

Past Tense

Graduate Review of History



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Graduate Review of History

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Dear Readers,

Over the past year, *Past Tense* has seen many changes. We welcomed a new editorial board and piloted a new peer review system. We redesigned the journal's image, launched a new website, created a new publication layout, and introduced new genre of writing to the journal: the critical commentary. Throughout all these changes we have been motivated by the desire to promote graduate research in all fields of history and to provide graduate students at the University of Toronto and around the world with opportunities to participate in the journal-making process.

The fifth edition of *Past Tense* brings together four academic articles, two critical commentaries, and four book reviews written by graduate students from across North America. Although these articles address topics that span centuries and continents, each author advocates for the use of new sources, methodologies, and approaches to writing history.

Felix Cowan's award-winning piece on the prolific publisher of a late Imperial Russian penny newspaper introduces readers to an understudied source that illuminates a unique vision of modernity. He explains how the newspaper acted as a platform to communicate this popular liberalism to lower-class Russian culture. Sarah Whitwell's article tackles the history of African American resistance to racial violence in the United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Using testimonies collected in the 1930s by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration, Whitwell accesses the hidden histories of African American resistance to racism through theft, sabotage, boycotting, and migration.

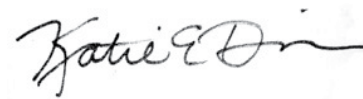
Our two critical commentaries also engage with the value of primary sources. Kelsey Kilgore details her experience with missing archival sources, making a strong case for integrating non-traditional sources and interdisciplinary approaches into our research methodologies. David Purificato walks us through the value of reading a source as object by tracing the international travels of a rare volume of *Don Quixote*. This issue also features book reviews written by Andrew Seaton, John Miller, Evan Sullivan, and Baligh Ben Taleb. These reviews highlight recently published works in the discipline.

From the Editors

The study of gender also figures prominently in this issue. Christopher Goodwin's article examines the history of German colonial violence in Africa that resulted in the Herero genocide of 1904 to 1907. Using the German military as a starting point, Goodwin introduces the reader to the role of masculinity and male culture in the German military as an explanatory factor for colonial violence. Vanessa Corcoran's piece on English liturgical dramas looks at the ways in which the Virgin Mary provided Medieval women with a powerful image to emulate. She highlights the variations in gender roles illustrated through the marital relationship between Mary and Joseph, emphasizing the contested nature of propriety and vocal expression.

As historians, we must seek to learn about and integrate new methods and frames of analyses into our own work. We hope that the exciting and innovative ideas presented in this issue inspires you to consider new approaches to your own research. Thank you for supporting graduate research in history, and please enjoy the latest issue of *Past Tense Graduate Review of History*.

Sincerely,



Katie Davis



Laurie Drake

Co-Editors, *Past Tense Graduate Review of History*
Toronto, Canada

Research Article

Winner of the 12th Annual Graduate History Symposium
Best Paper Prize, University of Toronto, 2016

Popular Liberalism: Vladimir Anzimirov and the Influence of Imperial Russia's Penny Press

Felix Cowan

University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

This article examines the founding of the Russian penny newspaper *Gazeta-Kopeika* and the influence of its first publisher, Vladimir Anzimirov. First published in June 1908, *Kopeika* was the Russian Empire's first newspaper to target the poor and working class as its primary audience and reached hundreds of thousands of Russians every day. Analyzing the content of *Kopeika's* first month of publication, this article argues that it served as a mouthpiece for Anzimirov's particular political views. It further contends that Anzimirov did not fit into defined trends of Russian political thought. Instead, he advocated a form of "popular liberalism" that combined a belief in liberal values and Russian backwardness with older populist ideas about the centrality of agriculture and the peasantry to Russian development. Bypassing traditional political parties and media, Anzimirov took his political ideas directly to the people via *Kopeika*, giving his views a wide popular audience and highlighting the blurred categorizations of political belief and ideology in the late Russian Empire.

IN THE WAKE OF RUSSIA'S 1905 revolution, the press found a new audience in Russia's lower classes. The newspaper *Gazeta-Kopeika* (Kopeck Gazette, hereafter *Kopeika*), first published in St. Petersburg on June 19, 1908,¹ rapidly established itself as the most popular newspaper in the Russian Empire because it was the first to make Russia's impoverished lower classes its primary audience. Expressing a liberal stance on most issues, *Kopeika* championed workers' rights and democratic institutions. But its first publisher, Vladimir Anzimirov, used *Kopeika* as an outlet for his own vision of Russian modernity, an agrarian rather than urban plan that combined elements of liberalism and development along western lines with older Russian populist ideas about the centrality of agriculture and the peasantry. Anzimirov did not neatly fit into any defined Russian political party or category, and instead existed in the marginal space between established programs. Yet his ideology—which I term "popular liberalism," to reflect both its ideological progenitors and the popularity of the papers with which he spread it—reached a potential audience of hundreds of thousands every day. Anzimirov wielded considerable influence by communicating his ideal vision of modernity directly to Russia's lower classes. His writing reminds us that formal political organizations were not the only forces in society advancing policies or shaping public opinion, and that private individuals could be more influential than grandiose political figures.

I use the term "lower classes" to refer to a nebulous group of Russians

that included the traditional "working class" of industrial labourers, but also those who might be called the working poor in industries such as day labour, petty trade, and domestic service, as well as the much larger peasantry. Drawn from multiple social estates, working in multiple professions, with multiple identities, associations, and cultures, it is nearly impossible to categorize these Russians into one neat group, hence the ambiguous term "lower classes." At times, these Russians distinguished themselves by who they were not, rather than who they were: they were included in neither the wealthy and privileged elite nor the small Russian "middle class" of professionals and merchants who were the typical audience for Russian newspapers before *Kopeika*. Russia's lower classes did share a paucity of disposable income, however, making them an ideal readership for *Kopeika*, which offered a chance to read the news for a single kopeck each day.²

This article builds on the work of several scholars who have studied *Kopeika* and the wider world of Russian newspapers. The classic study of Imperial Russia's mass circulation press is Louise McReynolds' *The News under Russia's Old Regime*.³ McReynolds describes *Kopeika* as essentially similar to existing middle class newspapers, St. Petersburg's so-called "boulevard" press. She highlights the role of the paper's editor, Mikhail Gorodetskii, rather than Anzimirov, in part because Anzimirov left St. Petersburg after less than a year to found and run the Moscow version of *Kopeika*. To McReynolds, *Kopeika* sought to integrate and assimilate workers, especially peasant migrants to the city, into urban bourgeois society

and the middle class liberal vision of Russia.⁴ Another renowned study, Jeffrey Brooks' *When Russia Learned to Read*, examines *Kopeika* and the kopeck papers it inspired as a site of cultural production for lower class print culture in the form of serialized fiction.⁵ Recent works of urban history have used *Kopeika* to explore daily life in St. Petersburg, particularly focusing on its regular columns on crime, accidents, suicides, and other events in the city. These works analyze how the press constructed urban modernity by populating the urban landscape with people, landmarks, and incidents.⁶ Offering a more partisan view, the Soviet historian of journalism B. I. Esin dismissed *Kopeika* and other penny press newspapers as creations of bourgeois "hucksters" that were derivative of earlier boulevard papers.⁷ Some studies of Russia's penny press have even left out *Kopeika*, focusing on the earlier boulevard papers rather than the first publication actually available for a single kopeck.⁸ Finally, other works on the press mention *Kopeika* briefly or not at all, but speak more broadly to the press's role in creating Russia's public sphere.⁹

Building on these works, I examine *Kopeika* as a source of political activism that sought to influence its readers toward a specific view of Russia and a specific program of agrarian development as described by Anzimirov's articles, as well as the paper's broader content. Despite wide circulation, *Kopeika*'s activism was not necessarily successful in influencing the newspaper's readers. Just because a popular newspaper commented on an issue does not mean its readers adopted the newspaper's view.¹⁰ Newspapers in

general, and Russian newspapers in particular, have been accepted as playing a role in shaping public opinion through editorial choices, in dialogue with readers' pre-existing biases and the newspaper's need to appeal to its readers in order to achieve commercial success.¹¹ However, commercial success meant greater influence in society. When successful newspapers linked sensational and commercially appealing journalism to social and political issues, they could exert a "subversive" influence far greater than the radical press.¹² This was the situation in which *Kopeika* found itself during Anzimirov's time as publisher. Its dramatic commercial success may have been due to sensational daily journalism and popular fiction rather than Anzimirov's political writing, but either way, its wide readership meant a wide potential audience for Anzimirov.

His writing reminds us that formal political organizations were not the only forces in society advancing policies or shaping public opinion

If some readers flipped through his articles, surely others read every word and perhaps even adopted his popular liberal ideas.

Gazeta-Kopeika in 1908 St. Petersburg

KOPEIKA OCCUPIED A RAPIDLY changing city when it began publication in June 1908. A massive wave of migration brought over one million new residents to the city in two decades, predominantly from peasant villages in the Russian countryside.¹³ New migrants entered the St. Petersburg industrial labour market but more commonly found jobs in other low-skill occupations like petty commerce, domestic service, day labour, transportation, and construction.¹⁴ The wages these industries offered were well below the urban cost of living, and most workers had trouble making ends meet.¹⁵ In popular culture, peasant migrants were often pilloried as backward, and they were pressured to abandon village culture in favour of urban norms. Popular culture reflected the stresses placed on migrants who were pulled between different classes, locales, and identities. Conversely, some peasants feared the city as a corrupting influence on traditional peasant morality.¹⁶ Most importantly for this study, literacy was rapidly increasing. St. Petersburg's inhabitants were mostly literate by the time of the 1897 Russian census, with men and youths particularly likely to be literate. Literacy, though, was fairly limited: most had only completed one or two years of school and were unable to write, though they could read well enough to follow the basic print culture that targeted the lower classes.¹⁷

In such circumstances, *Kopeika* offered St. Petersburg's cash-strapped lower classes the opportunity to read the news while saving a few kopecks. Where conditions previously had not allowed for a lower-class newspaper, *Kopeika* took advantage of the relaxation of censorship since the 1905 revolution and the advancement of printing technology, in addition to the emergence of a lower-class readership.¹⁸ *Kopeika* was founded in this new environment by Mikhail Gorodetskii, credited as editor and publisher, and Vladimir Anzimirov, credited only as publisher. Gorodetskii was a liberal Jew from Donetsk province who had worked his way up through the news business from selling newspapers to running them, and whose journalism had previously focused on the poor workers of southwestern Russia.¹⁹ Most scholarship on *Kopeika*'s staff centres on Gorodetskii, who remained in place as editor and publisher until 1918, when he died and the Bolsheviks shut down the paper. But Gorodetskii rarely wrote for the paper. In later years, *Kopeika*'s tone would be set primarily by two leading journalists and feuilletonists, Olga Gridina and O. Ia. Blotermants.²⁰ In its first months, however, *Kopeika*'s tone was dictated by Anzimirov, who penned numerous articles under his own name and multiple pseudonyms, and whose articles set the broader tone for the paper's reporting.²¹

Anzimirov was born in 1859 in Barnaul, Western Siberia, to a noble family. His mother's uncle was Count Fedor Litke, an admiral and at one time the president of the Russian Academy of Sciences. In his youth, Anzimirov was a radical. During four years (1877–1880) at the Moscow Petrovskiaia Academy

of Agriculture and Forestry he helped organize populist groups, including a circle at his school representing *Narodnaia Volia* (The People's Will), a revolutionary populist organization responsible for the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881. Anzimirov even spent a month in prison in 1879, suspected of murdering a secret policeman, before joining the more peaceful populist group *Chernyi Peredel* (Black Repartition) at the end of 1879. He was expelled from school in 1880 and retreated to an estate in Ryazan province, but was kept under state surveillance for 15 years. Turning to legal activism, Anzimirov became deeply involved in efforts to promote Russia's social and economic development, particularly in agricultural productivity—for example, he was one of the first people in Russia to mass produce phosphate fertilizer. He published numerous articles on the subject in the journal *Khoziain* (Landlord), as well as monographs with titles such as *On Fertilizer*, and articles in publications, such as *Russkoe Bogatstvo* (Russian Wealth), *Russkoe Slovo* (Russian Word), and *Birzheviia Vedomosti* (Stock Exchange News). He was also involved in *zemstvo*²² institutions in the Ryazan, Klinsky, and Moscow districts, serving on *zemstvo* boards, as the secretary of agricultural societies, and as a local magistrate. Anzimirov's involvement in the press extended beyond *Kopeika*—he set up several other publications between 1908 and 1912: *Derevenskaia Gazeta* (Village Gazette), *Put'* (The Way), *Kinematograf* (Cinematography), and *Detskii Mir* (Children's World), sometimes with surrogates listed as editor and publisher and sometimes under Anzimirov's own

name. He also directed two publishing houses, "The People's Benefit" after 1895 and "The People's Publishing House" after 1909. But *Kopeika* was where Anzimirov was most influential.²³

Gorodetskii and Anzimirov's newspaper was an instant success. Circulation rose from its initial 11,000 copies to 150,000 in 1909 and peaked at 250,000 in 1910, a level that held for several years. In addition, street sales climbed from two million copies sold in 1908 to 10 million in 1909 and reached a peak of 17 million in 1911. *Kopeika* rapidly became the most popular newspaper in St. Petersburg and even in the whole empire, with the highest circulation and some of the highest street sales of all Russian newspapers. Actual readership was even higher since copies were often shared among multiple readers.²⁴ Indeed, *Kopeika* was so successful that it was able to outfit its own modern press capable of printing 112,000 issues per hour.²⁵ In terms of readership, evidence points to *Kopeika* reaching a previously untapped market. Sales of established boulevard papers like *Peterburgskii Listok* (Petersburg List) were unaffected by *Kopeika*'s growth, implying that *Kopeika*'s readers were not drawn from the middle-class audience of the existing boulevard press.²⁶ Finally, *Kopeika* was also influential within the newspaper world, as dozens of other kopeck dailies sprang up across the empire.²⁷

Compared to other newspapers, *Kopeika*'s unprecedented characteristics were its low price, its intended readership, and its success. Previous papers, such as *Moskovskii Listok* (Moscow List), had included lower-class readers in their audience, but were

not primarily targeted at them and never reached the heights of *Kopeika*'s circulation.²⁸ Large national newspapers had for decades offered the same kind of content as *Kopeika*: political editorials, brief news stories from across Russia and the world, crime and justice columns, and so on.²⁹ In many ways, *Kopeika* followed in the footsteps of middle-class boulevard newspapers like *Peterburgskii Listok*, which synthesized cultural, political, and social news in a single publication primarily focused on daily events in St. Petersburg.³⁰ *Kopeika*, though, provided broader coverage: in its first months, compared to *Peterburgskii Listok*, *Kopeika* offered less local and more international news.³¹ Finally, the Russian press also included an official outlet of the liberal Constitutional Democratic Party (the Kadets), *Rech'* (Speech), which was edited by the Kadets' leader, Paul Miliukov. But *Rech'* was unsuccessful as a mass paper: it had a small circulation, failed in attempts to reach the lower classes, and relied on subsidies from wealthy benefactors because it never turned a profit.³²

One area where *Kopeika* distinguished itself was its relative lack of advertising, which may point to financial support from Anzimirov. In its early years, *Kopeika* carried proportionally less advertising than other mass circulation papers.³³ What advertisements it did carry tended to be less conspicuous: papers like *Peterburgskii Listok*, *Peterburgskaia Gazeta* (Petersburg Gazette), *Novoe Vremia* (New Times), and *Russkoe Slovo* typically filled their front pages with advertisements that could cover half the page or even leave just a small corner for newspaper content. On the other hand, *Kopeika* carried

very few front-page advertisements. In its first weeks it carried none, typically only including a few advertisements on the back page. Even by the end of 1908, issues typically had only one or two front-page advertisements and held the rest to the back of the paper. In this respect *Kopeika* was similar to the unprofitable *Rech'* rather than the other mass circulation papers, indicating that *Kopeika* may have also relied on subsidies at the beginning of its life, before its circulation reached its height.³⁴ If *Kopeika* did receive subsidies at the start, they likely came from Anzimirov himself given his involvement in setting up other newspapers and publishing houses, his own personal wealth compared to Gorodetskii's background of poverty, and the degree to which early issues of *Kopeika* were filled with his articles and centred on his favourite themes.

Vladimir Anzimirov's Popular Liberalism in *Gazeta-Kopeika*

THE DOMINANT STRAIN OF RUSSIAN liberalism grew out of the *zemstvo* and by 1908 was concentrated in the Kadets. Ideologically closer to the period's interventionist liberals than classical liberalism, the Kadet program advocated traditional liberal values like the rule of law, personal liberty, judicial independence, and legal equality, but also included more specifically Russian and broad-based policies like free movement, decentralization of political authority, the right to unionize and strike, and progressive tax reform.³⁵ Miliukov claimed with pride that the Kadets were the most left-wing major political party in Europe, and the Kadets

wanted to build a mass party that would include workers.³⁶ But, despite their best efforts, the Kadets remained primarily an urban bourgeois party populated by professionals, academics, and white-collar workers.³⁷ Anzimirov closely resembled the older *zemstvo* liberals whose ideas about mass education, the rule of law, representative government, reformism, and professional service to the Russian people had evolved into the Kadet platform.³⁸ But his agrarian proposals also seem derived from Russian populism, a defunct ideology emphasizing the centrality of Russia's vast peasantry and countryside to revolutionary progress.³⁹ Anzimirov's unique proposal was a Russian homestead system of peasant settlers onto land reclaimed by the state, and the resulting centrality of the peasantry to his popular liberalism set him apart from his contemporaries. When Anzimirov's writing reached hundreds of thousands of readers, he promoted an ideology that was not represented by Russia's established political parties and movements.

Anzimirov was a remarkably prolific writer. In the first month of *Kopeika's* publication, he authored more articles than anyone else. Under his own name and the pseudonyms Bat'ko and Mirskoi, Anzimirov signed off on 20 articles, editorials, and even fairy tales.⁴⁰ The next most productive writer, N. I. Vasil'ev, signed 14 articles under his own name and pseudonyms, followed by the sport columnist Kitych with 11 articles and the pseudonym Svoi who authored nine, neither of whose identities could be verified.⁴¹ Pseudonyms were so common in *Kopeika* that Anzimirov alone, in just 12 articles signed with

his real name—primarily in his lengthy serialized editorial “How to Get Rich?”—accounted for 29 per cent of all articles, in the first month of publication. His influence over *Kopeika's* editorial stance was even greater. Editorials in *Kopeika* occupied a prime location at the front of the paper: first page, first column. Like other Russian newspapers of the time, *Kopeika* led most issues with an untitled and unsigned editorial followed by one or two additional editorials, sometimes signed and sometimes unsigned. Anzimirov wrote 67 per cent of all *Kopeika's* signed editorials in the first month of publication, under his own name or the pseudonym Mirskoi. Including all editorials, signed and unattributed, Anzimirov personally wrote 30 per cent of the 54 editorials *Kopeika* published in its first month. Considering how much he wrote for the paper, it is also highly likely that Anzimirov wrote, co-wrote, or influenced the writing of many of *Kopeika's* unsigned editorials. In short, in numerical terms, Anzimirov was the most prolific of *Kopeika's* staff and wielded a considerable degree of influence over its editorial page and editorial policy. His prolificacy, editorial influence, and willingness to openly attach his name to the ideas presented in the paper also reveal how closely Anzimirov and *Kopeika* were linked. Even when Anzimirov did not personally write or sign *Kopeika's* articles, I argue that they still reflected his ideas and his influence.⁴²

The content of *Kopeika's* articles, both by Anzimirov and others, clearly demonstrates how the paper followed Anzimirov's lead editorially and served as an outlet for his popular liberalism.

Anzimirov's signed writing appeared as early as the second article of the first issue. Following *Kopeika's* opening editorial proclaiming its “peaceful, creative work,” Anzimirov (writing as Mirskoi) penned an editorial about rural education, remarking that “ignorance” was “the most tender spot of our life” and “the most necessary person in the village is, of course, the teacher.”⁴³ Later in the same issue, under the pseudonym Bat'ko, Anzimirov included a fable with the moral to be open to new ideas and “let everyone live as they like.”⁴⁴ Anzimirov's interest in fiction, often with heavy-handed morals and metaphors that suggested his interest in proselytizing directly to an unsophisticated audience, would continue: from the first issue

reason.”⁴⁶ Appeals to reason, personal freedom, education, and constructive work were emblematic of Anzimirov's popular liberal politics, and also of Russian liberalism more broadly.

As Mirskoi, Anzimirov published multiple editorials calling for broader education, frequently crediting the West's success to mass education. He attributed the importance of an eight-hour workday to workers' pursuit of education in their increased leisure time, while also emphasizing education's role in increasing worker productivity so that the eight-hour day could be realized.⁴⁷ He clearly had a high opinion of *Kopeika's* potential, at one point declaring “let a monument of education be created, for one kopeck each, with the

When successful newspapers linked sensational and commercially appealing journalism to social and political issues, they could exert a “subversive” influence far greater than the radical press

on, notices regularly proclaimed that *Kopeika* would, in the future, publish Anzimirov's serialized novel *The Dregs*.⁴⁵ As Bat'ko, Anzimirov published another fable a week after his first, a piece that showed Anzimirov's shortcomings as a writer but contained two messages: warmth, light, and growth can overcome darkness and destruction; and “One need not be intrusive, even for the best of intentions! Otherwise you will sooner or later become hated and you will kill the best idea with excess zeal, not

hands of the people! Before the eyes of all mankind it will show that our people [...] are not worse than the peoples that gave the world Goethe, Shakespeare, Lessing, and Washington!”⁴⁸ Education was even the answer to famine, as Anzimirov noted that “The educated countries have not known hunger for a long time,” and the solution to Russia's frequent famines was therefore “broad education of the masses.”⁴⁹ Although calls for wider education, a common liberal refrain, were primarily found in

Anzimirov's articles—indeed, they were frequent enough that at one point he exasperatedly asked “do I have to repeat the alphabet?” before advocating an expanded education system⁵⁰—anxiety over Russia's backwardness compared to the “western” countries of Europe and North America was not unique to his writing. Rather, this theme recurred throughout *Kopeika's* coverage of numerous issues, which typically argued for liberal reforms to align Russia more closely with the West.

Criticism of the government and calls for reform were hardly new to newspapers in either Russia or the West.⁵¹ *Kopeika* was no different. At various times, editorials called for progress toward an independent judiciary, equal rights for women, state support for single mothers, safety regulations for dangerous industries such as construction and mining, action against corruption, and support for unemployed workers.⁵² Most frequently, though, *Kopeika* touted the benefits of Russia's State Duma, the new parliament set up due to the 1905 revolution, which was dramatically and undemocratically restructured to benefit the nobility and other conservative groups in 1907. *Kopeika's* writers acknowledged the new Duma's drawbacks, but attempted to soothe budding discontent at its takeover by insisting the Duma's symbolic value was greater than its instrumental one. “Is it possible to sum up the work of the Third Duma in its first session?” a *Kopeika* editorial asked, before concluding, “No, this time has not yet come. [...] The results of all this work will only manifest themselves at a later date.” This editorial went on to claim that the Duma's primary purpose

was not passing legislation, but rather “strengthening national representation in Russia,” a goal it achieved simply by continuing to exist.⁵³ Furthermore, *Kopeika* depicted the Duma as the place where “the pulse of national life” beat, and when it was not in session “life comes to a standstill.” If some of its deputies did not deserve their positions, *Kopeika* implored its readers not to let their bad behaviour “undermine the people's inclination towards the very idea of popular representation.”⁵⁴ Indeed, *Kopeika* thought it self-evident “that without the people's representatives, without the Duma, it is impossible to cure the chronic diseases of our homeland.”⁵⁵ Editorials even claimed that Russia's Duma was the envy of countries outside Europe.⁵⁶ In addition, *Kopeika* combined its calls for liberal reform and democracy with critiques of Russian backwardness. Anzimirov himself implored two Duma deputies planning a duel to resolve their dispute with “the noble, peaceful weapon of words” rather than violence, and alcoholism was a frequent subject of criticism that was depicted as actively harming Russia's youth.⁵⁷ More frequently, though, *Kopeika's* critiques of Russian backwardness were simply lines within articles stating that in Europe or North America they had a solution to whatever problem Russia faced, or that such a problem no longer happened in the West at all.⁵⁸

In many respects, then, *Kopeika* was a traditionally liberal Russian paper.⁵⁹ It followed a tradition of liberalism in Russian newspapers that advanced the expansion of political and civil rights, criticism of older, arbitrary forms of rule, advocacy of the rule of law and

private property, and a sense of duty to the public in a mass sense, rather than to narrow political goals.⁶⁰ *Kopeika*, in turn, at times backed the Kadets and Miliukov. Both Miliukov and *Kopeika* vehemently attacked the same right-wing groups;⁶¹ *Kopeika's* coverage (including an article by Anzimirov) of a legal battle between Miliukov as editor of *Rech'* and the Russian newspaper *Rus'* strongly favoured Miliukov;⁶² *Kopeika* also gave Miliukov a glowing review for a speech to the All-Russian Congress of Journalists in which he praised the press's role in Russia's ongoing democratization.⁶³

However, it is too simplistic to say *Kopeika* was entirely a liberal paper in the vein of the Kadets. Indeed, Anzimirov differed from them in significant ways and his importance to the newspaper in its first months meant that during that time *Kopeika* acted more as an outlet for his own popular liberalism. In his serialized editorial, “How to Get Rich?” Anzimirov delineated a view of agrarian modernity for Russia that differed sharply from the Kadet vision for the future of the Russian countryside. In these articles, billed as “Simple talk about serious things,” Anzimirov laid out the basis of his agrarian program. His primary argument was for Russia to unlock the potential of its vast geography in order to reach the levels of productivity and wealth in Europe and North America by expanding onto the unused “wasteland, swamp, taiga, tundra, and steppe” that occupied 94 per cent of the Russian Empire. Since Russia was “predominantly agricultural,” the solution to Russia's problems would also be agricultural.⁶⁴ Some of his proposals were common

Kopeika rapidly became the most popular newspaper in St. Petersburg and even in the whole empire

sense modernization strategies like the introduction of modern fertilizers, seeds, and agricultural techniques, but others included a call for the state “to conduct economic policy in the interests of the main occupation of the people, agriculture” rather than urban trade or industry.⁶⁵ It was this prioritization of the countryside that set him furthest apart from mainstream Russian liberalism as represented by the Kadets, who tended to express vague and indecisive views on agrarian issues so as not to alienate any part of their big tent party. When the Kadets did articulate a position, it was for a land bank to provide state, crown, church, and some expropriated land to poor peasants, a contradictory compromise between Kadets who favoured widespread expropriation and those who wanted strong respect for private property rights.⁶⁶ The confused nature of Kadet agrarian policy likely further entrenched the popular view of them as an urban bourgeois party whose reformism protected entrenched interests.⁶⁷

It would be hard for any reader to describe Anzimirov's agrarian proposals as confused or vague. They laid out in

Anzimirov wanted a return to the land with economic policy that favoured agriculture and uplifted the peasantry

specific detail all the ways Anzimirov thought Russian peasants, if equipped with the correct tools, could improve agricultural productivity. He firmly believed Russia had the capacity to achieve such goals, writing that “To increase our crop yield (*sam*⁶⁸) is entirely in our hands,” both in individual agricultural activities and in the state’s capacity to assist the peasantry.⁶⁹ Anzimirov’s own experience in agronomy shone through as he listed the various ways to improve crop yields. Based on his understanding of agriculture in the West, he described in precise detail the need for agricultural mechanization; the uses of different kinds of fertilizers; and the most efficient sizes and shapes for new individual plots of farmland, rejecting both traditional Russian strip holdings and new plots of land, known as *otruby*, created by the ongoing agrarian reforms of Prime Minister Petr Stolypin.⁷⁰ Moreover, Anzimirov described the crucial role of the state in western

countries, conducting “a thorough land survey” during the construction of new railroads and even giving away land “on favourable terms, sometimes for free (based on future taxes or goods from the farmers who settled there).” Such a policy yielded further benefits: entrepreneurs and settlers following the railroad “erected factories, farms, mines, schools, hospitals, etc., earning huge fortunes from turning [acres] of wasteland, which cost pennies or rubles, into land that quickly amounts to hundreds and even thousands of rubles.”⁷¹

Anzimirov wanted a similarly involved role for the Russian state, the only force capable of enacting his desired changes. Reclamation of unproductive land was “beyond the power of the emaciated peasant, who has neither the knowledge nor the capital to do so, but is even beyond wealthier entrepreneurs.” Instead, the process of mass land reclamation and the construction of communications infrastructure to new land was “a state matter,” an investment that would be recovered through nonspecific remuneration after the land was given away to peasants. Such an effort would solve Russia’s land problem by allowing millions of peasants to productively relocate from crowded and inefficient agricultural land in the most populated parts of Russia.⁷² Anzimirov criticized recent government policies as too short-term. He claimed Russia needed lengthy work over several generations, again following his vision of western development.⁷³ Most importantly, he argued, “It is necessary to abandon the idea of creating industry at agriculture’s expense.” Rather than promote urban industrial development,

Anzimirov wanted a return to the land with economic policy that favoured agriculture and uplifted the peasantry. “A dense network of schools” in rural areas would create “a new Russian generation” that, from the “land-nurse,” could “gain new strength, harden their health, and strengthen their souls.” By such means, “future Russian leaders” and “real workers” would emerge from the peasantry and create “private and social welfare, like in America.”⁷⁴ But, to achieve this success required extensive state support for homestead settlers on new land.

At the time, there was an ongoing resettlement program relocating Russian peasants to the east, but its budget was stretched very thin.⁷⁵ To Anzimirov, such a program only attracted the weakest peasants and was thus doomed to failure. To attract strong settlers, who could remain on their new land and thrive, as they supposedly had “in Germany, England, and America,” required state support in the form of agricultural technicians and associations that could organize the new land productively.⁷⁶ If such efforts to enrich the peasantry were successful, Russia would then establish a massive internal market for industry and commerce, in turn strengthening those areas of the Russian economy. After all, to provide one example of Anzimirov’s reasoning, “If the Russian peasant woman, like the German, began to wear two pairs of long underwear a year, then for this *one* new demand we would need to build 30 new cotton-weaving factories.”⁷⁷

Anzimirov’s agrarian ideas did not fit established political thought. He promoted private property in the form of settler homesteads, which set

him apart from the left wing of the Russian political spectrum.⁷⁸ His ideas about the development of a peasant market found their closest analogue in the columns of A. I. Chuprov, a populist professor who wrote on economics for the liberal newspaper *Russkiiia Vedemosti* (Russian Bulletin).⁷⁹ Anzimirov’s interest in personal improvement through agricultural work resembled earlier Russian populists’ notions of learning from the peasantry. But, Anzimirov’s adoption of western economic ideas set him apart from the 1870s populist movement. By advocating state involvement in nation building, Anzimirov’s program in some ways resembled older Russian liberal traditions carried on by the Kadets.⁸⁰ Indeed, in many ways, in both his personal background and his writing, Anzimirov resembled a classic *zemstvo* liberal. *Zemstvo* liberalism had mostly disappeared after the 1905 revolution in a wave of conservative reaction, and in any case, *zemstvo* liberals were ineffectual at mobilizing support for their ideas through means such as newspapers or political action outside the insular world of the provincial gentry.⁸¹ Anzimirov clearly defied this rule. Even if his political ideas corresponded to *zemstvo* liberalism and the Kadets, the centrality and specificity of his agrarian ideas did not place him ideologically in line within any of the existing political parties.⁸²

In his autobiography, Anzimirov described himself as a “nonpartisan progressive-populist” and in his writing he explicitly rejected party views on agrarian issues.⁸³ In short, his popular liberalism defied contemporary classifications. However, even as he

refused to fit into any ordered political category, Anzimirov’s writing reached hundreds of thousands of lower-class Russians, a wider readership than any official party newspaper could claim. Of course, it is impossible to guarantee that Anzimirov’s readers adopted his ideas; many surely ignored his lengthy essays on economics. Yet Anzimirov’s personal views were deeply embedded in *Kopeika* in several ways. First, as its most prolific writer in its first month of publication, he set the editorial tone that others followed. Second, he may have acted as a financial backer for the paper in

rapidly reached its own high circulation numbers of 60,000 in 1909 and 150,000 by 1912 but frequently clashed with the authorities over its radicalism.⁸⁴ In the Moscow edition, Anzimirov quickly reprinted much of his own writing, including his fairy tales, his serialized novels, and “How to Get Rich?” Clearly, he felt these pieces remained relevant and worthy of spreading to the lower-class readership of Moscow as well as St. Petersburg. Indeed, through the daily publication of both *Kopeikas*, Anzimirov’s popular liberalism may have reached a larger and broader

Anzimirov reminds us of the blurred boundaries that prevent neat categorizations of political beliefs

its early days, ensuring an outlet for his own writing. Third, he attempted to communicate his ideas in ways that would appeal to his lower-class audience, by billing his own writing as a simple take on complex issues and advancing concepts through fables and editorials as well as lengthy essays.

Anzimirov left St. Petersburg after less than a year to found and edit a Moscow edition of *Kopeika*, which

audience than the more classically liberal ideas spread by newspapers like *Rech’* and *Russkiiia Vedemosti*. In the process, Anzimirov reminds us of the blurred boundaries that prevent neat categorizations of political beliefs and points out that those individuals who existed between defined political programs could still exert powerful and widespread influence in society.

Appendix A: Attributed authors of signed *Gazeta-Kopeika* articles

IN TOTAL, *GAZETA-KOPEIKA* PUBLISHED 131 signed articles in its first 26 issues, covering the first month of publication from June 19, 1908 to July 18, 1908 (*Kopeika* did not publish on Mondays at the time). Forty-one of these articles were signed using the author’s real name, typically in the form of first initial and last name (e.g. “V. Anzimirov”), or what could conceivably have been an author’s real name.⁸⁵ The other 90 articles were published under pseudonyms or merely initials. Signed articles included not only journalism and regular columns, but also fiction, poetry, sport, and theatre sections, as well as letters to the editor, jokes, and historical articles.

During the month under review, Vladimir Aleksandrovich Anzimirov wrote 12 articles under his own name (one editorial, one feuilleton, and 10 entries in his serialized editorial essay “How to Get Rich?”), six articles under the pseudonym Mirskoi (five editorials and one regular article), and two fables under the pseudonym Bat’ko. He may have also written three articles (two editorials and one regular article) under the initial A, but this could not be verified. In total (not counting articles published by “A”), Anzimirov authored 15 per cent of the paper’s total signed content and 29 per cent of the paper’s content signed under a real name rather than a pseudonym.

During this single month, *Kopeika* published 54 total editorials—meaning argumentative pieces published in the traditional editorial space at the beginning of the first page—before any other columns. Twenty-four out of 54

were signed with a name or pseudonym. The other 30 were unsigned. Sixteen of the 24 signed editorials were attributed to Anzimirov, under his own name and the pseudonym Mirskoi, meaning that he was directly responsible for 67 per cent of signed editorials and 30 per cent of all editorials. It is likely he also played a role in writing at least some of the unsigned editorials, but this cannot be verified.

Kopeika’s editor, Mikhail Borisovich Gorodetskii, did not sign any articles or editorials during this month, either under his own name or a known pseudonym. If he played any role in writing for the paper, it was solely in the form of unsigned pieces or editorial influence over other writers’ articles.

The paper’s second most prolific author was Nikolai Ivanovich Vasil’ev, who published 14 articles in total. Vasil’ev published four articles under his own name (three editorials and one regular article), nine articles under the pseudonym Smaragd Gornostaev, or “Emerald of the Ermines” (including five entries in the regular columns “Around Russia” and “The Maelstrom of Life”) and one article under the initials N. V. The third most prolific author published 11 entries in *Kopeika*’s regular sport column under the pseudonym Kitych, real name unknown. The fourth most prolific author published under the pseudonym Svoi, a Russian word roughly translating to “One’s Own,” which was a common pseudonym at the time and may have represented more than one author, real name or names unknown. The pseudonym Svoi was attached to nine articles, including two editorials and two entries in the regular column “Around Russia.”

ENDNOTES

¹ Dates in this paper follow the Julian (Old Style) calendar, in use in Russia until 1918. In 1908, this calendar was 13 days behind the Gregorian (New Style) calendar.

² In making this classification, I draw on the analysis of Mark Steinberg and Stephen Frank, who express similar difficulties in finding a single term to describe the “tenuous relativity and ambiguity of social boundaries” and the corresponding “inadequacy of simple and rigid categories such as *peasants* or *workers* to express the variety of situations, mentalities, and even identities among the urban and rural poor” (italics in original). See Stephen P. Frank and Mark D. Steinberg, eds., *Cultures in Flux: Lower-Class Values, Practices, and Resistance in Late Imperial Russia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 3.

³ Louise McReynolds, *The News under Russia's Old Regime: The Development of a Mass Circulation Press* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991). McReynolds' section on *Kopeika* is on pages 225–239.

⁴ McReynolds has expanded on this theme in “St. Petersburg's ‘Boulevard’ Press and the Process of Urbanization,” *Journal of Urban History* 18, no. 2 (1992): 123–40. This vision of *Kopeika* conflicts to a degree with Mark Steinberg's writing about the *Kopeika* columnist Olga Gridina, who warned Russians, especially women, against the city as a debauched and immoral showcase for the darkest parts of modernity. See Mark D. Steinberg, “Feeling Modern on the Russian Street: From Desire to Despair,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Gender and the Urban Experience*, ed. Deborah Simonton (New York: Routledge, 2017). Elsewhere, McReynolds has described *Kopeika*, in the context of the First World War, as encouraging its readers to abandon class identities in favour of wartime nationalism, moving away from the sense of it as a primarily urban paper found in her work on *Kopeika* before the war. See McReynolds, “Mobilizing Petrograd's Lower Classes to Fight the Great War: Patriotism as a Counterweight to Working-Class Consciousness in *Gazeta-kopeika*,” *Radical History Review* 57 (1993): 160–80.

⁵ Jeffrey Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Literature, 1861–1917* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 130–41.

⁶ See, for example, Joan Neuberger, *Hooliganism: Crime, Culture, and Power in St. Petersburg* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Mark D. Steinberg, *Petersburg Fin de Siècle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); Julie A. Buckler, *Mapping St. Petersburg: Imperial Text and Cityshape* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

⁷ B. I. Esin, *Ruskaia dorevoliutsionnaia gazeta, 1702–1917 gg.: Kratkii ocherk* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta, 1971), 72–73.

⁸ Daniel R. Brower, “The Penny Press and Its Readers,” in *Cultures in Flux: Lower-Class Values, Practices, and Resistance in Late Imperial Russia*, ed. Stephen P. Frank and Mark D. Steinberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 147–67.

⁹ See, for example, Daniel Balmuth, *The Russian Bulletin, 1863–1917: A Liberal Voice in Tsarist Russia* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000); Octavie Bellavance, “Fourth Estate, Fifth Power: The Daily Press, the Public and Politics in Russia, 1861–1907” (PhD diss., Yale University, 2015). Representing a similar trend, Solomon Volkov briefly mentions *Kopeika* but adds nothing that is not covered in other works. See Solomon Volkov, *St. Petersburg: A Cultural History*, trans. Antonina W. Bouis (New York: Free Press, 1995), 153.

¹⁰ McReynolds has characterized Russia's press and influential journalists as not telling their readers “what to think” but rather telling them “what to think about,” that is, setting the agenda for public discourse. See Louise McReynolds, “V. M. Doroshevich: The Newspaper Journalist and the Development of Public Opinion in Civil Society,” in *Between Tsar and*

People: Educated Society and the Quest for Public Identity in Late Imperial Russia, ed. Edith W. Clowes, Samuel D. Kassow, and James L. West (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 247; McReynolds, *The News*, 28. On the other hand, the idea that the press has the ability to set the agenda for public discourse is ambiguous and contested. Another theory has been put forward by David Paul Nord, stating that newspapers are one of many potential agenda-setting institutions and often, rather than set the agenda themselves, do so on behalf of other powerful interests. See David Paul Nord, *Newspapers and New Politics: Midwestern Municipal Reform, 1890–1900* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 16–18.

¹¹ Neuberger, *Hooliganism*, 19–20; McReynolds, *The News*, 146–47; McReynolds, “‘Boulevard’ Press,” 125–26; Balmuth, *The Russian Bulletin*, 6; Nord, *Newspapers and New Politics*, 9, 13; Jacob Walkin, “Government Controls Over the Press in Russia, 1905–1914,” *Russian Review* 13, no. 3 (1954): 209; Brower, “The Penny Press,” 150; Peter Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1998), 6. In addition, not all Russian newspapers had political goals; some merely sought profit. See Brower, “The Penny Press,” 151.

¹² Jonathan W. Daly, “Government, Press, and Subversion in Russia, 1906–1917,” *The Journal of the Historical Society* 9, no. 1 (2009): 26.

¹³ James H. Bater, “Between Old and New: St. Petersburg in the Late Imperial Era,” in *The City in Late Imperial Russia*, ed. Michael F. Hamm (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 46; Robert B. McKean, *St. Petersburg Between the Revolutions: Workers and Revolutionaries, June 1907–February 1917* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 16, table 1.vi. On peasant migration, see also Evel Economakis, *From Peasant to Petersburg* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998). Much of this migration could be temporary or precarious, as close to 60 per cent of migrants to St. Petersburg either died or left the city within 10 years. See Elise Kimerling Wirtschafter, *Social Identity in Imperial Russia* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1997), 146.

¹⁴ Richard H. Rowland, “Urban In-Migration in Late Nineteenth-Century Russia,” in *The City in Russian History*, ed. Michael F. Hamm (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1976), 120–22; Bater, “Between Old and New,” 48–50; Daniel R. Brower, “Urban Revolution in the Late Russian Empire,” in *The City in Late Imperial Russia*, ed. Michael F. Hamm (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 324–25; McKean, *St. Petersburg*, 3–5.

¹⁵ Bater, “Between Old and New,” 50–51; James H. Bater, *St. Petersburg: Industrialization and Change* (London: Edward Arnold, 1976), 256; W. Bruce Lincoln, *In War's Dark Shadow: The Russians Before the Great War* (New York: The Dial Press, 1983), 119; Walter Sablinsky, *The Road to Bloody Sunday: Father Gapon and the St. Petersburg Massacre of 1905* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 9; McKean, *St. Petersburg*, 34–36.

¹⁶ James von Geldern, “Life In-Between: Migration and Popular Culture in Late Imperial Russia,” *Russian Review* 55, no. 3 (1996): 368–372, 382; Barbara Alpern Engel, “Russian Peasant Views of City Life, 1861–1914,” *Slavic Review* 52, no. 3 (1993): 449–50.

¹⁷ McKean, *St. Petersburg*, 23; Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read*, 35–58. Literacy was especially prized for workers as it increased productivity, and as a result factory schools and adult education classes also became increasingly widespread, though these in many cases faced difficulties from the authorities and tended to enrol those who were already at least somewhat literate. See Leonid Borodkin and Evgeny Chugunov, “The Reading Culture of Russian Workers in the Early Twentieth Century (Evidence from Public Library Records),” in *The Space of the Book: Print Culture in the Russian Social Imagination*, ed. Miranda Remnek (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 144–47; Madhavan K. Palat, “Casting Workers as an Estate in Late Imperial Russia,” *Kritika* 8, no. 2 (2007): 334;

Daniel R. Brower, *The Russian City Between Tradition and Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 165.

¹⁸ See Daly, “Government, Press, and Subversion,” 27–42; Charles A. Ruud, “Russia,” in *The War for the Public Mind: Political Censorship in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Robert Justin Goldstein (Westport: Praeger, 2000), 247–49; Benjamin Rigberg, “The Efficacy of Tsarist Censorship Operations, 1894–1917,” *Jahrbücher Für Geschichte Osteuropas* 14, no. 3 (1966): 327–46; McReynolds, *The News*, 228–29.

¹⁹ McReynolds, *The News*, 228–29; Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read*, 130–31.

²⁰ McReynolds, *The News*, 230–31. On Gridina, see Steinberg, “Feeling Modern.”

²¹ Of course, *Kopeika* was not shaped entirely by either Anzimirov or Gorodetskii. As David Paul Nord has pointed out, there are two competing visions of newspapers’ origins: formed by the actions of “Great Men,” press barons who use newspapers to push their own agendas, or by “Great Forces,” changing circumstances making it inevitable that a newspaper will emerge to fill some newly created gap. See David Paul Nord, *Communities of Journalism: A History of American Newspapers and Their Readers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 133–34. The circumstances of *Kopeika*’s founding seem to confirm Nord’s view that newspapers can emerge from a middle ground between the two. Certainly, *Kopeika* seems to have been shaped by “Great Men” like Anzimirov. But, *Kopeika* also depended on changing circumstances. As mentioned above, without the relaxation of censorship, advances in printing technology, and the emergence of a lower-class readership, its success would not have been possible.

²² The *zemstvo* was a Russian local government institution mostly populated by the nobility.

²³ A. I. Reitblat, “Anzimirov, Vladimir Aleksandrovich,” in *Russkie pisateli, 1800–1917: Biograficheskii slovar*, ed. P. A. Nikolaev (Moscow: Sovetskaia entsiklopediia, 1989).

²⁴ Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read*, 131; McReynolds, *The News*, Appendix A, tables 5–6; Steinberg, *Petersburg*, 35; Brower, “The Penny Press,” 148.

²⁵ Esin, *Russkaia dorevoliutsionnaia gazeta*, 72.

²⁶ Neuberger, *Hooliganism*, 52–53. Brooks has also examined the readership of the kopeck press and concluded that, compared to previous newspapers that had tried to include lower-class Russians in a broad audience, such as *Moskovskii Listok* (Moscow List), *Kopeika* likely had a higher proportion of lower-class readers. See Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read*, 139–41.

²⁷ McReynolds, *The News*, 226.

²⁸ See Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read*, 128–29; McReynolds, “V. M. Doroshevich,” 235–36. *Moskovskii Listok*’s innovation was its brazenly commercial character, with little political content, and its attempt to appeal across classes to urban residents by including entertainment and satisfying its readers’ “desire to read about their own lives” (McReynolds, “V. M. Doroshevich,” 235).

²⁹ Bellavance, “Fourth Estate, Fifth Power,” 35.

³⁰ Neuberger, *Hooliganism*, 15–17; Esin, *Russkaia dorevoliutsionnaia gazeta*, 47, 72–73.

³¹ McReynolds, *The News*, Appendix C, Tables 17 and 23.

³² Thomas Riha, “Riech’: A Portrait of a Russian Newspaper,” *Slavic Review* 22, no. 4 (1963): 663–66. Miliukov, notably, still believed that “*Rech*’ did more for the popularization of our ideas than all the other public activities of the Kadets” despite its low circulation of 17,000, possibly because it was read by influential members of the Russian elite (Riha, “*Riech*’”, 664).

³³ McReynolds, *The News*, Appendix C, tables 17–23.

³⁴ Notably, in North America, the mass circulation press by this time had shifted towards advertising as a form of financial support, instead of funding itself through subscriptions.

Thus, *Kopeika*’s relative lack of advertising implies a greater stream of income or support from other sources even before it reached its later sales heights. See Hans Ibold and Lee Wilkins, “Philosophy at Work: Ideas Made a Difference,” in *Journalism 1908: Birth of a Profession*, ed. Betty Houchin Winfield (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008), 83.

³⁵ On the characteristics of Russian liberalism, see Melissa Stockdale, “Liberalism and Democracy: The Constitutional Democratic Party,” in *Russia under the Last Tsar: Opposition and Subversion 1894–1917*, ed. Anna Geifman (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 153–78; Melissa Stockdale, *Paul Miliukov and the Quest for a Liberal Russia, 1880–1918* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996); William G. Rosenberg, *Liberals in the Russian Revolution: The Constitutional Democratic Party, 1917–1921* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 11–46; Shmuel Galai, *The Liberation Movement in Russia, 1900–1905* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1973). On the regressive Russian taxation system, see Gregory M. Dempster, “The Fiscal Background of the Russian Revolution,” *European Review of Economic History* 10, no. 1 (2006): 36; Hans Rogger, *Russia in the Age of Modernization and Revolution, 1881–1917* (London and New York: Longman, 1983), 117–18.

³⁶ Stockdale, “Liberalism and Democracy,” 157–60; William G. Rosenberg, “Representing Workers and the Liberal Narrative of Modernity,” in *Workers and Intelligentsia in Late Imperial Russia: Realities, Representations, Reflections*, ed. Reginald E. Zelnik (Berkeley: International and Area Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 1999), 229.

³⁷ Rosenberg, *Liberals*, 23–24, 31.

³⁸ See Thomas Earl Porter, *The Zemstvo and the Emergence of Civil Society in Late Imperial Russia, 1864–1917* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1991), 176; Roberta Thompson Manning, “The Zemstvo and Politics, 1864–1914,” in *The Zemstvo in Russia: An Experiment in Local Self-Government*, ed. Terence Emmons and Wayne S. Vucinich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 146; Jeffrey Brooks, “The Zemstvo and the Education of the People,” in *The Zemstvo in Russia: An Experiment in Local Self-Government*, ed. Terence Emmons and Wayne S. Vucinich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 243; Charles E. Timberlake, “The Zemstvo and the Development of a Russian Middle Class,” in *Between Tsar and People: Educated Society and the Quest for Public Identity in Late Imperial Russia*, ed. Edith W. Clowes, Samuel D. Kassow, and James L. West (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 177–79; Galai, *The Liberation Movement*, 32; Thomas Porter and William Gleason, “The Zemstvo and the Transformation of Russian Society,” in *Emerging Democracy in Late Imperial Russia: Case Studies on Local Self-Government (the Zemstvos), State Duma Elections, the Tsarist Government, and the State Council Before and During World War I*, ed. Mary Schaeffer Conroy (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1998), 64.

³⁹ The classic account of Russian populism is Richard Wortman, *The Crisis of Russian Populism* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1967).

⁴⁰ Three articles, including two editorials, were also published under only the initial “A” which may well have been Anzimirov. However, signing articles with initials was common enough that this cannot be guaranteed, and so A’s articles are not counted as Anzimirov’s for my analysis of either his prolificacy or the content of his writing.

⁴¹ See I. F. Masanov, *Slovar’ psevdonimov russkikh pisatelei, uchenykh i obshchestvennykh deiatelei* (Moscow: Vsesoiuznoi knizhkoii palaty, 1956), 1: 298, 2: 190, 4: 37, 4: 96.

⁴² All calculations are my own based on an analysis of *Gazeta-Kopeika*’s first 26 issues, covering a one month period starting with its first issue (the newspaper did not publish on Mondays at the time). Gorodetskii, notably, published no signed articles during this period. For detailed numbers, see Appendix A.

- ⁴³ Mirskoi [Anzimirov], “Classes for Teachers,” *Gazeta-Kopeika* (hereafter *GK*) No. 1, June 19, 1908, 1.
- ⁴⁴ Bat’ko [Anzimirov], “The Pig and the Skylark,” *GK* No. 1, June 19, 1908, 2.
- ⁴⁵ In fact, *Kopeika’s* first serialized novel was Anzimirov’s *Scarlet Roses of the East*, which began publication on August 28, 1908. According to Brooks, serial fiction was one of the penny press’s main attractions for lower-class readers (see Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read*, 135–139). Anzimirov’s interest in fiction and fairy tales extended as far as the publication of a collection of fables entitled *My Little Fairy Tales* (Moscow, 1911), which often included “political allusions” just as his early fiction in *Kopeika* did (see Reitblat, “Anzimirov”). Anzimirov’s repeated use of popular fiction to spread his political views, and *Kopeika’s* prominence as an early outlet for this tendency, only adds to the sense of Anzimirov using the newspaper as a means for his ideas to reach Russia’s lower classes.
- ⁴⁶ Bat’ko [Anzimirov], “The Sun and the Wind,” *GK* No. 7, June 26, 1908, 3.
- ⁴⁷ Mirskoi [Anzimirov], “Eight Hour Workday,” *GK* No. 6, June 25, 1908, 1.
- ⁴⁸ Mirskoi [Anzimirov], “On the Fund in the Name of L. N. Tolstoy,” *GK* No. 8, June 27, 1908, 1.
- ⁴⁹ Mirskoi [Anzimirov], “A New Disaster,” *GK* No. 4, June 22, 1908, 1.
- ⁵⁰ Anzimirov, “How to Get Rich?,” *GK* No. 19, July 10, 1908, 1.
- ⁵¹ Bellavance, “Fourth Estate, Fifth Power,” 4–5; Betty Houchin Winfield, “1908: A Very Political Year for the Press,” in *Journalism 1908: Birth of a Profession*, ed. Betty Houchin Winfield (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008), 30.
- ⁵² “Independent Judiciary,” *GK* No. 3, June 21, 1908, 1; A. Gorev, “Women’s Rights,” *GK* No. 2, June 20, 1908, 2; A., “Half Measure,” *GK* No. 26, July 18, 1908, 1; *GK* No. 5, June 24, 1908, 1; “Doomed,” *GK* No. 13, July 3, 1908, 1; *GK* No. 18, July 9, 1908, 1; N. Vasil’ev, “A Good Idea,” *GK* No. 20, July 11, 1908, 1.
- ⁵³ *GK* No. 10, June 29, 1908, 1.
- ⁵⁴ *GK* No. 14, July 4, 1908, 1.
- ⁵⁵ *GK* No. 4, June 22, 1908, 1.
- ⁵⁶ “Light From the West,” *GK* No. 15, July 5, 1908, 1; *GK* No. 4, June 22, 1908, 1.
- ⁵⁷ Anzimirov, “No Need for Blood!,” *GK* No. 4, June 22, 1908, 1. On alcoholism, see Svoi, “Around Russia: ‘Respectable Persons’” *GK* No. 17, July 8, 1908, 4. McReynolds has also discussed the frequency of *GK’s* criticisms of Russian traditions, rural conditions, and alcoholism compared to the supposedly sophisticated, safe, and sober West. See McReynolds, “‘Boulevard’ Press,” 133–34.
- ⁵⁸ See, for examples, “Doomed,” *GK* No. 13, July 3, 1908, 1; *GK* No. 17, July 8, 1908, 1; Mirskoi [Anzimirov], “A New Disaster,” *GK* No. 4, June 22, 1908, 1.
- ⁵⁹ This is the image put forward by McReynolds. See McReynolds, *The News*, 225; McReynolds, “‘Boulevard’ Press,” 132; McReynolds, “Mobilizing.”
- ⁶⁰ Bellavance, “Fourth Estate, Fifth Power,” 14; Neuberger, *Hooliganism*, 18; Balmuth, *The Russian Bulletin*, 4–5; McReynolds, *The News*, 5, 7.
- ⁶¹ *GK* No. 4, June 22, 1908, 1; Stockdale, *Paul Miliukov*, 183.
- ⁶² “The Case of the Attack on P. N. Miliukov,” *GK* No. 9, June 28, 1908, 3 and *GK* No. 10, June 29, 1908, 3; Mirskoi [Anzimirov], “The Case of ‘Rus,’” *GK* No. 10, June 29, 1908, 2–3.
- ⁶³ *GK* No. 7, June 26, 1908, 1.
- ⁶⁴ Anzimirov, “How to Get Rich?,” *GK* No. 5, June 24, 1908, 1.
- ⁶⁵ Anzimirov, “How to Get Rich?,” *GK* No. 9, June 28, 1908, 1.
- ⁶⁶ Victor Leontovitsch, *The History of Liberalism in Russia*, trans. Parmen Leontovitsch (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 155–61; Rosenberg, *Liberals*, 19;

- Stockdale, “Liberalism and Democracy,” 158. This compromise policy reflected the Kadets’ nature as “a loose association” of liberals with differing views rather than “a tightly knit monolithic group in the Bolshevik mold” (Rosenberg, *Liberals*, 13).
- ⁶⁷ Rosenberg, *Liberals*, 19–20.
- ⁶⁸ The Russian word *sam* roughly translates to “oneself.” It was used as a measurement of agricultural productivity by Russian peasants. See “Mera izmereniia – ‘sam,’” November 26, 2014, accessed February 28, 2017, <http://www.vedom.ru/news/2014/11/26/15828-mera>. Its presence here indicates how Anzimirov tailored his message to potential peasant readers by using colloquial terms with which they would be familiar.
- ⁶⁹ Anzimirov, “How to Get Rich?,” *GK* No. 9, June 28, 1908, 1.
- ⁷⁰ Anzimirov, “How to Get Rich?,” *GK* No. 14, July 4, 1908, 1; *GK* No. 12, July 2, 1908, 1; No. 11, July 1, 1908, 1; No. 16, July 6, 1908.
- ⁷¹ Anzimirov, “How to Get Rich?,” *GK* No. 11, July 1, 1908, 1.
- ⁷² Anzimirov, “How to Get Rich?,” *GK* No. 14, July 4, 1908, 1.
- ⁷³ Anzimirov, “How to Get Rich?,” *GK* No. 17, July 8, 1908, 1.
- ⁷⁴ Anzimirov, “How to Get Rich?,” *GK* No. 19, July 10, 1908, 1.
- ⁷⁵ Thomas Earl Porter, “The Development of Political Pluralism in Late Imperial Russia: Local Self-Government and the Movement for a National Zemstvo Union” (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1990), 270–71; Porter, *The Zemstvo*, 212–14.
- ⁷⁶ Anzimirov, “How to Get Rich?,” *GK* No. 23, July 15, 1908, 1.
- ⁷⁷ Anzimirov, “How to Get Rich?,” *GK* No. 25, July 17, 1908, 1. Italics in original.
- ⁷⁸ On the Socialist Revolutionaries, Russia’s most popular party among peasants, see Michael Melancon, “Neo-Populism in Early Twentieth-Century Russia: The Socialist-Revolutionary Party from 1900 to 1917,” in *Russia under the Last Tsar: Opposition and Subversion 1894–1917*, ed. Anna Geifman (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 73–90; Manfred Hildermeier, “The Socialist Revolutionary Party of Russia and the Workers, 1900–1914,” in *Workers and Intelligentsia in Late Imperial Russia: Realities, Representations, Reflections*, ed. Reginald E. Zelnik (Berkeley: International and Area Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 1999), 206–27.
- ⁷⁹ See Balmuth, *The Russian Bulletin*, 267–70.
- ⁸⁰ See Susanna Rabow-Edling, “Liberalism and Nationalism in Russia. Boris Chicherin as a Modernist Nationalist,” *Nations and Nationalism* 18, no. 4 (2012): 701–18; Rosenberg, *Liberals*, 15.
- ⁸¹ Manning, “The Zemstvo and Politics,” 147, 161; Francis W. Wcislo, *Reforming Rural Russia: State, Local Society, and National Politics, 1855–1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 195; Stockdale, *Paul Miliukov*, 171.
- ⁸² In Reitblat, “Anzimirov,” he is classified as between the Left Kadets and Right Socialist Revolutionaries, meaning he fit neither party well since both of these wings were relatively marginalized by the mainstream of their parties. See Melancon, “Neo-Populism,” 80; Rosenberg, *Liberals*, 32–38.
- ⁸³ Quoted in Reitblat, “Anzimirov.” Anzimirov, in “How to Get Rich?,” *GK* No. 17, July 8, 1908, 1, explicitly rejected the views of the peasantry, the Kadets, the Socialist Revolutionaries, the Social Democrats, and the right wing, saying that all of them took the wrong approach and without following Anzimirov’s own approach to the land question “it is impossible to achieve the well-being of the masses.”
- ⁸⁴ Esin, *Russkaia dorevoliutsionnaia gazeta*, 72; Reitblat, “Anzimirov”; McReynolds, *The News*, 229. Anzimirov even spent a year in prison for an article entitled “Fermented.” See Reitblat, “Anzimirov.”

⁸⁵ Many of these authors were not famous and their names and pseudonyms have not been recorded, even in Masanov's excellent *Slovar' psevdonimov russkikh pisatelei*. Unfortunately, many attributions thus come down to a judgment call. I have chosen to count articles signed by "N. Levitskii," "Arnold'ov," "Zhosef Chuprina," "A. Gorev," "K. O. Min," and "Ia. Murzin" as articles signed with real names despite the fact that these, too, may have been pseudonyms and the authors' full identities could not be verified. If any of these indeed were pseudonyms, it would only enhance Anzimirov's proportion of the newspaper's signed articles.

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Critical Commentary

Looking Beyond the Archive: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Dealing with Difficult Archives

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As historians, our work can be seriously compromised when access to archives is complicated by factors beyond our control. Perhaps they are permanently classified, or caught in the middle of political conflicts that threaten not only their contents but also the lives of those pursuing them. Some collections defy easy cataloguing, and others have been collected without organization in an attempt to simply preserve an increasingly obscured history. And, sometimes, archives just disappear. In the course of my own research I have fortunately not encountered the more dangerous of these problems. However, my work on the history of a recently-closed United States military base introduced me to the difficulties of archiving places in transition, and revealed the possibilities of working across disciplines to research beyond the archive. Based on my own recent archival difficulties on a dissertation research trip, I suggest that employing

the theoretical tools and research methods of multiple disciplines—a methodological synthesis—can help us find new ways of working around formal archives.

In formulating my dissertation research project, like any historian, I relied heavily on institutional archives and records. This process left me frightfully underprepared when I arrived at my research destination to find that one of my key archives did not exist. Although some of the material had been digitized, the physical collection was inexplicably gone. Having travelled 4,000 miles on grants, it was troubling (to say the least) that no one knew what had happened to the materials. Moreover, only one of a dozen contacts even responded to my requests for information. Despite my advance preparation, I was at a loss for how my research could effectively proceed in the absence of a formal archive. It was by sheer chance that my one reliable contact connected me to a community

organization that proved invaluable to my work. When the base closed in 1994, this group formed to direct plans for the land's reuse, and upon meeting its members, I was given the opportunity to visit the ruins of the base. Moreover, their use of the past to direct the course of the present reminded me of scholarship outside of my discipline that presented ways of understanding my subject in the absence of a formal archive. Together, these influences helped me recognize the physical ruins of the base as an alternative to my missing collection, presenting me with an abundance of resources beyond the archive.

The physical debris and ruins of a historical place, as well as processes of "ruination" left in the present, offer up valuable alternatives to formal archives. Here I refer to the work of Ann Stoler, a historian and anthropologist, whose work on the histories of empire validates the inclusion of physical debris and ruins as archival sources. Stoler's work also highlights active processes—language, political systems, and environmental contamination, which often accompany physical ruins—that reveal history through their continued impact on the present.¹ For my research, some of the most poignant physical ruins are the military vehicles left on the base grounds. While a vehicle is a passive reminder of the history of a place, processes of ruination actively involve the past in the present. For me, this reading of the past through the present served as a crucial methodology that became apparent as I toured the former base. The purpose of the tour was to demonstrate the transitional nature of the site and the difficulties in

repurposing lands contaminated by the debris of military activity, like water pollution, abandoned military vehicles, and unexploded artillery buried in the ground. This debris revealed not only present concerns, but also the past activities in which they were rooted. As Stoler and her colleagues argue, this problem of contamination not only defines the present, but simultaneously confirms and demonstrates the history of military training that I initially thought inaccessible without formal archival sources.

The tour also posed questions about debris and authenticity, prompting me to think further about my research beyond the archive. When examining historical sites in decay, the present-day use of this debris prompts questions about the authenticity of its use. Have the ruins remained because the place is untouched, or have they been intentionally preserved? If preserved, for what reason, and how does that impact our ability as historians to use them as sources? This consideration complicates our reliance on historical ephemera—both formal and informal sources—as proving historical fact. The tour ended with an opportunity to look at and take photographs with ruined military vehicles. Having shifted my methodology to consider the authenticity of the present-day base, I could not help but wonder if the vehicles had been moved there for the purpose of a "photo-op," as if to prove that this place had indeed been a military base. Since most of the ruins were buried unexploded artillery, leaving the vehicles as remnants—visual pieces of debris—seemingly authenticated the history of the place. However, unlike the

abandoned buildings I walked through independently, the vehicles suggested a constructed historical narrative.

My encounter with the vehicles

service of present opinions about that indecision. Likewise, the ghost town's brothels and saloons were allowed to decay but the more "wholesome" main



ABANDONED MILITARY VEHICLES ON THE FORMER BASE. NOTE THE "CAUTION" TAPE DIVIDING THE SPACE BETWEEN VIEWER AND OBJECT MUCH LIKE A MUSEUM DISPLAY. PHOTO TAKEN BY AUTHOR WITH PERMISSION, SUMMER 2016.

reminded me of research by geographer Dydia DeLyser on U.S. "ghost towns," which directly confronts the problems of authenticity and debris noted by Stoler. Where the past continues to affect the present through contamination and debris in Stoler's work, DeLyser further defines the ever-present past as a series of moments that were once "the present." Each of these moments adds a narrative and hermeneutic layer to debris and contamination. A key moment in her work is her realization that the "authentic" layout of objects in rooms in a nineteenth-century ghost town was in fact staging done in the 1960s. At the former base, this kind of staging is maintained by the community's indecision regarding the fate of abandoned buildings, and their use in the writing of histories in the

street was strategically maintained in a state of what she calls "arrested decay," much like the placement of the tank along the tour route. This kind of narrative construction reveals secondary histories that can be used as a peculiar kind of archive. Moreover, both Stoler and DeLyser indicate that this construction involves a process of deliberate selection of artifacts and information, which itself presents a historical narrative and provides another way of thinking about research beyond the formal archive.²

The methodologies presented by these scholars took on new meaning as I met with individual collectors to examine their uncatalogued personal archives. While private collections supplemented my informal archives with materials that could be formally catalogued,

they bore the mark of the politics and experiences of their collectors and thus complicated my understanding of authenticity and fact. The assembly of documents was not chronological or based on subject matter, but arranged in thematic bunches to prove a thesis. As a scholar working on my own research questions, it was challenging to avoid reading the documents as they were presented, especially knowing that a

ultimately revealed the fate of my formal archive, itself a victim of strategic choosing in the construction of a specific historical narrative. The sacrifice of my archive due to budgetary concerns by the host university was indicative of broader social trends, but in its absence other archives were established, both by personal collectors and a group of military-affiliated historians, which highlighted a different

These collections emerged not simply as uncatalogued primary materials but as layered histories with present-day meaning

different assembly structure might tell a different story. Although it was critical that I access the documents owned by private collectors, my access to those documents was pre-determined by what they considered important enough to preserve. My reading and application of the methodologies proposed by Stoler and DeLyser facilitated my navigation of these uncatalogued archives, insofar as the private collections were assemblages of debris. As a whole, their physical and ideological arrangement told me why particular kinds of documents survived, due to their importance to the collectors as historical objects and as evidence of their own present-day research projects. By considering the influence of past debris on the present, these collections emerged not simply as uncatalogued primary materials but as layered histories with present-day meaning.

The personal nature of these collections also allowed for informal conversations with the collectors that

set of problems. While private collectors were simply waiting for a space in which to assemble their vast and varied materials, the military had been quietly storing documents, salvaged when the base closed, in a now-defunct library. Happy though I was to have access to a formal archive, I wondered about the processes of selection that led to the collection's present state. Some official records and documents had been sent to the National Archives and Records Administration in College Park, Maryland by base staff in 1994, but swathes of material were simply discarded in dumpsters. This quiet archive only exists because a handful of hired historians salvaged materials from the trash, making their existence not only accidental but subject to personal and institutional choices and by no means comprehensive in scope.

Which of these layered histories, then, would be most useful to pursue in my work? In attempting to answer

this question I drew on a third scholar outside of my discipline. Vivian Sobchack's work in cinema studies on the inconsistencies of time articulated how I might synthesize my varied archives. Visual media, like film, play with time and chronology in a way that reflects and is reflected by what I discovered while researching my project. Sobchack describes telling a three-fold history involving excavated Egyptian ruins, their reproduction in plaster for a film set in the 1920s, and their recent excavation as buried ruins in the dunes outside of Hollywood.³ She suggests that these histories be told not as linear chronologies, but as interweaving stories that present themselves akin to a screenplay. Rather than attempt to force a linear structure, some histories are better told through non-traditional chronologies that demonstrate the inconsistencies of time and make apparent the processes of choosing primary materials. Even with formal archives eventually at hand, making sense of what I found demanded that I consider this set of methodological tools far beyond my

training as a historian. As I continue my research and begin my writing, I have adopted her model to both collect unexpected evidence beyond the archive, and incorporate the story of my research into my examination of a space in transition.

This first trip pushed my abilities as a scholar and revealed the interdisciplinary opportunities afforded beyond the archive. The value of an interdisciplinary approach lies in its use of multiple methodologies that help scholars contend with difficult or missing archives. Stoler's debris and "ruination" reveals alternatives to the formal archive, and DeLyser highlights the problems of authenticity that arise when humans unavoidably interact with historical artifacts. Finally, Sobchack's multiple chronologies reconciles the above methodologies, helping me to most effectively use the alternative archives I found. This synthesis revealed histories and materials that have already enriched my work. Should you encounter a difficult archive in the course of your own work, it is worthwhile to look beyond it, where opportunities for synthesis and alternative sources abound.

ENDNOTES

¹ Ann Stoler, ed., *Imperial Debris: On Ruins and Ruination* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

² Dydia DeLyser, "Authenticity on the Ground: Engaging the Past in a California Ghost Town," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 89, no. 4 (1999): 602–632.

³ Vivian Sobchack, "What is Film History? Or, the Riddle of the Sphinx," *Spectator* 20, no. 1 (1999–2000): 8–22.

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Research Article

Framing Military Violence in German Africa: Metropolitan Indoctrination, Masculinity, and the Conceptualized Other

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Explanations for German colonial violence in Africa tend to revolve around either proto-Holocaust centered theories or the colony as a permeated space of continual violence. Both methods falter due to overgeneralization, often through lack of nuanced consideration of differing societal groups within the German colonial populations. This article addresses one of these populations, namely the German military administrations and personnel, primarily before the scandal of the Herero genocide resulted in a loss of relative administrative power for the colonial army. Military violence in the colonies arose through a combination of army values developed in Germany, an adapted version of metropolitan masculinity, and potent interpretations of European discourse on the colonized peoples. Coercive command became standard policy to maintain the equilibrium of the perceived power differential between colonizer and colonized. Although this balance became the standard goal of native policy for all German societal groups within the colonies, the military remained the only group with the ability to exert coercive command on a large scale.

Since 1894... [t]his indefatigable, dashing, militarily and scholarly distinguished officer made a name for himself.... Adored by his colored troops, he was the terror of all agitators.... His name... made the colored hearts tremble. Iron energy and the greatest lack of consideration for himself, he coupled this with a jubilant temperament and an unfailing benevolence for his subordinates.

EULOGY FOR MAJOR HANS
DOMINIK, 1911¹

THE POPULAR NEWSPAPER *Kolonie und Heimat* expressed these panegyric sentiments after Major Dominik died from the strains of quelling an uprising of the Maka people in Cameroon. The uprising began after Dominik led a “punitive expedition” (*Strafexpedition*) in response to a tale that a “German trader had been ‘eaten’ in the area.”² He was, in the end, regarded as a great pacifier of the region. Dominik’s methods of warfare would have been atypical on a European battlefield, but the underlying ideas originated in the metropole. This military training was coupled with a form of masculinity also transmitted from the homeland, but adapted to the colonial environment. The eulogy depicts Dominik as the “whole man,” occupying such contradictory positions as idolized/feared, benevolent/ruthless, and serious/exuberant. He is militaristic, yet scholarly; energetic and dashing, but contemplative when needed. Armed with an overbearing and purposely manufactured feeling of superiority over the native African population, Major

Hans Dominik could enact violence in the euphemistic name of justified pacification. His case is not unique among the military in the colonies. A framework can be constructed in which colonial military violence in German Africa can be explained by three causal factors: standardized military training and indoctrination in Germany; the transfer of the “whole man” ideal from the metropole and its subsequent transformation into hyper-masculine form in the colonies; and, stereotypic conceptions of the colonized Other as existing outside European or German norms.

This article attempts to specify an origin of German violence in Africa within historical context, which has hitherto remained historiographically problematic. Many previous studies have focused on the genocide against the Herero as a precursor to the Holocaust, often with allusions to the once-ubiquitous *Sonderweg* theory. Although the issue of historical continuities is most often at the forefront, a subtler issue is the difficulty of building a comprehensive theory of colonial violence predicated on a specific endpoint that was neither “the end,” nor a representative case.³ Some scholars have attempted a generalized framework in which colonists performed violence as an integral part of a system of dominance. While this piece does not deny such a framework, a more nuanced view shows that varying motivations among colonial societal groups resulted in differing levels and types of violence. Central to investigating this theme are the strides made in the historiography since 1970, specifically in the way that the colonial spheres are viewed. The

effects of colonialism are no longer ignored under the pretext of existing as an ephemeral phenomenon.⁴ More recently, historians have used historical, cultural, and literary studies to probe the depths of colonists' minds, but also those of the colonized.⁵ The following framework for colonial violence takes a similar interdisciplinary approach to include the effects and interactions of institutions and actors. The most significant contribution of the recent historiography is that "actors" now includes the colonized peoples, who are no longer viewed simply as those "acted upon." This article continues this historiographical trend by differentiating sources of agency, but also by recognizing the interactivity of groups.

The German army is a useful starting point for inquiry into group differentiation. Though many institutions and classes of actors existed on the German side during the colonial era, the army contrasted most with other factions. The German army developed unique systems and beliefs that distinguished it from other contemporary European militaries. Experiences in the Wars of Unification formed an ideology that placed a premium on harsh expedients in pursuit of "military necessities." Doctrines such as mission-based tactics (*Auftragstaktik*) gave individual commanders significant amounts of autonomous authority to determine military necessity. The army had little regard for international laws in Europe and even less so in the rugged and "uncivilized" context of the African colonies. Without a specific colonial army, Germany transferred its European-based military to an area

subject to much less governmental oversight as well as outside the effectual, though highly circumscribed, realm of emerging international law. This provided the impetus for the evolution of violence from military campaigns (*Feldzüge*) during the initial colonization phase to the punitive expeditions of occupation. It is the peculiar manifestation of the latter that this article attempts to explain. The fundamental difference between military campaigns and punitive expeditions was whether a legitimate military goal existed. Beyond this ambiguous definition, punitive expeditions were more localized and often conducted during times of occupation, rather than initial colonization. The dividing line became continually blurred as time went on, especially in the cases of uprisings (*Aufstände*). Thus suppression, usually a job for garrison troops, became a military goal for army governors and commanders. The melding of campaigns and punishment was sometimes characterized as "revenge campaigns" (*Rachefeldzüge*). The haphazard blending found its greatest expression in the Herero genocide (1904–1907), a development that is analyzed in detail below. The Maji Maji Rebellion (1905–1907) in Eastern Africa was another curious admixture of campaigning and suppressing.

On a deeper level, the harsh and militaristic colonial environment also provoked the creation of a specific brand of masculinity. A crisis of masculinity taking place in the metropole arrived in the colonies, but the unique setting provided a means of escape, and eventually the formation of a hegemonic settler masculinity.

Both nationalism and bourgeois sensibilities emphasized the idea of "the whole man," an ideal masculinity that harmoniously combined rationalism and emotionalism.⁶ Martina Kessel has argued convincingly that this "holistic version" of man amalgamated male and female characteristics in an attempt to create a distinctly masculine world.⁷ New societal norms emphasized traditional areas of masculinity, such as intellectualism and productivity,

ruralness could be the answer. It could be a world created in masculine form, emphasizing all of the characteristics of "the whole man." That this world would be distinctly masculine in nature is supported by the fact that, even after efforts to increase female presence, both German Southwest and East Africa held ratios of seven German men to only one white woman.¹⁰ The isolated nature of Africa distorted the whole-man concept into an extremely rugged

The heightened masculinity of the military found greater expression in an environment that promoted strength, danger, and domination

yet also espoused "typical" feminine characteristics of sensitivity and passion. Society placed bounds on subjective versions of identity, asserting the primacy of order and harmony, or the careful balance of male/female attributes. Nonconformance to the new mores supposedly led from a depraved individual to an ill nation-state, thus introducing a national peril that reinforced the need for widespread adherence.⁸ Industrialization promoted urbanization, and nationalists felt that concentration in the cities created sexual abnormalcy, "alienation," and a removal from the traditional German soil.⁹ The rapid pace of urbanization and industrialization prompted a crisis in masculinity whenever the gender order appeared in question. Africa, therefore, with its abundant land and

and un-tempered version of those characteristics considered most manly. In essence, attributes of masculinity were taken to extreme levels. Though precise ideas of which aspects of masculinity should be emphasized differed, the hyper-masculinized ideal of the whole man became hegemonic during the era. The methods of enforcement also differed by the class of the settler, but in the military realm, hegemony was enforced by "cultural consent, discursive centrality, institutionalization, and the marginalization or deligitimation of alternatives," but especially by physical force against the native peoples.¹¹ Furthermore, the heightened masculinity of the military found greater expression in an environment that promoted strength, danger, and domination.

Military commanders subscribed to a specific precolonial ethnographic discourse that, when wedded with colonial masculinity and German military ideology, created an ethos in which extremely coercive measures, and eventually even genocide, were considered necessary.¹² The inherently violent nature of the military resulted in interpretations of ethnographic discourse that highlighted the allegedly savage and inhuman nature of those colonized. Coercive behavior against fellow whites in Europe became, fairly easily, murderously violent acts against “inhuman” and “cruel” blacks in Africa. The metropole government made no serious attempt to restrain this behavior until the genocide of the Herero created a backlash that fundamentally shifted colonial ideology away from the *Kulturmission* imposed primarily by the military.¹³

The Transfer of the Metropolitan Imperial Army

DISTINCT FROM OTHER IMPERIAL powers, Germany did not have a specifically designed colonial army, making it possible to frame some aspects of colonial military practice within the metropolitan-based military institution.¹⁴ Initially, the German colonial army (*Schutztruppe*) was organized under the German Imperial Naval Office, but was in reality a kind of “third branch” of the German military.¹⁵ The army conducted all infantry training within Germany, and indoctrinated troops received the dominant military ideologies and belief systems prevalent in the homeland. This primarily meant an emphasis on the “skillful, independent understanding

of a mission [*eines Auftrages*], prudent deliberation, quick and appropriate decisions, and outstanding vigor and bravery.”¹⁶ Courses in military history would “safeguard the officer from excessive humanitarian outlooks [*Anschauungen*]... that in war certain severities cannot be done without, that in fact often the only true humanity lies in their ruthless application.”¹⁷ Furthermore, the official field manual sanctioned harsh “preventative measures” against occupied populations.¹⁸ While it would be a mischaracterization to suggest that the colonial environment itself had no impact on troop behavior, indoctrination and military culture provided fundamental attitudes toward military practice wherever German troops were stationed. Unit formation in the colonies, however, differed markedly from the metropolitan army. Colonial units were temporary and makeshift, resulting in a lack of cohesion normally formed through common regional origins, constant group interaction, and social maintenance.¹⁹ Continuity in leadership and experience was severely hindered by short terms of service; half of the officers served only one year in the colonies and only 12 per cent served more than three years.²⁰ Therefore, the standardized military training received in Germany was a particularly important influence on collective behavior, as it was the strongest source of group identity.

Shared knowledge of doctrine and standard operating procedures strongly informed group behavior. *Auftragstaktik*, already a hallmark of the German army, became a recurrent and enlarged capacity for individual action at all levels of the military hierarchy within the colonies. Large numbers of troops

on European battlefields during the Wars of Unification had shown the relative merits of a flexible mission system compared to attempts at near-absolute control of subordinates in the Napoleonic Wars.²¹ German officers gave orders that lacked specific detail, and they preferred troops to adapt when confronted with the fog of war or complications on the battlefield. This was not, however, a free pass for an officer to do as he pleased. The “coherence of the plan” was a guide to follow, and the fulfilment of the overall mission was always the goal.²² On the other hand, it required a degree of latitude: officers were expected to produce action and take risks, but with the reciprocal expectation that mistakes could happen and would be forgiven if it could be shown that the officer had worked within the framework of *Auftragstaktik*.²³ Any military action that vaguely supported the intentions of higher-ranking commanders was usually sufficient evidence. If performed correctly, the system allowed adaptability to changing battlefield conditions, and resulted in greater speed and maneuverability compared to armies that required lengthy, vertical hierarchical communication. The need for mission-based tactics was clear in the African colonial context. Germany controlled an area roughly five times the size of its European territory, along with an indigenous population of over 11 million.²⁴ With a German colonial population of 22,000, of which only 6,500 were military troops, a wide degree of authority was necessary within any given field of operations.²⁵ This produced a much greater sphere

of responsibility, especially for lower ranking personnel, such as junior officers and noncommissioned officers.²⁶ Authority predicated on mission-based tactics provided the pretext for much of the violent coercion that colonial troops enacted. The system’s interpretive nature allowed a wide scope for individual initiative, but without the usual restraints of specific military goals or a defined battlefield. The problem became particularly acute when orders from above conflicted with standard notions of European military ethics, as will be shown in the context of the Herero uprising. The home government reduced this authority only when “mistakes” rose to the level of genocide, and even then only because of the resulting furor in the metropole as well as by other colonial powers.

Nevertheless, the German government still condoned the army’s general doctrine on the treatment of civilians, ideas that encouraged a loose definition of military necessity. Again, experiences during the Wars of Unification, particularly the French popular uprising and use of unconventional troops in the form of *franc-tireurs* during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871, instigated a belief in harsh measures based on “military necessity.”²⁷ Victory against an enemy military was not a guarantee of peace, as was shown by continuing anti-occupation operations after the French field army was defeated in 1870.²⁸ Though commanders initially, but questionably from a legal standpoint, ordered reprisals against spies and guerilla fighters under the authority of *Auftragstaktik*, Chief of the General Staff Helmuth von Moltke eventually

sanctioned the practice legally.²⁹ Though German casualty figures by irregular French fighters was relatively low, a quarter of the field army was arrayed against the *franc-tireurs* due to their seeming ability to be anywhere at any time.³⁰ Such an imbalance to combat small numbers of enemy fighters raised harsh responses to the level of military necessity in the eyes of field commanders. Horne and Kramer have shown extensively that the fear of guerilla tactics became mythologized in the psyche of the German military and played a crucial role in military decision making and doctrinal development in the subsequent decades.³¹ In the colonies, where the pervasiveness of the need for dominance was even more widespread, it was far easier to consider groups as rebel fighters. Whereas in Europe there were at least hazy limits as to what constituted rebellious or partisan behavior, the maintenance of the perceived power differential required a much lower tolerance for supposedly “threatening” behavior. Coupled with the belief that natives were inhuman and could only be subjugated through fear, this perceived power differential intensified the idea of reprisals as military necessity. Some, in fact, did directly compare reprisals against natives with the execution of civilians in the Franco-Prussian War.³²

Disregarding the dissenting opinions and diverging widely from emerging international law, the German military was primed for excessively violent means of coercion in the colonies. The German military, as a whole, viewed laws regulating warfare as an infringement on the basic right to conduct combat. Considering *Auftragstaktik* the only

method efficient enough to deal with irregular warfare, and the need to quickly and effectively combat it so paramount, the army fought any limits for responding to civilian fighters. This permeated down to the lower levels, and recruits were generally unaware of specific legal requirements on the treatment of civilians or prisoners of war.³³ Retired General Julius von Hartmann, a prominent writer on military affairs, expounded in Clausewitzian terms both the overall purpose of war, as well as the variables that would influence individual soldiers to act in the name of military necessity:

[T]he one, great, final goal of war is the subjugation of the enemy power, the overcoming of the enemy energy, the mastery of the enemy will. This one goal commands absolutely and it dictates law and regulation. The concrete figuration of this law appears in the form of military necessity.... The course of war appears as a stringing together of actions, in which military personnel, as carriers of the military strength of the state and under the full exploitation... of the striving toward a common goal, are subject to particular targets of military necessity that they must execute.³⁴

There was, therefore, not an insistence on mission-based tactics in the name of military necessity in the German military; there was an understood compulsion. The pursuit of military necessity was defined as a basic right of the army and, with the use of *Auftragstaktik*, encompassed virtually anything that could lead to any vaguely defined goal of a superior. If the result were unsuccessful, latitude was given if the commander showed that

he had attempted to work within this framework.

That these principles transferred from the metropole to the African colonies is clear. Training that took place in Germany ensured the indoctrination of this mindset. The primary difference was that, due to the expanse of territory and the miniscule amount of troops with which to control it, even low-ranking commanders held authority to impose large, broad fines or summarily execute those defined as rebels.³⁵ In the midst of the Herero uprising, the German General Staff, in its historical analysis, asserted that “[w]homever wished to colonize here [Africa], must first grasp the sword and wage war, not with petty and delicate means, but rather with great, awe-inspiring power until the utter defeat of the natives.”³⁶ This assessment did not differ from German precolonial theory, but the experience of colonization had seemingly validated extremely coercive methods, further enshrining them in standard colonial military practice. Additionally, Kaiser Wilhelm’s *Kommandogewalt*, or broad constitutional rights to command the armed forces, ensured that, when colonial troubles arose, he could appoint an officer closely aligned with his way of thinking.³⁷ This would have serious repercussions during the Herero uprising with the appointment of Lothar von Trotha, as will be shown later, but it was also vitally important for the colonial military context as a whole. The combined framework of *Immediatsystem*, in which subordinates reported solely to the Kaiser, and the *Kommandogewalt* accentuated the image of the Kaiser’s authority, yet it also created what Annika Mombauer and

Wilhelm Deist have characterized as “Byzantinism.”³⁸ Consequently, offices worked in relative seclusion, causing a lack of coordination in policy. The result for the military was an almost complete insulation from non-executive oversight. Though the Kaiser was the Commander-in-Chief of each branch of the military, his authority over the *Schutztruppe* was even more marked. Unlike the army, in which some states’ contingents, such as Bavaria and Saxony, maintained a “special bond” with their kings in peacetime, the navy was an exclusively imperial institution from the very beginning.³⁹ Organizationally located under the navy, the *Schutztruppe* was under the absolute authority of the Kaiser during both times of peace and war. Due to precedent and the *Kommandogewalt*, his position and influence was circumscribed only marginally with its transfer to the Colonial Department in 1896 and then the *Reichskolonialamt* in 1907.

These kinds of constitutional and legal disconnects were widespread, effecting a seclusion of military development, both in the metropole and overseas, from virtually any civilian oversight. Clausewitz’s assertion of the military as a tool of policy was reversed.⁴⁰ As one of the many repercussions of administrative Byzantinism, the military narrowed its view to the tactical and operational levels, forgoing much consideration of the political-strategic aspects of war-making. This produced a much greater emphasis on the actions of individual commanders in the field, allowing them to direct policy “on the ground.” The Kaiser set the tone of military governance through his customarily boisterous martial

declarations. An ingrained adherence to *Auftragstaktik* and a disdain for international laws of war ensured that the Kaiser's policies were transmitted down the chain of command. Ministers such as Chancellor von Bülow claimed that "colonial politics was still a policy of conquering, and that nowhere in the world did one succeed at appropriating land from a foreign people without battles.... Colonial wars will therefore invariably be a necessary consequence of a colonial politics."⁴¹ Nevertheless, this military culture and legal sanctioning only provided the ability to use violent coercion. It does not explain the motivation for such coercion, which requires an investigation of individual beliefs and actions.

The Transfer and Distortion of German Metropolitan Masculinity

THE MILITARY PROVIDED AN INSULAR, masculinized world whether it was stationed within the metropole or beyond its borders. Nevertheless, the form that this masculinity took was also dependent upon its location. Thus, the "standardized" masculinity inculcated in troops in Germany during training was subject to change when it entered the African environs. The military environment allowed, promoted, and created a space for the expression of masculinity, but it was not the sole definer of male gender ideals. Manliness itself did not conform to such a narrow spectrum, and it was a fundamental basis for the colonial power framework more broadly.⁴² This was true among and between the varied classes of colonizers, but even more specifically in the case of military

personnel. Africa was a battlefield in which industrialized warfare on a mass scale could not take place; this "allowed masculine heroism, determination and nobility to shine through."⁴³ Colonists perceived Africa as a wide open space where a man could become his true and whole self without the artificial constraints imposed by industrialized society.⁴⁴ This "true self" harkened back to a pre-industrial masculinity that arose during the Wars of Liberation.⁴⁵ A working reconciliation between the individual and the collective defined the "militarization of masculinity."⁴⁶ The collective was not necessarily German society as a whole, but rather the pursuit of a higher ideal that often involved some aspect of *Deutschtum*. Willpower was an integral component of manliness.⁴⁷ It allowed a dogged determination for "heroism, death, and sacrifice" in the name of this higher ideal.⁴⁸ Yet the valuation of a man along this ideal was based on his individual and particular attributes:

The great community of the state will not be served by an internally changed person. Rather, he will lovingly serve in the manner that he wishes and is capable of, with an unbroken peculiarity and his entire soul.⁴⁹

Ideal masculinity was not envisioned as a composition of mechanically functioning men, but of those that pursued a collective ideal with the individual talents he possessed.

German men saw Africa as a way to return to these values, and as an escape from the crisis that now befell masculinity in the metropole. This crisis arose primarily from industrialization, technological increase, and advances

in the field of physiology. Growing industry prompted labor unrest and socialist ideologies.⁵⁰ Along with rising nationalism, these pervasive ideologies attempted to subsume the individual into society in the pursuit of higher ideals. Advances in technology seemed to "speed up time itself."⁵¹ Medical doctors promoted ideas of degeneracy, both physical and mental.⁵² While the ideologies co-opted masculinity with some success, science was mainly a man's preserve, and degeneracy prompted the most concern for the future of masculinity. This particularly informed the debates on race in conceiving of the colonized as either inferior or child-like in development, but also in the potential degeneracy of the "white race" arising from biological or cultural admixture. To a large degree, the enforced racial hierarchy propagated by German colonists was based on these new developments in science. Africa functioned as one of several pressure valves for those wishing to escape the masculinity crisis in Germany. Many believed that the "untainted" naturalness, and therefore beauty, of the environment, along with harsh living conditions would help alleviate mental and physical degeneracy.

Rather than simply a return to traditional, pre-industrial conceptions of masculinity, colonial maleness became a grandiose distortion of the old ideals. Manhood had once meant embodying the physical representation of the family unit as a whole in dealings with the state; in essence, the husband solely represented the interests of his household and was, therefore, a citizen.⁵³ In the colonies, due to a lack of family units and the attendant rise in land holding,

the ideal transformed from head-of-family to "master over a domain."⁵⁴ This power was easily circumscribed by the colonial administration or, in the case of soldiers, the military. Nevertheless, colonists found outlets for exercising mastery in a variety of places, whether in labor relations with natives, sexual aggression, or military violence. Among military personnel, mastery was most obviously demonstrated by the summary judgment of supposed rebels through the wide breadth of command and emphasis on mission-based tactics, especially during *Strafexpeditionen*.

Colonial men were also expected to be fearless, work hard, show dedication and self-confidence, and be creative.⁵⁵ These were not new attributes of masculinity. They were, however, magnified by the environment and interactions with strange, new peoples. Diseases, weather, and animals were constant dangers, as well as African warriors with non-European customs and methods. The colonies initially lacked economic infrastructure, terminology that was still synonymous with "railroad network."⁵⁶ Many believed that "economic salvation... lay in the construction of railways."⁵⁷ Military commentators of the era believed that *Strafexpeditionen* could prompt economic growth by increasing German prestige in an era, something that Hermann von Wissmann supposedly benefited from in East Africa at the expense of the Hehe people.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, until this infrastructural dream could become reality, agricultural work was widespread among the colonial population and necessary for subsistence in each locality. Although there was certainly exploitation of native labor, hard

physical labor remained necessary for settlers. Dedication was required both on the individual level and in working toward the “colonial experiment.” Self-confidence contributed to an individual’s life, but was also vitally important for interactions with native peoples and the maintenance of white hegemony. Creativity was predicated on initiative, risk-taking, and the ability to flexibly

limits: masturbation was a contributor to internal weakness; marital sexual relations should be moderate; and laws should prohibit homosexuality.⁶¹ Homosexuals found little respite in the colonies as authorities considered it dangerous to the imperial cause from the beginning.⁶² They did not consider sexual relations, violent or consenting, with indigenous women

Colonists perceived Africa as a wide open space where a man could become his true and whole self without the artificial constraints imposed by industrialized society

accomplish tasks.⁵⁹ As the civilian governor Friedrich von Lindequist stated, it was an official goal to “awaken and promote the independence and spontaneity of the settlers as much as possible.”⁶⁰ As noted above, the lack of a specialized colonial army engendered a need for a generalized skill set. *Auftragstaktik* was the German military’s answer to the question of initiative and risky pursuits. Though Lindequist referred to colonial settlers rather than the army explicitly, military experience in mission-based tactics was considered excellent preparation for future life as a colonist; soldier-turned-colonist was an outcome that was by no means rare.

Masculinity also contained an explicit sexual component. Bourgeois values in metropolitan Germany acknowledged sexual desire as natural, but within

to be extraordinary, but rather quite normal, and it did not become a concern until there was a spike in interracial marriages. Colonizers were attracted to the “naturalness,” ease of availability, and perceived promiscuity of the natives.⁶³ These encounters allegedly cured boredom and loneliness, and authorities considered them to be expected given the dearth of German women in the colonies.⁶⁴ More than this, it was a way of further conquering Africa beyond the land or on the battlefield. Indeed, both consensual relationships and cases of rape became more frequent as the German military’s control over the colonies grew.⁶⁵

Challenges to this sexuality did arise after a turn toward racial components of masculinity. This came from two directions: German women’s concern over

male desire for natives, and citizenship through *jus sanguinis*, or descent by blood. In the later stages of colonization, the colonial administration’s position stated that German men could only succeed as true men through marital union with “racial equals.”⁶⁶ They reasoned that only German women, as the harbingers of future generations, were the guardians of culture and race.⁶⁷ Many nationalists in the metropole were of the same opinion. Unlike countries such as France, German law considered only biological descent as a qualifier for citizenship: the children of a married couple acquired the citizenship of the father, but if the father could not be determined, the child received the mother’s citizenship.⁶⁸ Furthermore, at the time of marriage, the wife received the husband’s citizenship.⁶⁹ This latter point, when applied to German-male/native-female marriages, offended German women in particular. The increasing opposition of German women to mixed marriages and the greater support by women in general for colonization resulted in an influx of female settlers. In the harsh colonial environment, the gender divide had already begun to blur, as women were expected “to be able to do everything their husbands did.”⁷⁰ This included many of the traditional colonial masculine qualities such as work ethic and willpower.⁷¹ Only in the area of sexuality did the entrance of German women attempt to alter conceptions of masculinity. In effect, these women expected reciprocation of the sexual modesty that men imposed on them. Yet for much of the era of colonization, German women were absent and played few significant roles in internal

colonial affairs. At least in the beginning, German women had little impact on the formation of colonial masculinity.

Colonial authorities considered the passage of citizenship to offspring as the clearer and more present danger. First, opposition to mixed marriages usually ignited specifically when soldiers were involved, regardless of the fact that this was a much less likely scenario than civilian mixed marriages.⁷² Soldiers, as the upholders of German honor and supposed models of German masculinity, were the most recognized symbol of Germany and its power in the colonies. Not only would other colonial powers recognize this, but also the native subjects, thus endangering the perceived power differential. Second, German citizenship entailed potential duties such as military service, voting rights, and the ability to hold public office.⁷³ The cultural level of the entire family unit was, therefore, governed by that of the wife, and marriage to a native defiled masculinity.⁷⁴ Furthermore, the children of such unions were supposedly “by rule, morally and physically weak, [and] combined the worst characteristics of both parents.”⁷⁵

It must be noted that these differing views necessarily meant that conceptions of masculinity were contested, though the settler-soldier model remained the hegemonic model. Settlers held to the exaggerated traditionalist form while colonial authority, now firmly in the hands of middle class administrators after news of the genocide provoked outrage in Germany, attempted to rein them in toward the rapidly racializing form of bourgeois values of propriety. After the colonial administration’s attempts to ban mixed marriages on racial grounds,

the Reichstag decision in 1912 to allow them to continue further heightened the crisis afflicting masculinity in the metropole.⁷⁶ In contrast, the settlers' legal argument rested on the traditional masculine legal right to pass on citizenship. Although the legal basis of citizenship was "by blood," this was never meant as racial categorization, but was firmly rooted in gender. As far as strict legal jurisprudence was concerned, laws that attempted to insert racial categories were an infringement on patriarchal rights, and therefore invalid.⁷⁷ The formalized citizenship laws of 1870 and 1913 were based on German men's rights and interests in contrast to women, not in contrast to "racial non-Germans." Marriage was an exceptional situation, however, and most sexual encounters remained in the form of rape, concubinage, or prostitution. Colonial and metropole authorities focused on marriage because it appeared an existential threat to the perceived power differential, a situation that always made settler-native relations more tense and violence more likely. Threats to sexual freedom with natives were met with legal challenges and refusals to testify against alleged rapists. German authorities never found a satisfactory solution for the frequent rapes during military campaigns or large scale containments, such as those that occurred after the establishment of concentration camps during the Herero uprising.

Military personnel, though not in the same societal class as settlers in general, aligned closely with this general form of colonial hegemonic masculinity. Although settlers clung to traditional masculine legal rights,

intermarriage was low, resulting in only 24 mixed marriages prior to 1905.⁷⁸ This number rose marginally following the arrival of German troops during the Herero Wars.⁷⁹ That these marriages occurred, offspring produced, and neither later repudiated by the German soldiers is evidence that imperial soldiers subscribed to the "settler version" of the sexual and citizenship aspects of masculinity. The same can be said for other types of sexual encounters, though rape and prostitution were perhaps more available and permissible expedients for soldiers than long-term concubinage, which was the most common scenario for established settlers. In other aspects, military conceptions of masculinity were in line with those standardized in the German army, but with a heightened emphasis on honor, adventure, and individual heroism. Volunteer officers were detached from the regular army and were more often of the eccentric variety, preferring the greater military action available in the colonies, and would perhaps have had less success in their careers domestically.⁸⁰ The colonies were also a field in which formerly disgraced officers could begin anew.⁸¹ German military masculinity in the colonies aligned closely with the settler colonial mentality, though in militarized form. Settlers often called for harsher punishments to perceived or real threats from natives than even the heads of the military administrations; individual soldiers and units, through either *Auftragstaktik* or their own volition, were often more willing to oblige. This was a combination of hyper-masculinity and the army's willingness to create a space for its expression. Coupled with the perceived dangers

and adventure of Africa, military men were in a position to exercise their version of masculinity to a far greater extent than would have been possible in the metropole. The geographic distance and perception of residing outside the bounds of industrialized and "degenerate" metropolitan sexuality fostered the growth of colonial hyper-masculinity.

Conception of the Other and its Influences on Military Masculinity

COMBINED, THE MILITARY STRUCTURE and hyper-masculinity were unlikely to result in the level of violence that eventually occurred in Africa. Certainly, it could have resulted in scattered acts of violence, but a more universal explanation or motivation is needed to account for widespread aggression. A crucial component has thus far been absent: colonized men, both their masculinity and its effect on German masculinity. Although it is clear that military culture contributed to violence in Africa, the contribution of masculinity remains incomplete if one considers only the transformation of metropolitan manliness in the colonies. Yet, in many ways, distinguishing the impact of native sexuality on German masculinity is a more complicated task. It involves preconceived notions of natives, how actual contact altered these pre-conceived notions, responses and changes in natives engendered by the arrival of the German military and settlers, and the subsequent German responses to these changes in native behavior. These complicated sets of interaction formed much of the basis of settler-native relationships, though

it is often difficult to divide action and reaction. Nevertheless, it is possible to find primary motivations, whether through inference from events or occasionally even clearly stated goals.

The main task of colonial governance was the maintenance of alterity, or the "otherness" of the natives, and is generally referred to as "native policy."⁸² This did not necessarily mean that colonial authorities attempted to force natives into a static mode of life or culture, though this was the case in certain circumstances. The policy for alterity was predicated on an "assumption of an unbridgeable difference between themselves and their subjects and of the ineradicable inferiority of the colonized."⁸³ Therefore, the focus on the maintenance of otherness emphasized a need to maintain the recognition of this "unbridgeable difference," rather than an attempt to ensure that this difference existed. This distinction is significant for understanding military and settler behavior; the colonizers believed that this difference was inherent and could not be changed, either through intermarriage or by any amount of cultural change. Intermarriage would only produce children of a lower level, and cultural change or assimilation were viewed as insidious mimicry, and not true improvement. The source of colonial power, and therefore the focus of imperial native policy, resided in the mutual recognition and perception of alterity and its immutability.

The belief of inherent inferiority was initially based on precolonial discourse. Early discourse was not uniform, and often contained contradictory representations of natives. Writers described the Khoikhoi both as practitioners of grotesque sexual

acts, but also as the “Hottentot Venus” in the case of women.⁸⁴ They placed special emphasis on sexual aspects, ranging from alleged bestiality with apes to the commonly repeated astonishment at the size of various body parts.⁸⁵ In other cases, the Khoikhoi were described either as noble savages, or with the more ubiquitous “ignoble savage” trope.⁸⁶ Although the specifics of precolonial discourse differed by African ethnic group, all discourses were in agreement that Africans were on a lower civilizational level developmentally.

More generally, however, depictions emphasized the “compulsive nature of the [African] colonial soldier, his sexual energy, and the necessity to control these passions.”⁸⁷ This supposed energy became a concern regarding relationships between German women and native men.⁸⁸ The fear found its ultimate expression in Arthur Schnitzler’s short story “Andreas Thameyer’s Last Letter.” Thameyer’s wife had an illicit affair with an African on display at a zoo in Europe, but he refused to accept it, even after the illegitimate son was born. His sense of masculinity and honor led him to despair and disbelief:

I can in no way continue living. Because as long as I live, the people will mock, and nobody would see the truth. The truth is that my wife was true to me—I swear on all that I find holy, and I seal it through my death.... My Anna was alone—alone just once.... Who wouldn’t conceive that under these circumstances she must have felt a monstrous horror for this giant man with fervent eyes and a great, black beard.⁸⁹

Readers perceived a manifold of insecurities in the young Thameyer.

Public perception and the ensuing scorn of Thameyer’s loss of masculinity drove him to suicide. He portrayed the African as a grotesque distortion of male sexuality, physically large with corresponding facial hair, and eyes that burned with sexual desire for the white woman. That something like this could happen on German soil, rather than thousands of miles away in the colonies, concerned contemporary readers. The worst infraction on Thameyer’s masculinity, however, is that if somehow this betrayal occurred, his wife was impregnated from a single encounter. His German masculine honor could be salvaged only through his suicide.

Varying discourses led to competing visions of ethnographic acuity.⁹⁰ Different colonial social groups adhered to different views of the natives, and each attempted to construct policy accordingly, though always with the goal of stabilizing the perceived power differential between colonist and native. While educated officials were concerned with cultural and linguistic communication, and landowners with monetary incentives, the military viewed the older ethnographic discourse as proof that coercive command was the most suitable method for interacting with natives.⁹¹ During the early period of colonization, the military held primacy in policymaking, and sometimes held civil authority as well.⁹² This is more obvious during the initial military campaigns, but it extended afterward during “pacification.” Violent means of pacification often led to dismay and small-scale revolts. The military establishment cemented its importance in the colonial experiment by emphasizing its centrality in pacification, invoking a circularity

of reasoning. To the metropolitan government, it seemed reasonable to continue military administration until pacification was complete. Typical military policy consisted of “coercive command” to enforce the recognition of difference and compliance with colonial authority. Quick initial victories reinforced the idea of German military supremacy. Although soldiers viewed the native peoples as inferior, they also believed them excessively cruel, a stereotype that allegedly legitimized massacres or atrocities.⁹³ Captured enemy soldiers were often executed *en masse*, because they were labeled as rebels. This labeling was possible because of the unique German view on what constituted “occupied territory,” a significant distinction in determining whether a prisoner was a legitimate combatant or a rebel behind enemy lines. The German view held that “occupation began immediately behind the front lines, regardless of whether the ‘occupier’ actually controlled the area.”⁹⁴ This presented an interesting, though unfortunate, scenario in the colonies; as inferior peoples were allegedly incapable of waging civilized warfare, front lines were virtually non-existent, resulting in the military administration often labeling the entire territory as occupied. Unsurprisingly, 54 “punitive expeditions” occurred in East Africa alone in the short span between 1891 to 1894.⁹⁵

With circular logic, the occurrence and frequent recurrence of coercion reinforced the perception that it was needed. Furthermore, it augmented the military’s preferred precolonial discourse. There were only minor changes from precolonial to colonial era discourse in

the characteristics the military attributed to the natives; but, as infantry Captain Schwabe expressed, greater conviction and coercive command remained the best options:

One gets to know this people after one has lived among them for years... Mistrustful, conceited, proud, and in turn beggarly and servile, mendacious and faithless, thieving—whenever they are in the majority—violent and cruel.... The one thing that cannot be denied is bravery in battle, but only when the situation is at its direst. My judgment may be severe, but fair in every case, and the treatment [of this people] must be, and remain, severe and fair. The Kaffir [common pejorative for Africans] must be given this treatment, or else they will play dirty tricks on us, because the Herero always considers mellowness and leniency as weakness and cowardliness.⁹⁶

The description appears in many ways to be the opposite of the “whole man” concept; even bravery is only possible under extenuating circumstances. These sentiments were ubiquitous among the military community, and this led to conflicts with the natives in which commanders did not consider negotiation an option.⁹⁷ To a degree, this was becoming the German view on war generally. Nevertheless, in the colonial context, the notion was taken to an extreme. Harshness continued to serve “native policy,” because punishments such as large fines, public humiliation, and executions would “keep their subjection permanently awake in the native’s memory.”⁹⁸ Of particular importance was the idea, as expressed by Captain Schwabe, that leniency

would only lead to further revolts or, in other words, the breakdown of the perceived power differential.

German soldiers' justifications for violence were not limited to pure military reasoning, but were more often intimately tied to ideas propagated in precolonial discourse as well as the implicit goals of the colonial project. Although, as shown above, the natives' battlefield characteristics were held in low regard, German soldiers also considered them lazy regarding work more generally.⁹⁹ This was anathema to "true German manliness," but especially to the prevailing colonial view. Gustav Frenssen, in his 1906 fictional book *Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest*, portrayed the German soldier's reasoning for the massacre of natives:

These blacks have earned death from God and man. Not because they murdered 200 farmers and revolted against us, but because they have built no houses or dug wells.... God has allowed us victory because we are noble and strive for progress.¹⁰⁰

German correspondents deplored the lack of adventurous spirit of natives, that "the house, the village, or at most the countryside was the world of his field of vision."¹⁰¹ This was certainly not the cosmopolitanism of the "whole man." Military atrocities, therefore, revolved more around a worldview than the military acts or abilities of the natives. Masculinity required hard physical labor and progress, and the precolonial and contemporary discourse emphasized that the natives were incapable of this sustained test of manliness.¹⁰² An even more pernicious native response was mimicry. Through the course of

European contact, natives became more knowledgeable about the colonizers than the reverse; some natives were bilingual, received non-native names, or converted religions.¹⁰³ A "talent for mimicry" was not complimentary. Rather, it seemed to upset the recognition of difference, and therefore the entire colonial order.¹⁰⁴ Permitted mimicry, such as black colonial troops in German uniforms, became a source of discomfort when these same soldiers became "rebels," yet continued to wear the uniforms.¹⁰⁵ Authorities and colonists did not view mimicry as cultural change, or the advancement of native culture. Instead, they perceived it as a tool of the natives to upset the power differential.

Disparity in knowledge was a particular area of contention because natives had access to the more intimate parts of the colonizers' lives. In effect, the colonizers were always on display, and therefore it was necessary to perpetually show mastery and power.¹⁰⁶ In the earlier days of military penetration, this was of little concern for the soldiers, as power or mastery was shown through battlefield victories, sexual violence, or the purchase of prostitutes.¹⁰⁷ When these relationships transformed into household servitude, domestic unions, or marriage, the prominent scandals of the era clearly displayed the limits of privacy. Sexual honor became a concern through the legal crime of sodomy; it was legally impossible for a man to be raped.¹⁰⁸ Fears of "unnatural seductions" arose through propaganda of the "amplified affinity of the African for homosexuality."¹⁰⁹ There was, therefore, an effort to portray the male African Other as unmanly. Attributes that were "more manly" than German

conceptions were derided as unnatural, beastly, and unrefined—the whole man was a balance. This derision allowed a freer hand when implementing military coercion. The military occupation allowed a space for the expression of hyper-masculinity; the addition of comparing natives to this ideal, and then finding them wanting, perpetuated a willingness for, and conduct of, violence.

A Case Study: From the Leutwein System to the Genocide of the Herero

ALTHOUGH COLONIAL VIOLENCE IN general, rather than genocide in particular, is the focus of this article, it is useful to analyze the progression and escalation of violence in a case-study format. Colonial violence and cruelty were not rare, but one native reaction invariably resulted in the escalation of coercion: rebellion. Few uprisings were very large, but the Herero rebellion of 1903 was a major response to sustained maltreatment, fines, land disputes, and sexual violence. In 1894, army officer Theodor Leutwein was appointed as a high-ranking colonial administrator, and then governor in 1898.¹¹⁰ His native policy has become known as the Leutwein System, and consisted of diplomacy, divide and rule tactics, and military coercion. A typical example of this model was the requisitioning of cattle from natives: first, bribery was attempted, then official favoring of certain chieftains, and finally outright violent coercion. When this ultimately failed to satisfy the needs of colonists, he repeated the cycle for native-land acquisition. Again, the colonists were not satisfied and reservation land was parceled out to native groups. If the

natives were unable to use natural resources as "real men," the military administration believed it necessary to transfer such resources to settlers. Finally, in January 1904 the Herero rose up against the German administration. A local colonial association called for an "energetic military action" because "only through the absolute perpetuation of the supremacy of [the white] race can its rule be enforced."¹¹¹ In effect, only extreme violence maintained the perceived power differential. Unsurprisingly, Leutwein attempted to subdue the native peoples through force. He claimed to critics in Germany that there were no orders to kill women and children or refuse prisoners. This would have been in contradiction to military and metropole masculine values. Still, he admitted that the troops had been acting in excess.¹¹² There had been a flood of reports, though erroneous, that the Herero had butchered German women and children and burned houses, further proof of unmanly and savage behavior. Masculine honor demanded the protection of all three signifiers of the household domain. Nevertheless, Leutwein's goal had always been to use enough violent coercion to open negotiations.¹¹³ His final mistake, in the eyes of military authorities, was his personally-ordered retreat of his unbeaten troops at Ovumbo on April 13, implemented both for military as well as administrative concerns.¹¹⁴ Within the context of the German military culture of offense, which contemporary military theorists often defined in stereotypic nineteenth century masculine terms such as energetic and inexorable, this retreat was a defeat.

Owing both to the ineffectiveness of

Leutwein to quell the rebellion and his shameful retreat, the German military sent General Lothar von Trotha to restore order. Trotha was the quintessential example of the new, heightened colonial military masculinity. Although he had gained experience during the Wars of Unification, his career was particularly successful outside of Germany, owing to merciless, but successful, campaigns in East Africa and China.¹¹⁵ Trotha's brutality was well known, and Kaiser Wilhelm either directly appointed or personally approved his appointment to the Southwest African command on May 3.¹¹⁶ The Kaiser, identifying the rebellion as a serious matter of national security and using his constitutional prerogative of *Kommandogewalt*, placed the conduct of operations under military control, instead of civilian leadership.¹¹⁷ Trained in Germany and long part of the system, Trotha understood the German military concept of *Vernichtungskrieg*, the complete and comprehensive military defeat of the enemy. Nevertheless, in the colonial context, he linked the same verbiage (*vernichten*) with methods contrary to normal European warfare. Rather than the destruction of military forces, Trotha, in a letter to Leutwein, stated that "the use of [v]iolence with stark terrorism and cruelty was and is my policy. I destroy the African tribes with streams of blood and streams of money."¹¹⁸ The "whole man" concept of balanced rationality and emotionality is present in this statement, the rationality of an industrialized nation's war-making system and the emotional vision of "justified" blood-letting, violence, and terrorism. Trotha believed that negotiation, as Leutwein now advocated, would destroy the perceived

power differential between colonists and natives, and future German administrative policy would forever be met by armed rebellion if the Herero succeeded in this instance.

This line of reasoning was used in the aftermath of the battle of Waterberg, which had taken place on August 11. The Herero were soundly defeated in an attempted concentric battle of annihilation, a *Vernichtungskrieg* in the military sense. Owing to difficulties in the conduct of the battle, however, many of the Herero escaped and Trotha did not consider it a "total military victory."¹¹⁹ When the Herero attempted multiple times to open negotiations, as had normally happened after previous military defeats, Trotha refused on the grounds that it would show "weakness and embarrassment," thus impugning both military and manly honor.¹²⁰ Meanwhile, some German troops had begun to openly massacre the Herero, regardless of age or gender. Trotha attempted to limit such actions to armed men classified as rebels.¹²¹ Thus, courts martial were no longer necessary. This was a clear departure from the Leutwein System and ensured an escalation of sanctioned military violence. That many of the troops were recently arrived and inexperienced reinforcements from Germany increased the likelihood that the infliction of violence would be less restrained. Standard military practice emphasized relentless pursuit to defeat enemies that had escaped destruction by concentric attack, as had occurred at Waterberg. A refusal to negotiate inspired continual and escalating violence and the lack of logistical support promoted small groupings of German soldiers; especially at this low level of the military hierarchy,

the shooting of civilians continued. By September 30, supply levels were perilous and Trotha ordered the pursuit to end. Two days later he issued the *Vernichtungsbefehl*, thus ending any idea of future negotiations, and rejecting even the complete submission of the Herero.¹²²

Aside from the escalation of the idea of *Vernichtung*, Trotha still operated within the framework of the colonial German military. In Southwest Africa, frontlines did not exist, and it was customary to execute rebels. As the *Vernichtungsbefehl* made clear, a large scale revolt of this nature expanded

circular logic regarding this violence, mentioned above, was applicable in this situation. The Herero, thought the military administration, were rebelling because they believed the Germans were weak, and only an even greater display of force could stabilize the mutual recognition of racial and civilizational difference. Ironically, native policy conducted along military lines would theoretically eventually lead to colonies without natives.

The genocide could not have occurred without Trotha's order, but the *Vernichtungsbefehl* and its results were made possible only through the already

Standard military practice emphasized relentless pursuit to defeat enemies

the definition of "rebel" to include "every Herero, with or without rifle... [and] no more women or children accommodated."¹²³ The attribution of "rebel" was tied to the familiar trope of the "cruel Herero," by citing crimes such as murder, theft, and the mutilation of wounded German soldiers.¹²⁴ Trotha's call for annihilation was not a mistaken usage of the word, but rather a conscious escalation of military values exported from Germany, heightened by prevailing notions of colonial masculinity. A European-style defeat had not been inflicted and masculine honor could not allow negotiation. Violent coercion had been successful against smaller uprisings thus far. The

violent colonial context. Contrary to Trotha's own dealings in Southwest Africa, the violence against the Herero escalated gradually, as shown through the development of the Leutwein System.¹²⁵ Though this earlier policy and its violence had always been extreme compared to European contexts, the move to genocide was an evolution of German military native policy and administration. Furthermore, it was the result of progressive dehumanization and the "fear of a possible loss of prestige."¹²⁶ It was not, however, systematic murder. This does not mean that there was not intended genocide. Instead, it is acknowledgment that German soldiers were not expected to systematically

execute thousands, rather they were to not prevent deaths resulting from starvation and dehydration.¹²⁷ Still, German soldiers had already escalated violence beyond the limits prescribed by the *Vernichtungsbefehl*. This was carried on at the lowest tactical levels. The order gave official direction to more effectively pursue what was already being done through personal expressions of violence. For those who had not been inclined to such gratuitous violence, an institutional culture of obedience ensured compliance. This was the case for Major Ludwig von Estorff as he pursued the Herero under Trotha's orders to drive them into the desert:

I followed their tracks and arrived at several wells behind them and found a dreadful sight. Cattle that had died of thirst were lying in heaps around them.... Now the Herero flew further from us.... The dreadful scene was always repeated. With frantic speed the [Herero] men attempted to tap the wells, but the water always became sparser, the waterholes more infrequent. They flew from one to another and lost almost all of their animals and a great many people. They dwindled away to scarce remnants and were gradually at our mercy. Some escaped now and some later.... It was a policy that was as foolish as it was cruel, to shatter those people. Many of the people and livestock could still be saved, if they were now spared and readmitted, they were punished enough. I suggested this to General von Trotha, but he wanted their complete destruction.¹²⁸

Though Major Estorff disagreed with the policy and found its implementation egregious, he complied. There was certainly variance in the

amount of violence that individual units performed. Nevertheless, the guidelines set forth by the highest commander, the *Vernichtungsbefehl*, became the minimum acceptable level of violence for soldiers through the combination of an institutional culture of obedience and a gender-enforced commitment to duty.

Although the war with the Herero was construed as a racial war in the mind of Trotha, it was not considered a life-or-death struggle between two peoples. The goal was not the survival of the "German race," but instead a means of restoring the perceived colonial power differential, predicated on colonial hyper-masculinity and normativity, even if this meant the destruction of one side of the equation. The standard practices of the German military were certainly at play during these events, but masculine ideals played a key role in their initiation and perpetuation. This is true both for those ideals that were inherent in the German metropolitan military and those that arose during the course of colonization and occupation. Nevertheless, genocide was a unique outcome of native policy as a whole. Though it can be seen as a logical conclusion of the progression of military native policy, this was only one colonial group's method, and cannot be generalized. It occurred through an exclusive combination of attributes, abilities, and beliefs that only the military possessed. The backlash in the metropole ensured that the military would rarely again have such unfettered administrative power.

COLONIAL MILITARY VIOLENCE
arose from three primary areas: standardized military training in

Germany; the distorted transfer of masculinity from the metropole to the colony; and conceptions of the colonized Other. No single aspect is sufficient to account for the use of violence, though each was necessary. Furthermore, though the colonies were generally a cruel and violent place, military coercion escalated progressively for the supposed furtherance of native policy. Once administrators felt that the "lesson" was understood, the environment would return to its normal level of violence. However, with circular logic, subsequent lessons were harsher so as to quell supposed native beliefs of German weakness.

The standardized military training that soldiers received in Germany was the fundamental component of the colonial army's ability to function coercively. It provided both the means and the authority to do so. *Auftragstaktik* sanctioned individual actions of violence and punitive expeditions. Legal theories developed in Germany allowed a wider range of treatment under the guise of suppressing rebels, even if most other countries agreed that international law ended at the borders of Europe. The German military's disregard for international law within Europe was a precursor for what could be expected in the colonies. Everything seemed proportionally larger in the colonies: land; freedom; opportunity. It is not surprising that the same applied to military violence.

The scope and scale of masculinity was also enlarged. Manliness achieved new levels of domination. Owning land in Germany was unlikely and the alternative was an unpleasant existence in a factory. In the colonies, men could

employ themselves for real, tangible benefits on a large plot of land. This produced a work ethic that colonists perceived was higher than that in the metropole because the work was more fulfilling to a man. As shown above, many soldiers opted to remain in the colonies rather than return to Germany. A man was the head of his household in Germany, but still a mere citizen of the state. In Africa, settlers perceived themselves as kings of their estates. Men could exert more dominance over women with relative impunity. Native women were plentiful, and seemingly servile within the binary hierarchy of native and German. For soldiers, Africa was filled with adventure and danger that was more natural than the rapidly industrializing and impersonal battlefields of Europe. Opportunity for advancement for those willing to work hard was possible in the colonies, a perception that few had of the homeland. This was especially true for those in the military, as Germany was not engaged in a traditional, European war until the First World War.

Yet the ideology for dominance on a larger scale was impossible without two further components: a belief in the inferiority of the colonized and the mutual recognition of this judgment by both Germans and native peoples. For the German military, approaching hegemony on the Continent after its victory against France, a hubris-filled interpretation of precolonial discourse seemed natural. Rapid victories during initial colonization efforts reinforced these interpretations. A coercive command mentality circularly bolstered many of these conceptions and seemed to validate them. With rare exceptions,

For the German military... after its victory against France, a hubris-filled interpretation of precolonial discourse seemed natural

violence prevented the formation of large-scale rebellions. Small bands of indigenous rebels were defeated, and this was submitted as further proof of native inferiority. Furthermore, these rebellious acts lent credence to the alleged inherent cruelty of the natives. That the intolerable conditions of coercion may have led to such rebellion held little stock, and the military used this as evidence that more, not less, coercion was needed. Authorities, the military, and settlers thought little of the sexual attack of indigenous women, who were already considered promiscuous and wanton. German men in Africa considered the dominance of men an established fact, and they saw the imposition of the perceived power differential as proof, rather than the cause of this dominance.

The convergence of military training, masculinity, and negative racial conceptualization found its ultimate expressions of dominance in the

colonies. These ideas were transferred from the metropole and shaped by the unique characteristics of the African environment and the colonial state. Yet, to dominate requires those who are dominated. Precolonial discourse and new discourse that arose during colonization implanted firm beliefs in the military that the natives deserved to be dominated by coercive force. This domination required a native policy that maintained the perceived power differential; only the military apparatus initially seemed suitable for the forced subjugation of an indigenous population that was 500 times larger than the German presence.¹²⁹ The military had the training, legal authority, hyper-masculine identity, and racial ideology to pursue and execute coercive command in the colonies. It took only circular logic for this combination to perpetuate itself into ever greater levels of violence.

ENDNOTES

¹ Anon., "Major Hans Dominik," *Kolonie und Heimat* 4, no. 16 (1910/11): 7. "Seit 1894... hat sich dieser unermüdliche, schneidige, militärisch und wissenschaftlich hervorragende Offizier... einen Namen gemacht... Von seiner farbigen Truppe vergöttert, war er der Schrecken aller Unruhestifter; sein Name... die farbigen Herzen zittern machte. Eiserne Energie und die grösste Rücksichtslosigkeit gegen sich selbst verband er mit einem glücklichen Temperament und mit nie versagendem Wohlwollen für seine Untergegeben." All translations are those of the author, unless specifically noted.

² Peter Giersche, "Von Gravenreuth and Buea as a Site of History: Early Colonial Violence on Mount Cameroon," in *Encounter, Transformation, and Identity: Peoples of the Western Cameroon Borderlands, 1891–2000*, Ian Fowler and Verkijika G. Fanzo, eds. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), 92n71. Hans Dominik's earlier exploits were captured in his autobiographical work: Hans Dominik, *Kamerun: Sechs Kriegs- und Friedensjahre in deutschen Tropen*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Georg Stilke, 1911).

³ The most recent general history of German colonization can be found in Sebastian Conrad, *German Colonialism: A Short History*, Sorcha O'Hagan, trans. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). The current state of the historiography is represented in Eric Ames, Marcia Klotz, and Lora Wildenthal, eds. *Germany's Colonial Pasts* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005). For various, other perspectives on the debate, see Henning Melber, "How to Come to Terms with the Past: Re-Visiting the German Colonial Genocide in Namibia," *Africa Spectrum* 40, no. 1 (2005): 139–48; Janntje Böhlke-Itzen, *Kolonialschuld und Entschädigung. Der deutsche Völkermord an den Herero (1904–1907)*, Perspektiven Südliches Afrika 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Brandes and Apsel, 2004); Jürgen Zimmerer, "Holocaust und Kolonialismus. Beitrag zu einer Archäologie des genozidalen Gedankens," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 51 (2003): 1098–119; Volker Langbehn and Mohammad Salama, eds., *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011); Birthe Kundrus, "Grenzen der Gleichsetzung. Kolonialverbrechen und Vernichtungspolitik," *Blätter des iz3w* 275 (March 2004), 30–33; Birthe Kundrus, "From the Herero to the Holocaust? Some Remarks on the Current Debate," *Africa Spectrum* 40, no. 2 (2005): 299–308; Jürgen Zimmerer, *Von Windhuk nach Auschwitz? Beiträge zum Verhältnis von Kolonialismus und Holocaust* (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2011).

⁴ Birthe Kundrus, "Blind Spots: Empire, Colonies, and Ethnic Identities in Modern German History," in *Gendering Modern German History: Rewriting Historiography*, Karen Hagemann and Jean H. Quataert, eds. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 87.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 87–88.

⁶ Martina Kessel, "'The Whole Man': The Longing for a Masculine World in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *Gender and History* 15, no. 1 (2003): 2. The linking of rationalism and emotionalism began much earlier, but became most prevalent during the Napoleonic Wars of Liberation. For background, see Karen Hagemann, "*Männlicher Muth und Teutsche Ehre*": *Nation, Militär und Geschlecht zur Zeit der Antinapoleonischen Kriege Preußens* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2002); Karen Hagemann, "Of 'Manly Valor' and 'German Honor': Nation, War, and Masculinity in the Age of the Prussian Uprising Against Napoleon," *Central European History* 30, no. 2 (1997): 187–220; and Karen Hagemann, *Revisiting Prussia's Wars Against Napoleon: History, Culture and Memory*, Pamela Selwyn, trans. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015). Furthermore, Nancy Reagan has pointed out that,

in the colonial context, “[w]hat was bourgeois in Germany, however, was simply ‘German’ abroad.” See Nancy R. Reagin, “German Brigadoon? Domesticity and Metropolitan Perceptions of Auslandsdeutschen in Southwest Africa and Eastern Europe,” in *The Heimat Abroad: The Boundaries of Germanness*, Krista O’Donnell, Renate Bridenthal, and Nancy Reagin, eds. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 250.

⁷ Ibid., 23.

⁸ George L. Mosse, “Nationalism and Respectability: Normal and Abnormal Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 17, no. 2 (1982): 224. See also, George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985). For further information concerning subjective identity in the context of masculinity, see Christopher E. Forth, *Masculinity in the Modern West: Gender, Civilization and the Body* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

⁹ Ibid., 227.

¹⁰ Daniel J. Walther, “Sex, Race and Empire: White Male Sexuality and the ‘Other’ in Germany’s Colonies, 1894–1914,” *German Studies Review* 33, no. 1 (2010): 50.

¹¹ R. W. Connell, “Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept,” *Gender and Society* 19, no. 6 (2005): 846. For further explication on the subject, see Raewyn Connell, *Der gemachte Mann: Konstruktion und Krise von Männlichkeiten* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2015).

¹² This discourse included images, portrayals in travel journals, public debate, and all other forms of native representations created by the major colonial powers. For a detailed analysis, see George Steinmetz, *The Devil’s Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); For a focus on the precolonial period, see Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial German, 1770–1870* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).

¹³ Cornelia Essner, “Zwischen Vernunft und Gefühl: Die Reichstagsdebatten von 1912 um koloniale ‘Rassenmischehe’ und ‘Sexualität,’” *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 45, no. 6 (1997): 505. This *Kulturmission* should not be confused with the idea of spreading German culture to the natives. Rather, it was the pseudo-social Darwinian belief that advanced cultures would survive by physically spreading their culture, which was contained only within the body of the colonist.

¹⁴ Isabel V. Hull, *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 132.

¹⁵ Tanja Bühler, *Die kaiserliche Schutztruppe für Deutsch-Ostafrika: Koloniale Sicherheitspolitik und transkulturelle Kriegführung, 1885 bis 1918* (Munich: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2011), 87.

¹⁶ “Literatur,” *Neue militärische Blätter*, vol. 48 (1896), 276–77. This was an editorial that commented on the Field Manual of 1894. “... geschickte selbständige Auffassung eines Auftrages, umsichtige Erwägung, schnelle treffende EntschlieÙung und hervorragende Thatkraft und Tapferkeit.”

¹⁷ German General Staff, *Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1902), 3. “... wird den Offizier vor übertrieben humanitären Anschauungen bewahren... daß der Krieg gewisser Härten nicht entbehren kann, daß vielmehr in ihrer rücksichtslosen Anwendung häufig die einzig wahre Humanität liegt.” My translation. For officer education specifically, the best source remains Steven E. Clemente, *For King and Kaiser! The Making of the Prussian Army Officer, 1860–1914* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992).

¹⁸ German War Ministry, *Felddienst-Ordnung* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn,

1908), 104.

¹⁹ Hull, *Absolute Destruction*, 133. See, for instance, Theodor Leutwein, *Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1908), 211. Leutwein cites expansive territory and a shortage of soldiers as reasons for the ad-hoc assembly of units.

²⁰ Bühler, *Die kaiserliche Schutztruppe*, 115.

²¹ Daniel J. Hughes, “Schlichting, Schlieffen, and the Prussian Theory of War in 1914,” *Journal of Military History* 59, no. 2 (1995): 270.

²² German War Ministry, *Exerzir-Reglement für die Infanterie* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1888), 129–30.

²³ Hull, *Absolute Destruction*, 117. See also Robert Citino, *The German Way of War: From the Thirty Years’ War to the Third Reich* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005). Citino shows that this latitude was present at least as far back as the armies of Frederick the Great. The key difference was that *Auftragstaktik* was more likely to exonerate an officer even if his battlefield decisions had ultimately resulted in failure.

²⁴ Carol Aisha Blackshire-Belay, “German Imperialism in Africa: The Distorted Images of Cameroon, Namibia, Tanzania, and Togo,” *Journal of Black Studies* 23, no. 2 (1992): 239. These numbers were calculated from Table 1 without including the figures for the Asian and Pacific colonies. These figures are from 1916 population statistics.

²⁵ Woodruff D. Smith, *German Colonial Empire* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 138. The number of troops is based on a 1914 statistic. It is interesting to note that the total number of soldiers was a mere three thousand in 1900.

²⁶ Ibid., 139.

²⁷ Hull, *Absolute Destruction*, 117.

²⁸ John Horne and Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 141.

²⁹ Michael Howard, *The Franco-Prussian War: The German Invasion of France, 1870–1871*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2001), 378.

³⁰ Horne and Kramer, *German Atrocities*, 142.

³¹ Ibid. Though the authors carry this thesis out to the First World War, they are also explicit that it was a grave concern in the intervening years. See Raffael Scheck, *Hitler’s African Victims: The German Army Massacres of Black French Soldiers in 1940* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 85–88. As late as the Second World War, German troops compared European partisans to Hottentots and had a tendency to label black French troops *franc-tireurs*.

³² Robert von Friedeburg, “Konservatismus und Reichskolonialrecht—Konservatives Weltbild und kolonialer Gedanke in England und Deutschland vom späten 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 263, no. 2 (1996): 382.

³³ Hull, *Absolute Destruction*, 120.

³⁴ Julius von Hartmann, “Militärische Nothwendigkeit und Humanität,” *Deutsche Rundschau* 13 (1877): 453–54. “[D]as eine große Endziel des Krieges: die Bezwingung der feindlichen Kraft, die Überwindung der feindlichen Energie, die Bewältigung des feindlichen Willens. Dieses eine Ziel gebietet absolut, es dictirt Gesetz und Vorschrift. Die concrete Gestaltung dieses Gesetzes erscheint in der Form der militärischen Nothwendigkeit... Der Verlauf des Krieges stellt sich dar als eine Aneinanderreihung von Kriegshandlungen, welche das Kriegspersonal, als Träger der Wehrkraft des Staates, unter voller Ausbeutung... der Erstrebung des allgemeinen Kriegszieles und der ihm eingeschlossenen Einzelziele nach Maßgabe der militärischen Nothwendigkeit zu vollführen hat.”

³⁵ Hull, *Absolute Destruction*, 133.

³⁶ War History Department I of the Great General Staff, *Die Kämpfe der deutschen Truppen in Südwestafrika* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn Königliche Hofbuchhandlung, 1906), 4. “Wer hier kolonisieren wollte, mußte zuerst zum Schwert greifen und Krieg führen—aber nicht mit kleinlichen und schwachlichen Mitteln, sondern mit starker, Achtung gebietender Macht bis zur völligen Niederwerfung der Eingeborenen.” My translation.

³⁷ Annika Mombauer and Wilhelm Deist, introduction to *The Kaiser: New Research on Wilhelm II's Role in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 2. This power was explicitly spelled out in §11 (Reichskriegswesen), Article 63 of the Constitution of the German Reich of 1871.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte: 1866–1918*, vol. 2, *Machtstaat vor der Demokratie* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2013), 202. Also, Annika Mombauer, *Helmuth von Moltke and the Origins of the First World War* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 16–17.

⁴⁰ For an in-depth discussion of Clausewitz and later German interpretations, see Hew Strachan, *European Armies and the Conduct of War* (London: Routledge, 1983), 89–105.

⁴¹ Fürst von Bülow, “Denkschrift über die Ursachen des Aufstands in Deutsch-Ostafrika 1905,” in *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstages*, vol. 222 (Berlin: Julius Sittenfeld, 1906), 3080. “... denn Kolonialpolitik ist noch immer Eroberungspolitik gewesen und nirgends in der Welt erfolgt die Besitzergreifung eines Landes durch ein fremdes Volk ohne Kämpfe. Kolonialkriege werden daher stets zu den notwendigen Folgen einer Kolonialpolitik gehören.”

⁴² Heike I. Schmidt, “Who is Master in the Colony? Propriety, Honor, and Manliness in German East Africa,” in *German Colonialism in a Global Age*, Bradley Naranch and Geoff Eley, eds. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 110.

⁴³ David Ciarlo, “Globalizing German Colonialism,” *German History* 26, no. 2 (2008): 289.

⁴⁴ Daniel J. Walther, “Gender Construction and Settler Colonialism in German Southwest Africa, 1894–1914,” *Historian* 66, no. 1 (2004): 4.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴⁶ George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 44. See also, Emilio Willems, *A Way of Life and Death: Three Centuries of Prussian-German Militarism, an Anthropological Approach* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1986).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁴⁹ Hans Kohn, “Romanticism and the Rise of German Nationalism,” *Review of Politics* 12, no. 4 (1950): 465n35. Originally in Eichendorff, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 10, 341. “So wird auch der grossen Genossenschaft des Staates mit innerlich ausgewechselten Gesellen nicht gedient, sondern der der liebste sein, der ihr, weil mit ungebrochener Eigenthümlichkeit, aus ganzer Seele dient, wie er eben kann und mag.” Joseph Freiherr von Eichendorff expounded upon this valuation during the initial conceptions of Romantic Nationalism during the Napoleonic Era.

⁵⁰ Mosse, *Image of Man*, 79.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Eve Rosenhaft, “Gender,” in *Germany, 1800–1870*, ed. Jonathan Sperber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 225.

⁵⁴ Walther, “Gender Construction,” 4.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ See Dirk van Laak, *Imperiale Infrastruktur: Deutsche Planung für eine Erschließung Afrikas, 1880 bis 1960* (Paderborn, Germany: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004). Particularly important is van Laak's discussion of “railway imperialism” as a means of empire-building through the extension of economic, but also political, capital associated with long-distance power projection.

⁵⁷ “Intensive Kulturpolitik,” *Koloniale Zeitschrift*, May 9, 1901. “... die wirtschaftliche Rettung... im Eisenbahnbau liege.” My translation. Although this quote refers specifically to East Africa, due to its unique geography, the case was similar in other German colonies.

⁵⁸ C. v. Perbandt, G. Richelmann, and Rochus Schmidt, *Hermann von Wissmann: Deutschlands grösster Afrikaner: Sein Leben und Wirken unter Benutzung des Nachlasses* (Berlin: Alfred Schall, 1906), 433.

⁵⁹ Walther, “Gender Construction,” 5.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 6. It should be noted, however, that this was not the usual policy of colonial governors, who more often believed that colonial governance was an extension of metropolitan control.

⁶¹ Mosse, *Image of Man*, 62.

⁶² Daniel J. Walther, “Racializing Sex: Same-Sex Relations, German Colonial Authority, and Deutschtum,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 17, no. 1 (2008): 11.

⁶³ Steinmetz, *Devil's Handwriting*, 95.

⁶⁴ Walther, “Sex, Race and Empire,” 55.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 49–53.

⁶⁶ Walther, “Gender Construction,” 11.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁶⁸ Lora Wildenthal, “Race, Gender, and Citizenship in the German Colonial Empire,” in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, eds. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 264.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 265. It should be noted that a woman received the citizenship of her husband whether he was German, another European nationality, or native. In the case of acquiring native citizenship, this was often left unacknowledged, as it was an even more emotionally volatile issue than the German male/native female citizenship controversy.

⁷⁰ Walther, “Gender Construction,” 15.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Lora Wildenthal, *German Women for Empire, 1884–1945* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 94. After one thousand German soldiers decided to officially settle in the colony, only two applied for a mixed marriage license.

⁷³ Tina M. Camp, “Converging Spectres of an Other Within: Race and Gender in Prewar Afro-German History,” *Callaloo* 26, no. 2 (2003): 329.

⁷⁴ Walther, “Gender Construction,” 10.

⁷⁵ Essner, “Vernunft und Gefühl,” 503. “Die Abkömmlinge sind in der Regel sittlich und körperlich schwach, vereinigen in sich die schlechten Eigenschaften beider Eltern.” My translation.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 518.

⁷⁷ Wildenthal, “Race, Gender, and Citizenship,” 268.

⁷⁸ Nils Ole Oermann, “The Law and the Colonial State,” in *Wilhelmism and its Legacies: German Modernities, Imperialism, and the Meanings of Reform, 1890–1930*, eds. Geoff Eley and James Retallack (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003), 176.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Smith, *German Colonial Empire*, 139.

⁸¹ Hull, *Absolute Destruction*, 132–33.

⁸² George Steinmetz, “‘The Devil’s Handwriting’: Precolonial Discourse, Ethnographic Acuity, and Cross-Identification in German Colonialism,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45, no. 1 (2003): 44.

⁸³ Steinmetz, *Devil’s Handwriting*, 36.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 83. These body parts included the buttocks as well as the sexual organs of both men and women.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 90.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Ulrike Lindner, “German Colonialism and the British Neighbor in Africa before 1914: Self-Definitions, Lines of Demarcation, and Cooperation,” in *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany*, eds. Volker Max Langbehn and Mohammad Salama (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 260.

⁸⁹ Arthur Schnitzler, “Andreas Thameyers letzter Brief,” in *Gesammelte Werke von Arthur Schnitzler: Erste Abteilung*, vol. 1, *Die erzählenden Schriften* (Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1912), 220. See also *ibid.*, 227. “Keineswegs kann ich weiterleben. Denn solange ich lebe, würden die Leute höhnen, und niemand sähe die Wahrheit ein. Die Wahrheit aber ist, daß mir meine Frau treu war—ich schwöre es bei allem, war mir heilig ist, und ich besiegle es durch meinen Tod... [M]eine Anna war allein—mit einem Male allein... wer begreift nicht, daß sie unter diesen Umständen ein ungeheures Grauen vor diesen Risenmenschen mit den glühenden Augen und den großen schwarzen Bärten empfinden mußte?” My translation.

⁹⁰ Steinmetz, *Devil’s Handwriting*, 48.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 50. These distinctions, as with any characterization of large swathes of society, are generalizations. Nevertheless, although individual behavior and beliefs may have varied from group norms, policies actually implemented by each group align closely with Steinmetz’s model.

⁹² Smith, *German Colonial Empire*, 139.

⁹³ Hull, *Absolute Destruction*, 134.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 132.

⁹⁶ K. Schwabe, *Der Krieg in Deutsch-Südwestafrika, 1904–1906* (Berlin: C. A. Weller Verlag, 1907), 69–70. “Man lernt dieses Volk erst kennen, nachdem man jahrelang unter ihm gelebt hat... Mißtrauisch, dünkelt, stolz und wiederum bettelhaft und hündisch, lügnerisch und treulos, diebisch und—wenn sie in der Überzahl sind—gewalttätig und grausam.... Das Einzige, was man der Mehrzahl nicht absprechen kann, ist Tapferkeit in Kriege, aber auch nur, wenn es zum Äußersten kommt. Hart mag mein Urteil sein, gerecht aber ist es jedenfalls, und hart und gerecht muß auch die Behandlung sein und bleiben, die wir den Kaffern angedeihen lassen, sonst werden sie uns noch oft übel mitspielen, den her Herero halt Milde und Nachsicht stets für Schwäche und Feigheit!” My translation.

⁹⁷ Hull, *Absolute Destruction*, 176.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 177.

⁹⁹ David Kenosian, “The Colonial Body Politic: Desire and Violence in the Works of Gustav Frenssen and Hans Grimm,” *Monatsheft* 89, no. 2 (1997): 186.

¹⁰⁰ Gustav Frenssen, *Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest: Ein Feldzugsbericht* (Berlin: G. Grote’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1906), 200. “Diese Schwarzen haben vor Gott und Menschen den Tod verdient, nicht weil sie zweihundert Farmer ermordet haben und gegen

uns aufgestanden sind, sonder weil sie keine Häuser gebaut und keine Brunnen gegraben haben?... ‘Gott hat uns hier siegen lassen, weil wir die Edleren und Vorwärtstrebenden sind.’” My translation.

¹⁰¹ Julius Smend, “Wie der Neger in Togo wohnt,” *Kolonie und Heimat* 3, no. 2 (1909/10): 6.

¹⁰² Steinmetz, *Devil’s Handwriting*, 183.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 103.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 102.

¹⁰⁵ Kenosian, “Colonial Body Politic,” 188.

¹⁰⁶ Heike I. Schmidt, “Colonial Intimacy: The Rechenberg Scandal and Homosexuality in German East Africa,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 17, no. 1 (2008): 53.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 31–32.

¹⁰⁹ Sandra Maß, “Das Trauma des weißen Mannes: Afrikanische Kolonialsoldaten in Propagandistischen Texten, 1914–1923,” *L’Homme* 12, no. 1 (2001): 26.

¹¹⁰ Smith, *German Colonial Empire*, 61.

¹¹¹ “Zu den Unruhen in Deutsch-Südwestafrika,” *Flugblatt des Deutschen Kolonial-Bundes*, January 14, 1904. Source located at BArch R 1001/2111. “... eine energische militärische Aktion... nur durch unbedingtes Aufrechterhalten der Suprematie seiner Rasse seiner Herrschaft Geltung verschaffen kann.”

¹¹² Hull, *Absolute Destruction*, 14.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Smith, *German Colonial Empire*, 64.

¹¹⁶ Jeremy Sarkin, *Germany’s Genocide of the Herero: Kaiser Wilhelm II, His General, His Settlers, His Soldiers* (Cape Town, South Africa: University of Cape Town Press, 2011), 190–1. There remain questions as to the nature of the Kaiser’s selection of Trotha. The Kaiser knew of Trotha’s exploits; whether it was direct appointment or merely approval, Kaiser Wilhelm and Trotha were aligned closely in the methods deemed necessary to effectively administer colonization.

¹¹⁷ Hull, *Absolute Destruction*, 12.

¹¹⁸ “Gewalt mit krassem Terrorismus und selbst mit Grausamkeit auszuüben, war und ist meine Politik. Ich vernichte die afrikanischen Stämme mit Strömen von Blut und Strömen von Geld.” My translation. Cited in Horst Drechsler, *Südwestafrika unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft: Der Kampf der Herero und Nama gegen den deutschen Imperialismus, 1884–1915*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1984), 156.

¹¹⁹ Hull, *Absolute Destruction*, 45.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ General Staff, *Kämpfe der deutschen Truppen*, 190.

¹²² Hull, *Absolute Destruction*, 60.

¹²³ BArch R 1001/2089. “[J]eder Herero mit und ohne Gewehr... nehme keine Weiber und Kinder mehr auf.” My translation. This document has been customarily named the “*Vernichtungsbefehl*,” but was more commonly known at the time as the “*Aufruf an das Volk der Herero*,” or “*Proclamation to the Herero people*.”

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* “Sie haben gemordet und gestohlen, haben verwundeten Soldaten Ohren und Nasen und andere Körperteile abgeschnitten.”

¹²⁵ Kundrus, “Herero to the Holocaust,” 304.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ Ludwig von Estorff, *Wanderungen und Kämpfe in Südwestafrika, Ostafrika und Südafrika, 1894–1910* (Windhoek, Namibia: Christoph-Friedrich Kutscher, 1979), 117. “Ich folgte ihren Spuren und erreichte hinter ihnen mehrere Brunnen, die einen schrecklichen Anblick boten. Haufenweise lagen die verdursteten Rinder um sie herum.... Die Herero flohen nun weiter vor uns.... Immer wiederholte sich das schreckliche Schauspiel. Mit fieberhafter Eile hatten die Männer daran gearbeitet, Brunnen zu erschließen, aber das Wasser ward immer spärlicher, die Wasserstellen seltener. Sie flohen von einer zur anderen und verloren fast alles Vieh und sehr viele Menschen. Das Volk schrumpfte auf spärliche Reste zusammen, die allmählich in unsere Gewalt kamen, Teile entkamen jetzt und später... Es war eine ebenso törichte wie grausame Politik, das Volk so zu zertrümmern, man hätte noch viel von ihm und ihrem Herdenreichtum retten können, wenn man sie jetzt schonte und wieder aufnahm, bestraft waren sie genug. Ich schlug dies dem General von Trotha vor, aber er wollte ihre gänzliche Vernichtung.” My translation.

¹²⁹ Blackshire-Belay, “German Imperialism in Africa,” 239.

Christopher Goodwin received his undergraduate degrees in economics and history at the University of Missouri. He holds a master’s degree in military history from Norwich University, where he researched changes in Prussian masculinity engendered by the Napoleonic wars. His publications include the chapter “Patriotic Nationalism and Hegemonic Valorous Masculinity: The National Monument for the Prussian Wars of Liberation,” published in *Remember the Dead, Remind the Survivors, Warn the Descendants*. He has presented at numerous conferences on German nationalism, militarism, and gender history. His current studies focus on the history of psychological subjective identity formation and its relationship to group affiliation.

Critical Commentary

A Well-Worn and Far-Travelled Tome: The Life and Times of a 1652 Edition of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra’s *Don Quixote*

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Translated into dozens of languages and published thousands of times in numerous countries around the world in its 411 years of existence, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra’s (1547–1616) *The Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote of La Mancha* has attained recognition as one of the most read books in western culture. Various reproductions of *Don Quixote* over the last four centuries include parodies, plays, paintings and illustrations, cartoons, comic books, movies, and music. Of the many text editions in existence today, this short study will address a particular copy of Cervantes’ *Don Quixote: The History of the valorous and witty-knight-errant Don Quixote of La Mancha, Translated out of the Spanish* [by T. Shelton] *now newly corrected and amended* (1652), along with a few of the people who

produced this seminal work and several of the notable individuals who have owned it through time. This leather-bound tome about a fictional member of Spain’s petty nobility has passed from one minor British aristocrat to another, only to mysteriously rest in Stony Brook University’s Rare Book Collection in Stony Brook, Long Island.¹

The cross-hatched leather binding of Cervantes’ tale about an aging and eccentric member of the Spanish nobility endears itself to musings on how the character Don Quixote may have appeared to the reader. In addition to the fading varnish and stains collected over centuries of use, this well-worn mottled-brown leather re-binding bears the scars of many readings. There is still evidence of a long lost elegance in the faintly discernable gold piping

around the front and back covers. The extensive reading of this 11 inches high by 7.5 inches wide, and 1.5 inches deep seventeenth century tome, with a detached back cover, speaks of many adoring touches transcending time and place.

The heavy use of this edition is apparent in the condition of the original leaves and the added pages. The rebinding is evident from the six additional unprinted pages both front and back, which consist of relatively cleaner, whiter, and less course paper. Instead of printed text on the added pages there are several elements of marginalia. The paper of the original pages is sturdy despite heavily ground-in dirt. The original pages have small scorch marks and burned through pinholes, which reinforce the suggestion of many readings by candlelight or fireside. One interesting feature of these 364-year old pages is the little tear on the recto side of leaf number 54. The repair consists of a small strip of identical paper glued over the tear at the bottom of the verso side, which suggests the imperfection was detected and addressed in 1652 by the printer.

While the physical pages of this copy expose seventeenth century repair techniques, the printed text on the original pages reveals several infamous characters in the seventeenth century London book trade. The text on the title page bears "Printed by R. Hodgkinsonne [Hodgkinson] for A. Crooke at the Green-Dragon in Pauls Church-yard." Eighteenth century bibliographer Joseph Ames lists Richard Hodgkinsonne as having been given royal decree to operate as a printer in mid-seventeenth century

London.² However, Hodgkinson became implicated in a pirated copy of St. Francis de Sales *Introduction to a Devout Life* (1637). For this transgression Hodgkinson's type was destroyed and his press confiscated, though it was eventually returned.³ Historian Adrian Johns cites Hodgkinson's notoriety for a dispute involving printing rights stemming from a disagreement over entry into the stationer's ledger in 1656.⁴ Hodgkinson seems to have printed *Don Quixote* in 1652 during a lull in his tumultuous career; however, he printed Cervantes' story for Andrew Crooke. Crooke operated as a publisher out of St. John's Churchyard in the center of London's mid-seventeenth century book trade.⁵ Adrian Johns explains that Crooke was scandalously accused of plotting to commit mass piracy.⁶ As for this 1652 edition, rare book dealer Peter Harrington suggests there is a "Variant issue" containing Andrew Crooke's address "At the Green-Dragon in Pauls Church-yard" added in the imprint.⁷ This may be just such an edition.

Andrew Crooke and Richard Hodgkinson appear on the title page of this copy; the stationer Edward Blount appears on the dedication to part II. Known for the first folio of William Shakespeare's plays, Blount published the first London edition of *Don Quixote* Part I in 1612.⁸ He published the first English translations of part I and part II in a single volume in 1620.⁹ Hodgkinson's 1652-reprinted edition includes Blount's 1620 part II dedication to "George Marquesse Buckingham, Baron of Whaddon." The servile posture in the dedication to George Villiers, the first Duke of Buckingham and current "Favourite" of King James I, epitomizes

The original pages have small scorch marks and burned through pinholes, which reinforce the suggestion of many readings by candlelight or fireside

how dedications acted as social currency within the patronage system, even though Blount claims otherwise.¹⁰

Blount's compilation of parts I and II were both translated by the controversial Thomas Shelton. Shelton translated the first English language edition of *Don Quixote* (1607) and later Blount's updated and re-printed edition.¹¹ Although Shelton is not on the title page, he is credited with translating part I (1612) and part II (1620); his name is only at the end of the 1612 dedication.¹² According to Harrington, this edition was "The most popular version of *Don Quixote* circulating in England during the seventeenth century."¹³ Shelton's beloved translation has carried with it two interesting theories. The first is that Thomas Shelton was an alias of Edward Blount. The second is that Shelton may have been a diplomat, which explains the "Colloquial style of translation" as well as his familiarity with Spanish customs. These are curious claims because they both lack evidence, particularly the second contention because no "Diplomat with the same name... has been established" as a possible translator.¹⁴

The names found within the printed text are indeed interesting personages associated with the seventeenth century London book trade. The names *written* into the book are interesting for different reasons. The two hand-written names inside the book are "Tho: Bainbrigge" and "Maria Louisa Whyte, Barrow

Hill." The first appears on the original title page and the second appears on the newer flyleaf. Both names provide interesting points of entry to consider the secondary life of this object. The first name can be traced to Thomas Bainbrigge (died 1818), father of George Alsop Bainbrigge of Woodseat Hall in Rocester.¹⁵ George Bainbrigge was an associate of Mark Anthony White of Barrowhill outside of Rocester.¹⁶ The two men were instrumental in establishing The Friendly Society of Rocester in 1832 because they donated most of the money to found the Quaker meeting hall.¹⁷ Maria Luisa Whyte married Mark Anthony White of Barrow Hill [Barrowhill], a member of the landed gentry.¹⁸ Even though the original owner and any subsequent owners before Bainbrigge are not evident, this association suggests this 1652 edition passed from Tho: Bainbrigge to George Bainbridge and then to Maria Luisa Whyte at Barrowhill in the nineteenth century.

Of "Barrow Hill House," just one mile from the village of Rocester and five miles north of Uttoxeter in the center of England, Frances Redfern wrote in 1865 "The late Mrs. White collected there a fine library of books."¹⁹ Of this library many books remain, albeit scattered among different owners. "Maria Louisa Whyte" is inscribed on several flyleaves and title pages of other rare books, such as the third edition of Abraham Cowley's *The Works of*

Mr. Abraham Cowley (1672), Mary Wollstonecraft's *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway and Denmark* (1796), and *The Works of Virgil: Translated into English Verse by Mr Dryden* (1782). As a member of the English gentry, Whyte would have had the resources to collect a "Fine library" and to have the volumes re-bound.

The inside fore edge of Whyte's re-bound *Don Quixote* bears a badly worn gold-lettered imprint, but enough remains to determine the re-binder. Upon close inspection the words appear as _ IMMOCK — BIND_ — — — — TTOXETER, which is most likely DIMMOCK BINDINGS UTTOXETER. According to an 1818 Staffordshire business directory of Rocester (the year the elder Bainbridge died), M. Dimmock was a bookseller in the center of Uttoxeter five miles from Barrow Hill.²⁰ The fact Whyte's name appears on the newer flyleaf suggests she had Dimmock re-bind the volume when it came into her possession. It would be of particular interest to inspect the many books still in circulation that bear Whyte's name for evidence of Dimmock. Thus far, digital images of books from Whyte's personal library do not include pictures of the inside front cover fore edge. According to the National Archives in England, Maria Louisa Whyte of Barrow Hill died a widow in 1855.²¹ After Whyte's death Barrow Hill and its contents passed to Louisa Jane Finch Simpson, but unfortunately there is no discernable evidence of what Whyte or Simpson did with *Don Quixote*.²²

There are no other names hand written into Whyte's rebound edition of *Don Quixote*, however the Armorial

bookplate used to show the book's owner bears the inscription "Ex Libris: Fairfax of Cameron." The bookplate refers to the Scottish peer Albert Kirby Fairfax, twelfth Baron Fairfax of Cameron (1870–1939). Fairfax renounced his U.S. citizenship when he assumed the Barony of Cameron upon admittance to the British House of Lords in 1908.²³ How a displaced American in London and member of the House of Lords acquired Whyte's copy of *Don Quixote*, I have found no evidence. Nor could I discover how this edition crossed the Atlantic Ocean to end up in Stony Brook University's Rare Book Collection on "12/16/67" as the label on the inside front cover attests. However, the records of Albert Kirby Fairfax may provide clues to how the Baron eventually gained possession of the book and how this copy of *Don Quixote* found its way from Britain to the United States.

From the available evidence, I was able to determine that this well-read book, printed amid mid-seventeenth century controversies in London's book trade, surfaced in the historical record in the small village of Rocester 143 miles northeast of the city. After rebinding in Uttoxeter, *Don Quixote* remained in central England for three to four decades, until an American expatriate and newly minted member of Britain's peerage took possession of it. The American connection at this point in the book's history is intriguing. This link allows for the impetus of a cross Atlantic transfer to Stony Brook University in the twentieth century, and a way to explain how *Don Quixote* went from the coveted possession of several British minor nobles to a Rare Book Collection in the United States which facilitates access for the public.

ENDNOTES

¹ The Rare Book Collection at Stony Brook University is facilitated by Librarians Kristen J. Nyitray and Lynn Toscano, who were both indispensable to this project by helping to discern minute details of centuries-old faded text. Both Nyitray and Toscano report there is no record of how *Don Quixote* came to the Rare Book Collection in 1967.

² Joseph Ames, *Typographical Antiquities: Being an Historical Account of Printing in England* (London: W. Faden, 1749), 462.

³ Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Texts of King Lear and Their Origin: Volume 1, Nicholas Oaks and the First Quarto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 305.

⁴ Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) 300–302.

⁵ London Topographical Society, *London Topographical Record, Illustrated, Volume 3* (London: Chiswick Press, 1906), 110.

⁶ Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 167.

⁷ Peter Harrington London, accessed October 25, 2015, <http://www.peterharrington.co.uk/rare-books/literature-history/the-history-of-the-valorous-and-witty-knight-errant-don-quixote>.

⁸ "Edward Blount: English Publisher," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed October 29, 2015, <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Edward-Blount>.

⁹ Queens College Print History Collection, "Don Quixote: The Publisher," accessed April 26, 2017, <http://archives.qc.cuny.edu/books/exhibits/show/1620/donquixote/page3-2>.

¹⁰ Roger Lockyer, *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham 1592–1628* (London: Routledge, 2014), 93–94.

¹¹ Peter Harrington London.

¹² Queens College Print History Collection, "Don Quixote: The Translator," accessed April 26, 2017, <http://archives.qc.cuny.edu/books/exhibits/show/1620/donquixote/page3-3>.

¹³ Peter Harrington London.

¹⁴ Queens College, "The Translator."

¹⁵ *The English Reports: Chancery, Volume XLV* (Edinburgh: William Green and Sons, 1904), 557. Of how this 1652 copy of *Don Quixote*, printed in London 146 miles distant, came to be in Bainbridge's possession, I have found no evidence.

¹⁶ "Records of the Union Friendly Society, Rocester (Register No. 410 Stafford)," *Staffordshire & Stoke-on-Trent's Cultural Heritage*, accessed October 24, 2015, <http://www.archives.staffordshire.gov.uk>.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Sir Bernard Burke, *Index to Burke's dictionary of the landed gentry of Great Britain & Ireland* (London: Henry Colburn, 1853), 400.

¹⁹ Francis Redfern, *History and Antiquities of the Town and Neighborhood of Uttoxeter* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1886), 461.

²⁰ W. Parson and T. Bradshaw, *Staffordshire general & commercial directory* (Manchester: Parson and Bradshaw, 1818), 268.

²¹ The National Archives [Britain], "Probate of Maria Louisa Whyte of Barrow Hill, Rocester, widow," *Staffordshire and Stoke-on-Trent Archive Service: Staffordshire County Record Office*, accessed April 26, 2017, <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/926084f6-ebd0-4239-a5eb-fb2aaf6eb003>.

²² Lorne Campbell, "Jan Gossaert (Jean Gossart), 'An Elderly Couple,'" *The National Gallery* (London, England), accessed April 26, 2017, <http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/>

research/jan-gossaert-an-elderly-couple.

²³ University of Toronto Libraries, "Fairfax, Albert Kirby," *British Armorial Bindings*, access April 26, 2017, <https://armorial.library.utoronto.ca/content/fairfax-albert-kirby>.

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Research Article

Rejecting Notions of Passivity: African American Resistance to Lynching in the Southern United States

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In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, lynching impacted African Americans across the Southern United States. Generations of African Americans lived with the constant fear of racial violence; however, it is inconceivable that a vibrant group of people would bow to subjugation. Therefore, this article attempts to discern how African Americans employed informal methods of resistance to oppose racial violence. In order to uncover instances of informal, unorganized resistance—theft, sabotage, boycotting, migration—this article draws on a collection of interviews conducted with formerly enslaved people in the 1930s by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration. By utilizing the slave narratives, in conjunction with other primary source evidence, it is possible to uncover a hidden history of resistance.

LYNCHINGS, RIOTS, AND OTHER forms of racialized violence have shaped race relations in the southern United States since the seventeenth century. Slavery, for example, was a relationship based on violence; slaveholders and overseers had the right to use physical and psychological violence to control the behaviour of enslaved people. If an enslaved person resisted, violence could be used to break that resistance. Indeed, violence was crucial for maintaining racial subordination, and continued to exist long after the abolition of slavery.² Formal emancipation and the legal framework of Reconstruction partially undermined white control over blacks.³ As thousands of African Americans gained the rights of citizenship, many white southerners felt that their economic interests and social expectations were being challenged. In an attempt to re-exert control, whites again turned towards violence to perpetuate their control over the newly freed black population. The difference, however, was the increased prevalence of lynching. In the antebellum period, lynching was relatively rare. Enslaved people were considered to be valuable property, and it was not in the best interest of the slaveholder to murder the workforce.⁴ But, after emancipation, there was little concern regarding the preservation of black lives. Lynching then served as a mechanism to control and suppress undesirable groups, including immigrants, dissidents, labour activists, and political radicals, as well as African Americans.

It is inconceivable that a vibrant group of people would bow to subjugation. This raises an important question: how did African Americans employ informal

methods of resistance to oppose racial violence? This paper considers the variety of means by which African Americans could resist violent oppression. Using lynching as a case study, it is possible to elucidate the responses of African Americans to racial violence. Because whites were frequently able to escape punishment for participating in lynch mobs, African Americans had to turn towards informal methods of resistance to protect themselves. Through informal, unorganized resistance— theft, sabotage, destruction of property, boycotting, migration— African Americans resisted racial violence. As only a small number of blacks were either members of visible reform groups or participants in organized protest, these forms of resistance constitute an important area of study.⁵ Informal resistance, therefore, better represents how the average black individual responded to racial violence. To find examples in the historical record, it is necessary to rethink preconceived expectations about the ways in which resistance was expressed. Informal resistance was difficult to recognize, or could appear inconsequential to white people. This allowed African Americans to establish a culture of opposition with limited risk of reprisal.⁶

Lynching refers to the practice of exercising punishment on a victim without regard for the law.⁷ In the post-Reconstruction era, lynching served as an instrument of social control aimed at black citizens, and others who threatened the social and racial hierarchy in the South. Between 1882 and 1930, there were 2,805 lynchings in 10 southern states.⁸ Although almost 300 white people were lynched by mobs, the vast majority of lynching victims

were African Americans. Of these victims, 94 per cent were killed by lynch mobs comprised of white southerners. Lynching was a powerful tool of intimidation. It impacted black people across the South, and generations of African Americans lived with the constant fear of racial violence. The publically stated reason for lynching was the punishment of black criminals. Lynch mobs organized to punish alleged criminal offenses, including murder and rape. In the eyes of white southerners, lynch mobs were carrying out justice. Many white southerners believed that black-on-white crime was increasing, and that the formal system of criminal justice was too weak to ensure an appropriate punishment.⁹ While whites claimed that lynching was necessary to punish black criminals, statistics indicate that many lynching victims were lynched for minor offenses, or were innocent of any wrongdoing. Lynching was not about punishing alleged black criminals, but crushing black economic spirit and aspirations, and enforcing white hegemony.¹⁰

Amidst widespread violence, an organized antilynching movement emerged. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) championed federal legislation to outlaw lynching. The organization expanded on the work of individual activists, particularly Ida B. Wells.¹¹ Antilynching activists were highly visible and prolific writers, contributing to a rich historical record on formal antilynching efforts. Indeed, there is an abundance of scholarly work available detailing the efforts of black organizations to mobilize sentiment against lynching.¹² Scholars, however, have largely ignored

the informal methods of resistance employed by African Americans against lynching. This is not to say that scholars have not addressed clandestine resistance more broadly. Robin D. G. Kelley, for example, examines how African Americans waged everyday conflicts over power, autonomy, and pleasure.¹³ Leon Litwack, in a study of the Jim Crow South, similarly explores racial subjugation and the efforts of blacks to endure poverty, cruelty, and oppression.¹⁴ African Americans have never bowed to subjugation, and scholars have documented their efforts to resist oppression. Few scholars, however, have explicitly addressed informal actions against lynching.¹⁵

This article analyzes the Slave Narrative Collection of the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA).¹⁶ In the 1930s, the Federal Writers' Project undertook an ambitious assignment to interview

Lynching was not about punishing alleged black criminals, but crushing black economic spirit and aspirations, and enforcing white hegemony

surviving formerly enslaved people in 17 states. At that time, there was a renewed interest in the life stories of enslaved people, particularly regarding aspects of daily life. The project was also driven by the reality that the enslaved population was dying off. By 1930, the number of surviving formerly enslaved people had greatly diminished, and there was a growing concern that their experiences might not be recorded. The result was the Slave Narrative Collection, which today marks one of the most noteworthy achievements of the WPA.¹⁷ Between 1936 and 1938, the WPA compiled over 2,000 interviews concerning antebellum slavery, the responses of enslaved people to bondage, and life after slavery.¹⁸ Although the interviews were ostensibly about slavery, those interviewed often commented on experiences after emancipation. This makes the Slave Narrative Collection an invaluable source for understanding how African Americans responded to racial violence in the postbellum and post-Reconstruction South. The interviews also reveal what methods of resistance were viable options when confronting white southerners. Although the Slave Narrative Collection constitutes a valuable resource, it presents a series of unique problems for researchers.¹⁹ As the interviews were conducted over 70 years after emancipation, the informants were all advanced in age. This raises questions about personal recollection, memory loss, and the distortion of facts.

It is important to take into account the aforementioned problems, and to understand how they can shape conclusions; however, as Norman Yetman notes, a wholesale indictment of the interviews is unjustified, as

every historical document has its own strengths and limitations for providing an understanding of the past.²⁰ Indeed, the slave narrative collection represents a more heterogeneous and diverse pool of informants than any set of slave testimonies published in the nineteenth century. The informants held different jobs, lived on plantations of varying size, and were treated both harshly and indulgently. These interviews provide an opportunity to understand how African Americans viewed the Jim Crow South. In particular, the interviews reveal how African Americans responded to racial violence, and how they personally understood acts of resistance.

The Slave Narrative Collection is the single largest, most in-depth resource which exists on slavery from the perspective of the enslaved. My research required an examination of all 41 volumes of the Slave Narrative Collection.²¹ The goal was to identify instances of informal resistance in response to racial violence; however, the clandestine nature of such informal resistance made navigating the index a challenge. Overt methods of resistance were dangerous, as those who attempted to assert their rights as free citizens frequently became the targets of attack. By adopting clandestine forms of resistance with limited risk of reprisal, African Americans were able to thwart attempts at social control. Many whites failed to recognize this informal resistance, and the slave narrative collection aligns with this trend. In the index, there is no single subject heading that is directly applicable to resistance directed towards racial violence. While some informants were willing to talk openly about resistance to slavery, they

were often more hesitant to discuss conditions in the post-Reconstruction South. Sometimes, formerly enslaved people refused to answer certain questions, or they might claim to not remember certain details. This was perhaps because they were afraid to speak openly with whites.²² Regardless, there are few overt references to informal resistance in the narratives, and this consequently extends to the index.²³ Only by examining several subject headings was I able to build a preliminary database of narratives that clearly demonstrates that blacks resisted racial violence.

In the slave states of the antebellum South, racial violence was intimately linked to the defense of slavery. Violence, or the threat of violence, was the standard practice for compelling deference and acceptable behaviour from enslaved people. Blacks, however, found ways to resist their oppressors. Occasionally, collective plans to resist slavery erupted into overt rebellions, but these rebellions were often put down harshly. Enslaved people more commonly turned towards informal resistance on a daily basis. Individuals could resist slavery in seemingly small ways, which over time were effective in weakening the power of slaveholders.²⁴ The WPA interviews provide ample evidence of resistance to slavery prior to the Civil War. The interviews reveal that enslaved people feigned illness, verbally challenged their masters, participated in work slow-downs, engaged in sabotage, and fled north to freedom.²⁵

Slave culture was dominated by a strong current of resistance. Methods of resistance used in the postbellum South stemmed from methods of resistance

used to oppose slavery. George Lipsitz argues that black protest flowed from “underground streams of resistance from the past.”²⁶ The most common form of resistance appearing in the Slave Narrative Collection was discursive insubordination. Enslaved people were unafraid to express their discontent through verbal confrontations. In some situations, the mere threat of action was enough to dissuade white slaveholders from acting against African Americans. Delicia Patterson, a formerly enslaved woman interviewed in St. Louis, Missouri, was taken to the auction block at age 15. There she saw Judge Miller, a wealthy and notoriously cruel slaveholder. When Judge Miller attempted to bid on Patterson, she brazenly announced that she would cut her throat “from ear to ear” before she would allow herself to be owned by such a cruel man. The threat was successful, and Judge Miller withdrew his bid. Patterson was then purchased by another slaveholder who respected her outspoken behaviour.²⁷ From this example, it is clear that some enslaved people bravely spoke out for their own best interests. Outbursts by enslaved people were often met with amusement, as blacks were considered to be inherently inferior, bad-mannered, and lazy.²⁸ Enslaved people, however, were able to use this perception to their advantage. Verbal confrontations provided a relatively safe way to resist oppression.

The threat of physical violence was omnipresent in the postbellum and post-Reconstruction South. Lynching was used to impose severe restraints on ambition, and to punish perceived signs of impudence, impertinence,

or independence. This resulted in an atmosphere of terror, and inflicted severe psychological trauma on African Americans. For many, the sight of law enforcement officials or the sound of bloodhounds evoked terror and a renewed sense of vulnerability.²⁹ But many African Americans applied traditions of discursive insubordination to combat the terror of lynching. This resistance manifested primarily as a rich catalogue of humour with which blacks mocked racial violence. Laughter functioned as a compensating mechanism. African Americans relied on humour to provide a transcendent release from the tensions of living in the oppressive South.³⁰ Lawrence W. Levine argues that laughter stems from a desire to place negative situations into perspective and to exert some degree of control. As a result, the need to laugh often exists most urgently among those who are able to exert the least power over their immediate environment.³¹ No subject was excluded from the province of humour, as jokes allowed black people to express their feelings on a variety of issues. Humour, therefore, offered a means of undermining the fear imposed by lynching.

It was important for African Americans to be able to draw on racial stereotypes and racist epithets to laugh at their own predicament. John Dollard, a witness to such humour, observed, "To take cheerfully a matter of such terrible moment is really to turn the joke back on the white man; some fun is squeezed even out of his warning."³² Dollard further related a joke about a lynching in Texas. After a black man was lynched, a sign was attached to the hanging corpse. It read, "In statu co." The

local African American community was frightened, and wanted to know what the sign meant. After asking numerous prominent officials, a professor was called to explain the sign. The professor confessed to the African Americans that he did not recognize the words, but asserted that in general they meant that the lynched man was "in a hell of a fix." The joke was met with a hearty laugh, and the tension caused by racial violence dissipated.³³ Such jokes demonstrate the power of humour when confronting violent actions directed against African Americans. Humour was not resigned, but rebellious. It allowed African Americans to demonstrate their own superiority, and to dismiss fears of white authority.

Discursive insubordination was not limited merely to humour. Blacks could also deny the power of lynching by taunting whites. In 1894, for example, Abe Smalls was accused of killing a white policeman. This was a common lynching offense, and Smalls embraced his fate. He boasted to the *Savannah Morning News*, "He don't care when he dies, just so he is not taken alive and that he is game enough to die with his boots on."³⁴ Such a bold statement denied the power of lynching to invoke fear in blacks. Smalls showed bravery in the face of violence, and undermined the authority of white southerners. Not all blacks were as bold as Smalls, but taunts could take a variety of forms.

For many African Americans, humour was not the only comfort; many also found solace in music. Black culture has always been a stronghold for African Americans fighting against oppression.³⁵ Raymond Gavins notes that oppressed people often turn towards

their cultural, ethnic, or religious roots to find resources for survival.³⁶ Music enabled blacks to circumvent the system of oppression installed by white southerners, especially because music did not directly threaten the racial hierarchy. Aleck Trimble, a formerly enslaved man interviewed in Texas, experienced the rise of the Ku Klux Klan during Reconstruction. The Klan attempted to restore the caste system in the South, and engaged in a reign of terror to prevent African Americans from exercising their newfound rights. To help rationalize the terror inspired by racial violence, many blacks composed folk songs. Trimble, for example, described a song advising blacks to run from the Klan: "Run nigger run de Klu Klux git you."³⁷ Maggie Right, in her interview, also similarly described a song advising blacks to hide from the Ku Klux Klan.³⁸ Such warnings were commonplace in black music, and helped inform blacks how to confront racial violence.

Resistance sometimes surfaced during the funeral ceremonies for lynching victims. Funerals frequently became an outlet for African Americans to vent their bitterness and pain. The funerals for lynching victims were not attended by white southerners, and therefore afforded a safe place to speak in opposition to racial violence.³⁹ It was at funerals that blacks could lash out at the unfairness of their treatment. In April 1897, Joseph McCoy, a black man accused of raping the daughters of his white employer, was dragged from his cell in prison by a mob of angry white southerners. The man was lynched and left hanging from a lamppost at the intersection of two major downtown

streets. At his funeral, McCoy's family refused to accept the responsibility and cost of burial. Voicing the bitterness of countless blacks, McCoy's aunt stated, "As the [white] people killed him, they will have to bury him."⁴⁰ The preachers who presided over the funerals of lynching victims were also unafraid of speaking in opposition to racial violence. Moving into the twentieth century, there was a growing understanding that the savagery of white mobs stood as an abomination contrasting with the American ideals embodied in the Constitution. Reverend William Gaines, who presided over the funeral of McCoy, sharply criticized those who had been involved in the lynching.⁴¹ Gaines suffered no apparent penalty for his outspoken behaviour; however, other blacks did anger local whites with similar behaviour. Billy Robertson, for example, preached over the body of Amos Baxter, a black man lynched by the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan was angered by Robertson's boldness, and attempted to inflict violence upon him as well. Robertson was never caught, and he succeeded in voicing his opposition.⁴²

While African Americans in Virginia refused to pay for the cost of burying a lynching victim, others used the act of burial as a method of resistance. African Americans did not need to see a lynching to be terrorized by it.⁴³ Images of lynchings were used to propagate terror. It was not uncommon for the body of a lynching victim to be left hanging from a tree as a warning for other blacks to behave. Ben Johnson, in his interview, described the lynching of Cy Guy by the Ku Klux Klan. Guy was lynched for insulting a white woman, and his body was hanged in the woods. According

African Americans relied on humour to provide a transcendent release from the tensions of living in the oppressive South

to Johnson, a sign was attached to the body that read: “He shall hang ‘tween de heavens an’ de yearth till he am daid, daid, daid, an’ dat any nigger what takes down de body shall be hunged too.”⁴⁴ In these situations, providing a respectful burial to the body could be an act of resistance. Without the attention of African Americans, it is unlikely the bodies of lynching victims would have received a respectful burial.⁴⁵ When Johnson later witnessed the lynching of Bob Boylan, he ensured that the body was buried with care and respect. A respectful burial allowed African Americans to preserve the identity of lynching victims.

Oliver Bell, a former enslaved man living in Alabama, similarly encountered the Ku Klux Klan under the leadership of Steve Renfroe, a bandit active during Reconstruction. Bell described how Renfroe approached Enoch and Frank Sledge. The two black men were trading in town, but Renfroe did not want them challenging the economic prosperity of white southerners. Consequently, Renfroe lynched Enoch, and the Klan pursued Frank to the river where he was also killed. In defiance of the Ku Klux Klan, the local black community, including Bell, went to the river at night to ensure that the bodies received a proper burial. While many lynching victims were relegated to unmarked graves, Enoch and Frank Sledge were buried in Travis graveyard.⁴⁶ Jesse

Rice, interviewed in South Carolina, described a similar scenario. After Alex Leech was lynched by the Ku Klux Klan, his family had a difficult time recovering his body. He was left to rot at the site of the lynching. Once the body was recovered, his family ensured that it received a proper burial.⁴⁷ By burying lynching victims, African Americans could restore some dignity to the individuals who were killed by oppressive whites.⁴⁸

African Americans developed an arsenal of creative resistance strategies that allowed them to seize more personal autonomy. After slavery, the emancipation of thousands of blacks resulted in widespread dislocation. Formerly enslaved people had to be assimilated into the free workforce of the South.⁴⁹ Whites responded by making segregation, disenfranchisement, and peonage the common lot of most African Americans.⁵⁰ While some did find jobs in industrial sectors, it was rare that they received wages comparable to those of white workers. Sam Rawls, a formerly enslaved man interviewed in South Carolina, noted that the government never provided formerly enslaved people with the expected forty acres and a mule. Instead, many African Americans were forced to serve as wage earners or sharecroppers on the land of their former masters.⁵¹ Henry Ryan noted that African Americans did not expect anything after freedom because

the South was in a bad state. Most blacks merely found jobs where they could.⁵²

The unfair treatment African Americans experienced, exacerbated by widespread racial violence, made the workplace a common site of resistance. It was here that African Americans could demonstrate their displeasure at the treatment they received. Because workplace settings frequently brought African Americans into close contact with white people, it was not uncommon for white employers to be involved in the lynching of their African American employees. Conducting resistance in the workplace, therefore, allowed African Americans to more directly strike back at those involved in lynch mobs.⁵³ There was a wide array of strategies available to defiant African Americans, including theft, slowdowns, feigning illness, leaving work early, or threatening to quit.⁵⁴ These individual acts often had a collective basis, and allowed blacks to work together to resist oppression.

Arguably, the most common form of workplace resistance was theft. Like many methods of informal resistance, theft was originally used by enslaved people to retaliate against unfair masters. Luvenia Coleman, a formerly enslaved woman living in Mississippi, cited theft as a common practice.⁵⁵ Her master had so many hogs and cattle that the slaves on the plantation often stole the animals for food. Notably, if the master noticed that his animals were missing, he never attempted to find the thief. It was expected that enslaved people would steal. In the post-Reconstruction era, black domestic workers continued the tradition of theft by engaging in pan-toting (bringing home leftovers and other foodstuffs). One domestic

worker insisted that pan-toting was not theft. She declared that black workers were entitled to take certain goods as part of an oral contract, either expressed or implied.⁵⁶ From the point of view of the worker, theft was justified as a strategy to compensate for lost wages or mistreatment. Lizzie Atkins, for example, admitted to stealing chickens and potatoes as a way of compensating for her diminished capacity in southern society.⁵⁷ White southerners used the expectation of theft to justify paying low wages for the inevitable loss of clothing or food. That theft was expected from black workers meant that few employers saw the practice as a form of resistance; however, it afforded African Americans with a relatively safe way to challenge oppressive white southerners.⁵⁸

Traditional documents frequently describe African Americans as unreliable, shiftless, and ignorant. Black people were heavily impacted by racist stereotypes, which portrayed them as mentally and physically inferior to white people.⁵⁹ Robin Kelley refers to the “Cult of True Sambohood.” This southern, racist ideology ascribed incidents of theft, sabotage, absenteeism, and other such acts to the belief that African Americans were inept and lazy.⁶⁰ The “Cult of True Sambohood” was not unknown to African Americans. By carefully manipulating how they were perceived by white southerners, black workers could use their allegedly inferior status to their advantage.⁶¹ In certain circumstances, their inefficiency and penchant for not following directions could hinder industrial production, or the effective running of a household. In North Carolina, tobacco workers collaborated to control the pace of

work. When black female stemmers had trouble keeping up the pace, the black men responsible for supplying the tobacco might pack the baskets more loosely.⁶² This would cost the employer profit, as less tobacco could be processed on a given day. Waters Brooks, in his interview, described how African American concrete workers quit en masse as a way of protesting their mistreatment.⁶³ To mitigate the threat of punishment for such behaviour, blacks could feign ignorance.⁶⁴ By utilizing the appropriate grins, shuffles, and platitudes it was possible to calm angry southerners. In this way, African Americans could rebel against social control while seemingly adhering to the racist ideology perpetuated in the South.

Sabotage offered further opportunities for African Americans to rebel against oppression. There is ample evidence of domestic workers intentionally burning food, damaging kitchen utensils, or breaking household appliances. This resistance was commonly dismissed by white employers as proof of the moral and intellectual inferiority of African Americans. A frustrated white employer remarked:

Negro seamstresses always (except a few who were reared and trained in cultivated families) perform coarse sewing, and the washerwomen ... badly damage the clothes they work on, iron-rusting them, tearing them, breaking off the buttons, and burning them brown, and as for starch!—Colored cooks, too, generally abuse stoves, suffering them to get clogged with soot, and

to “burn out” in half the time they ought to last.⁶⁵

Such resistance strategies enabled African Americans to maintain some control in the workplace where they were otherwise powerless. More importantly, it was a way for black workers to maintain a sense of self-respect as they suffered under the constant threat of racial violence. As with theft, existing scholarly works indicate that domestic workers adopted sabotage techniques more readily than industrial workers; however, there is no question that such resistance existed in industrial settings.⁶⁶ Robert Black, a black labour organizer, admitted to using sabotage as a strategy against speed-ups.⁶⁷ The machines used for tobacco production were delicate, and could be easily overloaded to the point of breaking. The whole machine would then need to be cleaned out, and the mechanics would have to repair any broken parts. Sabotage could effectively hinder work without resulting in significant punishment.

For most of the nineteenth century, black resistance to racial violence was uncoordinated. There was no organized program of resistance, and blacks relied primarily on clandestine acts of resistance with limited risk of reprisal. Beginning in the 1880s, however, with the onset of the lynching epidemic, the press began to play a more prominent role in the campaign against racial violence. Newspapers in the South refused to suppress news about lynchings.⁶⁸ Indeed, they embraced reports of lynchings and provided abundant and graphic coverage of racial violence.⁶⁹ While the white press lagged behind many African American newspapers in

denouncing lynching, the black press became an important tool for asserting the voices of African Americans in the South. African American newspapers encouraged further progress, and sought to end racial violence.

The success of the black press in fostering resistance can be attributed to its lack of readership among white audiences. The *Weekly Defiance*, for example, was read widely by the black community in Atlanta, but did not come to the attention of most white people until 1885. The editor of the newspaper used strong language to demand equal treatment for African Americans before the law, and urged boycotts against those who treated blacks poorly.⁷⁰ The national black press became an important voice against lynching, and actively attacked lynching abuses leading into the 1930s. It was the black press that kept the black community informed about lynchings, and stirred up resistance against abusive white southerners.

Although it is tempting to see the antilynching efforts of the black press as part of the organized antilynching movement, such work is also related to the tradition of informal black resistance against racial violence. Because of the clandestine nature of informal resistance, it can be difficult to identify instances in the historical record. Newspapers provide strong evidence, however, and demonstrate a desire to overcome oppression. John L. Mitchell Jr., a prominent member of the black press, utilized the *Richmond Planet* to publicize the injustices committed against African Americans.⁷¹ He called for social justice and sought to dispel disillusionment. Mitchell, like many black editors, made the *Richmond*

Planet a “safety-valve for the boiling black protest.”⁷² The newspaper was constructed with a defiant tone. Mitchell published letters of protest, sermons by local ministers speaking against lynching, and any other news of national organizations attempting to bring antilynching legislation into existence. As Fitzhugh Brundage emphasizes, the *Richmond Planet* effectively became “the conduit for the rage of readers who could not remain silent in the wake of local mob violence.”⁷³ Through the publication of exposés, African Americans compiled their own record of the atrocities of lynching. Mitchell recognized the limitations of the black press. Ultimately, it was white behaviour, and not black conduct, that needed to change.⁷⁴ Mitchell could do little more than attempt to emphasize the horrors of racial violence.

The antilynching movement was hindered by public perceptions of lynching, as lynching was accepted as a justified punishment for criminal behaviour. In particular, there was a pervasive fear that African American men wanted to rape white women.⁷⁵ Within this conventional framework—popularized by mainstream media—white men became the gallant protectors of white women against lascivious black men. There is little evidence, however, to support the myth that African American men raped white women. Ida B. Wells, the foremost antilynching activist, attacked the rape justification. As a prominent figure in the black press, Wells challenged “the old threadbare lie that negro men assault white women.”⁷⁶ She argued that before the Civil War, no one was concerned about black men raping white women. It was therefore

absurd to suggest that black men might suddenly turn into sexual deviants just as they were being freed from bondage.⁷⁷ Wells insisted that the rape charge was without foundation. Her assertions were echoed by interviewee Robert R. Grinstead, a formerly enslaved man, who revealed that during the Civil War, male slaves were sent to the bedroom of their mistress to light a fire each morning. Even under such close conditions, Grinstead never heard of a single rape incident occurring.⁷⁸ By challenging the rape justification, Wells brought the truth about lynching to the forefront: that lynching is an act of terror perpetrated against a race of people in order to maintain power and control.

The key to halting lynching was to increase public awareness regarding the true causes of racial violence. In *A Red Record: Tabulated Statistics and Alleged Causes of Lynchings in the United States*, Wells asserted that the first step was to “tell the world the facts.”⁷⁹ The evil of lynching could not be cured through silence, and it was vital that African Americans bring the problem to the attention of the general public. Wells wanted to use the press to recast lynching in the public eye so that it could no longer be perceived as an understandable, although unpleasant response, to heinous acts. While other activists focussed more on securing federal antilynching legislation, Wells sought to intervene broadly in public discourse. She believed that lynching was only possible so long as it was supported by white popular opinion. By changing the way lynching was viewed, she hoped to ensure that all those accused of crimes be given a fair trial.⁸⁰

This meant receiving a trial without the threat of mob violence.

A Red Record helped raise awareness regarding the lynching epidemic, but it was in *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases* that Wells made a rousing call for informal resistance. According to Wells, African Americans had greater power to help themselves against racial violence than anyone else. On March 9, 1892, an angry mob of white southerners lynched Thomas Moss, Calvin McDowell, and Will Stewart. The three black men had owned and operated the People’s Grocery Store, a store in competition with a store owned and operated by a white man. After a shootout in defense of the store resulted in the injury of three white men, the business partners were arrested. That evening they were kidnapped from jail and shot to death. Wells was a close friend of Moss, and was devastated by his death. Her immediate response was to encourage African Americans to leave Memphis because the city did not offer protection to African Americans. She believed that blacks should migrate to Kansas or Oklahoma.⁸¹ She further urged blacks to withdraw their labour from the white economy. She astutely acknowledged that “the appeal to the white man’s pocket has ever been more effectual than all the appeals ever made to his conscience.”⁸² Her boldest recommendation was for armed resistance. Wells insisted that “a Winchester rifle should have a place of honor in every black home, and it should be used for that protection which the law refuses to give.”⁸³ Although Wells can be more closely aligned with the organized antilynching movement, her works provided African Americans with

various informal resistance tactics that could be used to resist racial violence.

Black women had significant power to shape resistance efforts. While Ida B. Wells was the most notable female antilynching activist, she was merely one of many women involved in the struggle against racial violence. Rural black women were on the front lines of informal, unorganized resistance. These women, working independently from women’s clubs, devised a range of resistance techniques that manipulated gender differences in power relations to contest racial etiquette. Black women were able to commit acts of insubordination that white southerners would not have permitted if committed by black men.⁸⁴ While African American men were considered to be dangerous to white women, African American women did not pose a significant threat. As a result, black women could engage in blatant protest that would have resulted in severe punishment if committed by men.⁸⁵ In regard to informal resistance, women were the most frequent instigators. This was partially because of the belief that open resistance was more ‘manly.’⁸⁶ The clandestine methods of resistance employed by the black working class were considered to be inferior by white southerners, but there was no stigma surrounding women engaged in such resistance. In 1915, the *Chicago Defender* lamented the rarity of black men’s forcible resistance to lynch mobs.⁸⁷ Because it was not safe for black men to engage in open resistance, women came forward to protect victims from potential lynchings. In 1916, when a lynch mob attempted to track a boy in a black neighbourhood, several women endeavoured to protect the child from

harm. The women mocked the mob, and refused to submit to racial violence.⁸⁸ In a society that sought to suppress the rights of African Americans, it was black women who were best able to agitate for change.

African Americans never limited themselves to clandestine resistance. When a human life was in jeopardy, both black men and women resisted by whatever means necessary. In some situations, this resistance took the form of armed self-defense. W. E. B. DuBois called for African Americans to take up “the terrible weapon of self-defense.”⁸⁹ This meant meeting lynch mobs with bricks, clubs, and guns. In the face of overwhelming violence, it was important to respond in equal measure. The call for self-defense was not new, as prominent black leaders had long called for black people to answer racial violence with force. John Mitchell Jr. and Ida B. Wells both called for blacks to arm themselves in defense of their basic rights as citizens of the United States. Because the fear generated by lynchings was so great in the South, and because African Americans were so vulnerable to racial violence, it is tempting to assume that only militant blacks living in the North engaged in self-defense against lynch mobs. The *Slave Narrative Collection*, however, indicates that black southerners also felt the need to defend themselves, as well as their communities.

Self-defense and armed resistance could take on a variety of forms. The most conspicuous example is perhaps armed resistance undertaken by groups. When lynch mobs formed, DuBois advised that African Americans should unite and arm themselves.⁹⁰ Joseph

Farley, a formerly enslaved man from Virginia, witnessed the power of armed resistance to halt potential lynchings.⁹¹ After a lynch mob formed to apprehend an African American man, Farley rallied with 600 federal troops in opposition. The soldiers pursued the Klansman, and successfully prevented the lynching. Not all resistance, however, was successful. After most lynchings, African Americans understood that vigorous protest would be suppressed brutally by white southerners. Lee Anderson Pierce, in his interview, described the formation of a black militia in Jefferson, Texas. The militia was intended to keep the Ku Klux Klan from terrorizing African Americans; however, white southerners gathered together to destroy the militia, and killed several of the militiamen.⁹²

There were more opportunities for African Americans to resist racial violence on an individual level. It was not uncommon for black individuals, sometimes aided by family members, to take up arms in defense of their own lives. The primary goal of armed self-defense was to ward off bloodshed. Sidney Graham, an African American living in Colteawah, Tennessee, successfully utilized armed resistance to ward off the Ku Klux Klan. Graham worked in the powder mill of Peeler Parker, a white southerner. He worked alongside several white men, and by accident he allowed some hot water he was handling to splash over one of the white men. The incident caused tensions in the mill, and by the end of the day the white men were threatening that the Ku Klux Klan would visit Graham at his home. Knowing the ferocity with which the Klan pursued black people who had

committed a perceived offense, Graham barricaded his dwelling, and prepared to make a firm resistance. When the Klansmen arrived at his home, Graham did not answer. Graham shot and killed the first intruder that attempted to enter. The defense was successful. The Klan removed the body of their dead comrade, and departed. Graham seized the opportunity to escape, and fled to Nashville where he was never again disturbed or arrested.⁹³

The Ku Klux Klan similarly threatened H. B. Holloway. Living in Atlanta, Georgia, Holloway worked as the foreman in a local shop. He had a successful career, which brought him under the scrutiny of the Ku Klux Klan. As he was walking home one evening, Holloway was cornered by some men who advised him that the Klan would be visiting his home that night. He was immediately defensive and responded, "You might kill me, but you can't beat me." Rather than submit to racial violence, Holloway endeavoured to protect himself and his family through armed resistance. Holloway had three sons, between 20 and 28 years old, whom he armed with a Winchester rifle, a shotgun, and a pistol. He kept an ax for himself. The black men then positioned themselves facing the door, and when the Ku Klux Klan arrived, Holloway knocked the first intruder over the head with his ax. The sons then fired their weapons as more Klansmen attempted to enter the house. The Klansmen were repelled, and fled. Notably, Holloway's wife did not support her husband's decision to take a stand against the Ku Klux Klan. When she learned of the imminent attack, she wanted to flee.⁹⁴ African Americans

did not speak with a united voice when opposing racial violence. While some believed in the power of armed resistance, others counselled caution in the face of violence. Many justifiably feared that self-defense might engender reprisal from white southerners.

Attempts by African Americans to exert their authority were rarely met with enthusiasm. Southern white people expected blacks to be completely submissive, and when this did not happen they often retaliated harshly. Reverend W. B. Allen cited a long list of

involve white people. Migration also did not inspire retaliation. Scott Hooper was one of many African Americans who decided to remain with her former master following emancipation. She lived with her parents on a rented piece of land for seven years; however, the increased violence perpetrated by the Ku Klux Klan caused Hooper to live in fear. She recalled that many blacks were afraid to go out at night, or even to sleep in their houses for fear of being attacked. In 1872, her father decided to relocate the family for their own safety.⁹⁸

Rural black women were on the front lines of informal, unorganized resistance

offenses for which African Americans might be lynched.⁹⁵ This included talking back to a white person, hitting another black person, fussing, fighting, making noise, lying, loitering on the job, and stealing. White southerners expected total obedience from African Americans. When this did not happen, the resulting violence encouraged many black southerners to migrate from cities and rural areas where lynchings occurred regularly.⁹⁶

Migration served as a variation on self-defense, as in some situations it was the only way for African Americans to protect themselves.⁹⁷ For those blacks without white protectors, either by choice or circumstance, migration was one of the few responses to racial violence that was independent of whites. The decision to flee the South, although the result of white activity, did not actively

Louise Matthews and her family were similarly driven to migrate from Shelby County, Texas. After two blacks were shot for trying to defend themselves, Matthews' father decided to relocate his family.⁹⁹ Gabe Hines witnessed a lynching in Columbus, Alabama, and shortly afterwards decided to migrate to Eufaula, Alabama because the city had fewer incidents of racial violence.¹⁰⁰

Some African Americans believed that migration within the United States was not sufficient to ensure the safety of black southerners from racial violence. Joe Rollins, like many African Americans, experienced the atrocities committed by the Ku Klux Klan after emancipation. He became disillusioned by the spread of racial violence, and argued that Abraham Lincoln had failed African Americans. Lincoln had died without providing a

home for black southerners. This left African Americans vulnerable to racial violence, and racial oppression. Rollins therefore believed that blacks should return to their true home in Africa.¹⁰¹ Rollins was not the only African American to suggest leaving for Africa. Reverend C. H. Pearce, a pioneer of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Florida and a respected political leader, became an advocate for black emigration to Africa. He stated, "Were I a young man I would not stand the insults of the American white people; and above all this we have a higher and grander object in view, namely the civilization of benighted Africa."¹⁰² Some African Americans in Tampa, Florida even went as far as to charter a steamer to take them to Liberia.¹⁰³ Indeed, many African Americans felt that they would be safer if they returned to Africa; however, more still felt that the United States was their home.¹⁰⁴ Migration therefore remained primarily concentrated within the United States.

After 1900, the pace of African American migration accelerated. Although many blacks continued to circulate within the rural South, many more began to migrate to the North. The exodus of African Americans from the South, regardless of their economic or social status, stemmed primarily from their fear of racial violence and lynching.¹⁰⁵ In Louisiana, the lynching of a black man by the Ku Klux Klan prompted hundreds of blacks to migrate from Louisiana to Kansas. In 1892, the triple lynching of Thomas Moss, Calvin McDowell, and Will Stewart in Memphis, Tennessee also inspired a particularly strong response. Thousands of African Americans attended the

funeral, and resolutions were passed in favour of emigration as a method of resistance against racial violence. A 1918 lynching in Georgia, which included the pregnant Mary Turner, prompted the immediate migration of more than 500 blacks.¹⁰⁶

Incidents of mass migration contributed to the decline of lynching. In the mid-1920s, lynching began to decline rapidly. Only 206 African Americans were lynched in the 1920s, compared to 799 in the 1890s.¹⁰⁷ With mass migration, white southerners experienced the rapid evaporation of the cheap and pliable labour force upon which they had built and maintained their economy. To halt the exodus, white southerners had to suppress violence, and improve the plight of African Americans in the South.¹⁰⁸ Industrial jobs in the North attracted blacks from all southern states, but African Americans were most likely to abandon the South if they felt threatened by the activity of white lynch mobs. Charles Gabriel Anderson, a formerly enslaved man living in the North, emphasized the safer conditions in the North, noting that he was never personally bothered by the Ku Klux Klan.¹⁰⁹

To fully understand black resistance against racial violence, it is important to understand the limitations imposed on African Americans. In the post-Reconstruction era, white southerners attempted to recreate the conditions of slavery. Lynching was an expression of the southern determination to limit the civil, social, and economic advancement of African Americans. As many formerly enslaved people remained on the land of their former masters, they often maintained close relationships of

The adoption of clandestine methods of resistance represents a tactical choice

dependence. In these situations, blacks might not engage in resistance efforts, and instead relied on white guardianship to ensure their safety. Millie Barber, a formerly enslaved woman, remained in close contact with her master, Will Durham. When the Ku Klux Klan came to her house inquiring after her husband, she began to fear that he might become the victim of racial violence. Barber then went to ask Durham for advice and protection. Although Barber did not give details regarding the outcome of the situation, she noted that Durham did resolve the conflict with the Klan. The next year Barber and her husband moved to a property belonging to Durham.¹¹⁰ In Mississippi, the lynching of Miler Hampton also prompted local African Americans to ask white people for assistance in warding off the Ku Klux Klan.¹¹¹ White guardianship created a delicate balance. While it offered protection against racial violence, it required that African Americans surrender further rights. Those who turned towards white

people for protection contributed to the balance of racial power in the South. It was impossible to ask for protection without showing a certain degree of deference, which made it increasingly difficult for African Americans to assert their own rights.

The adoption of clandestine methods of resistance represents a tactical choice made with an awareness of the balance of power between African Americans and white southerners. The South was a hostile place for many African Americans. White southerners persecuted blacks mercilessly, and overt attempts at resistance were often met with harsh reprisals. Informal resistance, therefore, provided a relatively safe way for African Americans to resist racial oppression. A black man might make a joke about a recent lynching, or a black washerwoman might damage the clothing of a customer who participated in a lynch mob. The black community might rally together to bury the body of a lynching victim. Such methods of resistance enabled African Americans to establish a culture of opposition with limited risk of reprisal. Acts of protest were attributed to the perceived inferiority of African Americans, and often went unnoticed by white people. By acknowledging informal methods of resistance, it is possible to challenge the view of African Americans as passive individuals who submitted to racial violence. The Slave Narrative Collection reveals a hidden history of resistance, and demonstrates that African Americans experimented with all manners of dissent, ranging from clandestine to overt resistance techniques.

ENDNOTES

¹ I would like to thank McMaster University and the Office of the Vice-President (Research) for its sponsorship of this project; the Faculty of Humanities for its support; and Karen Balcom for her valuable guidance and suggestions.

² Donald G. Nieman, Introduction to *Black Freedom and White Violence, 1865–1900*, ed. Donald G. Nieman (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), viii.

³ The amendments and legislation introduced during Reconstruction made all African Americans citizens of the United States. Black people had the legal right to enjoy all the same entitlements given to white citizens. This threatened to undermine the class structure of southern society, and prompted white southerners to turn towards violence as a method of social control and repression. See Stewart E. Tolnay and E. M. Beck, *A Festival of Violence: An Analysis of Southern Lynchings, 1882–1930* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 5.

⁴ Walter T. Howard, *Lynchings: Extralegal Violence in Florida during the 1930s* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1995), 17.

⁵ On the importance of informal resistance, see Robin D. G. Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics and the Black Working Class* (Toronto: Maxwell Macmillan Canada, 1994), chaps 1–3; and Robin D. G. Kelley, “‘We Are Not What We Seem’: Rethinking Black Working-Class Opposition in the Jim Crow South,” *The Journal of American History* 80, no. 1 (1993), 75–112.

⁶ The phrase ‘culture of opposition’ is borrowed from George Lipsitz. See George Lipsitz, *A Life of Struggle: Ivory Perry and the Culture of Opposition* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988).

⁷ Howard, *Lynchings*, 17. Using more specific terms, Howard defines lynching as “the practice of a group of two or more individuals inflicting punishment upon victims without regard to law in the service of justice, tradition, or race.” There are, however, numerous definitions regarding what constitutes lynching. The Dyer Bill, for example, defined lynching as “three or more persons acting in concert for the purpose of depriving any person his life without authority of law as a punishment for or to prevent the commission of some actual or supposed public offense.” See “NAACP History: Anti-Lynching Bill,” *NAACP*, <http://www.naacp.org/oldest-and-boldest/naacp-history-anti-lynching-bill/>. For the purposes of this paper, I will adhere to Howard’s broad definition of lynching. This definition better complements the limitations of the slave narratives, which often fail to detail how many persons were involved in attacks against African Americans. It is important to note, however, that lynchings were not simply extralegal murders. Rather, they were incidents of ritualized violence.

⁸ Tolnay and Beck, *A Festival of Violence*, 269. Tolnay and Beck offer a detailed statistical study of lynching in 10 southern states – Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Their work traces the composition of lynch mobs, incidents of lynching, and lynching victims. Determining the exact number of lynchings is difficult, largely because the definition of lynching was open to contestation. Organizations such as the NAACP kept records, but inevitably some

lynchings were not recorded.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁰ Blacks were the first to examine the myths about the causes of extralegal violence by making careful, empirical studies of lynching. See W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880–1930* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 5.

¹¹ Linda McMurry Edwards, *To Keep the Waters Troubled: The Life of Ida B. Wells* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Ida B. Wells, *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970); and Jacqueline Jones Royster, *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Antilynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892–1900* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1997), 1–41.

¹² Herbert Shapiro, *White Violence and Black Response: From Reconstruction to Montgomery* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988); Jonathan Markovitz, *Legacies of Lynching: Racial Violence and Memory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004); Charles Flint Kellogg, *NAACP: A History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1909–1920* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1967); and Robert Zangrando, *The NAACP Crusade Against Lynching, 1909–1950* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980).

¹³ Kelley, “‘We Are Not What We Seem,’” 75–112. Kelley argues that by ignoring everyday acts of resistance, scholars of southern race relations have wrongly concluded that African Americans were silent in response to oppression. Lester C. Lamon, for example, portrays African Americans as passive individuals who adopted “the line of least resistance.” See Lester C. Lamon, *Black Tennesseans, 1900–1930* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1977), 18.

¹⁴ Leon F. Liwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998). See also Steven Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press, 2003).

¹⁵ An important exception is W. Fitzhugh Brundage, “The Roar on the Other Side of Silence: Black Resistance and Racial Violence in the American South, 1880–1940,” in *Under the Sentence of Death: Lynching in the South*, ed. W. Fitzhugh Brundage (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997)

¹⁶ George P. Rawick, ed. *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1972 and 1977). All primary sources within this paper have been taken from this collection unless otherwise indicated. I have also used newspaper accounts to supplement the slave narrative collection. For example, interviewers employed by the WPA were not interested in uncovering instances of workplace resistance. Therefore, it is necessary to turn towards other sources.

¹⁷ Norman R. Yetman, “The Background of the Slave Narrative Collection,” *American Quarterly* 19, no. 3 (1967), 534.

¹⁸ I have based my research on all published volumes in *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*. References to these volumes will include volume number, part number, and page number. Either supplemental series will be distinguished by the notation S1 or S2 in

front of the citation.

¹⁹ Historians have argued that the slave narratives are problematic for a variety of reasons. These reasons include: the fact that personal recollection of the past is a highly subjective phenomenon and susceptible to modification and distortion; that the hardships of the Depression caused many informants to look at the past through rose-coloured glasses; that the quality of the interviews was dependent on the skill of the individual who obtained it; that the interviewers had no consistent methodology regarding their questions; that some writers and editors revised, altered, or censored the narratives; that etiquette and southern race relations likely affected how an informant responded, as the interviewers were overwhelmingly white; that the interviewers may have been racist and shaped the narratives; that the focus on dialect perhaps resulted in sacrifices regarding accuracy; that there is no discernible process by which informants were selected; that those interviewed were overwhelmingly urban residents, despite the fact that most blacks over age 85 lived in rural areas; and that all states were not represented equally in the interviews. For a detailed examination of these problems, please see the following: John Blassingame, "Using the Testimony of Ex-Slaves: Approaches and Problems," in *Revisiting Blassingame's The Slave Community: The Scholars Respond*, ed. Al-Tony Gilmore (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1978), 169–188; Norman R. Yetman, "The Background of the Slave Narrative Collection," 534–553; Norman R. Yetman, "Ex-Slave Interviews and the Historiography of Slavery," *American Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1984), 181–210; Norman R. Yetman, "An Introduction to the WPA Slave Narratives," *Library of Congress*, <https://www.loc.gov/collections/slave-narratives-from-the-federal-writers-project-1936-to-1938/articles-and-essays/introduction-to-the-wpa-slave-narratives/>; Donald M. Jacobs, "Twentieth-Century Slave Narratives as Source Materials: Slave Labor as Agricultural Labor," *Agricultural History*, 57, no. 2 (1983), 223–227; and George P. Rawick, *From Sunup to Sundown: The Making of the Slave Community*, v. 1 of *The American Slave*, xvii–xviii.

²⁰ Yetman, "Ex Slave Interviews and the Historiography of Slavery," 189.

²¹ This includes Volumes 1 through 7 in Series 1, Volumes 8 through 19 in Series 2, Volumes 1 through 12 in Supplement Series 1, and Volumes 1 through 10 in Supplement Series 2.

²² Black interviewers were excluded from the WPA staffs in all southern states except Virginia, Louisiana, and Florida. This discrimination in employment resulted in a distortion of facts, as race relations impeded honest communication between African Americans and white southerners. Many blacks still resided in the same area as their former masters, and were dependent on white people to help them obtain their old-age pensions. See Blassingame, "Using the Testimony of Ex-Slaves" 176–178.

²³ Due to the size of the collection, I utilized the index organized by Donald M. Jacobs and Steven Fershleiser to identify examples of racial violence perpetrated against blacks, and the methods used to resist such violence. Between 1977 and 1981, graduate students in the Northeastern University history department read thousands of pages of narrative material to locate information dealing with more than 100 different subjects. The subjects identified are diverse, and range from "Agricultural Practices" to "Medical Care" to "African Survivals" and "Slave Humor." When dealing with such a voluminous amount of data, errors are inevitable. In examining the index, I came across many errors by omission, particularly

in regards to resistance and racial violence. There are several instances of lynching, for example, that are not referenced under the "Lynching" subject heading. I had to rely on the indexer's subject headings, and how they defined lynching and resistance. In order to uncover as many instances of racial violence and resistance as possible, I extended my search to include the following subjects: Lynching; Resistance to Slavery (Day to Day); Resistance to Slavery (General); Resistance to Slavery (Major); Runaway Slaves; Reconstruction (General); Migration (Within the United States); and Ku Klux Klan (And Other Terrorist Organizations). Using these subject headings for guidance, I read several hundred slave narratives, and categorized the applicable narratives relating to informal resistance. From this search, I indexed 126 applicable narratives based on the type of resistance, location, and gender of the informant. It is possible that there are more applicable narratives within the records that were not uncovered because of differences of opinion regarding what constitutes lynching and resistance. As more work is done with the collection, later historians may uncover these narratives. See Donald M. Jacobs and Steven Fershleiser, eds., *Index to the American Slave* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1981).

²⁴ There is a vast collection of literature available regarding slave resistance. See Peter Kolchin, *Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1987), chap. 5; Paul Finkelman, *Rebellions, Resistance, and Runaways Within the Slave South* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989); Amrita Chakrabarti Myers, "'Sisters in Arms': Slave Women's Resistance to Slavery in the United States" *Past Imperfect* 5 (1996), 141–174; G. S. Boritt, Scott Hancock and Ira Berlin, *Slavery, Resistance, Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); and Manisha Sinha, *The Slave's Cause: A History of Abolition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

²⁵ Myers, "'Sisters in Arms,'" 142.

²⁶ Lipsitz, *A Life of Struggle*, 229.

²⁷ 11.8: 270–271.

²⁸ Delicia Patterson, for example, was described as being "sassy." This was a description commonly reserved for African Americans. Patterson, however, used the racist epithet to her advantage. She manipulated how she was perceived by the white slaveholders, and managed to seize control of her fate. *Ibid.*

²⁹ Litwack, *Trouble in Mind*, 12–15.

³⁰ Trudier Harris, "'Adventures in a Foreign Country': African American Humor and the South," *Southern Cultures* 1 (1995), 458.

³¹ Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 300.

³² John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New York: Doubleday, 1957), 310.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Savannah Morning News*, April 14, 1894, quoted in Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the Nineteenth Century American South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 232.

³⁵ Raymond Gavins, "North Carolina Black Folklore and Song in the Age of Segregation: Toward Another Meaning of Survival," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 66 (1989), 415.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ 5.4: 114.

³⁸ S1-11.2: 317.

³⁹ Brundage, *Lynching in the New South*, 46.

⁴⁰ *Alexandria Gazette*, April 26, 1897, quoted in Brundage, “The Roar on the Other Side of Silence,” 274.

⁴¹ For a discussion of resistance at the funeral of a later lynching victim, see Amy Louise Wood, *Lynching and Spectacle: Witnessing Racial Violence in America, 1890–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 265–268; and Courtney Baker, “Emmett Till, Justice, and the Task of Recognition,” *Journal of American Culture* 29, no. 2 (2006), 111–124.

⁴² 3.4: 216.

⁴³ Wood, *Lynching and Spectacle*, 2. Wood argues that lynching held a singular psychological force, which generated a level of fear and horror that overwhelmed all other forms of violence. The use of photographs to disseminate images of lynchings ensured that African Americans were constantly aware of the danger they faced at the hands of angry mobs.

⁴⁴ 15.2: 10.

⁴⁵ Brawley Gilmore, in his WPA interview, stated that the Ku Klux Klan was responsible for lynching hundreds of African Americans. The Klan would not allow any of their lynching victims to be taken to a graveyard. Instead, they took the bodies and buried them in unmarked graves. See 2.2: 120–121.

⁴⁶ 6.1: 29–30.

⁴⁷ 3.4: 15. After emancipation, rumours circulated that rebel land in the South would be confiscated and redistributed to formerly enslaved people. The origins of these rumours, according to Hahn, are unclear, as is their circulation. But Hahn presents these rumours as an attempt by African Americans to influence federal policy in the postbellum South. Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet*, 129–130.

⁴⁸ For further examples of burial as a form of resistance, see 5.4: 46; and 3.4: 15–16.

⁴⁹ Howard N. Rabinowitz, *Race Relations in the Urban South, 1865–1890* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980), 3.

⁵⁰ Howard, *Lynchings*, 26. See also Paul Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and Racial Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); and Eric Foner, *Forever Free: The Story of Emancipation and Reconstruction* (New York: Knopf, 2005). Newly emancipated African Americans believed that access to inexpensive farmland, the right to bargain with employers, free public schools, and the elective franchise were the keys to liberty. The government, however, failed to provide for African Americans.

⁵¹ 3.4: 7.

⁵² 3.4: 74.

⁵³ Brundage, *Lynching in the New South*, 67. It is difficult to link resistance in the workplace to lynching; however, Brundage identifies the workplace as a common site of frustration and suspicion. Clashes between white employers and black workers had implications that extended beyond mere economic considerations. Brundage argues that challenges to white authority were never far beneath workplace disputes. Therefore, it is important to consider the workplace as a potential site of resistance against lynching, and racial violence more broadly.

⁵⁴ Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed*, 35. African Americans employed various resistance techniques to ensure that they were respected by their employers. Attempts by white employers to exert their influence over black employees were typically met with greater resistance.

⁵⁵ S1-7.2: 436.

⁵⁶ Kelley, *Race Rebels*, 19.

⁵⁷ S2- 2. 1: 101. See also 5.4: 75; 18.1: 9; and 16.2: 67.

⁵⁸ Unfortunately, very little is known about workplace theft in the South during the twentieth century. The most promising avenue for study is perhaps the use of company materials being used for personal endeavours. For example, a worker might use company materials to make a toy for his child. See Kelley, *Race Rebels*, 20.

⁵⁹ The racist belief that black people were inferior is evident in the slave narratives. Although the WPA interviews are presented as verbatim accounts, the narratives were often edited or revised before they were typed and listed as official records. The WPA urged state directors to record dialect uniformly. In some instances, this might have resulted in dialect being ascribed to former slaves who spoke English perfectly. Such changes made the former slaves seem uneducated, or otherwise inferior. See Blassingame, “Using the Testimony of Ex-Slaves,” 179–181.

⁶⁰ Kelley, *Race Rebels*, 21.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, According to Kelley, negative descriptions of black workers should be understood as racist comments stemming from the inability of whites to recognize resistance. Often the appearance of silence and accommodation was intended to deceive. Beneath this façade, working-class blacks engaged in a hidden history of unorganized resistance.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 18.

⁶³ 8.1: 264.

⁶⁴ Feigning ignorance did not always work to mitigate punishment. In some instances, rural African Americans accused of stealing livestock were lynched. See Table 2–6 in Tolnay and Beck, *A Festival of Violence*, 48.

⁶⁵ Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 131.

⁶⁶ Kelley, *Race Rebels*, 21–22. There has been very little written regarding workplace sabotage in the urban South. As Kelley notes, the lack of such clandestine activities among black industrial workers in the historical record is surprising, as sabotage was a common practice among slaves and rural African Americans in the postbellum period. Kelly believes that this oversight is the result of labour historians attempting to redeem the black working class from racist stereotypes. With their attempts to correct the “Cult of Sambohood,” historians have remade the black working class into the thriftiest and most efficient labour force in the South.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Richard M. Perloff, “The Press and Lynchings of African Americans,” *Journal of Black Studies* 30, no. 3 (2000), 318. Because lynchings were viewed as a way of maintaining social control over blacks, they were considered a necessary and inevitable occurrence. Reporting on lynchings was akin to reporting on natural disasters. The mainstream press did not have any reason to suppress news about lynchings, and actually embraced reports on incidents

of racial violence.

⁶⁹ The southern press made a concerted effort to provide moral justification for the actions of lynch mobs. White editors often used sympathetic language when describing lynch mobs, while simultaneously damning the lynch victims. See Tolnay and Beck, *A Festival of Violence*, 261.

⁷⁰ Rabinowitz, *Race Relations*, 232–233.

⁷¹ Fitzhugh Brundage, “‘To Howl Loudly’: John Mitchell Jr. and His Campaign Against Lynching in Virginia,” *Canadian Review of American Studies* 22, no. 3 (Winter 1991), 326.

⁷² Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 910.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 328.

⁷⁴ Brundage, *Lynching in the New South*, 165.

⁷⁵ Patricia A. Schechter, “Unsettled Business: Ida B. Wells against Lynching, or, How Antilynching Got Its Gender,” in *Under the Sentence of Death: Lynching in the South*, ed. W. Fitzhugh Brundage (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 292. The archetypal lynching scenario reported in mainstream newspapers justified lynching as a punishment for alleged assaults perpetrated by African American men against white women.

⁷⁶ Ida B. Wells, “A Red Record: Tabulated Statistics and Alleged Causes of Lynchings in the United States,” in *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892–1900*, ed. Jacqueline Jones Royster (Boston: Bedford Books, 1997), 79.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ 7.1: 126.

⁷⁹ Wells, “A Red Record,” 157.

⁸⁰ Royster, *Southern Horrors and Other Writings*, 40.

⁸¹ Royster, *Southern Horrors and Other Writings*, 4.

⁸² Ida B. Wells, “Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases,” in *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892–1900*, ed. Jacqueline Jones Royster (Boston: Bedford Books, 1997), 69.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁸⁴ Brundage, “The Roar on the Other Side of Silence,” 280.

⁸⁵ There are instances where black women suffered severe consequences for their insubordination. After the Darien Insurrection, five women were among those arrested for engaging in armed resistance. There are also several examples of women being lynched alongside men. For example, the murder of Hampton Smith, a white farmer, resulted in the lynching of six black persons for complicity. When Smith was found shot, rumours indicated a conspiracy and several African Americans were implicated, including Mary Turner. She was eight months pregnant when she was lynched. See Mary Jane Brown, *Eradicating This Evil: Women in the American Anti-Lynching Movement, 1892–1940* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), 113. For a detailed discussion of the Darien Insurrection, see W. Fitzhugh Brundage, “The Darien ‘Insurrection’ of 1899: Black Protest During the Nadir of Race Relations,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 74, no. 2 (Summer 1990), 234–253.

⁸⁶ Kelley, *Race Rebels*, 24.

⁸⁷ *Chicago Defender*, September 4, 1915, quoted in Schechter, “Unsettled Business,” 308.

⁸⁸ “Mob Dispersed by Women,” *Chicago Defender*, December 2, 1916, quoted in Schechter, “Unsettled Business,” 308.

⁸⁹ W. E. B. DuBois, “Opinion,” *Crisis* 18, no. 5 (September 1919), 231.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ 18.1: 123.

⁹² 5.3: 186–187. See also S1-6.1: 17–19.

⁹³ S2-1.7: 283.

⁹⁴ 9.3: 298–300.

⁹⁵ S1-3.1: 21.

⁹⁶ There is a vast collection of literature available regarding African American migration within the United States. See Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas After Reconstruction* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979); Alferdteen Harrison, ed., *Black Exodus: The Great Migration from the American South* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1991); and Kenneth L. Kusmer, *The Great Migration and After, 1917–1930* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991).

⁹⁷ Brundage, *Lynching in the New South*, 229.

⁹⁸ 4. 2: 158.

⁹⁹ S2-7.6: 2608.

¹⁰⁰ 6.1: 180.

¹⁰¹ S1-9.4: 1900. For additional examples of migration as a method of resistance, see 14.1: 90; 8.7: 155; 6.1: 421; and S1-3.1: 117.

¹⁰² “African Emigration,” *Christian Recorder*, July 25, 1878.

¹⁰³ Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed*, 73.

¹⁰⁴ The colonization movement was highly controversial in the United States. See Claude A. Clegg, *The Price of Liberty: African Americans and the Making of Liberia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Kwando M. Kinshasa, *Emigration vs. Assimilation: The Debate in the African American Press, 1827–1861* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1988); and Ousmane K. Power-Greene, *Against Wind and Tide: The African American Struggle Against the Colonization Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2014).

¹⁰⁵ Tolnay and Beck, *A Festival of Violence*, 218–219.

¹⁰⁶ Walter White, “The Work of a Mob,” *Crisis* 16, no. 5 (September 1918), 221.

¹⁰⁷ Tolnay and Beck, *A Festival of Violence*, 202.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 220.

¹⁰⁹ 11.8: 22.

¹¹⁰ 2. 1: 40–41.

¹¹¹ 7.1: 104.

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Research Article

Managing Marital Expectations: Marian Speech Practices and the Domestic Sphere in the *Corpus Christi* Cycles

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Although the Virgin Mary only spoke on four occasions in the New Testament (Luke 1:26–38, 1:46–56, 2:41–52, and John 2:1–11), medieval devotional and dramatic sources imagined the Mother of God to speak eloquently and powerfully. This article explores examples of Mary in conflicted dialogue with her husband Joseph. Analysis of their manufactured dialogues demonstrates how their discussions reflected concerns within the medieval household. The *Corpus Christi* plays, a form of English liturgical dramas, reflected prevailing thoughts on women's speech within the domestic sphere. This article argues that the depictions of Mary within the *Corpus Christi* dramas served as a mouthpiece to encourage proper behavior in the household.

The pageants “Marriage of Mary and Joseph,” “Joseph’s Troubles of Mary,” and “The Trial of Joseph and Mary,” supply examples where Marian legends were creatively portrayed in these public performances. The ways in which Mary’s voice was manipulated reflects key issues concerning women’s speech in medieval society. This article grounds pageant analysis in medieval writings on marital expectations, illuminating a complex socio-religious tradition. Evaluating these sources in tandem also illustrates how the wife’s speech was a central concern throughout these sources, and how Mary’s voice provided a suitable model for imitation.

WHEN DESCRIBING THE HOLY Family, medieval devotional sources used idyllic language to shape them as a model family, one in which the marriage of the Virgin Mary and Joseph was emblematic of matrimonial harmony. Medieval theologians and writers of conduct literature often touted Mary as the ideal wife and mother. With that in mind, it is jarring to consider the couple using argumentative language such as “young wench” and “diseased” against one another during a quarrel over Mary’s seemingly inexplicable pregnancy. Analyzing these insults and other examples of heated dialogue within the English *Corpus Christi* cycles shows a strong Mary using speech as weapon; such analysis also serves as commentary on gendered issues within marriage in the late Middle Ages. These vernacular liturgical dramas performed in late medieval England on the feast day of *Corpus Christi*—which celebrates the real presence of the body and blood of Jesus in the Eucharist—provide a commentary on gendered relationships in the later Middle Ages (c.1200–1450). Although Mary only spoke in the Bible four times (Luke 1:26–38, 1:46–56, 2:41–52, and John 2:1–11), medieval dramatic sources fashioned a much more powerful and authoritative voice for Mary. By challenging her husband, Mary upset traditional gender expectations and occupied the dominant role in the household.¹

This article examines pertinent examples of Mary’s voice in dialogue with Joseph. Analysis of their crafted dialogues will provide a clearer sense of significant domestic relationships, as well as how their dialogues may

have pointed to issues regarding power within the medieval household.² The *Corpus Christi* dramas offer an avenue to analyze social relationships as depicted in a performative setting. I argue that the depictions of Mary speaking within the plays served as a mouthpiece to encourage proper domestic roles in the medieval household.

The examples in this articles highlight the development of Mary’s voice as she transitioned into her role as a married but chaste woman. The pageants include “Marriage of Mary and Joseph,” “Joseph’s Troubles of Mary,” “The Trial of Joseph and Mary,” and “Christ and the Doctors.” These represent some of the most prominent examples where Marian legends were enhanced and portrayed creatively. Examining these pageants provides an opportunity to reflect on issues concerning the regulation of women’s speech and behavior in medieval society, particularly in late medieval urban England. Furthermore, this study demonstrates that women were not constrained to one particular role—there were opportunities for them to subvert patriarchal authority. Was Mary’s voice in these dramas meant to subvert the desire for control over women that pervaded medieval society? Or, was it to provide an example of proper speech in contrast to the women whose garrulous tongues sometimes landed them in municipal court?³ Examining the dramas offers a means to understand the depiction of Mary’s voice as an instrument of her power and provide a very public reimagining of the familial dynamics of Mary and Joseph.⁴

I ground my examination of the pageants in medieval writings on

marital expectations. I propose that integrating theological commentary, conduct literature, and mystery plays together in analysis illuminates a socio-religious tradition rife with complex expectations.⁵ Evaluating these sources together also illustrates how the wife's speech was a central concern throughout these sources, and how Mary's voice provided a suitable model for imitation, to the extent that her speech often adheres to the expectations delineated in the conduct manuals. Before examining the *Corpus Christi* plays, I address the socio-cultural concerns of women's speech, particularly within the domestic context, as expressed in conduct literature in late medieval England. These views signal widespread unease about women's speech, which was viewed as a threat to the stability of medieval society.⁶ Such prolific writing on speech management makes the eloquence of Mary's vocal role in the cycles all the more substantial.

Defining Normative Behavior in Medieval Marriage

THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTION OF marriage inherited by the Middle Ages was shaped by the remnants of early expectations and debates contained in a host of theological tracts. Medieval theologians and canonists sought to define this practice carefully, which was rife with complexities and conflicting views on the precise definition of marriage.⁷ The marriage of Mary and Joseph—which to some represented marriage in its perfect form—did not fit neatly into traditional theological definitions and theologians struggled to

define their union in the absence of any traditional conjugal behavior.⁸ Besides defining the parameters of marriage, theologians also advised husbands on how to manage their wives, specifically in terms of speech practices. For example, Thomas Chobham, an English thirteenth-century theologian and subdean at Salisbury, advised husbands how to properly address their wives: "If she is foolish, moderately and decently correct her, and if necessary castigate her."⁹ The expansion of clerical outreach to the laity from the thirteenth century onward also meant vast discussions on religious expectations for moral behavior, particularly within the home.¹⁰

The concern for regulating female speech permeated many aspects of medieval society. In one civic effort to limit female speech, two fourteenth-century English towns even attempted to regulate female silence, one stating that "all the women of the township control their tongues," and the other "enjoined upon all the women in the township that they should restrain their tongues and not scold nor curse any man."¹¹ Beyond clerical and civic attempts to regulate how wives spoke, popular conduct manuals also underscored the need for husbands to correct and manage their wives' speech.¹²

Medieval conduct literature sought to articulate prescriptions for women on how to speak and behave. The author often took on the persona of the husband, who was responsible for his wife's actions and had to account for any illicit behavior.¹³ For example, *Le Ménagier de Paris* (The Good Wife's Guide), was a popular medieval conduct manual and largely focused on

how the husband regulated his wife's behavior and speech.¹⁴ Written in 1393, the husband-narrator allegedly wrote this guide to ensure the salvation of his young wife's soul, and focused on attributes of humility, obedience, and succinctly eloquent speech, as estimable qualities:

I urge and advise you (his wife), whether in society or at table, to restrain yourself from too much conversation. For if one speaks freely, it is not possible to avoid some ill-chosen terms, and sometimes one speaks spirited words in jest, which afterward are taken and remembered out of context, to the derision and mockery of the speaker.¹⁵

The narrator encouraged women to avoid gossip, so as not to damage their husbands' reputations, adding: "Be silent or at least to speak sparingly and wisely to protect and conceal your husband's secrets."¹⁶ Husbands carefully sought to regulate their wives' speech both in private and in public. Conduct literature largely focused on regulating women to prevent social transgressions that would disgrace the family. It is worth noting that these sources were read by literate urban populations, and urban wives had different experiences than either peasant or noble women.

Wives were advised to weigh their words carefully and to show complete deference to their husbands: "Do not be arrogant or answer back to your future husband or to his words and do not contradict him, especially in front of others."¹⁷ Not only was obedience the virtuous path, but disobedience also threatened to destroy the stability of marriage. This manual also establishes that the matter of regulating women's

speech was represented in popular literature, not just civic or ecclesiastical regulations.¹⁸ Wives were expected to speak deferentially to their husbands. To do otherwise was sinful behavior. Accordingly, the husband-narrator addressed concerns about religious implications from a woman's verbal transgressions, known as sins of the mouth: "The other part of the sin of the mouth consists of speaking wantonly in many ways: idle words, boasts, flattery, perjury, quarrels, grumbling, rebellion, and accusations. No word is so insignificant that you are not accountable for it before God."¹⁹ Wives were viewed as particularly susceptible to these verbal transgressions. Wives were expected to demonstrate restraint with their words to avoid sin.

Not all manuals adopted the male persona as the narrator: others featured a mother in the role of the guide. In the fourteenth-century poem *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter*, women were instructed to be moderate in their speech, especially in church:

When you are in the church, my child,
Seek that you be both meek and mild,
Do not laugh or scorn at those old nor young;
Be of good bearing and of good tongue.²⁰

The mother warns against any behavior that would lead the community to call her daughter a strumpet or a fool. Moreover, young women were encouraged to be meek and mild like the Virgin Mary.²¹ Although the mother continues to give advice on other moral concerns, infused throughout the guide for young women was the emphasis on proper speech management.

The fact that the regulation of women's speech was a popular theme

within conduct literature demonstrates that the late medieval period was an “era obsessed with codified and externalized behaviors” in both the religious and temporal spheres.²² These themes resonated in other sources, including the *Corpus Christi* dramas. Conduct literature needs to be considered more closely alongside analysis of the English religious dramas, as there is a performative aspect to both sets of sources. The conduct literature was intended to help wives “perform” as better spouses and the plays were public performances that offered a dynamic commentary on an integral social practice.

Performing Prescribed Roles: The Structure of the *Corpus Christi* Dramas

THE *CORPUS CHRISTI* DRAMA represented a rich expression of lay piety in response to the relatively new feast day celebrating the Eucharist (i.e. *Corpus Christi*).²³ Each cycle contained a series of distinct pageants that illuminated the stories of salvation history that were reshaped to suit a medieval audience.²⁴ Of course, it is worth noting that male clerics often wrote these texts, and their views were not always compatible with those of the audience during *Corpus Christi* celebrations. There are four extant cycles, each varying in its degree of Marian-centric pageants: York, Chester, Wakefield, and N-Town. I primarily examine the N-Town cycle. The “N” stood for *nomen*, and signified that the place of the performance could be filled in. The N-Town cycle contained an independent Mary play.²⁵ This

miniature cycle indicates an intentional interest in promoting Mary’s story.²⁶

I conduct my inquiry by evaluating the manner in which Mary’s voice changes during her life cycle as evidenced in several distinct pageants.²⁷ The N-Town cycle merits heightened scrutiny because it includes the largest number of Marian pageants, the widest range of Mary’s voice, and features Mary in dialogue with many male interlocutors. This version gives her the greatest agency, both in her behavior and her voice. According to Emma Solberg—whose work is part of a recent upsurge in scholarship centered on the N-Town persona of Mary—“the extent to which its drama domesticates the marriage of Mary and Joseph has not been fully appreciated.”²⁸ I view my work together with scholars who call for a consideration of this cycle alongside socio-cultural sources to observe changes in Mary’s persona.

Defining and Defying Marital Expectations in “The Marriage of Mary and Joseph”

IN THE GOSPEL OF LUKE, WE LEARN of Mary’s life *in medias res* (she is betrothed to Joseph as a young virgin when Gabriel appears in the Annunciation). However, early Christian apocryphal works such as the second-century *Protoevangelium of James* sketch out some of the early details of the Virgin Mary’s life that ultimately shaped and defined Marian tradition throughout the Christian world.²⁹ In an effort to incorporate Mary’s complete story into the narrative of salvation history, her life story became fused into some of the *Corpus Christi*

Marriage would not allow her to live in the service of God

cycles.³⁰ The “Marriage of Mary and Joseph” mixes apocryphal legend with medieval marital ceremonial practices. Examining this scene connects this early Christian legend with the medieval sacrament of marriage and functions as a commentary on medieval marital expectations.

In analyzing this pageant in light of the theological debates on the medieval definition of marriage, it is important to consider Mary’s hesitation to enter marriage. Recalling the vow she made as a child, Mary asserts:

*Against the law will I never be,
But man’s fellowship shall never follow me;
I will live ever in chastity
By the grace of God’s will.*³¹

Mary’s hesitancy to marry Joseph may reflect medieval concern about a woman’s consent and general understanding of the terms within marriage and a trope in hagiography about female saints.

In this pageant, Mary tries to demonstrate how her pledge of virginity ought to supersede any marriage vow. Mary recounts her upbringing at length, including her time in the temple, and her firm obedience to her vow of “cleanness and chastity.”³² She eloquently argues with Ysakar, who presides over the ceremony, that marriage would not

allow her to live in the service of God. In response, Ysakar praises Mary for her “wise words,” and understanding of her vow, and emphasized that in this marriage, she would be able to remain a virgin:

*Her wit is great and that is seen.
In cleanness to live in God’s service,
No man blames her, none here will
disdain.*³³

Ysakar praises Mary’s carefully articulated defense of her vow of chastity. As the patriarchal authority, he recognizes Mary’s concern and then articulates the possibility for Mary to enter into marriage without breaking her previous vow. Her unique capacity as a chaste wife muddled the demarcations that theologians tried to place on definitions of marriage.

Mary is not the only one uncomfortable with this arrangement. Joseph openly expresses his hesitation for taking on a wife. He cites his old age, and that it looks strange for an old man to marry a young maiden. Furthermore, Joseph vocalizes his concern about how to manage Mary, just like the conduct literature that emphasized the importance of control over one’s wife:

*Should I now in age begin to dote?
If I her chide she would clout my coat,
Blur my vision and chide about a trifle,
And thus oftentimes it is seen.*³⁴

Joseph is afraid to scold her, fearing that she will beat him. He is torn between his obedience to God’s will and both the personal and social repercussions he could face, as he speaks throughout this pageant about his fear of public defamation and humiliation. The N-Town compiler transformed Joseph

into a medieval man who would have been familiar with conduct literature and understood the “omnipresent danger of handsome youths and their fine words.”³⁵ Joseph ultimately concedes, promising to be her “warden and keeper.”³⁶ Still, Joseph expresses his anxiety about his old age and haggard appearance in comparison to Mary’s youth, but Ysakar assures him that Mary is “the holiest virgin that you shall marry.”³⁷ Subsequently, Mary repeats her dedication to living a chaste life and begs Joseph to respect her vow.

Beyond revealing the concerns of the bride and groom, the pageant also highlights the rituals of the marriage ceremony. In this social context, these performative utterances were carefully constructed.³⁸ In the public ceremony, as Mary and Joseph take their respective vows, in response, Ysakar praises the marriage as “the holiest matrimony in the world.”³⁹ Ysakar, as the High Priest, framed the marriage ceremony with clear instructions to prepare them. He delineates the necessary requirements for this marriage, and what the couple needed to do (and avoid) to be successful, in the public eye and the eyes of God. While both Mary and Joseph express uncertainty, they receive guidance from respected members of the community, both in domestic and religious matters.

Mary identifies herself as the “simplest creature” in an expression of humility. Mary assures Joseph of her obedience and chides him for worrying about any potential transgressions.⁴⁰ She also states that she will use her psalter as a prayer book to increase her piety. Similarly, she notes that daily prayer helps one lead a virtuous, moral life and

drives away temptations of sin. Ysakar and her parents reiterate that obedience is instrumental to Mary’s success as a wife. He also warns them that their age discrepancy may cause speculation in their community:

*As we read in old adage
Many a man is slippery of tongue
Therefore evil language for to assuage
That your good fame may last long.*⁴¹

In addressing malicious speech, the bishop hints at the concerns Joseph will have concerning Mary’s pregnancy, and possibly speaking to the medieval audience about the dangers of slander and salacious gossip, especially that of women.

At this time, Mary also seeks prayers from her parents. Anne, who served as one of Mary’s first teachers, delineates the role Mary must take as a wife. Before leaving the ceremony, Anne reminds Mary of the characteristics she must embody as a wife:

*I pray thee, Mary, my sweet child
Be lowly and obedient, meek and mild,
Sad and sober and nothing wild,
And God’s blessing thou have.*⁴²

Mary must be submissive, and according Anne, obedience will yield her God’s favor. This directive to curb any subversive speaking or behavior harkens back to the sentiments of *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter*.

As the ceremony concludes, Joseph prepares for his imminent departure: he will live abroad during her pregnancy. Before he leaves, Joseph advises her:

*Keep thee clean, my gentle spouse,
And all thy maidens in thy house,
That evil rumors come not out,
For his love that all has wrought.*⁴³

Joseph asks Mary to make sure the maidens will behave chastely. He is afraid they might not do so and gossip will ensue. As Mary and Joseph leave the temple, they depart in mutual affection, and Mary vows once again to remain perpetually chaste.⁴⁴ There is mixed joy and concern as they separate. The warnings loom over the end of the pageant, with the use of proper speech as a central area of concern to both the story and audience. This example bridges the apocryphal story with the medieval husband’s concerns about a wife’s potentially promiscuous behavior damaging his reputation in the public sphere.

Within “The Marriage of Mary and Joseph,” the other characters’ concerns about Mary’s speech and behavior mirror the medieval concerns for regulating women’s speech and its possible ill effects. Joseph continued to express his doubts about becoming completely submissive. While the ceremonial pageant foreshadows potential conflict between Mary and Joseph, the conflict would later erupt in a dispute that mirrored a very real familial argument.

Marital Troubles: The Doubts of Mary’s Virginit

THE GOSPELS ONLY PROVIDE scattered references to the Holy Family as a unit. Even so, late medieval art depicted the Holy Family as the model for the medieval family.⁴⁵ But the *Corpus Christi* pageants demonstrate that the Holy Family was believed to be not without problems and perhaps even faced some of the same domestic challenges prevalent within the medieval

home. The Gospel of Matthew (1:18–25) stated that Joseph feared that scandal would inevitably emerge following the evidence of Mary’s pregnancy: “not willing publicly to expose her, [Joseph] was minded to put her away privately.” He only changed his mind when an angel appeared to him to assure him that this was a miraculous conception. The elaborate glosses of this scene within the plays provide a compelling lens into the male response to this scandal, referred to frequently as Joseph’s “troubles” or “doubts” of Mary’s miraculous pregnancy. The “Joseph’s Troubles” pageants offer insight into the medieval depiction of verbal conflict within what was supposed to be the model marriage. Scholars have already examined these pageants to illuminate medieval theological concerns about sacramental marriage, as well as ecclesiastical court proceedings on marriage.⁴⁶ Examining the heated debates between Mary and Joseph regarding her pregnancy also sheds light on representations of the differing gendered roles between the couple during a dispute.

Some versions indicate that Joseph had already been informed that Mary was with child. In other cycles, Joseph discovers it when he sees Mary’s body in the latter stages of her pregnancy. Joseph’s complaint often includes a general statement about the untrustworthiness of women, which served as a warning to the audience of women’s misuse of speech, potentially false speech, as well as issues of promiscuity.⁴⁷ The focus of Joseph’s outcry is centered on harmful speech, particularly around Mary’s alleged lies. Joseph not only expresses his anger and embarrassment with this perplexing situation, but also repeatedly

tries to silence Mary. Joseph fears the label of a cuckold and addresses his old age as cause for mockery.⁴⁸ This episode represents a dynamic conflict that challenges the idea that the medieval wife acts in complete obedience to the husband.

The York version of “Joseph’s Troubles about Mary” addresses several concerns regarding the regulation of women in the private sphere. Joseph initiates the pageant with a 75-line lament full of “great mourning” over his inexplicably pregnant wife.⁴⁹ Among other issues, Joseph “bitterly bemoans” and curses the contract that they made in the temple; he worries about the public disgrace that will befall him as a cuckolded husband. In the York version, the maidens who have been living with Mary and caring for her are also present. They function as her advocates, assuring Joseph that she has been sitting in prayer while he has been away. Here, Mary is presented as a model for single women, who were often viewed in the Middle Ages as the most potentially subversive, as they lived neither under the control of a father nor a husband.⁵⁰ Joseph does not believe the maidens when they assure him that the angel Gabriel was the only male visitor, and exhorts them to tell him the truth about Mary’s pregnancy:

*Therefore, you need no words so wild
To carp at me deceivingly!
Why, why lie to me so
And feign such fantasy?
Alas, I am full woe!
For sorrow, why might I not die?*⁵¹

Joseph’s fear of rumor points to the medieval concern of women gathering in any forum to talk without male

supervision.

In the York version, Joseph exclaims that his grief is so great that it has almost killed him. This play shows Mary in a *disputatio* role, as Joseph, fearing cuckoldry, questions Mary about the paternity of her unborn child. Here, Mary’s voice functions as a chief source of conflict. This new representation of Mary is more vocal and powerful—a wife engaged in intense dialogue with her husband. Joseph is quick to suppress Mary’s speech; her repeated defenses of her innocence (“Sir, it is yours, and God’s own will”) are punctuated by Joseph’s long accusations.⁵² In this instance, Mary stands her ground. She insists that she is a virgin and uses her voice to assert her innocence to Joseph. There is a shift in power: Joseph expresses his weakness and helplessness in this situation, while Mary uses controlled speech. She assures him that she has only been sitting and reading since his departure. He lambasts her, but Mary remains steadfast in maintaining her innocence, and her maidens support this. Joseph calls her pregnancy a “foul trick,” demonstrating his fear of being labeled a cuckold.⁵³

It is possible that Joseph also views Mary’s short answers to be “exasperating,” thus causing further fury.⁵⁴ Yet, Mary explains that Joseph is the one who has been tricked. When repeatedly attempting to assure Joseph that her pregnancy was not out of wedlock, he tells her that she “speaks against nature.”⁵⁵ As he grows frustrated with Mary’s insistence of her innocence, he utters, “Ah Mary, draw thy hand”—a plea for her to stop talking.⁵⁶ Joseph invalidates her testimony, pointing to the broader issue that medieval husbands

often viewed their wives’ speech as contested and subversive. It is only after Gabriel visits Joseph in a dream that he recognizes that he is the one at fault. Mary’s words were not enough to persuade him to change his mind. As part of his apology, Joseph says he would bow to her in humiliation if he was not so old, and then asks for forgiveness. Mary acquiesces, “Forgiveness, sir? Let be, for shame—Such words should all good women lack,” commenting on an aspect of marriage that would have resonated with the audience by referring to the fluctuating dynamic between husband and wife.⁵⁷

I contend that the eventual resolution and reconciliation between the couple after the debate offers a formula for resolution of marital conflict. There is the admittance of wrongdoing, a sincere apology, and eventually the husband shows his wife deference after the argument. Ultimately, the York version of Joseph’s troubles reveals more about Joseph’s concern about public gossip and the possible slander that would arise. Mary quietly maintains that she is in the right, instead of providing an extensive vocal defense. Although her brevity is frustrating to Joseph, she is quick to forgive his accusations.

The N-Town cycle also features this marital dispute, but divides it into two parts. The first, “Joseph’s Doubt,” is a similar iteration to York: Joseph returns home after “sore labor” to provide for the household. When he sees Mary pregnant, he does not know that the Incarnation has occurred and grows visibly upset as he demands to know the paternity of the child. He is not just alarmed at the prospect of Mary’s infidelity and broken vow of virginity,

but at the physical evidence. In N-Town, Joseph’s doubts can be classified as the most “misogynistically garrulous” of all the cycles.⁵⁸ Joseph takes a moment to speak to all the old men in the audience and advises them never to marry a young woman. Joseph accuses Mary of sinning, “blaming” an angel for this deed. The angel must appear to calm Joseph and assure him that Mary upheld her solemn vow.

The repetition of Joseph and Mary’s debate is reminiscent of any couple’s argument—they repeat themselves (Joseph asks about the paternity nine times). Joseph’s stunned reaction becomes normalized when one considers that Mary’s pregnant body violates many norms because of her professed vow of virginity. Her insistence of innocence only angers Joseph even more. There is a clear juxtaposition between Mary’s body and her claim to virginal status. The audience would have felt this tension, viewing a visibly pregnant who pledged to be a virgin.⁵⁹ In the N-Town version, Joseph also says his name is “shent” and that he will now be a cuckold for such a scandal. Mary assures him that this is all part of the will of God: “Surely, sir, be not dismayed, Right after the will of God’s ordinance.”⁶⁰ Joseph refers to Mary’s pregnant glow as “evil,” along with her growing belly.⁶¹ Like the York cycle, Joseph goes so far as to call her “a young wench.” Multiple times Mary tries to assuage him, ordering him to “amend his moan.”⁶² Yet, Joseph lashes out repeatedly; Mary’s words do not provide any comfort.

Recognizing the limitation of her voice in this argument, Mary asks for God’s help to comfort Joseph, knowing

that her words fail to mitigate his concerns. She calls Joseph “diseased” for lack of knowledge and his inability to understand the nature of Jesus’ conception:

*For lack of knowledge he is diseased,
And therefore, help, that he were eased.*⁶³

Mary ultimately convinces God to send the angel Gabriel to Joseph. Once Gabriel enlightens Joseph about her pregnancy, Joseph begs for forgiveness. He also wishes to kiss her feet as part of the apology, but Mary suggests that he kiss her on the mouth instead.⁶⁴ This is an important moment concerning the issue of authority and the shifting power dynamic between them. He promises “to serve thee at foot and hand” and asks for her to describe the holy conception:

*And therefore, tell me with halting none,
The holy matter of your conception.*⁶⁵

He recognizes that it was his words that were foolish: the pageant concludes with reconciliation. Joseph admits his wrongdoing and ultimately dotes upon Mary. He is grateful to have her as a wife, and this reconciliation shows that marriage, despite the conflicts, is a loving practice.

Joseph’s outbursts reflect the concerns about women’s speech in the late Middle Ages—his words are unfounded, slanderous accusations. He requires an authority figure to chastise him. Joseph is feminized for his reaction—the angel refers to his weeping as “shrill,” a distinctly feminine quality.⁶⁶ Joseph is wrong not to listen to her voice; peace is obtained only when the angel speaks. This gendered reversal of roles runs counter to the medieval conduct literature that sought to regulate

the speech of wives. Moreover, this role reversal frames Mary as the one whose speech is both measured and effective, whereas Joseph is uncontrollable and often ineffective. Nonetheless, this dispute is resolved within the domestic sphere. But, perhaps signaling the power of rumor and slander, this problem does not stay private, as indicated in the subsequent pageant “The Trial of Mary and Joseph.”

Speech on Trial: Speech on Defense in “The Trial of Mary and Joseph”

THIS SECOND SEGMENT OF THE Mary Play in N-Town regarding Mary’s pregnancy is different, because unlike “Joseph’s Return”—in which the audience has a window into a private conversation within their home—“The Trial of Mary and Joseph” is staged in a public setting. Given the N-Town scribe-compiler’s employment of *compilatio*, the blending of theological issues and socio-political commentary, the author can connect and augment the religious concerns about marriage with the very real social worries about gendered spousal roles.⁶⁷ This story has its origins in the Pseudo-Matthew Gospel, when rumors of Mary’s pregnancy led to a public hearing before the High Priest Abizachar.⁶⁸ The purpose of this trial was to test whether Joseph broke his vow and if Mary committed adultery. This pageant has not received extensive scrutiny. As such, it offers an opportunity to consider the reception of Mary’s voice in a public legal forum, showing how the couple operated as a marital unit.

Joseph and Mary are united, jointly facing slanderous accusations

from two detractors called Back Biter and Raise Slander.⁶⁹ These are male slanderers, demonstrating that it was not only women who fell into the temptations of gossip and engaged in public defamation of character. In their lengthy accusations, the accusers stated, “He ceased not till he had her laid!” and “Even worse she has him paid!”⁷⁰ Bishop Abizachar intervenes at this point, saying that they should be “cursed” for their defamation and to speak of such a pure woman with “such villainy.”⁷¹ But even with the intervention of a clerical authority, the jest continues. The detractors turn this into a farce, poking fun at Mary and Joseph individually, as others join in. The summoner refers to Joseph as an “old shrew.”⁷² They imagine Mary taking on younger lovers, tricking Joseph and acting in lewd and adulterous ways. The crude language ridicules both Mary and Joseph, as they are called a “wench” (three times) and “cuckold,” respectively.⁷³ The detractors also mock the story of the Annunciation, sneering and saying that not the Holy Spirit, but a snowflake, crept into Mary’s mouth and impregnated her.⁷⁴ Even the concept of marital chastity provoked unease and suspicion in the medieval world: couples often hid their vows to avoid public slander and derision.⁷⁵

We should also look at the “Trial of Mary and Joseph” to see how the couple operates as a marital unit—they defended their innocence together. Joseph, now understanding his wife’s pregnancy, defends her honor, asserting that “She is, for me, a true clean maid.”⁷⁶ Even though Joseph is also brought to trial, his testimony is not treated with the same ridicule and spectacle that Mary faced. Instead of Joseph continuing

to question Mary’s virginity, they are unified against the detractors of the law, who are so vulgar that they refer to her as a “bold bitch.”⁷⁷ Such slanderous language underscores the severity of the accusations levied against Mary.⁷⁸

Reputation was often more important than one’s actions, specifically for women, whose status was shaped by public knowledge of sexual behavior.⁷⁹ Rumors and gossip were often tied to medieval couples that professed a vow of marital chastity, as neighbors spied on and harassed them.⁸⁰ The disorderly behavior and rough language from the slanderers reflects the medieval communities that wrongfully persecuted deviant women. Despite the calmness in Mary’s voice, it is only a final verdict from the bishop that will calm the crowd, perhaps an allusion to the importance of episcopal authority.

Mary chooses to be silent and obedient during segments of their trial. Just like in her initial silence at the Annunciation, she still demonstrates agency in her selective speech. Mary also maintains a sense of dignity through her calm presence. She is neither shrill nor spontaneous in her defense. Cindy Carlson sees Mary’s humility during this trial as an enabling force allowing her to triumph over those who abuse their power, in this case, their vocal power.⁸¹ The foul detractors regard her voice as illegitimate testimony. They insist that the only sound evidence will come from trial by ordeal via the use of a truth serum. Although the quest to establish the truth includes Mary and Joseph’s statements, it is ultimately the drinking of a truth potion, called here “a bottle of vengeance” that validates Mary’s insistence on her innocence.⁸²

As she prepares to take the potion, Mary maintains her innocence yet again:

*I trespassed never with earthly wight
Thereof I hope through God's bond
Here to be purged before your sight
From all sin clean, just as my husband.
Give me the bottle out of your hand.
Here shall I drink before your face.
About this altar I shall pace round
Seven times to go by God's grace.⁸³*

She then ingests the potion and walks around the altar. The belief was that if the person who drank the potion were lying, the defendant's face would change color. Mary prays for God to provide a sign to demonstrate to the detractors that the conception of Christ was pure:

*God, as I never knew man's ministrations,
But ever have lived in true virginity,
Send me this day thy holy consolation
That all these fair people my cleanness may see.
O gracious God as thou didst choose me
To be thy mother, of me to be born,
Save thy tabernacle that is kept clean for thee
That now is put to reproof and scorn.⁸⁴*

Mary reaffirms her vow of chastity and maintains her purity. Moreover, her prayer to God shows that she was selected to bear the Son of God—she did not actively seek this out.

The court only views Mary's testimony as legitimate after the truth serum validates her initial statement. At the sight of Mary's unchanging color, the detractors have a change of heart, verbalizing their apologies and lamenting their slanderous words. One of the detractors falls down, clutching his skull in pain, which is a punishment for his slander. This sends a clear message about defamation of character and its connection to general transgressions.

Mary's voice functions as a stabilizing force: she restores the disorder of the public scandal back to equilibrium. The restoration of Mary and Joseph's reputations demonstrates the power of the spoken word in medieval society. It enables them to restore their names and reputation in a public forum. Mary also refers to the slanderers' lies as a sickness (just like she earlier referred to Joseph's accusation as diseased), suggesting that like a contagious illness, it has spread and corrupted the community. Another sign of Mary's dominance over the accusers is their silence—they fall silent because of Mary's truthful words.⁸⁵ This is a compelling gender reversal: Mary's statement results in male silence. Cursed language and rumor are connected here as two grievous sins, and it is Mary's voice that has the power to forgive such wicked speech:

*Now God forgive you all your trespass
And also forgive you all defamation
That you have said both more and less
To my hindrance and accusation.⁸⁶*

Mary's departing words remind both the accusers and the medieval audience of her ability to forgive transgression, and that defamation was one of the most egregious. The bishop instructs the detractors and other characters to “lowly incline” (bow) in deference to her, as part of their apology for such a grievous accusation.⁸⁷ The accusers are properly rebuked for their slander and the couple returns home in anticipation of the birth of Christ. She is not relegated to being a topic of discussion among others, but brought into the foreground as an active subject in the debate surrounding her virginity and pregnancy.

The “Trial of Mary and Joseph” reflects both the value of the power of Mary's voice and raises the question of its legitimacy. While she insists on the truth, the physical evidence suggests otherwise. Mary's testimony is not accepted as truthful evidence. The public reaction to her speech points to the weakness of women's words and oaths in a medieval court of law, as it was only after the truth serum was administered that Mary's word was viewed as credible.⁸⁸ The trial shows the severity of slander and the community's concern with regulating improper speech. Despite her exemplary status, Mary's voice was met with the same scrutiny that medieval women faced in court proceedings.

The Persistence of Marital Conflict After the Birth of Christ

THE BIRTH OF JESUS AND HIS auspicious childhood did not signify an end to conflict between Mary and Joseph.⁸⁹ Parenting Jesus through adolescence would engender strife once more between Mary and Joseph. “Christ and the Doctors” depicts Mary and Joseph yet again in marital strife when it re-imagines Mary and Joseph searching in Jerusalem to find their lost son, only to discover him in the Temple with the Doctors. This expansion upon Luke 2:41–52 is a key example of Mary using her voice to demonstrate agency, at times exhibiting a more masculine, dominant personality in comparison to Joseph's. The dialogue that emerges between them depicts a struggle for authority as they search for their lost 12-year old. Particularly in the York cycle, Joseph fears the label of a cuckold, a recurring

*Reputation was often
more important
than one's actions...
for women, whose
status was shaped
by public knowledge
of sexual behavior*

concern from Mary's pregnancy earlier in the cycle. This episode represents an inversion of gender roles: Mary's assertiveness dominates over Joseph's ineffective and submissive behavior.⁹⁰

Joseph quashes Mary's voice as it grows in alarm and concern over their lost child. Joseph does not reassure her, but tries to silence her. He views Mary's voice as over-reacting, and tries to limit her participation. Realizing that their son is missing, Mary seeks Joseph's advice and encourages them to search together. She even tries to encourage Joseph to take the dominant role as head of the household,

*Go forth, Joseph, upon your way
and fetch our son—and let us go.⁹¹*

She simply implores him to take an active role, and does so without any hint of humiliating him. Due to Joseph's reluctance, Mary must take control of the search operation. She does so while speaking of his “blabbering.” Joseph continues to reveal insecurities about his status as a cuckold. Despite her pleas, Mary is unable to convince Joseph

to take an active role in looking for Jesus. Joseph protests and is ashamed to converse with the Doctors:

*With men of might I cannot speak,
that sit so gay in fine furs.⁹²*

Joseph is embarrassed by his age and appearance, for it only slows down his ability to search. Not only is he self-conscious of his age, he also fears he will not be eloquent when speaking to them. Joseph asks Mary, "What shall I say?" hoping that Mary can instruct him how to speak in front of such esteemed and wealthy men.⁹³ Instead of the husband advising the wife on proper speech, akin to medieval conduct literature, Joseph requires guidance from Mary.

Joseph puts Mary in charge; she proceeds first and speaks on their behalf. She subverts his authority, which contradicts the advice of conduct manuals that prohibited wives from opposing their husbands. Joseph's fear of appearing foolish, old, weak, even feminized, resonates throughout the pageant. Neither Joseph nor Mary is firmly planted in a gendered role. Mary is able to subvert and occupy a leading role, but as a dominant woman, she feminizes Joseph and causes him to fear public shame and ridicule.⁹⁴ Joseph is more comfortable in a secondary, auxiliary role than the position of the central, dominant parent. Scholars have yet to consider these subversive and gender-bending aspects of the English pageants. They have failed to appreciate the unique ways that Mary was positioned to function as a wife who sometimes acted outside the bounds of what was deemed acceptable subservient behavior.

After lengthy searching, they find

Jesus in the temple amidst the doctors. There are limited opportunities for mobility within the patriarchal family, yet Mary's character offers an example of women gaining power in the domestic sphere. Mary did not intentionally seek to subvert her husband's authority or destabilize the familial power structure. She did so only because Joseph failed to take the initiative in searching for their son. Medieval women could learn from this episode by explaining how their increased role in the domestic sphere benefitted the family, in this case, finding a lost child. It is another illustration of Mary using her voice to demonstrate agency, and at times exhibiting a more dominant personality than Joseph. The dialogue that emerges between Mary and Joseph depicts a struggle for authority. This episode highlights another instance where Mary and Joseph are in heated debate; Mary subverts his authority and inverts the gendered roles.

Throughout the cycles, Mary's speech is a source of aggravation to Joseph and a threat to his position as the head of the household. Joseph does not consistently have effective control over Mary. This realistic depiction of their marriage ran counter to Marina Warner's claim that "in that very celebration of the perfect human woman, both humanity and women were subtly denigrated."⁹⁵ But, perhaps the performed conflicts in the cycles created a connection to the audience, by not portraying the marriage of Mary and Joseph as perfect, and without strife.⁹⁶

AT ANY GIVEN TIME IN THE HISTORY of Christianity, it is difficult to

Mary's vocal performance normalized the problems of a marriage

assert whether Mary as a vocal woman helps liberate women from restrictive gender constructions, or whether her voice reinforces the constrictive system implemented in a patriarchal society.⁹⁷ Medieval authors of social and dramatic texts manipulated the subject of marriage to emphasize gendered expectations of spouses. To some extent, this manufactured voice of Mary follows the prescribed advice of the conduct literature. In other cases, her speech supplies an alternative way to challenge male authority. The analysis of a constructed voice of Mary, as depicted in a set of religious dramas may seem more like an exercise in attempting to recover the voices of dramatic *personae* than offering insight into reality of medieval wives.⁹⁸ There is not a concrete way to measure the impact of these sources on women's actual speech, particularly through the voice of Mary. However, working through layers of mediated voices, while vexing, shows the widespread attempt to manipulate and regulate a woman's voice in a diverse body of sources.

Marriage was a medieval institution that blended social and theological expectations. There was not a singular definition of this institution, nor did Mary not fulfill one singular role. As evidenced in the dramas, Mary's voice could be either dominant or submissive.

She sometimes submitted to the will of the male patriarchy, and other times overcame it. Similarly, medieval wives were not solely confined to a secondary role and faced varying expectations in the private and public sphere.⁹⁹ Still, they held a restricted role in their community, living according to societal expectations and regulations.

Part of the reason we can see the dramas as having created a template for marriage is that they were public texts, performed widely while literally animating the conversations between Mary and Joseph. These cultural scripts illuminated domestic issues and literally scripted marital dialogue. Mary's vocal performance normalized the problems of a marriage, even via a voice and persona widely viewed as obedient and taciturn. Mary's speech offers subtle methods of subversion and her voice serves to stabilize and provide resolution after episodes of conflict. In these medieval dramatic episodes, Mary's voice functions as a pivot of social and religious practices and provides a window into medieval domestic roles. Ultimately, the resonance of Mary's voice should not be ignored as we attempt to understand communication in medieval society. The sources are a prism representing not only medieval reality, but a glimpse into constructed societal expectations of a wife.

ENDNOTES

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² Joan W. Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” *The American Historical Review*, 91.5 (Dec., 1986): 1053–75; Joan W. Scott, “Millennial Fantasies: The Future of ‘Gender’ in the 21st Century,” in *Gender: Die Tücken einer Kategorie. Joan W. Scott, Geschichte und Politik—Beiträge zum Symposium anlässlich der Verleihung des Hans-Sigrist-Preises 1999 der Universität Bern an Joan W. Scott*, ed. Claudia Honegger and Caroline Arni (Zurich: Chronos Verlag, 2001), 39–64.

³ Sandy Bardsley, “Sin, Speech, and Scolding in Late Medieval England,” in *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe*, eds. Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 145–164; Sandy Bardsley, *Venomous Tongues: Speech and Gender in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Sara M. Butler, *The Language of Abuse: Marital Violence in Later Medieval England* (Boston: Brill Press, 2007). In examining the relationship between speech and gender in the Middle Ages Bardsley argues “views of female speech mattered because those whose speech was disparaged lost social and cultural power as a result.” Bardsley, *Venomous Tongues*, 2.

⁴ Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” 1069.

⁵ For the more information on social components of marriage and the civic regulations regarding the practice, see David d’Avray, *Medieval Marriage: Symbolism and Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Charles Donahue, Jr., *Law, Marriage and Society in the later Middle Ages: Arguments about Marriage in Five Courts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Frederick Pederson, *Marriage Disputes in Medieval England* (London: A&C Black, 2000); Shannon McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex, and Civic Culture in Late Medieval London* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

⁶ Margaret Hallissey, *Clean Maids, True Wives, Steadfast Widows: Chaucer’s Women and Medieval Codes of Conduct* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993).

⁷ For extensive analysis of the various medieval theological debates on the sacrament of marriage, see Seamus P. Heaney, *The Development of the Sacramentality of Marriage from Anselm of Laon to Thomas Aquinas* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1963). For an indispensable reference regarding canon law and Christian society, see James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988). For a series of case studies on how courts applied the medieval canon law of marriage, see Charles Donahue Jr., *Law, Marriage, and Society in the later Middle Ages: Arguments about Marriage in Five Courts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). For a discussion on twelfth-century legal and religious changes in the definition of

marriage, see Dyan Elliott, *The Bride of Christ Goes to Hell*, Chapters 4 and 5.

⁸ Marriage was first officially declared a sacrament in 1184 at the Council of Verona as part of the condemnation of the Cathars. Ruth Mazo Karras, “The Christianization of Medieval Marriage,” in *Christianity and Culture in the Middle Ages: Essays to Honor John Van Engen*, eds. David C. Mengel, and Lisa Wolverton (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2014), 3–24. Penny S. Gold, “The Marriage of Mary and Joseph in the Twelfth-century Ideology of Marriage,” in *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, eds. Vern L. Bullough and James Brundage (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1982), 102–117; Irven M. Resnick, “Marriage in Medieval Culture: Consent Theory and the Case of Joseph and Mary,” *Church History* 69.2 (Jun., 2000): 350–371.

⁹ Thomas Chobham, *Summa Confessorum*, 375. See also Carla Casagrande, “The Protected Woman,” trans. Clarissa Botsford, in *A History of Women in the West II: Silences of the Middle Ages*, ed. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), 70–104.

¹⁰ One example of a clerical source that offered such guidelines was *Robert of Brunne’s “Handlyng Synne,”* ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, part 1, EETS, o.s. 119 (London: Oxford University Press, 1901), 58. Derek Neal views medieval speech and gender as mutually essential to understanding each other, and that the gendering of speech was a pervasive element of late medieval England. Derek Neal, “Husbands and Priests: Masculinity, Sexuality, and Defamation in Late Medieval England,” in *The Hands of the Tongue*, ed. Edwin D. Craun (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007), 185–208. Edwin Craun addresses clerical efforts to manage speech. See Edwin D. Craun, *Lies, Slander and Obscenity in Medieval English Literature: Pastoral Rhetoric and the Deviant Speaker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Richard Helmholz, *Marriage Litigation in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974); L.R. Poos, “The Heavy-Handed Marriage Counsellor: Regulating Marriage in Some Later-Medieval English Local Ecclesiastical-Court Jurisdiction,” *American Journal of Legal History* 39 (1995): 291–309.

¹¹ G.G. Coulton, *The Medieval Scene: An Informal Introduction to the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 35–36.

¹² Butler, *The Language of Abuse*, 259.

¹³ The fourteenth-century *Book of the Knight of the Tower* also provided similar advice, and expressed concerns for women’s behavior in the home and expressions of vanity. The author, Geoffroy de la Tour Landry IV (1320–1391), was a widow and authored the manual for his daughters. This moral treatise was in part to provide the advice that would have come from his late wife, as well as to register his own concerns about his daughters’ welfare and appearance in French society when receiving suitors. See Rebecca Barnhouse, *The Book of the Knight of the Tower: Manners for Young Medieval Women* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

¹⁴ Some of the most popular examples of French conduct literature, including *The Good Wife of Paris*, made their way to England in the late fifteenth century, when the prolific printer William Caxton made these texts more accessible to a larger audience. Therefore, we can also anticipate more overlap from those who read conduct literature and saw the *Corpus Christi* cycles: Gina L. Greco and Christine M. Rose, *Good Wife’s Guide (Le Ménagier de Paris): A Medieval Household Book* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), 45.

¹⁵ Ibid., 142.

¹⁶ *The Good Wife's Guide*, 142.

¹⁷ *The Good Wife's Guide*, 104.

¹⁸ Felicity Riddy, "Mother Knows Best: Reading Social Change in a Courtesy Text," *Speculum* 71 (1996): 66–86.

¹⁹ *The Good Wife's Guide*, 77. On medieval punishments for different speech violations see Bettina Lindorfer, "Peccatum Linguae and the Punishment of Speech Violations in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times," in *Speaking in the Medieval World*, ed. Jean E. Godsall-Myers (Boston: Brill, 2003), 23–42.

²⁰ *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter*, in *The Babees Book: Medieval Manners for the Young Now First Done into Modern English from the Texts of Dr. F. J. Furnivall*, ed. Edith Rickert (London: Chatto and Windus, 1923), 31–42; Christine M. Rose, "What Every Goodwoman Wants: The Parameters of Desire in *Le Menagier de Paris/The Goodman of Paris*," *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia: an International Review of English Studies* 38 (2002): 393–410.

²¹ Bardsley, "Sin, Speech, and Scolding in Late Medieval England," 146.

²² Kathleen Ashley, "Medieval Courtesy Literature and Dramatic Mirrors of Conduct," in *The Ideology of Culture*, eds. Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse (New York: Methuen, 1987), 25.

²³ In 1264, Pope Urban IV sanctioned *Corpus Christi* as a post-Pentecost feast in the papal bull *Transiturus de hoc mundo*. The papal bull was reaffirmed at the Council of Vienne in 1311 by Pope Clement V. For more on the development of this feast day and its cultural implications, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

²⁴ Clerics assisted the scribe-compilers, but they did not explicitly author the texts. Andrea Buboc, "Lay Performances of Work and Salvation in the York Cycle," *Comparative Drama* 43.2 (Summer 2009): 247–271. Kate Normington addresses the "exclusive male hierarchy" who authorized and produced the plays, as well as the impact of understanding medieval women in light of this in "Giving Voice to Women: Teaching Feminist Approaches to the Mystery Plays," *College Literature* 28.2 (Spring, 2001): 130–154. For more on the production and staging of the plays, see Meg Twycross, "The theatricality of medieval English plays," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre, Second Edition*, eds. Richard Beadle and Alan J. Fletcher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 26–74.

²⁵ This moveable cycle was most likely rooted in East Anglia, near the popular shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham. Peter Meredith, "Introduction," in *The Mary Play: from the N. Town Manuscript*, ed. Peter Meredith (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997); *The N-Town Plays*, ed. Douglas Sugano (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007).

²⁶ Penny Granger, *The N-Town Play: Drama and Liturgy in Medieval East Anglia* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2009), 30.

²⁷ Hallissey, *Clean Maids*, 3.

²⁸ Solberg, "Madonna, Whore," 203.

²⁹ *The Protoevangelium of James* sections 4, 7, 8–9, 15, in *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*, ed. and trans. J.K. Elliott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 58–63.

³⁰ Sherry Reames, "Legends of St. Anne, Mother of the Virgin Mary: Introduction," in *Middle English Legends of Women Saints* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2003), 249.

³¹ "Agens the lawe wyl I nevyr be,
But mannys felachep shal nevyr folwe me!
I wyl levyn evyr in chastyté
Be the grace of Goddys wylle!"

N-Town, "The Marriage of Mary and Joseph," lines 36–39. N-Town translation comes from Alexandra F. Johnston, "N-Town: A Modernization," accessed May 30, 2016, <http://homes.chass.utoronto.ca/~ajohnsto/frntmt.html>.

³² "Clenesse and chastyté myn hert owth." Ibid., line 70.

³³ "Her wytt is grett, and that is sene
In clenness to levyn in Godys servise.
No man her blame non her tene."
Ibid., lines 82–84.

³⁴ "Shuld I now in age begynne to dote?
If I her chyde, she wolde clowte my cote,
Blere myn ey and pyke out a mote.
And thus oftyntymes, it is sene."
Ibid., lines 281–284.

³⁵ Ashley, "Medieval Courtesy Literature," 27.

³⁶ "Her wardeyn and kepere wyl I evyr be." N-Town, "The Marriage of Mary and Joseph," line 290.

³⁷ "This holyest virgyn shalt thou maryn now." N-Town, "The Marriage of Mary and Joseph," line 298.

³⁸ Emma Lipton, *Affections of the Mind: The Politics of Sacramental Marriage in Late Medieval English Literature*, (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 116.

³⁹ "Here is the holyest matremony that evyr was in this werd!" N-Town, "The Marriage of Mary and Joseph," line 331.

⁴⁰ "Lete me levyn as a clene mayd.
I shal be trewe, be not dysmayd,
Both terme, tyme, and tyde."
Ibid., lines 328–330.

⁴¹ "And as we redyn in old sage
Many man is sclepyr of tonge.
Therefore evyl langage for to swage,
That youre good fame may lest longe."
Ibid., lines 346–349.

⁴² "I pray thee, Mary, my swete chylde:
Be lowe and buxhum, meke and mylde,
Sad and sobyr and nothyng wylde,
And Goddys blyssyng thou have."
Ibid., lines 392–395.

⁴³ "Kepe thee clene, my jentyl spowse

And all thin maydenys in thin howse,
That evyl langage I here not rowse,
For hese love that all hath wrought.”
Ibid., lines 470–474.

⁴⁴ “Gracyous God, my maydenhed save,
Evyr clene in chastyté.”
Ibid., lines 485–486.

⁴⁵ Cynthia Hahn, “Joseph Will Perfect, Mary Enlighten And Jesus Save Thee’: The Holy Family as Marriage Model in the Médrode Triptych,” *The Art Bulletin* 68.1 (Mar., 1986): 54–66; Barbara Newman, “Intimate Pieties: Holy Trinity and Holy Family in the Late Middle Ages,” *Religion & Literature*, 31.1 (Spring, 1999): 77–101.

⁴⁶ Lipton, *Affections of the Mind*, 118–128.

⁴⁷ Rosemary Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1972), 171.

⁴⁸ This is a trope in the French fabliaux tradition. Joseph L. Baird and Lorryne Y. Baird, “Fabliau Form and the Hegge ‘Joseph’s Return,’” *The Chaucer Review* 8.2 (1973): 159–169; John DuVal and Raymond Eichmann, *Cuckolds, Clerics, & Countrymen: Medieval French Fabliaux* (Fayetteville, AK: University of Arkansas Press, 1982); Katherine Adams Brown, *Boccaccio’s Fabliaux: Medieval Short Stories and the Function of Reversal* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2014).

⁴⁹ “Of grete mornynge may I me mene.” York, “Joseph’s Troubles about Mary,” line 1. All translations of the York Cycle are my own.

⁵⁰ Sandy Bardsley, *Women’s Roles in the Middle Ages* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 100–102.

⁵¹ “Forthy nedes noght swilke wordis wilde
At carpe to me dissayvandy.
We, why gab ye me swa
And feynes swilk fantassy?
Allas, me is full wa,
For dule why ne myght I dy?”

York, “Joseph’s Troubles about Mary,” lines 140–144.

⁵² “Sir, it is youres and Goddis will.” Ibid., line 168.

⁵³ “With somkyn gawde has hir beguiled.” Ibid., line 137.

⁵⁴ Tom Flanigan, “Everyman or Saint? Doubting Joseph in the *Corpus Christi* Cycles,” *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, Vol.8 (Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1996), 33.

⁵⁵ “Nay, thou spekis now agayne kynde.” York, “Joseph’s Troubles about Mary,” line 209.

⁵⁶ “Yha, Marie, drawe thyn hande.” Ibid., line 223.

⁵⁷ “Forgiffnesse, sir, late be for shame;
Slike wordis suld all gud women lakke.”
Ibid., lines 296–297.

⁵⁸ Theresa Coletti, “Purity and Danger: The Paradox of Mary’s Body and the En-gendering of the Infancy Narrative in the English Mystery Cycles,” in *Feminist Approaches to the Body in Medieval Literature*, eds. Linda Lomperis and Sarah Stanbury (Philadelphia: University

of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 73.

⁵⁹ William Fitzhenry, “The N-Town Plays and the Politics of Metatheater,” *Studies in Philology* 100.1 (2003): 33.

⁶⁰ “Sekyr, sere, beth nowth dysmayde,
Ryth aftyr the wyl of Goddys sonde.”
N-Town, “Joseph’s Doubt,” lines 23–24.

⁶¹ “That semyth evyl, I am afrayd.” N-Town, “Joseph’s Doubt,” line 25.

⁶² Ibid., line 41.

⁶³ Ibid., line 130–131.

⁶⁴ Joseph says to Mary, “Youre swete fete, now lete me kys!” Mary responds: “Nay, lett be my fete, not tho ye take!

My mowthe, ye may kys, iwys,
And welcom onto me!”

Ibid., lines 186–188. It is possible that this gesture represents the kiss of peace, the performative gesture that had become ritualized and widely utilized in both religious and legal customs during the high and late Middle Ages. Kiril Petkov, *The kiss of peace: Ritual, self, and society in the high and late medieval west* (Boston: Brill, 2003); Katherine L. Jansen, “*Pro bono pacis*. Crime and Dispute Resolution in Late Medieval Florence: the Evidence of Notarial Peace Contracts,” *Speculum* 88.2 (April 2013): 427–456.

⁶⁵ “Wherfore I pray yow, amende youre mon

...

For unknowlage, he is desesyd.

That he myght knowe thee ful perfyght.”

N-Town, “Joseph’s Return,” lines 208, 211–212.

⁶⁶ In Middle English, the angel chastises Joseph, “Joseph, Joseph, thu wepyst shyrl!” N-Town, “Joseph’s Return,” line 147. Bardsley’s “Sin, Speech, and Scolding in Late Medieval England,” points to both ecclesiastical and secular texts in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that reflect increasing concern about the power of speech, drawing attention to gendered terms like “shrill” and “scold.”

⁶⁷ Fitzhenry, “Politics of Metatheater,” 27.

⁶⁸ Cindy K. Carlson, “Like a Virgin: Mary and Her Doubters in the N-Town Cycle,” in *Constructions of Widowhood and Virginity in the Middle Ages*, eds. Cindy L. Carlson and Angela Jane Weisl (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), 199–217; Alison M. Hunt, “Maculating Mary: The Detractors of the N-Town Cycle’s ‘Trial of Joseph and Mary.’” *Philological Quarterly* 73.1 (1994): 11–29.

⁶⁹ The term “backbiter” materialized in the thirteenth century to describe those who circulated false or cruel rumors. Bardsley, “Sin, Speech, and Scolding in Late Medieval England,” 149.

⁷⁰ “He sesyd nat tyll he had her asayd!

A, nay, nay, wel wers she hath hym payd!”

N-Town, “The Trial of Mary and Joseph,” lines 52–53.

⁷¹ “Ye be acursyd, so hir for to defame!

...

Of hir to speke suche velany!”

Ibid., lines 75, 77.

⁷² “Ya, that old shrewe Joseph.”

Ibid., line 225.

⁷³ Mary is referred to as a “wench” in lines 99, 103, 127. Joseph is called a “cokolde” in line 98 and then a “kokewolde” in line 105 (alternative spellings). N-Town, “The Trial of Mary and Joseph.”

⁷⁴ “In feyth, I suppose that this woman slepte

Withowtyn all coverte whyll that it ded snowe

And a flake therof into hyr mowthe crepte,

And therof the chylde in hyr wombe doth growe!”

N-Town, “The Trial of Mary and Joseph,” lines 273–276. The French fabliaux, *L’Enfant qui fu remis au soleil*, tells a familiar story of a woman who became impregnated by a snowflake, and was also retold in Middle English. See Nicole Nolan Sidhu, *Indecent Exposure: Gender, Politics, and Obscene Comedy in Middle English Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

⁷⁵ Dyan Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 272.

⁷⁶ “Sche is, for me, a trewe clene mayde.” N-Town, “The Trial of Mary and Joseph,” line 226.

⁷⁷ “Se, this bolde bysmare wolde presume.” N-Town, “The Trial of Mary and Joseph,” line 265.

⁷⁸ Greg Walker, “The Cultural Work of Early Drama,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre, Second Edition*, eds. Richard Beadle and Alan J. Fletcher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 81.

⁷⁹ McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex, and Civic Culture in Late Medieval London*, 175.

⁸⁰ The communal behavior in the pageant is like a medieval *charivari*, a ritual defined by “its boisterous mixture of playfulness and cruelty,” where communal social pressure is inflicted on a chaste household. Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, 60, 272–273; Natalie Zemon Davis, “Charivari, Honor, and Community in Seventeenth-Century Lyon and Geneva,” in *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance*, ed. John J. MacAloon (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984), 42; Natalie Zemon Davis, “The Rites of Violence,” in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 152–187; Natalie Zemon Davis, “The Reason of Misrule,” in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 97–123; Richard J. Moll, “Staging Disorder: Charivari in the N-Town Cycle,” *Comparative Drama* 35.2 (Summer 2001): 145–161.

⁸¹ Carlson, “Mary’s obedience and power in the Trial of Mary and Joseph,” 351.

⁸² The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 eliminated the necessity of this form of trial. Canon 18: “Neither shall anyone in judicial tests or ordeals by hot or cold water or hot iron bestow any blessing; the earlier prohibitions in regard to dueling remain in force.” From H. J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation and Commentary*, (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1937), 250.

⁸³ “I trespacyd nevyr with erthely wyght;

Therof I hope thurowe Goddys sonde

Here to be purgyd before youre syght,

From all synne clene, lyke as myn husbonde.

Take me the botel out of youre honde.

Here shal I drynke beforn youre face

Abowth this awtere than shal I fonde,

Sefne tymes to go, by Godys grace!”

N-Town, “The Trial of Mary and Joseph,” lines 257–264.

⁸⁴ “God, as I nevyr knew of mannys maculacyon

But evyr have lyved in trew virginité,

Send me this day thin holy consolacyon

That all this fayr peple my clenness may se!

O gracyous God, as thu hast chose me

For to be thi modyr of me to be born,

Save thi tabernacle that clene is kepte for thee,

Which now am put at repref and skorn.”

Ibid., lines 301–308.

⁸⁵ Carlson, “Like a Virgin,” 213.

⁸⁶ “Now God forgeve yow all yowre trespace

And also forgeve yow all defamacyon

That ye have sayd, both more and lesse,

To myn hynderawnce and maculacyon.”

N-Town, “The Trial of Mary and Joseph,” lines 341–344.

⁸⁷ “We all to yow lowly incline.” Ibid., line 355.

⁸⁸ Carlson, “Mary’s obedience and power in the Trial of Mary and Joseph,” 348.

⁸⁹ While the pageants featured the marriage of Mary and Joseph as one sometimes steeped in conflict, it should be noted that the *Corpus Christi* dramas did highlight elements of love and compassion between Mary and Joseph, particularly in the pageants surrounding the birth of Christ, such as “The Nativity,” and “The Flight into Egypt.” Old issues of contention are pushed to the side, and love is the predominant emotion expressed. Clarissa W. Atkinson, *The Oldest Vocation: Christian Motherhood in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 101–143.

⁹⁰ Coletti, “Purity and Danger,” 65–95.

⁹¹ Chester, “Christ and the Doctors,” lines 307–308.

⁹² Ibid., lines 313–314.

⁹³ “Christ and the Doctors,” in *The Wakefield Pageants in the Towneley cycle*, ed. Arthur C. Cawley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), line 289.

⁹⁴ Natalie Zemon Davis, “Women On Top,” in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 124–151.

⁹⁵ Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Knopf, 1976), xxi.

⁹⁶ Early modern images and devotional materials on the Holy Family emphasized Joseph and Mary’s companionship, part of the broader early modern trend of highlighting increased emphasis on the family. See Lawrence Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977); Steven Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983).

⁹⁷ Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, 165.

⁹⁸ Kim Phillips, *Medieval Maidens: Young Women and Gender in England, 1270–1540* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 196.

⁹⁹ Such opportunities for economic power and occupational leadership were present in some economic situations, see Judith Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World, 1300–1600* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); P.J.P. Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire c.1300–1520* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

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Book Reviews

JOANNA BOURKE. *The Story of Pain: From Prayer to Painkillers.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

We all think we know what pain is, but has humanity continually experienced it in the same way? Joanna Bourke addresses this question in *The Story of Pain* (2014), revealing the diverse and changing manner in which sufferers have articulated, recorded, and felt pain within the Anglophone world since the eighteenth century. Building on Elaine Scarry's *The Body in Pain* (1985), Bourke distinguishes herself by considering how to define pain as a category of analysis.¹ Whereas Scarry's approach portrayed historical actors as *in pain* when they claimed as much themselves, Bourke suggests this older framework reified "Pain" with a problematic ontological presence (4). Rather than seeing pain as an independent agent—something that is "done to" the individual—the book calls for a perception of pain as a "type of event" (5). For Bourke, pain is

a recurring phenomenon made public through language or gesture and shaped by social conditions. One can only be *in pain* through the process of articulation and naming. Class, gender, race, age, and other factors besides, fracture these pain events and their responses.

Though synthesising her approach with the history of the body and broader social, medical, and scientific trends, Bourke is indebted to the methodology of linguistic analysis. The initial three chapters focus on the language of pain, showing how devices such as metaphor and simile circumvent difficulties in description. Whereas historical actors draw on a large spectrum of expressions for love or pleasure, talking about pain, as Virginia Woolf and others lamented, proved much harder. Bourke details the dominant metaphors used to address this problem, including portraying pain as a "weapon" or a "temperature" (65), showing how they changed over time in relation to shifting conceptualisations of the body. If the sick often spoke in terms of "ebbs and flows" when articulating pain in the eighteenth century, reflecting the dominant humoral physiological model, these descriptions were replaced as the nineteenth century progressed.

¹ Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

The frequency of war, for example, encouraged steps towards conflict metaphors such as the “fight” against cancer, and positive accounts of pain similarly diminished in use.

The fourth chapter, on religion, is one of the more widely applicable sections of *The Story of Pain*. Littered with a wide range of individual testimony, Bourke examines how religious language, ritual, and practice provided meaning for those in pain, often signifying punishment or an apparent test from God. Much of this reflected Christian instruction, believers following teaching on how they should perceive and respond to pain. Religion often determined how the sick *felt* pain—welcoming or fearing it, and fortifying or surrendering their bodies, as appropriate. Bourke advances a secularisation thesis with regards to pain, even if she does caveat this by saying secularisation never achieved completion. While Harriet Martineau, for instance, once invoked God in understanding her own pain, this changed when she aged and deployed secular metaphors instead. Bourke asserts that, as the nineteenth-century progressed, seemingly out-dated religious views, were “at last giving way to science” (124). However, science does not fully explain the “secular backlash.” Though medical advances in anaesthetics are important, Bourke places them alongside philosophers challenging Christian arguments regarding the need to tolerate suffering.

Chapters 8 and 9, on “Sympathy” and “Pain Relief” respectively, will prove beneficial to those interested in the professional status of doctors and the onset of nineteenth century anaesthetics. The first challenges the view that in the

pre-modern age physicians and surgeons enjoyed comparative immunity from accusations of lacking sympathy, these claims supposedly only appearing once bedside medicine became overtaken by hospital-based “scientific” practice. Bourke reveals how doctors always faced these allegations and in response stressed their sympathetic qualities as “men of feeling” (240). Chapter 9 questions the “pain revolution” after the 1840s when ether and chloroform became more widely used. Rather than an end point in the history of pain, Bourke explores the paradoxes of why these technologies never became universal, citing fears over the apparent risks in their use, religious opposition, and income inequality that continues to limit the relief of pain today.

Though *The Story of Pain* is largely confined to the Anglo-American world, without sustained comparison elsewhere, and engages little with psychological suffering, the book offers a valuable framework for the historical study of pain. It will also prove a valuable resource for scholars considering patient experience in ethnography, sociology, and the medical humanities more generally. For something so troubling to define, Bourke provides a clear and persuasive account of an inevitable facet of human existence.

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ROBESON TAJ FRAZIER. *The East is Black: Cold War China in the Black Radical Imagination.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2015.

W.E.B. Du Bois proved an astute

forecaster of China’s eventual place in the world economy. Reflecting on his 1959 visit, the African American intellectual suggested that China’s mass of workers and its will to rapidly modernize would soon place it at the competitive forefront of manufacturing thanks to cheap production costs—undermining a key sector of the U.S. economy (46). Du Bois and his wife, Shirley Graham, were nonetheless shortsighted about China’s immediate reality. Believing China’s revolution to be a beacon for the worldwide struggle against racism and capitalism, the Du Boises did not question the restrained character of their state-supervised travels, or consider government repression already well instanced by such recent events as the Hundred Flowers Campaign and the Tibetan rebellion. Instead, in observing the construction of the people’s infrastructure amidst the first Five Year Plan, they saw a more hopeful Third World-spearheaded future beyond the U.S. Cold War narrative. “Turn from the West,” Du Bois advised African leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah, “and face the rising sun” (47). Du Bois died in Ghanaian exile just four years after his visit to China, one of his final roles having been to parrot the Chinese Communist Party’s project of domestic and international propaganda.

With *The East is Black: Cold War China in the Black Radical Imagination*, Robeson Taj Frazier has made a significant contribution to a rapidly globalizing historiography of post-Second World War black radicalism. In recent years, scholars such as Brenda Gayle Plummer, Peniel E. Joseph, and Marc Matera have addressed the international black political milieu as it

crisscrossed the Atlantic, from Guinea to Gary, Indiana to London.² Frazier shifts the black radical horizon across the Pacific, examining African American experiences in and cultural productions about China during the years from the Communist Party’s victory in 1949 to Mao’s death in 1976. Central to the themes and events examined in *The East is Black* is “Third Worldism,” which advocated racial camaraderie and mutual assistance among the nonwhite peoples of the world. According to this formulation, African Americans were the natural allies of peoples elsewhere oppressed by western imperialism and white dominance. Struggles in rural Mississippi and mountainous Jiangxi province against white supremacy or regimes sponsored by western governments thus shared a certain affinity.

The East is Black is structured around two sections that each evaluate the travels, writings, and other works of the Du Boises and other intellectuals including William Worthy, Vicki Garvin, and Mabel and Robert Williams in China during the 1950s and 1960s. These sections are each preceded by contextual summaries connecting modern Chinese history and the black

² Peniel E. Joseph, *Waiting 'Til the Midnight Hour: A Narrative History of Black Power in America* (New York: Holt, 2006); Marc Matera, *Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015); Brenda Gayle Plummer, *In Search of Power: African Americans in the Era of Decolonization, 1956–1974* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

political tradition. A final section traces the decline of African American political engagement with China in the 1970s. Incorporating media and gender studies, historical and visual analysis, and cultural and diaspora theory, Frazier delineates the ironies, negotiations, and complexities that defined black representations of early communist China as well as Chinese communist deployments and support of the African American freedom struggle. He argues that depictions on both sides relied upon romanticized notions of anti-imperial struggle and racial essentialism. Furthermore, in their championing of the Chinese Revolution, African American intellectuals helped the People's Republic of China gain worldwide influence while obscuring its repressive nature (16–19).

Frazier's largely biographical history is both insightful and a pleasure to read. Relatively short segments of the book that discuss African American and Chinese intellectual depictions of gender, however, resemble an addendum, and would be better suited for a stand-alone article. As well, scholars of the Black Panther Party may be disappointed to find that an event that has thus far received little focused scholarly attention—Panther leader Huey P. Newton's 1971 visit to China—is only mentioned once in passing in this book, even though it took place well within the author's stated time period. The Panthers' engagement with the Chinese Communist Party, not to mention the North Korean and North Vietnamese Communists, continues to demand a more substantial treatment. These fairly minor criticisms aside, Frazier has written a highly worthwhile

book, and certainly succeeds at illustrating the inventiveness, folly, and hope fomented at the junction of two powerful strands of mid-twentieth century radical thought and culture. From the perspective of the mid-2010s, the mingling of radical intellectuals with revolutionary movements and governments elsewhere in the world seems like a dated phenomenon—perhaps one which could only occur during the era in which the contemporary, integrated, largely market-driven world order was taking shape.

John S. Miller

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MARGARET JACOBS. *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880–1940.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.

Settler colonialism is a winner-take-all project, where the colonizer comes to stay, occupies the land permanently, and accepts nothing less than the removal of indigenous nations. Australia and the United States are two salient cases of settler colonies that became settler nations, where settlers used various tactics to dispossess indigenous peoples of their land. One of these brutal methods of colonization, according to Margaret Jacobs' *White Mother to a Dark Race*, was the removal of indigenous children from their families and the breaking of the affective bonds that tied indigenous peoples together. Australia's "protection" policies and the U.S. government's "assimilation"

program, each of which included indigenous child removal, are central to Jacobs' book. "What was it exactly that reformers and officials hoped to change about indigenous children by taking them from their families?" Jacobs asks (xxx). The fundamental goal of these reformers and officials was to consolidate control and complete the colonization of the American West and Australia as two growing settler nations from the 1880s until well into the twentieth century.

In the U.S., Jacobs argues, the goal was "cultural" assimilation. In Australia, the goal was biological assimilation, or "breeding out the color." As a result, the "Aborigines were doomed by their own genetic inheritance" (67–69). Deeming native mothers as hopelessly inadequate, many male authorities considered it "necessary" to invade the most intimate spaces of indigenous homes and families. By taking on the mission of relieving the patriarchal plight of women in the colonies, white women acted as enlightened agents, not only to assert their own political rights and agency, but also, as surrogate mothers, "to break the children's sensory connections to kin and homeland" (280). Jacobs focuses on the role white women played in "rescuing," "educating," and "civilizing" indigenous children. Through these practices, they enabled and implemented colonial policies.³

³ Unlike Kipling's illustration of the "white man's burden," which treats other cultures as "childlike" and "demonic," mainstream theories and studies on gender reflect the "white woman's burden," which offered a sense of mission in settler nations. This

Jacobs wanted to believe that most white women, who celebrated motherhood, challenged these colonial paradigms and sympathized with indigenous women, but her findings paradoxically showed a different reality. In their own quest for agency, equality and public authority, many white women reformers "undermined Indian and Aboriginal women through their support for the removal of indigenous children" (433). Inspired by the maternalist movement of the era, white women, she says, "hitched their maternalist wagons to the train of the settler colonial state" (148). For example, in chapter three, "The Great White Mother," Jacobs cites the case of one social reformer, Estelle Reel, who worked as a superintendent of Indian education between 1898 and 1910. Reel, in a number of published articles, showed a self-congratulating attitude while making concerted efforts to pass a compulsory education law to remove most indigenous children from their families and place them in boarding schools. Reel considered the removal of indigenous children her moral duty to save them from a "savage" background and grant them a "civilized" environment (135–136).

This policy of alienation and dispossession of indigenous communities echoed a desire to build homogenized nations founded on racialized, evolutionary paradigms—whiteness, Christianity, and modernity—while indigenous families were conceptualized as a "pesky impediment to settlement,"

mission included politicians, missionaries, social reformers and, indeed, academics.

and nation-building in Australia and the United States (5). As moral guardians of the intimate realm of indigenous communities and families, white women were seen as the appropriate agents to carry out child-removal policies to colonize, “civilize” the untamed wilderness, and build new settler nations. Not all white women, however, as Jacobs suggests, showed support for these colonial scripts, as many white women developed individual relationships with indigenous peoples. In Australia, white women’s benevolent endeavors did not dovetail in large part with colonial authorities. In the United States, they worked together with like-minded male colonial agents. These concerted efforts were “produced and performed” in small theaters like the homes and on the bodies of indigenous peoples, breaking the affective bonds that tied indigenous peoples together (xxx).

Jacobs’ personal voice from her own childhood, coupled with her striking case studies, challenges readers who might not be familiar with the “scars of our settler colonial histories.” Her engaging narrative reconstructs indigenous peoples’ own understanding of their childhoods, spaces, and relationships with adult women in settler colonial nations. It is indeed a very powerful technique as it forces readers to think about these wounds of the past and the “horrendous abuse at the hands of boarding school authorities” (432). Jacobs concludes that “such wounds cannot heal by covering them with happy-face Band-Aids or, worse yet, refusing to recognize the injustice that was done. History has had enough concealments. It’s time to discard the

Band-Aids, remove the blindfolds, and squarely confront our past” (433). By exposing the “microphysics of imperial rule,” to use Ann Stoler’s term, Jacobs, like the so-called “New Western historians,” has unearthed the wounds of the American and Australian past and laid the groundwork for further efforts at historical decolonization and steps toward reconciliation.

Jacobs’ compelling book is based on government documents, national and state archives, personal papers, written memoirs, and oral histories of white women reformers and indigenous children. These materials, interspersed with Jacobs’ personal voice, buttress her arguments in a beautifully illustrated manner. Aside from being too long, Jacobs’ Bancroft Prize winning book brings an original approach to women’s, gender, and settler colonial studies, and deserves wide readership across disciplines.

Baligh Ben Taleb

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MARJORIE GEHRHARDT. *The Men with Broken Faces: Gueules Cassées of the First World War.* **Bern: Peter Lang, 2015.**

The history of facially-wounded veterans of the First World War is multifaceted and rich, yet still growing. Marjorie Gehrhardt’s well-researched book, *The Men with Broken Faces: Gueules Cassées of the First World War*, adds to this growing literature on war and disability. Gehrhardt looks at the experience of the facially-wounded to show how surgeons and professional artists sought to mask the destruction of the war through the reconstruction

of faces. Largely focusing on French veterans who formed the *Union des Blessés de la Face*, she also addresses the social and cultural implications of facial reconstruction.

Gehrhardt’s book is both important and timely. The centenary remembrance ceremonies of the First World War allow for the re-examination of little known histories like the *gueules cassées*. *The Men with Broken Faces* fits within a growing scholarship on the history of veteran disability more generally, and Great War disability history more specifically. Gehrhardt’s work joins more recent historians of U.S. veteran care, such as Beth Linker and John M. Kinder, and follows touchstone pieces like David Gerber’s edited volume, *Disabled Veterans in History* (2012), and Deborah Cohen’s *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914–1939* (2001).⁴ While a welcome supplement to the historical profession, Gehrhardt’s book is also an important addition to the growing and important multi-disciplinary work of disability studies because she brings new information to the table. Other scholars have focused primarily on veterans who lost limbs in the war or shell shock victims; Gehrhardt analyzes in detail the treatment of facial wounds.

Marjorie Gehrhardt’s book, while fitting well within the established and growing historiography, provides

⁴ John Kinder, *Paying with Their Bodies: American War and the Problem of the Disabled Veteran* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015); Beth Linker, *War’s Waste: Rehabilitation in World War I America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

new insight into veteran disability and identity. The story that the author portrays is one of veterans facing themselves and society after their wounds. At the beginning of this process they engage in hospitals as what Gehrhardt terms “transitional spaces” or stepping stones from active service to civilian life (33–34). Here, soldiers were “rebuilt” in the literal sense as well as the metaphorical sense. In these spaces and in later reintegration processes, society “invested them with a positive message not only of survival, but also of the symbolic triumph of science and progress over the destructive forces of modern war,” despite soldiers’ visual injuries (27).

One of the more compelling arguments that Gehrhardt proposes is the importance of veteran organizations in the shaping of a collective identity. Facially wounded veterans in France formed the *Union des Blessés de la Face* as a community and society that could help the men in transition and in facing their fellow citizens. The author sees organizations like these as extensions of the family. The veterans saw a benefit in fraternizing with those who experienced similar wounds. Gehrhardt writes, “The reasons motivating them were sometimes political and economic, sometimes social, as an implicit understanding between ex-servicemen could arise from a shared war experience” (128). The men connected in a way that was not available to them through relationships with the wider society.

As important as communal identity was the outward performance of identity to society. Gehrhardt analyzes this phenomenon through visual arts

and literature. She shows that wounded veterans were both reluctant objects of this negotiation of identity, as well as producers of identity. Artists and doctors portrayed the men as objects through their photographs of the men in the process of facial reconstruction. More specifically, French and British paintings, like Hodgson Lobley's *The Commercial Class*, represent not the individual case but groups of men in social and physical rehabilitation after the wounds. Gehrhardt explains, "The choice to depict injured soldiers as men in professional training, rather than as patients, indicated the positive discourse that authorities sought to promote through these images" (218–219). Indeed, she shows how the portrayal of veterans changed from objective, or impersonal byproducts of war, to subjective, or veterans with

emotion and personal stories who engaged with society.

The men with broken faces, Gehrhardt concludes, "became symbolically loaded figures in all three countries, but different aspects were emphasized depending upon national context" (281). Marjorie Gehrhardt's book proves how disabled veterans of the First World War actively engaged with how they were perceived by society and how they crafted their own identity in community spaces like the *Union des Blessés de la Face*. *The Men with Broken Faces* is a seminal work in disability studies and First World War history, and provides both a blueprint and opportunity for further comparative scholarship on wounded and disabled veterans of all wars.

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