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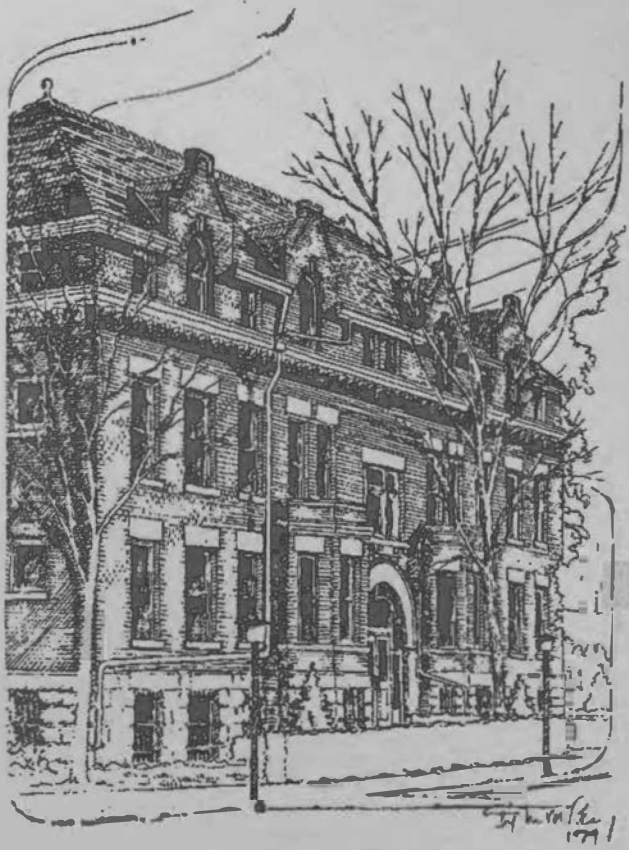

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The third volume of the *Fairmount Folio* is the result of the contributions of many individuals. The *Folio* is open to students and graduates of all departments and disciplines, provided their work is on an historically significant topic. I am particularly grateful to those who submitted papers for the selection process. The process of selecting papers, as well as of critiquing and revising those selected, is rigorous and time-consuming. I wish to thank all those on the editorial board who contributed their time and expertise, as well as the supervising faculty, Professors Helen Hundley and William Klunder, for their invaluable contributions.

Our congratulations go out to the authors of the selected papers and the departmental award-winning papers which are also included in this volume. I wish to thank all those on the editorial board and especially to Wichita State University and the history department.

The *Fairmount Folio* provides an opportunity to students and others to contribute to a reviewed journal. Building as it does on the solid foundation laid by the editors and contributors to the first two volumes, I trust that this volume continues their fine work and that it will contribute to the continuing success of this journal.

Special thanks are extended to Diane Scott and Tomas Zahora.

Kirk Scott

MILITANT ABOLITIONIST GERRIT SMITH

JUDITH M. GORDON-OMELKA

Great wealth never precluded men from committing themselves to redressing what they considered moral wrongs within American society. Great wealth allowed men the time and money to devote themselves absolutely to their passionate causes. During America's antebellum period, various social and political concerns attracted wealthy men's attentions; for example, temperance advocates, a popular cause during this era, considered alcohol a sin to be abolished. One outrageous evil, southern slavery, tightly concentrated many men's political attentions, both for and against slavery, and produced some intriguing, radical rhetoric and actions; foremost among these reform movements stood abolitionism, possibly one of the greatest reform movements of this era.

Among abolitionists, slavery prompted various modes of action, from moderate, to radical, to militant methods. The moderate approach tended to favor gradualism, which assumed the inevitability of society's progress toward the abolition of slavery. Radical abolitionists regarded slavery as an unmitigated evil to be ended unconditionally, immediately, and without any compensation to slaveholders. Preferring direct, political action to publicize slavery's iniquities, radical abolitionists demanded a personal commitment to the movement as a way to effect abolition of slavery. Some militant abolitionists, however, pushed their personal commitment to the extreme. Perceiving politics as a hopelessly ineffective method to end slavery, this fringe group of abolitionists endorsed violence as the only way to eradicate slavery.[1]

One abolitionist, Gerrit Smith, a wealthy landowner, lived in Peterboro, New York. As a young man, he inherited from his father hundreds of thousands of acres, and in the 1830s, Smith reportedly earned between $50,000 and $80,000 annually on speculative leasing investments. Gerrit Smith used his wealth to support such moral philanthropic causes as temperance, women's equality, and abolitionism. Though Smith spread his philanthropy among these various commitments, most of Smith's rhetoric and actions focused on radical, and then militant, abolitionism. His great wealth allowed him the freedom and time to zealously promote his doctrines of equality for all human beings and of immediate emancipation for all black people. In his brief "Autobiographical Sketch of the Life of Gerrit Smith," he understatedly described himself as primarily a politically active abolitionist.[2]

After Gerrit Smith died on December 28, 1874, the *New York Times* featured an

[1]James Brewer Stewart, *Holy Warriors. The Abolitionists and American Slavery* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976), 42-46; Gerald Sorin, *Abolitionism: A New Perspective* (New York: Praeger, 1972), 17, 19, 38.

[2]Lawrence J. Friedman, *Gregarious Saints; Self and Community in American Abolitionism, 1830-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge university Press, 1982), 100-1; Gerrit Smith, "Autobiographical Sketch of the Life of Gerrit Smith," in "'He Stands Like Jupiter': The Autobiography of Gerrit Smith," John R.

obituary and an editorial praising him as a philanthropist who actively and powerfully influenced and shaped public sentiment against slavery. Described as one who possessed an uncompromising mind incapable of occupying any middle ground or of qualifying intellectually reasoned conclusions, Smith used his "rare personal and intellectual courage to further his belief in the brotherhood of the human race." Though perceived by most of his friends as personable and dependable, many of Smith's antislavery colleagues eventually viewed his "extreme abolitionist" activities with contempt. Noting this criticism positively, the newspaper's editorial remarked that since Smith guided his life by noble principles, he portrayed rare personal and intellectual courage in advancing his convictions of antislavery and opposition to tyranny. During his abolitionist time period, Smith evolved into one of America's renowned militant antislavery activists; and he accordingly sustained political and social criticism for his bellicose, zealous rhetoric, uncompromising antislavery stance, and heavy financial support of militant causes, principally, John Brown's activities in Kansas and at Harper's Ferry.[3]

Three events in Smith's abolitionist career patently influenced him to join the militant fringe of antislavery. The first event occurred in 1835 when he attended a meeting at Utica, New York, to form the New York Anti-Slavery Society. An angry anti-abolitionist mob confronted the society's delegates, disrupted the meeting, and left Smith shocked at the opposing side's proslavery furor. In 1850, Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Law, that prompted the second event, the "Jerry Rescue." The Fugitive Slave Law mandated that all Americans lawfully must participate in returning escaped slaves to their rightful owners. Upon helping a former slave escape from Syracuse, Smith and his colleagues referred to their noteworthy illegal misdeeds as the Jerry Rescue. The third event, Smith's brief, ignominious congressional career of 1853 and 1854, helped push him into the militant abolitionist fringe and inspired him to advocate a combative, violent resolution to slavery. Smith's speeches and letters from 1835 to 1859 clearly revealed his evolving radicalism, his intransigent character, and his paradoxical views of abolitionism. His speeches and letters provided insight into how one man's fanaticism with a political, social, and moral cause enveloped his life and transported him from a position of esteem within the antislavery movement to one of scandal.

Gerrit Smith's initial involvement in the abolitionist movement began in the latter 1820s when he joined the American Colonization Society, a moderate abolitionist organization advocating removal of America's free blacks to Liberia. He contributed $9,000 to the Society between January 1828 and December 1835, rising in its ranks to become one of New York's leading antislavery advocates. Because removal ignored both southern slaves and the rights of free blacks as citizens, and failed to excite any antislavery fervor in both the North and South, Smith ultimately perceived this solution as too conservative. In 1833, he changed his moderate abolitionist position to one of radical, immediate emancipation,

McKivigan and Madeleine L. McKivigan, *New York History* 65 (April 1984): 193-94.

[3]"Mr. Gerrit Smith," *New York Times* 29 December 1874, 21-2.

prompting Smith's New York abolitionist friends, Alvan Stewart and Beriah Green, to urge him to attend the state's antislavery organizing convention in October 1835. Though disavowing his connection with the abolitionist label, Smith appeared ready to become politically active in the abolitionist cause. The American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS), a national organization devoted exclusively to promoting immediate emancipation, attracted his focus; furthermore, the AASS used Smith's preference of moral suasion, which appealed to people's consciences to free America from slavery and racial discrimination. Smith reasoned that Americans could be induced easily and quickly to change their views from prejudice to brotherly love; thus America's colored citizens could achieve immediate emancipation.[4]

When six hundred antislavery delegates convened at the Second Presbyterian Church in Utica, New York, on October 20, 1835, a hostile mob composed of at least twenty locally prominent conservative citizens and led by their Oneida congressman Samuel Beardsley, rushed into the church to vilify the abolitionists and to disrupt the meeting. Reconvening the next day at Smith's Peterboro mansion, the delegates officially organized the New York Anti-Slavery Society (NYASS). Astonished at the Utica mob's hostile anti-abolitionist passion and malicious attempts to muzzle free speech, Smith empathized with his abolitionist friends' victimization.[5]

Smith played a prominent role in the society's deliberations and gave the keynote address, titled "Crime Against Abolitionists." Though he paradoxically denied being an abolitionist, this speech formed the design for Smith's eventual acceptance of radical political action to abolish slavery. Declaring his total opposition to silencing free speech, he proclaimed himself on the side of the moral reformers; namely, all those who opposed slavery. Smith believed that all "rights spring from a nobler source than human constitutions and government--from the favor of Almighty God." Since God bestowed the divine right of free speech to mankind, "we can never be guilty of its surrender, without consenting to exchange that freedom for slavery, and that dignity and usefulness for debasement and worthlessness." The South "admits that slavery cannot live unless the North is tongue-tied," but abolitionists realized the "incompatibility of free speech and slavery" and refused to remain quiet while "one sixth of our American people" are "crushed in the cruel folds of slavery."[6]

Equating abolitionism with an unsheathed sword that will expunge the "deep and

[4]Gerald Sorin, *The New York Abolitionists: A Case Study of Political Radicalism* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Corporation, 1971), 31; Ralph Volney Harlow, *Gerrit Smith: Philanthropist and Reformer* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1939), 121-22; Milton C. Sernett, "Common Cause: The Antislavery Alliance of Gerrit Smith and Beriah Green," *Syracuse University Library Associates Courier* 21 (Fall 1986): 61-2; Sorin, *Abolitionism: A New Perspective*, 56-7.

[5]Harlow, 120-22; Sorin, *New York Abolitionists*, 32.

[6]Gerrit Smith, "Crime Against the Abolitionists," in *Some Recollections of Our Antislavery Conflict*, Samuel J. May (Boston: Fields and Osgood, 1869), 400.

damning stain . . . from our nation," Smith equated the antislavery movement to a religious cause. After joining the Presbyterian Church in 1826, he became an ardent churchgoer and revivalist. Viewing slavery as a moral transgression that must be immediately repented, he thus perceived slaveholders as arrogant sinners and violators of the Ten Commandments. As Smith later stated, since free speech emanated from God, he believed that the Utica mob represented to him an instructive providential sign to become an active abolitionist. The Utica disruption exhibited proslavery's virulence to Smith, and pushed him away from the American Colonization Society into the AASS.[7]

Smith passionately involved himself in both the AASS and the NYASS. At the NYASS's first annual meeting in October 1836, members recognized that Smith's affluence and rhetorical skills forged him as a formidable leader in the antislavery cause and elected him the society's president. He served in this role until 1839. Coinciding with his presidency, Smith began printing and widely distributing his abolitionist speeches, essays, and letters. He further used his resources and his oratorical talents to influence the evangelical cause of immediate emancipation and to promote his radical view of a divinely purified nation filled with brotherly love of all men.[8] For Gerrit Smith, the drive against slavery represented work for the Lord, and he reveled in the crusading aspect of abolitionism.

During Smith's presidency, the members of the NYASS unanimously adopted a questionnaire to examine Whig and Democratic political candidates concerning their attitudes about slavery and abolitionism. Since antislavery newspapers such as *The Liberator* published candidates' responses with accompanying editorial comment, abolitionists' votes presumably would be withheld from any candidate who failed the interrogation. To maintain the purity of their cause and to avoid forming a third political party, abolitionists hoped this interrogation method, along with moral suasion, would favorably influence local and national elections. Smith and fellow abolitionist William Jay volunteered to question New York's gubernatorial candidates, William H. Seward (Whig) and Governor William L. Marcy (Democrat). Their answers proved unsatisfactory. Because abolitionists voted their former party lines and elected Seward, the New York election results of 1838 showed that both moral suasion and the query method failed to influence abolitionists to vote for antislavery candidates.[9]

At the NYASS convention in 1839, a politically frustrated Smith declared that all abolitionists must participate in the Underground Railroad and help fugitive slaves escape. Smith already actively participated in the illegal Underground Railroad. In 1838 and 1839, for instance, he sheltered escaped slaves and then furnished them with transportation to Canada. He also unhesitatingly used his wealth to emancipate slaves by buying them from

[7]Smith, "Crime Against the Abolitionists," 403; Harlow, 135; Sernett, 61, 66, 68.

[8]Harlow, 138, 141, 144; Richard H. Sewell, *Ballots for Freedom: Antislavery Politics in the United States, 1837-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 12-13, 18.

[9]Sorin, *New York Abolitionists*, 34; Harlow, 267.

their owners. In 1841, for example, Smith paid $3,500 to emancipate a Mississippi slave family of seven people.[10]

From 1839 to 1840, Smith's sentiments shifted from opposing a northern abolitionist political party to understanding that only political action, not moral suasion, would abolish slavery. Since the Democrats and the Whigs attracted both antislavery and proslavery believers, these political organizations necessarily compromised their doctrines to win local, state, and national offices. Smith reasoned that only independent political action would elect true abolitionists to Congress, thereby enabling Congress to pass legislation abolishing slavery. When his fellow abolitionists, Alvan Stewart and Myron Holley, called for united political action, Smith's reservations dissolved; he realized the fruitlessness of the interrogation method and of trying to work with the two major political parties. On April 1, 1840, in Albany, New York, Stewart and Holley headed the formation of the Liberty Party. This abolitionist third party dedicated itself solely to the eradication of American slavery.[11]

Smith believed that abolitionists inherently possessed a moral, religious duty to use all means necessary to overthrow the sin of slavery. Since voters ignored the results of the questionnaires and continued to vote their party lines, interrogating candidates proved useless; and since "no National party in this country, whether ecclesiastical or political, is . . . to be trusted on the question of slavery," a third, temporary political party focused solely on eliminating slavery appeared viable. Because of its temporary, unorthodox nature, the Liberty Party would fail to attract those men Smith viewed as selfish and ambitious; this third party would escape corruption by conventional politics, would remain pure, and would thus purify the political process. After the abolition of slavery had been attained, he and his colleagues morally could return to the two established, and purified, political parties. The milieu of third party politics and radical abolitionism appealed to Smith's zealous nature.[12]

Writing "To the Friends of the Slave," Smith observed that he incensed many of his neighbors when he accused them of voting proslavery. Because they failed to consider slavery when they elected "slaveholders and slavery men"--Whigs and Democrats--who supported both abolition and popular national issues such as high tariffs and a national bank, Smith called his neighbors "false abolitionists." Smith maintained that "they are bound to think of slavery when they vote. . . . Slavery, tyranny, aristocracy, will never cease, [as long as] . . . the individual may be sacrificed to the good of society." Since his neighbors ignored the Liberty Party and cast worthless votes, Smith called for all authentic abolitionists to secede from the "proslavery parties whether political or ecclesiastical" and join the true abolitionist party.[13]

[10]Harlow, 269-70.

[11]Sewell, 45, 48, 66; Sorin, *New York Abolitionists*, 34; Harlow, 163, 148; Sernett, 69; Friedman, 115.

[12]Sewell, 67, 83; Gerrit Smith, Peterboro, New York, to Abolitionists, 13 November 1843, The Gerrit Smith Collection, Special Collections, Ablah Library, Wichita State University, Wichita.

This letter highlighted two of the three uncompromising principles Smith espoused throughout his abolitionist career. First, that anyone committed to antislavery must endorse unequivocally the abolitionist cause. Antislavery voters must join the Liberty Party, give complete support to the abolitionist candidates, and never vote for Whigs or Democrats since they failed to absolutely uphold the antislavery movement. Second, Smith obliquely mentioned separating from an ecclesiastical party. Many of his later speeches and letters railed against the mainline churches that refused to stand against slavery. In two letters, for example, addressed to Madison County and Smithfield abolitionists, Smith explained his rationale for opposing "proslavery politics . . . [and] . . . proslavery religion." Smith expected the church, as the main voice of God, to be purer than the federal government. His fury pointed directly to the clergy who failed to denounce slavery and instead sided with proslavery politicians. Regarding the clergy as hypocrites and "unworthy and dangerous spiritual guides," Smith believed that their "atrocious wickedness" stemmed from their failure to disavow themselves and their churches from the two political parties. "What greater absurdity could these . . . minister[s] of Satan, not of Jesus Christ . . . utter than that men can help overthrow slavery, whilst they cling to parties which are the very pillars of slavery." Smith's answer to speeding up the abolition of slavery lay in destroying both the mainstream churches and political parties, which gave succor to proslavery's adherents.[14] With these influential organizations destroyed, citizens thus would have only the abolitionist movement as their politics and their religion. Smith seemed to allow his intemperate nature to surface occasionally; for example, hoping to influence here his Peterboro-area Liberty Party colleagues to secede from both their mainstream churches and their political parties.

During 1843, the Liberty Party made headway in the Peterboro area. The state and local elections produced a notable swing of votes to the third party's candidates; the Liberty Party totals rose from 580 in 1841 to 1,785. In a letter to his Liberty Party allies, Smith declared that though the Liberty Party "was a novel and bold experiment . . . [it was an] experiment . . . well worth making." Since the Liberty Party candidates swept Madison County, Smith optimistically concluded that the antislavery cause would soon spill into other New York counties and then throughout the rest of America, and in a few years "slavery would be no more." Smith's support of the Liberty Party as the only true antislavery party remained unwavering; he clearly believed in the efficacy of one-idea voting. His optimism quickly dimmed, however, as Smith realized his antislavery efforts bore no results either in the rest of the North or in the South.[15]

[13]Smith, Peterboro, to the Friends of the Slave, 7 March 1843, Smith Collection.

[14]Harlow, 204-5; Smith, Peterboro, to the Abolitionists of the County of Madison, 5 February 1844, Smith Collection; Smith, Peterboro, to the Friends of the Slave in the Town of Smithfield, 12 March 1844, Smith Collection; Lewis Perry, *Radical Abolitionism; Anarchy and the Government of God in Antislavery Thought* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), 178-79.

[15]Smith, Report from the County of Madison, 13 November 1843, Smith Collection.

The third argument against slavery, which Smith introduced in 1844, involved the United States Constitution as an antislavery document. Even though the Constitution did not explicitly prohibit slavery, Smith ascertained that neither did it sanction slavery. Conveniently disregarding the Founding Fathers as slaveholders, Smith concluded that since the Constitution's authors omitted the word "slavery," they clearly affirmed the document's antislavery character. Writing to the renowned abolitionist poet, John Greenleaf Whittier, Smith argued why the AASS wrongly suggested that the Constitution "is a pro-slavery instrument." Since the Constitution's Preamble and the Bill of Rights both established the equality of man, Smith proclaimed that the Constitution, which "knows no man as a slave," sought to pronounce itself and the Union as wholly antislavery. Attempting to invalidate the proslavery argument, Smith then dissected the Constitution's various provisions, which proslavery people used to justify America as a slaveholding nation.[16]

Three arguments, introduced in his letter to Whittier, remained foremost among Smith's lengthy thesis. First, the federal government continued proslavery policies, not because slaves were counted only as three-fifths in apportioning representatives, but because white men continued to elect "pro-slavery men to office." Second, even though slavery continued unabated in the South, the Constitution had stipulated the date of 1808 to end the international slave trade. Smith believed that even if the Constitution "does less against the African slave trade, than is desirable," people needed to give "credit for what [the Constitution]" ordered; namely, it had outlawed the "pro-slavery operation." Third, and most important for Smith's future illegal activities, he invalidated the Constitution's fugitive slave provision. Smith noted that "greater reliance is laid on this, than on any other, to prove, that the Constitution is pro-slavery." Those proslavery advocates who believed that the Constitution's framers meant slaves, wrongly adhered to the proslavery construction of the Constitution. Smith based his reasoning primarily on the framers' eliminating the words "slave . . . slavery . . . [and] servitude" from the Constitution. Also, according to Smith, the fugitive slave provisions stipulated that "service or labor due" defined someone under servitude and thus returnable as a fugitive; the slave defined as chattel by the Southern slave codes, remained outside this provision.[17] Smith's antislavery constitutional arguments illustrated his evolution to the radical abolitionist side. By reiterating the themes of proslavery churches, proslavery political parties, and antislavery Constitution as his basis for radical political abolitionism, Smith justified disobeying federal government laws. When he became ostracized from mainstream abolitionism, he continued blindly to believe zealously in the rightness of his moral positions.

Realizing the fruitlessness of expecting slavery's imminent eradication, Smith completely broke from both the Liberty Party's one-idea platform and the party's impermanent nature. By 1847, Smith considered Whigs and Democrats as hopelessly intransigent toward changing their proslavery attitudes; he believed, therefore, that the

[16]Harlow, 280; Friedman, 114; Smith to John Greenleaf Whittier, 18 July 1844, Smith Collection.

Liberty Party must remain permanent as the only moral choice for voters. Since Smith's revamped belief opposed the Liberty Party's integral foundation, a splinter faction of Liberty Party members, including Gerrit Smith, formed the Liberty League. The League's broadened platform not only endorsed the abolition of slavery, but supported other radical reforms; the League upheld, for example, the abolition of the United States postal service, and the dismantling of the Army and Navy. Formally seceding from the Liberty Party, the League clearly viewed itself as a viable political party, willing to adopt measures to govern the United States. To ensure that voters viewed the League as a permanent, unadulterated antislavery entity, wholly different from Whigs and Democrats, the new party excluded anyone from its list of potential officeholders remotely tinged with proslavery beliefs.[18]

Although Smith hoped the Liberty Party would eventually absorb the League, he plainly recognized that the Liberty Party's single-issue stance clearly limited its attraction to voters. In a faultfinding letter to the editor of the *Liberty Press*, the Liberty Party's periodical, Smith attempted to explain this potential liability and to defend his reasons for forming the splinter party. He pointedly contrasted the differences between the League and the Liberty Party. Since it included equality for all humankind and other policies that enhanced equal rights, the League augmented the Party's single issue of abolishing slavery; for example, the League embraced issues of free trade and unlimited ownership of land. By adamantly adhering to its narrow single issue agenda, the Liberty Party could never "act rationally" as a viable political party; "it disqualif[ies] itself for the intelligent administration of government, and the proper discharge of all the duties of government." Smith charged the party with "stupidity" and "pride of consistency" in its stubborn refusal to "obey the law of progress."[19] In Smith's eyes, the Liberty League fashioned a useful platform for governing. Smith's altered feelings for the Liberty Party certainly illustrated both his changeable nature and his transformed beliefs about the possibility of eradicating slavery through political action.

Continuing to justify his break from the party, Smith understatedly called himself "a man of change" in a letter to *The Emancipator*, a prominent Boston antislavery publication. Declaring that he now perceived a single-issue party as "absurd," he vowed that he never would again participate in organizing a "temporary political party . . . which goes for the promotion of but a single specific reform." Smith consequently declared his lack of confidence in the Liberty Party's abolitionist doctrine and regretted his former allegiance to it. Since Smith proclaimed himself a changed man, he regarded attending the national Liberty Party convention at Buffalo in October 1847 as an evangelical mission to convert the rest of the Liberty Party's members to his adjusted views. In his speech of October 20, 1847, Smith trusted that the Liberty delegates would listen "to wise counsels," namely Gerrit

[17]Ibid.

[18]Sorin, *New York Abolitionists*, 35: Sewell, 118-19; Friedman, 118; Alan M. Kraut and Phyllis F. Field, "Politics Versus Principles: The Partisan Response to 'Bible Politics' in New York State," *Civil War History* 25 (June 1979): 116.

[19]Smith, Peterboro, to Editor of the *Liberty Press*, 3 July 1847, Smith Collection.

Smith himself, and adopt his extended notions of reform. If the Liberty Party followed his advice, "it would make rapid progress to victory" and portray itself as an "attractive model of a political party."[20]

Smith, as political missionary, obviously viewed his righteous strategy as the only mechanism to achieve total reform of society and government. He became dogmatic in his convictions, however, as he grew more exasperated and disheartened with hypocrites who willingly brokered their antislavery convictions for political gains. In a justification of his radical antislavery commitment, written to his friend and colleague, Salmon P. Chase, Smith clearly displayed his impatience with Chase's refusal to support his reasoned proclamation for outlawing slavery in the United States. He wondered why Chase, an ardent abolitionist, refused to acknowledge Smith's antislavery resolution at the recent Liberty Party national convention, when clearly the "cause of the slave calls for that approval." In a frustrated, almost mocking tone, Smith ended his letter with the following barbed question: "[Is] it not high time for the Liberty party to have done with running after the pro-slavery speculations on the intentions of the Constitution?" He derisively replied, "[L]et the Liberty party look into [the Constitution's] fair free face, instead of mousing about behind its back among the heaps of pro-slavery speculations, which pro-slavery commentators have piled up there."[21]

As the Liberty Party moved toward a merger with moderate antislavery Whigs and Democrats to form the Free Soil Party in 1848, Smith attempted to revive the former Liberty Party spirit of ardent abolitionism and combine it with the League's radical reforms. Clearly unwilling to forsake the party he founded and nurtured, but feeling abandoned by his formerly devoted abolitionist colleagues, Smith organized a National Liberty Party rump convention in Buffalo, June 14 and 15, where delegates selected him as their presidential candidate. He readily accepted this nomination and ran on the True Liberty Party ticket, winning only 2,545 votes out of one million total votes in his home state of New York. Moderate abolitionists deserted all factions of the Liberty Party and cast their votes for Martin Van Buren, the Free Soil Party's presidential candidate.[22]

The Compromise of 1850, particularly the stringent Fugitive Slave Law, pushed Smith further into the radical abolitionist crowd. The Compromise combined popular sovereignty in the western territory gained from the Mexican-American War, admitting California as a free state, ending the Washington D.C. slave trade, and allowing southern slaveholders an easier time recovering their escaped slaves. To garner northern antislavery support, Smith, Samuel May, and other similarly-minded abolitionists held a series of protest conventions centered on the Fugitive Slave Law. In Syracuse on January 9, 1851, Smith chaired the

[20]Smith, Peterboro, to Editors of *The Emancipator*, 23 August 1847, Smith Collection; Speech of Smith, "On the Character, Scope, and Duties of the Liberty Party," in *Agitation for Freedom: The Abolitionist Movement*, ed. Donald G. Mathews (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1972), 107.

[21]Mathews, 94; Smith, Peterboro, to S.P. Chase, "Unconstitutionality of Every Part of American Slavery," Albany: S.W. Green, Patriot Office, 1 November 1847, Smith Collection.

Anti-Fugitive Slave Law Meeting. Under his potent leadership, delegates approved every one of his seventeen resolutions. These resolutions stated that all true abolitionists should pledge themselves to resist the Fugitive Slave Act by any means possible; "every law in favor of slavery is, most emphatically . . . no law." Smith pleaded for all righteous citizens to disobey the Fugitive Slave Law; since civil government answered to the "laws of God," the federal government "is entitled to no authority or obedience" whenever it violated God's laws. He and his followers were not rebels for disobeying laws; rather Smith declared Congress rebellious for violating God's laws. Smith appealed also to northern blacks in his calls for militant action, and suggested that white antislavery activists "presume not . . . to prescribe what you shall do for the overthrow of American slavery. It is for you to determine . . . by what means you shall undertake to [en]compass this object. . . . [W]e need your help to overthrow the blood and satanic system of American slavery."[23]

Smith hoped that his caustic, accusatory words shocked the public. At this point in his movement toward the militant side, Smith apparently realized that by speaking forcefully, he lost no support and might even entice some borderline antislavery activists to his side. In subsequent speeches and letters saturated with contempt for the federal government as a "lying counterfeit civil government," Smith indicted the government for criminal activities against freedom and liberty. He accused Congress of supporting slavery as a "National Institution" and turning America into a "hunting ground for human prey." Because Smith plainly believed that political action failed to effect slavery's eradication, he also publicly called for the overthrow of slavery. His fellow abolitionists apparently bartered their convictions for the sake of political gain in the Free Soil Party, a party Smith viewed as proslavery. The federal government turned the country into hunting grounds and itself into man-catching bloodhounds. For Smith, the 1850s began on a dispiriting note. Blaming the unrighteous federal government for making its citizens "ignorant and base and wretched" by keeping them in slavery, Smith hoped to inflame the antislavery passion of reformers and attract them to the Liberty Party's prospective rebirth. To redeem the federal government and bring needed reforms to America, the Liberty Party for Gerrit Smith ironically still represented the only noble political vehicle in the country.[24]

The second event in Smith's life that shaped the growing militancy of his convictions occurred at another attempt to resuscitate the Liberty Party. William "Jerry" McHenry, a fugitive slave from Missouri who had been working as a barrel-maker in Syracuse, was arrested under the Fugitive Slave Law by United States deputy marshals. When Smith, Samuel May, and the other Liberty Party delegates learned of McHenry's arrest and

[22]Friedman, 118-19; Harlow, 182, 187.

[23]Speech of Smith at Anti-Fugitive Slave Law Meeting, Syracuse, New York, 9 January 1851, Smith Collection; Harlow, 188-90, 294.

[24]Speech of Gerrit Smith, "Made in the National Liberty Party Convention at Buffalo," 17 September 1851, Smith Collection; Smith, Peterboro, to the Voters of the United States, 15 July 1851, Smith Collection.

imprisonment in Judge Joseph F. Sabine's chambers, they acted on their ideology of disobeying illegitimate laws. Adhering to Smith's pacifist entreaties to avoid harming any law enforcement officials, twenty-five of the delegates, including Smith and May, attacked Judge Sabine's office, broke through the locked door, freed McHenry, and eventually spirited him to Canada. Only one rescuer was eventually convicted for the successful Jerry Rescue. For Smith, the Jerry Rescue clearly validated his militant polemics. Rescuing a fugitive slave demonstrated the strength of local public opinion in defying federal law. Smith proposed to honor their defiant achievement at anniversary celebrations. Throughout the 1850s, Syracuse abolitionists met each October 1 to celebrate the Jerry Rescue and to attack both slavery and the federal government.[25]

The Fugitive Slave Law and the Jerry Rescue eventually aroused public antislavery sentiment and led to an unexpected occurrence in Smith's life. In 1852, the Twenty-second New York Congressional District elected him to Congress on the Free Democrat Party ticket. Claiming he lacked political experience, Smith reluctantly accepted his constituents' summons; in a public letter, he asserted, "I will so discharge [my] duties, as neither to dishonor myself, nor you." Smith, more importantly, revealed the credo by which he would serve in Congress. His "peculiar political creed" embraced previously advocated reforms such as free trade and abolishing the army and navy; Smith now added equal rights for women and blacks. Foremost, though, he demanded the eradication of slavery. If any voter had failed to construe his motivations, this letter addressed any such misconceptions.[26]

In scathing terms, the *New-York Daily Times* reported Smith's election. Describing him as "an ultraist" because he zealously believed in the "absolute rightness" of all subjects that dominated his thinking, the editorial firmly predicted an unsuccessful congressional career for Smith. The writer foresaw Smith's inability to gain a leadership position because representatives, far from being visionaries and idealists, "are practical men." Though Smith would earnestly argue and deliberate his points with "ingenuity and ability," his "influence in Congress . . . will amount to just none at all." The editorialist perceptively analyzed Smith's idiosyncrasies and shrewdly suspected that he ignobly would fail to adequately represent his constituents. The district apparently elected him on a surge of abolitionist sentiment resulting from both the Jerry Rescue and from Smith's unwavering pounding of the Fugitive Slave Law. Knowing Smith's penchant for uncompromising, radical abolitionism, his constituents seemingly chose to disregard his obstinacy and unwillingness to respect opposing views. As Smith supporter Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts remarked, the country needed Smith's services in Congress to promote the cause of liberty; namely, to promote the cause of antislavery.[27]

[25]Harlow, 295, 303, 329; John R. McKivigan and Madeleine Leveille, "The 'Black Dream' of Gerrit Smith, New York Abolitionist," *Syracuse University Library Associates Courier* 20 (Fall 1985): 53.

[26]Smith, Peterboro, to the Voters of the Counties of Oswego and Madison, 5 November 1852, Smith Collection.

Soon after arriving in Congress, Smith's speeches focused on his usual topics of abolitionism, free trade, and peace. Then, in December 1853, Senator Stephen Douglas introduced the third version of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which ultimately repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820 and allowed the territories' citizens to decide the slavery question. Along with Senators Charles Sumner and Salmon Chase and Representatives Joshua Giddings, Edward Wade, and Alexander De Witt, Smith signed Chase's abolitionist appeal against the bill. This protest denounced the bill as "an atrocious plot to exclude from a vast unoccupied region . . . free laborers . . . and convert it into a dreary region of despotism, inhabited by masters and slaves." The signers warned freedom-loving citizens that its passage would cause "the blight of slavery" to smother the country.[28]

On April 6, 1854, Smith gave his only speech in the House of Representatives against the Kansas-Nebraska bill. He reiterated his predictable antislavery, constitutional arguments, and asserted a fresh reason to oppose the bill based on the Constitution's limits on state sovereignty. Since the Founding fathers refused to repeat the Article of Confederation's mistakes, they created a government "too broad and binding to consist with State sovereignty. . . . [The Constitution] denies the State many specific powers, each of which is vital to sovereignty." Giving customary equal time to both church and state, Smith denounced the federal government as a "bastard democracy" and labeled the hypocritical churches a "bastard Christianity, which endorses this bastard democracy . . . . The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man . . . are quite foreign to our sham democracy and our sham Christianity." Smith branded himself a prophet and predicted a violent end to slavery. He warned that this method of abolition "would constitute one of the bloodiest chapters in all the book of time . . . and a reckoning for deep and damning wrongs, such an outbursting of smothered and pent-up revenge, as living man has never seen."[29]

Because it violated Smith's belief in the principle of majority rule, he refused to participate in a Whig scheme to make it impossible to secure a voting quorum for the bill, thus, foreshadowing his eventual resignation. Abolitionists naturally assailed Smith for taking the villainous majority's side, and on August 7, 1854, he resigned from Congress. Smith justified his behavior to his constituents. He complained about strictures on his speeches and about congressional abolitionists opposing his views. Smith carefully explained his refusal to join the Whig scheme to prevent voting on the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Noting that if a minority holds "the majority at bay," no matter how righteous the minority's cause, the democratic foundations of the Constitution would be violated; Smith never would consent to a rule that worked against democracy. "I could not believe that [the House rules] were made for so wrongful--for so anti-democratic--a purpose." In blaming his brief tenure on those in Congress who prevented his free speech, Smith deflected having to

[27]"Gerrit Smith," *New York Times*, 8 November 1852; Harlow, 313.

[28]Harlow, 327; *Congressional Globe*, 33rd Cong., 1st sess., vol. 28, pt. 1, 1854; "Shall Slavery Be Permitted in Nebraska?", *Congressional Globe*, 33rd Cong., 1st sess., vol. 28, pt. 1:281-284, 1854.

[29]"Speech of Gerrit Smith on the Nebraska Bill," 6 April 1854, Smith Collection.

confront his own uncooperative fanaticism and stubbornness. Perceiving himself with apparent anxiety as an antislavery rebel, he seemingly believed his fellow colleagues imposed strictures on him. Ironically, the antislavery issue that led Smith to Congress provoked his resignation.[30]

After resigning from Congress, Smith abandoned his constitutional arguments for abolition and concentrated solely on a violent end to slavery as the only solution. Disheartened with the South's refusal to end slavery, disheartened with the federal government's seeming proslavery stand, and disheartened with his fellow abolitionists who indubitably supported the proslavery political parties, he gave his attention to militant abolitionism, particularly to John Brown and his revolutionary cause. Smith first met John Brown in 1849 when Smith sold Brown a 244-acre tract in Essex County, New York. Brown and his family lived there until 1855. Influenced by the antislavery Kansas Aid Movement, Brown emigrated to Kansas and joined the free-state struggle. To help the Browns settle in Kansas, Smith donated $60 received from a Radical Political Abolitionists convention held in Syracuse. In March 1856, after pledging $3,000 to the Kansas movement, Smith stated his lack of objection if the movement needed to use his money to purchase weapons for self-defense against the "Border Ruffians."[31]

Under Smith's leadership, the Kansas Aid Movement in Madison County passed a militant proclamation to protect the abolitionists in Kansas; for example, the mandate advocated that citizens attack federal troops stationed in Kansas. This mandate certainly exemplified Smith's encampment in the militant antislavery wing. In Smith's Jerry Rescue anniversary message of 1856, he reiterated his call to arms and justified his militant views; since the government conspired against human rights, rebelling against the proslavery federal government was legitimate. Though Smith ironically still held pacifist views, and in 1856 served as vice-president of the American Peace Society, he plainly committed himself to ending slavery by violent means.[32]

Brown and Smith met in Chicago in June 1857. Smith gave Brown $350 and loaned him another $110 to help finance Brown's band of free-staters. At Smith's Peterboro home the following February, Brown presented his Harper's Ferry plan to the "Secret Six." This covert group included Franklin B. Sanborn; wealthy industrialist George Luther Stearns, who also heavily financed Brown; physician Samuel Gridley Howe; and Unitarian ministers Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Theodore Parker. Appealing to the group's militant antislavery stance, Brown claimed that his plan to liberate the slaves was the only way left to end slavery. Reluctantly acquiescing to Brown's plan, Smith pensively noted to Sanborn

[30]Harlow, 330; Smith to His Constituents, n.p., 7 August 1854; Smith letter, n.p., 5 November 1852; *New York Times*, 8 November 1852; *Congressional Globe*, vol. 28, pt. 1, 1854.

[31]Harlow, 305, 336, 340; McKivigan and Leveille, 54-5; Jeffrey Rossbach, *Ambivalent Conspirators, John Brown, The Secret Six, and a Theory of Slave Violence* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 71, 95.

that he could see no other way to destroy slavery. Smith's vice-presidency of the national American Peace Society clearly presented an obstacle to his public support of Brown. To protect both his pacifist reputation and future political ambitions, he eventually chose to remain uninformed of Brown's specific plans.[33] Financially supporting Brown, though, apparently presented no problem for Smith.

After Smith's disastrous campaign for governor of New York on the People's State Ticket in 1858, he angrily concluded that all true believers in his cause "[had] been swallowed up by the political parties and seem very willing to be the dupes of party leaders." In an acrimonious, melancholy speech delivered to his supporters, he attributed all current antislavery work to those faithful followers "outside of political parties," and particularly in Kansas by "John Brown, the fighter." His anger at losing the governor's race, combined with his frustration over the apparent desertion of his former abolitionist supporters, prompted Smith unequivocally to support Brown's abolitionist movement. Brown's general plans to carry his war into the South and to trust the slaves to end slavery attracted Smith to his scheme. Since Smith regarded the slaves as the ones to abolish slavery, he listened sympathetically to Brown; and in April 1859, still paradoxically maintaining ignorance of Brown's final plans, Smith pledged another $4,000 to the scheme.[34]

By the summer of 1859, Smith obviously recognized that Brown's plot involved violence. In a bitter letter to John Thomas, head of that year's Jerry Rescue organizing committee, he alleged that the anniversary celebration had become a farce and declined to attend the ceremony. Smith explained that shortly after the Jerry Rescue in 1851, he had become disappointed in his fellow abolitionists. After each anniversary celebration, they defaced their humanity and acted hypocritically by returning to their "proslavery churches [and voting] for men who acknowledged a law for slavery . . . they soon sunk down to the low level of their political and church parties." Sensing that Brown soon would institute his violent plan, Smith forewarned Thomas about slavery's bloody end. Noting that "it is perhaps too late to bring slavery to an end by peaceable means . . . my fears that it must be wiped out in blood . . . have grown into belief." Since white people failed to abolish slavery, he further asserted that blacks now felt "they must deliver themselves."[35]

John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry and his subsequent capture surprisingly shocked and unnerved Gerrit Smith. Smith seemingly remained unconvinced that Brown would actually invade the South and try to liberate slaves.[36] Financially supporting Brown's cause and choosing ignorance of Brown's actual plans, plainly allowed Smith to believe

[32]Harlow, 351, 355.

[33]McKivigan and Leveille, 55-6; Rossbach, 6.

[34]"The Abolition Party," *New York Times*, 25 November 1858; Merton Lynn Dillon, *The Abolitionists: The Growth of a Dissenting Minority* (New York: Norton, 1979), 229-30, 232; McKivigan and Leveille, 57.

[35]Smith, Peterboro, to John Thomas, 27 August 1859, Smith Collection.

[36]Rossbach, 226.

disingenuously that he maintained a margin of noninvolvement, thereby allowing Smith to continue a sterile association with Brown. His facade of noninvolvement soon changed.

Within two days of Brown's capture, the first reports of the raid appeared in newspapers and mentioned Smith's name as a possible accomplice. Federal authorities found in Brown's possession a letter, dated June 4, 1859, and a canceled bank draft for $100, dated August 22, 1859, both from Smith. On October 20, 1859, the front page of the *New York Times* prominently featured Smith's Jerry Rescue letter of that year, which to many readers, definitely signaled Smith's prior knowledge of Brown's raid. This letter "will be read with interest as a prophecy . . . of the outbreak at Harper's Ferry." The next day, the *Times* similarly branded the letter found in Brown's possessions, as the "most important and significant of all the letters from Smith." Smith wrote, "I have done what I could thus far for Kansas, and what I could to keep you at your Kansas work." He then offered "my draft for $200 . . . . You live in our hearts . . . we pray to God that you may have strength to continue in your Kansas work. My wife [and I] hold [you] in very high esteem." Because he thus was linked directly to Brown as an accomplice, Smith apparently suffered a mental and physical collapse. He retired in seclusion to his Peterboro mansion. On November 7, 1859, five days after he learned of Brown's death sentence, Smith's family committed him to the New York State Asylum for the Insane at Utica. Smith remained there until soon after Brown's death; on December 29, 1859, apparently recovered from his illness, Smith returned to Peterboro.[37]

Theories abounded about Smith's seclusion. Historian Jeffrey Rossbach speculated that his guilty conscience, combined with a fear of public approbation for allying himself with a seeming lunatic, pushed Smith to suffer a breakdown. Smith's great wealth afforded him the opportunity to hide; nevertheless, he still needed to resolve his own association with Brown. According to historians John R. McKivigan and Madeleine Leveille, even on his deathbed, Smith refused to admit any intimate connection with Brown's raid.[38] He forsook his pacifist side when he committed himself to aiding Brown. Following Harper's Ferry, however, his guilt over disavowing his pacifist beliefs and the knowledge that he abetted the violence obviously induced Smith's mental and physical collapse.

Shortly after Smith's release from the asylum, he joined the newly formed Republican Party, and once the Civil War began, loyally endorsed the Union cause. After the war's end, Smith continued to gain financially through railroad investments and continued his philanthropy. According to his family and friends, Smith softened, lost his evangelical fervor, and concentrated on people's positive natures rather than their wickedness.[39]

By representing a side of history illustrating how emotional fervor can provoke

[37]Harlow 411; "Letter From Gerrit Smith to Capt. Brown," *New York Times*, 21 October 1859; Rossbach, 226-7.

[38]Rossbach, 228; Harlow, 413; McKivigan and Leveille, 51.

[39]Harlow, 428, 479, 483; *New York Times* 29 December 1874. Smith gave the town of Peterboro $20,000 for road building and $30,000 to the town of Oswego for a public library.

committed citizens, Smith's place in American history clearly stemmed from the zealous fringe of the abolitionist movement. Gerrit Smith's dream of true equality for all humankind and his journey through the abolitionist period to fulfill his dream definitely showcased a militant microcosm of radical political history. Contradictions abounded in Smith's life. His speeches and writings contained numerous examples of his paradoxical, changeable temperament from moderation to militancy, and clearly exemplified this period's emotional potential for those Americans such as Gerrit Smith who passionately believed in the antislavery cause. Because Smith's great wealth provided him time to devote to this moral cause, the antislavery movement gained a colorful character. As Smith described himself in 1856, "he stands, like Jupiter, thundering, and shaking with his thunderbolts his throne itself."[40] Gerrit Smith unquestionably thundered and definitely shook with his words a nation that seemingly resisted his antislavery fervor but eventually moved to his moral place in society.

[40]McKivigan and McKivigan, 199.

THE CHOCTAW 'NET PROCEEDS' DELEGATION AND THE TREATY OF 1855

KIRK SCOTT

A period of intense three-way negotiation between the United States Government, the Choctaw Nation, and the Chickasaw Nation began April 10, 1855. The issues under consideration were the Choctaw's desire for the "net proceeds" from the sale of lands in Mississippi ceded to the United States in the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek (1830), the political autonomy desired by the Chickasaws residing in the Choctaw Nation, and the lease of land in the western portion of the Choctaw Nation to the United States for "the permanent settlement of the Wichita and such other tribes or bands of Indians as the government may desire to locate therein."[1] The purpose of this paper is to explore the interconnected nature of these three issues and their historical context, the relative weakness of the Choctaw's negotiating position vis-a-vis the United States and the Chickasaw delegation, and the culmination of these negotiations in the Treaty of 1855. As an example of the treaty-making process, the negotiations of 1855 reveal the legalistic fiction that was at the heart of the process; a process ultimately ended by Congress in 1871.

The first issue, the net proceeds from Mississippi land sales, arose from a claim by the Choctaws that the United States had failed to pay adequate compensation for livestock and improvements on former Choctaw lands in Mississippi. The Choctaws claimed further that the government had realized substantial profits from the sale of these lands to white settlers. In 1853, the Choctaw Nation had authorized a delegation led by Chief Peter P. Pitchlynn (including Israel Fulsom, Samuel Garland and Dixon W. Lewis) to go to Washington D.C. to settle the "net proceeds" issue.[2]

The second issue, that of the Chickasaw desire for political autonomy, resulted from the removal of the Chickasaws from Mississippi by the Treaty of 1832 and their settlement in Choctaw territory by the Treaty of 1837.[3] The Chickasaws, because of their linguistic and ethnological similarity to the Choctaws, were resettled in the Choctaw lands of Indian Territory, paying the Choctaws five hundred and thirty thousand dollars for the area known as the "Chickasaw District of the Choctaw Nation." Under the Treaty of 1837 the Choctaws and Chickasaws were to be joined politically. The Chickasaw felt that they were underrepresented in legislative matters, however, and over the years, sentiment in favor of

[1] A. R. Durant, ed., Constitution and Laws of The Choctaw Nation Together with the Treaties of 1837, 1855, 1865 and 1866 (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1973), 42.

[2] Angie Debo, The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 73.

[3] Chickasaw Legislature, Constitution, Treaties and Laws of the Chickasaw Nation (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1975), 286.

separation from the Choctaws increased among the Chickasaw.[4] Letters from the Chickasaw delegation to Washington requesting autonomy are included in the Choctaw agency's files for the period of negotiation leading to the Treaty of 1855.

The third issue included in the negotiations of the spring of 1855, the lease of Choctaw lands for the settlement of the Wichita, arose from the tension between the Wichita and frontier settlers in Texas. According to historian John Paige "poor relations between Texas and the Indians [Wichita] had been constant throughout the years," and "Texans charged the reservation Indians of their state with crimes that were never committed."[5] Indeed in September 1852, the *New York Daily Times* published a report from a Mr. Stein, special Indian agent for Texas, intended to dispel rumors of atrocities by the Commanches and horse theft by the Wichita. According to the report, rumors of atrocities had "no foundation in fact, and reports of theft were minor."[6] A letter from G. H. Hill, Special Indian Agent for Texas, to Supervising Agent R. S. Neighbors, however, stated that "the Wichita . . . may be considered in a state of open hostility" and that "they commit depredations by stealing horses from time to time." Hill believed that there was "no well founded claim for the settlement of these people in Texas, nor do they desire it . . . they claim a home north of the Red River." Hill then expressed his desire for "stipulations whereby the intercourse between them and the United States may be fixed on a more permanent basis"[7] The tension between Texas and the Wichita, in any case, remained high, as did the pressure to resettle the Wichita. According to the Treaty of 1837, however, the right to dispose of Choctaw land was held in common by the Choctaws and Chickasaws.[8] This fact set the stage for the interwoven complexity of the negotiations of 1855.

Drought and famine in the Indian Territory further complicated the position of the Choctaw delegation. A drought that began in 1855 continued through 1860.[9] On February 22, 1855 the Agent for the Choctaws, Douglas H. Cooper, received a letter from a representative of the Choctaw nation (signature illegible) describing the situation thus; "Many person [sic] are digging wild potatoes -- Starvation continues unless relief is

[4] Muriel H. Wright, "Brief Outline of the Choctaw Nation in Indian Territory," Chronicles of Oklahoma, Volume 7 (4), (December, 1929): 404.

[5] John C. Paige, "Wichita Indian Agents, 1857-1869," Journal of the West, Volume 12 (3), (1973): 405.

[6] New York Times, September 17, 1852.

[7] Letter, G. H. Hill to R. S. Neighbors, September 30, 1854, United States Commission of Indian Affairs Annual Reports, 1824-19, Microfiche 872, Roll 4158, Card 2, Southwest Agency 1854, National Archives.

[8] Chickasaw Legislature, Constitution, 286.

[9] Paul Bonnifield, "Choctaw Nation on the Eve of the Civil War," Journal of the West, Volume 12 (3), (1973): 387.

obtained."[10] Cooper forwarded the letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs George W. Manypenny on March 24, 1855. The cover letter explained that "it appears the people are on the verge of starvation," and that "under the pressure of hunger & want they are continuing depredations upon the property of one another and also that of white citizens of the United States, residing among them."[11] Cooper then expressed his "hope that the appropriation recently made by Congress . . . may be disbursed to the benefit of the Choctaw Nation." The appropriation referred to was approved by the United States Senate in 1853 and appropriated by the House of Representative on March 3, 1855. This appropriation in the amount of $92,258.50 was part of the settlement for arrearages requested by the Choctaw delegation.[12] The delegation was further instructed by the General Council of the Choctaws on November 10, 1854, to "remain at Washington City and continue to press to a final settlement all claims and unsettled business of the Choctaw with the Government of the United States."[13] Manypenny was aware, through his contact with Cooper, of the pressure to settle brought to bear on the Choctaw Delegation by drought and starvation.

The negotiation of the Treaty of 1855 began in earnest on April 9 with a letter of instruction from Commissioner Manypenny to Agent Cooper requesting that the Choctaw settle the Chickasaw dispute and agree to lease western lands to the United States. Cooper replied to Manypenny on April 10, enclosing the Choctaw response to Manypenny's initiative and requesting further instruction.[14] In the matter of the Chickasaw dispute, the Choctaw Delegation responded in the April 10 communication that "relations between the Choctaw and the Chickasaws are fixed and defined by the convention of 1837, to which the government is a party."[15] The Choctaw Delegation stated further that, given the fact that disputes over boundaries and obligations for government expenses have been recently settled, the delegation is "not aware of anything now existing which can be considered a matter of difference between [the Choctaw and Chickasaw]." The settlement of boundary and government expense refers to the 1854 Treaty of Doaksville in which a dispute over the eastern boundary of the Chickasaw District was settled.[16]

[10] Letter, (illegible) to D. H. Cooper, Feb. 22, 1855, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Microfilm 234, Roll 174, Choctaw Agency 1855-56, National Archives.

[11] Letter, D. H. Cooper to G.W. Manypenny, March 24, 1855, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Microfilm 234, Roll 174, Choctaw Agency 1855-56, National Archives.

[12] U.S., Congress, Senate, Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Appendix to the Congressional Globe, 33 Congress, 2nd session, 1854-55.

[13] Letter, D. H. Cooper to G.W. Manypenny, May 12, 1855, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Microfilm 234, Roll 174, Choctaw Agency 1855-56, National Archives.

[14] Letter, D. H. Cooper to G.W. Manypenny, April 10, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Microfilm 234, Roll 174, Choctaw Agency 1855-56, National Archives.

[15] Letter, Choctaw Delegation to D. H. Cooper, April 10, 1855, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Microfilm 234, Roll 174, Choctaw Agency 1855-56, National Archives.

The Choctaws appeared to be unaware, at this point in the negotiations, of the Chickasaw demand for autonomy. But in fact the Choctaw Delegation was aware of the unsettled matter of Chickasaw autonomy. Agent Cooper reported to the Ft. Smith superintendent of Indian Affairs in September, 1854, that Chickasaw autonomy had been discussed for many years and that "commissioners from both tribes have been appointed to correspond on the subject of separate and distinct jurisdiction over the Chickasaw district." [17] The Choctaw Delegation was apparently affecting a position of ignorance at this point in the 1855 negotiations, placing the Chickasaw autonomy issue outside the realm of legitimate consideration and thereby attempting to place themselves in a stronger bargaining position.

The delegation then reiterated its position on the net proceeds issue, stating that "our opinions and convictions in regard to the just and equitable rights of the Choctaws, having undergone no change, we are not in a situation to suggest any arrangement inconsistent therewith."[18] Referring to the "Witchitaw [sic] and other bands of Indians," the Choctaw Delegation considered them a "nuisance, and we had far rather be rid of them altogether." And although such an arrangement [permanent settlement of the Wichita] would be greatly repugnant to our inclinations . . . we would consent to it on fair and reasonable terms, if it can be made a part of a just and equitable adjustment of all the issues . . . between the Choctaws and the government. Otherwise we could not take the serious responsibility of encountering the prejudices and opposition of our people to the measure.[19]

The correspondence of April 9 and 10, 1855, set the terms of negotiation: The United States wanted land for the resettlement of the Wichita; the Choctaw would agree if the matter was tied to settlement of the "net proceeds" issue. The tone of the Choctaw letter implied that the delegation believed itself to be at an advantage by reluctantly considering the lease of land in return for arrearages. Implicit in the letter, however, was the heretofore-unmentioned matter of Chickasaw demands. Pitchlynn and the Choctaw delegates were apparently unaware at this point that the use of the lease as bargaining leverage could founder on the unwillingness of the Chickasaw delegates to comply.

In a memorandum of talks held between Cooper and the Choctaw delegates dated April 14, and forwarded to Manypenny on April 16, the Choctaws stated that they "consider the great object of their mission here, is to effect a settlement of their own affairs," but if the government considered there to be differences between the Choctaw and "Chickasaws that require adjustment, and will state what they are, and its wishes upon the subject, the

[16] Wright, "Brief Outline," 404.

[17] Letter, D. H. Cooper to T.S. Drew, September 20, 1854, United States Commission of Indian Affairs Annual Reports, 1824-19, Microfiche 872, Roll 4158, Card 2, Southwest Agency 1854, National Archives.

[18] Letter, Choctaw Delegation to D. H. Cooper, April 10, 1855, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Microfilm 234, Roll 174, Choctaw Agency 1855-56, National Archives.

[19] Ibid.

Delegation will take them into consideration in any negotiations . . . on the settlement of their own affairs."[20]

In a separate memorandum, also dated April 14, of a meeting between Cooper and the Chickasaw Delegation, the Chickasaws explicitly stated their desire for "an arrangement to be entered into, whereby the jurisdiction of the Chickasaw Tribe over their district may be acknowledged, and, their independence as a Nation, secured." The Chickasaws further "earnestly invoke the Paternal interposition of the Government of the United States, for the purpose for bringing about a . . . solution of the difficulties . . . existing between the two Tribes." The Chickasaw Delegation then stated its willingness to "enter into an arrangement . . . for the permanent settlement of the Witchita [sic]."[21]

The Chickasaw demand for autonomy was thus stated explicitly and in a manner that tied the demand to the issue of the lease for land for resettlement. A letter from the Choctaw Delegation to Cooper dated April 20, forwarded to Manypenny on April 21, was a response to a request by the interior secretary for their terms of settlement. The Choctaw responded that they have already stated their desires, and have reiterated their position in the letter dated April 10, 1855. It was the United States government that rejected their claims only to re-open the matter "voluntarily," apparently out of a desire to negotiate the lease of lands for the Wichita resettlement:

> Thus, as we are unwilling . . . to place ourselves in an inconsistent position -- to depreciate and undervalue our rights by making any proposition at variance with [our position] . . . it seems to us only reasonable that it [the United States government] should now say to us what it is willing to do to place the business in some train of negotiation."[22]

On April 24 the Choctaw delegation sent a rather lengthy memorandum to Agent Cooper. This memorandum responded to the interior secretary's assertion that the Choctaws had made "settlement of the issues between the Choctaws and the Chickasaws" the precondition to "a settlement of their demands against the United States." The Choctaws still insist that "since the recent settlement of certain questions between them [the 1854 Treaty of Doaksville] we were 'not aware of any thing now existing which can be considered a matter of difference between [the two tribes] consistently [sic] with the provisions of said conventions' -- that of 1837 . . ."[23]

[20] Letter, Choctaw Delegation to D. H. Cooper, April 14, 1855, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Microfilm 234, Roll 174, Choctaw Agency 1855-56, National Archives.

[21] Letter, Chickasaw Delegation to D. H. Cooper, April 14, 1855, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Microfilm 234, Roll 174, Choctaw Agency 1855-56, National Archives.

[22] Letter, Choctaw Delegation to D. H. Cooper, April 20, 1855, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Microfilm 234, Roll 174, Choctaw Agency 1855-56, National Archives.

The Choctaw Delegation was now, however, fully aware of the specific demands of the Chickasaws through the memorandum of April 14. They either refused to acknowledge them as legitimate under the terms of the 1837 treaty, or remained intractable on the issue in order to affect a stronger bargaining position. In either case, the delegation stated explicitly that they could not "consent to the sale or alienation, beyond our own ultimate control, of one foot of our country . . . nor could we agree to a separate and independent government over so large a portion of our country as that embraced in 'the Chickasaw District of the Choctaw Nation.'"[24]

The Choctaw Delegation did make one positive proposition in the April 24 memorandum. After stating in previous letters that their position was "just and fair" and therefore not in need of amendment, the Choctaws apparently bowed to pressure. Citing historical precedent -- President Jackson's handling of a dispute over the Cherokee Treaty of 1835; President Polk's decision in an 1846 dispute with the Cherokee; President Pierce's decision in a dispute with the Menomones -- the Choctaw Delegation recommended that the net proceeds issue be decided by the United States Senate, "the coordinate branch of the treaty making power." The Senate would "decide whether the Choctaws are, in justice and equity, entitled to nett [sic] proceeds of the lands ceded . . . or whether they shall be allowed a round sum in further satisfaction of national and individual claims . . . and if so how much." The Senate decision would be "final and binding." The delegation further asserted that under the 19th article of that treaty (Dancing Rabbit Creek, 1830) there is "due upon one class of individual claims alone some $300,000 as shown by a report . . .by a former superintendent of Indian Affairs."

If the net proceeds matter was placed before the United State Senate the Choctaw agreed to give the government "permanent use of the western part of our country for the accommodation of the Witchita [sic] and other bands of Indians for a fair and just consideration." The delegation would not agree to lease land east of the 99th degree of west longitude, "but for the lease of that west of that degree [the 99th] we will consent . . . to take . . .four hundred thousand dollars."

The April 24 memorandum is of primary importance. The memorandum contains the first explicit statement of terms by the Choctaw Delegation in this round of the "net proceeds" negotiation. The delegation named a lease price for the western areas and explicitly tied this lease agreement to their desire to have the United States Senate adjudicate the net proceeds issue. The Choctaws flatly refused to entertain the inclusion of Chickasaw autonomy in the negotiation. Settlement of the issue of Chickasaw autonomy was, however, necessary (as we have seen under the Treaty of 1837) to the government's receipt of its desired lease. It is still unclear whether the Choctaw delegation recognized this fact at this point in the negotiations.

In a letter addressed to Commissioner Manypenny, dated May 12, 1855, Agent Cooper responded to a request for his opinion on the Choctaw Delegation's competency to decide on

[23] Letter, Choctaw Delegation to D .H. Cooper, April 24, 1855, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Microfilm 234, Roll 174, Choctaw Agency 1855-56, National Archives.

[24] Ibid.

the Chickasaw issue. Douglas noted that the Choctaw delegates were instructed by the General Council of the Choctaw to "press to a final settlement of all claims and unsettled business for the Choctaw with the Government," and have "full power to take all measures . . . which . . . are or may become necessary and proper."[25] Douglas concluded that as the delegates were to settle "all unsettled business" and as they had the power to do what is "necessary and proper" to affect this settlement, the government should make the Chickasaw autonomy issue an explicit condition to the "net proceeds" settlement. Douglas stated that, "the government has but to determine that the agreement with the Chickasaw is necessary—and as a condition, precedent, of the settlement of their claims, and *ipso facto*, the authority of the Delegates to make the agreement is clearly established."[26] Douglas went on to state explicitly for the first time the potential interconnection of the issues. According to Douglas, the government had to take this position with the Choctaw because "the Choctaw cannot lease the territory desired by [the United States government] for the settlement of the Witchita [sic] and other bands of Indians . . . without the consent of the Chickasaw [who] will not consent to the lease, unless the Choctaw will first come to a satisfactory agreement with them."[27] The Choctaws felt that the Treaty of 1837 had foisted the Chickasaws upon them. For the sake receiving moneys due them, the Choctaws were now forced not only to lease their western lands for the settlement of the Wichita, but also to grant autonomy to the Chickasaw over the central portion of the Choctaw Nation.

In the period between the April 24 Choctaw memorandum and Cooper's aforementioned May 12 opinion, Secretary of State George McClelland informed Commissioner Manypenny that he had "no objection" to the proposal to place the net proceeds issue before the United States Senate. He did, however, place an additional issue into the train of negotiation. McClelland asserted that, as the Choctaws'"claim to an extent of country west of the 100th meridian of west latitude is regarded by the Department as without any foundation in law or parity, it might prevent further trouble in regard to it to insert an article . . . requiring the Choctaws to relinquish and abandon all rights or claim to the same."[28] The United States government claimed that this land -- part of present day Texas south of the Oklahoma panhandle -- belonged to Mexico at the time of the original Treaty of 1820 and hence was not a possession of the United States to grant to the Choctaw to begin with.[29]

[25] Letter, D. H. Cooper to G.W. Manypenny, May 12 1855, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Microfilm 234, Roll 174, Choctaw Agency 1855-56, National Archives.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Letter, Interior Secretary McClelland to G. W. Manypenny, April 27, 1855, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Microfilm 234, Roll 174, Choctaw Agency 1855-56, National Archives.

[29] United States v. Choctaw Nation, 179 U.S. 494 (1900).

A June 7 letter from Manypenny to Acting Interior Secretary George C. Whiting indicated that the Choctaw delegation agreed to not only the cession of land west of the 100th degree, but also to the lease of land west of the 98th degree west longitude. The Choctaw would "take the sum of $800,000," double that of the original $400,000 for the lease of the lands west of 99th degree, and the cession of lands west of the 100th degree. The Choctaws were demanding limitations on which tribes or bands the government could settle within the leased lands. Manypenny informed Whiting that "with such limitations the lease would be of little value, and I have therefore declined."[30]

The substance of the Choctaws' desired limitations were stated in a letter dated June 11. According to the Choctaw delegation, the language of the United States government's proposals had changed substantially on this matter and on other matters as well. The Choctaw took exception to the proposed exclusion of Indian bands whose "permanent settlements are east of the Arkansas [River] and north of the Canadian [River], or whose permanent ranges are north of the Arkansas." The Choctaws pointed out, quoting from an earlier government proposal, that the initial language read "Indian bands or tribes whose present ranges or permanent residences are north of the Canadian." The change of language could technically allow unlimited settlement of unsettled bands of Plains Indians. The delegation continued, "[T]o this we could not consent . . . for any price," referring to "so large a horde of wild and lawless Indians."[31]

The other change of language had to do with the Choctaw proposal to allow the United States Senate to settle the net proceeds issue. The government's counter proposal included a provision for "the Choctaws, unconditionally, to assume the liability and payment of the claims of the individual Choctaws . . . whatever gross sum . . . allowed by the Senate, in lieu of the nett [sic] proceeds of the lands ceded by the Choctaw" in the Treaty of 1830. The Choctaws said that they would "gladly assume" the liabilities, "in case a sufficient amount is allowed to enable them to do so fairly and justly." The Choctaws were obviously, and with good reason, unwilling to assume the liability of individual claims without first knowing the amount of the lump sum payment. They demanded that the liabilities "language of the gross sum proposal be modified." The Choctaws, however, were willing (in direct contradiction to their "not for any price" assertion) to allow the "other wild tribes and bands of Indians" to be settled in their country for an additional $600,000.[32]

The response to this letter, dated June 12, 1855, was not sent through Agent Cooper; rather it came directly from Commissioner for Indian Affairs George W. Manypenny. Manypenny, wasting no time deliberating on the Choctaw counter proposal, wrote that he was "unable to concur with you in the form of submission to the Senate of certain questions

[30] Letter, G. W. Manypenny to G. C. Whiting, June 7, 1855, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Microfilm 234, Roll 174, Choctaw Agency 1855-56, National Archives.

[31] Letter, Choctaw Delegation to G. W. Manypenny, June 11, 1855, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Microfilm 234, Roll 174, Choctaw Agency 1855-56, National Archives.

[32] Ibid.

proposed by you, nor can I consent to the limitations you wish to incorporate into the article proposing to lease . . . that possession of the Choctaw Country west of the 98th degree west longitude."[33] According to Manypenny, the proposal to submit "certain questions to the Senate was one voluntarily made by yourselves," and "the decision of that body should be final and binding on the parties, and that no doubtful language should be used in the article of reference." Manypenny stated further that the "terms of the lease should leave the government unencumbered in relation to the Indians to be permanently located subject only to the proviso suggested by me."

The language of negotiation, language still assumed to the Choctaw to be relevant in the June 11 memorandum, had obviously ceased to be relevant on the part of the government by June 12. The message from Manypenny was essentially 'Take it or leave it.' Manypenny ended the letter of June 12 by stating that "in my opinion it will be a fruitless waste of time if the Choctaw Delegation insists on the terms proposed in your letter of yesterday." [34] Manypenny, in apparent response to continued Choctaw demands, wrote on June 18, that if the Choctaws "persist in the position you have assumed on the points of difference . . . you shall defeat the negotiations but shall at the same time [illegible] in my own mind that I have asked nothing but what justice and good faith require."[35]

Negotiations thus came to an end. The Agency files contain no further communication between June 18, 1855 and June 22, 1855 -- the date of the signing of the treaty. The final treaty contained the "liability" language pertaining to a gross sum settlement; language that the Choctaw Delegation had so strenuously objected to.[36] Article IX made exception to the settlement of Indians "whose permanent locations are north of the Canadian River" -- again, the exception so strenuously objected to by the Choctaws in the June 11 memorandum.

An interesting letter from Captain R. B. Marcy to government printer A.O.P. Nicholson dated May 21, 1855, made its way into the Choctaw Agency files. Marcy had been ordered on March 5, 1852, to begin the exploration of the Red River. He reported on his expedition to the New York Geographical Society in March 1853.[37] Captain Marcy traveled up the North Fork of the Red River during this exploration -- the heart of what was to be the leased section of the Choctaw Nation. In his letter to Nicholson, Marcy described the topography of the area and speculated on its value per acre relative to similar lands south of the Red River in the state of Texas. Marcy was responding to a request from Nicholson for this information. He was quite specific in describing the boundaries as "embraced within the

[33] Letter, G. W. Manypenny to Choctaw Delegation, June 12, 1855, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Microfilm 234, Roll 174, Choctaw Agency 1855-56, National Archives.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Letter, G. W. Manypenny to Choctaw Delegation, June 18, 1855, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Microfilm 234, Roll 174, Choctaw Agency 1855-56, National Archives.

[36] Durant, Constitution and Laws, 42.

[37] New York Times, March 24, 1853.

98th and the 100th meridians of west longitude . . . bounded upon the north by the Canadian River, and on the south by the Red River" -- the exact description of the land eventually leased by the Choctaw to the United States.[38] Marcy stated that "close proximity to the boundary of Texas where lands can be had for fifty cents per acre will also have a bearing on its relative value." Marcy concluded that the land could bring between twenty-five and fifty-cents per acre on the open market.

It is not clear whether the government was interested in the land's value for purposes of negotiation -- Manypenny made his "final offer" of $800,000 in May of 1855 -- or whether, at this early date, the government was already planning to sell the leased land eventually. However, on June 19, after negotiations over the terms of the lease were completed, Agent Cooper forwarded the Marcy letter to Interior Secretary McClellend in response to the secretary's request for information on the market value of the leased land.[39] The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 is likely the explanation for the federal government's insistence on the freedom to settle plains tribes in the leased territory, as well as the Choctaw's resistance to that possibility. According to one historian, the belief of the government was that "the Kansas-Nebraska Act closed still more of the frontier to the Indians, and once again Indian Territory would have to absorb additional tribes."[40] And according to a report that year from Cooper, "the Indian mind has been greatly excited by the progress of events in Kansas and Nebraska. [The Choctaw believe that] no parchment barriers . . . can withstand the irresistable [sic] force of the teeming millions who inhabit the United States."[41]

The Treaty of 1855 was ratified by the Chickasaw in October, by the Choctaw in November, and by the United States Senate on February 21, 1856.[42] The Senate made a gross sum award of $2,981,247.30 in 1859 for the net proceeds claim.[43] Congress made the first payment of $250,00 cash to the Choctaw in March 1861. Much of it was used by the

[38] Letter, R. B. Marcy to A. O. P. Nicholson, May 21, 1855, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Microfilm 234, Roll 174, Choctaw Agency 1855-56, National Archives.

[39] Letter, D. H. Cooper to Interior Secretary McClelland, June 19, 1855, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Microfilm 234, Roll 174, Choctaw Agency 1855-56, National Archives. In either case, the Choctaws ceded the leased land to the United States in the Treaty of 1866. The land was eventually parceled out to individual members of the Wichita and the surplus sold on the open market in 1895. In 1900 the United States Supreme Court in United States v. Choctaw Nation (179 U. S. 494) declared that the Choctaw had no claim to the profits obtained by the sale of the former leased district as they had ceded absolutely -- for the sum of $300,000 -- all claims to the former leased district.

[40] Henry M. Winsor, "Chickasaw-Choctaw Financial Relations with the United States, 1830-1880," Journal of the West, 12 (3), (1973): 366.

[41] Letter, D. H. Cooper to T. S. Drew 1854, United States Commission of Indian Affairs Annual Report, 1824-1949, Microfiche 872, Roll 4158, Card 2, Southwest Agency 1854, National Archives.

[42] Wright, "Brief Outline," 411.

[43] Debo, Rise and Fall, 73.

Choctaw General Council for payments to relieve the suffering that resulted from the drought. Under the terms of the treaty, the Choctaw tribe was liable for individual settlements. Payments stopped when the Choctaw nation joined the Confederacy during the Civil War.[44] Payments were not resumed until the Supreme Court ordered payment in 1886, reversing an earlier Court of Claims decision that rejected the 1854 Senate award as "having no effect in law."[45] The Choctaw Delegation had overvalued the strength of its position *vis-a-vis* the government's desire for the lease. Under pressure to settle the net proceeds claim, the Choctaw gave up control of the Chickasaw District, leased land west of the 98th degree west longitude, and ceded absolutely its claim to land west of the 100th degree west longitude. The Cooper letter of May 12 made it explicitly clear that the net proceeds settlement was to be made conditional to the land settlements. The language of the negotiation reveals, in the end, which party was in the stronger position to get what it wanted.

Use of the treaty making process appears to have been mere stagecraft on the part of the government. The Choctaws relinquished much in return for the receipt of what was, as the Senate would later determine, already theirs. Despite the elaborate process of negotiation, a process that included the playing of Chickasaw interests against those of the Choctaw, the outcome appears to have been a foregone conclusion. Manypenney's letter of June 12 to the Choctaw Agency made it clear that *bona fide* negotiation had ended, indeed that it was never really relevant to the process in the first place.

The status of the tribes under the Constitution of the United States rendered the treaty process ambiguous at best. Chief Justice John Marshall's opinion, rendered at the beginning of the 'Civilized Tribes" sojourn from the old Southwest to the Indian Territory, declared the tribes to be "domestic dependent nations" rather than "foreign nations." This unique and ambiguous status left the tribes outside the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in cases involving state government. In the course of his opinion, Marshall declared that the tribes "occupy a territory to which we assert a title independent of their will."[46] The governor of Georgia, referring to the matter in words that more directly prefigured the doctrine of 'manifest destiny', wrote that "treaties were expedients by which ignorant, intractable, savage people were induced without bloodshed to yield up what civilized people had the right to possess by virtue of that command of the creator delivered to man upon his formation - be fruitful, multiply and replenish the earth, and subdue it."[47]

Congress, by ending the practice of treaty making in 1871, undermined tribal authority and ended the need for the legally ambiguous and problematic term "nation" as applied to

[44] Ibid., 74.

[45] Choctaw Nation v. United States, 30 Lawyers Edition 306 (1886).

[46] Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, 5 Peters 1.

[47] Quoted in Alan Trachtenberg, The Incorporation of America; Culture and Society in the Gilded Age (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 29.

the tribes.[48] Falling during the period between the Marshall decision and this congressional action, the Treaty of 1855 offers insight into the workings of negotiations between a party bargaining in good faith and a party that had already declared itself to hold title "independent of their will."

[48] Trachtenberg, Incorporation, 31.

OUTSTANDING NON-SEMINAR PAPER AWARD

LONG LIVE THE NATION: POLITICAL CARTOONIST AND NATIONALISM IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND

JULIE COURTWRIGHT

Few things are as innocent as a weekly episode of Charles Shultz's *Peanuts* in the Sunday newspaper. Most often, the sole purpose of the artist is to cause the reader to smile, to momentarily allow melancholia to be replaced by laughter, to entertain. Schultz's work is part of a group of cartoons that can be described as comic art. Another group, the social cartoon, is designed to amuse the reader, but also to provide commentary on some annoying or worrisome aspect of life. A third type of cartoon, however, is rarely innocent and usually deals with loftier issues than life's inconveniences. The political cartoon is a partisan, and often nationalistic, comment made by the artist. Through his or her work, the cartoonist seeks to "influence the viewer to a particular viewpoint and predispose him or her to a particular action." Political cartoons are frequently known for "artistic excellence" and humor, but these characteristics are always secondary to the ideas that the drawings express. Truly excellent political cartoons are symbolic, but simple. They may not be purely representational, but any misrepresentation or exaggeration must be believable. Finally, and most importantly, political cartoons must be rooted in truth and be about a subject which has "lasting importance."[1] Cartoons are, in fact, an important resource for scholars interested in the political climate of nations. The artist's drawings not only reflect prominent issues of a nation, but help shape feelings of nationalism among its citizens.

Unlike comic art, political cartoons rely on the reader's timely knowledge to assist in the interpretation of the artist's symbolism. When used as a tool for historic interpretation, however, the modern reader may encounter problems interpreting the artist's intended meaning outside the original context, even when the cartoons meet all the requirements for excellence.. This is especially true as time passes and the events the cartoon portrays fade into history. Eventually, many occurrences are remembered only by historians, and possibly only by a few specialized historians. Also, imagery used by the artist in an earlier time period may not have the same significance today. For example, artists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries often used classical literary metaphors in their drawings. The viewer who is unfamiliar with these references may not, as a result, correctly interpret the cartoon.[2]

[1]Charles Press, *The Political Cartoon* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981), 13, 18, 23.

[2]Ibid., 27-30.

Although interpretation of past political cartoons may be difficult, it is nevertheless an important source of information for scholars. It provides a different perspective of history than can by gained through traditional channels of study. As cartoon historian Michael Wynn Jones states:

> To view history through the eyes of cartoonists is, at the same time, both a puzzling and an illuminating experience. They are a vivid and first-hand [source of] commentary on . . . political life. While their fellow artists might be composing their massive and impressive allegories or conjuring up their idealistic or romantic vision, cartoonists took the world and its inhabitants as they were, warts and all (the bigger the warts, come to think of it, the better). Of course, there were those who wanted to make the world a better place.[3]

This desire to make the world, or at least their nation, a better place, was the driving motivation behind most cartoonists in the nineteenth century. The artist's goal was to be an informative link between the leaders of the nation and the people. They provided a venue in which to display the "contrast between reality and the ideal, between aspiration and practice, between what is and what could be."[4] In the absence of news photographs, political cartoons were substitutes for reality. Unlike photographs, however, cartoons were drawn in any way the artist desired. Consequently, artists could, and did, use their power to express feelings of nationalism toward their countries. In doing so, they formed, altered and influenced the nationalistic feelings of those who viewed their work. There were two ways in which this was accomplished. Artists who disagreed with the controlling government, such as nineteenth century Frenchman Honore' Daumier, used their artwork as a political weapon. The men acted as pictorial iconoclasts in an attempt to bring about changes in government. In contrast to the volatile political establishment in France, Victorian cartoonist Sir John Tenniel was a defender of a relatively stable government. His major accomplishment was to encourage and sustain popular attitudes toward the British monarchy, thereby reaffirming royal authority. While Daumier attacked his government to express and incite nationalism in France, Tenniel defended to do the same in England. By defending the established government, nineteenth century British political cartoonists played an important role in shaping the national identity of a major European nation.

The substance of what political cartoonists were shaping is complex. Scholars continue to debate the exact definition of "national identity" and "nationalism," as well as the exact point in history when nations were "born." Each have varying opinions. Ernest Gellner, in his book, *Nations and Nationalism*, defined the phenomena as "primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent."[5] According to

[3]Michael Wynn Jones, *The Cartoon History of Britain* (New York: Macmillan, 1971), 8.

[4]Press, *Political Cartoon*, 11.

[5] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (London: Cornell University Press, 1983), 1.

Gellner, nationalism is a modern occurrence which took shape as humankind evolved from agrarian to industrial societies. Agrarian people were immersed in a stagnate existence that had an "aura of inevitability, permanence and naturalness," whereas the industrial society is one of movement.[6] Gellner argues that because modern societies require change and specialization to succeed, universal literacy is necessary to the development of modern industrialism and therefore is also necessary for establishment of a national identity. The assigned niche of agrarian life transformed into pressure to improve, move, and change in the modern world.[7] As individuals within nations strove for specialty and power, nationalist feelings of political and cultural supremacy surfaced.

The importance of literacy in relation to nationalism is also evident in Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*. As the title suggests, the author's thesis is that nations are imagined by the people. The citizens, Anderson maintains, will never meet all the members of their nation. They do, however, realize that other members are there, and this comradeship makes the group into an *imagined* community. Imagined communities occurred when the "old ideas" of religion, dynasty, and a non-historical sense of time declined in stature. Loyalty to the nation, real or imagined, replaced devotion to previously dominant ideas.[8] The facilitation of this change, and the major force that made imagined communities possible was what Anderson calls print-capitalism. This idea is relatively simple, but, at the same time, profound. Everyday millions of people read newspapers with various stories contained in them. These stories are tied together by the date that they occurred, reinforcing a time continuum through a daily reading ritual. Also, as individual citizens are reading the paper, they are aware that other members of the nation are doing the same. The common experience of reading identical information, including political cartoons, unites the group into an imagined community, which creates a feeling of solidarity and nationalism.[9]

Although scholars may argue over the intricacies and nuances of nationalism, the vast majority agree that the phenomena has had a pervasive influence on the modern world. Gellner notes that in the current political climate, a person without a nation, if such a thing exists, "provokes revulsion." National identity has become so important that it gives the appearance of inherency and necessity.[10] The welfare of the nation, therefore, becomes a vital priority, and those who can incite or influence nationalistic feeling among the people are extremely important in shaping the history of the nation.

One group that influences nationalistic feeling is the defending political cartoonists. Defending cartoonists agree with the present government in their country, do everything

[6] Ibid., 11, 22.

[7] Ibid., 26-28.

[8] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 15-16, 19.

[9] Ibid., 39.

[10] Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 6.

they can to support that regime, and use their cartoons as a means of influencing the people to do the same. This process facilitates the expression of the cartoonists' sense of nationalism and the development of the nationalistic identity of the masses. One "voice of the establishment" was Sir John Tenniel in Victorian England.[11]

The reign of Queen Victoria (1837-1901), was a relatively stable time in English history. During her majesty's long reign, the government, although it needed acknowledged improvement in some areas, was seen as legitimate. Citizens supported their leaders and the way the positions were filled. In general, they also supported "the way social, economic, and political benefits . . . [were] distributed within the nation." Historian Charles Press concluded several reasons for this sense of legitimacy: 1) ignorance of the people, 2) increased benefits for all, 3) possibility of reform, 4) optimism about the new ruler, and 5) confidence in England, which was at the height of its power. The most advanced democracy in Europe at the time, the British were world leaders in the areas of politics, economics, imperialism, technology, industry, scientific research, and military power.

The confidence that the British felt as a result of their position in the world did not eliminate all problems. There was conflict within the country during the Victorian Era. In fact, the conflict, in many cases, was just as brutal as during the previous Georgian Era. The difference, however, was that "all of this happened within a legal framework accepted by the British citizens." Concerned subjects were looking for reform in government rather than controversy and supported the system more than had previous generations. Cartoonists of the Georgian Era practiced the type of biting satire that was prominent in late nineteenth century France. Until 1830, English caricaturists participated in "mercilessly flaying the political, social, and economic system."[12] During the Victorian Era, however, such "satiric powers were alien to English artists."[13] Instead, laughing satire that poked fun in a "gentlemanly way" was common. Cartoonists, who were part of the "opinion-formation process of a democracy," displayed their nationalistic support for the government and for England in their cartoons. The message sent to the people was: "this is a system that deserves your support."[14]

The vehicle that carried this message to the English people was the cartoon magazine *Punch*, which dominated the genre after 1841.[15] Perhaps not coincidentally, the rise of the journal corresponded with the rise of English literacy rates, which expanded from 50 percent

[11] *English Caricature: 1620 to the Present* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984), 108.

[12] Press, *Political Cartoon*, 80-84.

[13] *English Caricature*, 107.

[14] Press, *Political Cartoon*, 80, 83.

[15] Robert J. Goldstein, *Political Censorship of the Arts and Press in Nineteenth Century Europe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), 88.

in the first third of the century to 95 percent by 1900.[16] *Punch* was extremely influential in shaping and reflecting national public opinion. One observer wrote that the popular magazine was "housebroken and never-- well, hardly ever-- made its audience wince." A Paris citizen stated that Victorian cartoons inspired smiles rather than laughs.[17] *Punch*, then, was the "perfect combination of humour, wisdom, and honour; and yet, in spite of it all, not a bit of a prig."[18] Its genteel reputation, however, did not prohibit banishment in Austria and France during the 1840s and *Punch* was not always kind, especially to foreigners.[19]

Punch, with a circulation after 1849 that averaged over 30,000 per week, was extremely popular among middle class English citizens, and as soon as a new issue appeared the latest cartoon was described and discussed in all the major newspapers, both in England and her colonies.[20] The influence of the magazine was tremendous. Prime Minister Winston Churchill remembered reading the magazine as part of his education. It "was a very good way of learning history, or at any rate of learning something," Churchill recalled. "The responsibility of Sir John Tenniel and other famous cartoonists must be very great. Many is the youthful eye that has rested upon their designs and many is the lifelong impression formed thereby."[21]

The purpose of *Punch*, therefore, was not to inflame and incite the passions of the dissident members of English society. The policy of the magazine was to print cartoons that represented the opinion of its primarily upper-middle to middle-class readers. These were the citizens who largely determined Victorian political trends.[22] *Punch* cartoonists did not seek to cause a revolution among the people; they sought to encourage continued support of the system. Also, when dissident groups threatened the established government, the defending cartoonists of Britain played a significant role in quieting the rising feelings of discontent among the masses, thereby reaffirming royal authority. The importance of *Punch* was not taken for granted; politicians from both parties respected its "power in the state"

[16] David F. Mitch, *The Rise of Popular Literacy in Victorian England: The Influence of Private Choice and Public Policy*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), xvi. The rates are based on a person's ability of sign his/her name on a marriage certificate.

[17] Goldstein, *Political Censorship*, 88.

[18] M.H. Spielmann, *The History of 'Punch,'* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1895), 4.

[19] Goldstein, *Political Censorship*, 88.

[20] Spielmann, *History of 'Punch,'* 49; Frankie Morris, "John Tenniel, Cartoonist: A Critical and Sociocultural Study in the Art of the Victorian Political Cartoon" (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1985), 290.

[21] Morris, "John Tenniel," 303.

[22] Press, *Political Cartoon*, 103.

and "formidable influence."[23] For example, when Lord Derby, in 1867, referred to reform as a "leap in the dark," his metaphor was taken from the title of a Tenniel cartoon that appeared the previous week in *Punch*. Tenniel characterized Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli as a horse, taking Britannia, the nation, into a thicket of unknown reform (see Cartoon 1).[24]

Tenniel was the leading political cartoonist of the Victorian Era, and from 1851 to 1901, published more than 2300 prints.[25] Unlike Honore' Daumier, whose tenure as the most influential cartoonist in France was interrupted by long periods of censorship, Tenniel enjoyed continuous freedom of expression throughout his career.[26] Upon the cartoonist's retirement in 1901, authorities noted that he was the "exponent of the good sense of the nation," and was who the country looked toward "to keep things straight for us." Tenniel used history, art, humor, and light satire in his work. Once an illustrator of children's books, including *Alice in Wonderland* and *Aesop's Fables*, the cartoonist's truthful and simple drawings were a "history school for the young, a guide for their elders, and a source of patriotic imagery." The symbols and portraits the artist used were instantly recognizable so that everyone could understand his work.

His contemporaries had designated Tenniel's cartoons as 'one of the great sources' through which 'the trend and character of English thought and life' in the late nineteenth century would be known to future generations. Readers might congratulate themselves that their feelings of national pride, national indomitability, or righteous indignation were confirmed weekly in the pages of *Punch* by no ordinary cartoonist, but by 'that great master Tenniel.'

The subject matter of the "master's" work was typical for that of a Victorian defending cartoonist and for *Punch*. His cartoons were of a burlesque mode rather than true satire. Whereas satire is criticism of virtue, burlesque is criticism of style. Satire is obsessive, angry, and demonstrates contempt. Burlesque is flexible and demonstrates humor. It "discovers laughter, not in the objects of its hatred, but rather in the objects of its affection."[27] By lightly criticizing or laughing at certain politicians and situations, Tenniel demonstrated his affection and nationalistic pride in his country, and his desire to maintain the nation. His gentle cartoons were intended to persuade, instruct, and indoctrinate social viewpoints.

An excellent indicator of the British political climate during the Victorian Era is the way in which royalty and politicians were portrayed. Starting with the work of cartoonist John

[23] Morris, "John Tenniel," 3.

[24] Jones, *Cartoon History*, 172; Morris, "John Tenniel," 306.

[25] Morris, "Tenniel's Cartoons: 'The Pride of Mr. Punch,'" *Journal of Newspaper and Periodical History*, 7 (1991): 64.

[26] Morris, "John Tenniel," 290.

[27] Morris, "Tenniel's Cartoons," 64-65; Idem, "John Tenniel," 53, 69, 71.

Doyle, royalty in England were characterized as kind and humane. Simplicity was emphasized, for example, by dressing royal figures in clothing similar to bourgeois gentlemen, with only a small decoration designating their status. Tenniel drew the young Queen Victoria as an innocent figure who always intended goodwill for her subjects and who was always encouraging. In later years, the artist tried to demonstrate her majesty's interest in her subjects, which became increasingly difficult as the Queen withdrew into seclusion after her husband's death in 1861. Any criticism against the monarch was respectful, as in the 1865 print in which the Queen, who was hiding behind a curtain from the people, is revealed by Britannia. Victoria's face is turned slightly away, thus demonstrating the artist's disturbance at the lack of attention the Queen has shown her country (see Cartoon 2). Nevertheless, Victoria is seen as someone who should be "properly revered." Similarly, Tenniel's attitude toward politicians suggests that political enemies have more commonalties than differences, and all are a part of the same nation. Political leaders are respected simply because they are part of the established government and those with whom the artist disagrees are shown not as "creatures of Satan, but as misguided and often amusing in their wrongheadedness." They are still, however, fellow Englishmen.[28]

The way in which John Tenniel used the three symbols of Britain demonstrates his attitude toward the nation and what it stood for. Tenniel's work also reflected public opinion and showed how Englishmen viewed themselves. The first of these symbols was John Bull. Previous cartoonists had sketched John Bull as a "brandy-faced, ruby nosed clod." Under Tenniel and fellow cartoonists John Leech and John Doyle, however, this "foul-mouthed" man that was once a negative symbol of the nation was transformed into something more positive. Like England in the eyes of the cartoonists, John Bull became a man of modest means who had worked hard and prospered as a result. He was honest and persevered in his duties.[29] In short, he became more like the common and successful British citizen. John Bull's character was not the only thing that expanded. As the years passed, he gradually grew fatter and fatter. His "increasing rotundness," according to historian Miles Taylor, symbolized Britain's increasing volume of wealth and self-confidence as a nation (see Cartoon 3).[30]

The beautiful maiden Britannia, the second symbol for Britain, also "came up in the world" during the Victorian Era. In fact, the transformation of a "haggish shrew" to a matronly and "awe-inspiring" woman might be an even greater change than that experienced by John Bull. Britannia, more than any other symbol, could be used by the cartoonists in different ways, depending on the situation. For example, when angry she became "independent and formidable," someone "not to be crossed" (see Cartoon 4). But, at

[28] Press, *Political Cartoon*, 85-86, 94-97.

[29] Ibid., 85, 91-92.

[30] Miles Taylor, "John Bull and the Iconography of Public Opinion in England c. 1712-1929," *Past and Present* 134 (1992): 109.

ceremonial occasions she was majestic, regal, and sometimes melodramatic. Britannia is an excellent example of how cartoonists changed a drawing to convey completely different impressions when the occasion warranted.[31] Although Tenniel used the young and beautiful Britannia for most of his cartoons, he occasionally revised her into "Mrs. Britannia," a "plump and homely" version of the latter. Britannia's helmet and trident were exchanged for a bonnet and umbrella, thus significantly altering the image of the nation with a few strokes of the crayon.[32]

"While John Bull and Britannia represent Truth and Justice in the face of their opponent's falsehood," the British Lion "dominates the beasts of other nations."[33] The king of the beasts, symbolizing England's superiority over all others, was developed almost entirely by John Tenniel. In his cartoon, "The British Lion's Vengeance on the Bengal Tiger," which concerned the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, the artist left no room for doubt about the dominance of Britain over India, represented by the tiger (see Cartoon 5). It also left no room for doubt about the artist's "recipe for political action."[34] The cartoon was a call for revenge against Indian soldiers who, because they perceived a lack of respect for their religion by the British, had revolted against their rule. According to *Punch* historian M.H. Spielmann, Tenniel's cartoon, which "raised a cry of vengeance, . . . alarmed authorities, who feared that they would thereby be forced on a road which both policy and the gentler dictates of civilisation forbade."[35] The British Lion symbolized a primitive feeling of national superiority and was used when brute force was needed. Political cartoons such as Tenniels touched a base nationalistic feeling, for "when an Englishman opened to that center spread, a thrill shot through him. This was indeed an image to aspire and live up to."[36] Nationalistic feelings such as these, however, if allowed to flourish unchecked, can be dangerous, as in the extreme case of Nazi Germany. The display of brute force by the king of the beasts, therefore, was tempered by the more genteel Britannia and John Bull. The fierceness of the British Lion was not the dominant aspect of English nationalism.

Because John Tenniel and other cartoonists were loyal to Britain and its government, the images that represent England were overwhelmingly positive. When portraying other countries, however, the cartoonists and *Punch* were not always as kind. Tenniel frequently used a fiercer version of satire when depicting nations other than his own. The continual problems between the English and the Irish are a prime example. As Irish terrorist acts

[31] Press, *Political Cartoon*, 93; Jones, *Cartoon History*, 155.

[32] Morris, "Tenniel's Cartoons," 65.

[33] *English Caricature*, 21.

[34] Press, *Political Cartoon*, 65.

[35] Spielmann, *History of 'Punch,'* 177.

[36] Press, *Political Cartoon*, 93-94.

increased, Tenniel's depiction of them began to look more and more apelike, most likely a reference to Charles Darwin's controversial book, *The Origin of the Species*, published in 1859. In contrast, however, is Hibernia, a beautiful Irish counterpart to Britannia. During the nineteenth century, particularly as violence increased in the 1860s, Tenniel and the British population in general began to perceive two separate Irelands. One, represented by Hibernia, was the law abiding citizenry of the country. The other, represented by the "apeish" men, were the violent dissidents. For example, during the Fenian uprising of 1867, a Tenniel cartoon entitled "The Mad-Doctor" depicts John Bull as a reassuring father figure to Hibernia, who is concerned about the fate of her "primitive" countrymen. "'Cut his head off? Of course not, my dear. We shall just crop him, and shave him, and take good care that he does no more mischief'"[37] (see Cartoon 6).

Ireland was not the only country represented by two different caricatures. Just as John Bull and the British Lion demonstrated the more primitive masculine side and Britannia the noble feminine side of England, so were other countries assigned male and female personas. The difference, however, lies in the fact that all three symbols of England are basically good, whereas the noble female characters of other countries were frequently in direct opposition to their "revolting spouses," such as the tobacco chewing Yankee of the United States and the "clinging vine called Columbia." In this way, the English cartoonists were able to criticize other nations with one character, and then extend a hand of friendship and tolerance using another.[38] During the American Civil War, *Punch* took aim on the slave trade in the United States, but frequently lampooned both sides of the conflict. In "The American Brothers," on 5 November 1864, an angry Abraham Lincoln and a confused Jefferson Davis are drawn side by side. Both are tied with ropes of debt and cannot free themselves. Tenniel's subtitle reads: "How will they get out of it?"[39] (see Cartoon 7) Similarly, the 29 April 1865 cartoon is of American Gladiators, North and South, dueling "before the enthroned and imperial Negroes." South, while desperately trying to free himself, is nevertheless being covered by a large net thrown by the dominant North[40] (see Cartoon 8). The assassination of President Lincoln, however, revealed a different side to England's relationship with her former colonies. The feminine personas for both countries are used in "Britannia Sympathises With Columbia." A grief-stricken Columbia sits by the bedside of her dead leader while a black man, chains discarded, is crying nearby. Britannia extends a wreath in a gesture of good will toward an inconsolable nation[41] (see Cartoon 9).

[37] *Punch*, LII (8 June 1867): 235.

[38] Press, *Political Cartoon*, 100-102.

[39] *Punch*, XLVII (5 November 1864): 189.

[40] Ibid., XLVIII (29 April 1865): 173; Spielmann, *History of 'Punch,'* 177.

[41] *Punch*, XLVIII (6 May 1865): 183.

Because criticizing other countries in cartoons was a way to express English nationalism, almost no country was spared from occasional ridicule. Some of Tenniel's most famous personifications were the Prussian Burgher, Madame La Republique, a "pudgy" Turk, the quarreling American twins, North and South, the Russian Cossack, and the "thick-headed" German Dutch boy (see Cartoon 10). Tenniel also lampooned national leaders. Napoleon III of France was "dapper but menacing" and Nicholas of Russia was displayed with "uniformed pomp." President Abraham Lincoln of the United States at times appeared as a squinty-eyed imbecile in short pants and one of Tenniel's cartoons even showed him as a treed coon.[42] Clearly, in the eyes of the Victorian defending cartoonists, England was a nation far superior to any other.

The defense of this superior nation and its government, therefore, was the primary objective of the loyal cartoonists. This goal was easily achieved in times of domestic tranquillity, but when opposition occurred that threatened to disable the established system it became more difficult. One such situation occurred during the Republican Crisis of 1871-72, when anti-monarchial groups threatened the Queen's authority. Led by republican proponent Charles Bradlaugh, who detested the monarchy and all that it stood for, and fueled by the formation of a French republic, the citizens in favor of revolt relied heavily on economic arguments for republicanism. In fact, the republican movement had grown steadily since the economic depression of 1867-68 and in April, 1871, the *Morning Post* reported that "it is a fact that there is working among the poorest classes of the community a very dangerous spirit, which is being silently, but surely fomented by agitators and enthusiasts and which questions the whole scheme of society." Also aiding their cause, however, was the seclusion of Queen Victoria after 1861.[43]

The lack of public appearances by the Queen diminished her popularity among the masses. Even *Punch*, which was characteristically sympathetic to the sovereign, was critical of her majesty's lack of interest in her kingdom. In addition, negative feelings were directed at Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, for his bad manners and lack of responsibility in carrying out his duties. This all changed, however, when, on 21 November 1871 Albert Edward contracted typhoid.

According to English caricature historian Frankie Morris, this event motivated the "respectable" pro-monarchial papers, including the political cartoonists, to be "part of an avowed and not very subtle campaign . . . to rouse loyalty to the crown as a check to the budding republican movement." The Prince's illness, it was believed, would cause him to change his attitude toward his monarchial duties. By December, therefore, the *Times* reported that the "manifestation of a national anxiety" would cause other "schemes of

[42] Morris, "Tenniel's Cartoons," 66; Press, *Political Cartoon*, 100-101.

[43] David Tribe, *President Charles Bradlaugh, M.P.* (London: Elek Books, 1971), 121, 123, 131; Frankie Morris, "The Illustrated Press and the Republican Crisis of 1871-72," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 25 (Fall, 1992): 116.

national government" to rescind. John Tenniel and the other members of the illustrated press played an important role in the formation of this national anxiety.[44]

Many engravings were displayed in the illustrated papers between 9 and 23 December 1871, showing scenes such as the Queen visiting her son's bedside and the posting of sickroom bulletins. Because of the fear that the lower classes would become involved in the republican movement, the cartoonists were careful to show that members of that group were gravely concerned about the Prince's condition. For example, in a print entitled "The Public Anxiety About the Prince of Wales," the working men are noticeably drawn at the front of a large crowd straining to read information reports (see Cartoon 11). *Punch* was even prepared in case the Prince did not recover. John Tenniel drew two cartoons for the 23 December issue of the magazine. One print, entitled "Suspense," showed Britannia anxiously waiting outside the sickroom door. In a similar drawing, "In Memoriam," the British goddess was in the same position, but was weeping (see Cartoon 12). Another unpublished drawing by Tenniel contained both Britannia and the British Lion, heads downcast in deep sorrow (see Cartoon 13).[45]

While the timing of the Prince's illness could not have been better for the monarchy, it did not please the republican press. One republican cartoon showed a "feeble monarch with Death standing behind the throne and the figure of Liberty behind Death."[46] Death, however, did not come for the Prince, who, much to the relief of the nation, started to recover. On 6 January 1872 the *Illustrated London News* reported that history had "never recorded a case in which the emotions of such a vast multitude of people were swayed simultaneously." In addition, the *News* proclaimed, the crisis had "disclosed to the nation, as a nation, a full knowledge of its own heart in regard to the Constitutional form of government under which its public affairs are carried on." Although the republican movement of the early 1870s did not completely dissipate until 1874, the campaign by the pro-monarchial press, with the notable assistance of the illustrated papers, was important because of its open nationalistic goals.[47] The defending political cartoonists had taken the offensive, used a potentially negative situation to their advantage, and protected their beloved monarchy from those they perceived to be the enemy.

Political cartoons and nationalism go hand in hand. Not only are the pictures a means for cartoonists to express their own nationalistic feelings, but they, in turn, influence the collective nationalism of the people. Cartoons, however, also serve an enlightening purpose to the modern historian. Through the examination of major cartoonists' work in nineteenth century England, scholars obtain insight into the development of nationalism within the country. England, during the reign of Queen Victoria, was a self-assured dominant world

[44]Morris, "Republican Crisis," 114-116.

[45]Ibid., 114, 118.

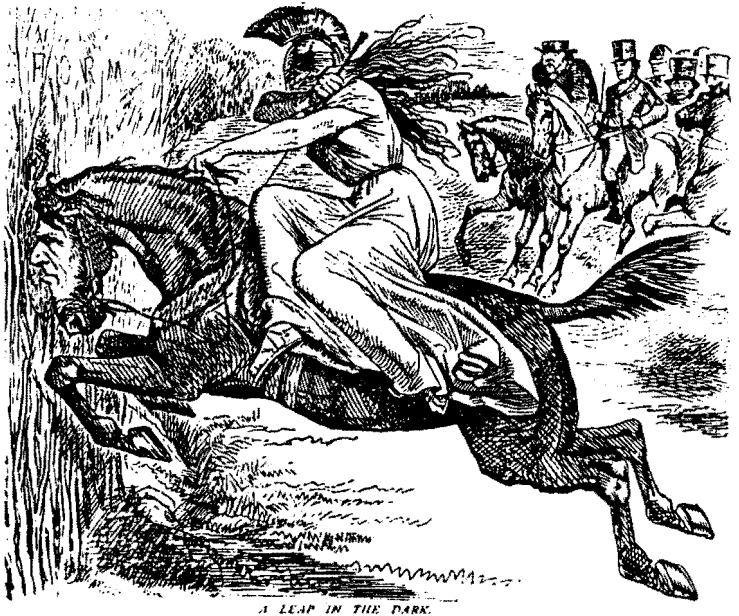
[46]Tribe, *President Bradlaugh*, 132; Morris, "Republican Crisis," 117.

[47]Morris, "Republican Crisis," 119, 122-23.

power. The national identity of Britain was strong and citizens knew who they were in regard to the rest of the world. Their place was established. Unlike France, whose political turmoil made her appear as a young and rebelling teenager, Great Britain was much like a middle-aged adult in the prime of life, mature, economically prosperous, and stable. The most influential cartoonist of such a nation, John Tenniel, was likewise strong, consistent, and unwavering. Tenniel's attitude and position as a dominant cartoonist, facilitated by Benedict Anderson's theory of an imagined community, not only influenced major public opinions, but reflected them. Political cartoonists, in a few strokes of the crayon, created images significant both to their contemporaries and to modern scholars. They "transformed the trivial into the epic."[48]

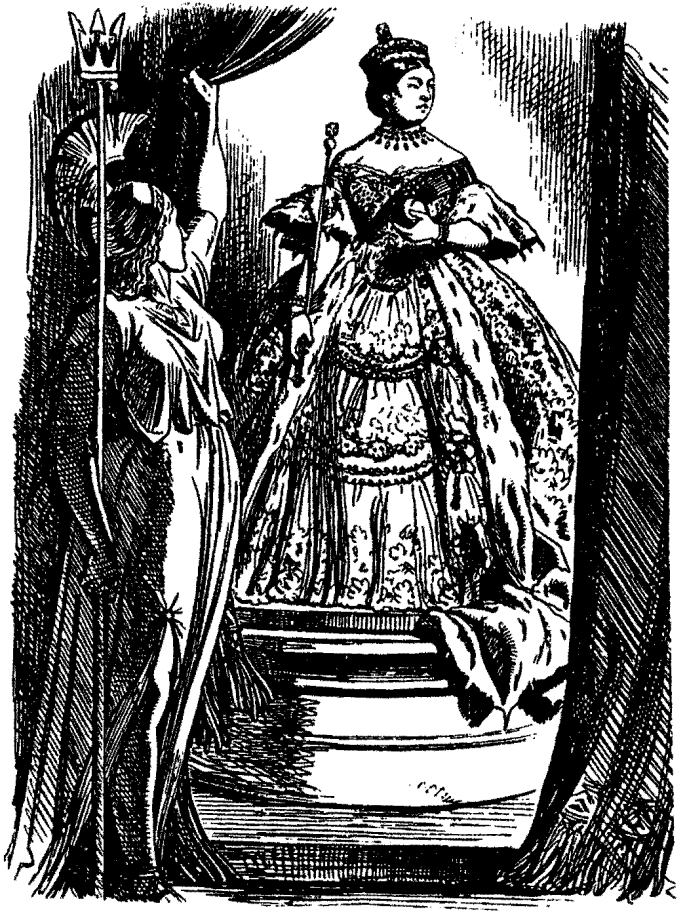
[48] Oliver W. Larkin, *Daumier: In His Time and Ours* (Northampton, Massachusetts: Smith College, 1962), 7.

Cartoon 1 ; Michael Wynn Jones
The Cartoon History of Britain
Artist: John Tenniel

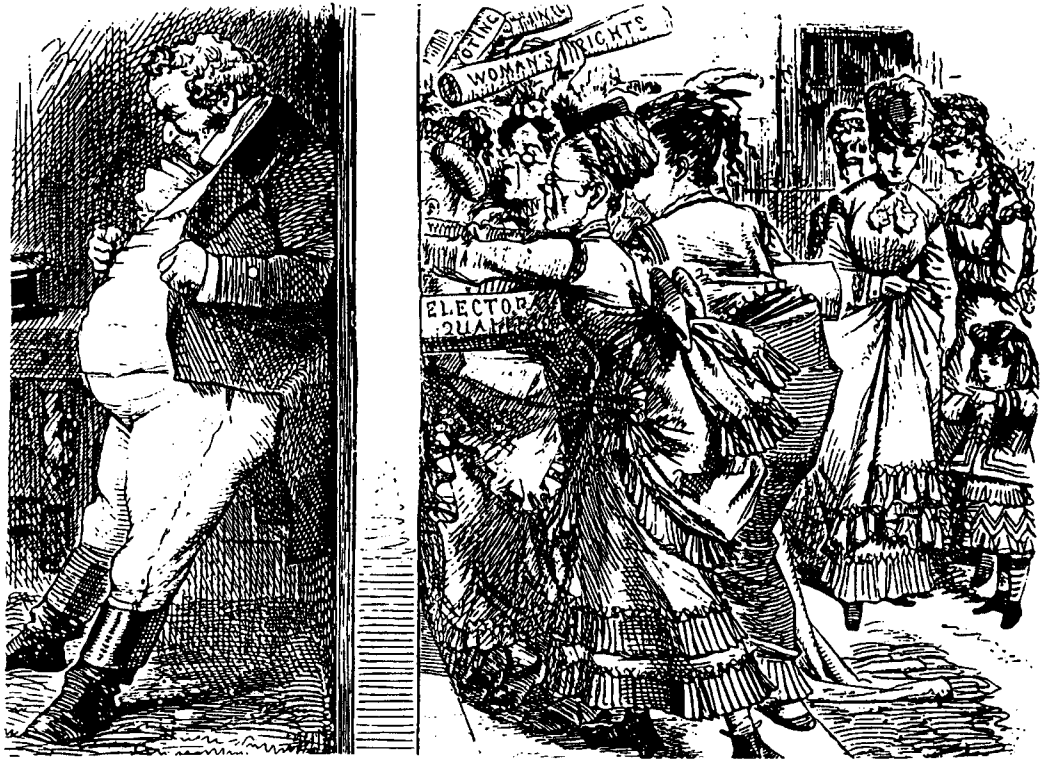


A LEAP IN THE DARK.

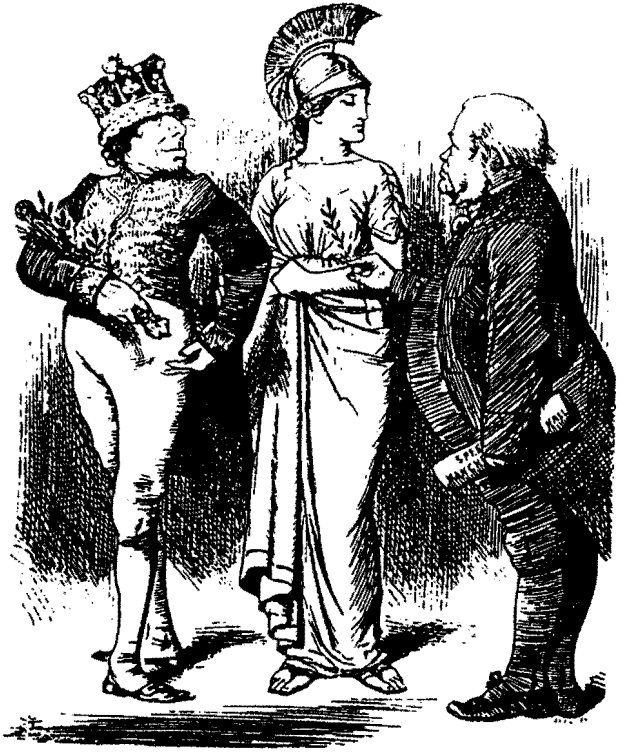
Cartoon 2 ; Jones
Cartoon History
Artist: John Tenniel



Cartoon 3 ; Jones
Cartoon History
Artist: John Tenniel

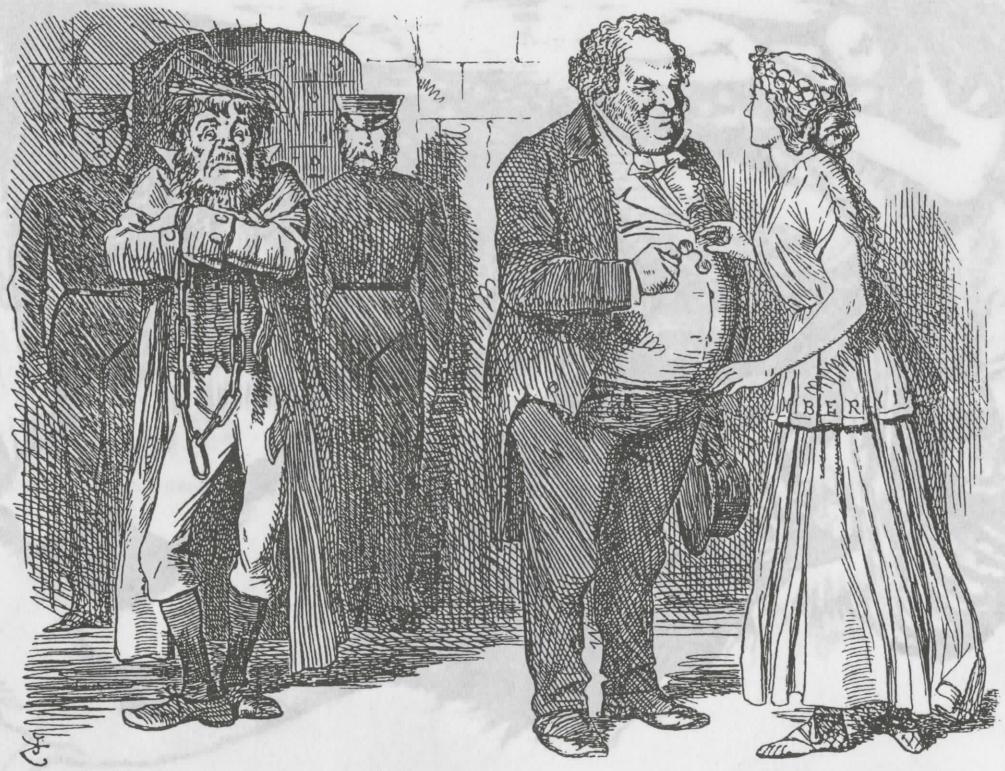


Cartoon 4 ; Frankie Morris
"Tenniel's Cartoons"
Artist: John Tenniel



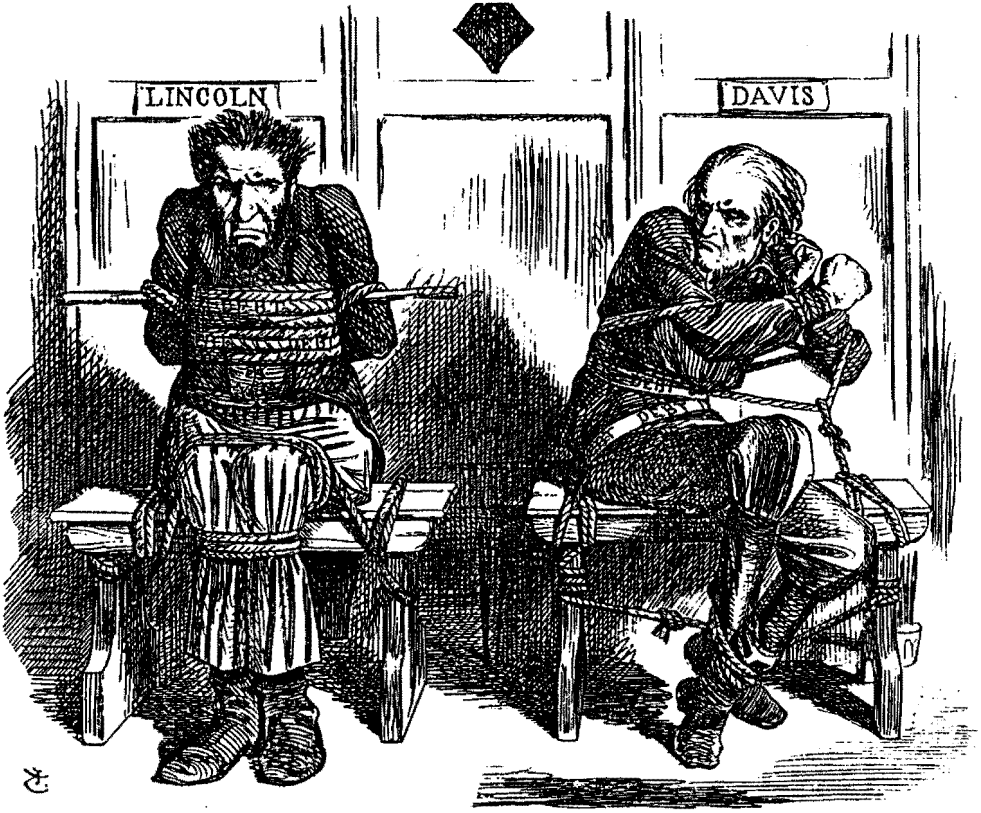
Cartoon 5; "Punch"
Artist: John Tenniel

Cartoon 6 : "Punch"
Artist: John Tenniel



THE MAD-DOCTOR.

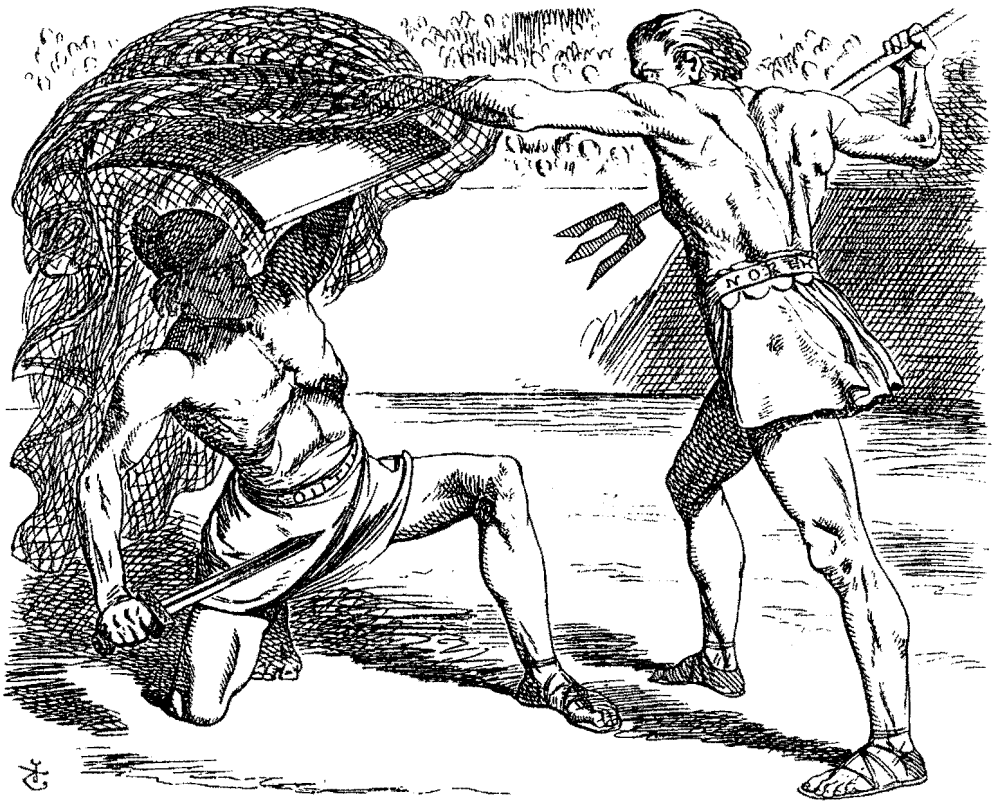
DR. BULL. "CUT HIS HEAD OFF? OF COURSE NOT, MY DEAR. WE SHALL JUST CROP HIM, AND SHAVE HIM, AND TAKE GOOD CARE THAT HE DOES NO MORE MISCHIEF."



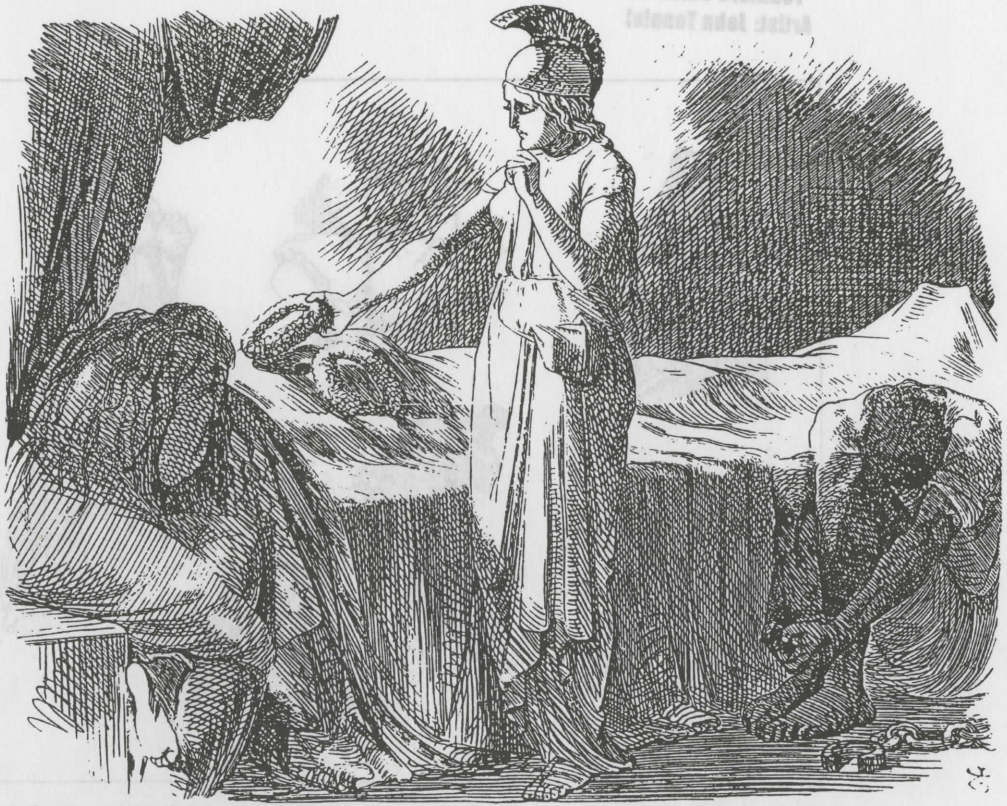
Cartoon 7: "Punch"
Artist: John Tenniel

"THE AMERICAN BROTHERS.—DR. "HOW WILL THEY *GET OUT OF IT?*"

Cartoon 8: "Punch"
Artist: John Tenniel



THE AMERICAN GLADIATORS—HABET!



BRITANNIA SYMPATHISES WITH COLUMBIA.

Cartoon 9: "Punch"
Artist: John Tenniel

Cartoon 19 Morris
"Tenniel's Cartoons"
Artist: John Tenniel

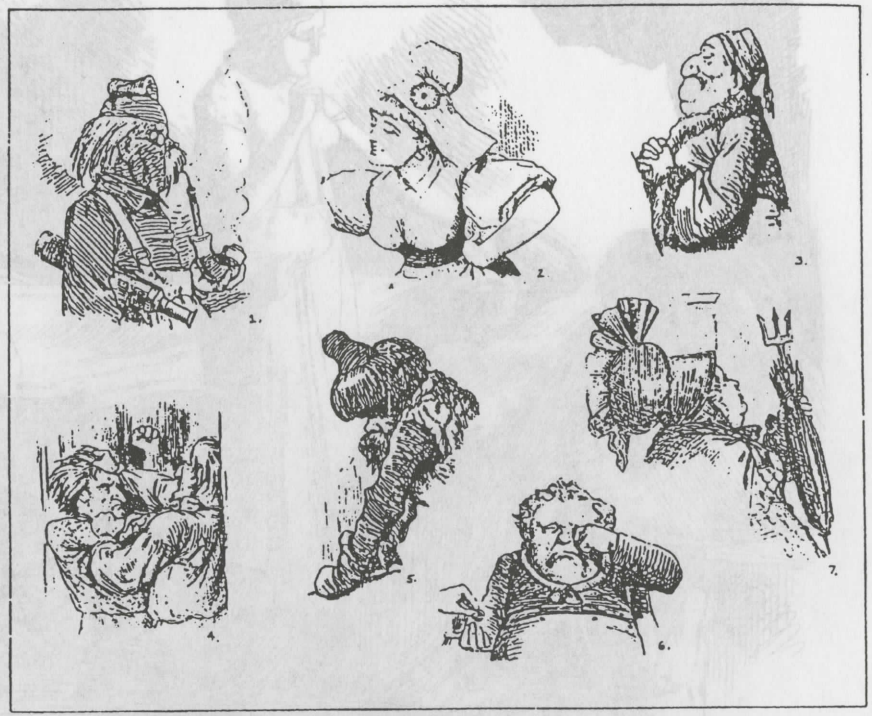
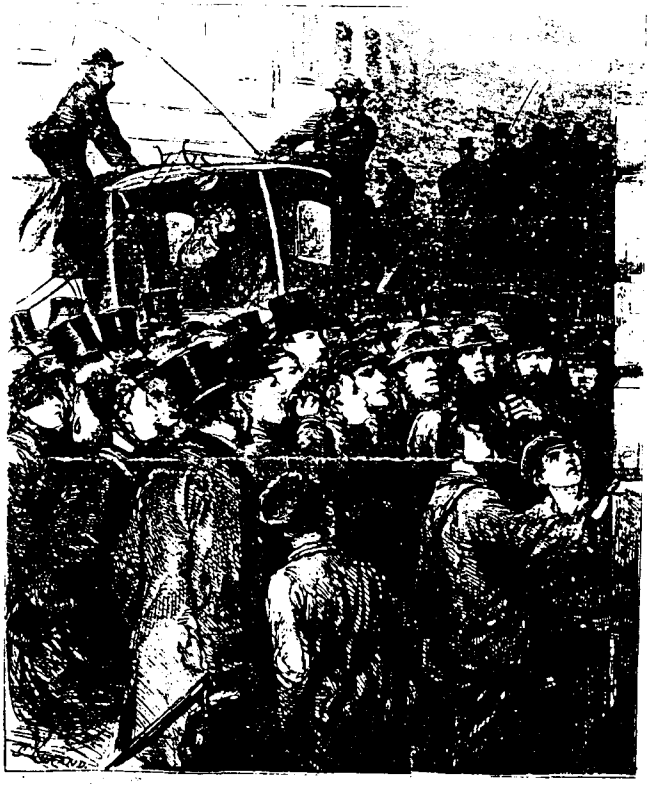
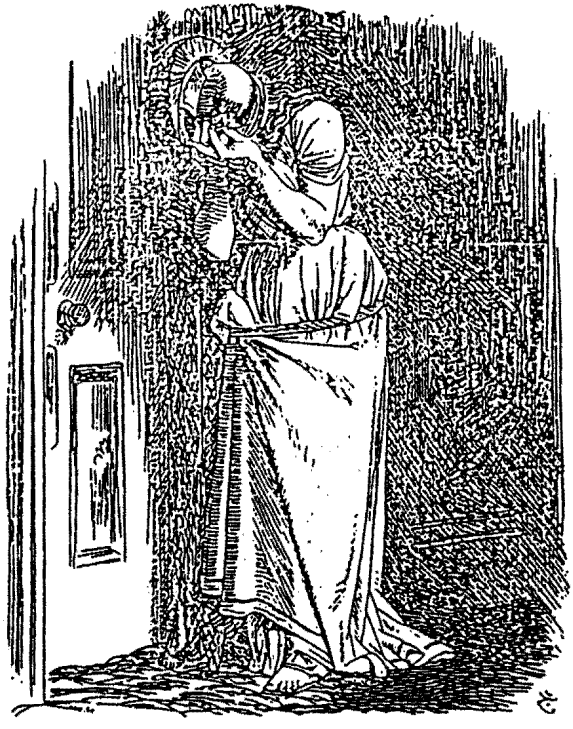


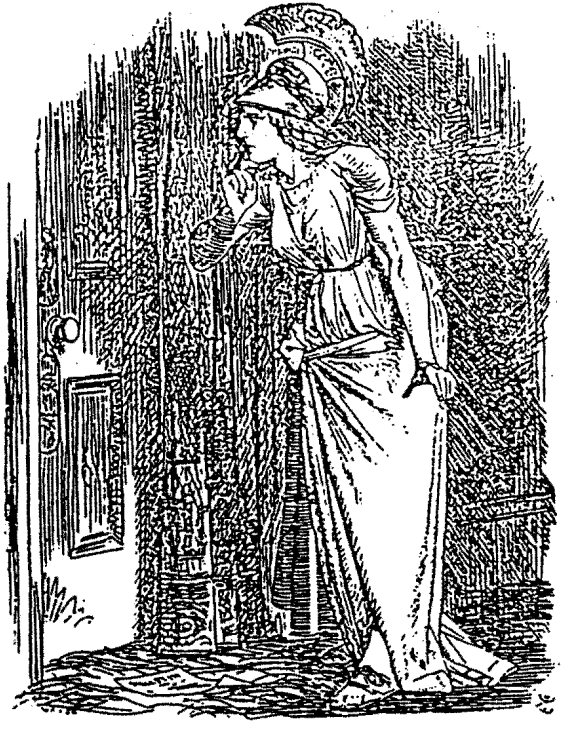
Figure 2. Personifications by Tenniel (1. Prussian Burgher 2. Madame La République 3. Turk 4. American Twins—North and South 5. Russian Cossack 6. Johnny Bull 7. Mrs. Britannia).

Cartoon 11; Morris
"The Illustrated Press and the Republican Crisis of 1871-72"

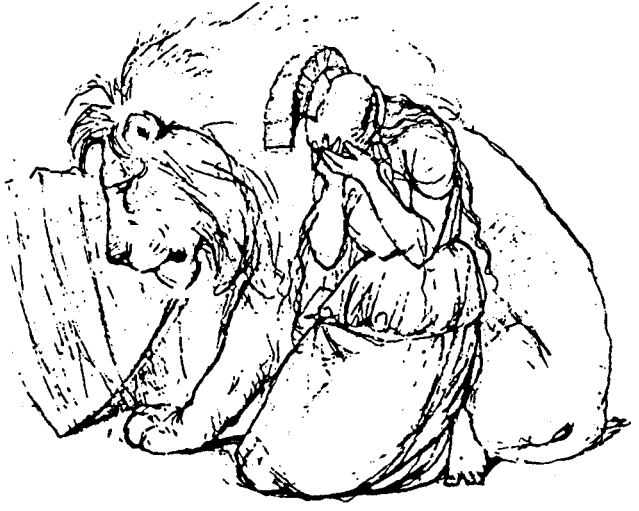


Carteen 12; Morris
"Republican Crisis"
Artist: John Tenniel





Cartoon 13: Morris
"Republican Crisis"
Artist: John Tenniel



DOUGLAS L. BENDELL AWARD

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARXIST THOUGHT IN THE YOUNG KARL MARX

HELEN HUND

Karl Marx was born a contradiction to the world of his time: from a Jewish family, he would become the world's foremost proponent of atheism; from a culture steeped in German romanticism and Hegelian idealist philosophy, he would become the foremost materialist philosopher; from a profligate son and later, profligate husband and father, he would become the economist who spent hours researching the topic of money for the world-changing "Das Kapital;" and from this man noted for his culture, intelligence, and arrogance would come the destruction of the old order of privilege through the "Communist Manifesto." Karl Marx was a contradiction to his times, and a revolutionary with a burning desire to change the existing society. His thought, however, was not revolutionary in the sense of being original, but a monumental synthesis of influences in his life, which congealed and culminated in three early works: "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right*," "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right*: Introduction," and the "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844."

Marx was born May 5, 1818 in Trier, a city on the Mosel River - a region renowned for its wine, Roman history, Catholicism, and revolutionary French ideas. Trier, a beautiful city surrounded by vineyards and almost Mediterranean vegetation, had a reputation for wine production from Roman times:

> Treves (Trier) metropolis, most beautiful city,
> You, who cultivate the grape, are most
> pleasing to Bacchus.
> Give your inhabitants the wines
> strongest for sweetness![1]

Marx also had a life-long appreciation of wine; he drank it for medicine when sick, and for pleasure when he could afford it. In spite of the beauty and fame of the city, the business of wine production was economically devastating for the inhabitants of the Mosel region. While other major European cities were becoming wealthy through industrialization, Trier remained primarily a marketplace with few available jobs. Trier was a miserable town for

[1]Saul K. Padover, Karl Marx: An Intimate Biography, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1978), 24.

the poor, that is, most of its inhabitants. At least one in four laborers was unemployed.[2] Marx would have seen the poor, for they were numerous.

Trier was the oldest city in Germany; founded by the Romans in the third century A.D., it became the frequent residence of Roman emperors in the fourth century. The ruins were a constant reminder of the power of the Roman Empire to the inhabitants of Trier. Marx's family home was a mere 50 yards from the intact city gate, the Porta Nigra. Marx, who truly lived in the shadow of this symbol of Roman power, would later destroy long-established social structures through the power of his writing, as the barbarian tribes had destroyed the Roman Empire with the power of the sword.

Trier was also an ancient bastion of Catholicism, and boasted of more churches than any city its size in Germany. Goethe commented on the overpowering ecclesiasticism after his visit to the city: "...within the town walls, it is burdened - yea, oppressed - with churches, chapels, cloisters, convents and colleges; and outside the walls, it is blockaded - yea, besieged - by abbeys, foundations and Carthusians."[3] This was an ironic birthplace for the man who would write "religion is the opium of the people."[4]

Trier, located in the Catholic Rhineland, was 93% Catholic, with a small minority of Protestants, and an even smaller number of Jews.[5] It was a city of great religious tolerance in Marx's day, according to Trier's Oberburgermeister, Wilhelm Haw. "Everybody, Catholics, Protestants and Israelites, moves about in the greatest harmony." Haw attributed this tolerance to "the Christian spirit of mutual toleration."[6] Whether religious tolerance in the city was due to Christian ideals or possibly the popularity of French liberal ideas mattered little to the Jewish inhabitants, who were ultimately subject to, first Napoleonic law, and then Prussian law. Both regimes barred Jews from certain occupations and denied them certain rights of citizenship unless they converted to Christianity. Karl Marx and his family were baptized in the Evangelical Lutheran faith, but there is no indication that any family members truly embraced Christian beliefs.

During the Napoleonic wars, the Rhineland had been annexed by the French, and the inhabitants of Trier had become accustomed to constitutional liberty and freedom of speech – freedoms not enjoyed by other Germans. The Trierites also shared the humanist-rationalist beliefs of the French, that is, an optimistic faith in man's ability to use reason to explain and improve the world. They believed all men were rational and good by nature. Human misery was caused by ignorance, which resulted from poor material circumstances and deliberate deception by those in authority, both governmental and ecclesiastical. The humanists proposed education and radical change in material conditions as the answers to

[2]David McLellan, Marx Before Marxism, (New York and Evanston: Harper and Row, 1970), 2.

[3]Padover, Karl Marx, 23.

[4]Robert C. Tucker, ed., The Marx-Engels Reader, 2d. ed., (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1978), 54.

[5]Padover, Karl Marx, 23.

[6]Ibid., 18.

human misery.

Out of the French humanist philosophy grew utopian socialist philosophy. Because of the large number of poor in Trier, and the Trierites' unhappiness with Prussian annexation in 1814, and the city's proximity to France, it is not surprising that Trier was one of the first German cities to adopt French utopian socialist ideals. Ludwig Gall, Secretary of the Trier City Council, constantly emphasized the miserable state of the poor, and the growing tension between the rich and the poor. Gall openly advocated the teachings of the French socialists Charles Fourier and the Comte de Saint-Simon as a cure for the economic and social ills of the city.[7]

Karl Marx's father, Heinrich (also, Heschel or Hirschel) Marx, was an avid French humanist, "a true eighteenth-century Frenchman. He knew his Voltaire and Rousseau by heart."[8] Karl Marx absorbed this love of French culture and affairs from his father, and it developed into a life-long interest. Karl Marx learned to read and write French fluently, the subject of most of his non-economic writings dealt with French affairs, and two of his three daughters married Frenchmen. This interest in French culture gave both Heinrich and Karl an identity which was, for them, a welcome change from their German Jewish heritage. Although Heinrich's male ancestors were all rabbis in Trier dating back to the sixteenth century, he broke with the family and worked to educate himself as a lawyer. This would have been impossible for earlier generations, but the French Revolution had given the Jews a certain amount of political freedom and educational opportunity.

Heinrich Marx was never a wealthy man, but he was able to provide a comfortable living for his five daughters and two sons. Because of the childhood death of an older brother, Karl was raised as the "oldest son" in this patriarchal family. Heinrich had great hopes for his "Gluckskind,"[9] and the two shared a close father-son relationship. Karl Marx's daughter said that her father "clung ardently to the memory of his father" and that he "never tired of talking about him."[10] The hard and usually unsentimental Marx carried a picture of his father at all times.

Karl did not enjoy a close relationship with his mother Henriette, although she too was proud of her "Gluckskind" in his early years. Henriette was a Dutch Jew, and exhibited a number of the traits often associated with the Dutch: tidiness, frugality, perseverance and respect for material possessions, which she sometimes flaunted. Karl hated these qualities in his mother, and derided her as "philistine" and "bourgeois."[11] He would later use these words many times to describe the entire existing social order in Europe. Karl's qualities were

[7]Ibid., 35.

[8]McLellan, Marx Before Marxism, 28.

[9]Padover, Karl Marx, 1. Ironically, Gluckskind means "child of fortune," and Karl Marx was to live most of his life in dire poverty.

[10]Ibid., 4.

[11]Ibid., 13.

the opposite of his mother's: uncleanness, improvidence, slothfulness and contempt for material possessions.

Although the French Revolution had improved the lives of European Jews such as the Marx family, the Jews were still hated for both economic and religious reasons. Rich and poor Jews were hated as usurers by the oppressed and debt-ridden masses. Jews were also considered enemies of the true religion. Christians believed that the Jewish religion taught only one doctrine - the love of money. Ironically, Karl absorbed this belief in his youth and was never to lose it.[12]

There is no record of Karl Marx attending school before the age of twelve, when he registered in the Friedrich Wilhelm Gymnasium. He would spend five years there, under the directorship of Johann Hugo Wyttenbach. Wyttenbach was a pro-French humanist and the author of a five-volume history of Trier. He was also Marx's history teacher, and probably the first person to give Marx a vision of the "big picture" in mankind's history. Under Wyttenbach, the gymnasium espoused the spirit of freedom and allowed criticism of the government. The school was put under police surveillance in 1830, and one boy was put in jail for a month for writing an anti-government poem.[13] The list of teachers and students the Prussian government considered suspicious does not include Karl Marx, although he would endure government oppression his entire adult life. At this time, Karl's interest was in writing romantic poetry, not in politics.

Most, if not all, of the teachers at the gymnasium were pro-French, which also meant they were anti-Prussian. The teachers taught the superiority of the French mind and French culture. Even Marx's math and physics teacher extolled the virtues of the French in those fields, and at least one of Marx's teachers, Thomas Simon, applied French socialist ideas to the plight of the poor in Trier.

> I have devoted myself to the problems of the impoverished and neglected people and have done so with a heart full of sincerity and ardent participation. In my capacity as a teacher, I point out daily that what makes a man into a human being is not the possession of cold, filthy, printed money, but character, principles, reason and sympathy for the weal and woe of one's fellow man.[14]

Marx's teachers were unimpressed with his abilities, as is shown by their comments on his report cards and his Abitur ("school-leaving" test) grades. Marx graduated eighth in his class of 32, with an overall grade of "B."[15] For the Abitur, Marx was required to write three essays, only one of which gives an insight into his thought. The "Reflections of a Young

[12]Ibid., 14.

[13]Ibid., 37.

[14]Ibid., 35.

[15]David McLellan, Karl Marx: His Life and Thought, (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 10.

Man on Choosing an Occupation" is prophetic, considering Marx's later role in history. The central theme of the essay is that nature assigns a position to each creature in the world. Animals have a passive position; men have an active position, because they possess aspiration and judgment. Men must choose a vocation based on their abilities. A proper choice of a vocation will lead to self-fulfillment, and to service for humanity; there is no contradiction between the personal and idealistic.

> History calls those the greatest men who ennoble themselves by working for the universal. Experience praises as the most happy the one who made the most people happy. Religion itself teaches that the ideal for which we are all striving sacrificed itself for humanity, and who would dare to gainsay such a statement?
>
> When we have chosen the vocation in which we can contribute most to humanity, burdens cannot bend us because they are only sacrifices for all. Then we experience no meagre, limited, egotistic joy, but our happiness belongs to millions, our deeds live on quietly but eternally effective, and glowing tears of noble men will fall on our ashes.[16]

Marx concluded that the proper vocation would make the man himself happy, as well as benefit society. It is doubtful that Karl Marx made many people happy in his lifetime, certainly not the bourgeoisie and his close associates. He did, however, dedicate his life to improving the plight of the poor to the detriment of his own health and economic interests.

The mentor and confidante of Karl Marx during his gymnasium days was not one of his teachers, but the man who would later be his father-in-law, Ludwig von Westphalen. Westphalen was a Trierite who was a member of the Scottish nobility, a man of culture and liberal French ideas. He was bilingual because of his heritage, and could read in seven languages. Marx and he spent hours walking in the beautiful hills surrounding Trier, while Westphalen told Marx of Goethe, Saint-Simon, Cervantes, Homer, and Shakespeare. Marx later would also read in all the major European languages while researching historical and economic subjects, and speak German, French and English fluently.

Having passed his Abitur, Marx entered the University of Bonn to study jurisprudence. His year there was spent drinking, dueling, and causing his anxious parents great worry. Karl was the great hope of the family, but Heinrich and Henriette knew he was a person given to excesses. They worried much about his health, which had always been poor, and his penchant for spending their money freely, though they had so little. Karl soon gave up going to law lectures, and joined two student clubs. One was a political club under police surveillance for anti-government speech. Karl, however, was not one of the members listed in police reports. The other club, the Treviraner, was composed of students from lower and middle class homes in the Trier area. The purpose of this club was to drink liquor and satirize the upper class club, which often led to dueling.

[16]Ibid., 14.

After his first year, Marx transferred to the University of Berlin where the students did not carouse, for they were hard-working Prussians. The University of Berlin at the time was still much under the influence of its reknowned philosophy professor, Georg Wilhelm Hegel, although he had recently died. An intellectual ferment brewed, as two of his students, now professors themselves, interpreted Hegel in different ways. Professor Frederick Karl von Savigny was a jurist who stressed two main ideas in his lectures: first, laws are an integral part of a nation, like limbs are to the human body; and second, each generation is dependent on, and formed by all previous generations. "Each age does not act arbitrarily or in an egoistic independence, but is entirely held to the past by common and indissoluble bonds."[17] Savigny's emphasis on the continuity of generations through history prefigures Marx's historical materialism. Marx would have objected, however, to his professor's support of the Prussian government as an expression of the Hegelian "Ideal."

Eduard Gans was also a jurist professor who had been a student of Hegel; he differed greatly from Savigny in thought, age and presentation as a lecturer. Gans was a young Saint-Simonian socialist, whose lectures were so exciting that non-students attended them. Gans emphasized the dialectic of Hegel, that is, the movement of mankind forward to something better through historic process, including the struggle of classes. His belief that the French Revolution had been beneficial and liberating for all Europe risked the anger of the Prussian government, but it was for "radical" writings such as the following for which Gans' lectures were suppressed by the Berlin censors:

> The followers of Saint-Simon have correctly observed that slavery has not disappeared; that if it has been formally abolished, it nevertheless persists in a most unmistakable form. Just as master and slave once confronted each other, then the patrician and plebian, and still later the lord and vassal, today we have the parasite and the worker. One has only to visit the factories to see hundreds of ill-fed, destitute men and women sacrificing in the service and for the profit of one man their health and all the pleasures of life, in exchange for a meager pittance. Is it not pure slavery when man is exploited like a beast, when he is left nothing but the liberty to die of hunger? Is it not possible to awaken in these proletarians their moral consciousness?[18]

Marx would later echo this theme of change from feudal slavery to a more awful kind - the slavery of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat. Both Gans and Marx considered feudalism the more just of the two economic systems, because the feudal lord was responsible for the health and life of the vassal. The bourgeois, on the other hand, possessed no moral imperatives to care for the health and life of the proletarian. Marx would later say

[17]Padover, Karl Marx, 75.

[18]Roger Garaudy, Karl Marx: The Evolution of His Thought, (New York: International Publishers, 1967), 16.

in "The Manifesto of the Communist Party:"

> The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.
> Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes....
> The bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part....
> In one word, for [feudal] exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.[19]

During this time, Marx also experienced a love-hate relationship with the writings of Hegel himself. Marx strove to find a metaphysical Absolute in the field of law, such as Hegel's Absolute Idea, but was unsuccessful. Marx believed that laws needed to be based on a philosophic principle, and not just arbitrarily chosen by those in power. Marx joined a club called the "Young Hegelians," with members all older than he, who met to discuss philosophical questions and drink beer. The club members were quite impressed with the young Karl Marx. One member who had not yet met Marx, but had heard about him from Edgar and Bruno Bauer wrote:

> Who rushes behind with wild bluster?
> A swarthy fellow from Trier, a vigorous monster.
> He walks not, hops not, he leaps on his heels
> And raves, full of rage, as if he wanted to seize
> The broad canopy of heaven, and pull it down to earth,
> His arms extended very wide in the air.
> With angry fist balled, he rants ceaselessly,
> As if ten thousand devils held him by the forelock.[20]

The club member who so aptly captured Marx's appearance, character and thought without meeting him, was Friedrich Engels. Engels would later meet this "swarthy fellow from Trier" and become Marx's only life-long friend. Already, Engels realized the role Marx would play in history: "to seize the broad canopy of heaven and pull it down to earth," that is, to replace the philosophy of Idealism with the philosophy of Materialism.

German Idealism, that is, Hegelianism, proposed an Absolute Idea from which all man's social and religious structures emanated. This philosophy, which claimed the prior

[19]Tucker, Marx-Engels Reader, 473-5.

[20]Padover, Karl Marx, 116.

existence of the perfect and eternal Absolute Idea to earthly institutions, supported the claim of existing European social and religious structures to be a reflection of the perfect and eternal, and therefore beyond the realm of criticism. German intellectuals had only two choices at this time: embrace the philosophical and political status quo and be rewarded with a high-paying job, or attack the status quo and expose oneself to harassment, legal prosecution, and exile. Marx would choose to attack, through the one profession open to non-conformist intellectuals - radical journalism. The object of Marx's writing was to expose the false claims of the status quo in order to make way for the new, and this he did in a style that was harshly critical from his first works to his last. What could one expect from the young man who's motto was "Doubt everything"?[21]

The most important book Marx read during his student days, which precipitated the turning point in his intellectual development from idealism to materialism, was Ludwig Feuerbach's "The Essence of Christianity." Feuerbach denied the existence of God as an "Absolute Idea," and stated that nothing exists besides nature and man. Religion existed only in man's mind; that is, God did not create man, rather, man created God. Thus, various aspects of Christianity corresponded to some need of human nature. Feuerbach, like Marx's friend Bruno Bauer, was critical not just of Christianity, but also Judaism. Both philosophers condemned the Jewish believers as interested only in earning money, a position Marx adopted. The young intellectuals considered "The Essence of Christianity" the end of classical German philosophy. Friedrich Engels described the effect of this work on them:

> In one blow it...placed materialism back upon the throne....The spell was broken....One must himself have experienced the liberating effect of this book to get a real idea of it. The enthusiasm was universal: We were all for the moment Feuerbachians. With what enthusiasm Marx greeted the new conception, and how much he was influenced by it - despite all critical misgivings - one may read in "The Holy Family."[22]

Marx studied five years in Berlin before finishing his doctoral thesis: "The Difference Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature." Both Democritus and Epicurus were Greek materialists who based their philosophies on observation of the universe, but with one great cosmological difference: Democritus observed the static nature of the universe, and therefore posited the unavoidability of all occurrences, whereas Epicurus observed the changeable nature of the universe and therefore posited the irregularity of all occurrences. Epicurus held that this irregularity proved the existence of man's individuality and free will. Therefore, Marx wrote, "Epicurus is the greatest enlightener, and deserves the eulogy bestowed upon him by Lucretius":

[21]David McLellan, ed., Karl Marx: Interviews and Recollections, (Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble Books, 1981), 167.

[22]Padover, Karl Marx, 136.

When, before the eyes of men, disgraceful life on earth
Was bowed down by the burden of oppressive religion,
Which extended its head from the high regions of heaven,
And with gruesome grotesqueness frightfully threatened mankind,
A Greek first ventured to raise his mortal eye
Against the monster and boldly resisted it.
Neither the fable of god, nor lightning or thunder of heaven,
Scared him with their threat...
Thus, as in reprisal, religion lies at our feet,
Completely defeated,
But, as for us, triumph raises us up to heaven.[23]

As the quote above shows, Marx's doctoral dissertation is also a rejection of religion and of those German idealist philosophers who used philosophy to prove the existence of God - Joseph von Schelling, Immanuel Kant, and Hegel himself. Marx criticized their methods as actually proving the non-existence of God. Marx believed philosophy should reign independently of religion, and quoted Epicurus: "Impious is not he who rejects the God of the multitude, but he who attributes the conceptions of the multitude to the Gods."[24]

Marx did not present his doctoral dissertation to the examiners at the University of Berlin on the advice of his friend, Bruno Bauer. Because of the content of Marx's dissertation and his friendship with Bauer, a professor at the University of Bonn and a well-known critic of religion, the pro-clerical examiners would deny Marx his doctorate in philosophy. Marx therefore presented his dissertation to the examiners at the liberal University of Jena and received his doctorate within a week. The criticism of religion by the young intellectuals greatly worried not only the Prussian government, but also other European monarchies who claimed to be Christian States. As Voltaire had shown in the 18th century, an assault on the Church - the foundation of these governments claiming to be Christian States, was the first step in demolishing these governments.

As there was no chance of Marx teaching philosophy in a German university, he accepted the editorship of a newly founded newspaper, the *Rheinische Zeitung*. At this time, Marx was not yet a communist, but a humanist. His first article on the subject for the newspaper stated: "The *Rheinische Zeitung*, which cannot concede the theoretical reality of communist ideas even in their present form, and can even less wish or consider possible their practical realization, will submit these ideas to a thorough scrutiny."[25] Several months later, Marx began to read the major French utopian and socialist theorists, especially the works of Charles Fourier and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. These writers did not convert Marx to

[23]Ibid., 120.

[24]Ibid., 124.

socialism, but they did arouse his interest. Marx would embrace communism through the study of economics, not through the writings of the utopians.

The *Rheinische Zeitung* eventually succumbed to the heavy-handed Prussian censors and financial difficulties. Marx now had time to re-read a number of political and philosophical works. It was at this time also that Marx wrote to his friend, Arnold Ruge, calling for a "ruthless criticism of everything existing."[26] The fruits of his study, combined with his aim of criticism, resulted in three critical articles, two of which were critiques of Hegel's philosophy.

Marx found contradictions in Hegel's political system, which he carefully presented in the "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right." Marx used Feuerbach's "transformational criticism,"[27] the method Feuerbach had used to criticize Hegel's system of religion. Feuerbach's transformational criticism was important to the leftist Young Hegelians in that this method preserved the truth of the philosophy of Hegel, but in an inverted form. Instead of man's institutions emanating from, and reflecting the Absolute Idea as Hegel had said, Feuerbach countered that the Idea is but a creation of man's consciousness.

Marx reversed Hegel's notion that institutions are the product of the Universal, and countered that it is actually the human being, and only he, who creates his own social and religious systems. Man does not do this because of some abstract idea, but in response to the material conditions of his existence. "Just as it is not religion which creates man but man who creates religion, so it is not the constitution which creates the people but the people which creates the constitution....Man does not exist for the law but the law for man..."[28] Marx maintained that this inversion of Hegel produced the "guiding thread" in his thought that led to his formulation of historical materialism.[29]

The second part of Marx's critique of Hegel's political system, the "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right: Introduction," is a passionate call for a radical revolution to free man from the religious and political remnants of the "ancien regime," in order that man can achieve self-realization. The "Critique" opens with a sweeping condemnation of religion, accusing it of being the first cause of man's alienation from himself. Man looks to heaven to find his true self, but "Religion is only the illusory sun about which man revolves so long as he does not revolve about himself."[30] Why does man search the heavens for his true self? Marx answers that it is because of man's misery on earth that "Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world,

[25]Ibid., 144.

[26]Tucker, Marx-Engels Reader, 12-15.

[27]Ibid., xxii-iii.

[28]Ibid., 20.

[29]Ibid., xxii.

[30]Ibid., 54.

and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people."[31]

Marx proposes the elimination of the conditions causing this alienation for man, and this is to be accomplished through criticism, beginning with that of religion. "...The criticism of religion is the premise of all criticism."[32] Criticism of religion then moves from the sacred to the secular with the criticism of law; and correspondingly, the criticism of theology moves from the sacred to the secular with the criticism of politics.[33] Thus, Marx has brought the reader to the point of his "Critique" - the criticism of politics in Germany. Marx then describes the scenario that will bring about this radical revolution, naming the proletariat as the universal class which will free all of Germany, while freeing itself. Marx chose the proletariat as the negation in Hegel's dialectic, because it is a class that belongs to no class. Following the logic of Hegel's dialectic, the two universals - that is, the bourgeoisie (status quo) and the proletariat, trade places and the result is synthesis - a new society where man achieves self-realization. A major feature of this new society will be the negation of private property, because the proletariat "only lays down as a principle for society what society has already made a principle for the proletariat."[34]

The two political critiques on Hegel foreshadowed Marx's next work - the critique of political economy, the "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844." The "Manuscripts" show Marx's conversion to communism, his growing concern with the topic of economics, and his elaboration of the theme of alienation. In the "Manuscripts," Marx explores the economic structures which produce alienated labor, again using the critical method of his Hegel "Critiques." In the "Manuscripts," transformational criticism is applied to *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, by English economist Adam Smith.[35] The industrial revolution and the capitalist method of production had fragmented man through the division of labor, mechanization, and exploitation. The humanists and the German romantic writers longed for unity of man within himself, of man with his own kind, and of man with nature. The romantic poets and philosophers complained that man had been overpowered by his own works:

> Enjoyment was divorced from labor, the means from the end, the effort from the reward. Everlastingly chained to a single little fragment of the Whole, man himself develops into nothing but a fragment; everlastingly in his ear the monotonous sound of the wheel that he turns, he never develops the harmony of his being, and

[31]Ibid.

[32]Ibid., 53.

[33]Ibid., 54.

[34]Ibid., 65.

[35]Margaret Fay, "The Influence of Adam Smith on Marx's Theory of Alienation," Science and Society 47 (Summer '83): 129-51.

> instead of putting the stamp of humanity upon his own nature, he becomes nothing more than the imprint of his occupation or of his specialized knowledge.[36]

In the "Manuscripts of 1844" Marx agrees with this description of man's fragmentation or alienation by Friedrich Schiller, and exposes the cause by which man is alienated from himself, other men and nature. "Private property [is] the material, summary expression of alienated labor."[37] The antidote Marx proposes is communism:

> Communism [is] the positive transcendence of private property, or human self-estrangement, and therefore [is] the the real appropriation of the human essence by and for man; communism therefore [is] the complete return of man to himself as a social (i.e., human) being....It is the genuine resolution of the conflict between man and nature and between man and man...[38]

Marx's thought underwent few changes during the remaining 39 years of his life, and although he continued to write, his mature works are magnifications of themes explored in his early works. *Das Kapital,* for example, is a further exploration of the critique of political economy, begun in the "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844." Critical theory remained Marx's chosen method, both to assess the present state of the world, and also to find the emerging - presumably better - world. Marx envisioned this method as open-ended, that is, undogmatic. "...We do not dogmatically anticipate the world, but only want to find the new world through critique of the old one."[39] The new world Marx saw emerging was communist, and it would produce the whole man: man free to express himself through his choice of labors, for it was the division of labor that fragmented and alienated man.

> ...In communist society, ...nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity but each can become accomplished in any branch he wishes, society regulates the general production and thus makes it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticize after dinner, just as I have a mind..[40]

[36]Ernst Fischer, ed., The Essential Marx, (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970), 15.

[37]Tucker, Marx-Engels Reader, 81.

[38]Ibid., 84.

[39]W. A. Suchtig, Marx: An Introduction, (New York and London: New York University Press, 1983), 23.

[40]Tucker, Marx-Engels Reader, 160.

OUTSTANDING SEMINAR PAPER AWARD

JEFFERSON AND THE POST-WAR ERA: RACE, MISCEGENATION, AND HISTORY

ERIC T. OWENS

The memory of Thomas Jefferson has long been associated with the American experience of race and slavery. Just as Jefferson's words are used whenever freedom, liberty, and democracy need defending, Jefferson's example is used whenever racial hypocrisy is criticized. In the nineteenth century, abolitionists used Jefferson's words as weapons, while Southerners used his example as a defense. It is the issue of race that has most clouded Jefferson's reputation in the second half of the present century. As the Civil Rights Movement gradually became a success, and as scholars increasingly realized that Jefferson's notion of equality was not the same as the modern idea of equality, Jefferson's fortunes began to fall in the academic community. Discussions of Jefferson's legacy have become increasingly complex since the nation celebrated the 200th anniversary of his birth in 1943. Ambivalence and qualification now surround most writing on Jefferson as the innocence of the 1940s and 1950s yielded to the skepticism and cynicism of later decades. Jefferson's life is a parallel with the destiny of the nation with regard to racial issues, and this parallel can be seen in the histories that have been written about Jefferson.

The Jefferson Memorial in Washington was dedicated on April 13, 1943, at the height of World War II. President Franklin Roosevelt wasted no time in associating the spirit of Jefferson with the cause of the war. "Today, in the midst of a great war for freedom, we dedicate a shrine to freedom. To Thomas Jefferson, apostle of freedom, we are paying a debt long overdue."[1] The importance of the moment was recognized by Dumas Malone, who held the Jefferson chair in history at the University of Virginia and had just begun work on a multi-volume biography of the sage of Monticello. He observed in *The Saturday Review* that the Memorial "signifies in a tangible way his recognition as a member of our Trinity of immortals."[2] One hundred and seventeen years after his death, Jefferson had finally joined Washington and Lincoln in the pantheon of America's exalted leaders.

As Jefferson became a tool for use against fascism, American liberals saw the opportunity to use Jefferson to attack racism at home. This is most evident in the 1944 work of the Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. Myrdal argued that white Americans knew that blacks were entitled

[1]*New York Times*, 14 April 1943, pp. 1, 16.

[2]Dumas Malone, "The Jefferson Faith," *Saturday Review* 26 (13 April 1943): 4.

to treatment as equals, but were paralyzed by fear and ignorance. As a slaveholder and author of the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson more acutely symbolized the dilemma than anyone. Myrdal portrays Jefferson as a social scientist struggling with the race problem of his day in *Notes on the State of Virginia*. Myrdal argues that "he is cautious in tone, has his attention upon the fact that popular opinions are prejudiced, and points to the possibility that further scientific studies may, or may not, verify his conjectures. . . . This guarded treatment of the subject marks a high point in the early history of the literature on Negro racial characteristics."[3] Myrdal used the example of Jefferson to encourage like-minded individuals to pick up where Jefferson left off, believing that would result in the removal of the remaining barriers to assimilation and the creation of the equality enunciated by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence.

Dumas Malone's six-volume biography of the third President, *Jefferson and His Time*, is as meticulous and thorough a study as any historian could hope to write. The weaknesses of these volumes, however, are indicative of the era in which Malone wrote rather than in his methodology. The biography does little to reveal the inner Jefferson, for the personal life of our political leaders was not of the consuming interest then that it seems to be today. Later in his life, after the miscegenation of Jefferson was alleged by Fawn Brodie, Malone's response could be summed up by stating that Jefferson was not the kind of man to do that, as if it were an insult to his aristocratic honor. While Malone's work is very much a product of his time, its importance cannot be overstated. It is the starting point for all subsequent study of Jefferson.[4]

In 1954, the first contemporary allegations that Jefferson had fathered some children of Sally Hemings appeared in the most widely read African-American publication, *Ebony*. The unnamed author of the piece wrote that "many reputable historians concede that Jefferson fathered at least five Negro children and possibly more by several comely slave concubines who were great favorites at his Monticello home."[5] While some historians may have accepted this story, the leading Jefferson scholars of the day—all of whom were white—dismissed the charge as inconsistent with Jefferson's character.

A former editor of the *William & Mary Quarterly*, Douglass Adair, worried that the attention given to the *Ebony* article would distort Jefferson's historical reputation. Adair wrote that "its printing is designed to stir up, to quote a phrase of Jefferson's, 'ten thousand recollections, by the blacks, of the injuries they have sustained.'" The appeal of the article was also being used by white segregationists to illustrate the dangers of integration. In Adair's view, the cautious and conscientious Jefferson, who was a symbol of good will in race relations, was being replaced by a hypocritical figure who was being dragged yet again into

[3]Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944; reprint, New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 90.

[4]Dumas Malone, *Jefferson and His Time*, 6 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1948-81).

[5]"Thomas Jefferson's Negro Grandchildren," *Ebony* 10 (November 1954): 78.

politics. Adair was persuaded by Malone and others not to publish the essay, which remained unpublished until after his death, so as to not give those using the Hemings legend the dignity of a scholarly rebuttal.[6]

In 1960, Merrill Peterson published an award-winning book called *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind*. Peterson, who shortly afterwards succeeded Malone in the Jefferson chair at Virginia, surveyed the ever-shifting ways in which Jefferson's legacy had been used and abused from his death until the bicentennial celebration of Jefferson's birth in 1943. In his view, "no serious student" of Jefferson gave the story credence. Peterson traced the genesis of the story, in part, to the:

> Negroes' pathetic wish for a little pride and their subtle ways of confounding the white folks, the cunning of the slave trader and the auctioneer who might expect a better price for a Jefferson than for a Jones, the social fact of miscegenation and its fascination as a moral theme, and, above all, the logic of abolitionism by which Jefferson alone of the Founding Fathers was a worthy exhibit of the crime.

While Peterson noted that several recent publications had presented the story as true, he concluded that the Hemings affair had long ago "faded into the obscure recesses of the Jeffersonian image."[7]

The story remained in those "obscure recesses" through most of the 1960s, downplayed by the Jefferson scholars who shaped the popular image. While they knew about the Hemings story, black civil rights leaders saw nothing to gain in the promotion of it, electing instead to emphasize the Jeffersonian ideals of freedom, equality, and democracy. However, Jefferson was reproached by radical black leaders who became increasingly intolerant with white leaders who, like Jefferson, seemed to say the right things but not to follow through on those words. In 1965, Malcolm X impugned Jefferson's hypocrisy.

> Who was it wrote that—'all men created equal'? It was Jefferson. Jefferson had more slaves than anybody else. . . . When I see some poor old brainwashed Negroes—you mention Thomas Jefferson and George Washington and Patrick Henry, they just swoon, you know, with patriotism. But they don't realize that in the sight of George Washington, you were a sack of molasses, a sack of potatoes. You—yes—were a sack of potatoes, a barrel of molasses, you amounted to nothing in the sight of Washington, or in the sight of Jefferson, or Hamilton, and some of those other so-called founding fathers. You were their property. And if it was left up to them, you'd still be their property today.[8] Where moderate civil

[6]Trevor Colbourn, ed., *Fame and the Founding Fathers: Essays by Douglass Adair* (New York: Norton, 1974), 161, 167, 169.

[7]Merrill D. Peterson, *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1960), 186-87.

[8]Malcolm X, *Malcolm X On Afro-American History*, 3d ed. (New York: Pathfinder, 1990), 39-40.

rights leaders such as Martin Luther King, Jr. considered Jefferson a white man with good intentions trapped in a moral dilemma, Malcolm X saw only a deceitful slaveholder.

In time other black social critics joined Malcolm in his condemnation of white liberals who looked up to Jefferson. Ishmael Reed, a poet and activist, maligned the earnestness of Jefferson and his white liberal followers in a *New York Times* op-ed piece which he called "Gliberals." Reed wrote that contemporary white liberals had learned the "writing techniques introduced by early political writers like Thomas Jefferson, the founding Gliberal, a slaveowner who insisted that the Bill of Rights be added to the Constitution."[9] As the slow pace of reform presented by the white liberal leadership was attacked, their spiritual leader suffered accordingly.

In his 1972 article "Mr. Jefferson and the Living Generation," Malone defended Jefferson against these charges of hypocrisy. "Contradictions there were, as indeed there are in all of us, but I am most impressed with his equilibrium—or, to use a musical rather than a physical term, with his polyphony." Malone wrote that Jefferson knew that the time for most of the reforms he desired still lay in the future. "To the fiery revolutionaries of our own time he probably seems a tame and timid creature. But no contemporary of his perceived more clearly the inevitability of change and the necessity that institutions keep pace with it."[10] Sadly, Malone himself failed to keep pace with the changes of his own time. What Malone called a fair illustration of Jefferson seemed increasingly biased to his critics.

Race historian Winthrop Jordan's 1968 book *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* is a decisive reevaluation of race relations in early America featuring a lengthy section on Jefferson. He analyzed the evidence of the Sally Hemings affair—noting that "despite the utter disreputability of the source, the charge has been dragged after Jefferson like a dead cat through the pages of formal and informal history"—but ultimately concluded that whether or not the charge was true did not matter. Jordan also argued that miscegenation, black sexuality, and psychological repression were recurring themes in Jefferson's life and thought. Moreover, he made a serious charge against Jefferson: the third president's comments on black inferiority "constituted, for all its qualifications, the most intense, extensive, and extreme formulation of anti-Negro 'thought' offered by any American in the thirty years after the Revolution."[11] In twenty-four short years, Myrdal's hypothesis had been turned on its head.

Fawn Brodie approached Jefferson's personal life differently from Jordan or any other previous writer. Brodie, a UCLA lecturer, had already made waves in using psychological models in history, as she was excommunicated from the Mormon church for her 1943

[9]Ishmael Reed, "Gliberals", *New York Times*, 31 March 1973, p. 35.

[10]Dumas Malone, "Mr. Jefferson and the Living Generation," *The American Scholar* 41 (1972): 587-98.

[11]Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press, 1968), 465, 481.

biography of Joseph Smith. In the late 1960s, she began studying Jefferson, who was "under bombardment" from writers like Jordan. Brodie felt Jordan had distorted the racism of Jefferson; her Jefferson was more vacillating on racial differences, and only offered his comments on black inferiority as a suspicion only. Still, that was enough to destroy the Jefferson image to some, and she feared that the Sally Hemings story aggravated that. She argued that the claims of the Hemings story should not be a threat to his heroic stature. "It could be that Jefferson's slave family, if the evidence should point to its authenticity, will turn out under scrutiny to represent not a tragic flaw in Jefferson but evidence of psychic health. And the flaw could turn out to be what some of the compassionate abolitionists thought long ago, not a flaw in the hero but a flaw in society." By arguing this case in a lecture at the University of Virginia and an article in the *Virginia Quarterly Review*, Brodie was entering her opponents domain, hoping to defeat their arguments before they were even presented.[12]

While she praised the work of Malone and Peterson, she said that she was in search of something that they had neglected their otherwise complete biographies. In a review of Peterson's biography, *Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation*, Brodie noted the lack of "any kind of probing into Jefferson's inner life for sources of his ambivalence toward blacks, which might explain his increasing apathy toward slavery."[13] Her own developing hypothesis was that perhaps understanding Sally Hemings could lend insight into Jefferson's view of slavery. In April 1971, Brodie presented the paper "The Great Jefferson Taboo" at the Organization of American Historians, where Peterson and Jordan served as critics. According to *The Journal of American History*, Peterson "was especially critical of the psychological evidence presented by Brodie"; Jordan, by contrast, "stated that he had already been 60 percent on what might be called the Brodie side of the argument and described himself as having upped the percentage to eighty pro after reading her paper. He was impressed with the psychological evidence."[14]

Brodie, becoming ever more critical of what she called "the Jefferson Establishment," wrote an article entitled "Jefferson Biographers and the Psychology of Canonization," where she insinuated that Malone and Peterson had unknowingly yielded to the need to deify. "Both biographers teach at the University of Virginia, live virtually in the shadow of Monticello, and walk each day in the beguiling quadrangle Jefferson designed 150 years ago. Jefferson is so much a 'presence in Charlottesville, and so omnipresent a local deity, that one

[12]Fawn M. Brodie, "The Political Hero in America," *The Virginia Quarterly Review* 46 (1970): 57-60.

[13]*The Los Angeles Times*, May 31, 1970, quoted in Scot A. French and Edward L. Ayers, "The Strange Career of Thomas Jefferson: Race and Slavery in American Memory, 1943-1993," *Jeffersonian Legacies*, ed. Peter S. Onuf (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 427. Newspaper page number not given by French and Ayers.

[14]Jack P. Greene, "The Sixty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians," *Journal of American History* 58 (1971): 703.

cannot help wondering if this in itself does not exercise a subtle direction upon anyone who chooses to write about him." Brodie criticized the Jefferson biographers for neglecting his private life. "There is important material in the documents which the biographers belittle; there is controversial material which they flatly disregard as libelous, though it cries out for careful analysis. And there is what one may call psychological evidence which they often ignore or simply do not see." Brodie concluded "that something is at work here that has little to do with scholarship," something that called for "speculation and exploration" and perhaps even Freudian analysis. Since male biographers utterly rejected the notion that Jefferson could have had a slave mistress, Brodie insinuated that perhaps what was needed was a person of the opposite gender conducting the research.[15]

Brodie was more intent on criticizing "the Jefferson Establishment" rather than Jefferson, whom she clearly admired. She suggested yet again that an intimate relationship between the two could be seen in a positive light. Perhaps Jefferson, the lonely widower, "had turned to the 'dashing Sally' for solace" and she, in turn, found him attractive. "None of this has to be described as 'ruthless exploitation of the master-slave relationship.' And there is no man to whose character it could be genuinely unbecoming. He had then been for years a widower." Furthermore, Jefferson was not necessarily condemning his own children to slavery, since they were, by his own definition, white.[16]

Brodie was not the only historian collectively criticizing Jefferson scholars in the early 1970s. Eric L. McKitrick wrote that while "the view from Jefferson's camp, in the work of Peterson and Malone, is full as any such view can be," their perspective as biographers did not allow for alternative views. "If your host literally cannot imagine Thomas Jefferson as other than all that is finest and best not only in a gentleman but in the entire American tradition itself, how can you?" Like Jordan, McKitrick concluded that it was irrelevant whether the affair actually happened. What mattered was the psychosocial context in which Jefferson struggled with slavery and miscegenation. "It is the psychosexual dilemma of an entire society, reflected in that undergone by the most eminent citizen of Virginia and one of the most enlightened men of his time."[17]

Fawn Brodie's 1974 biography *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History* turned "the Jefferson Establishment" on its head. Brodie combined documentary sources with Freudian psychoanalysis to determine that Jefferson had a loving, long-term relationship with Sally Hemings, and fathered many of her children.[18] Malone and other Jefferson scholars were

[15]Fawn M. Brodie, "Jefferson Biographers and the Psychology of Canonization," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1971): 161.

[16]Ibid., 170.

[17]Eric L. McKitrick, "The View from Jefferson's Camp," *The New York Review of Books* 15 (17 December 1970): 35-38.

[18]Fawn M. Brodie, *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History* (New York: Norton, 1974).

furious with the positive reviews that it received in the popular press. They considered its evidence unpersuasive, its approach doubtful, and its argument improbable. Proponents of Malone portrayed Brodie as a woman captivated with sex, a borderline historian who had made a "scholarly specialty of oddballs."[19] Meanwhile Brodie's champions described Malone as a hagiographer, a conventional guardian of the national self-image.

Malone rarely mentioned Brodie or her book by name, preferring to stay above the fray, but he was persuaded by a friend, Virginius Dabney, a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist, to issue a three-page statement which called the Brodie thesis "highly objectionable." Malone wrote that Brodie, "in her obsession with sex, has drawn a distorted picture. In her zeal to demonstrate that Jefferson's sexual activity continued after his wife's death—until almost the end of his long life—this determined woman runs far beyond the evidence and carries psychological speculation to the point of absurdity." Malone rejected the assertion that Brodie had humanized Jefferson, saying her book "can be regarded as an attempt to drag an extraordinary man down to the common level—to show that he was no better than anyone else. That would be a perversion of the doctrine of equality." Malone closed with a metaphor. "Fawn Brodie . . . cannot rob Washington and Jefferson of their laurels, but [she] can scribble graffiti on their statues. It is unfortunate that dirty words are so hard to erase, and it is shocking that the scribblers should be so richly rewarded."[20]

Both Brodie and Malone were subject to criticism from their peers. The boldest analysis came from Garry Wills, a Jefferson scholar better known for his work on Jefferson the political thinker in *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence*. Wills suggested that Brodie—and, by extension, Malone—had misunderstood the true nature of the Jefferson-Hemings liaison. Wills depicted a sexual relationship based on convenience rather than love. He likened Hemings to a prostitute who was rewarded by Jefferson for her deed. "She was apparently pleasing, and obviously discreet. There was less risk in continuing to enjoy her services than in experimenting around with others. She was like a healthy and obliging prostitute, who could be suitably rewarded but would make no importunate demands. Her lot was improved, not harmed, by the liaison." To Wills, the endeavor to reconstruct an affectionate relationship between Jefferson and Hemings required "heroic feats of misunderstanding and a constant labor at ignorance. This seems too high a price to pay when the same appetites can be more readily gratified by those Hollywood fan magazines, with their wealth of unfounded conjecture on the sex lives of others, from which Ms. Brodie has borrowed her methods." Wills differentiated between what he determined to be well-founded supposition and Brodie's uninformed guess.[21]

John Chester Miller's 1977 study *The Wolf By the Ears: Thomas Jefferson and Slavery* is a

[19]Edwin M. Yoder Jr., "An Unshaken Hero," *National Review* 26 (10 May 1974): 542.

[20]Dumas Malone to Virginius Dabney, 18 November 1974, Malone Papers, privately held. Quoted in French and Ayers, "Strange Career of Thomas Jefferson", 430-31.

[21]Garry Wills, "Uncle Thomas's Cabin," *The New York Review of Books* 21 (18 April 1974): 26-28.

wide-ranging, informative analysis of Jefferson's views on race and slavery and the actions to which they gave rise. His analysis of the Sally Hemings debate revealed just how much was at stake. If the story were true, Miller wrote:

Jefferson deserves to be regarded as one of the most profligate liars and consummate hypocrites ever to occupy the presidency [*sic*]. To give credence to the Sally Hemings story is, in effect, to question the authenticity of Jefferson's faith in freedom, the rights of man, and the innate controlling faculty to reason and the sense of right and wrong. It is to infer that there were no principles to which he was inviolably committed, that what he acclaimed as morality was no more than a rhetorical facade for self-indulgence, and that he was always prepared to make exceptions in his own case when it suited his purpose. To Miller, not even an earnest and genuine love for Sally Hemings could "sanctify such an egregious violation of his own principles and preachments."[22]

One important book went even farther than Miller. Edmund S. Morgan's *American Slavery—American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* insinuated that the whole issue had been framed incorrectly. The supposed incompatibility and discord between white democracy and black slavery was not inconsistent at all. In a complicated and shrewd argument, Morgan asserted that the planter statesman of eighteenth-century Virginia were able to envision broad-based white political rights precisely because slavery had solved the problem of a dangerous working class. With slavery holding almost all of the working poor in bondage and with race safely dividing poor white from poor black, men such as Jefferson could adopt the most democratic ideals. Morgan's Jefferson was not anguished or paradoxical, but cruelly constant. His was the most disturbing vision of all.[23]

In 1981, Virginius Dabney responded to the allegations initially raised by Brodie in the publication of *The Jefferson Scandals: A Rebuttal*. He took exception to Brodie's assertion that Malone and Peterson were part of a Jefferson Establishment, centered in Charlottesville and devoted to the "canonization" of Jefferson. Dabney emphasized the different backgrounds of the two professors, who were born, raised, and educated outside of Virginia. He wrote that they were recruited to the University of Virginia by the presence of Jefferson materials at the University and Monticello, not by their devotion to Virginia or Jefferson. The two had also written "scathingly" of Jefferson's conduct during the Burr trial and of his role in the Embargo Acts. Malone and Peterson may have agreed in their rejection of the Hemings hypothesis, but that hardly made them part of a "Jefferson Establishment."[24] While Dabney provides the most extensive reply to Brodie's claims, it undercuts its own case by its extreme defensiveness, exaggerated tone, and by treating a fiction such as Barbara Chase-Riboud's

[22]John Chester Miller, *The Wolf by the Ears: Thomas Jefferson and Slavery* (New York: Free Press, 1977), 176.

[23]Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery--American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: Norton, 1975).

[24]Virginius Dabney, *The Jefferson Scandals: A Rebuttal* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1981), 113-19.

novel *Sally Hemings* as a serious threat to Jefferson's historical reputation.

In the late 1980s and the 1990s, several Jefferson biographers rejected the charge of miscegenation with no indication of having tried to explore the facts themselves. Relying upon the consensus of the earlier generation took the place of primary research on this issue, and none of these new works made any use of the knowledge that had been gained about the Hemings family since the era of Malone and Peterson. Some of these otherwise significant and well-written biographies of Jefferson include Noble Cunningham's *In Pursuit of Reason: The Life of Thomas Jefferson*, who wrote that "not only is there no valid historical evidence to support this, but the weight of evidence against it is also preponderant"; Silvio Bedini's *Thomas Jefferson: Statesman of Science*, which devotes a measly sentence to the allegations; and Willard Sterne Randall's *Thomas Jefferson: A Life*, which says that "the whole chain of suppositions is preposterous."[25]

For whatever reason, the American public seemed willing and almost anxious to believe that such a relationship existed. In their essay "The Strange Career of Thomas Jefferson," historians Scot A. French and Edward L. Ayers, Jr., examined how the representation of Jefferson has taken on a life of its own with the general public, despite the wishes of the Jefferson scholars.[26] The Hemings story has played a vital role in that process. The result is an increasing willingness among historians and researchers to take a more balanced approach to life at Monticello, and inquiring into slave life at the mansion.

The most severe criticism of both sides of the issue came in the 1997 book by NYU law professor Annette Gordon-Reed, *Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings: An American Controversy*. In a very lawyerly tone, she convincingly argues that the evidence for the liaison has been denied a fair hearing. A chief argument of those who disbelieved the allegations was that one of Jefferson's nephews, either Peter or Samuel Carr, was the actual father of the Hemings children. This claim can be traced as far back as Adair. Gordon-Reed responds that those advocating this theory are asking the rest of us to believe that:

The Carr brothers, who lived close to Monticello, could only conceive children during the few months of each year when Thomas Jefferson was at Monticello. The Carr children produced under these circumstances all looked like Thomas Jefferson, and they were given the names of people who were connected to Thomas Jefferson, two of them his closest friends. The Carr sons were trained in their youth to play the instrument that Thomas Jefferson was noted for playing. Then one of the Carr sons grew up to engage in ascending balloons, an activity that fascinated Thomas Jefferson, that he bought books about, and that

[25]Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., *In Pursuit of Reason: The Life of Thomas Jefferson* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1987), 115. Silvio A. Bedini, *Thomas Jefferson: Statesman of Science* (New York: MacMillan, 1990), 394. Willard Sterne Randall, *Thomas Jefferson: A Life* (New York: Henry Holt, 1993), 476..

[26]French and Ayers, "Strange Career of Thomas Jefferson," 418-456.

he wrote and spoke of on numerous occasions.[27] Though she claims she is agnostic on the ultimate question of Jefferson's paternity, it is clear that she believes that the circumstantial evidence points toward that paternity.

Brodie does not emerged unscathed from Gordon-Reed's attack. "There are many legitimate reasons to criticize Fawn Brodie. She was less than careful in her reading of documents and sometimes ran ahead of her evidence without making it clear that she was speculating." Despite these faults, Brodie at least attempted to deal honestly with the facts. Critics of her "picked the weakest of her arguments to criticize . . . thus concealing the far stronger evidence that Brodie presented." Those historians criticizing Brodie emerge with the strongest criticism from Gordon-Reed. "If any of the historians whom I have discussed had approached this issue with a commitment to finding the truth, instead of seeing their role as protecting their image of Thomas Jefferson, they most likely would have seen, and been willing to acknowledge, that there is more to the story than they have let on." They need not go as far as Brodie, but Malone, Adair, Peterson, and Dabney should have been willing to see that there was more to the accusation than they were willing to admit.[28]

A more balanced treatment of "the Sally question" appeared in Joseph J. Ellis's 1997 National Book Award Winner, *American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson*. Ellis, a professor at Mount Holyoke College who has previously studied John Adams, remains nominally an agnostic on the question, but he does seem to lean toward the opinion that Jefferson did not father the Hemings children, citing two reasons. First, he notes that Sally's last two sons were born after the 1802 scandal where the allegations were first aired by a disgruntled journalist, James Callender. Second, neither of Jefferson's chief enemies, Alexander Hamilton and John Adams, found it possible to believe that the accusations were true. Ellis notes that the relationship, "if it did exist, defied the dominant patterns of his personality." To Ellis, the ultimate truth on the question was something that we could never know.

Barring an exhumation of Jefferson's remains and a DNA comparison with Heming's descendants, a procedure that might well be scientifically unfeasible, the available evidence on each side of the controversy is just sufficient to sustain the debate but wholly insufficient to resolve it one way or the other. Anyone who claims to have a clear answer to this most titillating question about the historical Jefferson is engaging in massive self-deception or outright lying. This is one mystery destined to remain unsolved.[29]

In 1998 this unsolvable mystery was solved, thanks to the very DNA evidence Ellis thought might be unfeasible. The British journal *Nature* reported that comparing the Y

[27]Annette Gordon-Reed, *Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings: An American Controversy* (Charlottesville: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1997), 221-22.

[28]Ibid., 225.

[29]Joseph J. Ellis, *American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Knopf, 1997; Vintage, 1998), 366-67, 25.

chromosome—the chromosome that determines gender and is passed directly from father to son—from a male descendant of Sally Hemings and from a another male who can be traced to Jefferson's paternal uncle resulted in a match. The odds of such a match occurring by chance are well under one percent. Together with the circumstantial evidence, it definitely proves that Jefferson fathered at least one child with Sally Hemings. With regard to the other children, the question remains open, but the burden of proof has clearly shifted.[30]

Another more important question that remains open is what all this means for Jefferson's legacy. Ellis has written that "the net effect is to reinforce the critical picture of Jefferson as an inherently elusive and deeply duplicitous character."[31] This opinion seems to be the dominant scholarly perception at the moment, tracing its origins clear back to Peterson. Jefferson is an extremely enigmatic figure, but will likely remain a sympathetic one. Future studies on Jefferson will likely focus on trying to develop a truer portrait of the inner Jefferson, which certainly will be a daunting task. The hypothesis of Fawn Brodie will likely be reevaluated, though some of her most far-fetched claims will still be rejected.

However historians of the future treat him, Jefferson's legacy is secure. Jeffersonian ideals have often become American ideals, and no stories about miscegenation, however truthful, can undermine that. One could hope that with "the Sally question" answered, future studies of Jefferson can refocus on his ideas that are his most important legacy. However, our modern obsession with sex likely precludes that. Whatever happens, there is no reason to believe that studies of Jefferson in the next fifty years will be any less dynamic than in the last half century.

[30]Eric S. Lander and Joseph J. Ellis, "Founding Father", *Nature* 396 (5 November 1998): 13-14. Jefferson's paternal uncle was used because there were no known living legitimate paternal male descendants of Jefferson or of his younger brother. Jefferson had no surviving male children with his wife.

[31]Joseph J. Ellis, "When a Saint Becomes a Sinner", *U.S. News & World Report* 125 (9 November 1998): 67.

REVIEWS

An Age of Tyrants: Britain and the Britons, A.D. 400-600, by Christopher A. Snyder. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998. Pp. 403.)

The title of this book is a misnomer. A more accurate, if less intriguing, title would be An Evaluation of the Historical and Archaeological Sources of Sub-Roman Britain. Snyder does not offer a narrative history of Britain after Rome and prior to the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, but instead discusses the methodology of these studies. This work is divided into four sections: the history of Roman Britain, the literary sources of sub-Roman Britain and the language of the sources, the archaeological record of various sites, and a discussion of who the "Britons" were. While this method of presentation covers the overall topic from many angles, it also leads to repetition and a loss of interest on the part of the reader.

Snyder's purpose in writing this book is to bring a fresh outlook to the study of sub-Roman Britain rather than presenting a narrative history of the subject. He calls attention to the two common methods of viewing the period--the reductionist and the positivist. The reductionist view of Britain between the fifth and seventh centuries argues that since nothing can be accurately documented, nothing occurred. The positivists, on the other hand, say that even though nothing can be positively documented, something happened, and scholars have to figure out what did. Snyder is a positivist, a fact that he states bluntly. This book offers his methods of evaluating and relating the history of Britain after the Romans and before the development of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of the seventh century.

The methodology utilized by Snyder in looking at sub-Roman Britain is refreshing and offers many intriguing possibilities. His first suggestion is finding a different name for sub-Roman Britain, an archaeological label used to differentiate artifact styles. His suggestion is "Brythonic" or "Britonnic," since prior to the Romans the inhabitants of the British Isles would not have called themselves Britons, but after 410 they were not actually Romans nor, yet, Anglo-Saxon or English. He also calls for an integrated use by scholars of historical and archaeological sources, rejecting the trend of historians to ignore archeology and vice versa. The sources for studying Roman and sub-Roman Britain work best when used in conjunction.

The style used by Snyder to present his theories, while covering all topics, leaves something to be desired. Its title not withstanding, this book is aimed at the scholar, but few scholars will be interested in reading an entire chapter based primarily on the various spellings of Britanniae in the nominative plural. The reason for addressing the spelling variations is important and the author delves into territory that might not be considered by others; however, in the six chapters he devotes to terminology he crosses the line into fussiness.

Snyder is critical of the written sources available for the period although he does not suggest abandoning them. His view is that the sources, mostly ecclesiastical, are useable if one maintains a skepticism and understands the cultural attitudes influencing the writers and their possible agendas. The sources used by Snyder are both secondary and primary, and vast in number (his bibliography soars to thirty-four pages). Unlike many historians, he also uses archaeological sources since he is advocating a synthesis of historical and

archaeological research. Secondary sources are likewise because it is historiographical in nature rather than narrative.

Overall, Age of Tyrants is well done. Snyder addresses the points he thinks are important and offers proof. He becomes repetitive at points but this is because of the topical organization of the book rather than poor writing. The value of the book lies in addressing the current methodology of research in sub-Roman Britain rather than offering another narrative history. Snyder highlights points of research that are neglected and heralds a new age in late antique/early medieval studies. Regardless of minor faults, this important book addresses often-overlooked aspects of the study of the history of sub-Roman Britain.

Lorrie Kessler

Churchill and Secret Service, by David Stafford. (Woodstock & New York: Overlook Press, 1998. Pp. xiii, 386.)

Winston Churchill--the journalist, soldier, politician, statesman, and war leader-- has been the subject of much scholarship. Why then another book which explores his public life? This book explores another of Churchill's personas, one of espionage advocate, a persona more private and secretive and, therefore, less familiar. For more than sixty years, Churchill was actively involved in the gathering, promotion, and use of secret intelligence, beginning with his own youthful spying for Britain during the Spanish-American War. Little has been written about this aspect of Churchill's life, even by Churchill himself, who has written voluminously on other aspects of his life.

David Stafford uses a great number of sources to explore Churchill's relationship with various British intelligence organizations. Many of the files have been open for a number of years, but only recently has Britain released the files of Ultra, its highly secret World War II code-breaking division. Churchill personally read the decoded enemy messages, the "golden eggs," and scribbled notes on them in red to the commander of the Secret Intelligence Service. Hundreds of files from the Special Operations Executive, created secretly by Churchill in 1940 to "set Europe ablaze" by means of popular resistance, have also been recently released. In addition to these intelligence files, Stafford has utilized the voluminous Churchill papers which were made public after completion of his official biography in 1988. The author also credits the scholarship of the last decade--the research of other historians and the memoirs of other statesmen--for clarifying much of his raw source material.

The story of Churchill's growing respect for espionage and unconventional war tactics is an exciting one, which reaches its climax during the Second World War. As Stafford says, "Churchill stood head and shoulders above his political contemporaries in grasping the importance of intelligence and harnessing it to his cause." The excitement of covert actions and espionage certainly appealed to the boy within him; but more importantly, he realized its value to Britain, whose military power had waned in the last century. Secret intelligence provided Prime Minister Churchill with strategic advantages against Britain's enemies and with leverage over Britain's allies.

Churchill's use of secret intelligence has been the subject of much debate. He was not above using private intelligence to further his own political career, and historians are still questioning whether the town of Coventry and the United States naval port of Pearl Harbor were Churchill's sacrificial lambs in the Second World War. Stafford counters that the

available surviving documents give no credence to any of these charges; however, he admits that some of the raw intelligence reports were destroyed and that Britain has not released all intelligence files yet.

The American reader of Churchill and the Secret Service may be disappointed at the lack of importance given to Churchill's relationship with Franklin Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, and Dwight Eisenhower; but, after all, this is the story of British, not American, intelligence. Stafford tells this story from the British perspective in clear British English. As a diplomat and historian of espionage, Stafford possesses a great depth of knowledge of his subject; and as a professor, he remembers to place specific events in the proper context for the reader who lacks his sense of history.

This volume uncovers a portion of the secret battle between nations which continues even today in times of peace. As exhilarating as this battle may be for those involved, the reader may question the morality of this battle, which demands double-crosses, threats, and lies. The words of Winston Churchill, borrowed from Stalin, exemplify the unsavoriness of this unholy battle: "In wartime, truth is so precious that she should always be attended by a bodyguard of lies."

Helen Hund

The Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, & the Rush to Colorado, by Elliott West. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998. Pp.422.)

Many modern United States travelers, much to the chagrin of the Kansas department of tourism, are used to viewing Kansas as a place to drive through on the way to somewhere else. And so it was, author Elliott West skillfully relates in The Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, & the Rush to Colorado, in the mid-nineteenth century. Prior to the Colorado gold rush of 1858 the "ocean of land" separating east and west was simply the "Great American Desert," a haven for Indians and other "items" of curious interest, but of little perceived worth.

This erroneous perception changed, West asserts, because of the discovery of gold in Colorado, an event that was "quite possibly the defining moment in the history of the territory, and perhaps in the history of the American frontier." Fueled by the desperation of the Panic of 1857, pioneers set out across Kansas to find their fortune beneath the Rocky Mountains. Within a few months, what West calls an "economy of transit" resulted from this migration. Suddenly, Kansas became more than a wasteland. Towns incorporated. Farmers and ranchers profited from the "desert" land. And finally, military posts protected the new vision of the plains.

The new vision did not include Native Americans as players. As West makes clear, the white settlers did not begin their journey intent on the destruction of the Indians. They were simply "following a script that had no Indians in it." Members of every culture that lived on the plains saw the country as obviously meant for them and their lifestyles. The difficulty lies when two cultures meet, one superior in numbers, technology, military, and large reserves of capital, that had clashing visions for the land.

The explanation of the consequences of conflicting visions, not only on people, but on the land itself, turns The Contested Plains into a unique, revealing, and fascinating history. For example, the author uses a small but documented occurrence--a wagon marked

"Resturant" [sic] sitting in the middle of the prairie--as a symbol of the changes taking place on the land. The result is both creative and effective. The reader understands when West notes that in the future of the prairie, "restaurants are ordained."

The effective fusion of ecology and history is the most notable strength in this readable and scholarly addition to western studies. West makes a significant, yet relatively unexplored assertion when he notes that the Indians did not move to reservations because soldiers defeated or butchered them. Instead, they were relegated there because they lost control of the resources of the land that they needed to live as they wished. In the end, West maintains, use, control, and vision for the land was the prize. It was even a substance found in the land, gold, that began a chain of events and led to recognition of the "vital center" of the country.

Although some readers might note a partial overlapping of material from the author's previous book, The Way to the West, the current publication adds a new spin to an old topic, and, as is noted in the introduction, reveals a history of what the gold rushers went over rather than what they went to. It takes the author, however, approximately one-hundred pages to get to the actual "Rush to Colorado" that the subtitle promises. West overwhelms the reader with context, which, while fascinating, leaves him or her wondering when the goldseekers will appear. Likewise, after developing the gold rush topic, West leaves the subject and delves into its effects. While this is admirable and desired, a stronger tie to remind the reader of the important link to the gold rush is needed. Nevertheless, significant criticism of West's work is negligible, and the final result is a fast paced yet thought-provoking book that does not disappoint.

In a politically correct age bent on imagining that the two cultures, Native and Euro-American, could have existed peacefully if things had been done differently, West tells things as they were, and correctly points out that "we shouldn't waste time wishing frogs had wings." Instead, we should wish to see history as it truly was. The Contested Plains is a giant step in the right direction.

Julie Courtwright

Elizabeth, produced by Alison Owen, Eric Fellner and Tim Bevan and directed by Shekhar Kapur. (Gramercy Pictures, 1998, 124 minutes)

"More clearly than the other Tudors," A.G. Dickens wrote of Elizabeth and her subjects, "she perceived their hunger for romance without expense," (*The English Reformation*, London, 1964). In much the same way, director Shekhar Kapur perceives his audience's hunger for historical romance without the rigor of historical complexity. Written by Michael Hurst, the movie *Elizabeth* begins with a brief overview of the last three years of the reign of Mary I and Philip II, and covers primarily the first five years of the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603). Kapur and Hearst pull episodes from various periods of Elizabeth's reign and compress them into the first five years. Other facts are wholly altered or expanded upon. In the end, this allows an unfortunately over simple story of Elizabeth developing from youthful naivete to mature authority and regal ability.

The very affecting opening scene, that of the execution of Protestants at the stake in 1555, evokes the horror, chaos and theatricality of the *auto de fe*. Throughout the film, with the exception of several pointless and inexplicable dreamscape sequences, the direction and

cinematography capture the opulence and filth, the splendor and horror, the pomp and chaos of sixteenth-century England. The labyrinth dank halls aptly symbolize the Byzantine intrigues of court. The raucous and rude entertainment of court and country are presented as just that, without the implication of quaint refinement that they are sometimes treated with. The coronation pageants, in fact four pageants proceeding the coronation at Westminster in which the full weight of London Protestant support for Elizabeth was displayed and the extent of Elizabeth's public charm was displayed, are conspicuously absent from the film. The film's treatment of the January 15, 1558/59 coronation of Elizabeth at Westminster, however, is magnificent and moving in its display and costuming.

Anomalies abound, however, in the historical narrative. Some are explicable in the realm of artistic license. The papal bull of excommunication that was issued against Elizabeth by Pius V in 1570, is moved back in time to serve as the catalyst for a Catholic court conspiracy against Elizabeth. The plot, in the film uncovered by Sir Francis Walsingham, brings down Lord Arundel, the Duke of Norfolk and royal favorite Robert Dudley. The story shows Elizabeth acting decisively against court conspiracy, maturing in her ability to practice a ruthless *real politick*. In reality, this conspiracy (the so-called Ridolfi conspiracy) occurred in the early 1570s, following the papal bull and involved the person of Mary Queen of Scots. The Spanish monarch opposed the conspiracy and the papal bull, and Lord Dudley was not involved. The complexity of Philip II's opposition to the papal bull is ignored in a film where Spanish and Catholic are bad, English and Protestant are good.

Walsingham, played beautifully with agonizing understatement by Geoffrey Rush, was in fact the same age as Elizabeth and did not enter her service until 1571. Sir William Cecil, played by Richard Attenborough, is cast as an aging advisor whom Elizabeth casts off into semi-retirement early in her reign by making him Lord Burghley. Cecil was actually only 38 years of age at the time of Elizabeth's accession and continued as her loyal and trusted servant until shortly before her death in 1603. The presentation of Cecil as no longer needed is an apparent attempt to manifest Elizabeth's new found strength and independence—'off with the old' so to speak. It is rather shocking to see Cecil treated in this manner in an historical drama about the reign of Elizabeth I.

Lord Robert Dudley, played by Joseph Fiennes was the young Elizabeth's favorite early in her reign. William Cecil had to quell rumors inspired by Elizabeth's and Dudley's indiscrete relationship. This film, however, makes their relationship explicitly sexual although this is far from historically certain. What is certain is that Elizabeth, contrary to the film's version, was well aware that Dudley was married. It was suspected that she was awaiting the death of Dudley's wife of breast cancer in order to have Lord Robert for herself. When Dudley's wife, Amy Robsart, died under mysterious circumstances in 1560, Elizabeth had to distance herself from Dudley to avoid the implication of foul play and scandal. While the true story is certainly the stuff of soap opera and could have made for cinematic drama, it would not have placed Elizabeth in the light that the film wished to place her; that of 'offended innocent learning the mendacious ways of the world.' Fiennes's Dudley is, as well, a bit too 'Melrose Place' pretty. Elizabeth's biographer J.E. Neale 'knew' the tall, refined, and elegant Dudley. Fiennes is no Dudley. (*Queen Elizabeth I: A Biography*, 1934).

Vincent Cassel is entertaining as the manic, cross-dressing duc d'Anjou. Fanny Ardent as his aunt, the regent of Scotland Mary d'Guise seems a bit of a caricature. And the 'artistic fiction' of her murder by Walsingham after having sex is factually outrageous.

Cate Blanchett brings an earthy attractiveness to her role as Elizabeth, although she is likely too attractive. Her use of flirtation and cajoling is well executed and her manifestation

of Elizabeth's legendary indecisiveness and compassion is convincing. The character of Elizabeth, however, is ultimately unsatisfying and superficial. And the reason for this hinges of its historical inaccuracy. The actual story of Elizabeth's consolidation of power is certainly drama enough for the big screen. Most of the license taken with facts seems to serve the purpose of showing us an Elizabeth that matured from naivete to worldly-wisdom in the first few years of her reign. But the Elizabeth that survived the reign of her Catholic half-sister Mary well understood the life and death machinations of court, and the Elizabeth that agonized over the execution of Mary Queen of Scots and of Essex, retained the compassionate indecisiveness of youth throughout her life. The complexity of her character was the key to her reign. Her ability to rule with her 'head' and her 'heart,' that complexity and ambiguity of character so difficult to digest in cinematic form, is what we are missing in *Elizabeth* the movie. This simplification is ultimately the reason the film is less satisfying than it could have been.

Kirk Scott