Why do people stay silent?" when they see injustice done to their fellow man. People, "Don't want to start unpleasantness" so they stay silent when it comes to sensitive issues.[45]Charles Zukoski, Jr. did not subscribe to this theory.The immigrant from St. Louis came to Birmingham during the 1920s, a former Catholic like

> 66 MORE DIRECTLY, UNDER VOLKER'S CONTINUED GUIDANCE AND INFLUENCE OF UAB, HE WOULD CREATE AVENUES FOR AFRICAN-AMERICAN RESIDENTS OF BIRMINGHAM TO RISE OUT OF THE RACIALLY MOTIVATED INSTITUTIONAL POVERTY.

Volker. Birmingham residents always knew him as a man committed to social change. Quietly fired from his position as bank manager after he publicly advocated for race reform and mandatory birth control, he used his free time in constructive ways.[46] He would individually achieve many victories in the Civil Rights Movement, including pushing for the removal of Bull Connor from office as a member of the Young Man's Business Club.[47]

Zukoski authored newspaper columns under the pen name Button Gwinnett. He chose the pseudonym out of necessity to keep himself and those around him safe. He began writing under the name of the obscure signer of the Declaration of Independence from Georgia in the 1940s and continued until the 1960s when he wrote a formal letter to the Birmingham News after the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church. Taken as a whole these represent the emphasis of individual activism present within the church. Much like Volker, Zukoski used his vision and privileged position to try to make positive change in the world and help people see another viewpoint.

In these columns, Zukoski promoted liberal ideals and in doing so acted as a counter to the steady stream of racial hatred from Birmingham. He advocated at first for a much more gradual change, but events led him to see that moderation would not lead to change.

In his columns about desegregation in the 1940s, he particularly focused on issues surrounding the attempt to codify into formal law the de facto racially separated

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42 *Southern Witness: Unitarians and Universalists in the Civil Rights Era*, 153-154, 158-159.
43 Ibid., 159-160.
44   Harris 12.
45   Joseph Volker, "Silence Is Not Golden," UAB Archive (Volker's Papers 6.55).
46   McWilliams, 150.
47   Connor, 37, 103.

neighborhoods around Birmingham. He argued against mandatory segregation. Zukoski used constitutional arguments for his stance against segregation, but simultaneously praised the south for the subtle advancement of African-Americans. His solution to Birmingham's racial problems included the creation of a biracial committee to mediate disputes between the city's black and white communities.[48]

> 66 "WE STAND NOW WITH BROKEN HEARTS [OVER] THE GRAVES OF SIX CHILDREN...SIX CHILDREN WHOSE DEATH NONE OF US CAN COUNT AS GUILTLESS. FOR WE WERE SILENT WHEN WE SHOULD HAVE SPOKEN, SUBMISSIVE WHEN WE SHOULD HAVE REBELLED, FEARFUL WHEN WE SHOULD HAVE BEEN COURAGEOUS."

Zukoski's columns became progressively more liberal after the Supreme Court's ruling on Brown v Board of Education in 1955. He applauded the courts in giving the states time to act independently and "with all deliberate speed" but urged Birmingham's residents not to put off. If they do not, he warned, "we will have to face up in due time, to the final necessities of the situation."[49] Birmingham and the state of Alabama would not heed these words, instead trying to uphold segregation at all costs. A disgusted Zukoski explained the imminence of integration. Fighting only widens the racial divide, allowing the rule of law to be undermined. He went on to demand that extremists, such as bombers, be punished to the full extent of the law.[50] To help ease tensions he also advocated for Bull Connor's police force to hire black officers as other places in Alabama had done.[51]

One event led Zukoski to drop the pseudonym and write an open letter to the *Birmingham News*: the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church. He brought the letter to many liberal, white business leaders, but the only person to cosign the letter was James A. Head. In the letter, he laid out basic truths that every citizen must realize. First, that black people are citizens of the United States and are thus entitled to equal rights and treatment as guaranteed by the constitution and that segregation, therefore, cannot be constitutional. Regarding *Brown v Board of Education*, Zukoski said that citizens of Alabama must obey the rulings of federal courts for the sake of civility. The Unitarian Church would only act officially as a congregation in the face of great tragedies. A growing number of people decided not to sit idly and let social activism become the foray of the minister or a select few.[52] The aforementioned bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church and the murder of Rev. James Reeb in Selma, Alabama during Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s marches led the church to act collectively. The second forced the Church to declare their stance on the Civil Rights Movement and open themselves up to collective action.

In response to the bombing of the church, which most the congregation learned of as they arrived for Sunday worship, there was a feeling of shock, despair, and fear. They feared they might be next to be bombed. Their pastor, Alfred Hobart, had been extremely active in the

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48 Charles Zukoski Jr., *Voice in the Storm: The Button Gwinnett Columns Written During the Civil Rights Struggles and Other Writings* (Birmingham, Alabama: Birmingham Public Library Press, 1990), 9-13.
49 Ibid., 27.

50 Ibid., 34-35, 43-48.
51 Ibid., 43-44.
52 Harris, 11.

Civil Rights movement all around the United States and even espoused "The Beloved Community" concept years before King popularized the phrase.[53] Frequently referred to as "that nigger-loving preacher" for promoting radical race change ideals in his sermons and serving on various interracial councils, the fear of an attack was very real.[54] In spite of this, members took action. That very day many members left church to donate blood, while Betty Crutcher, nurse and mother of six children, volunteered to help the victims. Ed Harris and Peggy Fuller went to the houses of the victims to offer their condolences.[55] Six to eight members of the church went to Carol Robertson's funeral and represented more than half of the white people in attendance.[56] For Alfred Hobart's next sermon he remembers not only the four little girls but the two young men killed in the racial violence that followed the bombing as well. He concluded the sermon by rebuking the city of Birmingham, saying, "We stand now with broken hearts the graves of six children…six children whose death none of us can count as guiltless. For we were silent when we should have spoken, submissive when we should have rebelled, fearful when we should have been courageous."[57]

The death of Rev. James Reeb, a Unitarian minister, sparked an even greater response by the church. Just a few days before Reeb's death, seventy-two white citizens travelled to Selma to read a statement condemning the brutality and suppression they witnessed. Among those thirty-eight were from Birmingham, almost all of

them Unitarians.[58]These men made it home safely. Reed did not. Three men brutally attacked Reeb as he exited a black owned diner with two other ministers. An ambulance rushed him to university hospital where Dr. Volker ordered that all available resources be devoted to Rev. Reeb.[59] Black and white preachers and laymen from all around the city filled a black church to hold a vigil for Reeb the next night. During the service, Rev. Reeb passed away. Rev. Lawrence McGinty, the new minister at the Unitarian Church in Birmingham, left from the vigil to call an emergency meeting. To his surprise the council drafted a statement condemning the attack, saying, "As citizens of Alabama, and as Unitarians, we share the same moral sentiments which have stimulated these outbursts of protests." The members adopted the statement immediately with the only dissenting vote coming from Ed Harris: Harris didn't find the statement strong enough.[60] Soon Unitarians from around the country converged on the small church in Birmingham.[61]

That Sunday in Birmingham, a group of interracial ministers illegally held another memorial at a white church. More than four hundred mourners attended. The ministers left for Selma the next day and then departed the state. McGinty breathed a sigh of relief, but could not rest yet. A federal judge had granted an injunction to protect marchers on their planned march to Montgomery. The Unitarian Board in Boston called and informed McGinty that they would be coming once more, but in much greater numbers. The board of directors voted to use the

53   James A. Hobart, "For We Have Promises to Keep," (Author's possession 2013).
54   Harris, 11.
55   Gibson, *Southern Witness: Unitarians and Universalists in the Civil Rights Era*. 154.
56   Hobart.
57   Gibson, *Southern Witness: Unitarians and Universalists in the Civil Rights Era*, 154.

58   Joseph Elwanger, "Interpretation of March 6, 1965 Demonstration by 72 Alabama Whites in Selma," in *Author's Possesion*.
59   Lawrence McGinty, "Sixteen Days of Crisis for a Group of Insiders," (Author's possession 1965).
60   W. Edward Harris, *Miracle in Birmingham: A Civil Rights Memoir* (Indianapolis, Indiana: Stonework Press, 2004), 162.
61   McGinty.

Birmingham church as a base for the protest.[62] So over the course of the next seven days, the church provided accommodations, logistical support and transport for more than five hundred people. When they left for Selma to march, the church members were too exhausted to go. In any case, they had a church to clean.[63] Overwhelmingly, the church was successful in finally taking a public stand together as a group toward racial reform. The church received significant support, but its members had taken a great risk by supporting an anti-segregation protest.[64]

The church began to take a much bolder stance on civil rights and improvement of race relations. With the help of many professionals from UAB, the Unitarian Church created a program that helped underprivileged children, both black and white, improve academically.[65] This fostered interracial dialog among the city's poorest black and white families. Frequently, the city's poorest whites had performed acts of terrorism against African-Americans. The program helped foster a more amicable relationship between poor white and black citizens.

Volker stated in his field report to the Unitarians that "Two years ago the local populace might have confused a Unitarian with a Martian; today it is a trademark of a liberal religion in Alabama."[66] The church grew despite threats of violence against its members due to the congregation's courageous desire to fight social injustice. Similar to the proverbial mustard seed, the Unitarian Church sprouted from humble beginnings and grew into a mighty force, one that devoted itself to the fight for justice.

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62   Harris, "Our Church in Birmingham: It Has Not Kept Silent," 10.
63   McGinty.
64   Ibid.
65   Ethel Gorman, "Participation of the Birmingham Unitarian Church in the First Head Start Program in Alabama - Recollections of Ethel M. Gordon," (Author's possession 1994).
66   Volker, "Report from the Field on the Unitarian Fellowship of Birmingham, Alabama."

Invited Essay

Pussy Power, Pussy Rights: The Women's March 21, 2017

By Pamela Sterne King

"DON'T YOU think you're discriminating against yourself?" the middle-aged man asked as I stood in a Baltimore Starbuck's self-consciously making a sign for the Women's March I was headed to."For decades," he explained without waiting for me to reply, "women have been saying men shouldn't say 'pussy'." As he talked, he reached one hand out positioning it slightly lower than my waist, curling his fingers into a lurid grabbing position to accentuate the point. "It doesn't make sense that women are screaming 'pussy' all over the place now," he declared confidently. It seemed to me he fit in the taboo word more times than necessary.

Generally accustomed to thinking on my feet I realized, however, that I had only come to understand the 'pussy' movement the day before and was not sure I was in a position to defend it. Thankfully I was mistaken and, without missing a beat, I heard myself say, "R-e-a-l-l-y?!" pretending to be unschooled in the history. "I d-i-d n-o-t know that," I said in a demure, drawn-out manner. "I guess that means you're smarter than me," I reckoned. As I said this last statement, my forefinger landed on my mouth in an exaggerated Arsenio Hall mimic. Unused to hearing myself be absurdly theatrical, however, Ifeared I had squandered this skirmish to a lesser opponent.

I need not have worried. The man thought he had stumbled onto a foolish and uncertain woman swept up into a silly moment. He would stop me in my half-baked tracks. "Yeah," he repeated, "'pussy' was always a word women said men couldn't use. So, don't you think you're really discriminating against yourself by writing signs with 'pussy' on them? That doesn't make sense."

I could not come up with a second retort so I doubled down on the first. "Hmmm…," I said again with even more exaggeration and my finger again aptly placed. "I d-i-d n-o-t know that!"

This time I stared at him squarely in the eye with a steely and resolvedstare. With that, his cocksureness slid into bewilderment. "Wait," his new look worried, "Did that lady just punk me?" As the barista handed me my hot latte I thanked her also for lending me the marker I used on my "Pussy Rights/Pussy Power" sign. Then I wished the manand hisdiscomfitedgirlfriend a good day and walked out the door. I felt sorry she had had to see that.

The man had been right, of course. "Pussy" had been that word,that awful word that had made me cringe the first time someone said it so I would hear. It was 1970 and my boyfriend lobbed it at a pretty high school cheerleader. He thought it funny and masculine; I knew it meant to hurt, and it had.

It was then I became a feminist although I dared not declare myself so for several years. By then I was a junior at Samford University majoring in history. It was not popular to be a feminist but its ideology of gender equality cushioned me against the slings and arrows of male entitlement. What else could offer that?

While at Samford in the 1970s I wanted to protest: for feminism and racial equality; against the Vietnam War, poverty, and imperialism; for weed; for anything iconoclastic. Anti-establishment rabble rousing

wasrampant all over the country; coincidentally, it was in my blood too. When I was 7 years old, growing up in Albany, Georgia,my grandmother and I had put pro-Kennedy pamphlets on car windshields. Whites shouted, "Nigger Lover" at us. Then in 1961, atage 8, my parents housed a Freedom Rider in our house. Those episodes were frightening, scary, taboo and utterly exhilarating. I reveled in them, and I wanted more.

Unfortunately Samford had offered no protest opportunities. I had not wanted to attend the conservative university but my father was a professor at Cumberland Law School making my tuition part of his benefits package. While I got an excellent education – both academically and socially – I did not get to march for anyone's rights.

Nonetheless, my feminism grew over the next decades. Not once, in all those years, did hearing the word "pussy" elicit an emotion other than intimidation, repulsion,or anger. Not once. Not even in early January 2017, after Donald Trump's election, when my Baltimore cousin donned a "pussy hat" on Facebook, or when younger friends said the ostracized word with aplomb and ownership. Something had happened to pussy, I knew, but I did not understood what it was. Had "pussy" lost its ability to degrade? Had it become empowering?

By the time I left for the Washington March January 19, I knew it had, and finally I understood it. However, the word still unsettled me so I could only whisper the wordlike white people still do, sometimes, when they talk about black people. To combat my own unease, I decided to say it out loud. I had not shouted it though, either verbally or by sign, until I decided to in the line at Starbuck's in Baltimore the morning before the March.

With my sign in hand and, having dispatched my first pussy political battle, my pussy hatted cousin and I boarded the train from Baltimore to Washington. It was packed with protesters and, at every stop, more and more travelers got on. By the time we got to our stop near the Mall, there was no standing room anywhere. When we disembarked, the atmosphere crackled with electricity and pent up energy. I knew I had comefull-circle from my childhood need to protest.

I was not disappointed. The Women's March was festival-like. Everyone I saw was excited—thrilledeven. No one was sullen or angry. Not that day. "Free Melania!" one sign said. Others ridiculed Trump's hairdo or thanked the new president for unifying Progressives. As many worried about the rise of American authoritarianism or perceived attacks on diversity and human decency.

My favorite incident, however, involved young children (normally I shudder when I see parents having their children cheer or chant political or religious slogans). Two boys, about ages 5 and 8, were standing on the lip of a fountain near the Mall. They chanted in unison, "What does a dem-oc-racy look like?" Then, "This is what a dem-oc-racy looks like." They soon prompted the crowd to answer with them. After several minutes,they switched, "What does a fem-in-ist look like?" "This," they said, "is what a fem-in-ist looks like." I was in awe.

Clearly, something was manifest that day in Washington, but if I had not witnessed it myself, I would have not believe it. Pointed pink hats, irreverent pussy referencing signs, and young equality-minded boys signaled that the country was okay. They showed a profound belief in civil protest and, yes, de-moc-racy and fem-inism. Most profoundly that day showed me that anything is possible, even thepassing of men using a single word to degrade and dehumanize women.

It was the most liberating experience of my life. Boy, I was glad I was there.

Book Review

The Body Project: An Intimate History of American Girls

Reviewed by Haley Kendrick

IN *The Body Project: An Intimate History of American Girls*, American historian Joan Jacobs Brumberg examines the complex relationship between girls and their maturing bodies in the United States from 1830 to the 1990s. By researching the diaries of girls and cultural artifacts such as magazine advertisements from the Victorian era forward, Brumberg tracks the changes in society's attitudes towards girls and their bodies, as well as girls' own changing attitudes and values. The author suggests that as girls are maturing physically at younger ages, the prolonged gap between physical and social adulthood puts girls in a place of increased scrutiny of their bodies. As a result, girls engage in a number of different "body projects" as a means of internal control, replacing the external control of corsets and other things socially determined as appropriate for women prior to the 1920s.

Brumberg begins by explaining ideas and practices held from the Victorian era through the mid 1900s within the United States surrounding menarche in girls to discuss the change in cultural ideology and knowledge of the female body. Many beliefs centered on women's vulnerability and weakness associated with the ovaries and menstruation and resulted in inequality for women and girls. As American society became healthier with better diets, women began experiencing menarche at earlier ages; because social maturation into adulthood did not change to match girls' changing bodies, the time between menarche and emotional and social maturity became marked by changing social controls of girls' bodies.

The first of these changes Brumberg explores is the change in views of menstruation; in the twentieth century, the experience became medicalized and sanitized. Rather than focus on the experience of "becoming a woman," menstruation became a sanitation issue, and disposable hygiene products became popular for those that could afford them. Here Brumberg demonstrates the beginnings of a relationship between women's bodies and the economic market; sanitization of menstruation drove girls to stores and producers of hygiene products began advertising in popular teen magazines. The author argues that the sanitization of menstruation alone does not remove associations of weakness and vulnerability of the female body, but focus on the physical and social impact of maturation must also be maintained for the health of girls.

In chapters three and four, Brumberg examines different "body projects" that many girls began to engage in beginning in the twentieth century. First, she discusses the ideal of "perfect skin" as mirrors entered middle class households and later the pockets and purses of American girls through the "compact." Here Brumberg returns to the relationship of girls' "body projects" and the market—those who could afford skin care regimens would invest in their daughters' skin care, sometimes at the expense of their education. Physical beauty, not education, was seen as girls' biggest opportunity for success. Brumberg also illustrates the relationships between "perfect skin" and sexuality: as she explains, the Victorian belief that pimples were evidence of sexual immorality and the later unexpected solution to acne found in birth control pills.

Additionally, Brumberg mentions that African-American and other minority girls had no opportunity to achieve the ideal "perfect skin" because not only was it free from acne, but also it was almost always white.

The author then examines the different "body projects" of "slimming," dieting, exercising, etc. that became popular in the twentieth century. She suggests that the increased focus on the female body, particularly the size and proportions, resulted in a general sentiment of "I hate my body" among young American girls. Brumberg concludes the section by discussing practices of body control such as piercings, particularly of the genitals, and popularity of lingerie. She suggests girls used these practices to claim their bodies as their own but contradictorily blur the lines between the public and the private.

Brumberg then discusses the "disappearance of virginity." The cultural focus of physical virginity, proven by an intact hymen, vanished. She discusses the diverse reasons for this disappearance, but also she considers the evolving nature of social control of women's bodies. While girls' bodies may no longer move from under the ownership of their fathers to the ownership of their husbands, there remains a societal control of women's bodies, as well as continued risks of sexual assault of women. She concludes the book with a call for girl advocacy: to protect vulnerable girls from an increasingly sexualized society before they reach cultural adulthood.

Brumberg's historical examination of the changing place of girls' bodies in American society offers valuable insight into not only the social construction of femininity but also the degree to which girls have internalized these societal expectations. Brumberg's suggestion that internal controls such as perfect skin and dieting for the perfect body have replaced external controls such as the corset. She brings to light an interesting interpretation of what some may see as women's liberation. She clearly moves from vulnerability resulting from the decreasing age of physical maturation through the various forms of control of girls' bodies as they continue to mature socially and emotionally. Brumberg returns to girls' vulnerability in the conclusion of the book by calling for girl advocacy but stops short of suggesting much in terms of action.

Though her analysis is lacking in discussion of racial and ethnic minorities, Brumberg's *The Body Project* does include insightful information concerning the female experience in American culture over the last two centuries. Feminist scholars interested in gender equality could greatly benefit from this investigation of societies relationship with girls bodies and girls relationships with their own bodies. Brumberg offers in her book an in depth look at another area of socially constructed gender inequality. With the understanding gained from her work, we can begin to dismantle the social controls placed on women's bodies from childhood.

About the Authors and Editors

Christopher Bertolini is from Birmingham and is currently a sophomore history student at the University of Alabama at Birmingham. He has historical interests in the Cold War, Latin America, and rock music. He also enjoys playing the guitar, sports, and writing.

Alice Grissom is thrilled to have found room on the grounds of the University of Alabama at Birmingham to pursue a double major in History and English and a minor in Women's Studies. Although she would generally elect to study words over wrangling with them, she enjoys the editorial process immensely – so much so that she serves on the editorial boards of *Aura Literary Review* and the *Vulcan Historical Review*. Although currently a freshman, she hopes in future years to expand her research into the field of historical linguistics, intertwined with her broader historical studies.

Grace Larkin is in her final year of graduate studies with a specialization in Western Esotericism. Her academic interests include occult and religious histories, particularly the study of Catholicism, witchcraft, and demonology, modern Europe, and World War II. She enjoys a good cup of black coffee, crochet, yoga, and all things nerdy.

Lance Ledbetter was born and raised in north Alabama. He received his Bachelor's degree in history from the University of Alabama. His senior thesis was on an African American newspaper that operated in Huntsville, Alabama at the turn of the 19th century. His research interests include African American history, public history, and sports history. In his free time he enjoys good books and bad movies.

Haley Medved Kendrick is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Alabama at Birmingham in the Department of Sociology. Her research explores the consequences of social inequality on health and well-being. Haley currently serves at the President of the Graduate Student Government at UAB and the Employment Concerns Chair for the Southeastern Region of the National Association of Graduate-Professional Students. She also serves as a Junior Board member for WBHM and the Community AffairsCommittee.

Laura King is currently completing her Bachelor's degree in History with a double minor in African American Studies and Sociology. Her primary focus is on the post-Antebellum racial climate in the South and the re-enslavement of the black populations through the Civil Rights Movement. With this focus, she hopes to eventually earn her Ph.D. in history to teach at the university level. Laura completed an internship in the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute archives. During her time as the President of UAB's Phi Alpha Theta History Honor Society Chi Omicron Chapter, she invited Civil Rights icon James Meredith to UAB during Black History Month.

Rachel Smith received her Bachelor's degree in Religion from Samford University and is currently pursuing a Masters of Anthropology at the University of Alabama at Birmingham. Her research interests comprise landscape archaeology, battlefield archaeology, landscape anthropology, peace studies, and the impacts of WWI on physical and psychological landscapes.

Haley Spence is a University of Alabama at Birmingham class of 2016 graduate, who majored in History and minored in Art History. Haley has always had an interest in the history of the South, especially Birmingham. She is from a family with long history in the Greater Birmingham Area. In fact, as an infant she was the 5th generation to live in one home, now owned by her uncle. Haley's interests are varied and include sewing, cooking, reading, gardening, and watching college football. She is also a certified medical assistant and a certified barbecue judge.

Zoe Zaslawsky received her B.A. and M.A. in history from UAB in 2014 and 2017. She is especially interested in the areas of Jewish American memory of the Holocaust and American race relations. Zoe hopes to one day obtain a Ph.D. in history and become a professor. She is a writer, a painter, and an avid researcher who loves to travel.

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