

---

# THE ALEXANDRIAN

Troy University Department of History  
& Phi Alpha Theta-Iota Mu

---

*In Remembrance of Professor Nathan Alexander*

## **Editors**

Ansley Markwell

Karen Ross

## **Student Assistant Editors**

Kalen Busby

Rebecca Johnson

Saraelizabeth Parker

## **Faculty Associate Editors**

Margaret Gnoinska

Aaron Hagler

Adam Hoose

Sandy Mihal

Marty Olliff

## **Selection Board**

Scout Blum

David Carlson

Adam Hoose

Rob Kruckeberg

Ansley Markwell

Scott Merriman

Sandy Mihal

Marty Olliff

Riley Parker

Karen Ross

Kathryn Tucker

## *Alexandrian Submission Guidelines*

---

*The Alexandrian* accepts manuscripts pertaining to the subjects of history and philosophy. Accepted forms include book reviews, historiographic essays, and full-length articles.

**Format:** All submissions should be in Microsoft Word. They should adhere to the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Please include footnotes instead of endnotes and refrain from using headers.

**Abstract:** Any article submission must include an abstract of no more than 200 words. This is not necessary for submissions of book reviews or essays.

**Author biography:** A short biography of any relevant information should be included for the contributors' page of the journal. Such information includes your major and class designation, graduation date, research interests, plans after college, hometown, any academic honors of affiliations you deem relevant, etc. Author biographies should be no more than 100 words. Please be sure your name is written as you would like it to appear in the journal.

Please send all submissions to Dr. Karen Ross at [kdross@troy.edu](mailto:kdross@troy.edu).

**Cover Art:** Our cover art, Fidel Castro superimposed on the Cuban flag, illustrates one of our articles by Alex Thompson, "Khrushchev's Decision Making during the Cuban Missile Crisis."

# THE ALEXANDRIAN

---

## Table of Contents

Contributors' Biographies.....	5
--------------------------------	---

## Articles

The Swedish Intervention: How the Thirty Years War Became International, T. Michael Davis.....	8
The Politicization of Early American Christianity (1760s-1890s), Logan Horton .....	30
The Power Within: The Inches Gained by Black Women in the Hopeless Battle of Southern American Slavery, Sarelizabeth Parker .....	45
Ho Chi Minh: The Impact of His Leadership (1910-1945), Manning Russell.....	59
Khrushchev's Decision Making during the Cuban Missile Crisis, Alex Thompson .....	67
Education, Literacy, and Gender in Antebellum Rural Alabama, Matthew West .....	82

## Special Perspectives

Archeology Meets History: Ashkelon, Israel, Whitney Spake .....	95
---	----

## Book Reviews

John Demos's <i>The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America</i> , by Ansley Markwell .....	102
Judith Walzer Leavitt's <i>The Healthiest City: Milwaukee and the Politics of Health Reform</i> , by Jason O. Smith .....	104
Karen Ordahl Kupperman's <i>Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America</i> , by Whitney Spake .....	108

Division News .....	111
---------------------	-----

News from Our Past Editors .....113

Gratitude .....115

Professor Nathan Alexander Remembered .....116

Phi Alpha Theta Inductees .....117

## Contributors' Biographies

---

### **T. Michael Davis:**

Michael Davis graduated from Troy University in December 2016 where he earned his bachelor's degree in History with a minor in Math. He graduated from Malone High School in the top five in his class, and earned an Associate of Science degree from Lurleen B. Wallace Community College in Andalusia, Alabama. He presented his paper on medieval European siege practices at the second annual Troy University Research Conference in 2016 and joined the Troy University History Club in the fall semester of 2016. He is also a member of Phi Alpha Theta and currently pursuing a career in business.

### **Logan Horton:**

Logan Horton received his bachelor's in History with a minor in Leadership Development from Troy University in July 2016. During his time at Troy, Logan was an active member of the Lambda Chi Alpha fraternity, was initiated into the Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society, and served as a guest speaker at the Alabama Governor's Youth Leadership Forum for Students with Disabilities from 2012-2016. He is currently engaged to Kelsey Reynolds, a Senior Social Work Major, and resides in Mobile, Alabama where he is employed at Prometric as a Test Center Administrator. Logan plans to pursue his Master's Degree in the spring of 2018.

### **Ansley Markwell:**

Ansley Markwell is a senior at Troy University graduating in May 2017. She is from Montgomery, Alabama, where she graduated from Eastwood Christian School. Ansley is double majoring in History and Human Services with a minor in English. She is also Vice President of both Phi Alpha Theta and the History Club, as well as co-editor of *The Alexandrian*. After graduation, Ansley plans on taking a gap year before pursuing a Master's degree in International Cold War History.

**Saraelizabeth Parker:**

Saraelizabeth Parker is a junior at Troy University, majoring in History and minoring in Classics. She is from Montgomery, Alabama, where she attended Montgomery Catholic Preparatory. Saraelizabeth is President of Eta Sigma Phi, former Executive Secretary of Chi Omega, and current Secretary of Phi Alpha Theta and History Club, as well as a member of Phi Kappa Phi. Saraelizabeth will graduate a semester early and take a gap year to work and travel before pursuing a postgraduate degree. She plans to earn a Master's in History with a focus on the Catholic Church or in Museum Studies.

**Manning Russell:**

Manning Russell is a senior at Troy University pursuing a major in History and a minor in Leadership. He is from Montgomery, Alabama, where he attended Eastwood Christian School. Manning is heavily involved in Campus Outreach, and spent the past summer in Brazil on a cross-cultural project at the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerias in Belo Horizonte with Campus Outreach. After graduation, Manning will attend Washington and Lee School of Law on a merit scholarship.

**Jason Smith:**

Jason Smith graduated from Troy University with dual Bachelor's Degrees in Psychology and History in 2014. He is currently pursuing his Master's Degree from Troy University in American History and is a member of Psi Chi. Smith was raised in Dover, Florida, and currently resides in Saint Petersburg, Florida, with his wife Kristen, step-daughter Taylor, and son Alex. Currently, Smith teaches history and is the head baseball coach for Chamberlain High School in Tampa, Florida. He plans to pursue his Ph.D in History upon graduation.

**Whitney Spake:**

Whitney Spake is a senior at Troy University graduating in December 2017. She is from Chattanooga, Tennessee, and is majoring in History

with a minor in Classics. Recently, Whitney presented at the 2017 Regional Phi Alpha Theta Conference. She is the current Scholarship Chair for Troy's Alpha Delta Pi chapter, Vice President of Eta Sigma Phi, as well as a member of Phi Alpha Theta, Phi Kappa Phi, and Omicron Delta Kappa. After graduation, Whitney plans on volunteering with Peace Corps Armenia and attending graduate school in the Netherlands.

### **Alexander Thompson:**

Alexander Thompson is in his last year of graduate school at Troy University in International Relations with a focus on National Security. He graduated with a bachelor's degree in Psychology from St. Mary's College of Maryland in 2010. Alex is an active duty service member in the U.S. Air Force but will be ending his military service in September 2017, completing six years of service. He will be applying his military experience and his degree in International Relations towards contracting work in Afghanistan later this year.

### **Matthew West:**

Matthew West graduated from Troy University's History MA program in 2016. He graduated from the University of Tennessee with a BA in Sociology, and from University of Alabama, Birmingham, with an MA in Sociology. He currently teaches Western Civilization, U.S. History, and Sociology at Lawson State Community College, in Birmingham, Alabama, where he also coaches the College Scholars Bowl teams. He has published in the *Encyclopedia of Mathematics and Society* (2012), as well as in the journals *The Review of Disability Studies* (2011), *Religions* (2011), and *Sociological Spectrum* (2010).

## The Swedish Intervention: How the Thirty Years War Became International

T. Michael Davis

**Abstract:** “The Swedish Intervention” examines the international implications of Sweden’s involvement in the Thirty Years War in 1630. The article argues that the Swedish intervention clearly marked the Thirty Years War’s transition from an internal conflict to a continental war. The diplomacy that allowed Sweden to launch a campaign into Germany without fear for its Baltic territories is particularly important to this argument; since, it was not motivated by religion and betrayed a wide international interest in the war. Sweden’s policy of expansion in the Baltic region suggests that the kingdom may have been looking for an excuse to invade Germany, and France’s long-running rivalry with the Holy Roman Empire made its involvement all but certain. The first twelve years of the war involved German principalities almost to the exclusion of all others, but the last half of the war saw Germany turned into Europe’s battlefield as Swedish, French, Spanish, and German armies fought each other to a bloody stalemate.

Gustavus II Adolphus of Sweden believed that his kingdom’s intervention in the Thirty Years War, an ostensibly internal religious war of the Holy Roman Empire, was necessary to ensure Sweden’s security. After the Swedish nobility broke away from the Kalmar Union (the union of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden created by the ascension of Margaret I to the thrones of all three kingdoms) and established Sweden as an independent Protestant monarchy under Gustavus I Vasa in 1523, Denmark and Russia threatened Sweden on three sides. Denmark retained the southwestern tip of the Swedish mainland and Norway, and Russia held territory to the east and south of Swedish Finland. Swedish control of Estonia and Charles IX’s usurpation of the Swedish throne from his nephew Sigismund, the newly elected king of Poland, created an enemy of Poland by the year 1600.<sup>1</sup> With the defeat of the Danish

---

<sup>1</sup> Michael Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus and the Rise of Sweden* (London: English Universities Press, 1973), 11–18. Charles IX and his supporters argued that Sigismund was unfit to rule Sweden because he converted to Catholicism in order to be elected king of Poland.



army in 1626, Imperial armies occupied much of the German Baltic coast and all of Jutland. The proximity of Imperial forces to the Swedish mainland with only a beaten kingdom of Denmark clinging to a few Baltic islands as a buffer, and the beginning of the construction of an Imperial Baltic fleet presented a clear danger to Sweden's security from invasion.<sup>2</sup> Thus, politics, national security, and fear of an aggressive Catholic power attempting to return Sweden to the Catholic fold motivated Gustavus Adolphus to invade Germany in 1630, and he used religious rhetoric to generate support of his intervention in Germany both in Sweden and in Germany. Until the intervention, only one of Sweden's enemies was Catholic, and none of Sweden's wars were over confessional differences but over territory. When Sweden invaded Germany in 1630, Gustavus did so to protect Protestantism, but his intervention represented something far more important than the salvation of German Protestantism. The Swedish Intervention, with the open aid of France, signaled the end of the internal religious war and the beginning of an international political war.

Understanding the Swedish Intervention requires an understanding of the Thirty Years War and the war's origins. Indeed, one historiographical school of thought negates my thesis entirely. Thus, an understanding of the merits and faults of the major theses regarding the origin of the war is imperative. Historians generally describe the origins of the Thirty Years War by three historiographical models. First, nineteenth century German nationalists argued that the war was an internal struggle, as the crumbling Holy Roman Empire ruled by Ferdinand II desperately held on to the Medieval past in opposition to Germany's future as a united nation under the rule of the Hohenzollern dynasty of Prussia.<sup>3</sup> The second school of thought is the international war theory which changed dramatically, as historians developed their own ideas of how the Thirty Years War fit into the wider conflicts of seventeenth century Europe. V.C. Wedgwood simply contended that the war was an out-growth of the Franco-

---

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 64-67.

<sup>3</sup> Peter H. Wilson, "The Causes of the Thirty Years War 1618-48" *The English Historical Review* 123, no. 502 (2008): 554-86, accessed February 16, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20108541>. pp. 556-557.

Hapsburg rivalry which began in the late fifteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Sigfrid Henry Steinberg specified that the antecedents of the war lay in the disputed succession of the Duchies of Jülich and Cleves in 1609 when Spain and Austria supported a Catholic claimant and France and the Netherlands supported a Protestant claimant as Jülich and Cleves were important to both sides because the Spanish Road which was the main route of supply, and reinforcements for Spanish armies in the Netherlands ran through the duchies. France wished to hinder Spain's efforts in the Netherlands; while, Austria wished to help its dynastic ally stamp out Dutch independence. Steinberg lost some credibility when he claimed that the destruction caused by the Thirty Years War was limited and that the German population rose during the war, but his argument that the war was inextricably tied to the conflict between Spain and the Netherlands remained an integral part of the international war theory. Indeed, Geoffrey Parker argued that the Bohemian Revolt merely anticipated the revival of the Spanish-Dutch war in 1621 when a twelve-year truce expired. The theory progressed to the point that adherents of the idea argued the war was of minor concern to the western European states until Sweden and France became involved in the war in 1630 after which foreigners "settled their differences at the Emperor's expense." Such arguments also tend to minimize the intervention of non-western states such as Denmark.<sup>5</sup> But, Nicola Sutherland took the international war theory to an extreme conclusion. She argued that the Thirty Years War was just one more facet of the long-running rivalry between France and the Hapsburg dynasty by including it as part of "the phase of the Franco-Hapsburg struggle" which she dated from 1598 to 1659. Furthermore, she "stress[ed] ... the resumption of the Hispano-Dutch war in 1621" as the beginning to the war rather than the traditional date of 1618 when the Defenestration of Prague and the Bohemian Revolt occurred." Wilson argues that Sutherland took the international war theory to its natural conclusion when she "stress[ed] the relatively seamless nature of international conflict, claiming that 'contemporaries did not distinguish clearly between peace and war. They rather perceived

---

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 557.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 557-558.

continuous, evolving fluctuating conflicts within shifting foci and theaters of activity."<sup>6</sup> Supporters of the internal war model and the international war theory agree, however, on the inevitability of the war. Both schools of thought generally hold that the Peace of Augsburg was a temporary solution which only delayed war because neither side wished to fight openly in 1555. Most historians tend to describe the decades after the Peace of Augsburg in terms of building pressure within the Empire until the formation of confessional alliances in 1608 and 1609. However, international war theorists argue that the war was delayed for another decade because France, England, Spain, and the Netherlands were still recovering from the wars of the sixteenth century, and they were not yet ready to fight, again citing the Hispano-Dutch Twelve Year Truce which "dampened international tensions precisely when the Germans were forming their confessional alliances."<sup>7</sup> Johannes Burkhardt presents a third theory. He argues that the Thirty Years War was a "state-building war" caused by the rivalry between France and the Hapsburgs for preeminence within Christendom, as France chafed at the Hapsburg dynasty's status, as the inheritors of the Roman Empire and by unrest within such provinces as Bohemia forced the states involved in the conflict to at least begin the process of transforming themselves into modern states. Burkhardt's argument includes elements of both the international and internal war theories. His state-building war theory is often criticized by post-modernists for "impos[ing] a false coherence on the past" because it relies on the idea that rulers make rational decisions about war and peace. Post-modernists rarely offer alternative explanations for the war; though, they do often contribute to understanding how historical figures legitimized their actions.<sup>8</sup> Though historians throughout the last two hundred years have not agreed on the nature of the war, each of these theories suggests a different facet to the problem. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were centuries of near constant warfare throughout Europe. Perhaps, this atmosphere of belligerence made a general war more likely, as it inclined heads of state

---

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 559-560.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 558-559.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 562-568.

to bellicose rather than diplomatic solutions though the idea that foreign states caused the war is just a bit too much of a stretch in logic. The Holy Roman Empire was certainly beginning to crumble. So, it is reasonable to conclude that the German principalities took advantage of the Empire's weakness, but it was not the inevitable precursor to the ascendance of Prussia, as so many of the Internal War theorists seem to argue. The war certainly did force participants to modernize the structures of their governments and militaries to varying degrees, but they likely did not recognize it as some radical change.

With such varying arguments about the origin of the war, one can hardly be surprised if historians do not agree on the reasons why Sweden intervened in the war, either. The general historiographical trend regarding the Swedish Intervention seems to be that while earlier historical studies asserted that Gustavus Adolphus led Sweden into the Thirty Years War out of a desire to aid his Protestant neighbors in Germany, more recent works have adopted the argument that Gustavus II invaded Germany for both religious reasons and to secure his kingdom. Some historians even go as far as to claim that he had no religious motivation at all. Historian Veronica Wedgwood argues that Gustavus invaded Germany to protect German Protestants from Catholic "crusading zeal" while suggesting the possibility of some economic or imperial motives, but her cynical impressions of World War I and the rise of fascism skew her interpretation of the Thirty Years War.<sup>9</sup> Then the argument gradually shifts to a more nuanced approach with historian John Paas arguing a greater confessional aspect to the invasion than Pärtel Piirimäe and Michael Roberts. Piirimäe's<sup>10</sup> and Roberts's<sup>11</sup> arguments assert a strong confessional motive with an economic and national security agenda. Gustavus Adolphus was motivated by both security concerns and by confessional concerns. This seems to be the most reasonable approach since the mid sixteenth century through the

---

<sup>9</sup> C. V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years War* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1938), 264-269.

<sup>10</sup> Pärtel Piirimäe. "Just War in Theory and Practice: The Legitimizing of Swedish Intervention in the Thirty Years War," *The Historical Journal* Vol. 45, No. 3 (Sep., 2002), 504-514, accessed February 17, 2016, <http://jstor.org/stable/3133494>.

<sup>11</sup> Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus*.

first half of the seventeenth century was rife with religious wars after the Protestant Reform movements broke away from the Catholic Church. That was the environment in which Gustavus Adolphus and his contemporaries lived. In the most recent work examined here, Peter Wilson seems to ignore the confessional aspect of Sweden's intervention in the Thirty Years War. This seems to be a mistake. Religion was an integral part of politics and international relations during the seventeenth century, and ignoring it when discussing what began as a religious war would be detrimental to a solid argument. Overall, the recent history of the Swedish Intervention is reasonable, and even the earlier work is not rife with hero worship or other bias, only a mild anti-militarism. However, the available scholarly books and articles on the subject do not sufficiently emphasize the transformation of the war from an internal Imperial conflict to an international war.

In the early seventeenth century, Sweden's geography made it practically impossible to prevent an invasion of the Swedish mainland by any one of Sweden's enemies. Denmark still controlled the southwestern tip of the Swedish peninsula as well as Norway, thus they could easily invade Sweden from the southwest or the northwest without a navy. Denmark controlled the only route into the Baltic Sea from the North Sea and Western Europe, and they could cut off Swedish trade at any time. Sweden attempted to remedy this issue by constructing a port on the short stretch of coast that it retained between Norway and the rest of the Danish territories; however, this port was connected to the rest of Sweden by a very narrow strip of territory that could be easily seized by Danish forces. Sweden built several forts to defend its only port outside the Baltic Sea, but the kingdom's trade with Western Europe remained in a precarious position.<sup>12</sup> The unreliability of trade to the west forced Sweden to look eastwards for markets for its raw materials including timber and copper. Yet even within the Baltic, Denmark maintained naval bases on Bornholm, Gotland, and Ösel, allowing the kingdom to keep watch on Swedish trade with the Hanseatic towns of the German Baltic coast. Furthermore, tolls extracted from all shipping in the three

---

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 12-13.

straits that connect the Baltic with the North Sea which Denmark claimed were streams flowing through its territory funded Denmark's powerful navy.<sup>13</sup> These numerous enemies made the possibility of war on two fronts almost unavoidable. In the seventeenth century, Sweden was almost constantly at war with any one of the kingdom's enemies and subject to have war break out with any of its other enemies at any time. To maintain the large army necessary to defend Sweden's territories and interests, Sweden needed a much larger income than could be supplied by its Scandinavian territories. This geopolitical landscape alone does much to explain the rise of the Swedish Empire and Sweden's decision to invade Germany.

The collapse of the Livonian Knights (one of the Eastern European crusading) in the sixteenth century gave Sweden its chance to break out of the economic grip of the Hanseatic League (an alliance of German trading cities and guilds which controlled trade with Russia and the eastern most parts of Europe) and to avoid the threat of complete encirclement by its enemies. When the Livonian Knights collapsed, the city of Reval, unwilling to become a Polish, Russian, or Danish possession, offered to place itself under Sweden's protection. This at once gave Sweden an economic boost by opening direct trade to Eastern Europe and created an economic drain by initiating one hundred and sixty years of intermittent war with Russia and Poland. The annexation of Reval in 1560 gave Sweden its first imperial territory, fueled Swedish ambitions to control trade in the Baltic, and placed the kingdom in direct conflict with Denmark, Poland, and Russia, each of which wanted all or a large degree of control over Baltic trade.<sup>14</sup>

The Baltic coast was the most populous (and wealthy) region of Sweden, as well as the location of the kingdom's capital. This was dangerous if a major naval power rose in the Baltic region. A strong navy would allow a hostile country to land an army nearly anywhere in the most important

---

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 12. The three straits, according to Bing Maps, are Øresund which forms the current border between Denmark and Sweden and is the eastern most strait, Storælbelt (Great Belt) which is the middle strait, and Lillebælt (Little Belt) which is the western strait.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 14-15.

Swedish lands. Wilson's argument that the threat of an Imperial navy being built in the Baltic had faded by the time Gustavus Adolphus landed in Pomerania has merit, but one can hardly expect the king of a country with as many enemies as Sweden to only plan in the short term. The fact that the Imperial navy was not completed was due to the Catholic Imperial princes' fears of Imperial aggrandizement at the expense of their own power rather than the termination of Imperial ambitions in the Baltic. A king could hardly be expected to depend on Imperial princes' jealousy for his kingdom's future security. A strong Emperor with a relatively peaceful Empire could easily resume the construction of an Imperial navy, seize Sweden's ports in Eastern Europe, and threaten Sweden itself. Furthermore, the reduction of the army under the extremely successful Imperial general Wallenstein, rather than making intervention unnecessary, encouraged the Swedish intervention by making it more likely to succeed. In the time it would take the Emperor to recall Wallenstein to service and Wallenstein to rebuild his army, Gustavus Adolphus could secure territories and make alliances with the Protestant German princes. If Sweden could take control of the principal north German ports, it would place much of the Baltic trade and Baltic shipbuilding under Sweden's control with the attendant trade revenue that was critical to continuing the war.<sup>15</sup>

For nearly one hundred years, Sweden's foreign policy was one of securing territories outside the Swedish mainland before her enemies could take control of them and expanding these territories to make them defensible. The effect was the creation of a buffer on the eastern Baltic coast which precipitated conflict with Poland and Russia allowing Sweden to fight them in Estonia and Prussia rather than in Finland and on the Swedish mainland. The Swedish intervention in Germany and Sweden's seizure of several territories on the north German coast created the same type of buffer against the Holy Roman Empire and other powerful German states.

---

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

The Thirty Years War began as a religious war between many of the Protestant Imperial princes and the Catholic forces of the Emperor and the Catholic princes. The war began in Bohemia when Protestant nobles opposed the establishment of the Catholic prince Ferdinand Hapsburg as the King of Bohemia and formed the Bohemian Confederation in 1619. After Ferdinand's election to the Imperial crown in 1619, the Bohemian Confederation elected Frederick V of the Palatinate as the King of Bohemia. Most of the other German princes refused to support the Bohemian Confederation under Frederick V. More fighting broke out in 1620 culminating in the Battle of White Mountain on November 8th near Prague where a combined Imperial and Catholic League army routed Frederick V's forces and marched on to Prague which surrendered immediately; despite being well supplied and defended by a fairly large force that would have allowed the city to hold out until winter, they forced the Catholic armies to break off the siege. The Bohemian Confederation collapsed, but Frederick V's stubborn insistence that Ferdinand II "confirm the [Bohemian] Confederation, grant full religious liberty, assume all of Frederick's Bohemian debts, and refund Palatine military expenses" inspired Ferdinand to place Frederick and three other leaders "under the imperial ban on 29 January 1621, paving the way for the confiscation of their lands and titles." Hostilities continued as Frederick and Ferdinand refused to compromise on a peace, as Frederick's Transylvanian ally, Belthen Gabor, continued to attack the Hapsburgs in Austria and Bohemia. Protestant German princes slowly began to support Frederick V's struggle to remain the Elector of the Palatinate. The Imperial and Catholic League forces gradually defeated their Protestant opponents, as the war shifted from the southeastern and central eastern parts of the Empire to the western and northwestern provinces. Spanish troops held parts of western Germany for the Emperor; while, the Dutch gave some aid to the Protestants. The ascendant Imperial and Catholic League's program of "re-Catholicization" contributed greatly to the religious character of the Thirty Years War, as it affected areas of the Empire that had been Protestant for the inhabitants' entire lives, and the Pope and influential Jesuits pressured the Emperor to use force to extract conversions from



the populace. Ferdinand's policies began to equate Catholicism with loyalty and Protestantism with disloyalty or, at best, unreliability.<sup>16</sup> As the Emperor instituted a policy of pressuring nobles and residents of the subdued territories to convert, the deposed Frederick and his supporters began to view the war as a campaign to return Germany to Catholicism. This created tension and persuaded more princes to resist the Emperor's efforts; while, the Edict of Restitution in 1629 further deepened the confessional divide in Germany.<sup>17</sup>

By 1630, however, the confessional aspect of the war began to fade somewhat. Conflict between the Hapsburgs of Spain and the Holy Roman Empire supported by their Italian allies and Italian cities supported by Bourbon France flared up in 1625. The old conflict over European supremacy between Valois/Bourbon France and the Hapsburg dynasty in Spain and the Empire remained viable after more than a hundred years. As Italy had been in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Germany became the battleground in the renewed Hapsburg-Valois/Bourbon rivalry. France needed a powerful ally in Germany; after Denmark failed in its intervention, France turned to Sweden. Cardinal Richelieu's representative helped negotiate a truce between Sweden and Poland to allow Sweden to invade Germany.<sup>18</sup> Thus, a Catholic power forged a truce between a Protestant kingdom and a Catholic kingdom to allow the Protestant kingdom to attack another Catholic power indicating the growing international political impact of the war. As the war expanded into a truly European conflict, politics began to supplant religion as the main motivation in alliances. The growing conflict between France and the Hapsburg dynasties of Spain and the Holy Roman Empire was the catalyst for the shift of the Thirty Years War from an internal Holy Roman Imperial matter to an international conflict.

---

<sup>16</sup> Peter H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2009), 269-361.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 453. The Edict of Restitution required Protestant rulers to return all Catholic land seized after 1552 (the Peace of Augsburg of 1555 acquiesced to the seizure of Catholic Church lands before 1552) and declared that Calvinism was not protected under the Peace of Augsburg.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 433.

The Swedish intervention laid the foundation for the end of religious warfare in Europe, but Sweden continued to use religion to motivate support for the war. Gustavus Adolphus and his chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna, used religion to motivate the Swedish Estates to support the war and tried to use religion to build alliances in Germany.<sup>19</sup> However, Gustavus and Oxenstierna conveyed a different message to non-Protestant audiences. His public justification for intervening in the war was based on claims that the Empire threatened Sweden's economic interests and aided her enemies to avoid alienating France.<sup>20</sup> Even his message to the Swedish Estates was not built solely on religion, since he cited personal insults from the Emperor; he also claimed that Imperial military aid to Poland meant that Sweden and the Holy Roman Empire were, in fact, already at war.<sup>21</sup>

In addition to the economic and military threat that a victorious Holy Roman Empire would pose to Sweden, the Empire would also pose a religious threat to Sweden. Sweden was Lutheran; if the Emperor and the Catholic League were successful in subjugating the Protestant German states, the Catholic forces might force the reinstitution of Catholicism in Protestant Germany. If Catholicism was reinstated across all of Germany, the Emperor might have proceeded to attempt to force Denmark and Sweden to revert to Catholicism. The Catholic forces of Germany had already all but destroyed Denmark; with the addition of the north German states, the Holy Roman Empire would be able to pose a serious threat of invasion to Sweden; while Poland would undoubtedly renew its attacks on Swedish lands in Estonia. Granted, the Imperial princes, Catholic and Protestant, would have likely allied against the Emperor before allowing the Imperial crown to gain that much power; once again, a responsible king could hardly trust the political and religious security of his kingdom to the jealousy of foreign princes. It is likely that, whatever his convictions about aiding his co-religionists, Gustavus

---

<sup>19</sup> John Roger Paas, "The Changing Image of Gustavus Adolphus on German Broadsheets, 1630-3," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 59 (1996), 207-219, accessed February 17, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/751404>, 209.

<sup>20</sup> Tryntje Helfferich, *The Thirty Years War: A Documentary History* (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co., 2009), 99-103.

<sup>21</sup> Paas, *Image*, 209.

Adolphus would have considered it wiser to attack the threat while it was still relatively weak and divided than hoping that it would get even weaker and more divided.

Gustavus Adolphus avoided calling his intervention a war to avoid being classed as a foreign invader that might allow Ferdinand II to rally the Protestant princes to expel him. As it was, many Protestant princes considered to Gustavus be an interloper.<sup>22</sup> John George of Saxony built a neutral Protestant alliance to take a middle road between supporting the Emperor and supporting Gustavus. The Emperor's refusal to make a compromise with the moderate Protestants caused several to consider openly aiding Gustavus. Some raised small armies and blocked supply shipments to Imperial and Catholic League garrisons, and the Regent of Württemberg, Julius Friedrich, sent his relatives to safety and "began evicting imperial garrisons." However, most of the princes remained inactive. They waited for John George to take the lead and for the Swedish army to prove that it could defeat the Catholics.<sup>23</sup>

Sweden's French alliances transformed the conflict into an international political war. As discussed previously, France was instrumental in negotiating the Truce of Altmark between Poland and Sweden on September 26, 1629. Following the Truce of Altmark, Cardinal Richelieu's envoy, Charnacé, continued negotiations with Gustavus Adolphus to create a treaty whereby Sweden would invade Germany and occupy Ferdinand II's attention to prevent him from aiding the Philip IV's Spanish forces in Italy and the Netherlands. The negotiations culminated in the Treaty of Bärwalde on January 23, 1631 declaring "liberty of trade and the mutual protection of France and Sweden" and stipulating that France would fund or partially fund an army of at least "thirty thousand foot and six hundred horse" and supply Sweden with "twenty thousand imperial talers" every six months. In return for French subsidies, Gustavus Adolphus agreed to protect Catholics' right to worship, respect the neutrality of the Catholic League (unless the Catholic League took military action against Sweden or its allies), and include France at any

---

<sup>22</sup> Paas, Images, 210.

<sup>23</sup> Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 465-467.

peace negotiations with the Emperor in the next five years. Gustavus insisted the treaty be public. Wedgewood makes the interesting point that by insisting that the treaty be made public Gustavus ensured that he was not viewed as a junior partner of the alliance drawing on the analogy proposed by Sir Thomas Roe (an English diplomat at the time of the treaty) that Richelieu, in agreeing to a public treaty, built the bridge for Gustavus to cross his Rubicon and win success in Germany.<sup>24</sup> It also gave the Catholic princes of the Catholic League an excuse to remain neutral with the clause prohibiting Sweden from attacking Catholic League territories and forces unless they attacked Gustavus' forces first.<sup>25</sup> The important element to this argument is that it was a public treaty between two independent kingdoms arranging for one of the kingdoms to financially support the other's invasion of a third state. Furthermore, it was open to any other German ruler who wanted to join Sweden against the Emperor.<sup>26</sup>

The Siege of Magdeburg was a turning point of German princes' support for the Swedish Intervention. Magdeburg was the only German city or principality to willingly ally with Gustavus Adolphus in 1631.<sup>27</sup>—Stralsund requested aid in 1628, and Danish troops arrived just in time to prevent the city from falling to the Imperial besiegers.<sup>28</sup> As a result, Stralsund became the landing place for Gustavus' army and an official Swedish protectorate in 1630. Gustavus also "effectively... annexed" Pomerania (the territory which held Stralsund) only a few months after the landing.<sup>29</sup>—Magdeburg allied with Sweden because it was an opportunity for the exiled administrator, Christian Wilhelm, to regain his

---

<sup>24</sup> Wedgewood, *The Thirty Years War*, 268. Wilson totals the entire French subsidies at 400,000 Imperial talers which would include the money France was bound to pay to maintain the Swedish army in Germany (Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 464.).

<sup>25</sup> Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 467.

<sup>26</sup> Wedgewood, *The Thirty Years War*, 269.

<sup>27</sup> Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 467.

<sup>28</sup> Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus*, 70. After Imperial and Catholic League forces overran Jutland and began preparing a navy in the Baltic, Gustavus Adolphus and Christian IV of Denmark arranged an uneasy alliance whereby Sweden was prepared to aid Denmark with men and ships if the Imperial armies threatened the Danish islands in the Baltic Sea. So, Denmark sent soldiers to Stralsund in 1630 to hold off the Imperial besiegers until Swedish reinforcements arrived. Once the Swedes arrived, the Danes remained in the city for a short period then gradually withdrew when the Stralsund civic government preferred a Swedish garrison.

<sup>29</sup> Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 463.

city. To that end, Christian Wilhelm snuck back into the city with a few supporters and took back control of the town. Gustavus Adolphus sent one of his officers, Colonel Falkenberg, to oversee the defense as Imperial troops already gathered outside the city walls.<sup>30</sup> Gustavus attempted to relieve the city, but the moderate Protestant electors of Brandenburg and Saxony blocked his route to the city until it was too late. The city fell to the Imperial general, Count Tilly, on May 10th.<sup>31</sup> The Imperial sack of the town (sometimes called the Destruction of Magdeburg) galvanized support for Gustavus Adolphus from several German princes; though, he was forced to compel George William of Brandenburg to agree to the alliance by training the Swedish artillery on the Elector's palace in Berlin. The greatest boost to Gustavus' efforts came when Ferdinand II attempted to coerce support from John George of Saxony by ordering Tilly to invade Saxony. The Elector of Saxony had raised eighteen thousand troops by the time of the Imperial invasion; when he allied with Gustavus Adolphus, the Swedish army joined his forces north of the Saxon capital of Leipzig. The combined armies, under the command of Gustavus Adolphus, met the Imperial army at a field near the village of Breitenfeld. Gustavus' combined army outnumbered and outgunned the Imperial army by one thousand men and twenty-nine cannons. The result was a spectacular victory for the Gustavus Adolphus, made even more spectacular by the fact that the Saxons fled the battle at the first Imperial attack leaving Gustavus' army (with about one thousand Saxons who joined the Swedish cavalry after the rest routed) to defeat the Tilly on its own. This victory inspired more German princes to support the Swedes, as the more militant members of the Protestant society cheered the victory as God's punishment on the Imperials for Magdeburg.<sup>32</sup>

Negotiations continued throughout the fighting. John George joined the Swedish faction mostly to force Ferdinand to negotiate. The Saxon

---

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 467.

<sup>31</sup> Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus*, 136-137.

<sup>32</sup> Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 470-475. Wilson cites a census in February of 1632 that showed only four hundred and forty-nine inhabitants in the city out of a population of around twenty thousand people at the time of the attack.

Elector hoped to be able to extract concessions from Ferdinand such as the revocation of the Edict of Restitution or at least a mild interpretation of it. If John George could negotiate a peace while the Protestants were ascendant, he could persuade other Protestant leaders to accept any concessions he made as "magnanimous gestures" to encourage the Emperor to accept the peace agreement.<sup>33</sup> This willingness to negotiate a peace agreement with the Emperor indicates the lack of theological concerns that might have been present earlier in the war. William V of Hesse-Kassel supported the Swedish faction because he hoped to be raised to the rank of elector. Charles I of England sent six thousand troops to aid the Swedes as a half measure to placate his sister who was married to the exiled Frederick V of the Palatinate and to avoid making too much trouble with the Hapsburgs while he tried to improve relations with Spain. The Dutch welcomed the Swedish Intervention because it distracted Ferdinand from aiding his Spanish relatives against the Dutch Republic, but they opposed the idea of a religious war (which the Thirty Years War no longer was at this point though no one would admit it at the time). The Dutch also sent small payments to Sweden to persuade "Gustavus to drop plans to monopolize the Baltic grain trade." Further evidence of the political nature of Gustavus' intervention lies in his terms for restoring Frederick to the Palatinate. In January of 1632, the Dutch paid Frederick V's expenses to travel to Gustavus' camp; the Swedish king was only willing to commit to restoring Frederick to the Palatinate if England sent twelve thousand more men and subsidies of "£235,000 a month" and Frederick agreed to hold the Palatinate lands as "fiefs of the Swedish crown." Frederick V rejected the terms, and he died in Mainz at the end of December.<sup>34</sup>

The major goal of the Swedish after 1631 was to secure its control of key sections of the German Baltic coast. With the Imperial withdrawal from Jutland, Sweden's interests shifted from ensuring that Denmark was not

---

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 477.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 478-480. Out of the English force of six thousand, there were only five hundred left four months after the army arrived due to disease, starvation, and desertion. Charles' decision to send men to fight for Gustavus Adolphus in Germany only antagonized the Hapsburgs, and the army was too small to accomplish very much towards the goal of reinstating Frederick V to the Palatinate and melted away to quickly to be of any use anyway.

conquered to ensuring that Denmark could not expand. To that end, Gustavus allied with the administrator of Bremen to evict the Catholic League troops from the city and prevent the Danes from taking control of the territory since the city exerted control over the Weser and the Elbe rivers. If Sweden controlled Bremen, Denmark could not expand to the south. The death of the administrator complicated Gustavus' plans, and Sweden was not able to take control of Bremen and the territory of Verden to the south of Bremen for several years. Gustavus secured the territories that his armies cleared of Imperial and Catholic League forces (Catholic League troops had skirmished with Swedish troops between the Siege of Magdeburg and the Battle of Breitenfeld releasing Gustavus of his obligation in the Treaty of Bärwalde to observe Catholic League princes' neutrality) by establishing garrisons in fortresses and fortified towns in the conquered territories. The conquered territories were mostly Catholic; while Gustavus did expel some priests and other Catholics fled of their own accord, he left many Catholic churches alone and left most Catholic officials in their offices partially out of respect for the provisions of the Treaty of Bärwalde and partially because he lacked experienced Protestants to fill the offices.<sup>35</sup> This also lends evidence to the idea that Gustavus' intervention was more political than religious; although, few would have recognized a difference between politics and religion in the seventeenth century.

During the fall of 1631 and into 1632, Sweden advanced nearly unopposed through many parts of the Holy Roman Empire. Hostile populations prevented attacks on the hereditary Hapsburg lands in Austria, but Gustavus established bases in numerous other Catholic territories. The rapid Swedish advance compelled such powerful princes as Maximilian of Bavaria to look to princes and states outside the Empire for assistance as the Imperial and Catholic League forces had proven unable to halt the Swedes and their allies. The Bavarian Elector's first choice was Duke Charles IV of Lorraine (which was a highly autonomous territory of the Holy Roman Empire), but the Duke's attempt to seize control of the Bishopric of Metz sparked conflict with the

---

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 480-481.

bishopric's protector, France. When Imperial soldiers seized the small towns of Vic and Moyenvic, which belonged to the Bishopric of Metz, Cardinal Richelieu feared that it was the beginning of an Imperial invasion and gathered an army in Champagne. The Duke of Lorraine and Gaston d'Orleans (the dissatisfied brother of Louis XIII of France) began to gather armies, but the Duke of Lorraine became worried that the French army in Champagne would invade. To avoid appearing as a threat to the French, Duke Charles IV led his army of about fifteen thousand men across the Rhine deeper into the Empire to fight the Swedes. Disease wiped out most of the army which failed to defend the Lower Palatinate from a Swedish army, but their absence allowed the French army to invade and remove the Imperial garrisons from Vic and Moyenvic. A second French invasion a short time later, in response to another "attempt to remove French influence," ended in the Treaty of Liverdun which ceded key towns and bridges to France allowing French troops access to France's territory of Alsace. This military access to Alsace allowed France to offer assistance to Maximilian. This was part of a continuing French effort to draw Bavaria away from the Emperor and place it under French influence. It failed when Maximilian decided that French influence was not enough to obtain a more lenient peace agreement with Sweden, and Maximilian acquiesced to the reinstatement of Wallenstein as the commander of the Imperial army. Maximilian's demonstration of loyalty to the Emperor dashed France's hopes for control of Bavaria.<sup>36</sup> As European conflicts outside Germany multiplied, external interference in the Thirty Years War increased, and the combatants within Germany grew increasingly dependent on foreign financial support since the war devastated Germany and reduced its territories' abilities to support armies.

After Gustavus Adolphus was killed at the Battle of Lützen on November 16, 1632, Sweden's armies and alliances weakened. France considered switching support to Saxony instead of Sweden, and many of the German regiments and soldiers serving in the Swedish army mutinied or refused to follow orders from Chancellor Oxenstierna or the Swedish

---

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 487-492.



generals. A further complication was that the Swedish armies became somewhat decentralized with the king's death. Oxenstierna held strategic command and designated the armies' objectives, but he was not an experienced general and did not have the reputation that Gustavus had. Sweden did not begin negotiations with Ferdinand or the Catholic League after Lützen, since that might have indicated that Swedish strength was based solely on Gustavus Adolphus, but Oxenstierna did change Sweden's goals. He concentrated on defending the territories which Sweden held in North Germany, particularly Pomerania and Mecklenburg, and retained garrisons in Bremen, Verden, and Mainz hoping to obtain these lands in any peace settlement thus placing all the German Baltic coast and the mouths of the Elbe and Weser Rivers in Swedish hands. Oxenstierna called a meeting of Protestant princes in Heilbronn in March 1633 to establish "Gustavus's planned *corpus politicorum*" (a Protestant political body) to motivate France to continue to support Sweden (France ceased paying subsidies to Sweden after Gustavus's death). It worked. Richelieu's representative renewed the Treaty of Bärwalde and, critically, agreed to continue subsidies to Sweden rather than to the new Heilbronn League cementing Sweden as the leader of the League. The Heilbronn League adopted the goal of forcing the Emperor to return "the Empire to its pre-war condition" as its "official... negotiating position;" while, Sweden led the League, demanding "proper" compensation for [Sweden's] efforts." Brandenburg allied with Sweden and France but refused to join the Heilbronn League because it agreed to give Pomerania to Sweden.<sup>37</sup> The renewal of the Treaty of Bärwalde and the coalescing of Swedish territorial demands highlight the growing international scope of the war only three years after the Gustavus landed in Pomerania.

In addition to the renewal of French support for Sweden in Germany, French and Spanish/Imperial conflict continued to the west of the Empire. A French army marched to remove Spanish forces from Trier in May 1632 (after invading the nominally Imperial Duchy of Lorraine), as France continued to pursue a policy of thwarting the Hapsburgs without

---

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 507-517. Brandenburg held a claim to Pomerania if its ruler died without an heir.

provoking full-scale war with Spain. The French army “cooperated with Swedish troops to capture the Ehrenbreitein fortress” on the Rhine. With French and Swedish forces near each other and a Dutch army advancing against Spanish held territory (France still secretly supported the Dutch against Spain),<sup>38</sup> the Thirty Years War continued to gain international repercussions. Richelieu discovered that Spain was sending another army to Alsace in 1633. This forced Richelieu to arrange to take over Lorraine; he this did by maneuvering the Duke of Lorraine into rejecting France’s demand that he accept French over-lordship for his duchy of Bar. This allowed Richelieu to declare Charles of Lorraine a rebel and invade Lorraine once the duke’s army was destroyed as it tried to relieve the Swedish siege of Hagenau (the second time the French used the Swedes to destroy the Lorraine army and pave the way for a French invasion of the duchy).<sup>39</sup> This blocked Spanish access to Alsace, since France could refuse to allow the army to pass through French territory. This prompted Spain to order the Spanish governor of Milan, Feria, to march an army through the Alps to re-exert Spanish influence over the Rhineland which had collapsed after the French conquest of Lorraine. Once the army crossed the Alps, it joined with an Imperial army to repel the Swedish siege of Konstanz (the Swedish army intended to take the town and thus “block the exit from the Tirolean passes into south-west Germany”). The Spanish further intervened with subsidies to Bavaria. In 1634, Spain sent more soldiers into Germany. Spanish troops were instrumental in the Swedish defeat at Nördlingen comprising almost half of the combined Imperial/Spanish/Bavarian army. Following the defeat, the Imperial, Bavarian, and Spanish armies drove the Swedes out of southern Germany. Sweden’s German allies wavered in their support, and France seized the opportunity.

By 1634, Sweden faced a renewed war with Poland once the Truce of Altmark expired the next year (the Ottomans agreed to a truce with

---

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 519-520. Trier was occupied by Spanish troops, but, as far as I can tell, Spain did not officially claim it. Territorial claims get extremely confusing in seventeenth century Central Europe.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 521-522. The French gained all of Lorraine after the duke’s brother refused terms giving Richelieu an excuse to occupy the rest of the duchy. By 1634, the Rhinelanders conceded “Mömpelgard, Hagenau, the bishopric of Basel, and the Alsatian possessions of the count of Hagenau.

Poland in order to pursue a war with Persia). The German members of the Heilbronn League began to see France as a better ally than Sweden since France proposed a neutral, inter-confessional alliance to pursue an end to the war. France undermined Sweden's leadership, by agreeing to pay a five hundred thousand livre subsidy directly to the Heilbronn League instead of paying subsidies only to Sweden. Furthermore, Richelieu promised to send twelve thousand non-French soldiers to aid the Heilbronn League. Richelieu specified non-French troops to avoid open war with the Emperor. In return for France's aid, "the [Heilbronn] League would restore Catholic worship throughout its remaining conquests" and "provide appropriate 'satisfaction' for France's efforts in the form of Austrian parts of Alsace, Breisach, Konstanz, and all the Rhine forts in between." At the end of 1634 and the beginning of 1635, Imperial forces recaptured parts of Alsace from France prompting Richelieu to divert soldiers from reinforcing the Dutch to reinforce the French army which marched into Alsace and struggled to drive the Imperials back out.<sup>40</sup> The direct intervention of Spain and France was the direct result of France's policy of thwarting the Hapsburgs in any way possible. Sweden was already considering invading Germany before France arranged the truce with Poland. Indeed, the Secret Committee of the Diet (established to allow the Swedish Diet to authorize action without discussing delicate issues in public) agreed in January of 1628 with Gustavus's assertion that intervention in Germany was necessary to preserve Sweden's security.<sup>41</sup> Richelieu was an extremely intelligent political figure; he was aware of Sweden's policy in Estonia of securing territory to control trade ports, and he had no reason to expect Sweden to change its policy in Germany. Richelieu may have planned to use Sweden to make the German Protestants more open to an alliance with France to restore peace. Such an argument depends entirely on how much information Richelieu had about the German princes' views on

---

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 551-553. The Imperial army in Alsace was led by the dispossessed Duke Charles IV of Lorraine who wished to recover his duchy. The Heilbronn League congress in Worms broke up without resolving difficulties between Lutherans and Calvinists "effectively dissolving the League. Finally, Oxenstierna personally met with Richelieu but was unable to obtain more than a "vague treaty of friendship."

<sup>41</sup> Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus*, 68-69.

foreign intervention and on Richelieu expecting Sweden to be much more successful than Denmark. So, the idea is a stretch, but the important fact is that France eventually did intervene openly lending even more credence to the idea that, whether the German combatants thought about it or not, the war became a tool of international foreign policy after the Swedish Intervention.

Tension between Spain and France culminated in war in April of 1635. The French declaration of war forced Ferdinand II to cooperate with Spanish military operations against the French and Dutch; however, Ferdinand avoided declaring war on France and hoped that the war would end quickly because Imperial forces were still embroiled in the war in Germany. Bavarian and Imperial troops aided Spanish forces in fighting the French along the Rhine River. However, Spanish, Imperial, and Bavarian troops also continued offensives against the remaining Swedish garrisons in the Rhineland. The Peace of Prague in 1635 represented the Emperor's attempt to restore peace to the Empire by relaxing the Edict of Restitution and uniting against the foreign invaders (Sweden and France were the foreign invaders not Spain). The treaty would also isolate the more radical princes who still supported Sweden and France. It drove Sweden and France into closer cooperation supported by several princes whom Ferdinand excluded from his offer of amnesty. It "dissolved the [Catholic League] and all alliances [within the Empire and between Imperial princes and foreign states], except for that between the electors who were still allowed to meet on their own initiative." And, it compelled a number of princes to make separate peace agreements with the Empire. The more moderate Protestant princes like John George of Saxony and George William of Brandenburg joined the treaty; although, Brandenburg tried to maintain neutrality due to its proximity to Swedish forces. The Peace of Prague consolidated much of Germany (Lutheran, Calvinist, and Catholic princes alike) against France and Sweden, finally stripping away the last vestiges of religious conflict. However, the agreement collapsed almost immediately because it did not offer amnesty to all of the German princes. The war continued as

Swedish and French propaganda touted their fight as one to restore German liberties, but it was not effective.<sup>42</sup>

The war continued for another decade until 1648 when the Peace of Westphalia finally established a settlement acceptable to all the parties involved in the war. The Peace of Westphalia involved settlements with Sweden and the German principalities as well as the Holy Roman Emperor in the Peace of Osnabrück; while, the Peace of Münster was signed to resolve the issues between the France and the Holy Roman Empire (including the German princes). These treaties also resolved the Spanish-Dutch wars with Spain recognizing Dutch independence, but they did not resolve the issue of the French occupation of Lorraine. Sweden received several German territories such as Western Pomerania, the Archbishopric of Bremen, the Bishopric of Verden, and the Port of Wismar. The scope of the Westphalian treaties embraced international issues and internal Imperial issues. While the war might have been concluded with a peace which resolved only the internal problems of the Empire before 1630, after the Swedish Intervention, any treaty which successfully ended the war had to address the broad international political issues that involved France, the Netherlands, Sweden, Spain, and England in the war, such as Dutch independence, control of territories along the Rhine, and northern Italian territorial disputes.

---

<sup>42</sup> Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 555-574.

## The Politicization of Early American Christianity (1760s-1890s)

Logan Horton

**Abstract:** "The Politicization of Early American Christianity (1760s-1890s)" examines the role that civil religion played in American society during the time frame of 1760-1899. This paper argues that civil religion created doctrinal and ideological issues for both Protestant and Catholic denominations of Christianity. This paper examines five watershed moments in American politics and American Christianity during this time frame, and it argues that the language within civil religion ultimately caused American's identity to be mistakenly conceived as "Christian".

Many philosophical thinkers—John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Montesquieu— influenced American political thought.<sup>1</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, both actively and passively, held the greatest sphere of influence on American governance specifically political identity, and in turn, his ideologies created systematic and doctrinal problems for early American Christian denominations. Unlike his colleagues and predecessors such as John Locke, Montesquieu, etc. who focused almost exclusively on morality<sup>2</sup>, Rousseau was interested in how these ideals— natural law, nature, morality, etc.—affected the society in which he lived; that is, he concluded that the government is only as strong as its citizens, if the citizens are not morally strong (ideologically virtuous), then the government itself shall not be seen as visibly strong (physically virtuous).<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, Rousseau established, in *The Social Contract*<sup>4</sup>,

---

<sup>1</sup> Donald S. Lutz, "The Relative Influence of European Writers on Late Eighteenth-Century American Political Thought," *American Political Science Review* 78, no. 01 (March 1984): 189–97, doi:10.2307/1961257.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract: & Discourses* (J.M. Dent & Sons, 1920); Edward S. Corwin, "The 'Higher Law' Background of American Constitutional Law," *Harvard Law Review* 42, no. 3 (1929): 365–409, doi:10.2307/1330694; Anthony T. Kronman, "Contract Law and the State of Nature," *Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization* 1, no. 1 (1985): 5–32.

<sup>4</sup> "Rousseau: Social Contract: Book IV," accessed March 14, 2016, [http://www.constitution.org/jjr/socon\\_04.htm](http://www.constitution.org/jjr/socon_04.htm); Kenneth D. Wald and Allison Calhoun-Brown, *Religion and Politics in the United States* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2014).

the notion of civil religion.<sup>5</sup> This ideology had a profound impact on the identity of American politics, specific Christian doctrine, and America's own identity.<sup>6</sup>

Rousseau defined civil religion as the glue that holds society together, or, more specifically, it is a way to bring unification in a nation by giving it guidelines to follow.<sup>7</sup> Rousseau argued that this idea of "civil religion" (public piety, guidelines) is essential for a virtuous society. In order for a society to flourish, there must be a moral standard set in place, so the society will not go into chaos. Rousseau argued that "religion, considered in relation to society...may be divided up into two kinds: the religion of man and that of the citizen."<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, Rousseau argued that "the dogmas of civil religion ought to be few, simple, and exactly worded, without explanation or commentary."<sup>9</sup> To Rousseau, Christianity was a religion "occupied solely with heavenly things."<sup>10</sup> Rousseau went on to define what civil religion's main beliefs were, saying they were "the existence of a mighty, intelligent, and beneficent Divinity, possessed with foresight and providence, the life to come, the happiness of the just, the punishment of the wicked...those who distinguish civil from theological intolerance are, to my mind, mistaken."<sup>11</sup> Rousseau's main argument was that civil religion placed its importance, not on Heaven or hell, but on the betterment of the society.<sup>12</sup> The main ideas that make up civil religion are not expounded upon; that is, he leaves them without any afterthought or explanation whatsoever. Rousseau does this on purpose. He explicitly gives the reader instruction that the terms are to be subjective. This work by Rousseau was published in 1760, and Rousseau's ideas ultimately had an impact on five major watershed moments to be examined: the drafting of the First Amendment of the

---

<sup>5</sup> Rousseau, *The Social Contract*. Although this is a different edition, and later published, he states this term in the original work on chapter eight, book four.

<sup>6</sup> Ronald C. Wimberley and James A. Christenson, "Civil Religion and Other Religious Identities," *Sociological Analysis* 42, no. 2 (1981): 91–100, doi:10.2307/3710588; Ted Ritter, "Civil Religion," in *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought* (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2014), <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781118474396.wbept0151/abstract>; Gail Gehrig, "The American Civil Religion Debate: A Source for Theory Construction," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 20, no. 1 (1981): 51–63, doi:10.2307/1385338.

<sup>7</sup> Robert N. Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," *Daedalus* 96, no. 1 (1967): 1–21; "Rousseau."

<sup>8</sup> "Rousseau."

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

Constitution, the Second Great Awakening, The Nativist Movement, The Civil War/Slavery, and Religious Pluralism/American Myths.

The framers of the Constitution were influenced by and borrowed from enlightenment ideologies influenced by Locke, Montesquieu, and other philosophers; these ideologies focused more on civil liberties.<sup>13</sup> Rousseau's work proved highly influential in the creation of the First Amendment, as well as Thomas Jefferson's ideals regarding separation of church and state.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, scholar Steven Green argues that "religion was so deeply intertwined with Revolutionary ideology that it seems virtually impossible to distinguish between them."<sup>15</sup> Religion was such a part of the American society, the Founders had to address it—even though the Amendment was not passed until 1791, one year after the start of the Second Great Awakening. However, as Green shows us, "the founders' conception of church-state relations was heterodox, dynamic, and incomplete—and purposefully so... [and by] 1800 the United States represented the only secular government on earth, revolutionary France excepted."<sup>16</sup> Thus, we see the goal of the Constitution is to place the governance in the hands of free, liberated humans—not of angels, demons, or gods. The goal of creating a secular nation did not mean the government barred its citizens to practice religion. Rousseau argued, in order for a society to be truly "civil" it must ascribe to the standard he set forth. However, he did not say through which mechanism these ideas were to be fulfilled.<sup>17</sup> He simply gave the ideas, and he left them open to one's own interpretation.

Evangelicals, shortly after the passing of the First Amendment, had growing concerns that society was headed on a downward spiral. This concern made them want a "second revolution."<sup>18</sup> This revolution would be focused on spiritual matters, not governmental. The Second Great

---

<sup>13</sup> Kronman, "Contract Law and the State of Nature"; Corwin, "The 'Higher Law' Background of American Constitutional Law."

<sup>14</sup> Corwin, "The 'Higher Law' Background of American Constitutional Law"; Lutz, "The Relative Influence of European Writers on Late Eighteenth-Century American Political Thought"; Robert Neelly Bellah, *The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial* (University of Chicago Press, 1992); Gehrig, "The American Civil Religion Debate"; William R. Hutchison, *Religious Pluralism in America: The Contentious History of a Founding Ideal* (Yale University Press, 2004).

<sup>15</sup> Steven K. Green, *The Second Disestablishment: Church and State in Nineteenth Century America* (Oxford University Press, 2010), 23.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pg. 8–9.

<sup>17</sup> "Rousseau."

<sup>18</sup> Bellah, *The Broken Covenant*, pg. 35, pgs. 166–168.



Awakening was a movement that aimed to make America socially Christian; that is, create converts who were not lukewarm in their faith but completely surrendered unto Christ. Christians also wanted to create true religious freedom—which was, according to their worldview, the ability to resist temptation.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, this Awakening was focused on making sure its converts experienced something real and true on an emotional level. For American Protestant Christians during this movement, the constitution was “cold and external, a shell for the pursuit of self-interest rather than a space for the exercise of free initiative in the public interest.”<sup>20</sup> One may argue that the ideals of the American Christian and the ideals of Rousseau were at odds. One may also argue that both ideologies wanted to create virtuous citizens. Rousseau advocated for rewards for virtue and vice, that is, punishment for right and wrong; yet, American Protestant Christians were still unhappy with this dynamic wanting their movement to have a ‘concrete’ foundation—namely faith in God, and wanting to begin to make the nation Christian. One may make the argument that in its early stages civil religion itself may have been at odds with Christianity during the Second Great Awakening; however, it was the *ideals* of the revolution, which were influenced by civil religion, that were at odds with Christianity during this time.<sup>21</sup> American Protestant Christians were focused on creating converts during this era, not necessarily debating philosophical ideas such as personal liberty or autonomy.

The language that Rousseau expressed, in sharing the tenets of civil religion, was left up to each individual to decide. Perhaps theologians could argue that Christianity offered a stronger ability to unify the nation since it gave direct ideas and inputs rather than subjective language that was not purposefully explained or systematized.<sup>22</sup> As previously shown by Rousseau, the terms were meant to be left as is—without comment or

---

<sup>19</sup> Donald G. Mathews, “The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780-1830: An Hypothesis,” *American Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (1969): 23–43, doi:10.2307/2710771; Alan Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind: From the Great Awakening to the Revolution* (Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2006).

<sup>20</sup> Bellah, *The Broken Covenant*, pg. 35.

<sup>21</sup> Bellah, *The Broken Covenant*; Wimberley and Christenson, “Civil Religion and Other Religious Identities”; Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, Reprint edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pg. 43–44; Robert N. Bellah, “Civil Religion in America,” *Daedalus* 96, no. 1 (1967): 1–21; Jose Santiago, “From ‘Civil Religion’ to Nationalism as the Religion of Modern Times: Rethinking a Complex Relationship,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 48, no. 2 (2009): 394–401; Ronald C. Wimberley and James A. Christenson, “Civil Religion and Other Religious Identities,” *Sociological Analysis* 42, no. 2 (1981): 91–100, doi:10.2307/3710588.

explanation. This, for Christians especially, is an issue. They want something concrete, something they can dig deep into—which is precisely why the Second Great Awakening was focused on outdoor tent revivals, emotionalism, and eschatology instead of vague, incomplete, and non-systematized language.<sup>23</sup>

One of the ways this conflict played itself out in the Second Great Awakening was the way in which theologians focused on eschatology, end-times theology.<sup>24</sup> For example, the main tenet of eschatology during this era was post-millennialism, a belief that in order for Jesus to return, people had to be witnessing to others, actively engaged in spreading the gospel to their neighbors, and if they did not do this, Jesus' return would ultimately not happen.<sup>25</sup> This ideology gave birth to groups, such as Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Millerites, whose main goal was to create a society that was pious.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, this piety was not just meant to affect one's religious life, but it sought to affect the entire society and its practices. Protestant Christians began to have views that shaped the way society was conducted. An example of this is the ideology known as Sabbatarianism, a belief that the Sabbath should be honored and revered.<sup>27</sup> Sabbatarianism did not just aim to apply to doctrinal ideology. Christians who held to this ideal wanted to change the way their towns and counties were ultimately run.<sup>28</sup> For example, some Christians even advocated for businesses to close on Sundays as well as laws that prevented the mail from being ran.<sup>29</sup> Thus, we see the Second Great Awakening as a response to the ideology that

---

<sup>23</sup> Mathews, "The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780-1830"; Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*; F. Ernest Stoeffler, *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity* (Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2007).

<sup>24</sup> Mathews, "The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780-1830"; Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind*; Patrick Allitt, *Major Problems in American Religious History: Documents and Essays* (Wadsworth, 2013).

<sup>25</sup> James H. Moorhead, "Between Progress and Apocalypse: A Reassessment of Millennialism in American Religious Thought, 1800-1880," *The Journal of American History* 71, no. 3 (1984): 524-42, doi:10.2307/1887470; Nancy Koester, "The Future in Our Past: Post Millennialism in American Protestantism," 1995, [https://wordandworld.luthersem.edu/content/pdfs/15-2\\_Revelation/15-2\\_N\\_Koester.pdf](https://wordandworld.luthersem.edu/content/pdfs/15-2_Revelation/15-2_N_Koester.pdf).

<sup>26</sup> Nancy Koester, "The Future in Our Past: Post Millennialism in American Protestantism."

<sup>27</sup> Richard R. John, "Taking Sabbatarianism Seriously: The Postal System, the Sabbath, and the Transformation of American Political Culture," *Journal of the Early Republic* 10, no. 4 (1990): 517-67, doi:10.2307/3123626.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.; Steven K. Green, *The Second Disestablishment: Church and State in Nineteenth Century America*.

<sup>29</sup> Alan Raucher, "Sunday Business and the Decline of Sunday Closing Laws: A Historical Overview," *Journal of Church and State* 36, no. 1 (1994): 13-33; John, "Taking Sabbatarianism Seriously."

the Revolution was influenced by, namely enlightenment-based philosophies, and civil religion.<sup>30</sup>

In addition to the drafting of the First Amendment and the Second Great Awakening, followers of civil religion and Christianity saw themselves in many smaller conflicts during 1800s which would manifest itself at large in the third major watershed moment. The Nativist Movement, particularly Anti-Catholicism, was the larger conflict in which civil religion, American politics, and Christianity found itself. While this issue focused more on Christianity itself rather than American political thought,<sup>31</sup> it is still a watershed moment in that it changed what the phrase “Christian” meant to some people; that is, it is the first way in which civil religion began directly affecting Christian denominations.<sup>32</sup> During this era, Protestants were the main Christian denomination that had influence in the public schools<sup>33</sup>, and educators made sure their curriculum was strictly Protestant in nature. Protestant controls ran into major problems when “the influx of Catholic immigrant children after the 1830s led many educators to resist further secularization and to cling more closely to the Protestant character of their programs.”<sup>34</sup> Underneath all of this was the issue of church and state as well as the past influence of civil religion, which one could argue that secularization stemmed from to a degree.<sup>35</sup> How could have civil religion, which was left intentionally vague, led to secularization of schools? The reason why civil religion ultimately led to secularization in schools could have been the fact that the doctrines that Rousseau defined were *meant* to be subjective; that is, left up to the individual to decide and find meaning.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, it is

---

<sup>30</sup> Mathews, “The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780-1830”; Wimberley and Christenson, “Civil Religion and Other Religious Identities”; Bellah, *The Broken Covenant*; Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind*.

<sup>31</sup> Walter Benn Michaels, *Our America: Nativism, Modernism, and Pluralism* (Duke University Press, 1995); Katie Oxx, *The Nativist Movement in America: Religious Conflict in the 19th Century* (Routledge, 2013).

<sup>32</sup> James W. Fraser, *Between Church and State: Religion and Public Education in a Multicultural America* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2000); Steven K. Green, *The Second Disestablishment: Church and State in Nineteenth Century America*, pg. 250–271.

<sup>33</sup> Fraser, *Between Church and State*; Michaels, *Our America*.

<sup>34</sup> Steven K. Green, *The Second Disestablishment: Church and State in Nineteenth Century America*, pg. 252.

<sup>35</sup> Fraser, *Between Church and State*; Susanna Mancini, “Power of Symbols and Symbols as Power: Secularism and Religion as Guarantors of Cultural Convergence, The,” *Cardozo Law Review* 30 (2009 2008): 2629.

<sup>36</sup> Mancini, “Power of Symbols and Symbols as Power”; Steven K. Green, *The Second Disestablishment: Church and State in Nineteenth Century America*; Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).

important to note that the schools did not automatically become secularized in one day, this secularization lasted well into the twentieth century.<sup>37</sup> The school controversy affected Christian denominations; it did so by bringing the Protestant/Catholic battle into America.<sup>38</sup> The idea of what was truly Christian; that is, what beliefs one had to adhere to, began to change when Catholics began coming to America, and the idea of what was truly American began to change as well.<sup>39</sup> Protestants saw Catholics as un-loyal to the goal of the Second Great Awakening as well as the goal of America—to create a Christian society. Protestants argued that the loyalty of Catholics was not to God and country but to Rome.<sup>40</sup> What it meant to create a Christian society differed from Protestant to Catholic churches; so much that, some Protestant public school texts began calling the pope the Anti-Christ.<sup>41</sup> The way in which civil religion affected this movement was that the main goal of Rousseau's civil religion was to create a society in which humans have "a single will which is concerned with their common preservation and general well-being."<sup>42</sup> The mechanism to achieve this ideal, Rousseau proposed, was to ascribe to his doctrines within civil religion—however, what is important for us to understand is that the ideals are to be left without explanation or commentary. They are not to be systematized.<sup>43</sup> How this finds itself in the nativist movement is that the American political ideology, at least in the beginning, seemed to be largely in line with the Protestant way of thinking.<sup>44</sup> A clear example of this thinking is seen in examining a speech given by President Grant in 1875, where he "equated the school question with the preservation of the republic before a group of Civil War veterans"<sup>45</sup>—however, Catholics were not in favor of this thinking, as they argued that "Grant's speech was fulminated by his zeal against the Catholic Church."<sup>46</sup> However, this approach was soon argued

---

<sup>37</sup> Steven K. Green, *The Second Disestablishment: Church and State in Nineteenth Century America*, 253.

<sup>38</sup> John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (Rutgers University Press, 2002); Oxx, *The Nativist Movement in America*.

<sup>39</sup> Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*.

<sup>40</sup> Oxx, *The Nativist Movement in America*, pg. 76–77.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pg. 21–22.

<sup>42</sup> "Rousseau"; Rousseau, *The Social Contract*; Lutz, "The Relative Influence of European Writers on Late Eighteenth-Century American Political Thought."

<sup>43</sup> Rousseau, *The Social Contract*; Thomas C. Grey, "Origins of the Unwritten Constitution: Fundamental Law in American Revolutionary Thought," *Stanford Law Review* 30, no. 5 (1978): 843–93, doi:10.2307/1228166; Kronman, "Contract Law and the State of Nature."

<sup>44</sup> Steven K. Green, *The Second Disestablishment: Church and State in Nineteenth Century America*, 293.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pg. 292.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

against by James G. Blaine, a representative of Maine in the U.S. Senate from 1863 to 1876, who proposed a Constitutional Amendment in which stated the following: “No state shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion...for the support of the public schools...nor shall any money so raised ever be divided between religious sects or denominations.”<sup>47</sup>

Thus, we easily see an early attempt at religious reconciliation in American government. However, attitudes toward this reconciliation varied. Despite varying attitudes, many saw Blaine’s amendment as purely political, not necessarily a true attempt to resolve the issue.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, columnist Samuel Spear suggested that “public school is the common property of the whole people”<sup>49</sup>, and that the “only solution was a purely secular system of education.”<sup>50</sup> Nativism, wrapped in anti-Catholicism, and the way in which public schools should be run all manifested themselves as the culmination of indifference between American politics, civil religion, and Christianity.<sup>51</sup> Underneath all of this is the fact that the society was failing to live up to Rousseau’s fifth tenant of civil religion, religious toleration. Protestants and Catholics were showing, through their hatred toward one another, an inability to live up the ideals that Rousseau defined. Even though the nativist movement is the third watershed movement, we see as a result of these issues, there is an even larger movement in which American political thought and religion become intertwined, which is the fourth movement we will discuss, abolitionism, slavery, and the Civil War.

These three issues could each be discussed as separate moments in the history of civil religion, American politics, and Christianity; however, these three issues go hand-in-hand with one another with regard to the overall impact in which they shape political thought. What is important to note is these issues, abolitionism, slavery, and the Civil War, are largely religious at their core.<sup>52</sup> Christians who were pro-slavery were mainly located in the Southern part of the United States; whereas,

---

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., pg. 295.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., pg. 295–296.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., pg. 297.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., pg. 290–297; Oxx, *The Nativist Movement in America*, pg. 21–22. pg. 76–77.

<sup>52</sup> Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*; Betty Wood, *The Origins of American Slavery: Freedom and Bondage in the English Colonies* (Macmillan, 1998).

Christians who were anti-slavery were located in the North.<sup>53</sup> However, issues relating to slavery began to become overlaid with religious undertones; most notably when, denominations began using the Bible to argue *both* in favor and against the same institution (i.e. slavery). For example, Thomas Dew argued in 1852 that slavery was allowed, in which he said “there is no rule of conscience or revealed law of God which can condemn us”.<sup>54</sup> He went on stating, “servants are even commanded in Scripture to be faithful and obedient to unkind masters.”<sup>55</sup> An example of anti-slavery arguments using the Bible would be freedman Fredrick Douglass, a convert to Methodism, who began preaching against slavery.<sup>56</sup> A key figure during this time would be William Lloyd Garrison who once stated that the Constitution was a “covenant with death, an agreement with hell.”<sup>57</sup>

Furthermore, it is important to examine some of the issues that civil religion was facing, since slavery is now entering the equation. Civil religion had been able to adapt during the Protestant and Catholic debate; however, we can begin to see a clear problem of Rousseau’s ideology when we examine it more closely with the issue of slavery. For example, if Christians in the South were arguing that slavery is pro-Christian, and those from the North were arguing that slavery is anti-Christian, each group could argue that the other’s religion does not fall in line with Rousseau’s ideal of “civil”; that is, being for the betterment of society.<sup>58</sup> If someone’s religion was viewed as false or immoral, could they still do as Rousseau wanted and create a great, and virtuous society? In addition to the doctrinal disagreements between pro-slavery Christians and anti-slavery Christians, civil religion itself faced a big problem when confronted with this issue. How could a subjective worldview, such as civil religion, be harmonious with the institution of slavery defended by a religious group that supposedly held to objective truth? Furthermore, if Rousseau believed in a deity that rewarded societies for their behaviors, how would this deity reward a society that treated its slaves harshly?

---

<sup>53</sup> Wood, *The Origins of American Slavery*; Allen C. Guelzo, *Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President* (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2002).

<sup>54</sup> “Thomas R. Dew Defends Slavery (1852),” accessed March 16, 2016, [http://www.norton.com/college/history/archive/resources/documents/ch15\\_03.htm](http://www.norton.com/college/history/archive/resources/documents/ch15_03.htm).

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (Random House Publishing Group, 2007).

<sup>57</sup> James B. Stewart, “The Aims and Impact of Garrisonian Abolitionism, 1840-1860,” *Civil War History* 15, no. 3 (1969): 197–209, doi:10.1353/cwh.1969.0072.

<sup>58</sup> Jon Logan Horton, “Book Review 3: Robert Bellah’s *Civil Religion in America*,” April 2016, 3–4. Unpublished Work.

Finally, how could the beliefs of civil religion, as a whole, be harmonious with slavery? Does Rousseau's civil religion stand up to this test?

It is important to note that the Civil War, its outcome, and Lincoln's role therein was religious in nature. For example, Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address is seen as the moment where he calls the nation out on its sin of slavery.<sup>59</sup> Although Lincoln struggled with religion throughout most of his life, during this Address he was able to explicitly say that slavery and Christianity were incompatible where he says, "woe unto the world because of offences."<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, one must also see the new American myths that were being, due to this War, seen through a pluralistic civil religion lens during this era. For example, many preachers and pastors began using the War as a symbolic means in their churches; one example being Thomas Weld who used the abolitionist cause to convert many skeptics.<sup>61</sup>

Prior to the Civil War, one aspect of American mythology was based on Calvinistic Protestant theology; that is, the idea of America being a city on a hill, a beacon to the world. If there would be any damage to that mythology, certainly the Civil War and the issues regarding slavery would damage the American identity.<sup>62</sup> This brings us to our final watershed moment, the beginning of pluralism in American society and the challenges faced by the original American (Protestant) myth. Shortly after the War, there was a new myth, that one could argue, defined American society. This idea was that through the bloodshed of War and death of Abraham Lincoln there was a renewed nation, more specifically, new ideas surrounding freedom.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, this ideology is clearly seen in the infamous song "The Battle Hymn of the Republic", which both symbolically and lyrically conveys the struggle with religious

---

<sup>59</sup> Bellah, *The Broken Covenant*, pg. 52–53.

<sup>60</sup> "Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address," accessed January 14, 2017, <http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/inaug2.htm>; Guelzo, *Abraham Lincoln*.

<sup>61</sup> Bellah, *The Broken Covenant*, pg. 51–52.

<sup>62</sup> Allitt, *Major Problems in American Religious History*; Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*.

<sup>63</sup> Hutchison, *Religious Pluralism in America*; "Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue Canadienne de Science Politique - *The Myth of American Individualism: The Protestant Origins of American Political Thought* Barry Alan Shain Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, Pp. Xix, 394 - Cambridge Journals Online," accessed April 18, 2016, <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?jsessionid=BD37364814A22B8CB29AB8AB85B700FD.journals?fromPage=online&aid=6274008>; Thomas Banchoff, *Democracy and the New Religious Pluralism* (Oxford University Press, 2007).

identity which Americans were facing. For example, the lines “I have seen him in the watchfires of a hundred camps”<sup>64</sup> along with, “His day is marching on...He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat”<sup>65</sup>, convey a strict combination of religious and government identities.<sup>66</sup> The struggles that American society began to face after the War was a struggle that affected both its religious identity and its governmental identity. How would the renewed nation handle slavery being illegal? How would they treat incoming Catholics? These are all questions that American society had to face after the War.

It is important to note that religious pluralism can also be defined as multiculturalism in this context—primarily because the way in which we are to understand this specific conflict is related to the different cultures that are coming to America. These cultures, with their own customs and habits, were different from their fellow Americans, who had been here since the 1700s.<sup>67</sup> One of the biggest changes to American culture during this time (the latter part of the nineteenth century) was the large amount of Irish immigrants who began to make their way overseas. The way that Irish immigrants caused societal issues is clearly seen in the New York Orange Riots in 1870 and 1871.<sup>68</sup> These riots were originally supposed to be a parade that was celebrated by Irish Protestants, celebrating the victory of the Battle of the Boyne of William III, and there ended up being a row by both Protestants and Catholics that culminated in the infamous riots, leading the parade to be banned by police commissioner James Kelso which also led to the downfall of boss William Tweed, and the deaths of over 50 people.<sup>69</sup> Although this moment may be argued as strictly Protestant against Catholic, it is much deeper than simply a Protestant and Catholic divide. While influenced by that mindset, it pitted Irish against Irish. As stated earlier, this religious moment caused a political outcome; that is, William Tweed ultimately lost his sphere of influence, as this incident showed a lack of power.<sup>70</sup> Thus, we can see

---

<sup>64</sup> “Independence Day - Battle Hymn Of The Republic Lyrics | LyricsMode.com,” accessed April 18, 2016, [http://www.lyricsmode.com/lyrics/i/independence\\_day/battle\\_hymn\\_of\\_the\\_republic.html#!](http://www.lyricsmode.com/lyrics/i/independence_day/battle_hymn_of_the_republic.html#!)!

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Annie J. Randall and Associate Professor of Musicology Annie J. Randall, *Music, Power, and Politics* (Routledge, 2004), chap. 1.

<sup>67</sup> Banchoff, *Democracy and the New Religious Pluralism*; Oxx, *The Nativist Movement in America*.

<sup>68</sup> Michael Allen Gordon, *The Orange Riots: Irish Political Violence in New York City, 1870 and 1871* (Cornell University Press, 1993).

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.; Hutchison, *Religious Pluralism in America*.



religious pluralism, even between the same ethnic group, causing political issues in American society.

It is important to note, not all religious pluralism made for negative outcomes, such as riots or city bosses losing power. In addition to different Christian groups and the challenges they were facing, such as church and state battles, there began to be a growth of different Jewish sects in America during the nineteenth century. For example, Reform Judaism began gaining ground in the 1870s when Isaac Meyer Wise founded a rabbinical seminary, Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio.<sup>71</sup> The founding of this seminary caused a host of people to be trained in Reform Jewish thought, which places high importance on personal autonomy and free will, ideals that are in direct contrast to the ideal of predetermination, an ideal that was influenced by Christian teaching, which sovereignly declared America a city on a hill for all nations.<sup>72</sup> As stated earlier, Protestant Christianity was facing many issues in the nineteenth century. With regard to religious pluralism, this manifested itself not only with other religions coming into America (such as Reformed Judaism, which began in Germany<sup>73</sup>), but primarily with the in-battles it faced with Catholicism.<sup>74</sup> It would be quite reasonable for one to make the argument that the biggest challenge to the American myth of being a “city on a hill,” being able to share the gospel and become a beacon for the world, was not necessarily Judaism or any other religion rather Christianity itself. Protestants were extremely focused on having the largest sphere of political influence, especially in Washington, D.C.<sup>75</sup>

Catholics wanted to put a stone in the Washington monument, that was ultimately dubbed the “Pope’s Stone”, and Protestants were vehemently against this idea.<sup>76</sup> Protestants across the aisle argued that having a Roman influence in Washington was “a catalyst widening the chasm between the perception of accepted political ideals and an imported ‘foreign’ theology”.<sup>77</sup> What this means is that Protestants were scared of outside Roman influence in Washington—not seeing that wanting to

---

<sup>71</sup> Stephen Steinberg, “Reform Judaism: The Origin and Evolution of a ‘Church Movement,’” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 5, no. 1 (1965): 117–29, doi:10.2307/1384260.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.; Banchoff, *Democracy and the New Religious Pluralism*.

<sup>73</sup> Steinberg, “Reform Judaism.”

<sup>74</sup> Oxx, *The Nativist Movement in America*.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., pg. 84–110.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., pg. 84–85.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., pg. 90.

insert Protestant influence was just as biased, perhaps even more, than the perceived Roman influence they were afraid that was going to happen. Eventually the stone was destroyed on March 6<sup>th</sup>, 1854, after many Protestant petitions and protests in the nation's capital.

This shows us a strange relationship between government and religion. Protestants have wanted to have an impact on government since the founding of Massachusetts Bay, arguing that any other outside influence is wrong while at the same time missing the clear fact that they themselves are asserting outside influence on a (secular) government.<sup>78</sup> This double standard is what made this time frame (1760s-1890s) such an interesting era to study, regarding religious history. Civil religion and the language the Founders used with regard to this construct was purposefully left vague with the intention that each individual living in the newfound Republic could be included.<sup>79</sup> Civil religion, at first, leaves no room for the non-religious; however, it has evolved in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries to include the non-religious or spiritual, now displayed as what could be called moralistic nationalism.<sup>80</sup> One of the main problems that Rousseau had with his doctrine of civil religion was that it made people choose which idea they would be more accountable to: deity or state.<sup>81</sup> This is clearly seen in that the state of Massachusetts waited until 1833 to do away with religious taxes, and as late as 1920 for oath requirement for public office.<sup>82</sup>

The term civil religion is becoming more malleable, as shown clearly through the works of modern scholars such as Robert Bellah and Bart Ehrman; the former produced the work *Habits of the Heart* which focuses on religion's connection to society, and the latter produced the work *Misquoting Jesus* which focuses on textual criticism in the New Testament.<sup>83</sup> One of the main problems that civil religion caused for Christianity in America—with respect to the moral issues surrounding the Civil War—was the wedge it drove in Christianity, specifically between Protestants and Catholics. This wedge manifested itself in

---

<sup>78</sup> Santiago, "From 'Civil Religion' to Nationalism as the Religion of Modern Times."

<sup>79</sup> Jonathan Fox, "World Separation of Religion and State Into the 21st Century," *Comparative Political Studies* 39, no. 5 (June 1, 2006): 537–69, doi:10.1177/0010414005276310.

<sup>80</sup> Santiago, "From 'Civil Religion' to Nationalism as the Religion of Modern Times."

<sup>81</sup> "Rousseau"; Santiago, "From 'Civil Religion' to Nationalism as the Religion of Modern Times."

<sup>82</sup> J. Clifford Wallace, "Framers' Establishment Clause: How High the Wall?," *The BYU L. Rev.*, 2001.

<sup>83</sup> Fox, "World Separation of Religion and State Into the 21st Century"; Santiago, "From 'Civil Religion' to Nationalism as the Religion of Modern Times"; Wald and Calhoun-Brown, *Religion and Politics in the United States*.

incidents such as the Nativist Movement, which culminated in Protestant Christians, who as Rousseau argued were occupied “solely with heavenly things”<sup>84</sup>, forming a political party (the Know-Nothings), to insert their influence on earthly matters. The reason why a subjective ideology, such as civil religion, could affect such a large religious group, such as Christianity, goes back to the idea of why America was founded, the myth of America. Protestant American Christians have long believed that it was their duty to usher in the new Israel on Earth, and it would be located in the New World. What Rousseau was showing in his work *Social Contract* was that the virtuous society was such not because of one particular Christian worldview but because of a common standard and experience shared by the people; it may have looked somewhat like Christianity, but it was not necessarily itself Christian.<sup>85</sup> Early American Christians mistakenly thought that the public piety being shown by the founders was Christianity; while it has been shown throughout much scholarship, many of the founders were largely deists or non-religious.<sup>86</sup> The language they used seemed familiar because it was wrapped in the language of morality that Christians know all too well; nevertheless, this civil religion was not meant to be a new form of Christianity itself, rather a shared common goal, in both practice and principle.<sup>87</sup>

Indeed, many Christian denominations were shaped by the cause of civil religion so much that even in the modern era American Christians began to have a desire to elect Presidents, such as Ronald Reagan, who promised to get amendments passed that would shape the way society acted and behaved.<sup>88</sup> While this may have been just lip-service to get elected, it is important to see that despite this, the American government is deeply involved with what her people care about, and it has been shown throughout the decades that America is indeed a nation influenced by religion.<sup>89</sup> Therefore, we see through the founding of America all the way to the beginning of the twentieth century, especially into the twenty-first century, that the language of civil religion, and its ability to create an American identity founded upon religiosity, as well as a standard for

---

<sup>84</sup> “Rousseau.”

<sup>85</sup> Ritter, “Civil Religion.”

<sup>86</sup> Alf J. Mapp, *The Faiths of Our Fathers: What America’s Founders Really Believed* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2005); David L. Holmes, *The Faiths of the Founding Fathers* (Oxford University Press, 2006).

<sup>87</sup> Ritter, “Civil Religion.”

<sup>88</sup> Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton University Press, 2015).

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, pg. 187–217.

right and wrong, was purposefully vague—so that Americans could have a shared experience and a shared goal of creating a virtuous society. The original intent was that the interpretation of Rousseau’s tenets of civil religion would be left up to each individual to decide, yet we have seen through many watershed moments in American society that the subjectivity of this language was challenged. By examining the First Amendment of the Constitution the language clearly calls for a separation of church and state, yet this ideal was contested heavily by Protestants throughout the Second Great Awakening.<sup>90</sup> After examining these two cases, the next two movements were the nativist movement in America, specifically anti-Catholicism, and how civil religion impacted American public education. The last two watershed moments were the Civil War and the beginnings of multiculturalism and religious pluralism in America. The former was influenced heavily by religious undertones; while, the latter was more of a result of immigration, a movement that ultimately challenged the old American myth of America being a Protestant city on a hill. What was advocated for by civil religion was not a strict theocracy rather a shared United States in which many beliefs and customs are welcomed.<sup>91</sup> Thus, civil religion faced challenges on each end of the spectrum, inter-denominational (Protestant/Catholic) as well as ethnic-denominational (Irish Protestant/Irish Catholic). The ability for civil religion to adapt to each challenge and revise itself throughout the decades show that morality, however one defines it, will most likely be a part of American government for many years to come. Finally, with the growth of nationalism, pluralism, and modernism, it is likely that civil religion will soon include a host of new religious and non-religious identities.<sup>92</sup>

---

<sup>90</sup> Mathews, “The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780-1830.”

<sup>91</sup> Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society* (W. W. Norton & Company, 1998).

<sup>92</sup> Michaels, *Our America*; Qiong Li and Marilynn B. Brewer, “What Does It Mean to Be an American? Patriotism, Nationalism, and American Identity After 9/11,” *Political Psychology* 25, no. 5 (October 1, 2004): 727–39, doi:10.1111/j.1467-9221.2004.00395.x.

## The Power Within: The Inches Gained by Black Women in the Hopeless Battle of Southern American Slavery

Sraelizabeth Parker

**Abstract:** “The Power Within: The Inches Gained by Black Women in the Hopeless Battle of Southern American Slavery” analyzes how black women under the oppressive lash of slavery achieved a level of power and exercised it more than has been traditionally recognized. However, despite their efforts whites largely undermined or restricted it. Moreover, abuse aimed at slaves encompassed physical, psychological, and emotional abuse, and in regards to black women, it centered on their sexuality. Enslaved black women combine two marginalized populations, and, as such, they have suffered doubly from historical narratives dominated and directed by white males. Little is known about these women and their unique history, but as no human can completely subjugate another, they must have exerted their wills in some form or fashion, as an examination of their situation proves.

Race-based slavery, a dark blight in the history of the United States, received little scholarship decades following the Civil War. Many of the people who wielded political power and the scholars who wielded academic authority held racist views, which caused a distortion of slavery’s reality, a distortion which received support by historians who described slavery as a kindness to African Americans. For example, Ulrich Phillips painted a picture of benevolent paternalism in romanticized “Old South” in his 1918 work, and it remained the dominant narrative for decades.<sup>1</sup> Not only did these authorities ignore the history of African Americans, but the contributions of women also largely went ignored as well, and only in the twentieth century with the women’s suffrage movement did women begin to be heard. It was not until the 1960s and 1970s that the Afro-American experiences in slavery received serious consideration, and still then males dominated the study.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ulrich B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery: A Survey of the Supply, Employment and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Régime*, (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1918).

The first pioneers of studying black women, Sharon Harley and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, inspired other breakthrough works published in the 1980s with their 1978 book *The Afro-American Woman: Struggles and Images*.<sup>2</sup> But a balanced analysis of history cannot simply ignore that blacks and women constitute a large part of the population, and common sense dictates that they have stories that need to be shared.

Two marginalized populations combined, enslaved black women suffered doubly from these holes in history. Whites harmed black female slaves physically, psychologically, and emotionally, and they employed cultural notions and legal precedents to oppress black women. Little is known about these women and their unique history, but as no human can completely subjugate another, they must have exerted their wills in some form or fashion, as examining their situation proves. The brunt of abuse revolved around their sexuality and the threat it posed to established Southern ideology based in slavery. Despite Southern whites largely undermining or restricting African American women's wills, they achieved a level of power and exercised it more than has been traditionally recognized under the lash of slavery.

During the development of slavery, whites developed a mythology concerning the black woman and her sexuality that allowed them to shift moral blame away from themselves. The Jezebel stereotype became the manifestation of this myth, of the promiscuous and depraved African whore. The belief took root in the Western world, not just specifically American southerners, and the conditions that affected African women<sup>3</sup> grew it. For example, the climate in the West African countries and those along the coastline is arid and hot because cold water currents cause clouds to deposit rain out in the ocean.<sup>4</sup> This type of climate made clothing a moot point; Elmo Steele's great-grandfather, brought over in the Atlantic trade, told Elmo that "in Africa dey didn't wear no clothes at all."<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, Africans generally did not have abundance of the

---

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Higginbotham and Sarah Watts, "The New Scholarship on Afro-American Women," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 16, no. 1 & 2 (Spring-Summer 1988): 14-15, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40003796> (accessed February 1, 2017).

<sup>3</sup> Although Africa is not monolithic, references to Africa and its ethnic peoples will be synonymous with the area along the Atlantic coastline because it underwent the highest traffic for the slave trade. While Europeans did not limit themselves to local enemies and captured Africans who lived more inland to sell, they did not document the various places their slaves came from. As a result, whites typically referred to all cultures and ethnicities of their slaves as simply African.

<sup>4</sup> Harm J. de Blij, *Geography: Realms, Regions, and Concepts*, 15<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Wiley, 2012), 28.

<sup>5</sup> James Mellion, ed., *Bullwhip Days: The Slaves Remember*, (New York: Grove Press, 1988), 280.

resources or industry needed for mass clothing production, and if they did, it did not receive a high priority.<sup>6</sup> But even though most West African cultures did not sexualize women's bodies, Europeans did, and so Westerners assumed wanton desire controlled African women, which explained their nudity.

In addition to this myth, other conditions for the perpetuation of the Jezebel belief developed during the 1600s as enslavers brought African women into bondage. Because reproduction yielded a profit for owners, slave holders discussed the women's abilities in regards to sexual activities. During sales, the auctioneer or buyers would force a black woman to strip, to be still while a stranger ran his hands over her body to feel her breasts, hips and legs. She would sometimes be taken to a private room where the bidder could examine her more intimately and question her.<sup>7</sup> With only profit as the goal, white men had no respect for the women's bodies, leading to no respect for her femininity and individuality, thus perpetuating the ongoing myth.

This belief became as familiar as the concept of the Whore of Babylon, spreading so wide that even the abolitionist and journalist James Redpath believed that "mulatto women were 'gratified by the criminal advances of Saxons.'"<sup>8</sup> Historian Edward Baptist explains how white men excused these abusive actions toward black women by embracing this belief that African females biologically were more sexual and less moral than white women. So then the legal freedom to rape and harass formed an association between financial aggression and sexual desire.<sup>9</sup> According to historian Patrick Mingos who analyzed Works Progress Administration interviews with former slaves, the belief that black women desired their southern white owners "promoted [the owners'] self-esteem" because the men believed they had a "certain social responsibility to quell the libidinous urges of their charges."<sup>10</sup> White owners had complete control over what they did to their property, and the power to enforce or create a stereotype justified those actions.

---

<sup>6</sup> William A. Haviland, *Cultural Anthropology: The Human Challenge*, 14<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Cengage Learning, 2013), 95-98.

<sup>7</sup> Edward E. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), 99.

<sup>8</sup> Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in Plantation South* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999), 30.

<sup>9</sup> Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told*, 235.

<sup>10</sup> Patrick Mingos, *Far More Terrible for Women: Personal Accounts of Women in Slavery* (Winston-Salem: John F Blair Publisher, 2006), 4-5.

Despite the lopsided power arrangement, black women occasionally could work sexual attention in their favor by becoming a master's sexual favorite or seducing him into giving her more authority. The autobiographical account *12 Years a Slave* provides examples that former slave Solomon Northup witnessed. For example, the plantation of Edwin Epps, Northup's owner, bordered the property of Mr. Shaw, who fell in love with his slave mistress and, after freeing her, married her and gave her authority on his plantation. Northup also describes Eliza, a slave in Maryland, whose master favored her greatly and gave her clothes and comfortable living quarters. After she bore him a daughter, he resolved to bring this daughter up with his other children, and once he died, she and the children she bore him were to be freed.<sup>11</sup> Both of these black women used similar means to achieve a power that rivaled white women.

But black women rarely truly benefitted from the sexual attention because it became a complete domination of their will by an outside party, breaking the woman emotionally and physically. Demonstrating this impact, Patsey, a slave belonging to Edwin Epps, asked Solomon Northup to kill her because she could no longer take Epps's abuse: he raped her, sold her children, and beat her until she nearly died.<sup>12</sup> Instead of reaping benefits and favors from her owner, she sank into a morbid depression. Similarly, former slave Louise Everett recalled when her master invited his friends to an orgy at the expense of the female slaves and forced their husbands to watch them be raped.<sup>13</sup> Not only did this serve as a sexually satisfying game for the owners, it reminded the slaves who controlled them. To escape this type of abuse, former slave Harriet Jacobs lived for seven years in a small attic hiding from her abusive master.<sup>14</sup> As these accounts illustrate, a slave woman's life did not tend to perk up from being preferred by the master, not even after bearing his children. James Brown, a slave, recounted how one slave had four children with her white master, but the master and his employees treated her in the same way as the other slaves.<sup>15</sup>

In fact, bastard children created a crisis for white proprietors because they represented in a very tangible way the infidelity and disrespect

---

<sup>11</sup> Greda Lerner, ed., *Black Women in White America*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1992) 10.

<sup>12</sup> Steve McQueen, *12 Years a Slave*, Regency Enterprises, 2013.

<sup>13</sup> Mingos, *Far More Terrible for Women*, 7.

<sup>14</sup> Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (New York: Thayer and Eldridge, 1861), edited by Jean Fagan Yellin, 128.

<sup>15</sup> Mellion, *Bullwhip Days*, 296.



within a marriage as well as the power associated with the owning class. Because of this tension children were not freed simply because they had a white father. A Virginian law established in 1662 declared that the mother's race decided the child's, and if a slave woman had offspring, they would be slaves as well.<sup>16</sup> This allowed an increase in profits and freed white masters of the inconvenience mulatto children caused. This standard also provided the white Europeans with another reason that blacks differed from them; Europeans inherited status from the father and by inverting their patriarchal model, they carried over the matrilineal society of West African tribes and created more cultural differences.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, while owners recognized the greater stability and less dissent that resulted from keeping children with their biological mother, they believed that African Americans, and therefore their mixed-race offspring, were inferior, and they would not unite them with their white family, regardless of the additional stability that might have provided.<sup>18</sup> To do so would be to openly equalize pure Anglo blood with any amount of black blood, a blasphemous statement to southern ideals. In the late 1600s, slave codes were updated to render intermarriage illegal, displaying the influence of racial purity.<sup>19</sup> Journalist Edward Ball recounts the story of a son borne to Ball's ancestor Red Cap and his "Molattoe Wench Dolly" shipped to another plantation because to free him would have exposed Red Cap's sexual preference for his slave.<sup>20</sup> As this demonstrates, an elite planter could not reveal or boast about falling for the wiles of black women, as blacks were considered inferior to white women.

Despite this attitude, these relationships continued, and occasionally white owners would free their children; however, whether love or a sense of obligation motivated the owners remains a mystery. For example, Thomas Jefferson, U.S. President and Virginia planter, emancipated two of his sons by his slave Sally Hemmings, but he never freed Sally herself. Henry Grimke, a Southern lawyer, left provisions in his will for

---

<sup>16</sup> The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, "Slavery and the Law in Virginia," *Colonial Williamsburg: That the Future May Learn From the Past*, <http://www.history.org/history/teaching/slavelaw.cfm> (accessed January 30, 2017).

<sup>17</sup> Haviland, *Cultural Anthropology*. The countries which predominantly traded slaves to Europeans were located in West Africa. These countries include Ghana, Ivory Coast, Nigeria and Sierra Leone. The nations and tribes within the "Bulge of Africa" as it is called tended to trace kinship through the mother.

<sup>18</sup> White, *Ar'n't I a Woman*, 105.

<sup>19</sup> Colonial Williamsburg, "Slavery and the Law in Virginia"

<sup>20</sup> Edward Ball, *Slaves in the Family* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998), 186.

his son to treat his slave mistress Nancy and the children she had borne him as family.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, a South Carolinian enslaver freed former slave and author Harriet Jacobs's grandmother, because she resulted from his relations with a slave woman.<sup>22</sup> But the planter class as a whole saw these children as they saw any slave children- an asset. Perhaps the legal and cultural settings were too deeply ingrained for white males to imagine their illegitimate children in any other way, or perhaps they feared the social backlash and the harm it would do to their legacy. Surely some white slaveholders genuinely cared for the slave women they had sexual relations with, but with limits on knowing motivations and feelings, conclusions must be drawn from the fact children were a profitable increase.

White mistresses took a different view of their husbands' slave children. The wives of the unfaithful owners, of whom there were many, despised the black mistresses and the children they bore.<sup>23</sup> Mistress Epps, wife of Edwin Epps, tormented Patsey because of her husband's ongoing obsession with her, denying her soap and throwing dishes at her, which added to Patsey's daily hell. Northup describes Patsey as "broken" after "her mistress and her master's children watched with obvious satisfaction [as] she almost died" from the whipping. Eliza's Virginian owner Elisha Berry had a daughter and wife who, angry over his decision to choose a slave and her children over his white family, sold Eliza and her bastard daughter to traders, symbolizing the jealously white women had toward black females.<sup>24</sup> Nora Zeale Hurston's book also illustrates this reality; the main character's grandmother, the enslaved mistress of her owner, ran away because the owner's wife beat and threatened to kill her.<sup>25</sup> Although the novel is fictional, Hurston used the common tale she heard from black communities during research as inspiration. Catharine Hammond, wife of a South Carolina planter and politician, gave her husband an ultimatum: sell the two women he had relations with and

---

<sup>21</sup> Lerner, *Black Women*, 52.

<sup>22</sup> Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, 4.

<sup>23</sup> The white women referenced in these circumstances are all members of the planter class; poor whites normally did not own slaves as they could not afford it.

<sup>24</sup> Lerner, *Black Women*, 51, 10.

<sup>25</sup> Nora Zeale Hurston, *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (New York: J.B. Lippincott & Company, 1937), 15.

their children, or she would leave him, illustrating the lengths white women could go.<sup>26</sup>

However, not all Southern white women hated enslaved black women, as Sarah and Angelina Grimke illustrate. Daughters of a wealthy South Carolina planter, they rejected the institution of slavery, and they spoke publicly on the horrors they witnessed on plantations. Angelina wrote a treatise urging white women not to despise blacks but pity them, especially the women and children, because they should feel sympathetic.<sup>27</sup> One such compassionate woman, Frances Kemble, attempted to alleviate the trials of the slaves on her husband's plantation, particularly those suffered by black women during and after pregnancy.<sup>28</sup> Mary Peters's mother conceived her after the three boys of her master raped her, but when her mistress found out she punished the boys with whippings.<sup>29</sup>

Unfortunately, the majority of white mistresses hated their husbands' sex slaves and the children that resulted. The reason for this rivalry could be that white women felt more powerful standing above rather than besides black women because it allowed them not to be at the bottom of the social order, much like poor Southern whites fought for slavery because it kept them from being the lowest class. Perhaps jealousy over the perception that black women were viewed similarly to black men instilled this hatred. But it mostly stemmed from embarrassment. Mary Boykin Chesnut recognizes this fact in her diary, writing "any lady is ready to tell you who is the father of all the mulatto children in everybody's home but her own."<sup>30</sup>

Enslaved black women could neither defend themselves against the white master or mistress, nor could they protect their children. Even if black women could potentially benefit from sexual attention, white owners definitely benefitted pleurably from the legal reign they had over their female property, and white mistresses made the women's lives

---

<sup>26</sup> Drew Gilpin Faust, *James Henry Hammond: A Design for Mastery* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 87.

<sup>27</sup> Stephanie MacPhearson, *Sisters Against Slavery: Story about Sarah and Angelina Grimke* (New York: Lerner Classroom, 1995).

<sup>28</sup> Lerner, *Black Women*, 49.

<sup>29</sup> Mellion, *Bullwhip Days*, 297.

<sup>30</sup> Lerner, *Black Women*, 52.

seem more like hell. But the benefit of sexual pleasure remained only a part of masters' overwhelming power.

Most of the power concerning life choices which resides today within a modern woman lay with the owners of slaves. Black or white, a woman's opinion over who to marry did not hold much sway; society dictated her father had the duty, along with other males in the household, to find a suitable match. Yet during the antebellum period, white women's opinions on marriage were given the most consideration since the days of skewed gender ratio in the early settlement of Virginia. Victorian feminism caused this result with its effect on the English speaking world, albeit granted that it witnessed a much stronger hold in Great Britain.<sup>31</sup> Conversely, slave women only were able to choose a partner if it was an extension of their masters' wills. James Green explained that his master, desiring profit, would "breed de niggers as quick as he can...he chooses de wife for every man on de place. No one has no say."<sup>32</sup> Usually, however, white owners did not care who enslaved women chose as a husband as long as they were procreating. Julia Brown, a former Georgia slave, recalled that the masters "didn't care about the slaves matin', but they wanted their niggers to marry only amongst them at their place," demonstrating this apathy.<sup>33</sup>

Because whites denied that slaves actually had legitimate marriages, owners did not frown upon premarital sex, allowing black women to test out several different men before settling on one. Many owners did slyly encourage commitment to a single man because they wanted children consistently; if a woman jumped from partner to partner, it could potentially affect how often she gives birth. Moreover, the masters only asked for "a little one or two for the next year" in exchange for permission to marry.<sup>34</sup> Herbert Gutman statistically illustrates that long-term slave marriages existed, regardless of practical or romantic intent: out of the available fourteen percent of the North Carolina slave records,

---

<sup>31</sup> Susan Hamilton, "Making History with Frances Power Cobbe: Victorian Feminism, Domestic Violence, and the Language of Imperialism," *Victorian Studies* 43, no. 3 (Spring 2011): 437-460, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3829700> (accessed February 1, 2017).

<sup>32</sup> Mellion, *Bullwhip Days*, 296.

<sup>33</sup> Minges, *Far More Terrible for Women*, 67.

<sup>34</sup> White, *Ar'n't I a Woman*, 97-99.

twenty-five percent of slaves lived with spouses for ten to twelve years and about twenty percent lived together for at least twenty years.<sup>35</sup>

While their marriage choices were not typically respected, black women brandished more power than their white counterparts in the realm of divorce. Owners and overseers allowed women to separate for valid reasons, such as an abusive husband, an irony lost on the whites as they physically and emotionally abused slaves. Because they, as slaves, were not dependent upon the men for economic or social status, black women could simply leave their husbands. However, the women only had this small freedom if they were past childbearing age or if the plantation had a surplus of eligible men.<sup>36</sup>

Some masters though did not appreciate disruption to plantation life divorce caused and would order the couple to remain together; James Henry Hammond's diary reports the flogging of "Joe Goodwyn" with subsequent orders for him "to go back to his wife," before discussing another similar case, recording "ditto [with] Gabriel & Molly & ordered them to come together again" exemplifying the restraints on the act of divorce.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, masters, if they decided to care who married whom, could and would force matrimony and copulation. Molly, a slave on St. Simon's Island, unwillingly married Toby, a fellow slave, because her owner coerced her into it.<sup>38</sup> Big Jim, Louise Everett's master, would force his slaves to "consummate this relationship in his presence. He used this same procedure if he thought a certain couple did not produce children fast enough."<sup>39</sup> Louise's account exhibits the demands expected of the female slaves and the main reasons slave marriages and divorces interested masters- children and a smooth running plantation.

As women like Louise discovered, masters expected a natural increase regularly, so children resulted as a staple on a plantation. The high number of infant deaths on James Henry Hammond's plantation worried him because he could not afford to lose profit, not because of the life lost.<sup>40</sup> Accordingly, if a slave woman obtained an abortion, or if the

---

<sup>35</sup> White, *Ar'n't I a Woman*, 149. White used Gutman's statistics because he did an extensive study on slave relations, and according to Higginbotham and Watts's article, Gutman broke ground with a realistic portrayal of black slave families (New Scholarship, 12,14).

<sup>36</sup> White, *Aren't I a Woman*, 157.

<sup>37</sup> Faust, *James Henry Hammond*, 85.

<sup>38</sup> White, *Ar'n't I a Woman*, 150.

<sup>39</sup> Minges, *Far More Terrible for Women*, 1.

<sup>40</sup> Faust, *James Henry Hammond*, 76.

owners viewed a miscarriage with suspicion, the woman would be punished for destroying her owner's property. John Morgan, a Tennessee doctor in the antebellum period, ascertained that black women used natural abortifacients such as herbs and plant roots. Although rarely finding proof of this action, clearly several black men and women did not want to procreate, as they did not want to bring an innocent life into slavery or have the burden of caring for a child.<sup>41</sup> However, slave women generally did not have a choice in child bearing, and American culture as a whole generally regaled children as blessings.

Despite this focus on creating families, or at least procreation, owners maintained and enforced that slave marriages were not legal or binding. Thus owners did not have to respect the blacks' bonds between each other, and they sold and broke apart families at will, forcing black women to redefine their classifications of a familial unit. Harriet Jacobs learned the hard way that masters had the final decision in family matters; her twelve-year-old uncle Joseph, who seemed "more like [a] brother" was sold away, and she discovered "no matter how strong the family, slavery could tear it apart."<sup>42</sup> The owner's interest to sell the boy caused the separation, not because he wanted to punish. Northup's companion Eliza lost her son and her daughter, as the trader found maximum profit in separate transactions. Because of the frequency of losing family members to the internal slave trade, slave families became much more complex and expansive than an average white family; survival depended upon an united front and strength had to be found in numbers because only together could slaves fight back against oppression. Former slave Jane Pyatt captures this: "the real character of a slave was brought out by respect that they had for one another."<sup>43</sup> Enslaved women demonstrated this cohesive movement by helping each other, particularly in the area of motherhood.

Female slaves would act as midwives, nurses, babysitters and other maternal authorities to the children. Julia Brown explained how the "granny" would relieve labor pains by placing a "rusty piece of tin or ax under the mattress," demonstrating the hierarchal authority as well as the primitive conditions of slave obstetrics, which only differed in white

---

<sup>41</sup> White, *Aren't I A Woman*, 85.

<sup>42</sup> Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, 6.

<sup>43</sup> Brenda E. Stevenson, "The Question of the Slave Female Community and Culture in the American South: Methodological and Ideological Approaches," *The Journal for African American* 92 (2007), 79.

obstetrics by the amount of care and attention given.<sup>44</sup> On Big Jim's plantation, slave women spent their days working in the fields with no time left over for their children. According to Dicey Thomas, a WPA interviewee, a nursing woman would have to wake up earlier and shorten her lunch break, and not be with her children until past dark, by which time they would normally be asleep.<sup>45</sup> Louise Everett testified that an elderly slave woman cared for the kids during the daylight hours.<sup>46</sup>

But while these communal ties gave slaves a sense of family, whites used them as a powerful tool in limiting female slaves from running away; most women would not leave their children behind, so children formed an effective leash that held the women captive to a higher degree than men. Harriet Jacobs's grandmother warned her to "stand by your own children and suffer with them till death," representing the perspective the women themselves had on escape.<sup>47</sup> Advertisements in colonial South Carolina indicated that seventy-seven percent of runaways were men, a pattern that continued into the Deep South, as only 31.7 percent of fugitive slaves were women in 1850 New Orleans.<sup>48</sup> The control by whites dictated that female slaves would marry, reproduce, and work, trapping them in this cycle of communal bonds and limited power.

Black women faced another additional struggle in slavery, to be merely recognized as female. Because black women performed female-orientated tasks, they should have been seen as female entities, but whites denied their womanhood because they also performed traditional male orientated tasks. The dual roles black women played contributed to this contradiction: that of the mother and father, the nurse and field laborer, the Jezebel and Mammy. As discussed previously, masters tried to keep a mother with her children because it created more stability, and because a father could unwillingly be absent, women had the duty to educate their children in slavery and its workings. Within the slave communities, women represented the primary influence on the new generation and thus had more of an equal role in their social sphere than white women did in theirs. Historian Brenda Stevenson, a contributor to

---

<sup>44</sup> Rural and poor white women found themselves in similar conditions regarding obstetrics.

<sup>45</sup> Mellion, *Bullwhip Days*, 35, 38.

<sup>46</sup> Minges, *Far More Terrible for Women*, 67 and 17.

<sup>47</sup> Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, 91.

<sup>48</sup> White, *Ar'n't I a Woman*, 70.

*The Journal of African American History*, writes that “enslaved mothers were responsible for shaping the social dynamics of slave life.”<sup>49</sup>

Black female slaves not only had to bear and raise the children as the fulfillment of a woman’s traditional role; they also were expected to work in the fields or in other jobs around the plantation, generally considered male work. In fact, women actually tended to pick the most cotton, averaging more pounds than men daily; one planter records that “the females are the better pickers and have saved much of the larger portion of the crop.” Baptist’s research illustrated the consistent higher numbers females had over males in daily yields.<sup>50</sup> Patsey, Northup’s friend and Edwin Epps’s prized slave, picked more than 300 pounds of cotton daily.<sup>51</sup> Edward Ball found within his family’s records that this labor had physical consequences, as conceptions reached a low point during the most demanding work time- the harvesting season, proving that women were expected to work as much as men in those months of May, June, and July.<sup>52</sup> Black women relied on coordination to pick cotton rather than strength.<sup>53</sup> Because those were the skills most useful in cotton picking, they increased the owners’ profits on a cotton plantation not only by bearing children but with their ability to harvest. But the innate skill which made them useful and therefore necessary to their owners also made them less feminine, at least in the eyes of whites.

Because of the Anglo patriarchal society, upper class white women appeared too fragile and delicate to work in manual labor. But black women were not given this same consideration. Rather, Anglo men cemented differences between black and white women as early as 1642. A law in the colony of Virginia declared black women could be taxed like men. This made black women more profitable as laborers than white women.<sup>54</sup> Even before the colonies indoctrinated slavery into daily life, this legal precedence placed race as the difference between women.

---

<sup>49</sup> Brenda Stevenson, “‘Marsa Never Sot Aunt Rebecca down’: Enslaved Women, Religion, and Social Power in the Antebellum South,” *The Journal of African American History* 90 (2004), 346.

<sup>50</sup> Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told*, 134.

<sup>51</sup> McQueen, *12 Years a Slave*.

<sup>52</sup> Ball, *Slaves in the Family*, 21.

<sup>53</sup> Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told*, 130, 134. This is not to say men did not or could not develop similar skills. However, the shift from reaping to picking dictated this shift in skills, and black men preferred shows of strength to display masculinity, on the few occasions they could.

<sup>54</sup> Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, “Slavery and the Law in Virginia”



Public opinion also held that black women deserved less respect and protection. Olaudah Equanio, a former slave autobiographer from the eighteenth century, recorded a conversation he had with a fellow slave: an owner would rape all his female slaves and force his own brood to work in the fields, proceeding to rape his own children once they came of child-bearing age, demonstrating the perspective of whites toward black women, that they were not really women at all, but more akin to cattle. And yet on the other hand, Equanio observed a black male who had consensual sex with a white prostitute and his subsequent punishment: white men tied him to a stake and cut off bits of his fingers and ears, sending the message that no matter how immoral the white woman is, she is always superior to blacks.<sup>55</sup> Even on the spiritual side, black women were not given the same value as their male counterparts. James Henry Hammond sold his plantation's slave preacher and terminated the black church,<sup>56</sup> but Rebecca, a female slave who prayed fervently in public, did not threaten her master because he assumed her gender would limit her role.<sup>57</sup>

On top of the legal justification whites created to view black women as less than human, they also developed a social mythology to illustrate the lack of an African American femininity. Like Jezebel, basic facts support the Mammy myth, such as black female slaves did tend to work in the house more than males and provide care for the wealthier masters' children.<sup>58</sup> Betty Quesnesberry recalls her mammy fondly, demonstrating the close bond between a slave woman and the children they cared for.<sup>59</sup> But most black women did not run the owner's home, as that job fell to the white wife. According to Deborah Gray White, Mammy was an idealized figure, the perfect slave.<sup>60</sup>

Whites combated the overly sexualized stereotype of a Jezebel with the maternal asexual Mammy. Plantation owners faced criticism for allowing such a morally deprived creature as the black woman near their families, but Mammy's lack of femininity caused her not to be a threat to white families.<sup>61</sup> The Mammy allowed elite whites to defend themselves and

---

<sup>55</sup> Olaudah Equanio, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equaino*, (United Kingdom: Dover Publications Inc, 1789), 79, 74.

<sup>56</sup> Faust, *James Henry Hammond*, 91.

<sup>57</sup> Stevenson, "Marsa Never Sot Aunt Rebecca," 346.

<sup>58</sup> Lerner, *Black Women*, xxii.

<sup>59</sup> Minges, *Far More Terrible for Women*, 37.

<sup>60</sup> White, *Ar'n't I a Woman*, 61.

<sup>61</sup> Femininity as used here means the characteristics belonging to a woman, namely sexual.

prove the well-being of their families. Ultimately then, female slaves were not allowed to be considered women because that would undermine manliness and chivalry, twin pillars of white southern society. Black women had to be denied their femininity in the public realm as a necessity for the peculiar institution to function, but their natural womanhood allowed slave owners to thrive, a paradox that white elitist logic created.

Black women, despite being caught in the circular trap of slavery, did not let themselves give up their distinct cultures. They formed familial ties, exercised parental control, and worked toward freedom, creating a degree of autonomy within their lives. They helped to establish a strong community, establishing what historian Michael Gomez describes as the truest definition of community: “a community of individuals and families who share a common and identifiable network of socio-cultural communications.”<sup>62</sup> However, white masters controlled almost all aspects of a slave’s life, and black women especially so. Because black women had to overcome not only being a slave in a free society and black in a white society, but also female in a male society, their masters possessed more power over them than of male slaves, producing the mindset of female slaves lacking any sort of voice.

But this perspective is incorrect. Lerner describes black women as “the most powerless group in our entire society,” but she also describes the “strength, racial pride and sense of community among black women” as a common theme in the slave narrative.<sup>63</sup> Although African American women struggled during slavery and even after emancipation because of their environment, they were able to survive, and survival translated into resistance.<sup>64</sup> People who read and study the struggle of enslaved black women should acknowledge their accomplishments in the correct historical context that they were first and foremost property in the eyes of American law, and as such, the gains they made were minuscule. As Harriet Jacobs summed up in her autobiography, “slavery is terrible for men; but it is far more terrible for women.”<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup> Stevenson, *The Question of Slave Female Community and Culture*, 80.

<sup>63</sup> Lerner, *Black Women in White America*, xxiii, xxv.

<sup>64</sup> Lerner includes multiple accounts detailing the struggles black women faced in the decades following the Civil War, including the fight for education, voting rights, equal pay, and the consequences of Jim Crow. This paper focuses on black women before emancipation, but see Lerner’s compilation for more information regarding that time period.

<sup>65</sup> Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, 77.

## Ho Chi Minh: The Impact of His Leadership: 1910-1945

Manning Russell

**Abstract:** “Ho Chi Minh: The Impact of His Leadership: 1910-1945” examines the impact Ho Chi Minh had on the creation and the rise of the Vietnamese communist movement. It explores all of the different ways Minh influenced the party and challenges the notion that the individuals place in history has become obsolete. This essay argues that Minh’s unique circumstances (specifically his background within the western world and within the USSR) and abilities (specifically his ability to unite various groups and causes within Vietnam under the common banner of nationalism) made him invaluable to the establishment of the communist party in Vietnam, and that the nation would have developed very differently without his presence.

Ho Chi Minh City, the largest city in Vietnam, has a population of 7.3 million people.<sup>1</sup> While the massive city was originally called Saigon, the name was changed to Ho Chi Minh in 1975 to signify the complete reunification of Vietnam following the rise of the Northern regime. Intrigue is immediately spawned by the regime’s choice of naming, as the Northern Vietnamese government was led by Le Duan, a man known for his several disagreements with the aforementioned Ho Chi Minh. In spite of the two leaders’ divergence of opinions, Le Duan allowed the capital to be named after Ho Chi Minh in order to recognize the pivotal role he played in the formation of their new nation. The significance placed on a single man’s influence in the course of world events has gone through a dramatic shift in recent years. In the past, individuals were credited with having a tremendous amount of influence when historical events were evaluated. Yet there has been a recent trend towards the minimization of the importance of individuals on history, generated by a fear that most of the importance placed on individuals is done out of a desire to create legendary heroes and villains and ignore myriad social, economic, and political factors. To accredit all historical changes to individuals is a neat and tidy way of examining history; in reality, however, credit for world events belongs to a combination of factors. Nevertheless, it is incorrect to deny the importance of Ho Chi Minh in the foundation of the modern Vietnamese state. His impact was inestimable; at times, his competence was the only thing holding the

---

<sup>1</sup> “Major Urban Areas – Population,” The World Factbook.  
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2219.html>.

fragile resistance movement together. The actions of Ho Chi Minh in his earliest days as an active agent of change, from his time in France until the end of the Second World War, demonstrate how crucial he was to the eventual creation of the modern Vietnamese state.

Minh was the driving factor behind the creation of a unified Vietnam as a result of his ability to communicate, his ability to play the political game, and his unrelenting determination to see the creation of an independent Vietnamese state. His abilities and resolve enabled him to gain many powerful allies in the Communist parties of France and Russia early in his life, and they also enabled him to hold the resistance movement in Vietnam together through several hardships. As such, specific instances in Ho's life where his unique abilities made a difference in the history of Vietnam are necessary to reveal in order to comprehend his significance.

Ho Chi Minh was born in 1890 in the Kim Lien village, which is located in the northern part of the country.<sup>2</sup> He received a French education, and in the year 1911 he secured a job on a steamer in order to travel to France.<sup>3</sup> In the years between 1911 and 1917, he traveled around the world, making stops in America as well as in England. It was during this time that many of his revolutionary beliefs began to take hold. He witnessed oppression in all of the major countries he visited, and he frequently wrote of his experiences witnessing acts of oppression. One fascinating example of this was an essay he wrote on the lynching of blacks in America, entitled *Lynching*.<sup>4</sup> In it, he describes the process of a lynching in detail, and laments its existence. He also ties the animosity of some Caucasians towards blacks to an economic reason, writing, "these crimes were all motivated by economic jealousy. Either the Negroes in the area were more prosperous than the whites, or the black workers would not let themselves be exploited thoroughly."<sup>5</sup>

These early travels were of vital importance to Ho Chi Minh's ideological and political development. They would collectively become one of the chief factors in his tremendous effectiveness at organizing and leading the resistance to the French—in part because they convinced Ho Chi Minh to join the socialist, anti-imperialist movement, but also

---

<sup>2</sup> Pierre Brocheux, *Ho Chi Minh* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Ho Chi Minh, *Lynching*, in *Ho Chi Minh on Revolution*, Ed. Bernard D. Fall (London: Fredrick A. Praeger Publishers), 54.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

because his joining would give him a number of skills that would be crucial to the efficacy of his leadership. He interacted with the Western world and learned how to act in a manner similar to theirs. His ability to communicate with people from the West would prove to be invaluable, and this ability was a large part of what made him important to the Vietnamese's resistance movement.

In 1917, Minh traveled to France, where he met several Indochinese nationals who supported Vietnamese independence. Minh famously joined with these nationalists to bring a petition at the famous Versailles conferences entitled Demands of the Annamite People. The petition asked for freedom for the Vietnamese people, but it was overlooked by the nations in power.<sup>6</sup> By this time, Ho Chi Minh was fully devoted to the anti-colonialist movement, and he would soon look to the socialist party in France for support, as a large portion of Communist thought was devoted to anti-colonialism (especially compared to the other political parties in France).

An example of the support the socialist party gave to Ho Chi Minh can be seen in the transcript of a speech Minh gave to the French Socialist Party in 1920 at the Tours Congress. In the speech, Minh petitioned the party to aid Indochinese Independence by saying, "on behalf of the whole of Mankind, on behalf of the Socialist Party's members, both left and right wings, we call upon you! Comrades, save us!"<sup>7</sup> Minh's plea, it turns out, was answered, at least in spirit, by the French Socialist party. At the conclusion of Minh's speech, the party's chairman stated that, "through the applause of approval, the Indochinese Delegate can realize that the whole of the Socialist Party sides with you [Minh] to oppose the crimes committed by the bourgeois class."<sup>8</sup>

In this speech, we can begin to see some of the impact Minh would later have on Vietnam. Minh was rallying a group of people around a common cause, bringing the left and right wings of a party together behind the struggle for freedom from colonization. These skills would later be put to use in bringing together many different kinds of people across Vietnam under the Viet-Minh banner, enabling the resistance to go toe to toe with France after World War II. In addition, Minh was helping to end the first

---

<sup>6</sup> Brocheux, *Minh*, 13.

<sup>7</sup> Ho Chi Minh, *Speech at the Tours Congress*, in *Ho Chi Minh on Revolution*, Ed. Bernard D. Fall (London: Fredrick A. Praeger Publishers), 21.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

Indo-Chinese war before it even started by sowing the seeds of support for Vietnamese independence in France. As the first Indochinese War stretched on, popular support for the war would decline in France, in part because a growing subsection of the population believed that Vietnam should not be under the control of a foreign power.

In 1923, Minh moved to Moscow.<sup>9</sup> He began working with the Communist party; specifically, he worked with the Comintern (which was a Soviet-lead organization created to spread Communism across the globe). While living in Moscow, he received more education on how to bring about revolution. Minh gave much ideological credit to Lenin, writing that, “Lenin’s strategy on this question is applied by various Communist parties in the world, and has won over the best and most positive elements in the colonies to take part in Communist movements.”<sup>10</sup>

Soon after his sojourn in Moscow, Minh moved to China.<sup>11</sup> China is where Minh began to incubate the seeds of the future Communist party of Vietnam. He created the first Indochinese Communist organization in 1925 in Canton China when he organized the Revolutionary Youth League of Vietnam.<sup>12</sup> The League was made up of Vietnamese nationals who traveled to China, and it effectively served as a school for Minh to teach these young Vietnamese men Communist and revolutionary theory. These men would either go back to Vietnam or travel to Russia for further training. Eventually, Minh ended up training around 300 men, and these fledgling Communist ideologues came to form the embryo of the Communist party in Vietnam.<sup>13</sup>

The Revolutionary Youth League was Minh’s brainchild, and, as such, it served as a terrific example of his importance to the formation of the modern Vietnamese state. One of the goals of the Youth League, as stated by the Comintern, was to unify the small French resistance movements across Vietnam.<sup>14</sup> William Dukier, who is an East Asian

---

<sup>9</sup> Brocheux, *Minh*, 23.

<sup>10</sup> Ho Chi Minh, *Lenin and the East*, in *Ho Chi Minh on Revolution*, Ed. Bernard D. Fall (London: Fredrick A. Praeger Publishers), 61.

<sup>11</sup> Ruth Fisher, “Ho Chi Minh: Disciplined Communist,” *Foreign Affairs* 33, no. 1: 86-97. <http://www.ebsco.com/>

<sup>12</sup> Brocheux, *Minh*, 36.

<sup>13</sup> William Dukier, “The Revolutionary Youth League: Cradle of Communism in Vietnam,” *The China Quarterly*, no 51 [Cambridge University Press, School of Oriental and African Studies]: 475-99. <http://www.jstor.org>

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

Professor Emeritus of Liberal Arts at Penn State University, writes that “according to Comintern strategy in the mid-1920s, it would be the task of the Revolutionary Youth League to attempt to bring all of these disparate elements together in a broad anti-imperialist united front.”<sup>15</sup> The fact that the Comintern had a strategy at all for Vietnam was due in large part to Minh, and the fact that he led the organization as well only further emphasizes just how crucial he was to the foundation of the Vietnamese Communist party.

Chiang Kai-shek and his anti-Communist forces in China forced the Revolutionary Youth League to dissolve in 1927.<sup>16</sup> However, within a few years, the former students moved back to Vietnam and began to create micro-Communist parties.<sup>17</sup> In 1930, Ho Chi Minh was tasked with unifying these disparate groups under one Communist banner. He was able to do so quickly, and relatively painlessly, despite the fact that the smaller groups all had slightly different ideas. The group was called the Indochinese Communist Party (hereafter known as the ICP), and was the first Communist party recognized by the Comintern in the Vietnamese region.<sup>18</sup>

Minh implemented a directive into the founding of the ICP that had a profound impact on the future of the organization. In a speech made immediately following the formation of the ICP, Minh made a list of “slogans” that the ICP would try to emulate, the first being “to overthrow French imperialism, feudalism, and the reactionary Vietnamese capitalist class,” with the second being, “to make Indochina completely independent.”<sup>19</sup> The second “slogan” as Minh called it, was of vital importance, as it later allowed the ICP and its successor parties to envelope members of other resistance groups under its governance. The first was important because it had a profound impact on the Communist party’s refusal to allow the South to maintain independence from the North during the Second Indochinese war, as the Southern government was considered to be ruled by the aforementioned “Vietnamese capitalist class” created by the French. By 1930, Minh had not only established the

---

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Brouchex, *Minh*, 47.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 48.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 48.

<sup>19</sup> Ho Chi Minh, *Appeal Made on the Occasion of the Founding of the Communist Party of Indochina*, in *Ho Chi Minh on Revolution*, Ed. Bernard D. Fall (London: Fredrick A. Praeger Publishers), 131.

forerunner of the party that would rule Vietnam in the present day; he had set up major policy directives for this organization.

Could Communism have spread to Vietnam whether or not Ho Chi Minh created the ICP? While there is no way definitively to answer this question, evidence gives a negative indication. Dukier states that “at the time of Nguyen Ai Quoc’s [Ho Chi Minh’s birth name] arrival in Canton, Marxist ideas had made little impression on the Vietnamese nationalist movement.”<sup>20</sup> According to Dukier, most of the resistance movements that were already in place at the time of Minh’s reintroduction to the political landscape of Vietnam were decidedly un-Marxist in their thought. Dukier, writing about the Vietnamese Nationalist Party (which was the primary resistance group in North Vietnam), states that the Vietnamese Nationalist Party “possessed no noticeable tendency towards Marxism and, according to some, attracted a more middle class clientele than either the League or the Revolutionary Party.”<sup>21</sup> These other resistance groups, however, were quickly eclipsed by the ICP in terms of power, and the advent of the Japanese invasion allowed the ranks of the ICP to swell (indirectly) through Minh’s creation of the Viet-Minh a decade later.

Perhaps one of Minh’s most amazing accomplishments was the fact that from 1911 until 1945 (with a few months spent in Vietnam during this time to oversee the formation of the Viet-Minh),<sup>22</sup> he operated outside of Vietnam. Even more impressive was the fact that, from 1931 until his return to Vietnam in 1945, Minh was on the run (or in jail) because of the French government and several elements of the Communist party itself. He was arrested multiple times, and had to use his wiles to stay alive. Despite these incredible hardships, Minh was able to stay in power with the ICP at some level. This maintaining of power is an incredible testament to the Vietnamese people’s respect for Minh— respect given for his writings and complex ideology, his unique connections with the outside world and the Communist parties of China, Russia, and France, and his exceptional leadership abilities.

Despite his lasting effect on the party and on the Vietnamese people, Minh’s direct influence did decline dramatically after the foundation of the ICP. This decline was primarily because Minh “had furthermore

---

<sup>20</sup> Dukier, *Vietminh*.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>22</sup> Brouchex, *Minh*, 69.



advocated a tactic of reform and collaboration among the classes,” while other elements of the ICP were more focused on class struggle and warfare (as well as the fact that he often simply could not communicate with the party).<sup>23</sup> However, Minh’s more lenient stance towards the bourgeois eventually became incredibly useful for him. The eventual Japanese invasion of Vietnam demanded that the Communist party set aside many of its goals in order to protect the country from attack. As a result, Minh and the ICP created the Viet-Minh in order to bring many new fighters into the resistance movement.

By 1941, Minh had regained much of his influence in the ICP. There were three primary reasons for the restoration of Minh’s power: his connections with the Comintern, his policy’s focus on uniting the people against foreign invaders, and the death of many ICP members in the purges that landed Minh in jail. At any rate, in May 1941, Minh called the ICP’s eighth conference, where he would form the Viet-Minh.<sup>24</sup> The Viet-Minh was an armed resistance group that incorporated as many fighters as possible. In a letter Minh wrote prior to the formation of the Viet-Minh in 1941, he wrote, “rich people, soldiers, workers, peasants, intellectuals, employees, traders, youth, and women who warmly love your country! At the present time national liberation is the most important problem. Let us unite together!”<sup>25</sup>

In addition to founding the Viet-Minh at the eighth ICP conference, Minh also oversaw the appointment of many new leaders who came to have a tremendous impact on the future of Vietnam, including Vo Nguyen Giap. Giap went on to be one of the most successful generals of the twenty-first century, scoring a major victory against the French at Bien-Dien Phu in 1954, which helped to end both French occupation and the first Indochinese war later in 1954.

Ultimately, the Viet-Minh was unable to push out the Japanese. They were, however, able to secure around 200,000 “village defense” fighters, who— after the Japanese left Vietnam with the conclusion of WWII— took several cities in Vietnam.<sup>26</sup> This enabled Minh and the ICP to

---

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 64.

<sup>24</sup> *Ho Chi Minh Organizes the Viet Minh*, Great Events, (US: Salem Press, 1999) <http://www.ebscho.com>.

<sup>25</sup> Ho Chi Minh, *Letter from Abroad*, in *Ho Chi Minh on Revolution*, Ed. Bernard D. Fall (London: Fredrick A. Praeger Publishers), 134.

declare independence and to create the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It is doubtful that this would have been possible without Ho Chi Minh's leadership and vision.

Between 1911 and 1945, Ho Chi Minh created the Revolutionary Youth League, the Indochinese Communist Party, the Viet Minh, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. He did so in the face of continuous adversity and almost entirely without entering the country of Vietnam. His desire to see a Vietnam free of foreign oppressors guided him the entire time along with his writing ability, communication skills, contacts, and sheer determination allowed him to be successful. Ho Chi Minh was the factor that led to the creation of the modern Vietnamese state. To deny the massive importance of Ho Chi Minh to the formation of the modern Vietnamese state is to fly in the face of logic, and to abandon reason entirely.

---

<sup>26</sup> *Ho Chi Minh Organizes the Viet Minh*, Great Events, (US: Salem Press, 1999)  
<http://www.ebscho.com>.

---

## Khrushchev's Decision Making during the Cuban Missile Crisis

Alex Thompson

**Abstract:** "Khrushchev's Decision Making during the Cuban Missile Crisis" analyzes the Cold War characterizations of Khrushchev's decision making during the Cuban Missile Crisis versus post Cold War characterizations. In doing so, the essay finds that Cold War scholars described Khrushchev's decision making as calculated, reasonable, and justifiable but post Cold War scholars described his decisions as risky. Such differing assessments are likely due to the significantly greater material available to post Cold War scholars; a number of U.S., Soviet and Eastern European sources have been declassified. The USSR side of the Cuban Missile Crisis has continually been neglected and these sources have helped shine a light on this side.

The Cuban Missile Crisis occurred in October of 1962 and was the closest that the world came to experiencing its first nuclear weapons exchange. To the alarm of U.S. President John F. Kennedy and his fellow American citizens, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev had his nation's military deploy nuclear tipped missiles to Cuba. After a U.S. imposed naval blockade of Cuba and negotiations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the U.S., the crisis ended. It was a peaceful settlement that primarily involved the removal of missiles from Cuban soil, the removal of U.S. missiles from Turkey, and a U.S. non-invasion pledge of Cuba.

After the events of the Cuban Missile Crisis, scholars began to publish their assessments of Secretary Khrushchev's decision-making ability. His decisions have been continually debated, especially whether he made a sound decision to deploy the missiles in the first place. Generally, historians writing from the 1960s to the 1980s appear to believe that the USSR's move in placing missiles on Cuban soil was relatively calculated, reasonable, and justifiable. Further highlighting this belief of caution, scholars also believed that the Soviet Union's assessment was

that such a deployment would not result in a strong reaction from the United States. Moreover, they tended to see Khrushchev's decision as a means to provide the USSR with a strategic military advantage and to maintain the status quo of other nations not having nuclear weapons.<sup>1</sup>

However, the assessment of Khrushchev's decision-making drastically changes following the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s. Scholars began to show that the Soviet Union's deployment decision was risky, especially since there is recently unearthed evidence to suggest that the Soviets believed that it would prompt a strong American reaction. Further lending credence to this idea is that Secretary Khrushchev may have been emotional in defending Cuba, especially since he suffered humiliation by having the U.S. place missiles in Turkey, directly pointed at the Soviet Union.

Although it is still challenging for historians to accurately assess Khrushchev's decision making, the wealth of previously declassified sources from primarily the United States, the Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe since the end of the Cold War allows for a deeper analysis of the significant discrepancies of the scholarship produced between the 1960s and 1980s and the scholarship that has surfaced since the early 1990s. This, in turn greatly adds to the historiography of the Soviet side of the Cuban Missile Crisis, which has been eclipsed by the predominate historiography of the American side. The available evidence shows that Khrushchev's decision to place nuclear missiles on Cuba in 1962 was a much riskier and emotional move than previously understood by historians of the Cold War.

From the 1960s to 1980s, many scholarly articles indicate that Secretary Khrushchev's decision to deploy nuclear missiles was not a particularly radical move. One author implies that the missile's presence in Cuba was a natural non-aggressive military decision from the Soviet Union's perspective; after all, USSR missile placement in Europe already

---

<sup>1</sup> At this point, it is important to point out that not all authors are particularly clear in distinguishing between the USSR and Secretary Khrushchev. Unless the author pointed out otherwise and with Secretary Khrushchev being a clear and undisputed leader of the Soviet Union, the USSR and the Secretary's decision-making are seen as synonymous within this paper.

threatened Western European nations (including American allied nations) with little resistance. Moreover, the same was true vice versa; American weapons throughout Europe threatened the USSR. There seemed to be little reason for Secretary Khrushchev's decision for USSR missile placement in Cuba, which threatened the United States, to be any different.<sup>2</sup> This was further supported by then National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy who believed that Khrushchev might have decided to deploy missiles to Cuba to counterbalance the US weapons in Europe.<sup>3</sup>

Further reinforcing the belief that the Soviet Union acted cautiously was the USSR's belief, prior to the crisis, that the United States would also see the deployment as a moderate move and unworthy of reaction. From the Soviet Union's perspective, they believed that the United States would not interfere based on a lack of American actions during and after the disastrous U.S. sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion. During the failed Bay of Pigs invasion, the Soviet Union saw the United States as reluctant to commit its own forces; most crucially, during the invasion, the United States did not provide air support as originally planned. Even after the failed invasion, the United States did not interfere with USSR military assistance to Cuba.<sup>4</sup> Even though military assistance was relatively substantial; one author writes, "large shipments of tanks and artillery accompanied by several thousand technicians and military adviser" were sent to Cuba.<sup>5</sup> In the eyes of the Soviet Union, they saw the United States as continuing this cycle of non-involvement with Cuba when the USSR would deploy their nuclear missiles to the island. In sum, the

---

<sup>2</sup>William R Kintner, "The Projected European Union and American Military Responsibilities," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 348 (July 1963), accessed July 24, 2016, doi:10.2307/1035512, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1035512>.

<sup>3</sup> Leopoldo Nuti, "Italy and the Cuban Missile Crisis," in James G. Hershberg and Christian F. Ostermann, eds. "The Global Cuban Missile Crisis at 50: New Evidence From Behind The Iron, Bamboo, and Sugercane Curtains, and Beyond," Cold War International History Project Bulletin, No. 17/18, Fall 2012, Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, 661.

<sup>4</sup>Arnold L. Horelick, "The Cuban Missile Crisis: An Analysis of Soviet Calculations and Behavior," *World Politics* 16, no. 03 (April 1964), doi:10.2307/2009577.

<sup>5</sup>Robert A Pollard, "The Cuban Missile Crisis: Legacies and Lessons," *The Wilson Quarterly* (1976-) 6, no. 4 (1982), accessed July 24, 2016, doi:10.2307/40256375, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40256375>, 149.

USSR partly made their decision to deploy nuclear missiles based on seemingly sound history of U.S.-Cuban relations.<sup>6</sup>

Scholars also believed that time was on the Soviet side. For any reaction to be made by the Americans, a multitude of events would have to occur, and, by then, nuclear missiles would be firmly employed. American decision-making, especially on such a significant matter, and actual implementation of such decisions would take time. As argued by researchers, this may have been enough time for American citizens and its government to become used to the idea of a nuclear-armed Cuba.<sup>7</sup> It was immaterial whether Secretary Khrushchev knowingly committed a radical or non-radical decision to deploy missiles to Cuba, since the United States would simply be too slow in reacting.

Authors of the 1960s to 1980s also generally seemed to believe that the Soviet Union placed its nuclear missiles on Cuban soil because of the advantages that it brought to the USSR. One author writes that the Soviet Union decided to place nuclear missiles on Cuban soil because it provided them with an advantage in nuclear parity that they needed. The missile placement onto Cuba provided a quick and relatively inexpensive way to strategically benefit the Soviets; instead of developing new and/or building additional missiles, a relatively simple placement of missiles in Cuba greatly enhanced the striking reach of the USSR.<sup>8</sup> This was pointed out by the French leadership who wrote, “that the direct Soviet threat against the United States has become seriously more acute with the installation in Cuba.”<sup>9</sup> However, the missiles in Cuba would not have provided a *significant* strategic benefit. Instead it provided a, “quick fix.”<sup>10</sup> The missiles in Cuba were vulnerable to attack and Soviet Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) technology was significantly lower than that of the Americans.<sup>11</sup> This reinforces the idea that Secretary

---

<sup>6</sup> Horelick, “The Cuban Missile Crisis: An Analysis of Soviet Calculations and Behavior” 380.

<sup>7</sup> Horelick, “The Cuban Missile Crisis: An Analysis of Soviet Calculations and Behavior” 383.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Garrett J. Martin, “French Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis,” in Hershberg and Ostermann, eds. “The Global Cuban Missile Crisis at 50,” 751.

<sup>10</sup> Pollard, “The Cuban Missile Crisis: Legacies and Lessons,” 155.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

Khrushchev was acting relatively cautiously; if it was a significant strategic benefit, the move could be more readily classified as radical or risky as radical moves typically enjoy significantly higher rewards.

Another set of advantages for a deployment of missiles to Cuba would have included areas of Soviet foreign policy, especially as it pertained to China at a time of strained Sino-Soviet relations. One scholar points out that the Soviets hoped that their success in Cuba would cause the Chinese to trust the Kremlin in its nuclear defense and not develop nuclear missiles of their own. This would boost the USSR's sense of security since China, a bordering nation to Russia, would not one day threaten the USSR with nuclear weapons. Alternatively, the Soviets may have hoped that their missiles being stationed in Cuba would have resulted in a Western and USSR signed peace treaty denying Western Germany to develop nuclear missiles of their own in return for removal of USSR missiles from Cuba. Again, in the same described manner as China, this would boost the USSR's sense of security. The author writes that neither of these situations, China or West Germany, would have, "tilt(ed) the real balance of military power."<sup>12</sup> At that point, neither China nor West Germany had nuclear weapons, so deploying nuclear weapons to Cuba was merely a matter of maintaining the status quo in these regions. This basic rationality of maintaining the status quo reinforces the idea that Secretary Khrushchev was acting in moderation.

Despite Secretary Khrushchev having to eventually dismantle and move the nuclear missiles out of Cuba, authors have pointed out that the result was favorable for the Soviet Union (and the United States). Secretary Khrushchev also allegedly "regarded the Cuban Missile Crisis aftermath as a positive turning point in the Cold War."<sup>13</sup> In an even larger context, "The 1963 Hotline Agreement, the Limited Test Ban Treaty, and a peaceful stabilization of the situation in Berlin"<sup>14</sup> as well as a decrease in disputes between the two nations were argued as beneficial to easing

---

<sup>12</sup>Pollard, "The Cuban Missile Crisis: Legacies and Lessons," 156

<sup>13</sup>D. A. Welch, "Crisis Decision Making Reconsidered," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 33, no. 3 (September 1, 1989), doi:10.1177/0022002789033003003. 440

<sup>14</sup>Welch, "Crisis Decision Making Reconsidered," 440

tensions following the Cuban Missile Crisis. However, these gains are rather moderate in nature, and these gains could be attributed to other reasons besides the ending of the Cuban Missile Crisis. In a roundabout fashion, this partially falls in line with the USSR acting cautiously. If the Soviet Union had acted radically, it stands to reason that they would have had significant potential gains and/or significant potential losses. On the other hand, if the Soviet Union had acted reasonably, they would have had moderate gains and/or moderate potential losses. The Soviet Union lost their missiles in Cuba (a moderate loss as it simply maintained the status quo of Cuba being non-nuclear) and gained moderate results in lowering Cold War tensions.

Finally, other scholars point out that Secretary Khrushchev had won moderately favorable results. Specifically, those scholars argue that fear caused the USSR to back out of its decision to deploy missiles in Cuba. If nuclear war did occur as a result of the crisis (a seemingly strong possibility at the height of the crisis), the USSR could potentially lose many of its oppressed satellite USSR member nations; USSR satellite nations were generally not willingly part of the USSR and may have seen nuclear war as a chance to break away from the USSR.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, the USSR's slightly favorable results, in this context, were a continuation of being able to keep their member states together (or, rather, a maintenance of the status quo).

The view of Secretary Khrushchev and/or the USSR acting justifiably, reasonably, and in a calculated manner starts to change with the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s when historians began to have access to previously declassified archival materials from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. One author argues that Khrushchev did not make a cautious move at all, and, in fact, he argues quite the opposite. In direct contrast to previous authors, he argues that the potential benefits of having missiles deployed in Cuba were very high, and the risks were also qualified as being very high. Moreover, the chances of war with the U.S. or having to remove the missiles under American pressure were deemed

---

<sup>15</sup>Kintner, "The Projected European Union and American Military Responsibilities," (accessed 24 July 2016)



higher than the potential benefits. The Soviet Union knew the risks were high for a missile deployment and believed that there was a tremendous danger that the Americans would both discover the missiles as well as react aggressively to such a discovery.<sup>16</sup>

As opposed to previous discussion that centered around time being on the side of the USSR due to the American decision making process, one scholar has pointed to the length of time for nuclear weapons setup as a hindrance to the Soviet efforts. The missiles did stand a strong chance of being discovered by the Americans, due to the time/effort required for transporting and setting up such a large-scale nuclear missile deployment along with its associated equipment. Secretary Khrushchev himself even believed that such a large-scale operation would be detected by Americans and was informed as such by several advisors. It was only due to the pressures from the Soviet Ministry of Defense that the operation proceeded as planned.<sup>17</sup> In this context, Khrushchev's decision to move nuclear weapons to Cuba was a risky gamble, especially due to his fears of detection. Evidence of Khrushchev's doubts was likely unavailable and/or classified so it is unlikely that scholars writing between the 1960s and the 1980s could account for this in their assessments.

Moreover, evidence suggests that many in the Soviet leadership, including Khrushchev, believed that President Kennedy would aggressively react to the presence of nuclear missiles in Cuba. American officials informed Soviet leaders via private and public channels that a crisis would develop if the USSR placed nuclear missiles on Cuban soil. Therefore, the available evidence suggests that Khrushchev was acting relatively recklessly; he was not only making a gamble but it was a gamble that he knew he might lose.<sup>18</sup> Such highly classified information regarding public and private channels between the United States and the

---

<sup>16</sup>Mark L. Haas, "Prospect Theory and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *International Studies Quarterly* 45, no. 2 (June 2001), doi:10.1111/0020-8833.00190.

<sup>17</sup>Haas, "Prospect Theory and the Cuban Missile Crisis," 255.

<sup>18</sup>Haas, "Prospect Theory and the Cuban Missile Crisis" 256.

Soviet Union was likely unknown to scholars writing between the 1960s and the 1980s.

The view of the Soviet need to gain an advantage in nuclear parity is also presented in a different light by historians writing since the end of the Cold War. Unlike the authors before them, those historians use a broader context; they explain why the Soviet Union *needed* the advantages, focusing primarily on the USSR losses. These losses include, but are not limited to, the largest United States military buildup during peacetime and the belief that the United States would attack Cuba. Further adding to these losses was the suffered humiliation from President Kennedy's administration at the proclamation that the long-believed missile gap between the USSR and the United States (with the USSR having the advantage) was a myth.<sup>19</sup> The USSR not only underwent this humiliating statement but it was also true; American satellites could determine that they had four times the number of land based ICBMs, in comparison to the Soviets. One author writes that Khrushchev "knew that the United States had strategic nuclear superiority and was beginning to act accordingly."<sup>20</sup> The available evidence shows that Secretary Khrushchev did receive information that this superiority was temporary but also that the Pentagon leadership wanted to conduct a preventative war against the Soviet Union while they had this advantage.<sup>21</sup> Secretary Khrushchev even believed that the United States had the upper hand domestically. He stated, "the United States had the highest standard of life and the most efficient means of production in the world."<sup>22</sup> In other words, all these losses seemed to indicate that the United States possessed the upper hand in the Cold War. This is why Secretary Khrushchev had to do something to preserve the USSR and cut back on its losses. In this vein, Secretary

---

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 253.

<sup>20</sup> Richard M. Pious, "The Cuban Missile Crisis and the Limits of Crisis Management," *Political Science Quarterly* 116, no. 1 (March 2001), doi:10.2307/2657821, 85.

<sup>21</sup> Aleksandr Fursenko, Timothy J. Naftali, and R Fursenko, *One Hell of a Gamble: Khrushchev, Castro, Kennedy and the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1958-1964* (London: Pimlico, 1999).

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 22.

Khrushchev certainly had “strong incentives to try to change the status quo.”<sup>23</sup>

Another reason why the status quo needed to be changed, from the Soviet Union’s perspective, was the issue of Turkey. The Americans had stationed missiles in Turkey, which had enough range to directly threaten several Soviet Union cities. The missiles became operational in April of 1962 and, likely not coincidentally, this was the same time that Secretary Khrushchev decided on deploying USSR missiles in Cuba. On one occasion, Secretary Khrushchev even went so far as declaring Turkey as an American puppet; this highlights his views of the United States having unfair strategic benefits well beyond its own territorial limits.<sup>24</sup> Not only did Khrushchev perceive the stationing of missiles in Turkey as an unfair situation, but he was humiliated by the missiles being able to directly threaten the USSR.<sup>25</sup>

Moreover, the available evidence shows that Khrushchev felt an emotional commitment to Cuba primarily brought about by Castro’s revolutionary fervor that reminded him of his early days during the Russian Revolution of 1917. Unlike others in the Soviet leadership who saw Soviet-Cuban relations as a lost cause, Khrushchev was adamant about supporting Castro’s government and even encouraged other Soviet bloc nations like Czechoslovakia to provide military aid to Cuba.<sup>26</sup> This helps to support the argument that Secretary Khrushchev did not act in a cautious or calculated manner and may have acted more out of emotion and affinity for a new communist regime in Latin America. It may also explain why influential Che Guevara, Cuba’s Minister of Industry and President of the National Bank, characterized the Soviet proposal to

---

<sup>23</sup>Haas, “Prospect Theory and the Cuban Missile Crisis,” 246.

<sup>24</sup>Pious, “The Cuban Missile Crisis and the Limits of Crisis Management,” 87.

<sup>25</sup>Sergo Mikoyan, *The Soviet Cuban Missile Crisis: Castro, Mikoyan, Kennedy, Khrushchev, and the Missiles of November*, ed. Svetlana Savranskaya (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012).

<sup>26</sup>“Czechoslovakia-Cuba Relations and the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1959-1962: Evidence from the Prague Archives” (Documents provided by Oldich Tuma, translated by Linda Mastalir, and introduced by James G. Hershberg), in Hershberg and Ostermann, eds. “The Global Cuban Missile Crisis at 50,” 393

deploy weapons on Cuban soil as “.radical.”<sup>27</sup> This last statement was only revealed by the recent disclosure of Chinese foreign ministry materials.<sup>28</sup> The fact that such important quotations come from Chinese sources indicates that scholars of today have greater access to materials unknown to scholars of the past. Moreover, this reveals that, in addition to American, Soviet, and Cuban sources, scholars can now draw from the wide range of archival materials that help historians analyze Khrushchev’s decision making related to the Cuban Missile Crisis..

As mentioned above, a successful deployment of Soviet nuclear missiles to Cuba could change the worsening position of the USSR to its benefit in the Cold War competition with the United States.<sup>29</sup> A deployment of missiles would aid in a worldwide buildup of the USSR’s own forces, which would address its concern of the American military buildup and the missile gap. Plus, the USSR’s concern of an invasion of Cuba could be thwarted by a nuclear deterrent. Thirdly, the Soviet concern of an attack on its soil could be mitigated by having a nuclear deterrent so close to the United States homeland. Moreover, it is possible that a nuclear presence in Cuba could present enough of a victory to distract Soviet citizens from their low standards of living. Finally, just as nuclear missiles stationed in Turkey would threaten USSR cities, it would be a balance to have nuclear missiles stationed in Cuba threatening American cities. A reasonable move would not alleviate these concerns; radical action was needed.

Perhaps most radical of the USSR’s decisions was the amount of authority that the local Soviet commander had in Cuba. He was authorized to launch nuclear missiles at the United States *without* additional authorizations or codes from Moscow. Considering that such a launch would likely ignite into a full-blown nuclear conflict between the

---

<sup>27</sup> Memorandum of Conversation between Ernesto “Che” Guevara and Chinese Ambassador Shen Jian, Havana, 1 December 1962, in Hershberg and Ostermann, “The Global Cuban Missile Crisis at 50,” 104; Jennifer B. Petersen, “Che Guevara”, *History Reference Center*, 2005

<sup>28</sup> “Sino-Cuban Relations and the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1960-62: New Chinese Evidence” (Documents provided by Shen Zhihua and Sergey Radchenko, translated by Zhang Qian, and introduced by James G. Hershberg and Sergey Radchenko), in Hershberg and Ostermann, eds. “The Global Cuban Missile Crisis at 50,” 104.

<sup>29</sup> Haas, “Prospect Theory and the Cuban Missile Crisis” 254.

USSR and the United States, a more cautious move would certainly have not provided the local commander such authority.<sup>30</sup>

Robert McNamara, who served as the Secretary of Defense during the Cuban Missile Crisis, further reinforced the view that Soviet Union's move in deployment of nuclear missiles was indeed a radical one. In his writings after the Cold War, he argued that humans are too fallible and nuclear weapons are too dangerous for a hair trigger alert policy to be in place.<sup>31</sup> Considering that a singular individual from the Soviet Union, the local commander in Cuba, had such a power as mentioned above, strongly suggests that the USSR acted rashly.

There is even evidence to suggest that Secretary Khrushchev acted rashly *during* the crisis. With the knowledge that President Kennedy was soon to address the United States public detailing the missile presence in Cuba, Secretary Khrushchev met with the presidium (with the Cold War secrecy, content of such meetings was unlikely to be available to scholars writing in the 1960s to 1980s). The now available evidence shows that he provided three options: announce the extension of the Soviet nuclear defense umbrella over Cuba, provide the Cubans with the authority to use Soviet weaponry on the island for defense, or allow Soviet troops stationed at Cuba to be granted the authority to defend themselves with short-range nuclear weapons. All three of these options express very little hope for diplomatic measures to take effect, as all options could have easily escalated into nuclear warfare. However, "he was dissuaded from taking a hasty decision by his hawkish defense minister."<sup>32</sup> Secretary Khrushchev also stated, "the only way to save Cuba is to put missiles there."<sup>33</sup> His seemingly diplomatic style also conveys a sense of risk taking; he expanded upon his initial proposal of removing missiles from

---

30Graham Allison, "The Cuban Missile Crisis at 50: Lessons for U.S. Foreign Policy Today," *Foreign Affairs* 91, no. 4 (July 2012), accessed August 3, 2016, doi:10.2307/23218035, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23218035>.

31Robert S McNamara, "Apocalypse Soon," *Foreign Policy*, no. 148 (January 20, 2005), accessed August 4, 2016, doi:10.2307/30048011, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30048011>.

32Michael Dobbs, *One Minute to Midnight: Kennedy, Khrushchev, and Castro on the Brink of Nuclear War* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2008), 34

33Fursenko & Naftali, "One Hell of a Gamble: Khrushchev, Castro, and Kennedy, 1958-1964," 178.

Cuba in return for a U.S. pledge of non-invasion of Cuba with a later proposal to remove bases from Turkey and Pakistan.<sup>34</sup> This is yet another clear example that scholars writing between the 1960s and the 1980s would not have been able to make assessments on the whole picture for lack of evidence. The Russian Protocol 62, previously classified, provided the evidence that it was Secretary Khrushchev, not hawkish Kremlin officials, who upped the ante of diplomatic stakes. This evidence describes Secretary Khrushchev as the one who increased his demands for the U.S. to remove its bases in Turkey and Pakistan.<sup>35</sup>

This rash boldness of defending Cuba at whatever the cost, and not including diplomatic options, was also reflected before the crisis. Secretary Khrushchev, in 1960, stated “if need be, Soviet artillerymen can support the Cuban people with their rocket fire, should the aggressive forces in the Pentagon dare to start an intervention against Cuba.”<sup>36</sup> He also stated that, in the event of America reacting aggressively to the missile deployment, he would send the Baltic Fleet.<sup>37</sup> Finally, it seems that Secretary Khrushchev was determined to make the deployment decision, regardless of the risk. He received advice from several advisors stating that Fidel Castro may not even desire such weapons. After all, the last military aid request from Cuba asked for conventionally armed missiles and a 10,000 Soviet troop deployment.<sup>38</sup> Instead of taking this advice under consideration, he “wait(ed) out storm...(to) get his way.”<sup>39</sup> It was a hard sell to his advisors with two meetings and four days for him to get his colleagues on board. Reinforcing the idea that the deployment of missiles was a rather bold

---

<sup>34</sup> Timothy Naftali, “The Malin Notes: Glimpses Inside the Kremlin during the Cuban Missile Crisis,” in Hersberg and Ostermann, eds. “The Global Cuban Missile Crisis at 50,” 301.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> William Taubman, *Khrushchev: The Man and His Era* (New York: Norton, W. W. & Company, 2003), 533

<sup>37</sup> “Sino-Cuban Relations and the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1960-62: New Chinese Evidence” (Documents provided by Shen Zhihua and Sergey Radchenko, translated by Zhang Qian, and introduced by James G. Hersberg and Sergey Radchenko), in Hersberg and Ostermann, eds. “The Global Cuban Missile Crisis at 50,” 24

<sup>38</sup> Timothy Naftali, “The Malin Notes: Glimpses Inside the Kremlin during the Cuban Missile Crisis,” in Hersberg and Ostermann, eds. “The Global Cuban Missile Crisis at 50,” 299.

<sup>39</sup> Fursenko and Naftali, “One Hell of a Gamble,” 180.

decision, Secretary Khrushchev painted the deployment of missiles as an “offensive policy”; this was not a defensive or a moderate policy.<sup>40</sup>

It should be noted that, ultimately, Secretary Khrushchev took the more diplomatic approach towards the end of the crisis by agreeing to withdraw missiles from Cuba, much to the displeasure of many fellow communist nations, including Cuba and China. Moreover, despite Castro urging Secretary Khrushchev to start a nuclear war in the event of an American attack on Cuba, the Soviet leader ultimately chose a less aggressive path.<sup>41</sup> However, this article is primarily concerned with analyzing Khrushchev’s decision-making in planning the crisis and partly during the crisis. And, in this respect, such decision-making was reckless and risky.

Interestingly, the Cuban Missile Crisis has been described at one point as “the most widely studied crisis of the postwar period.”<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, most of the studies on the Cuban Missile Crisis focused on the American perspective with comparatively little analysis regarding the Soviet perspective.<sup>43</sup> As McGeorge Bundy aptly pointed out, “although vast amounts have been written about the crisis, we still have no solid account of one half of it – the Soviet side.”<sup>44</sup>

This was primarily because much of the evidence from “the other side” of the Cold War was neither available nor readily accessible. As such, there were relatively few scholarly works on Secretary Khrushchev’s decision-making. Surprisingly, historians and other scholars writing between the 1960s and the 1980s often included the mention of the USSR gaining benefits but gave little consideration of the possible negatives to such a deployment. The positives primarily reference the

---

<sup>40</sup>Timothy Naftali, “The Malin Notes: Glimpses Inside the Kremlin during the Cuban Missile Crisis,” in Hershberg and Ostermann, eds. “The Global Cuban Missile Crisis at 50,” 300..

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 300

<sup>42</sup>Welch, “Crisis Decision Making Reconsidered,” 431.

<sup>43</sup>Mark Laffey and Jutta Weldes, “Decolonizing the Cuban Missile Crisis,” *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 3 (September 2008), accessed August 8, 2016, doi:10.2307/29734251, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29734251>.

<sup>44</sup>McGeorge Bundy, “The Presidency and the Peace,” *Foreign Affairs* 42, no. 3 (1964), doi:10.2307/20029695, 359

moderate gains to be expected from the deployment; this includes a strategic military boost of having missiles that could easily strike the United States homeland and maintaining the status quo of China and West Germany not having nuclear weapons. These studies therefore characterize Khrushchev's decision-making in deploying nuclear missiles to Cuba as moderate, cautious, and calculated.

The picture of a risk taking, rash, and emotional Khrushchev in his decision-making regarding nuclear missile deployment to Cuba begins to emerge in the scholarship that relied on primary evidence that surfaced since the end of the Cold War. These studies emphasize that Khrushchev had knowledge that the Soviet missiles placed on Cuba had a strong chance in being detected and that he understood that such a deployment decision was fraught with risks. They also show that Khrushchev's bold move was driven by his desire to protect Cuba against all odds and to change the status quo of the Cold War competition with the United States.

This article has argued that the disparity of views between Cold War scholars and post-Cold War scholars regarding Khrushchev's decision-making towards Cuba is primarily due to the lack of primary sources that produced such different assessments. Following the end of the Cold War, several key Soviet and American archives with records pertaining to the Cuban Missile Crisis have been declassified by their respective governments, making records available to scholars (although the U.S. side is still ahead in declassification process).<sup>45</sup> Moreover, Cuban Missile Crisis records, including meetings involving the major players of the crisis, from Eastern Europe, China, and Latin America have been declassified and have helped shed light on the topic.<sup>46</sup> All of these sources combined helped shine a light on the Soviet side on the Cuban Missile Crisis, which has been a side missing from the clear majority of the scholarship written on the crisis. They all helped present a view of

---

<sup>45</sup>Melissa Akin and Brian Humphreys, "On the paper trail of Cold War secrets," *Christian Science Monitor*, August 19, 1986.

<sup>46</sup>"Introductions" (Two introductions referenced with one written by James G. Hershberg and the other by Thomas S. Blanton), in Hershberg and Ostermann, eds. "The Global Cuban Missile Crisis at 50," 7-8, 12



Khrushchev who was much more risk prone, emotional, and rash in his decision to deploy nuclear missiles to Cuba than previous historians, who saw him as cautious and moderate, have ever been able to piece together.

## Education, Literacy, and Gender in Antebellum Rural Alabama

Matthew West

Abstract: "Education, Literacy, and Gender in Antebellum Rural Alabama" utilizes both nineteenth century slave autobiographies, as well as twentieth century Works Progress Administration (WPA) interviews of ex-slaves, to analyze literacy within the slave experience. The essay explores the ability to read and write through the themes of religion, race, gender, occupation, and education, focusing on a case study of rural Alabama. Like slavery itself, literacy among enslaved persons was not a monolithic phenomenon; rather, it varied significantly across region and even within a single household, with domestic, female slaves being taught to read significantly more often than their outdoor, male counterparts.

Literacy constituted a significant means for slaves to subvert their bondage in the antebellum South. Yet, like the "peculiar institution" itself, slaves' ability to read varied significantly across lines of status and, especially, gender. How the masters perceived literacy's desirability depended on the gendered roles in which enslaved persons found themselves. For some female slaves, reading and writing were useful skills, such as in the teaching of children and maintenance of the household. Slave masters perceived female slaves' literacy as innocuous because of the power of the gendered stereotype of female passivity. In contrast, masters pointed to inherent danger in enslaved men's literacy which they believed threatened the social order. When the law prohibited teaching slaves to read and write, some slaveholders ignored these legalities out of Christian duty to instruct their "wards" in the faith. Sometimes such instruction led slaveholders to teach slaves to read; other times, it led them to offer perfunctory lessons and baptisms. Evidence for all of this can be seen by comparing Alabama-specific nineteenth century abolitionist narratives with the twentieth century Works Progress Administration (WPA) narratives, both of which provide insight into slaves' lives in their own words.

The University of North Carolina's North American Slave Narratives compiles source materials on the slave and ex-slave experience published from the eighteenth century through 1920. Three biographical narratives directly pertain to slavery in Alabama between 1819, when Alabama entered the Union, and 1865, the abolition of slavery: those of Jordan H. Banks (93 pages), James Williams (103 pages), and Peter Still (409 pages). These rich, lengthy sources allow significant qualitative analysis. John Blassingame, a Yale scholar known for his work on American slavery, notes possible embellishment of these for use in the abolitionist cause; nonetheless, the similarity of evidence they provide suggests reliability and validity.<sup>1</sup>

For their part, the WPA narratives provide not only qualitative information on the slave experience but also quantitative data in the form of over 2,000 interviews. Created in 1935, the WPA employed Americans to improve the country's infrastructure and engage in creative endeavors, like the interviewing of ex-slaves. These stories, transcribed in the late 1930s, fill the gap from the North American Slave Narratives which only includes published material to 1920. Further, the WPA narratives' large sample proves useful in corroborating perspectives across different regions and slave demographics.

John W. Blassingame rightly questions the authenticity of the WPA slave narratives by noting that the WPA employed few people of color as interviewers which, combined with 1930s culture governing white and black interaction in which the latter deferred to the former, probably biased the interviews. Indeed, prejudicial and stereotypical overtones abound in the transcriptions, exemplified by the racialized dialect rendered by white interviewers. For instance, one has former slave Billy Longslaughter say about General Grant: "I wuz right dere when de gen'l come into Richmond and sot us free."<sup>2</sup> Phrasing in this manner

---

<sup>1</sup> John W. Blassingame, "Using the Testimony of Ex-Slaves: Approaches and Problems," *The Journal of Southern History* 41, no. 4 (1975): 478.

<sup>2</sup> J. Morgan Smith, ed., "He Caned a Chair for President Buchanan," April 27, 1937 in *Born In Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers Project, 1936-1938, Alabama Narratives*, Vol. 1, Library of Congress, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=010/mesn010.db&recNum=267> (accessed February 20, 2016).

demonstrates perhaps more information about how the interviewer saw the narrator rather than being a purely truthful depiction of what was said. More recent scholarship by Sharon Ann Musher expands on this by adding that WPA interviewers were not always professional writers, but rather local literate whites. Further, lack of inexpensive, transportable, and available recording devices meant some interviewers edited and even rewrote narratives to convey the the material. In addition, according to Musher, local interviewers recorded the dialect to their recollection, then sent the material to a state office where “the majority of conscious editing appears to have occurred.”<sup>3</sup> Nonetheless, both Musher and Blassingame note the import of the WPA narratives when examined as a whole. Even if seen from the perspective of predominantly white interviewers, the words of ex-slaves are indispensable when appropriately triangulated among themselves and with the earlier nineteenth century narratives.<sup>4</sup>

Both the nineteenth century and WPA narratives demonstrate that slaves attained literacy in a variety of ways: teaching one another, attempting to teach one’s self, learning to read after religious conversion, or masters teaching slaves to read because they found it useful, such as a physician needing clerical work regarding his patients’ records. Even though some slaves did, indeed, teach themselves or each other to read and write, for the most part, according to Columbia University historian Thomas Webber, slaves “were taught by whites, especially by the sons and daughters of their masters.”<sup>5</sup>

In her research on education in early America, Jennifer Monaghan claims there were few legal sanctions against teaching slaves to read and write in the early colonial period because “reading instruction was still so closely linked to Christian indoctrination that it remained immune from

---

<sup>3</sup> Sharon Ann Musher, “Contesting ‘The Way the Almighty Wants It’: Crafting Memories of Ex-Slaves in the Slave Narrative Collection,” *American Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (2001): 13.

<sup>4</sup> Blassingame, “Using the Testimony of Ex-Slaves,” 478.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas L. Webber, *Deep Like the Rivers: Education in the Slave Quarter Community, 1831-1865* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1978), 132.

repressive legislation.”<sup>6</sup> Additionally, masters generally disdained teaching slaves to read and write. In the mid-eighteenth century, children of slaves were not taught to read because their owners saw it as a waste of time and resources, considered it unseemly for slave and non-slave children to intermingle in school, or feared slave revolts. Only after the Stono Rebellion intensified the writing of “Black Codes” in the 1730s culminating in South Carolina’s Negro Act of 1740, did teaching slaves to write become legally prohibited. A century later, Frederick Douglass wrote of the prevailing sentiment among slaveholders that education made a person “unfit...to be a slave...unmanageable, and of no value to his master...discontented and unhappy.”<sup>7</sup>

During the 1800s, legal restrictions softened in Alabama state legislation, which provides a window into how slave-owners and lawmakers changed their thinking about teaching slaves. The 1833 Slave Code notes, “Any person or persons who attempt to teach any free person of color, or slave, to spell, read, or write, shall, upon conviction thereof by indictment, be fined in a sum not less than two hundred and fifty dollars, nor more than five hundred dollars.”<sup>8</sup> The 1852 Slave Code does not include a penalty for teaching a slave to read or write, though it does penalize those who write on behalf of a slave or free person of color.<sup>9</sup> Carter Woodson, whose work focuses on antebellum education for slaves, writes that nineteenth century prohibitions applied only to teachers who were “mischievous abolitionists” but not to “southerners interested in the improvement of their slaves.”<sup>10</sup> The evidence below further supports this contention, specifically to the absence of teaching

---

<sup>6</sup> Jennifer E. Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005), 243.

<sup>7</sup> Douglass in Monaghan, 258.

<sup>8</sup> “Alabama’s 1833 Slave Code,” *Alabama Department of Archives and History*, n.p., n.d., Feb 27, 2016.

<sup>9</sup> “Alabama’s 1852 Code, Chapter IV: Slaved and Free Negroes,” *Alabama Department of Archives and History*, n.p., n.d., January 24, 2017.

<http://www.archives.alabama.gov/cornerstone/slavecode1852/page01.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Carter Godwin Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861: A History of the Education of the Colored People of the United States from the Beginning of Slavery to the Civil War* (Charleston, SC: Bibliolife, orig. 1919, 2007), 142.

males, while only teaching female household slaves' literacy if their masters deemed it useful.

Jordan Banks (born 1833 in Virginia) of Green County, Alabama, describes a shared childhood with his master's children of the same age. He writes, "...I was sent to a very different school from that which he was sent; he was sent to his books, but I was sent to watch and scare the crows." Banks's nineteenth century slave narrative shows that beyond merely not providing an education, owners were "opposed to having them learn" and, as the Alabama code dictated, "Any friendly white person who should be found teaching a slave to read or write, would be punished by it for a fine...In some cases, colored persons managed to steal a little education, and teach others by night, but even that is a crime."<sup>11</sup> Banks' account, published in 1861 by an abolitionist lecturer, discusses how lack of a "Sabbath school" was the manifest reason for not teaching slaves but that churches were few in rural areas in Virginia. When Banks moved to Alabama, his new master did not belong to a church, though Banks notes that even esteemed members of churches did not necessarily prioritize slaves in worship: "In those cases where the slaveholders themselves are even connected with churches as members, they never concern themselves about slaves going to attend upon divine service."<sup>12</sup>

Another former enslaved person, James Williams (born 1805), published an account in 1873 noting that the master's son George became his friend and taught him the alphabet. Williams wrote "...I should soon have acquired a knowledge of reading had not George's mother discovered her son in the act of teaching me" and punished him for it.<sup>13</sup> The mother said that her father had taught a slave in the past to read, but that the slave

---

<sup>11</sup> Jordan Banks, 1861, "A Narrative of Events of the Life of J. H. Banks, an Escaped Slave, from the Cotton State, Alabama, in America," Documenting the American South, University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2000, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/penning/penning.html>.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> James Williams, 1838, "Narrative of James Williams, an American Slave, Who Was for Several Tears a Driver on a Cotton Plantation in Alabama," Documenting the American South, University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2000, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/williams/williams.html>.

forged documents and escaped to Philadelphia “from whence her father received from him a saucy letter, thanking him for his education.”<sup>14</sup> The cases of Jordan Banks and James Williams, show fear of male slave literacy as being dangerous or otherwise obnoxious.

A third slave narrative, published in 1856, discusses the link between female slaves and literacy. In it, Peter Still describes a household servant, Ann Eliza, who could read and “possessed excellent sense and real piety.” Although “her services in the house were invaluable” and “her conduct was above reproach” the mistress nonetheless held her in contempt not just for her literary skill, but also because she was an articulate slave who protested false accusations.<sup>15</sup> Although Eliza was not regarded highly by her owner, she was nonetheless assigned to household work. Still’s story of Eliza supports the findings of historian Janet Cornelius, who concluded that most literate slaves worked as house servants.<sup>16</sup>

In contrast to the nineteenth century narratives, the more recent WPA narratives evince a connection between literacy and gentility, wherein female slaves cultivated a gentility similar to that of their owners, for they were oftentimes raised and taught alongside the master’s children. A slave companion to the mistress of the house equated to old world sensibilities where even the servants of aristocrats could converse with their employers; indeed, literacy signified gentility for both slaveholder and slave. Cornelius describes a female slave, Adeline Willis, who was taught how to read so that she could select whichever newspaper the master or mistress wanted at the time.<sup>17</sup> Former slave, Ank Bishop, describes his mother’s life after being sold to a “Lady Liza” to be used as her “house gal” who cooked or cleaned when others were unavailable to

---

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Peter Still, 1856, “The Kidnapped and the Ransomed. Recollections of Peter Still and His Wife ‘Vina,’ after Forty Years of Slavery, Alabama, in America,” Documenting the American South, University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2000, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/pickard/menu.html>.

<sup>16</sup> Janet Cornelius, “We Slipped and Learned to Read: Slave Accounts of the Literacy Process, 1830-1865,” *Phylon* 44, no. 3 (1983), 175.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 179.

do so.<sup>18</sup> Working in the house of a prominent “lady” yet not concerned principally with domestic responsibilities that required manual labor shows a gendered cultivation of gentility because her role was not as a household laborer but as an aristocratic companion.

Two other cases, those of Emma Howard and Esther King Casey, show an intersection of race and gender with status. Emma Howard, age 84 or 85 at the interview, of Montgomery, Alabama, notes how proud she was of her lighter complexion that afforded her easier household duties and the ability to play with the owner’s children.<sup>19</sup> Further, she herself could read and write, a product of her elevated status, gender, and being raised alongside the master’s children. Howard states the entire plantation attended worship services each week, and she remained religious to the time of her interview. While literacy did not necessitate religiosity, religiosity sometimes was sufficient to achieve literacy. Esther King Casey of Birmingham, Alabama, conveys that slaves like her, owned by well-to-do families, shared their owners’ contempt for “poor white trash.”<sup>20</sup> In fact, the only thing she can recall being disciplined for was playing with children of this group who were said to be a bad influence. Like Howard, Casey grew up and was educated with the white children. Casey was taught to read and write by the owner’s wife during slavery, this continuing after emancipation when her former mistress paid for her education at a school.<sup>21</sup>

The educational experience of female slaves differed from that of male slaves because women more likely engaged in domestic service. Though

---

<sup>18</sup> Jack Kytile, ed., “Gabr’el Blow Sof” Gabr’el Blow Loud!,” July 8, 1937 in *Born In Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers Project, 1936-1938, Alabama Narratives*, Vol. 1, Library of Congress, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=010/mesn010.db&recNum=43> (accessed February 11, 2016).

<sup>19</sup> Jack Kytile, ed., “Is Massa gwin’er sell us?,” June 2, 1937 in *Born In Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers Project, 1936-1938, Alabama Narratives*, Vol. 1, Library of Congress, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=010/mesn010.db&recNum=216> (accessed February 9, 2016).

<sup>20</sup> Edward Harper, ed., “Esther King Casey,” June 4, 1937 in *Born In Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers Project, 1936-1938, Alabama Narratives*, Vol. 1, Library of Congress, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=010/mesn010.db&recNum=60> (accessed February 9, 2016).

<sup>21</sup> Also, in terms of the pervasiveness of racial identity, Casey was the only one to refer to her mistress as ‘the white lady’ rather than ‘Mrs. -Surname-’.



the role of mistress of the manor included domestic administration, much of this work was delegated to or shared with female slaves, such that, as Janet Cornelius has written, “close association between white and black women sometimes included opportunities for reading.”<sup>22</sup> Opportunities for reading with the mistress accounted for a significant factor in female slave literacy. Jennie Bowen, born in Camden, Alabama in 1847, stayed on the owner’s plantation after the Civil War. She worked as nurse for her owner’s three children, and out of necessity “dey learnt me to read an’ write.”<sup>23</sup> Mandy of Fairhope, Alabama evidences the privileges from close association with the mistress. Mandy attended school for a total of ten months at the rate of about three months per year, the tuition for which her mother paid. She discusses proudly how as a child, “When dey was any readin’ to do my mammy sent fer me.”<sup>24</sup>

The male slaves, as recorded in Alabama WPA narratives, though also raised alongside the owner’s sons, were not taught to read because their field labor did not warrant literacy as a useful skill. For example, Billy Longslaughter stated, “Dey neber teach me no readin’ and writin’ kaze I had to work in de fields.” At the time of the interview, he was professionally engaged by making canes, repairing chairs, and fishing, neither of which required literacy yet both typically male occupations.<sup>25</sup>

Social historian Eugene Genovese focused on the slave/owner relationship, claiming that slaveholders saw their role as parental wherein the parent knows best and the subordinate children obey. Some owners taught their slaves to read because they felt it a duty; others thought that

---

<sup>22</sup> Cornelius, “We Slipped and Learned to Read,” 176.

<sup>23</sup> John Morgan Smith, ed., “No Bell Brung Him: Jennie Bowen,” June 4, 1937 in *Born In Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers Project, 1936-1938, Alabama Narratives, Vol. 1*, Library of Congress, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=010/mesn010.db&recNum=47> (accessed February 9, 2016).

<sup>24</sup> Daphne L. E. Curtis, ed., “Mandy (by the day),” June 28, 1937 in *Born In Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers Project, 1936-1938, Alabama Narratives, Vol. 1*, Library of Congress, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=010/mesn010.db&recNum=280> (accessed February 20, 2016).

<sup>25</sup> J. Morgan Smith, ed., “He Caned a Chair for President Buchanan,” April 27, 1937 in *Born In Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers Project, 1936-1938, Alabama Narratives, Vol. 1*, Library of Congress, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=010/mesn010.db&recNum=267> (accessed February 20, 2016).

running their various operations necessitated literate slaves.<sup>26</sup> Genovese asserts ex-slaves typically note how their former masters “would teach mulatto children but not black, or house slaves but not field hands.”<sup>27</sup> Evidence from both the WPA narratives and the nineteenth century narratives corroborates Genovese’s assertion. Education and slavery have a curious relationship, oftentimes intersecting along lines of status and sex in addition to race. Alabama’s WPA slave narratives evidence this phenomenon. When asked if they were taught to read and write, male ex-slaves typically mention how they were not taught because they had to work in the fields, as testified by Charlie Aarons of Oak Grove, Alabama, who was around 18 or 20 years of age at emancipation. Aaron’s interviewer wrote, “When the writer asked Uncle Charlie if his master or mistress ever taught him to read or write, he smiled and said ‘No, Madam, only to work.’”<sup>28</sup>

Born a slave in Sumter County, Ank Bishop, at age 89, lived in Livingston, Alabama, at the time the WPA interviewed him. He stated that he and other slaves on his plantation did not “get to go to church” and did not benefit from schooling—Bishop was still illiterate at 89 years old. Except for his mother who was the mistress’s “house gal,” all women worked in the fields and none of these individuals could read or write. Also, though Bishop was a “believer” in voodoo, hoodoo, and spirits, these religions are unlike Christianity in that they do not require practitioners to read and follow a text. His religion, combined with his occupation, likely relate to his not being taught to read.<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> Eugene Genovese, “Toward a Psychology of Slavery: An Assessment of the Contribution of the *Slave Community*,” Al-Tony Gilmore, ed., *Revisiting Blassingame’s The Slave Community* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 1978), 29.

<sup>27</sup> Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World Slaves Made* (New York: Random House, 1974), 564.

<sup>28</sup> Mary A. Poole, ed., “Charlie Aarons, Ex-Slave, Says he Loved Young Marster John,” August 6, 1937 in *Born In Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers Project, 1936-1938, Alabama Narratives*, Vol. 1, Library of Congress, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=010/mesn010.db&recNum=6> (accessed February 21, 2016).

<sup>29</sup> Jack Kytte, ed., “Gabr’el Blow Sof’ Gabr’el Blow Loud!,” July 8, 1937 in *Born In Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers Project, 1936-1938, Alabama Narratives*, Vol. 1, Library of Congress, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=010/mesn010.db&recNum=43> (accessed February 11, 2016).

The influence of Christianity on literacy, however, manifested itself in myriad ways, with gender and status sometimes moderating the relationship. Oliver Bell of Livingston, Alabama, describes coming from a skilled slave family of shoemakers and plow makers. After the Civil War, the former master read the Bible to his ex-slaves and had all slaves baptized. The master wanted salvation for his former slaves but thought this could be accomplished through preaching and baptizing—not through study and an individual conversion experience. So Bell remained unlettered, telling his interviewer that no one helped slaves on his plantation learn, and that although he had come to terms with his illiteracy, he wished “I could read an’ write.”<sup>30</sup>

Some masters refused to teach slaves to read and write from fear that doing so might make slaves rebellious. The idea that literacy empowered slaves was by no means a nineteenth century perspective. Genovese writes, “Even in colonial times, powerful opposition to slave literacy arose among slaveholders in an attempt to prevent the forging of passes but also to head off insurrection.”<sup>31</sup> Cornelius discusses such a “Liberation” literacy as distinct from “Bible” literacy, which I contend many slaveholders conceded for their domestic, female slaves. Liberation literacy allows for individual thought and interpretation, reflecting on scripture outside of the master’s chosen self-serving passages, which comprises Biblical literacy. Of liberation literacy, Cornelius concludes, “Knowing how to read gave slaves opportunities to assume religious leadership within the slave community, where reading and preaching were closely associated.”<sup>32</sup> While legal sanctions transitioned from colonial-era America to the early 1830s, normative day-to-day proscriptions changed little.

As time went on, laws against teaching slaves to read and write increased in severity. Genovese specifically mentioning the wake of Nat Turner’s

---

<sup>30</sup> Jack Kytile, ed., “De Bes’ Friend a Nigger Ever Had,” July 17, 1937 in *Born In Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers Project, 1936-1938, Alabama Narratives*, Vol. 1, Library of Congress, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=010/mesn010.db&recNum=37> (accessed February 9, 2016).

<sup>31</sup> Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 562.

<sup>32</sup> Cornelius, “We Slipped and Learned to Read,” 172.

1831 rebellion: “Alabama’s harsh legislation grew directly out of the post insurrectionary panic of 1831-1832,” which explains why the code of 1833 was more severe than the 1852 code.<sup>33</sup> Even where laws were lenient, Genovese argues, whites felt so threatened that they created de facto restrictions that stifled any real opportunity for slaves to become literate. Cornelius notes these extralegal restrictions as: “Patrols, mobs, and social ostracism faced owners who taught their slaves.”<sup>34</sup> In terms of legality, rarely do the WPA narratives mention education’s lawfulness; in contrast, the nineteenth century narratives explicitly note the criminality and physical punishment associated with teaching slaves. The different intended audiences of these two sources explain much: the WPA narratives reflected on long-past events while the slave narratives were designed to show the inhumanity of slavery through the denial of a basic human need—education.

In the immediate aftermath of the Nat Turner Rebellion, white powerbrokers at the state level sought to maintain a sense of order by enacting laws prohibiting teaching slaves. Slaves perceived their masters’ attempts to prevent literacy as the most heinous limitations. Brenda Stevenson theorizes that the key to understanding the slave experience lay in the family, noting “Clearly, the inability to even teach one’s children the rudiments of reading and writing was a powerful symbol of their bleak futures.”<sup>35</sup> Conversely, ex-slaves viewed literacy for their offspring as a potent symbol of upward social and economic mobility. Illiterate male ex-slaves who had many children, taking pride in their own children’s literacy, evidence this theme in the WPA narratives. Josh Horn, of Livingston, Alabama, who had fourteen children, proudly points out how each of his children could read and a few even taught school.<sup>36</sup> Oliver Bell, of Livingston, Alabama, who had sixteen children, likewise

---

<sup>33</sup> Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 562.

<sup>34</sup> Cornelius, “We Slipped and Learned to Read,” 173.

<sup>35</sup> Brenda E. Stevenson, *Life in Black & White: Family and Community in the Slave South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 276.

<sup>36</sup> D.A. Oden, ed., “Chasing Guinea Jim The Runaway Slave,” July 14, 1937 in *Born In Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers Project, 1936-1938, Alabama Narratives*, Vol. 1, Library of Congress, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=010/mesn010.db&recNum=215> (accessed February 9, 2016).

proudly states that most of his children were literate and even attended Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute. As for his own education, he notes, "Didn't nobody he'p us learn nothin' much...I wish I could read and/write; den I'd tell you things you'd lak to know."<sup>37</sup>

The typical literate slave engaged in female gendered occupations, such that a woman more likely could read but her gender did not necessarily guarantee such an outcome. Anne Maddox, age 113 when she was interviewed, was born in Virginia but at 13 years old was sold to someone in Opelika, Alabama, where she remained. Her responsibilities included some tasks as a "house girl" but she spent the majority of her time working in the fields. She also escorted the owner's children to and from school. Slaves on her plantation were explicitly prevented from learning and received harsh punishments if "caught with pencil and paper."<sup>38</sup> The mistress read the Bible to Maddox and the other slaves and allowed them to attend her white church, albeit in a segregated area. Still, neither Maddox's sex nor her religiosity sufficed to learn reading and writing.

Amy Chapman, born outside of Livingston, Alabama, in 1843, likewise attended her master's white church, yet in contrast to Maddox obtained literacy. Chapman notes the master did not mind slaves attending a white church and learning to read, but that the overseer did everything to prevent church attendance or, indeed, any activity that may have led to literacy.<sup>39</sup> Since the overseer dealt directly with slaves and potentially would be the first victim of a slave uprising, his harshness likely derived from fear of slave empowerment toward his own person. Chapman goes

---

<sup>37</sup> Jack Kytte, ed., "De Bes' Friend a Nigger Ever Had," July 17, 1937 in *Born In Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers Project, 1936-1938, Alabama Narratives*, Vol. 1, Library of Congress, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=010/mesn010.db&recNum=37> (accessed February 9, 2016).

<sup>38</sup> Jack Kytte, ed., "I Shouted Three Days," June 7, 1937 in *Born In Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers Project, 1936-1938, Alabama Narratives*, Vol. 1, Library of Congress, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=010/mesn010.db&recNum=277> (accessed February 11, 2016).

<sup>39</sup> Ruby P. Tartt, ed., "De master's good but overseers mean," June 17, 1937 in *Born In Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers Project, 1936-1938, Alabama Narratives*, Vol. 1, Library of Congress, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=010/mesn010.db&recNum=66> (accessed February 11, 2016).

on to describe a neighboring slaveholder, Jerry Brown, who taught his slaves to read and write. In terms of religion, she notes that there were no black churches around to attend; therefore, they attended the white Jones Creek Baptist Church.

Slave literacy varied significantly in form and purpose, influenced by factors such as occupation, gender, and standing in the masters' household. Alabama slaveholders often taught their own slaves when it served their purposes, such as when they needed literate female slaves to teach children or run a household. In some cases, literate slaves elevated their owner's status, where the presence of a cultivated, genteel, house slave symbolized sophistication. Other times, teaching slaves arose from a sense of duty or as an imperative of Protestant Christianity in which whites oftentimes saw it their duty to evangelize their slaves by teaching them how to read the Bible. All slave accounts sampled above show a genuine desire to read and write among the illiterate, or pride in their ability from the literate. Evidence from both the nineteenth century slave narratives and the WPA interviews of former slaves in Alabama confirms that slave literacy depended on the perceived obligation of a master to teach his slaves, the slaveholder's desired social status, or the type of occupation a slave worked inasmuch as it required literacy. Female slaves were taught to read and write because it aided their work. Male slaves were not because masters considered their literacy to be dangerous. In the rare circumstances of male education, it was out of a sense of "Bible literacy" that was seen as fulfilling a master's evangelization requirements while keeping a potentially dangerous force docile.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> Cornelius, "We Slipped and Learned to Read," 171.

## Special Perspective

---

In this section, the editors of the *Alexandrian* have invited Ms. Spake to write an essay on her recent experience working on an archeological dig in Israel as part of the Leon Levy Expedition in the summer of 2016.

### Archeology Meets History: Ashkelon, Israel

Whitney Spake

Approximately 6,500 miles away from Troy University lays Ashkelon National Park in Ashkelon, Israel. This national park, for the past thirty years, has been home to the Leon Levy Expedition generously funded by Mr. and Mrs. Leon Levy. With the Levy funding, Ashkelon National Park transformed into an archeological site with references in the Bible, Torah, and Egyptian execration texts. Troy University, a partner school of five years to the dig, sent students from 2012-2016 to better understand archeological practices and develop experience in the field. As a site with continual habitation from the Canaanite era up until the destruction by the Mamluks in the 1200s, Troy students can excavate older sites than those in America. Moreover, each society built upon the previous society and utilized the former materials to build the city up.

When you walk through Ashkelon National Park, you see a glimpse of each society. Surrounding the archeological site are the tall Canaanite walls complete with the world's first rounded arch, the Canaanite Gate, a remnant of Ashkelon's first settlement. When you enter through the Canaanite Gate following the path, a Roman mosaic will greet you. This mosaic was originally on the floor of a Roman dining room; now it is just another remnant of a past civilization. Further along the path, you will come across a Greek basilica from the Byzantine Empire. Tucked behind this, and in a location unsuspecting visitors will miss, is the three horned altar. This altar was centered in a Canaanite room, and three horns were placed on its rounded base. Scholars on the site have tried to understand the meaning of the three horns but have come to no decisive conclusion.

Many civilizations built upon previous ones in Ashkelon. Most locations on site begin with unearthing the Islamic settlement and working down to Canaanite settlements. However, one grid<sup>1</sup> in 2015 was able to dig through the Canaanite level and uncover remnants of nomads. This grid was the only one at Ashkelon to discover any evidence of earlier people than the Canaanites.

Throughout the thirty years of the Leon-Levy Expedition to Ashkelon, Dr. Stager, his crew, and summer school students uncovered artifacts and structures from the Islamic and Roman societies, Byzantine Empire, Egyptian influence, Philistines, Canaanites, and nomadic groups. They uncovered Roman vineyards, a Philistine cemetery, pottery sherds, and puppy graves.<sup>2</sup> Decades of work uncovered a wealth of information about the past in Ashkelon, Israel.

The biggest discovery at Ashkelon, one that will rewrite history, was the discovery of the world's first Philistine cemetery. During the 2013 season, the assistant director discovered a bone fragment outside the gates of Ashkelon National Park due to a tip from a former Israel Antiquities Authority employer. When the bone was tested, it dated to the Philistine era. The following season, 2014, a dig site was opened with the upmost secrecy because Orthodox Jews do not believe burial sites should be dug up. When former digs or businesses uncovered bodies, Orthodox Jews violently protested. Because of this, the dig site outside the gates of the national park was disguised as dig site for a business, sealed in, and backfilled at the end of the 2016 season. Furthermore, until the final season in 2016, no one except those who dug in this grid, referred to as N5, knew of it or the contents. Those who were in N5 were unable to speak of or hint at their findings in case it compromised the dig and the people.

---

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Larry Stager from Harvard University created Ashkelon's unique grid system. Each grid is a 100x100 meter square and covers the entire dig site.

<sup>2</sup> The puppy graves were actual graves of puppies buried during the Philistine era at Ashkelon. So far, no cause of death of the puppies has been discovered nor the reasoning for burying intact puppies.



However, once the news broke mid July 2016 at the end of the Leon-Levy Expedition to Ashkelon, the whole world became aware of the discovery. Throughout the four seasons N5 was occupied, over 150 Philistines were exhumed. Studies on Philistine burial practices, dental health, and eating habits have already begun. Moreover, in depth studies on the Philistines are scheduled to take place and within the next five years, the studies should be completed and published. For the first time, historians and students will have a better understanding of who the Philistines were and not just accounts by other groups, such as the Egyptians.

While not every grid rewrites history, every grid contributes to the knowledge of the past. During the final season of Ashkelon (2016), I was part of the team who excavated in Grid 51. To understand the discoveries made, one must understand archeological methods. Archeology sites are divided into grids, each grid the same width. When the digging starts, you dig from the latest civilization to the earliest. However, archeologists do not dig holes and do not “fish” out artifacts or bones. Rather, archeologists separate their grid into squares<sup>3</sup> and go down one layer at a time until the squares represent the same floor layer. By looking at the stratigraphy, essentially lines in the dirt, archeologists determine the various layers; horizontal lines in the dirt ranging from a wide variety such as mud brick, floor, and fill while the vertical lines typically represent walls of sorts. Every line is documented on paper and entered into the computer. Every artifact and piece of bone is documented and cleaned. Every wall or structure is drawn in. Every pottery sherd is washed on the off chance it has inscriptions or drawings on it.

Grid 51 has been dug in for many, many seasons. It is situated directly across from Grid 50, the grid that includes the Mediterranean Sea shoreline. At the beginning of the 2016 season, we met up in our grid groups and were assigned squares. Every week we all rotated around the whole grid, working in new squares with new people. The main objective across the whole grid was first to dig to the destruction layer, 604 BCE

---

<sup>3</sup> Each square, like the grid system is unique to Ashkelon. The squares are 10x10 meters and cover the entire grid.

when Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar burned Ashkelon to the ground. Getting to this layer was challenging. In the first square I was in, to get to 604 BCE we first came upon a late seventh century BCE sewer and wall, both of which had to be carefully documented and photographed before we removed it. In the same square, we happened across a few puppy burials, believed to have been in the same timeline as the puppy burials discovered in Grid 50.

In addition, the layer right above the destruction layer was a pottery splat layer. As the city was burning to the ground, people paid no heed to pottery while running for their lives. The result was massive splats of pottery sherds. While digging through the pottery splat layer, my square mates and I came across large numbers of bones. We put all the bones in bone bags (bags with holes punched in them) and sent them to the zooarcheologists on site. When the results came back, we found that one of the bones was a piece of a baby's skull. Soon, we reached our goal of getting to the destruction layer.

Under the destruction layer in the same square I started in, rock acted like concrete; I broke two pick-axes attempting to bust through the layer. The dig director came to investigate the phenomenon and suggested using a sledgehammer. I had the honor of wielding the sledgehammer, and we slowly busted through a layer of ancient cement. Under the cement were compacted seashells. Examining the cement, seashells, and similar findings a square over, the grid directors came to the conclusion it was an ancient wine vat. Once we dug through the cement, the wine vat became apparent as well as the ancient grape seeds surrounding it.

When we rotated squares, I ended up in the square in the far corner. During 604 BCE, this square was the back room in a shop. How do we know that? The stratigraphy revealed it was a room, and the column base unearthed verified this. Moreover, we found pottery splats, gold, beads, scales, weights, and a receipt on a pottery sherd. Through these artifacts, the square and grid supervisors both reached the same conclusion that it was a back room of a shop.

Outside the back room, more evidence of a shop was uncovered. Black dirt was dug up, believed to be ash from a kiln of sorts, and specialists were brought in to take samples of the ash to determine the temperature reached. Near the kiln, I unearthed a unique artifact, an artifact no one knows the meaning of: a small clay replica of a Philistine boat about the size of a hand. The site director was impressed by the discovery as very few Philistine boat replicas have been discovered on a global scale, and the ones that have been unearthed were discovered in a funeral context; this one was not. A day later, another half boat was discovered. Still, no purpose for the boats has been discovered; they remain an enigma.

The last square I dug in the middle of the grid provided an interesting history. Once the dirt was brushed clean, (there is such a thing as clean dirt) there were faint lines indicating this area could be something. When the grid instructor saw this, he ordered a probe dug; a small hole in the ground used to see stratigraphy and determine if there could be anything of value. The probe showed that this area was the ancient street of 604 BCE. Part of the basis for this conclusion was the horizontal lines on the side of the probe indicating a wall; ancient streets were walled in. The artifacts found on the other side of the wall indicated it was a street. Moreover, on the other side of the probe, there was evidence for a robber's trench, an area where walls once were but later civilizations used the material for their buildings. The robber's trench was evident by the stratigraphy as well as the deep layer of dirt fill. My partner and I dug the robber's trench all the way though to make sure nothing of value was missed. In the robber's trench a clay figurine head was discovered, as well as a worked bone spindle. Everything else was a simply sandy dirt or pottery sherd, indicating it was in fact a robber's trench.

Through the six weeks of grueling work, the grid supervisors were able to place a complete picture of the grid in each time period unearthed and place for in context with the rest of the dig site. The wine vat connected to other grids, the puppy burials showed continuity with Grid 50, and all of the grids nearby showed similar aspects to Grid 51, representative of an ancient market place along a shore. The material culture, pottery, architecture, and stratigraphy showed the marketplace across many grids.

In Grid 51 you have a road, a shopkeeper's house, a potential shop area, and part of wine production. When you take Grid 51 and place it within the dig, it is apparent it was one of many market areas in ancient Ashkelon. To see how a piece of worked bone or a line in the dirt contributes to knowledge of the past is astounding. All of the material culture, the pottery, the bones, and the architecture create history. The archeologists see all of this and reconstruct the past. Once they can see what happened in their grid or how people lived or what the building was used for, the historians bring it into a larger picture. It takes both archeologists and historians to recreate the past and understand it in a regional and global picture.

## Book Reviews

---

John Demos, *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

Ansley Markwell

John Demos' book *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America* attempted to paint a picture of colonial life in New England in the seventeenth century. Demos used the life of John Williams and his family to typify the struggles of Puritan New England as it came in contact with different peoples (French Canadian and Native Americans) as well as different belief systems (Catholicism and Native American religions). Demos also used Williams to illustrate New England's opinions on captivity, acculturation, and the various dichotomies that accompanied frontier life in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Demos claimed to use Williams and his changing relationship with his daughter Eunice to revise understanding of the early history of the European presence on the continent, specifically the English as well as exploring the changing definitions of redemption specifically looking at captivity by Native Americans. Throughout his book, Demos raised the question of "Who is the unredeemed captive?" The answer might surprise the reader.

Demos endeavored to use the life of John Williams and his family to illustrate the struggles of Puritan New England as it came in contact with different peoples and different belief systems. Williams and his daughter Eunice exemplified the two ways a Puritan reacted to such an encounter. While they both encountered Catholics and Native Americans in captivity, they responded in complete opposition of one another. Williams was able to return home and denounced the popery of the French Canadians as wrong (69). However, his daughter Eunice embraced the culture she was adopted into and was re-baptized in the Catholic faith. She eventually married a Mohawk man as well. Williams

and Eunice represented two opposite ends of the spectrum as Demos intends. Total separation embodied Williams and total acculturation embodied in Eunice was what really drove home this particular point of Demos.

Demos employed other dichotomies like Christian and savage, captive and free, and nature and civilization to illuminate the opinions of New Englanders as they related to their Native American and French Canadian neighbors. Puritans from New England viewed all Native Americans, including the ones who claimed to be Christians, as savages and viewed the Catholic French Canadians as hardly any better. This directly translated into the concern for peoples, especially children, captured by the French and Native Americans because many Puritans viewed them as particularly susceptible to seduction by the popery. Not only did this threaten a person's temporary safety by living with the Native Americans, it also threatened a person's eternal safety according to the Puritans. Demos did an excellent job of displaying this general fear of Catholics in the specific fear of John Williams for his daughter Eunice's soul.

Demos strove to use Williams and his changing relationship with his daughter Eunice to explore his changing definition of redemption as it relates to Native American captivity. Williams' initial reaction to his redemption and return home was elation. However, as time went on and the rest of what family that remained alive returns, he becomes increasingly preoccupied with the return and redemption of his daughter Eunice. As Demos' book continued, the observant reader began to question what his obsession is really about. While his fatherly concern was only natural, there seemed to be other elements lurking beneath the surface. Did Williams consider himself totally redeemed from captivity? It could be argued that he does not. While his daughter Eunice remained with the Mohawk tribe, Williams seemed to consider himself not totally returned to the land of the civilized. This problem was exacerbated through Eunice's total acculturation and unequivocal refusal to return to the land of her birth. As she assimilated into Mohawk culture, Eunice did not consider herself to be in need of redemption. This served only to increase her need for redemption in the eyes of her father. As her

apparent need for redemption decreased, her father's need for her redemption increased. Perhaps Williams saw Eunice's redemption as the last crucial part of his own redemption but there is no way to definitively say.

Demos did an excellent job in revising understanding of the early history of the European presence on the continent, specifically the English through the exploration of captivity by Iroquoian tribes. While Demos alleged that he was telling the story of John Williams and his daughter Eunice, he did so much more. By weaving together a specific story with the general narrative of the time, Demos painted a sufficient picture of life in the colonies of New England as well as their interactions with Native Americans and French Canadians. Using the various dichotomies present in frontier life, Demos was able to explore these nuances and how they affected both domestic and foreign affairs in the New World.

Judith Walzer Leavitt. *The Healthiest City: Milwaukee and the Politics of Health Reform* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996).

Jason O. Smith

When analyzing the progress and growth of any major American city, one might believe those responsible for creating and sustaining a suitable environment for healthy citizens would have a sufficient system in place for the welfare of the common good. As Judith Leavitt discussed in *The Healthiest City* (1996), appearances, even on the highest of government levels, are not always as they seem.

Leavitt focused on the city of Milwaukee and its rapid growth and development from 1850 – 1930. The city, as she describes was ill-prepared to face a major population boom, industrial growth, and pollution. Leavitt addressed the major issues and solutions associated with each and researched how the practice of politics harmed and helped the city to be named the healthiest city in America in 1930. The positive and negative occurrences of political and public discord, as citizens established programs and municipalities sought to establish stable health programs to combat “infectious disease, sanitation, the environment, and food regulation” was the central focus of the transition of Milwaukee.<sup>1</sup> Leavitt’s focus on Milwaukee’s triple-digit growth from 1850 to the turn of the century substantiates the city’s inability to compensate for its growth and lack of preparedness was essential to her work. From 1850 to 1880, the population increased by over 200%. The population rate

---

<sup>1</sup> Judith W. Leavitt, *The Healthiest City: Milwaukee and the Politics of Health Reform* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), xiv.



increased over the next thirty years and by 1910 Milwaukee's population increased by another 150%.<sup>2</sup>

Like the population increase, immigration into Milwaukee also played an important role in the overall ability to combat disease. As German and Polish immigrants migrated into Milwaukee, their desire for autonomy and freedom from big government was often met with conditions in the city such as filth, disease, and an intrusive government. Unfairly, these new residents were often characterized as "dirty" and as a part of the problem versus pieces to the solution.

Despite the population boom and immigration difficulties, it was the inability of the government to connect with the population that posed the greatest problem. Leavitt often described city officials as those who bore the brunt of dismayed citizens. Leavitt addressed two underlying reasons for the dissention between both parties: personnel and money. In the early boom between 1878 and 1881, politics became a major obstacle as various factions sought power as health reformers focused on profit over people and each were "reluctant to allocate new funds until situations proved so desperate they had no choice."<sup>3</sup> She also drew an interesting correlation between the ineffectiveness of municipalities when corporate interests become involved in matters of public interest. As Republicans and Socialists battled for political ground in 1889, the public suffered the consequences of political neglect.

When politics failed to stem the tide of disease in the city, the citizens of Milwaukee formed various groups to create change and progress. Physicians, politicians, clergy, and other volunteer groups such as: The City Club of Milwaukee, Child Welfare Commission, and the Society for the Care of the Sick, all worked together to establish citizen-based organizations designed to aid the sick and reform municipal deficiencies. Even under the banner of common good, many things affected their ability to work together such as "medical or technical knowledge,

---

<sup>2</sup> Leavitt, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Leavitt, 49.

economic interests, inter-urban competition, political ideologies, ethnic diversity, corruption, inefficiency and simple frustration.”<sup>4</sup>

One victory came in the establishment of The Health Commission in 1878. Leavitt summarized the office as successfully instituting an increase in vaccinations and improving city-wide sanitation despite the growing concern for lack of monetary surplus to do so. While the office was often swayed by political influences, a handful of hard working physicians dedicated themselves to its office and the prospects of successful reforms often falling short of its mission.

Despite its small success, the office of The Health Commissioner fell short of becoming a vital part of Milwaukee’s overall change. Politics, often a failure according to Leavitt, achieved collective success in 1910. The Socialist party, consistent of a diverse group of people ranging from “professionals, trade-union Socialists, Populists, and reform Republicans” who all place political ambitions aside all to combat illness and government corruption.<sup>5</sup> This was a key component to the Socialist philosophy as they sought to end corruption from the process of health reform to benefit the collective masses by municipal ownership verses a decentralized form of government control. The Socialist movement started strong, however, the many different levels of belief and philosophy ultimately led to the party’s demise. Despite the short two year stint of political control the Socialists effective measures carries over into the twentieth century.

Overall, Leavitt was able to assess the problems of the coming of age of Milwaukee at the turn of the twentieth century. If the “job of government is by constitutional and legislative definition to protect and preserve the public good” then it can be determined by Leavitt’s research that Milwaukee’s government initially failed.<sup>6</sup> These failures originated at the grass roots level of its citizens and ascended to municipal levels. This “gap” in caused public mistrust and damaged credibility of Milwaukee’s

---

<sup>4</sup> Leavitt, 5.

<sup>5</sup> Leavitt, 21.

<sup>6</sup> Leavitt, xvi.

government. She addressed the eventual changes within the health department and its ability to bridge the gap between citizen and government for the common good. Leavitt displayed credible evidence showing the evolvement in Milwaukee's government and how its vision and philosophy, not just of healthcare, but of the care of the public went beyond politics to the care of Milwaukee's most important asset- its people.

Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America*. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000).

Whitney Spake

Modern scholarship shifted from a Eurocentric focus on the early settlement of North America to focusing on the reaction of the natives and how contact with the Old World affected their lifestyle. Karen Ordahl Kupperman, in *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America*, further expanded on this new scholarship of early American encounters between the natives and the English. Kupperman's book attempted to transform the popular opinion of the English colonists as conquerors to the more accurate description of the English colonists as uncertain settlers who needed help from the natives to survive. Through social, religious, and political constructs, Kupperman portrayed the complex relationship between the Native Americans and the English by utilizing eyewitness accounts.

When the English colonists landed in America, it was a new world to them. The people were exotic, the crops were unknown items, and the climate was different. The English did not know the land or the language; thus, assistance from the natives was needed for the English to learn how to provide for themselves and to understand the new land. Due to the ambivalence exhibited by the English colonists, they tended to mold the Native American culture and society into European standards. For example, Native Americans were depicted as "naked", however they did not walk around unclothed. Rather, they wore fewer clothes than the English. In the European mindset, the simple clothes and lack of elaborate dress were deemed as "naked." Moreover, the English also looked for hierarchy in Native American society. The English hierarchy was centered on inheritance, wealth, and power, all of which were exhibited through fashion and mannerisms. By observing the natives' manners and traditions, the English were able to observe how the Native

Americans showcased socioeconomic status. Flaunting of copper necklaces, badges, and ear piercings were all emblems the natives used to show their rank in society. While some English settlers and commentators in England deemed the natives “savages”, the majority simply viewed the natives as social people (they had laws, village life, and a language) with the English settlers as having the more superior way.

Moreover, while the English began to understand the natives by using European points of reference, they attempted to Christianize the natives. The early settlers did not forcibly convert the natives. Rather, the early settlers were more tolerant of native religious practices and transcribed their observations of the customs. Due to the communication barrier and difference in religious customs, the early Native American conversions rarely worked, in part because the Native Americans twisted Christianity to correspond with their own religious practices.

Native American religious practices became understood through diligent observations. The same could be said about how the English were able to understand Native American tribal government. The early settlers related what they knew about their native country’s government to relate similar concepts to Native American government. The English viewed the tribal leaders as kings due to the powers they exhibited and the authority they had. Moreover, the “queens” of the tribe were related to as strong ruling women, such as Boudicca. The Native American nobility were further compared to English nobility in the way they were adorned with jewelry and wore finer clothing. Furthermore, the legal system among the tribes was viewed as a reflection of common law, the unwritten laws in England. The laws were not codified among the natives due to lack of a written language, but there was an understanding of the legal system and the punishments if the unwritten laws were violated. From this, the English were able to better understand the Native Americans and their lifestyle.

Kupperman posed unique research in early English settlement in America. Rather than keep with the belief of the English as only

conquerors in North America, Kupperman highlights the untruths in the blanket statement. The early English settlers were not conquerors at first, according to Kupperman, the settlers were the opposite, and they were timid and ambivalent. The English were uncertain of how to survive in this new area. Instead of conquering the native peoples, the settlers reached out and attempted to understand the people and culture of the new land. The uncertainty the settlers faced allowed for better bilateral relationships with the natives than if the English were as confident as the Spanish *conquistadors*.

Kupperman's avid use of eyewitness examples justified her argument. She proved her claim by utilizing accounts from the early settlers and the circulation of the news in England. Moreover, the accounts Kupperman used reveal some of the biases' circulating during the time. For example, Henry Spelman was sent away to live with the Patowomeck Indians when he was a child. Because of Spelman's anger at the situation, he viewed the Patowomeck's in a negative light, calling them savages and unlawful beings.

The joining of many different eyewitness accounts during the early settlement period was masterfully done. The primary sources Kupperman utilized lived in all the major early settlements in America and showed both how some biases towards Native Americans originated (as Spelman demonstrated) and the curiosity by the English to understand Native American life. At first, there was virtually no animosity between the two people groups. This contradicted everything the high school history books say. History books in American schools leaned toward the argument that the English were always aggressive towards the Native Americans. The books never hinted at any sort of acceptance or desire to learn about the Native American cultures as demonstrated by the eyewitness accounts used by Kupperman. Kupperman succinctly debunked the popularized but inaccurate idea of English colonialism as a strictly imperialistic movement in the American colonies through eyewitness accounts.

## Division News 2016-2017

---

The Division of History and Philosophy would like to congratulate our undergraduate and graduate award winners of 2017:

Colonial Dames of America Paper Award – Sara Lane, senior

G. Ray Mathis Memorial Award – Christopher Anderson, junior

Nathan Alexander Memorial Phi Alpha Theta Scholastic Award – Coale Jordan, senior

Norma Taylor Mitchell American History Award – Charles Taylor, freshman

Trapp History Education Award – Jacob Guillory, senior

Outstanding Student in History – Emily D. Smith, senior

Outstanding Graduate Student – Rebecca Johnson, MA

Rebecca Johnson successfully defended her thesis, *Women's Political Activism in Prohibition Repeal: A Study of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform*, this spring. She is the program's first thesis student, and we look forward to Becky joining the faculty next fall as an adjunct instructor. Congratulations, Becky!

### Faculty News:

Congratulations also to the Division's faculty for their recent publications:

David Carlson published "'Citizens of the Country of Their Domicile': Conscription and Confederate Citizenship" in *Civil War History* in the December 2016 issue.

Joungbin Lim, Philosophy, published "Physicalism and Neo-Lockeanism about Persons" in *Philosophical Psychology* (2016).

Margaret K. Gnoinska published an article in *Cold War History*, entitled "'Socialist Friends Should Help Each Other in Crises': Sino-Polish Relations within the Cold War Dynamics, 1980-1987" (November 2016).

Three faculty members have books coming out in the next few months:

Scott Merriman's forthcoming *When Religious and Secular Interests Collide: Faith, Law, and the Religious Exemption Debate* (Praeger) will be out this summer.

Robert Saunders, Jr., has *John Archibald Campbell: Southern Moderate, 1811-1889*, University of Alabama Press, coming in May 2017.

Marty Olliff's *Getting Out of the Mud: The Alabama Good Roads Movement and Highway Administration, 1898-1928* will be published by the University of Alabama Press this summer. His book won the University of Alabama Press Anne B. and James B. McMillan Prize for the manuscript judged to be the most deserving in Alabama or southern history.

Dr. Olliff was also promoted to full professor this year and selected as the next president of the Alabama Association of Historians.



## News from Our Past Editors

---

This year the editors of the *Alexandrian* contacted the student-editors from the previous five volumes to discover what they have been up to since graduation. We were not surprised to find that this is a talented and adventurous group!

**Doug Allen, editor 2012:** After completing my Master's degree in the history of race, ethnicity, and society at Columbus State University in Columbus, Georgia, I am continuing my education in the PhD program at Florida State University in the Department of Geography. I am currently a PhD candidate at FSU and am researching and writing my dissertation on experiential “black senses of place” and place-making practices of African American students at FSU and FAMU in the historical All Saints District between these two institutions. I would like to thank the history professors at Troy University for giving me a solid foundation to continue toward my PhD and all the students and faculty (and particularly the Alexanders) that have contributed to the success of the *Alexandrian*.

**Peyton Paradiso, editor 2014:** After earning my bachelors in History from Troy, I attended the University of South Carolina as a student in their Higher Education Student Affairs program. I graduated with my M.Ed. in May of 2016 and currently work for the University of South Carolina's College of Education as an Academic Advisor. In addition to working as an advisor, I am also an instructor for University 101 programs at USC, an initiative that fosters student success and transition to the university. I plan to pursue a Ph.D. in Higher Education Policy in the near future.

**Megan Phillips, co-editor 2016:** Since graduation, I have begun school at Faulkner University, Thomas J Goode Jones School of Law, where I am currently ranked in the top 10% of my class. I have been working for Aristo Emergency, a company that manages the Emergency Department

staff for multiple hospitals as a Physician's Scribe. This summer, I will be interning with Judge Howell of the 7th Judicial Circuit.

**Eleanor Self, co-editor 2016:** I am currently an Assistant Language Teacher (ALT) with a program called JET. It is sponsored by the Japanese government, and they place English teachers in public schools all throughout Japan. I am at an academic high school in Ishikawa Prefecture, and it's amazing! I am taking ballet, learning Japanese, and touring around Japan and the rest of Asia. Basically, I am enjoying [...] life right now.

**Jamie Sessions, editor 2015:** I currently attend the University of Mississippi and am set to complete my Master's in May 2017. I am writing my thesis titled *From Private Theft to Royal Warfare: The Diplomatic, Religious, and Legal Implications of Piracy in Europe during Henry VIII*. Outside of my own studies, I work as a Teaching Assistant for the Arch Dalrymple III Department of History. I also hold the position of Master's Student Representative in the History Graduate Association. After graduation, I plan to either work in archives or find a position teaching.

**Nikki Woodburn, editor 2013:** I am an associate attorney with the Isaak Law Firm in Enterprise, Alabama. In May of 2016, I graduated cum laude from Faulkner University Thomas Goode Jones School of Law. There I served as an editor on the Faulkner Law Review and published an article entitled "NSA Surveillance and Interference with Citizens' Property Rights."

## Gratitude

---

Co-editors Ansley Markwell and Karen Ross would like to extend their deepest gratitude to all those who put in the work to make this volume of *The Alexandrian* possible. Thank you to all the professors who volunteered their time to review and critique the paper submissions and to the student-authors who went the extra mile to prepare their papers for the journal. It is due to the dedication and passion of people like you that *The Alexandrian* has flourished for six years.

We also want to thank the Alexander family for their unwavering encouragement of the journal's annual publication. Nathan's legacy continues to live on through the generous financial, spiritual, and academic support of his family: Sandra, Steve, Rachel, Sarah, Andrew, and Elise. The department hopes this friendship is as beneficial to you as it is for us.

## **Professor Nathan Alexander Remembered**

---

A month ago, I had the pleasure of spending an hour online with Nathan's sister, Rachel, so when Dr. Karen Ross just asked me to pull a memory from my brain, I thumbed through my phone's memory, like Dumbledore rummaging through the vials near his pensieve. This story speaks of legacy and synchronicity. Dr. Alexander was the Academic Advisor for the Nepali, or Nepalese, students. Around the time that he was diagnosed with leukemia and was making the arduous decision of hospital preference in Washington near his parents or Massachusetts near his daughter, the Nepali students at Troy University suffered a great tragedy. Two cars full of Nepali students were involved in two separate wrecks on Highway 231 heading towards Montgomery. Many of those students were hospitalized, some long-term. One even passed away. Nathan was so concerned about his students that it took his mind off of his leukemia. He even put off heading for treatment for a few weeks so that he could help them through the tragedy because he felt that they needed him. Here in Troy, we remember that he was a wonderful and caring Academic Advisor.

The Alexander family has a friend named James Beiger. He currently drives a shuttle at an airport out on the West Coast where he recently picked up a young man from Nepal. As he drove, the two of them conversed. James came to find out that this young man had gone to Troy University where his old friend, Nathan Alexander, had worked. It turned out that this young man had been one of Nathan's Nepali students. Now, I don't know if this young man had been involved in this wreck, but he certainly had to have been here when all of that happened. He expressed nothing but love for Nathan Alexander.

Imagine how wonderful it must be when your son's touch reaches from beyond the grave to send a young man to a family friend, especially when the young man had such love and affection for that son. May we all have such positive influences on the people we meet in life.

Patty Jones

**Phi Alpha Theta Inductees, Fall & Spring 2016-17**

---



T. Michael Davis  
Bo Furlong  
Coale Jordan  
Sara Lane  
Ansley Markwell  
Sara Elizabeth Parker  
Matthew West



Professor Nathan Alexander

(photograph courtesy of the Alexander family)