The Alexandrian

Troy University Department of History and Philosophy

& Phi Alpha Theta – Iota Mu

In Remembrance of Professor Nathan Alexander

Editor

Nola Aycock

Faculty Review Board

Tim Buckner

Aaron Hagler

Adam Hoose

Marty Olliff

Rob Kruckeberg

Luke Ritter

Robin O'Sullivan

David Carlson

Jay Valentine

Selection Committee

Nola Aycock

Daniel McCray

Karen Ross

Faculty Editor

Karen Ross

Copy Editor

Lauren Post

Nathan Alexander biography by

Alice Rivera

Templates courtesy of

Zachary Henson

Layout

Nola Aycock

Front Cover

Hunter Irby

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.

The Alexandrian

Articles

Extras

Café Liberté: The Role of the Coffeehouse in the French Revolution

Eddy Kyle Gilpin

Abstract:

The Parisian café of the late eighteenth century played a vital role in the French Revolution. Numbering more than eight hundred during the early days of the Revolution, the cafés of Paris provided a network from which information was spread, an atmosphere ripe for debating political ideas, and the means to control the opinion of a public on the brink of revolution; not to mention the drink that is, historically, the one most responsible for spurring rebellion: coffee. From the firing of the first rifle at the Bastille prison on July 14, 1789, until the fall of Robespierre in 1794 and beyond, the French café was the staging area for one of western history's most important political movements.

Les Motionnaires au caffé du caveau.

At the National Library of France, there is an eighteenth-century colored etching of a busy room, filled with people engaged in conversations (see previous page). On the right, there is a group of three men listening as another reads from a newspaper; in the middle, a man is standing, gesturing to others at a table; a young boy, followed by a small, energetic dog hurries around the room selling pages of the newest gazette; in the back, political reading material is hung on the stovepipe for all to read; to the left, two men are reading from a newspaper, discussing the events of the day, while a soldier leans in, eavesdropping on the conversation. The title of the piece is called *Les motionnaires au Caffé du Caveau* (Motion makers at the Café du Caveau). "Motion makers" was the phrase used to describe the groups of people responsible for writing motions to the National Assembly.[1] The location of this scene, the Café du Caveau, was one of several cafés that were the locus of the fury of the French Revolution, not only at its inception but also throughout the Reign of Terror as well. The Parisian coffeehouse of the late eighteenth century was fundamental in giving the French populace the public space they needed to gather and foment the ideas that brought about a revolution. More than an establishment to buy a cup of coffee and find a quiet place to read, French cafés were places of debate, as well as the exchange of information. In the years before, and even during the French Revolution, the cafés became places where liberal thoughts were put forth, radical ideology was preached, and revolutionary action was spurred.

Few scholars study, in any detail, the connection between the café and the French Revolution. Author Woodruff Smith, in one work, points out many reasons why these establishments were so popular, particularly at the end of the eighteenth century, while in another he explains why the beverage offered in the café, namely coffee, was the driving force behind the Revolution.[2] Jordan Goodman's work on European coffee consumption

---

[1] Thierry Rigogne, "Readers and Reading in Cafés, 1660-1800," *French Historical Studies*, 41, no. 3, (August 2018), 478.

[2] Woodruff D. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Woodruff Smith, "From Coffeehouse to Parlour: The Consumption of Coffee, Tea, and Sugar in North-Western Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Consuming Habits: Global and Historical Perspectives on How Cultures Define* Drugs, ed. Jordan Goodman, Paul E. Lovejoy, and Andrew Sherratt (New York: Routledge, 2007) 142-57.

focuses on France during the eighteenth century and explains how the French colonies in the West Indies were responsible for sating their desire for coffee.[3] Robert Darnton's work on how information was disseminated during the eighteenth century makes the case that the café attracted people more for the daily news that was discussed there than for the beverage offered there.[4] Finally, Thierry Rigogne's article explains how the intensity of public readings in Parisian cafés formed public opinion in the early years of the French Revolution.[5]

In 1689, a Sicilian immigrant, François Procopio obtained a license as a *limondier*, or "lemonade salesman," and opened the café that became one of the most important and most popular in all of Paris: The Café de Procope.[6] The owner combined extravagant decor with a new way to make coffee to provide Paris with a coffeehouse that stood as the ideal Parisian café.[7] Large numbers of people constantly gathered in his establishment to drink his coffee and discuss intellectual topics at such a rate that Woodruff Smith calls the Café de Procope "the unofficial assembly room of the Enlightenment."[8] It is of interest to note that exactly one hundred years later, the coffeehouse of Paris went from being a place of exotic wonders to a place of unquenchable revolution.[9] During the years 1789 to 1793, many of the events of the French Revolution had their beginnings either in or in the vicinity of the Parisian cafés.

The Golden Age of the café was the eighteenth century,[10] as their popularity at that time is difficult to overstate. Even by twenty-first century standards, when we are inundated with Starbucks and specialty coffee shops seemingly on every corner, it is hard

---

[3] Jordan Goodman, "Excitantia: or, how enlightenment Europe took to soft drugs," in *Consuming Habits: Global and Historical Perspectives on How Cultures Define Drugs*, ed. Jordan Goodman, Paul E. Lovejoy, and Andrew Sherratt (New York: Routledge, 2007), 121-41.

[4] Robert Darnton, "An Early Information Society: News and the Media in Eighteenth-Century Paris," *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 1 (Spring 2000), 1-35.

[5] Rigogne, "Readers," 473-90.

[6] Mark Pendergrast, *Uncommon Grounds: The History of Coffee and How It Transformed Our World* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 9.

[7] Federación Nacional de Cafeteros de Colombia, "Coffee and Politics," accessed July 20, 2019, http://www.cafedecolombia.com/particulares/en/sobre_el_cafe/mucho_mas_que_una_bebida/cafe_y_politica/. Procopio was the first in Paris to use a filter to keep the ground coffee out of the drinker's cup.

[8] Smith, *Consumption*, 143.

[9] The Café de Procope opened in 1689. The French Revolution began in 1789.

[10] Smith, "From Coffeehouse to Parlour," 145.

to comprehend the number of cafés available to the French, particularly those in Paris. The estimates vary a great deal, but even the most conservative claim that there were between 600 and 800 coffeehouses in Paris, alone, during the middle to late eighteenth century.[11]

The demographics of these establishments were as varied as the places themselves were numerous.[12] Seemingly, each had a specific clientele to which it catered. The Procope, of course, appealed to the upper class, but many more looked to serve the more modest Parisian. This was especially true during the Revolution, as certain political clubs met in particular cafés to discuss and debate the topics of the day. The Dutch Café, for example, became "the haunt" of the Jacobites; the Café de Valois was where The Society of the Friends of the Constitution (The Feuillants) met, during their brief existence, to read the *Journal de Paris*; the Royal Drummer was notorious for its low-class and raucous crowd.[13] There was even a café that stood out for nothing else other than being what the others were not: quiet. Wilhelm von Wolzogen, a visitor to Paris from 1789-1791, wrote, "I went with [my friend] to the Café du Caveau…. The place is not particularly noisy. No café orator, no famous man around whom a studious author is gathered."[14] It is noteworthy that the Caveau was an outlier, because it did not have an orator giving a speech. The etching described at the beginning of this article shows groups of motion makers huddled together, no one commanding the entire room.[15] Compare this with how one Revolutionary leader, Camille Desmoulins described the cafés of central Paris:

> [T]hose with stentorian voices," Desmoulins wrote, "take it in turns to speak every evening. They stand on tables, people band together to listen to their speeches. They read out the

[11] Smith, 145; William H. Ukers, *All About Coffee* (New York: The Tea and Coffee Trade Journal Co., 1922), 94; Julia Landweber, "This Marvelous Bean: Adopting Coffee into Old Regime French Culture and Diet," *French Historical Studies*, 38, no. 2, (April 2015), 209 claims there were nearly two thousand cafes in Paris the 1780s.

[12] Ukers, *All About Coffee*; For a large, yet far from exhaustive list of cafés in Paris during the eighteenth century, see 100-02.

[13] Ukers, 103; Jean Robiquet, *Daily Life in the French Revolution* (London: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1965), 39; Ukers, *All About Coffee,* 96.

[14] Wilhelm von Wolzogen, *Journal de Voyage á Paris (1789-1791): Suivi du Journal Politique (1793) et de la Correspondance Diplomatique*, French trans. Michel Tremousa (Paris: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1998), 29. Trans. using www.deepl.com, July 9, 2019.

[15] Rigogne, "Readers," 478.

most powerful writing of the day on current affairs. The silence is broken only by shouts of 'bravo' for the most stirring parts. Then [when they are finished] the patriots cry 'more!'[16]

While these cafés were spread throughout the city, there was one place where they were intensely concentrated. The Palais Royal was a district of central Paris, owned by a member of the royal family, Philippe Orleans, but was open to the public.[17] It was a nearly enclosed courtyard with several large trees in the center, surrounded by buildings of various sizes and uses. The Palais Royal was comprised of several cafés. According to Diliberto, "As the epicenter of the Paris cafés, the Palais Royal housed twenty-five cafés."[18] Located here were two cafés that were instrumental in the French Revolution: Café de Procope and Café de Foy.[19] It was for this reason that one revolutionary leader referred to the Palais Royal as "the patriot's camp."[20] It was here that the seed of the Revolution was planted.

In looking at the role the coffeehouse played in the French Revolution, there was a clear connection, though most may not be aware of it. Though certainly many events preceded it, most consider the beginning of the Revolution to be the taking of the Bastille prison by the mob on July 14, 1789, and for that they would not be entirely incorrect. The French themselves celebrate "Bastille Day" every year. The connection with the café, however, lies under the shade of the trees of the Palais Royal, and in the fiery speech of a young journalist named Camille Desmoulins two days before the bloody Revolution begun.

Of Paris in June, 1789, French historian Jules Michelet said, "The ground was burning and as if undermined; and, underneath, you might hear already the grumbling of

---

[16] Camille Desmoulins, "Camille to Jean-Nicolas, Undated between June 24 and July 12, 1789," *Letters*, trans. Simone Remy, Melkam Live Journal, https://melkam.livejournal.com/6939.
[17] Denise Diliberto, "Cafés and Pamphlets of the French Revolution: Critical Components in the Dissemination of Revolutionary Discourse and Public Opinion," (M.A. thesis, Southern Illinois University, 2018), 1.
[18] Diliberto, 5.
[19] Ukers, *All About Coffee*, 100.
[20] Desmoulins, "June/July 1789."

the volcano."[21] That volcano needed the slightest of nudges to explode. That nudge came on Saturday, July 11, 1789, with the dismissal by the king of Jacques Necker, the popular comptroller-general of finances who had taken steps to make the financial information of the crown available to the public. The volcano erupted the next day, when news of the dismissal reached the public in the cafés. Michelet explains what happened:

> On Sunday morning, July 12, nobody at Paris, up to 10 o'clock, had yet heard of Necker's dismissal. The first who spoke of it in the Palais Royal was called an aristocrat.... It was then noon, and the cannon of the Palais Royal was fired…. A young man, Camille Desmoulins, rushed from the Café de Foy, leaped upon a table, drew a sword, and showed a pistol: 'To arms!' cried he… 'Let us hoist a cockade!' He tore down a leaf from a tree, and stuck it in his hat: everybody followed his example and the trees were stripped of their leaves.[22]

After his speech, Desmoulins and about a thousand of his followers "marched away from the Café on their errand of Revolution."[23] That "errand" included a stop at the Hôtel des Invalides, where cannons and muskets were taken that were used against the Bastille on July 14. A few months later, Desmoulins wrote to his father, Jean-Nicolas, about the events that took place in the Palais Royal that day:

> [N]othing can ever beat the happiness I felt on July 12 when I was not merely cheered by ten thousand people at the Palais Royal, but suffocated by their embraces mingled with tears. Then perhaps, I saved Paris from complete ruin and the nation for the most dreadful servitude…. In the revolution, I have written my name in bigger letters than all our deputies in Picardy…. I have been able to take my place among the writers, patriots, and men of character.[24]

The connection between the café and the Revolution is clear. A ubiquitous establishment that provided, not only a beverage historically related to revolution, but also a gathering space for those (Desmoulins hyperbolically says "ten thousand") interested in ideals of the Enlightenment. In the common area outside of one of these establishments, Desmoulins found the courage to call to arms his countrymen. The leaves of the trees (and the later cockade) pinned to everyone's hat could easily serve as a symbolic nod to

---

[21] Jules Michelet, *History of the French Revolution* (London: 1855), trans. Charles Cocks, ebook (Oxford: Oxford University Press), Feb. 10, 2009, 133.
[22] Michelet, 133.
[23] Ukers, *All About Coffee*, 100.
[24] Camille Desmoulins, "Camille to Jean-Nicolas, September 1789," *Letters*, trans. Simone Remy, Melkam Live Journal, https://melkam.livejournal.com/5996.

the cafés of Paris and the Revolution that they spawned. Without the former, there may have not been the latter.

The café filled a need that Parisians of the eighteenth century had. Up until the latter part of the century, the job of governing and foreign affairs was thought of as *le secret du roi*, or "the king's secret."[25] After the Revolution began, the French public looked beyond the king and the Church to see that they should be responsible for governing. Even before the first fuse was lit at the Bastille, public opinion, formed in the cafés, had turned sharply against the king.[26] During this turbulent time, as France was undergoing a dramatic and painful rebirth, the exchanging of ideas was slow, even by standards of the time. The main reason for this was the lack of publications and press. As Robert Darnton explains, "[T]he press was free; and it was also underdeveloped, if you compare it with the press in Holland, England, and Germany. The first French daily newspaper, *Le Journal de Paris*, did not appear until 1777."[27] The lack of printed material, coupled with fact that less than half of the population could read, meant that the public needed other ways to communicate.[28] It seems that literacy rates did not affect the dissemination of information during the period. As Rigogne reports, "[e]veryone was informed… through other more reactive media, many which thrived in cafés. Information circulated faster orally as well as in a multitude of written formats, from private letters to topical songs and verses…."[29]

The café spurred on the Revolution, essentially, because it served as a base for the exchange of ideas.[30] Coffee, entertainment, and other things offered there were aids to conversation in various ways, but were, at best, secondary to what was important to the

---

[25] Darnton, "An Early Information Society," 4.

[26] Darnton, 19.

[27] Darnton, 7.

[28] James Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: University Press, 2001), 80-81.

[29] Rigogne, "Readers," 481; see also 488.

[30] Smith, "From Coffeehouse to Parlour," 145 says the late seventeenth century English socialite Samuel Pepys went to the coffeehouse "to engage in his two favorite hobbies: exchanging information and social climbing." See Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Henry B. Wheatley (London: George Bell & Sons, 1893).

Parisians of the day: information.[31] "Coffeehouses were central locations for the interchanges among intellectuals that constituted much of the structure of the Enlightenment…. Why coffeehouses? In part because the consumption of coffee… promoted the sobriety appropriate for the discussion of important subjects."[32] Patrons of the café "did not just read silently or listen passively to gazettes… read aloud; they discussed, weighed, assessed, criticized, and formed opinions about their contents."[33]

The café continued to hold a prominent place, even after the Revolution began. The day after the taking of the Bastille, July 15, 1789, Georges Danton, a lawyer who became an early leader in the revolutionary government, gathered a mob at the Café Procope and led a march to city hall to continue the demands for change.[34] Nearly two years later, the National Constituent Assembly, fearing a rebellion, passed Le Chapelier Law on June 14, 1791, outlawing the meeting of guilds and other such organizations the Assembly deemed susceptible to rebellious conversation. The law effectively banned guilds from meeting in their official houses and halls. As a result, the café became one of few places in all of Paris where people could legally meet.[35] Evidence exists of political clubs' meeting in certain cafés and taking up donations and club dues to finance the wars that were breaking out along the French border as result of the Revolution.[36]

Because of its appeal to a broad range of Parisians, the café became the place where public opinion was formed. Desmoulins was not the last to use the political interest of café patrons to his advantage. The café was the key that opened the way for gossip and revolutionary fervor alike to be spread quickly to the populace. Political debates and public readings of newspapers in Parisian cafés meant that they "played a leading role…

---

[31] Augustin Challamel, *Le Clubs Contre-Révolutionnaires, Cercles, Comités, Sociétés, Salons, Réunions, Cafés, Restaurants et Librairies* (Paris: L. Cerf, 1895), 600-1.
[32] Smith, "From Coffeehouse to Parlour," 149.
[33] Rigogne, "Readings," 488.
[34] Diliberto, "Café and Pamphlets," 16.
[35] Diliberto, 5.
[36] *Journal de Paris*, August 29, 1791, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015041821151&view=1up&seq=103. According to the article, "The Café de Procope… the meeting place for… excellent patriots, sent a delegation with a donation of 50 louis (US$500 in 2015) to buy rifles for the national guards." Translated using www.deepl.com July 11, 2019.

in the formation of public opinion…."[37] Not only were cafés the way to test the wind of public opinion, but were also the source of political policies, on some occasions. The decisions of the Assembly were many times made because of what those in the cafés thought. As nineteenth century French politician Narcisse-Achille Salvandy said, "No government can go against the sentiment of the cafés. The Revolution took place, because they were for the Revolution."[38]

The Reign of Terror is the name given to the violent months following the Revolution's beginning until the execution of its leader, Maximilien Robespierre in July 1794. As the favored meeting places for groups such as the Jacobins, the café was central to the Terror's leaders. It was from the cafés, in September 1793, that the pronouncement of Robespierre's Law of the Maximum was made known.[39] This law, controlling the price of food, was in response to counterrevolutionaries and grain hoarders, and the fact that the announcements were first made in the cafés assured that the vast majority of Parisians would be informed. This action, alone, illustrates how important and instrumental the cafés were during the French Revolution.

During the Reign of Terror there were several underground groups formed in rebellion to the new government. One such was called *Les Incroyables*, or The Incredibles, among other names.[40] This group was made up of "absentee conscripts, deserters and shirkers from military service, the sons of bourgeoisie" as well as journalists, legal officials, and employees of various shops and banks around Paris.[41] *Les Incroyables,* also called The Muscadins, for their musky perfume they wore in defiance of The Terror, had a network of spies used to alert members in the event of emergency.[42]

---

[37] Rigogne, "Readers," 475-76, 486.
[38] Ukers, *All About Coffee*, 100.
[39] Marc Bouloisea, "The Committee of Public Safety And The Reign Of Terror," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed December 2019, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Maximilien-Robespierre/The-Committee-of-Public-Safety-and-the-Reign-of-Terror. Will and Ariel Durant, in their book *The Story of Civilization: The Age of Napoleon*, 62-63 claim that this move by Robespierre sparked the Reign of Terror.
[40] François Gendron, *Gilded Youth of Thermidor*, trans. James Cookson (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 14 mentions several, including "black collars," "Society of Jesus," "the gilded million," and "*oreilles de chien*," or "dog's ears" meaning earlocks.
[41] Gendron, 12.
[42] Gendron, 14.

These young rebels found the best way to stay in contact, while at the same time blending in with the society that existed at the time was to be in the cafés. The Muscadins, according to Françios Gendron, "could mobilize perhaps some two to three thousand young men. Their rallying point was the Café de Chartres or des Canonniers, at the Palais Royal."[43] Gendron later quotes one of the leaders, Louis Jullian who wrote

> This [the café] was where we gathered to tell one another what we had learnt of the designs of the common enemy, discuss our plans and concerns, draw up our strategies. This was where we set out from whenever we had something major to undertake. This was the daily meeting place of muscadins from all over Paris.[44]

The café continued to play a prominent place during this time, as well. The popularity of cafés attracted other businesses to their vicinity. One such business, located next to the Café de Foy was a cutlery shop where Charlotte Corday, a moderate sympathizer, bought a knife she later used to kill Jean-Paul Marat, one of the Revolution's most outspoken leaders, while he was in his bathtub on July 13, 1793.[45]

The café and the French Revolution are irrevocably joined. The Revolution started, primarily, in a coffeehouse because the café was a place where ideas were freely exchanged and news could be spread quickly. This was what drew people to the café. This draw was so strong, that, even during the time of The Reign of Terror, the café continued to be a place where rebellious ideas could stir up the people.

On January 21, 1793, the people of Paris executed King Louis XVI by sending him to Antoine Louis's invention, the "national razor," better known as the guillotine. Two days later, in his journal, revolutionary leader Jean Paul Marat quoted a man named Cambon who said, "We have finally docked on the isle of freedom, and we have burned the vessel that brought us there."[46] Without the public space and information-hungry populace the café provided, the movement known as the French Revolution may never

---

[43] Gendron, 14.
[44] Gendron, 14.
[45] Charles Lockwood, "In Search of the French Revolution in Paris," *Chicago Tribune*, January 29, 1989. https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-1989-01-29-8903010121-story.html
[46] Jean Paul Marat, "The Execution of the Tyrant," *Journal de la Republique Française*, 105 (January 23, 1793), trans. Mitch Abidor, 2004, https://www.marxists.org/history/france/revolution/marat/1793/tyrant.htm#n1.

have found the prevailing winds it needed to succeed. If the death of the king was truly the landing of a ship on an island, then at the very least, the café represents the dock from which she was launched. *Liberté, égalité, fraternité, et le café!*

Propaganda in Vietnam

Bobby Craig Sinquefield

Abstract:

The earliest examples of propaganda date back to around 515 BCE and have been used with varying degrees of success and failure ever since. During World War II, Hitler employed a wildly successful propaganda campaign, even though he lost the war. Almost a decade later, in 1954, the United States embarked on a propaganda campaign in Vietnam. While the United States' propaganda campaign was successful in the beginning, it quickly began to flounder and fail. As the ground war began and escalated, the United States propaganda machine continued to fail in its propaganda efforts, not only in Vietnam but also at home and around the world. These propaganda failures, as well as the loss of a brutally violent war, were combined with declining support at home and ravaging television images to create a perfect storm that caused a myriad of emotional and cultural responses that linger to this day. The below image promised enemy soldiers that their medical needs would be met if they surrendered.

On April 26, 1954, delegates from the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States, France, and China met in Geneva Switzerland to discuss problems in Asia, specifically the war between Vietnam nationalists and French colonizers. As part of the agreement reached in July of 1954, the French agreed to remove all troops from North Vietnam to below the 17th parallel until the country was able to have a presidential election and, hopefully, reunite the country. When American propaganda efforts in Vietnam began in 1954, the chief of covert action in the United States Saigon Military Mission was Colonel Edward Lansdale. Col. Lansdale's job was to oversee the United States' first propaganda efforts in Vietnam, the first operation of which was "Passage to Freedom."

The object of this operation was for both American and French forces to work together to relocate as many people as possible from North Vietnam to below the 17th parallel into South Vietnam. From 1954 to 1955, Col. Lansdale and his men used a variety of different gimmicks and tricks to entice the Vietnamese people to move to South Vietnam, such as fake news reports and sending South Vietnamese soldiers in disguise to spread rumors in the North. Although Col. Lansdale's maneuvers and ploys were successful, it was his next campaign that was his most successful and the one for which he has been best known.[1]

"The Virgin Mary has Gone South" is probably Col. Lansdale's best-known propaganda campaign and was the second push to relocate Vietnamese citizens from North Vietnam to South Vietnam. In this campaign, the strategy was to use the religious sentiments of the Catholic citizens, by alleging that the Communist government of North Vietnam had plans to persecute Christians unless they moved to the South under Ngo Dinh Diem's Catholic friendly government. Through their efforts, Col. Lansdale's men were able to convince 60 percent of the 1.5 million North Vietnamese Catholics to flee to South Vietnam. Although they employed some leaflets and posters, the majority of this

---

[1] Nicholas John Cull, David Holbrook Culbert, and David Welch, *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia, 1500 to the Present* (Santa Barbara, Ca: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2003), 421; "The Seabees and Operation Passage to Freedom, Vietnam 1954 Seabee Online," accessed December 5, 2019, https://seabeemagazine.navylive.dodlive.mil/2013/02/14/the-seabees-and-operation-passage-to-freedom-vietnam-1954/.

task was accomplished through the use of undercover South Vietnamese soldiers spreading rumors and priests making it the subject of their sermons.[2]

The failure of the United States government to effectively produce and manage propaganda surrounding the war in Vietnam has lasting consequences that are still felt today. The United States' psychological operations in Vietnam were unable to plan and execute programs successfully. They did not understand the way news and information was transmitted and were unable to maintain popular support for the war. These failures led to distrust of the United States government at home and abroad, mistreatment and neglect of our war veterans, and it changed the way we receive our news about world conflicts. This paper will argue that many of the United States' attempts at propaganda during the Vietnam War were futile because the United States was unable to plan and execute their propaganda operations, they failed to understand the way information was transferred and disseminated among the Vietnamese population, and they were unable to gain popular support for the war effort.

America's first failure in propaganda during Vietnam was its inability to devise a strategy and put its operations into effect. A good example of this is the Chieu Hoi program which ran from 1963 to 1971. The Chieu Hoi program targeted North Vietnamese soldiers and guerilla fighters, promising them a "safe pass" that guaranteed the defectors amnesty, fair treatment, and resettlement. The defectors were sent to Chieu Hoi centers that the United States had set up throughout South Vietnam for reeducation and reintroduction to civilian life. To inform soldiers and guerillas about these centers, the United States used posters in villages, deployed leaflets that were dropped from planes in various ways, and broadcast messages to people on the ground via loudspeakers.[3] While the Chieu Hoi program was a good plan in concept and theory, two key failures in its execution refute its credibility as a successful program: communication barriers and its targeted audience.

---

[2] Cull, Culbert, and Welch, 421.
[3] James O. Whittaker, "Psychological Warfare in Vietnam," *Political Psychology* 18, no. 1 (March 1997): 167-169; Robert J. Kodosky, "Leaflets, Loudspeakers, and Radios, Oh My!," *Air Power History* 64, no. 3 (Fall 2017): 9.

"Language immediately emerged as a barrier against effective communication between Americans and their Vietnamese counterparts," said Dr. Robert Kodosky, chair of the History Department at West Chester University. [4] The literacy rate was very low, with only a few people in each village knowing how to read. As a consequence of the low literacy rate, leaflets and posters would have to convey their message with pictures rather than text. Even worse than the literacy rate was the number of people on either side who could understand enough English and Vietnamese to be able to communicate. In the Chieu Hoi centers, teachers could not understand their students and the students could not understand their teachers. As a result, the U. S. Army began to teach people Vietnamese, but it did not change the reality that there were never enough people who spoke both languages and, as a result, none of the messages could effectively be communicated.

Dr. Kodosky's analysis of the aviation and leaflet program that ran during Vietnam gives vast details of the planes used, which delivery systems were used for distributing the leaflets, and the number of leaflets dropped and hours that were broadcast – all statistics that make the program look successful. Then he describes the problems with the program: the language barrier, difficulty in assessing the program, and lack of support and resources. I agree with Dr. Kodosky's analysis because, despite all of the impressive statistics, the problems he described could have shut the program down. Dr. Kodosky concludes his analysis by stating that, "they knew too little about the hearts and minds of the people who resided there." [5] I agree with Dr. Kodosky's conclusion, the fact that we did not know much about the Vietnamese people has been echoed in the first-hand accounts of Dr. David Hunt and Dr. James Whittaker.[6]

The second failure in the Chieu Hoi program was its inability to reach its targeted audience and the validity of those reached. Dr. James Whittaker, a social psychologist, spent time in Vietnam in 1966 studying the Chieu Hoi program with a group from Cambridge. He makes a point that one of the first things that he noticed was that, "most

---

[4] Kodosky, 7.
[5] Kodosky, 12.
[6] David Hunt, "Propaganda and the Public: The Shaping of Opinion in the Southern Vietnamese Countryside during the Second Indochina War," *SOJOURN: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 31, no. 2 (July 2016); Whittaker, "Psychological Warfare in Vietnam."

of those in Chieu Hoi centers had been laborers digging tunnels or carrying supplies for the VC."[7] Dr. Whittaker makes a good point that the targeted group only makes up a small percentage of those in the centers. Dr. Whittaker's observation that, for the few soldiers or guerillas in the centers, there was no way to know their true motives. This sheds light on the fact that there was no way to tell if someone was really defecting or were there for a nefarious purpose. The centers were open for anybody and, at times, received the wounded and soldiers trying to evade capture. Dr. Whittaker at one point hinted at the prospect that some of these "defectors" could be spies. I agree with his assessment but think that odds were good that some of these defectors were spies.[8]

Another thing that Dr. Whittaker noticed when he first arrived was that the political indoctrination lacked substance. Dr. Whittaker observed that "South Vietnamese instructors simply reading from political propaganda while defectors slept or dozed."[9] This example alone shows that no effort was put into trying to reeducate these fighters and guerilla, regardless of any present language barriers. Also, there are no records of any type of quality control measures to ensure that what was taught was learned and retained. Dr. Whittaker concludes that the Chieu Hoi programs should have focused more on the Vietnamese citizens than on enemy combatants and that the Americans should have used more of an "interpersonal communication approach" than leaflets and loudspeakers.[10]

Understanding the way information was collected and transmitted in a technologically undeveloped country was the next weakness that lead to the failure of the propaganda war in Vietnam. While many in the world received news of the war through a variety of ways such as television, radio, newspapers, and magazines, the citizens of Vietnam were heavily reliant on one method: the grapevine. The way the grapevine worked was the best reader in the village would read aloud from the newspaper and give his commentary on events to those listening as he read. The people who were listening

---

[7] Whittaker, 176.
[8] Whittaker, 167-168.
[9] Whittaker, 168.
[10] Whittaker, 178.

would return home afterward and report what they had heard to friends and family, and then their friends and family would spread what they had heard in the fields at work the next day.[11] The grapevine was how the majority of the population received their news, but the information had to originate from somewhere.

Dr. David Hunt, a professor of History at the University of Massachusetts, studied interviews that were done with villagers in the Mekong Delta and discovered that their main source of information for the grapevine was through newspapers and radio programs. While access to radios was limited, listening to the radio, like reading, was a social event.

Due to poor reception, radio programming was limited, so the villagers would tune in to whatever station would come in clear and the whole village would gather and listen to the broadcast and then spread the new information through the grapevine.

Although radio was an efficient way to spread news and propaganda to a mass audience, due to poor reception and the limited availability of radios, it was simply unable to reach many people with its message. According to Hunt, most Vietnamese received their news of the war through local city newspapers. Much like the American newspaper sources, the local city newspapers contained news on the war but also contained stories, poems and helpful advice on daily life during a war. Since reading has been a social event for the Vietnamese, they preferred reading their news from a source that addressed issues of life other than just the war.[12]

Another aspect of the newspapers, leaflets, and posters produced by American forces that the Vietnamese did not like was the fact that they contained graphic photographs and artwork. Some of the photographs and images depicted American soldiers trying to help villagers, but the majority featured American military might and graphic images of casualties of war or torture victims to intimidate.[13] North Vietnamese propaganda art that was featured on leaflets and posters was all hand-painted by soldiers and villagers that were trained by Vietnamese folk artists. The artwork was colorful and

---

[11] Hunt, "Propaganda and the Public," 504-506.
[12] Hunt, 501-502.
[13] "History of PSYOP," accessed October 30, 2019, http://www.psywarrior.com/psyhist.html.

full of socialist images and depicted the myriad of struggles they all were facing. The Socialist realist images that dominated the artwork, "celebrated the strength and determination of a Vietnamese people united against a superpower."[14] Once the artwork was approved for use by the North Vietnamese Government, it was mass-produced in small numbers for distribution, unlike the Americans that mass-produced thousands of leaflets and posters.

The final failure in America's propaganda war in Vietnam was its inability to win enduring support for the war both at home and abroad, which was due largely to how the media covered the war. During World War II and Korea, most Americans received their news from newspapers or the radio, and the government had certain controls in place to censor how much information the American citizen received about the war. By 1962, 90 percent of American homes had television sets and it completely changed how America got its news.[15] Every night during the height of the war, images of troops in and out of combat in Vietnam were seen on television screens in homes across America. Dr. Huebner commented that "Vietnam is best remembered as the first televised war."[16] Due to inadequate policy, television stations broadcast graphic, uncensored images of the brutality of war. It was blatant, shocking and, frankly, too much for the average American citizen to see on a nightly basis.

During the early stages of the war, there was very little press coverage other than the occasional story about the spread of Communism in Vietnam and Eisenhower's "Domino Theory." From 1960 to 1965, as tensions escalated in Vietnam, so did the media coverage until television networks had to extend their broadcast time to cover it.[17] Despite the graphic images that American citizens were exposed to nightly, support for the war remained high for several years. The American people and the world felt that we

---

[14] David Heather and Sherry Buchanan, *Vietnam Posters: The David Heather Collection*, (London: Prestel Publishing, 2009), 13.

[15] TV History, "Number of TV Households in America: 1950-1978," Accessed March 23, 2020, http://www.tvhistory.tv/Annual_TV_Households_50-78.JPG.

[16] Andrew J. Huebner, "Rethinking American Press Coverage of the Vietnam War, 1965-68," *Journalism History; Athens* 31, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 151.

[17] Alan Rohn, "Media Role in The Vietnam War," *The Vietnam War*, n.d., accessed December 10, 2019, http://thevietnamwar.info/media-role-vietnam-war/.

were doing our duty to fight the rise of Communism. Over the next three years, violence escalated in Vietnam until it appeared the war was at a stalemate until one coordinated attack by North Vietnam left the Americans with a strategic victory but at the cost of support back home.

In January 1968, there was a temporary ceasefire for the Vietnamese Tet holiday. The North Vietnamese broke the ceasefire and launched a country-wide coordinated attack. American and South Vietnamese troops were caught completely off guard. Despite large initial losses, the U.S. Army fought back and accomplished a notable defeat of the North Vietnamese. Rather than focus on the big picture, the media focused on adverse actions of combat such as the Battle of Hue and the attack on the U.S. Embassy.[18] I agree with Dr. Huebner when he said that he did not think the media was antiwar after Tet, they just "lay bare the confusion, misery, difficulty, and tragedy of the conflict."[19] Due to the media coverage of Tet, public support for the war dropped dramatically, as "Americans… were shaken by the television images of its armed forces in disarray during the early stages of the conflict and disturbed by the extreme violence of the U.S. counterattack."[20] As the war dragged on, the media did not shy away from showing graphic images and increasingly showed more and more. The more the public saw of the war, the lower their support dropped. In the words of Tom Englehardt, it was a "home front televisual disaster."[21]

This low support of the war did not end when the war was over but carried on for many years after and has lasting consequences that are still felt today. Public support for the war was so low that when the troops came home, they were not greeted as heroes like veterans of past wars, but rather looked at as if they were criminals, with judgment and disapproval. Many of the troops returned and developed Post Traumatic Stress Disorder due to going from fighting a physical enemy to fighting a mental and emotional one with no time for adjustment. There was not a lot of help available for veterans suffering from

---

[18] Alan Rohn.
[19] Huebner, "Rethinking American Press Coverage," 151.
[20] Cull, Culbert, and Welch, *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion*, 419.
[21] Tom Engelhardt, *The End of the Victory Culture: Cold War America and the Disillusioning of a Generation*, Rev.ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1995), 205.

PTSD, so many withdrew and depended on drugs and alcohol to self-medicate and cope with their issues. There are many Vietnam veterans today who continue to deal with these issues.

While the definition of propaganda is broad, its most basic objective is to win the hearts and minds of the targeted audience. To do that, one must have credible information about the target audience. America had been doing propaganda operations in Asia since the 1940s and specifically in Vietnam since the early 1950s, yet still did not know enough information about the native people of Vietnam to produce effective propaganda. Instead of sticking to the grapevine concept that served them so well during "The Virgin Mary went South," the United States relied more on a leaflet and audio broadcasts which were ineffective at reaching their target audience.

This lack of knowledge of the people of Vietnam was put on display in the United States' inability to properly plan and execute the Chieu Hoi program. The inability of operatives to be able to relate to their target audience was blamed on communication barriers which may not have been as big a problem if they had targeted a different demographic group. Next, the United States failed by not being able to understand the transfer of information in a country that not technologically advanced. They did not understand that information traveled through the grapevine or that listening to the radio or reading the newspaper was a social event. By understanding how knowledge and information were transferred, the United States could have developed techniques and propaganda to reach people in a way which they were accustomed to.

Lastly, the United States was unable to get popular support for the war. Popular support is fickle and can change with the printing of a headline. Losing popular support at the hands of the media the way we did still affects how people view the Vietnam War today. It also changed the way war is reported today. The United States government has put limits on what can be shown on TV and in pictures, both in magazines and news articles, while still allowing freedom of the press to report on what is happening.

The outcome of the propaganda war in Vietnam does not change the outcome of the actual ground war that was going on. It does offer lessons to be learned for future

wars and conflicts. Technology is a wonderful thing and can make some aspects of life so much easier, but when that technology is taken away it leaves us unable to fully relate to the situation. American forces faced this situation as they tried to propagandize a population that was barely literate and did not have technological luxuries; as Americans, we could not relate to or understand their lifestyle. This misunderstanding caused the entire propaganda effort to fail. Nicholas Cull said it best when he stated that "the United States was ultimately the victim of its own propaganda apparatus in Vietnam."[22] Propaganda is a tool that, based solely on the effectiveness of its use, can determine the outcome of wars.

---

[22] Cull, Culbert, and Welch, *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion*, 423.

The World's Columbian Exposition as a Microcosm of Gilded Age Class Differentiations

Dawn Staats

Abstract:

The Chicago World's Fair of 1893 exemplified Gilded Age class differentiations as demonstrated by the people who took part in creating it, the design and arrangement of its structures, and the attractions of its two distinct venues. Exposition developers created the White City to represent the pinnacle of high-brow culture. Nearby, the Midway Plaisance became the playground of the working class and reflected emerging low-brow trends of the era. To comprehend the duality of the Fair is to grasp the bifurcation of American society during the Gilded Age.

The 1890s had only just dawned when author James F. Muirhead landed the assignment of a lifetime. The Baedeker publishing firm dispatched him to study culture in the United States to produce a travel guide for international guests planning to attend the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. His discoveries perplexed him. He found that the only consistency in American culture was its lack of consistency. The absence of cultural cohesion left him, and other foreign visitors bemused. By the summer of 1893, The London *Quarterly Review* made similar observations about the Exposition itself. The lack of a unifying theme made Europeans wonder if Americans knew their own culture at all.[1]

Since then, little has changed in the literature about the Exposition, popularly known as the World's Fair. Historians continue to promote a disjointed view of the Fair and the culture that created it. Authors such as Rosenberg, Badger, Silkenat, and Valance write about the White City as an icon of the Gilded Age. Others, like Gale, highlight the Midway as a premonition of the future. In truth, the totality of the Fair both anticipated the future while drawing from the present. At once, the Exposition was everything that America was and promised to be. To fill the gap in the historiography of the Exposition historians must analyze the individual elements of the fair and compare them to the whole. At present, Exposition historians narrowly focus on specific components of the fair such as Oldham and Boyle did with women's involvement, as Silkenat and Lydersen did with the experiences of laborers, or as Novak did with the Fair's history-altering innovations in technology and consumer goods. To date, few have advanced a comprehensive view of the Exposition as the sum of its parts. We must compare the seemingly disparate spheres of the Fair to find the underlying themes of continuity. By doing so, historians will reveal that the cohesiveness of the Fair has been found within the context of Gilded Age society. Because the Fair was both a snapshot in time and a

---

[1] R. Reid Badger, *The Great American Fair: The World's Columbian Exposition and American Culture,* (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1979), 119.

promise of things to come, studying the culture that created the Fair has been essential for those who hope to better understand the germ of our own time.[2]

Gilded Age America was a developing as a tripartite society, with upper, middle and working-class strata. However the emergent middle class, eager to assume an air of legitimacy, often joined forces with the exclusive set in the struggle for cultural dominance. The alliance widened the chasm between upper and lower classes and created a country with three classes but two cultures. The World's Columbian Exposition served as a microcosm of this societal cleavage. It exemplified Gilded Age class differentiation as demonstrated by the people who took part in creating it, the design and configuration of its structures, and the attractions of its two distinct venues. In its brief life, the fair existed as a chimera—a single entity bearing two unique sets of DNA, each of which was a paradigm for a Gilded Age subculture. Exposition developers fashioned the official site of the Fair, called the Court of Honor, to reflect their highbrow culture. Popularly nicknamed the White City for its uniform color scheme, the Court of Honor was a showcase for liberal arts education and reform. It adopted European art motifs and music as trademarks of refinement. It also trumpeted upper-class faith in capitalism and technological innovation. Among its finer points, it provided a voice for women's advancement. Unfortunately, the Fair was also a platform for nativism and an advertisement for Social Darwinism. The White City's working-class counterpart lay at

---

[2] Chaim M. Rosenberg, *America at the Fair: Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition* (Charleston: Acadia Publishing, 2008); Badger, *The Great American Fair*; David Silkenat, "Workers in the White City: Working Class Culture at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 104, no.4 (Winter 2011): 266-300; Hélène Valance, "Dark City, White City: Chicago's World Columbian Exposition, 1893," *Caliban: French Journal of English Studies,* 25 (2009): 431-443, https:// journals.openedition.org/Caliban/1726; Neil Gale, *The Midway Plaisance: At the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago* (Bellieville, IL: Lulu Press, 2017); Mary Kavanaugh Oldham, ed., *The Congress of Women: Held in the Woman's Building. World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, U.S.A., 1893.* (Chicago: Monarch Book Company, 1894), accessed August 31, 2018; Rachel Boyle, "Types and Beauties: Evaluating and Exoticizing Women on the Midway Plaisance at the 1893 Columbian Exposition," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical* Society 108, no.1 (Spring 2015): 10-31, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/jillistathistsoc.108.1.0010; Silkenat, "Workers," 266-300; Kari Lydersen, "Workers in the White City," Working in These Times, January 22, 2011, http://inthsestimes.com/working/entry/6879/workiers_in_the_white_city; Matt Novak, "Where the Future Came From: A Trip Through the 1893 Chicago World's Fair," last modified July 12, 2013. 12:32, https://paleofuture.gizmodo.com/where-the-future-came-from-a-trip-through-the-1893-chi-743942247.

the west end of the grounds. At the Midway Plaisance, the popular culture of the working class reigned. There, a patchwork of ethnic buildings mirrored the increasingly urban American landscape. Its commercialized pleasure took many common forms of the era. Amusement park-style attractions and commercialized sex drew crowds as did the exhibitions of blood sport and the mimicry of saloon culture. The popularity of these tokens of low brow culture culminated in an early illustration of mass consumerism. The fair's discourse between upper and working-class cultures reflected the conversation over national identity, making its duality an apt symbol for a binary America.[3]

The Fair was conceived on April 30, 1890, when Congress authorized an agency to oversee the preparations of a world exposition celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of Columbus's discovery of the New World. President Benjamin Harrison appointed two members from each state and territory to the organization called the World's Columbian Commission, popularly known as the National Commission. Armed with an appropriation of $1.5 million from Congress that was to be repaid upon the completion of the Fair, the Commission was tasked to oversee plans for the celebration. In the same month, Chicago's City Council authorized the formation of the Chicago Company to promote the city as a site for the World's Fair and to fund the event. The corporation quickly raised $5 million in capital (nearly $143 million in today's dollars), divided into 500,000 shares of $10 each. Subscriptions were sold to business moguls such as Charles Schwab, Marshall Field, Phillip Armour, Gustavus Swift, Palmer Potter, and Cyrus McCormick. Unwieldy at two hundred and fifty members, the Company elected an executive committee called the Board of Directors to manage routine business. The roster of this forty-five man committee included Lyman Gage, Vice President of the First National Bank of Chicago; Potter Palmer, co-founder of what would become Marshall Field department stores and owner of Chicago's famous Palmer Hotel; Andrew McNally, publishing magnate; Charles Schwab, steel tycoon; O.W. Potter, President of the Illinois Steel Company; Carter Harrison, the popular but famously corrupt mayor of Chicago and

---

[3]Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 225-226,68, ProQuest Ebook Central; Valance, "Dark City, White City," 436.

John Whitfield Bunn, financier, industrialist and railroad capitalist. New York City responded to Chicago's offer by pledging $10 million. The Board of Directors matched the pledge without conferring with stockholders. They swiftly raised the funds and the stakes. When Chicago successfully won the bid to become host to the World's Columbian Exposition, the Board of Directors became the local governing body. In an attempt to avoid friction between the two organizations, the National Commission took on an advisory role while the Board of Directors assumed the duties of planning and executing the Fair. Despite the division of labor, tensions erupted from the beginning. The Commission envisioned the Fair as an educational venue. The Board of Directors, feeling pressure from the stockholders, was more motivated by profitability.[4]

       When the Fair was nothing more than a rumor, Susan B. Anthony circumspectly began lobbying Congress for the inclusion of women in the Fair's governance. She garnered over one hundred signatures of influential women married to men in the highest offices in Washington. Because of her petition, Congress passed legislation authorizing the creation of the Board of Lady Managers in April of 1890. Congress left the appointment of members to the National Commission. In all the Commission named one hundred fifteen women to the Lady Managers to oversee the Women's Department. They were responsible for the Woman's Building and the exhibits therein. The Lady Managers were presided over by Bertha Palmer, wife of Potter Palmer. Like many of the other women on the board, she was married to a wealthy businessman and was a reliable

---

[4] George R. Davis, "The World's Columbian Exposition," *The North American Review* 154, no. 424 (March 1892): 308-309, https://www.jstor.org/stable/25102341; "The Inflation Calculator," Morgan Friedman, accessed November 3, 2019, https://westegg.com/inflation/; Harlow N. Higinbotham, *Report of the President to the Board of Directors of the World's Columbian Exposition*. *Chicago, 1892-1893* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1893), 4,7-8, 14; Badger, *Great American Fair,* 18, 59-60, 51; Julie K. Rose, "The Legacy of the Fair," The World's Columbian Exposition: Idea, Experience, Aftermath, 1996, accessed September 1, 2018, http://xroads.virginia.edu/~ma96/wce/legacy.html; Erik Larson, *The Devil in the White City: Murder, Magic and Madness at the Fair that Changed America* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2003), 278; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair* (Chicago: The Bancroft Company, 1893), 70, Paul Galvin Library; Rose, "The Legacy of the Fair"; Brian Connelly, "Expo: Magic of the White City," DVD, Directed by Mark Bussler, Inecom Entertainment Company, 2005; Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 61,70; Connelly, "Expo."

supporter of the arts. The Lady Managers parlayed their social influence into ground-breaking leadership roles.[5]

Collectively, these men and women represented the "upper ten"—the industrial upper class that was defined by its malignant individualism and conspicuous consumption. College-educated and largely Protestant, the elite represented just over one percent of the population, yet commandeered the vast majority of the country's assets. Unrestricted capitalism enriched them beyond all scope of imagination. They attributed their astronomical success to superior character. Personality flaws, they contended, were responsible for the plight of the poor, not the inherent partisanship of unrestricted capitalism. Breaking with the Victorian work ethic, this new leisure class pursued unfettered consumption and pleasure with vigor. The immense wealth and self-serving values of the affluent insulated them from the rest of American society, opening a vast chasm between their culture and that of the masses.[6]

It is no wonder then that their White City would look so different from the Midway. Few Columbian Exposition historians directly address the significance of the physical appearance of the buildings at the Fair, but they imply it. The architecture and grounds of the White City were unmistakable expressions of highbrow culture. In her article, "Dark City, White City: Chicago's World Columbian Exposition, 1893," Helene Valance touches on this topic. She approaches the event as a series of contrasts and paradoxical themes, among them the White City as the antithesis not only to the slums of Chicago's Black City without, but to the Midway within. Though Valance competently concludes that the shining white buildings of the Court of Honor represented the lofty ideals of high society while the Midway mirrored the exotic patchwork of urban areas, her suggestion that Burnham chose the color white as symbolism for a rarified atmosphere, unsullied by common influences, is myopic. As Erik Larsen lays out in his work, *The Devil in the White City: Murder, Magic, and Madness at the Fair That*

---

[5] Badger, *Great American Fair,* 79; Rosenberg, *America at the Fair*, 75; Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 84; "Sophia Hayden 1868-1953," Distinguished Women of Past and Present, accessed September 7, 2018, http://www.distinguishedwomen.com/biographical/hayden-s.html.
[6] Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 6-7, 11-12.

Changed America, the color scheme of the White City was largely due to the time crush the chief architect found himself in. Burnham did not use color, or the lack thereof, to express high-brow culture. He used classical forms. The French Beaux-Arts buildings arranged artfully around a lagoon were meant to evoke images of Venice. The Ionic features of White City buildings mimicked Roman temples and were adorned with Grecian inspired statuary. If a paradox existed in the architecture of the White City, it was that America's temple of self-aggrandizement was singularly devoted to the appropriation of European aesthetics.[7]

Situated in the middle of the Court of Honor's complex, the Manufacture and Liberal Arts Building reigned over the White City. Burnham's magnum opus served as the showcase for mechanical inventions and as the hub for the White City. It was an outsized manifestation of the elite's industrial and technological aspirations. Technology represented a polarity of fascination and fear for upper and middle classes. Gilded Age Americans embraced the mobility and freedom that innovations such as the safety bicycle brought them. They marveled at the immediacy of new forms of communication such as telephone or the Marconi radio. While they accepted technology that afforded them more leisure time into their homes, the cohabitation was an uneasy one. Modernization brought with it uncertainty and concerns of instability. Reformers worried that large-scale industrialization would result in the loss of America's moral compass. Upper and middle classes harbored a luddite-like fear that the frenetic pace of industrial society would incite a pandemic of psychological disorders. Eventually, industrial magnates overtook the trajectory of affairs as their profit-churning machines became more and more integral to the national economy.[8]

The Manufacture and Liberal Arts Building reflected this course of action. It showcased emergent technologies that would go on to propel the marketplace such as gas

---

[7]Valance, "Dark City," 431-443; Larson, *Devil*, 147.

[8] *Indexed Guide Map and Key to World's Fair Buildings, Grounds and Exhibits,* 1893, scale 610 feet to 1 inch, "New Indexed Standard Guide Map of the World's Columbian Exposition," Geographicus Rare Antique Maps, https://www.geographicus.com/P/AntiqueMap/worldscolumbian-mcnally-1893 (September 1, 2018); McGerr, *Fierce Discontent*, 227, 233, 234; Rebecca Edwards, *New Spirits: Americans in the "Gilded Age" 1865-1905,* 3rd ed. *(New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 46;* McGerr, *Fierce Discontent,* 247; Edwards, *New Spirits,* 48, 50.

engines, calculating machines, turbines, meat packing equipment, and electric garment cutting machines that revolutionized the textile industry. The Fair even displayed neon signs and a precursor to the fax machine. Several buildings in the complex featured the new Otis Hale Elevator, which allowed new-fashioned skyscrapers to reach ever further upward. The earth-shattering innovation that irreversibly changed the face of the industry, however, was the electric light. It allowed for a twenty-four-hour manufacturing cycle. Taking their cue from industry, the Directors seized the opportunity to extend hours of operation by pursuing a massive electric lighting plan. Though electric streetlights were still an emergent technology, the fair was illuminated by more than 120,000 incandescent lights, using three times the amount of electricity as the entire city of Chicago. The Fair signaled America's irrevocable transition from human-powered industry to a mechanized one with electricity blazing the path. The largest building in the world at that time, the Manufacture and Liberal Arts Building was more than just a warehouse for machinery, it was the Directors' homage to free enterprise and the prosperity it afforded them.[9]

The number of people who enjoyed the full benefits of free enterprise in the 1890s was, of course, small and the Fair remained true to this principle. One such example was the opulent British Victoria House. It occupied one of the most prominent lakeshore parcels of the Fair. Its ornate ceilings and elaborately paneled walls covered an expanse of more than 500,000 square feet. And it was off-limits to the public. The Victoria House was home to the exclusive British and Canadian Exchange Club, where members enjoyed its gentlemen's reading and smoking rooms or ladies' luxurious drawing and reception rooms. Admittance to the Victoria House was by invitation only. Only guests of a certain

---

[9] Badger, *Great American Fair,* 104; Matt Novak, "Where the Future Came From: A Trip Through the 1893 Chicago World's Fair," Paleofuture, last modified July 12, 2013, https://paleofuture.gizmodo.com/where-the-future-came-from-a-trip-through-the-1893-chi-743942247; Rosenberg, *America at the Fair*, 101; Connelly, "Expo: Magic of the White City"; John Patrick Barrett, *Electricity at the World's Columbian Exposition: Including an Account of the Exhibits* (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1894), 2, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015013735876;view=1up;seq=9; Rosenberg, *America at the Fair,* 269.

social rank were permitted to enjoy its benefits. That the Victoria House was the epitome of grandeur and off-limits to the masses was symbolic of Gilded Age class struggle.[10]

In other areas of the Fair, exclusivity was more subtle but still a persistent theme. Nativist backlash to the country's inability to achieve immigration restriction worked its way to the White City. By 1890 Chicago was more than forty percent foreign-born. Roughly 78 percent of the country's second-largest city was either immigrant or first-generation American. With the constant influx of foreign-born residents, the elite felt their grip on political and economic dominance slipping away. The elite began to promote policies and customs that favored native-born citizens. Their plan was three-fold. They isolated themselves from the masses. They created public spaces, such as the Fair, that conformed to their cultural standards. Lastly, they endeavored to assimilate newcomers to their culture.[11]

The upper ten's nativism at the Fair manifested itself in a profusion of patriotic displays, just as it did in the outside world. In his work, *All the World's a Fair*, history professor and author Robert Rydell recounts how the Fair debuted the Pledge of Allegiance at the opening ceremonies. It was recited by young girls dressed in red, white and blue costumes which were arranged to create a flag. Rydell rightfully asserts there was a nativist undercurrent at the Fair as further evidence confirms. In his Opening Day remarks G. Brown Goode, head of the Fair's Council of Administration and leader of the Smithsonian Institute, assured the public that the exhibition promoted good citizenship and that good citizenship was crucial for civilization's progress. He delivered his address in the shadow of Daniel Chester French's patriotic colossus, *Statue of the Republic*. Shortly thereafter, the crowd spontaneously burst into choruses of "My Country 'Tis of Thee" in the absence of a national anthem.[12]

---

[10] Moses P. Handy, *The Official Directory of the World's Columbian Exposition. May 1st to October 30th.* (Chicago: W.B. Conkey Co., 1893), 124-125, 127, Internet Archive; Connelly, "Expo"; Rose, "The Legacy of the Fair"; Connelly, "Expo".

[11] Melita Marie Garza, "The 1890 Census and the 'Second City,'" *Chicago Tribune,* December 18, 2007, http://www.chicagotribune.com/nation-world/chi-chicagodays-1890census-story-story.html; Badger, *Great American Fair,* 34; Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow,* 228, 177.

[12] Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions 1876-1916,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 46; Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 69; Judy

As the Fair progressed, nativist demonstrations continued. In her presentation to the Women's International Congress, "The Making of Citizens," Mrs. Harriet Earhart Monroe expressed a nativist attitude when she urged Americans to aspire to a higher order of citizenship, emphasizing the need to closely monitor and manage the technical education of immigrant children. Like Monroe, Goode's coded language implied that the only way to preserve cultural hegemony was to inculcate newcomers. Contemporary accounts of visitors demonstrated how pervasive nativist sentiment had become. In his excursion from the White City to the Midway, a minister recorded that he was repulsed by the unfamiliar music and singing of "non-American girls". Classical European music dominated the White City where Chopin and the recitals of violinist Joseph Douglass were a fixture. At the Midway, however, it was common for musicians and vocalists to perform folk music in the sideshows and the streets of their villages. To nativist elites, such ethnic presentations were raucous, peculiar, and disquieting.[13]

Nativism was a by-product of the era's prevailing scientific thought. From its inception, the fair was designed to promote the ideology of Social Darwinism, the infamous idea of survival of the fittest in economic endeavors promoted by spokesmen for the upper class like Yale professor William Graham Sumner. One aspect of Social Darwinism was its belief in a hierarchy among and within societies. G. Brown Goode, hired by the Commission to manage the content of the exhibits, explained in his *First Draft of a System of Classification for the World's Columbian Exposition* that the exhibits of the White City were to be a demonstration of such societal hierarchy. F. A Putnam, Council of Administration member and head of the Ethnology Department at Harvard University, was responsible for the arrangement and messaging of the exhibits. His assistant, Harlan Ingersoll Smith, declared that each department would be arranged to teach fairgoers about the evolution of society. The displays then were meant to illustrate

---

Sund, "Columbus and Columbia in Chicago, 1893: Man of Genius Meets Generic Woman," *The Art Bulletin* 75, no. 3 (September 1993): 440, 450; Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 44; Larsen, *Devil,* 239.
[13] Oldham, ed., *The Congress of Women,* 311-312; Rose, "The Legacy of the Fair"; Caldwell Titcomb, "Black String Musicians: Ascending the Scale," *Black Music Research Journal* 10, no.1 (Spring 1990): 107-112, https://www.jstor.org/stable/779543.

the societal scale of Social Darwinism. In explaining the anthropological presentations, famous ethnologist and author Hubert Howe Bancroft summed up his findings of the exhibits as "living representatives of savage, civilized, and semi-civilized nations." According to Bancroft, the journey began with the pinnacle of barbarism and the very lowest caste of humanity, the African Dahomey Village. From there, visitors ascended the rungs of social evolution until they reached the apex of humanity's progression— American and European culture. According to musical director Theodore Thomas, even the music was to be presented from lowest to highest evolutionary progress, culminating in compositions from the most enlightened cultures. That is, musical presentations would begin with folk pieces and culminate in classical European music. By purposeful design, social stratification provided the framework for the Fair.[14]

Classical music and the scientific theories of Social Darwinism were building blocks of the liberal arts education that became one of the hallmarks of the White City. From the very beginning, the Commission's primary goal was to impart knowledge to those who attended. In her M.A. thesis project, author Julie Rose notes that one of the Fair's official imperatives was to "encourage popular education." Goode himself stated that each installation was carefully designed to serve an instructive purpose, and he was convinced that the fair held tremendous educational value. At the dedication ceremony, Commission President Potter Palmer praised the educational nature of the fair, and the media agreed with him. The May 13, 1893 issue of Harper's likened the fair to a great university. Liberal arts education was paramount to the elite. It was a means to preserve and promote their culture.[15]

Liberal arts education was but one of the two tenets of the White City. The other was social reform. In describing the objectives of the exhibition, Hubert Howe Bancroft

---

[14] Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 62; G. Brown Goode, *First Draft of a System of Classification for the World's Columbian Exposition* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), Library of Congress; Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 70; Rydell, *All the World's a Fair,* 58-59; Friends of the White City, "A Trip Through the Midway Plaisance," last modified March 7, 2015, http://www.friendsofthewhitecity.org/architecture/buildings/the-midway-plaisance; Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair,"* 84.
[15] Rose, "The Legacy of the Fair,"; Connelly, "Expo: Magic of the White City,"; Goode, *First Draft*, 650; Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 44, 46; Rose, "The Legacy of the Fair."

began with "As the work of social reconstruction proceeds…we must henceforth look to social power for our greatest benefits, political power having already bestowed upon us its best." In other words, because of the continuing struggle between upper and lower classes, political powers had come to an impasse at improving society. It was necessary to deploy social reform organizations to continue society's progress. The middle class had become frustrated with the self-serving individualism of the wealthy and the moral lapses and violent outbursts of the working class. In their most significant break from their alliance with the upper class, the middle class took up the mantle of reforming society. The Fair typified this transition from the Gilded Age to the Progressive Era.[16]

Most of the Lady Managers had been involved with reform movements before the fair advocating for better pay and safer work environments for women. They carried their reformist goals to their work with the Exposition. Embracing the Sabbatarian movement of the day, these reform-minded women initially pressed for the fair to be closed on Sunday. Workers resisted, arguing that Sunday operation of the Fair would allow the working class to enjoy the event on their day off. When the profit-seeking Chicago Directors convinced them that in the absence of a wholesome venue on Sunday, visitors to the area would frequent bars and brothels, women's groups then actively petitioned to repeal the Sunday closure provision. This wrangling thrust the Fair into the epicenter of the national debate. Protestants viewed the Sunday Question as a moral cause. Unions embraced it to limit work hours. Together they opposed industrialists who resisted any disruptions to commerce. Initially, the Fair's Sabbatarian forces' efforts were successful and Congress passed the first Sunday closing legislation. The Directors appealed the case in a U.S. district court. The fractured and weakened Sabbatarian alliance proved to be no match for the upper ten's determination and the law was repealed. As with many other social reforms of the day, the Sabbatarian movement at the Fair and beyond represented the middle-class attempt to exert control over the personal lives of the working class.[17]

---

[16] Bancroft, *Book of the Fair*, preface.
[17] William A. Mirola, "Shorter Hours and the Protestant Sabbath: Religious Framing and Movement Alliances in Late-Nineteenth-Century Chicago," *Social Science History* 23, no. 3 (Autumn, 1999), 421, https://www.jstor.org.stable/1171604; "To Urge Sunday Opening of the Fair," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* January 10, 1893; Mirola, 420, 422, 396.

In general, women took a lead in the reforming message of the White City, as was evident in Women's Congress presentations such as "The Advantages and Dangers of Organization" in which Reverend Anna Garlin Spencer explored the relationship between the individual and social organizations. The spirit of reform was by no means restricted to the Woman's Building, however. Numerous World's Congress Auxiliary presentations featured moral and social reform causes. An entire department of the congress was devoted to the perennial favorite cause of middle-class reformers, temperance. The Fair gave Progressives a platform to spread their message and to advance the process of institutionalizing their reforms.[18]

Emboldened by their success with reform movements, many middle-class women began to explore opportunities beyond their domestic roles. The Gilded Age saw the beginnings of women's transition from home to public spheres and demonstrations of this were bountiful at the Exposition. The establishment of the Board of Lady Managers marked the first-time women were given leadership roles in a world's fair organization. Some of their first priorities were to sway public opinion in favor of equal pay for women and to improve women's access to technical training. To promote women as competent white-collar leaders, they hired MIT graduate Sophia Hayden as the architect for the Woman's Building. Mary Hicks was chosen to create the architectural friezes. Beyond the building, female sculptor Mary Lawrence found professional success when her *Columbus on San Salvador* was selected by chief sculptor, Augustus Saint-Gaudans, to grace the Court of Honor. The Fair proved to be an important vehicle for launching women into public roles.[19]

Women did not fully agree on what their transition from private to public life should look like, however. The speeches of the International Congress of Women

---

[18] Sund, "Columbus and Columbia," 447; Connelly, "Expo: Magic of the White City,"; Oldham, *Congress of Women*, 170; *The World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, Department of Temperance* (Chicago: World's Columbian Exposition, 1892), unnumbered, https://archive.org/detils/worldscongressau:00worl, accessed August 31, 2018.

[19] Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair''*, 72; Distinguished Women, "Sophia Hayden,"; "Miss Amy Hicks Design," *The World,* April 8, 1893, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/13198810/miss_amy_hicks_design_the_world_new/lxs181; Sund, "Columbus and Columbia," 463, 452-453.

illustrated the conflict women across the country felt between their traditional roles and the New Woman. "Complete Freedom for Women" by Miss Agnes M. Manning promoted female suffrage. "The Glory of Womanhood" by Madame Hanna K. Kornay clung to the separate spheres ideology. Like so many women, Mrs. Caroline K. Sherman vacillated between the two with her address, "Characteristics of the Modern Woman." Scientific achievement and educational advances, she said, had granted women unprecedented opportunities for self-improvement and meaningful employment. The reformer dismissed popular fears that professional women might abandon their domestic responsibilities and jeopardize the family as the building block of society. Sherman felt that women would not be ready for the workplace however until they had tamed their taste for luxury and vice. Until that time, she suggested, women should improve themselves and society by engaging in social reform efforts and remain steadfast in their roles as the backbone of the church. Her speech was typical of the ambivalence that many women shared.[20]

The introduction of women into the workplace was only one facet of labor's upheaval in the Gilded Age. Though little has been written about the workers of the World's Fair, evidence suggests that they shared common tumultuous experiences and similar working-class attributes with their industrial counterparts. Scant information about them exists because most records on Exposition laborers were lost or destroyed if they were kept at all. It has been generally accepted that a portion of the workers were itinerant laborers. Using two journals of White City workers and the remnants of the files maintained by the Board of Lady Managers, David Silkenat pieces together the experiences of the laborers of the Columbian Exposition in his article, "Workers in the White City: Working Class Culture at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893." He claims that although many of the workers who participated in the construction and operation of the fair were not part of Chicago's three traditional working-class institutions, i.e., labor unions, artisan organizations, and ethnic immigrant neighborhoods, they emulated the working-class culture of Chicago's industrial laborers due to their

---

[20]Oldham, ed., *Congress of Women,* 111, 359, 764 ,767, 765, 770.

common experiences. Dr. Silkenat successfully substantiates his claims by recounting the various strikes carried out by Fair workers, the hazardous working conditions, and the use of the Columbian Guard (the Fair's private security forces) to extend capital's power over labor, but his assertion that the workers of the World's Columbian Exposition were devoid of ethnic affiliations is extrapolative and overstated. The workers of the Exposition were likely representative of typical working-class, immigrant stock and may have maintained their ethnic affiliations. By 1891 approximately twenty-five thousand itinerant hopefuls were pulled to a congested labor market by the continual wave of reconstruction after the Great Fire of 1871 and pushed to the industrial and transportation center by a foundering economy. Certainly, many of them sought work on the Exposition job site. But since most were likely overlooked in the 1890 census due to their high mobility, it is difficult to ascertain much about them either inside or outside of the Fair. Dr. Silkenat cites the Lady Managers' files in his claim that the workers of the White City were segregated from their ethnic environments. He writes, "Of the 776 employment applications listed in their records, less than a quarter were from Chicago." Seven hundred seventy-six was a small fraction of the four thousand who worked in Jackson Park alone cited by Larsen or the broader group of twelve thousand accounted for by Chaim Rosenberg in his work *America at the Fair: Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition*. The sample was too small to effectively determine the origins or ethnic affiliations of the entire White City labor force.[21]

Consider the memoir of Laura Hayes, a laborer employed in the production of architectural ornaments in the White City. Her description of the workforce insisted that only one in one hundred were considered natural-born Americans. Hayes's first-hand account implies that most White City laborers did maintain ties to their ethnic affiliations. It was impossible to determine how many within Silkenat's sample group were native-born and how many were foreign-born. But given that seventy-eight percent of the city was either immigrant or first-generation American, it has been reasonable to assume that those who were foreign-born had access to the robust cultural enclaves of Chicago.

---

[21] Silkenat, "Workers," 266-300, 271; Larson, *Devil*, 121, 153; Rosenberg, *America at the Fair,* 73.

Beyond the White City, Norman Bolotin makes a rare observation about ticket agents and other non-construction employees in his *Chicago's Grand Midway: A Walk Around the World at the Columbian Exposition*. He found that most concessionaires preferred to hire locals. As we know from Hull House maps, the laborers drawn from the surrounding areas were primarily of Italian, Polish and Chinese descent. Ethnicity debate aside, Fair workers were representative of the Gilded Age working class.[22]

Despite differences in their origins or ethnicity, Fair laborers shared many commonalities between themselves and with workers outside the gates. Fair employees across several departments used collective action to redress workplace abuses. In January of 1893, the temperature plummeted to twenty degrees below zero and stubbornly stayed there. Having endured the oppressive heat of the summer just months before, workers' morale suffered. Working conditions were not only uncomfortable, but they were also dangerous. Frigid temperatures made fires a necessity, and an omnipresent hazard. The roof of the behemoth Manufactures and Liberal Arts building caved under the weight of accumulating snow. Though no one was injured during this event, in later incidents three men died of fractured skulls and two were electrocuted. Those who did not work in the elements were not exempt from workplace hazards. Toxic mold had invaded one of the shipping rooms. In all, over seven hundred workers were injured. Fifty more died, condemning their families to poverty.[23]

Falling wages exacerbated the situation. Initially, working on the Fair site was lucrative, but as construction costs mounted and the treasury hemorrhaged capital, Burnham attempted to rein in costs by cutting the workforce and slashing wages. Documentarian Brian Connelly states that some of these laborers were paid only ten cents per day or about $2.86 in 2019. Hull House maps indicate that those living in the areas

---

[22] Laura Hayes, *Three Girls in a Flat* (Chicago: Bright, Leonard & Company, 1892), 142-143, http://digitallibrary.upenn.edu/women/hayes/flat/flat.html; Bolotin Norman and Christine Laing, *Chicago's Grand Midway: A Walk Around the World at the Columbian Exposition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2017), "Dahomey Village," Kindle; *Nationalities Map No 1-4, Polk St. to Twelfth,* 1895, no scale, https://dcc.newberry.org/collections/chicago-workers-during-the-long-gilded-age#wages-and-nationalities-in-a-chicago-neighborhood, accessed August 28, 2018; Badger, *Great American Fair,* 34.
[23] Larsen, *Devil,* 192, 196; Silkenat, "Workers," 281; Larsen, *Devil,* 145, 218, 154; Silkenat, "Workers," 281.

adjacent to the Fair (and those most likely to provide a ready labor pool) were among the city's poorest, occupying the lowest end of the pay scale of zero to five dollars per week. Capitalizing on national labor unrest such as the Haymarket Riot seven years earlier and the Homestead Steel Works strike the year prior, in April of 1893 the Fair workers responded like many other workers of their generation. In a series of six strikes, as many as four thousand carpenters walked off the job, demanding a minimum union wage. With Opening Day looming large on the horizon, an anxious Burnham conceded the minimum wage and offered a conciliatory overtime bonus to carpenters and ironworkers. Columbian Guards undertook their collective actions to protest low wages and consignment to distant outposts in the bitter temperatures. In the strike that occurred just a week before the Fair's opening, approximately twenty percent of the force quit over escalating duties and anemic wages. After Opening Day, the Rolling Chair Guides (predominantly seminary students who chauffeured weary customers about the Fair in wheelchairs) engaged in their own highly publicized strike. Over two hundred chair pushers demanded restitution for a reduction in hours and a pay cut that violated their contracts. In all, Exposition workers participated in more than two dozen strikes during their tenure at the Fair. The Fair's workers confronted the same grievances as other laborers in the Gilded Age and they responded in similar expressions of collective action. The root causes, organizational development, and the results mirrored many collective actions across the nation.[24]

The strikes alarmed the elite managers. Director Charles Schwab, prior superintendent of Homestead Steel Works, knew how costly and volatile strikes could be. To ensure stability, Exposition planners employed the Guard as a private law enforcement agency using the widely known Pinkertons as a template. Though Directors took the auxiliary measures of arranging for an expansion of the Chicago police force and

---

[24] Silkenat, "Workers," 279; Connelly, "Expo: Magic of the White City,"; *Wage Map No 1-4, Polk St. to Twelfth,* 1895, no scale, https://dcc.newberry.org/collections/chicago-workers-during-the-long-gilded-age#wages-and-nationalities-in-a-chicago-neighborhood, accessed August 28, 2018; Rosenberg, *America at the Fair,* 17; Larsen, *Devil,* 218, 223; Silkenat, "Workers," 283-284; "Won't Stand the Reduction," *Chicago Inter Ocean*, August 16, 1893, https://worldsfairchicago1893.com/2018/09/03/labor-strike/; Silkenat, "Workers," 283, 285.

the installation of a National Guard unit nearby, they primarily relied on the Columbian Guard (which was larger than the police forces of both New York and Chicago) to maintain order. Not content to simply quash uprisings, the planners also used the Guard to exert control over laborers who were off the clock. Like Pullman's company town, the Directors erected barracks on the grounds to house construction workers and dormitories to house the Columbian Guard. The Guard was used to enforce smoking and drinking bans on the grounds and in employee's living quarters. Just as in the outside world, workers resented the intrusion into their personal lives.[25]

The living quarters on the fairground were not the only buildings at the Midway that paralleled national trends. The architecture of the Midway was representative of America's transition to a more urbanized, and ethnically diverse landscape. Putnam's vision called for an evolutionary promenade of cultures. To accommodate the plan for his collection of foreign villages without spoiling the magnificence of Burnham's White City, the Directors diverted the ethnographic display to a narrow stretch of land due West of the Exposition. It was one mile long and six hundred feet wide, running perpendicular to the main grounds. The isthmus was called the Midway Plaisance. An eight-foot fence ran the perimeter, crowding the attractions in and preventing the rambunctiousness of the Midway from contaminating the White City. Behind that fence, a cacophony of cultural attractions crowded into the tight enclosure. In contrast to the White City, the infrastructure there was a modestly scaled kaleidoscope of ethnic design that suggested the compressed urban ghettos of the working class. The thatched watchtowers and huts of Dahomey (modern-day Benin) bore a resemblance to the forty thatched bamboo structures of the Johor (part of modern-day Malaysia) and Java in the South Seas Village. The Moorish palace featured a traditional onion dome and the Streets of Cairo had a pair of minarets. The castles of Ireland looked timeworn and Lilliputian compared to the White City. The stucco Aztec Village was ornamented with Aztec murals and Tunisia showcased colorful mosaic tiles. Flamboyant pagodas in the Japanese and Chinese

---

[25] Connelly, "Expo: Magic of the White City,"; Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 84; Silkenat, "Workers," 272, 280.

villages competed for space with the half-timbered houses of Vienna and Germany. At the far end sat a low-slung structure that held the East Indian Bazaar. From gate to gate, the compacted Midway was reminiscent of the congested tenements of metropolitan areas. Likewise, it echoed urban America as a composite of diverse cultures. Like many Gilded Age American cities, the Midway was not an amalgamation of various cultures, but an assemblage of racially segregated precincts.[26]

   Shoehorned among the ethnic villages were shops and entertainment attractions. The Midway was originally intended as an ethnological exhibit. However, the Directors, who felt a responsibility to shareholders, and the Commission, who felt a mandate to repay Congress, desperately needed the Fair to turn a profit. They quickly abrogated the responsibility of the Midway to Sol Bloom, an acolyte of legendary showman P.T. Barnum. Bloom was not a typical Chicago crony. He was hired specifically to make money. Drawing on lessons learned from Barnum, Bloom proved to be a marketing genius, extracting admission fees from thousands of curious onlookers with his Algerian village a year before the Fair's opening day. In March of 1890, Barnum had recommended that the planners create a spectacle that highlighted the "diversity of human life." Inspired by Barnham's philosophies, Bloom swiftly charted a new course for the Fair's addendum. Still wrapped in a thin veneer of anthropological education, the Midway emerged as the standard-bearer of working-class amusement park entertainment. The May 1893 copy of *The Century* ridiculed the masses who chose Midway entertainment over education. The magazine frowned upon the millions of working-class fairgoers who couldn't seem to get enough of the Coney Island-style attractions. Guests rode carnival-type rides like the Ferris Wheel and the Ice Railway, an eight hundred seventy-five feet long ride reaching speeds of forty miles per hour. The Moorish Palace was a prototype funhouse with a hall of mirrors and a maze. The Midway's Zoopraxiscope was the first recognized movie theater that became a staple of working-class neighborhoods. The September 1, 1893 issue *The Dial* lamented that commercial

---

[26] Bolotin, *Chicago's Grand Midway,* "Walking the Plaisance," Kindle; Gale, *Midway Plaisance,* 3; Bolotin, *Chicago's Grand Midway,* "Walking the Plaisance," Kindle; Badger, *Great American Fair,* 12, 36.

THE ALEXANDRIAN

concerns had completely ransomed the Midway. Borrowing Barnum's approach, Bloom created populist entertainment that was pragmatic and beneficial to the working class. His commercialized pleasure produced a vigorous revenue stream and offered laborers a panacea for harsh urban living.[27]

Much of this commercialized pleasure dovetailed into Americans' unfurling preoccupation with commercialized sex. The attractions of the Midway were emblematic of working-class rejections of Victorian middle-class sexual mores. The Congress of Beauty more commonly referred to as The Beauty Show invited public voyeurism. The Harem room at The Beauty Show titillated male guests, and on occasion, the Columbian Guard was called to usher them from the building for inappropriate behavior. Nearby, contemporary photos show how the scant costumes of the Samoan men drew raised eyebrows from female patrons. The exotic Samoans along with Algerian, Javanese, South Sea Islander, Hungarian, Persian, Neapolitan, and Brazilian dancers stirred the passions of many observers. A dancer nicknamed Little Egypt roused men with a scandalous new form of entertainment called the belly dance. It was common for other female dancers to accompany her further conjuring images of the harem. The Moorish Palace left little to the imagination. It flagrantly depicted a harem with a sultan surrounded by his concubines. The popularity of these attractions illustrated the working class's resistance to the values of Progressivism.[28]

The Moorish Palace offered fairgoers much more than harem girls. The Palace and other Midway attractions satisfied the working-class lust for blood sport with an assortment of violent and dangerous amusements. The fortress in Germany held an enormous collection of medieval weapons. There were sword fights in the Streets of

---

[27] Badger, 54; Neil Gale, *The Midway Plaisance: At the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago* (Belleville, IL: LuLu Press, 2017)*,* 3; Rose, "The Legacy of the Fair," The World's Columbian Exposition; Boudreau, "Greatest Philosophy," 20, 13; Friends of the White City, "A Trip Through the Midway Plaisance,"; Rose, "The Legacy of the Fair,"; Friends of the White City, "A Trip Through the Midway Plaisance,"; Rose, "The Legacy of the Fair."

[28] Friends of the White City, "A Trip Through the Midway Plaisance,"; *Glimpses,* "In the Samoan Village,"; Connelly, "Expo: Magic of the White City,"; Friends of the White City, "A Trip Through the Midway Plaisance,"; *Glimpses of the World's Fair;* Rose, "The Legacy of the Fair,"; Ives, *Dream City*, unnumbered; Friends of the White City, "A Trip Through the Midway Plaisance."

Cairo and the Bedouins staged thrilling mock battles. In the Algerian village, attendees could revel in sword swallowers, fire eaters, glass eaters, and snake charmers. Its village theatre ran performances of a Torture Dance. Syrians ran knives through their tongues while a young Erik Weisz (later known as Harry Houdini) swallowed needles. The Moorish Palace presented a wax museum with dioramas of Lincoln's assassination, a Moorish execution, and the execution of Marie Antoinette featuring the original guillotine used. One scene portrayed punishment in the Middle Ages while another called A Ride on the Razor promised to be particularly gruesome. If none of that satisfied patrons, there was a bleeding statue. Bloodsports venues such as these gave the working class a welcome relief valve for their mounting workplace and social frustrations.[29]

The sensational blood sport, ribald dancing, and compressed villages could lead to sensory overload. Patrons needed a reprieve from the constant stimulation. Fortunately, the Midway was also an extension of working-class saloon culture. Beer flowed freely in the biergartens of the German and Austrian courtyards. The gardens in the German pavilion alone could seat eight thousand guests. In addition to its beer garden, Vienna also held several taverns. It even had a shop where customers could purchase a hollowed-out cane designed to hold a half pint of alcohol to tide them over to the next tavern. Nearby, the crowd favorite French cider press sold hard cider that ranged from 2.5% to 4% alcohol. Beer was even available near the nominally Islamic Turkish concessions. In contrast, only wine was available in White City's Horticulture building as an introduction to the agricultural products of California. While temperance was in vogue for the White City's zealous reformers, it was thoroughly rejected by the working class.[30]

The ubiquity of alcohol was welcomed by the working class but perhaps the Directors more so as its loosened wallets. In a reflection of the emergence of Gilded Age mass consumerism, the producing class made the Fair an economic success. In his PBS

---

[29] Gale, *Midway Plaisance,* 14; "A Trip Through the Midway Plaisance," Friends of the White City, "A Trip Through the Midway Plaisance,"; Gale, *Midway Plaisance,* 10; *Glimpses*, "Damascan Swordsmen-Street in Cairo,"; Bolotin, *Chicago's Grand Midway,* "Moorish Palace," Kindle.

[30] Connelly, "Expo: Magic of the White City"; Friends of the White City, "A Trip Through the Midway Plaisance"; Rose, "The Legacy of the Fair,"; Gale, *Midway Plaisance,* 15; Bolotin, *Chicago's Grand Midway*; "Old Vienna," Kindle; Bolotin, *Chicago's Grand Midway,* "At the Center of the Midway," Kindle; *Glimpses of the World's Fair,* "Street of Constantinople"; Connelly, "Expo."

video "Expo: Magic of the White City," filmmaker Brian Connelly studied the relationship between the Midway's diversions and the fair's financial success. Unlike the White City, the attractions of the Midway were not included in the price of admission. Concessions there generated all the proceeds realized from the event. The Midway was the most popular venue by far and drew the largest crowds. Throngs of customers enthusiastically paid the equivalent of $21.45 to ride a camel, $14.53 to ride the Ferris Wheel or a staggering $57.19 to ride in the tethered hot air balloon at a time when bacon was the equivalent of $2.57 per pound. The Ferris Wheel itself, which turned a considerable profit, was credited with carrying the fair's ledgers into black ink. The highest-grossing attractions can be separated into four categories: risqué dances, mechanical rides, beer gardens, and funhouses. The only thing that outsold alcohol was commercialized sex. To enjoy every attraction the Midway had to offer, a visitor would have to pay $371.72 in today's money while entrance to the White City was only $14.30. The fair was an early expression of mass consumerism as guests learned to associate enjoyment with spending money. The financial success of the Midway makes it clear that Americans were shucking their Victorian thrift and welcoming the age of the consumer.[31]

Perhaps the Midway was so profitable because it gave wage earners more than just a respite from the difficulties of urban life. It gave them the engagement they had been yearning for. In *The Midway Plaisance: At the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago,* historian, author, and blogger Dr. Neil Gale's observations that White City machines were untouchable marvels while Midway customers rode machinery as entertainment are astute because further research shows that this was part of a broader pattern. The attractions of the White City were cerebral in nature and the Midway was, at its core, participatory. In the first half of the nineteenth century, audience participation in theaters varied according to class. Those in the more expensive box seats sat stoically, internalizing the entertainment. Working-class members who filled the cheap seats in the galley threw vegetables, hissed, stamped their feet and created a glamorous atmosphere.

---

[31] Connelly, "Expo"; Rose, "The Legacy of the Fair"; United States Bureau of Animal Industry, *Annual Report of the Bureau of Animal Industry*, Vol 20, (Washington, D.C.: Government Publishing Office, 1904), 309, http://books.google.com; Gale, *Midway Plaisance*, 43, 37.

And so it was with the Columbian Exposition. The 50,000 anthropological relics on exhibit in the White City were lifeless, carefully preserved behind pressed glass. In contrast, the sensual dancing, ethnic music, colorful costumes, exotic foods, camel rides, and performances made anthropological attractions of the Midway a more interactive experience. In the White City, where temperance held court, the wine was sipped only as a primer in agricultural products. Meanwhile, visitors heartily drank beer with hundreds of other fairgoers in the beer gardens of the Midway. The participatory nature of the Midway was a remedy for the marginalized working class.[32]

The Midway then had been a paragon of consumerism, profiteering, exuberance, pleasure, and salaciousness. Running perpendicular to the Court of Honor and intersecting only on the fringe, the Midway Plaisance reflected the common experience of the Gilded Age working class. The cramped, modest, and ethnic installations of the main thoroughfare mirrored life in working-class ghettos. Its attractions were a perfect example of the reprieve from urban life and workplace strife that laborers pursued through commercialized pleasure, commercialized sex, blood sport, saloon culture, and mass consumerism. Its counterpart, the White City, was as ostentatious as its planners and as transitory as their cultural supremacy. Imitating upper and middle-class society it lauded education and reform. The latter especially allowed women to experiment with new roles. Its gargantuan centerpiece was a celebration of technology and capitalism in equal measure. Its artistic and musical motifs adopted classical European art forms even as the upper classes ironically rejected southern European immigrants. Such nativist subtext was the product of Social Darwinism, the underpinning of the exhibition. The White City's *Statue of the Republic* symbolizing highbrow uplift and the Midway's Ferris Wheel symbolizing lowbrow entertainment were appropriate icons for the bisection of Gilded Age society.

By comparing the discrete venues of the World Columbian Exposition we see that the quintessential cultural norms of the era provided continuity for the Fair. The

---

[32]Gale, *Midway Plaisance*, 36, 42; Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow,* 26; Rosenberg, *America at the Fair*, 253, 255.

characters, complexes, and attractions of the World's Columbian Exposition indeed formed an ideal microcosm of Gilded Age class differentiations. The Fair was the collision of two progressively divergent cultures and reflected their sustained campaign for cultural authority. It was not that Americans did not know their culture. They were painfully aware of their multiplicity. Travel author Muirhead was simply an unwitting eavesdropper on a national discourse that was not yet finished.

A Revisitation of Religious Syncretism in Twentieth Century Yemen

Charles Taylor

Abstract:

This paper makes the case that current studies of hybridity in Yemeni religion would benefit from the adoption of more critical and granular typology. Hybrid religious systems in Yemen are examined and analyzed. The work of the scholar of Yemeni religion in the twentieth century, Dr. Eraqi-Klorman, is the primary source for the Yemeni religious phenomena examined and her conclusions are reevaluated using a new framework. The paper makes the case that uncritical use of the terminology around religious hybridity can lead to the legitimization of asymmetric power dynamics, if unwittingly. The categorization system of Ernest Gellner is put forward as especially helpful and likely to avoid this consequence. The history of the use of the term "syncretism" in academia is also examined for the sake of context.

The Jews represented mysterious beings, possessing supernatural powers that could cause either good or evil. Their mystical-magical knowledge and practice contributed to the creation of a sort of popular Muslim- Jewish syncretistic religion, and also intensified the Jews' perception as the ultimate "other."

— Bat-Zion Eraqi-Klorman, "Yemen: Magic, Religion, and Jews"

By the start of the twentieth century, the Yemeni worldview had come to include a diverse host of djinn and demons, who were understood to freely engage in both beneficial and malicious activities that affected human prosperity. A particularly interesting demonic entity, which first appears in thirteenth century accounts of the region, is said to be spawned by ill-intended witches. After dissolving a human and drinking the resulting liquid,[1] the witch would then give birth to the demonic entity, who was only visible to her. However, far from being a simple and loyal servant, the demon, due to its ravenous sexual appetite, eventually turns on the witch to heinously violate its own "mother."[2] Demonic entities such as these haunted the dark and uncharted corners of the Yemeni night. From the abandoned wells and the homes of the recently deceased to the Arabian desert and the unexplored islands, demons abounded.

In order to commune with such entities and to expel them, the people of Yemen often sought out the aid of Jewish religious specialists, capable of placating or driving out demons. Jews occupied a mysterious aura in the Muslim consciousness. Magic, demons, and arcane rituals were considered Jewish specialties. Jewish specialists were therefore sought out to deal with all manner of occult activities. Their presumed proclivities also lead to them being labeled the ultimate "Other" in the minds of their Muslim neighbors.[3] Rich descriptions of these practices, and much more, are found within the volumes of work produced by Bat-Zion Eraqi-Klorman. Her work is laudable as she dutifully draws attention to the asymmetric power relations in Yemen between the dominant Muslim

---

[1] This is attested by Ibn al-Mugawir, a thirteenth century Khurasani traveler. For more information and context, see G. Smith, "Magic, Djinn and the Supernatural in Medieval Yemen: Examples from Ibn Al-Mugawir's 7th/13th Century Guide," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 13 (1995).

[2] Smith, 11.

[3] "Other" is here used in the Husserlian sense. All things good and conventional Muslims were not, Jews were considered to be.

majority and the Jews by addressing this "Othering." Unfortunately, Eraqi-Klorman concludes by employing an underdeveloped notion of syncretism that does not draw sufficient attention to the complexities of the inter-communal tradition-lending described so well in her work. In this article, I will offer a more critical analysis of the hybrid religious traditions in Yemen, as described in the work of Eraqi-Klorman, that makes allowances for the complexity of religious culture in the region.[4] In so doing, hidden power dynamics will be illuminated in a manner that demonstrates the many ways in which the dominant religion and its specialists maintained the status quo of power-relations in twentieth century Yemen.

Criticism and Reevaluation of Syncretic Analysis

This paper uses Ernest Gellner's categorization scheme, which was developed as a way to more granularly study religious situations characterized by hybridity.[5] The typology's granularity comes from its allowance for the simultaneous presence of multiple kinds of relationships a host tradition might have with outside religious traditions. Before the development of typologies like this, scholars were forced to rely on language that included axioms based on asymmetric power-dynamics.

The word "syncretic" carries certain unfortunate connotations in relation to power, which this paper will lay out. When one uses this or related terminology uncritically, one might easily contribute to an emic political-cultural apparatus that aids in denigrating certain religions and specialists as lesser. The hope is that utilizing Gellner's framework will alleviate the problems that arise when using connotative terminology like "syncretic."

Syncretic theory was first applied in academic anthropology in the seventeenth century when Christian scholar-missionaries went into the brush of Sub-Saharan Africa to spread the values, practices, and languages of their cultures. They had expected to

---

[4] Bat-Zion Eraqi-Klorman, "Yemen*: Magic, Religion, Jews," Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 39 (2009): 130.
[5] Ernest Gellner, "For Syncretism. The Position of Buddhism in Nepal and Japan Compared*," Social Anthropology* 5, no. 2 (June 1997): 277-291.

encounter mainly indigenous religious communities, endogenous to their immediate geographic and cultural contexts.[6] However, a high number of Sub-Saharan Muslims and Christians already lived alongside adherents of indigenous religious systems.[7] Islam was the majority religion as far south as Zanzibar, and Christianity was a well-established force in many indigenous societies. Yet, as Sub-Saharan Christianity was often unrecognizable to the European missionaries, they tended to labeled these communities "syncretic."[8] As a result, they unintentionally demonstrated their ethnocentric biases. Christianity was, after all, no less a hybrid religion in Europe, having adopted myriad disparate traditions from European pagan traditions.

As the leading sentiment in anthropological studies shifted toward secularism in the 1980s and 1990s, syncretic analysis came under scrutiny.[9] Consequently, the overt ethnocentrism had subsided in academic works by the 1970s. Despite this development, many still took affront to the usage of the term, leading to the questioning of the very underlying metaphysics of the anthropology of religion.[10] The consensus in the field held that all religious traditions would be found to have adopted elements of other religions if one were to apply syncretic analysis more broadly, rendering the term meaningless.[11] What's more, the word syncretic itself carried with it historic issues and applying the term to religious traditions was understood to implicitly justify asymmetric social power-dynamics, and seemed to evoke implicitly comparisons to "un-syncretic" and "pristine" traditions. The suspicion among academics was that this perspective was employed by

---

[6] John Thornton, *The Development of an African Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Kongo, 1491-1750* (Cambridge University Press, 1984), 25.

[7] The largest cities in Sub-Saharan Africa, during the seventeenth century, were Zanzibar (a Muslim-majority city) and Gondar (a Christian-majority city). Elsewhere, in West Africa most prominently, native religions, like Yoruba, existed alongside Abrahamic faiths.

[8] Particularly in East Africa, Christian practice often regularly included practices like Ancestor Worship, which were considered antithetical to genuine Christianity by the Europeans.

[9] Antony Billington, *Mission and Meaning* (Paternoster Press, 1995), 272.

[10] The metaphysical axioms of academic anthropology were heavily based in traditional Western ideas of linear societal progression. This became only more problematic in an increasingly self-aware and self-critical academic community.

[11] Billington, *Meaning,* 265-269.

members of dominant religious traditions to disenfranchise and devalue those traditions deemed syncretic.[12]

In such a milieu, where the very term had nearly been abandoned, Ernest Gellner set out to salvage syncretic analysis. While acknowledging the value of various criticisms, he maintained that the analysis of what had haphazardly been labeled as syncretic in the past could still advance the discourse in the field of religious anthropology. Gellner argued that there was still utility to be found in syncretic analysis, even if the models constructed whilst engaging in the application process needed to be used carefully:

> As academic observers, we need always to ask whether it is a question of an entire tradition or a single ritual, or some other aspect of practice. We have to acknowledge that interested participants are very likely to take the part for the whole and make sweeping judgments more detached observers cannot concur with. Questions of power are certainly central to this whole debate.[13]

Gellner thus proceeds to categorizes hybrid relationships between disparate religious traditions into four separate situational phenomena: bricolage, syncretic, synthetic, and accretion/complementary. He places three of these situations on a spectrum of increasing assimilation: bricolage, syncretic, and synthetic. Accretive religious relationships are set apart as unique, but they may, as explained below, give rise to syncretic manifestations.

Of the categories present in Gellner's typology, bricolage was the only one that he presumed would be accepted by Post-Modernist academics.[14] Of situations characterized by bricolage, Gellner says it is "the combination of numerous elements of diverse origins with no stable synthesis envisaged."[15] Academically documented phenomena that can be labeled bricolage are rare, as they are definitionally based on anecdotal evidence. One might imagine a scenario in which an individual inhabiting a location that bears the influence of more than one religious tradition combines, perhaps at the spur of the moment, elements of these religious traditions in an unorthodox manner. One might

---

[12] Billington, 265-269.
[13] Gellner, "For Syncretism," 289.
[14] Gellner, 288.
[15] Gellner, 288.

accurately categorize such a practice as bricolage if it never develops into a regular practice.

Gellner defines syncretic traditions as religions characterized by a mix of disparate elements, usually from only two religions.[16] When a tradition or ritual from an outside religion begins to be practiced consistently in another, we can accurately describe it as syncretic. These traditions will appear to mirror or "parallel" the practice as it is present in an outside religion. Often, there will be tension around these adopted practices and their justifications, as they have not yet been fully enveloped within the host religion.

In some cases of syncretism, such as among the Marhajan dalits of Nepal, two traditions align themselves, adopting particularly popular aspects from each and seem to develop into a distinctly unique tradition. The devotees in this example are fully aware of the syncretism and see it as a positive aspect of their religiosity.[17] In other cases, such as with the Pure Land Buddhists, they might reject any claims made that note the apparent mixing.[18] This might be unsurprising. The disparity of syncretic traditions often leads to situations where a tradition based in axioms seemingly incompatible with a host religion is adopted. Buddhists might adopt some form of a caste system, for example, if some spiritual need is perceived to be sated by doing so. A caste system is an anathema to Buddhist philosophy as it is typically professed.

Novel traditions are usually adopted by a host religion to meet a specific religious need. If, for example, in a time of war or oppression, members of a religious community are decimated and made low, they might experience a need for a way to increase their community's power to defend itself and a need for an ability to influence their own fate. They then might adopt rituals or traditions from an outside religion that are seen to sate this need. One can observe such an example in 8th-century India. The Rashtrakuta dynasty of Karanataka were adherents to a sorcerous and warlike sect of Saivism.[19] Their

---

[16] Gellner, 288.
[17] Gellner, 288.
[18] Pure Land Buddhism shows signs of Taoist influence, as can be seen from their disregard for the Buddhist tradition of philosophical debate, in favor of non-examined spiritual intuition as a method for uncovering further phenomenological insight.
[19] Saivism is an Indian religious tradition focused on worshipping the figure Shiva as a deity.

imperial cult conducted magical rites intended to cause illness to grip their enemies and to grant the king God-like powers and knowledge.[20] In the power vacuum following the collapse of the pan-Indian Gupta Empire, Kannada kings began to raze and pillage the other lands of India.[21] Their victims and enemies, though not Saivites, adopted the magical practices and adapted them to their own traditions.[22] This could easily be described as syncretic within Gellner's typology.

If communities with syncretic aspects continue to develop them, systematizing and maintaining a consistent performance over time, they begin to assimilate traditional power structures and morph to fit their interests. If a syncretic tradition becomes more and more enveloped within mainstream practice, the syncretic tradition could begin to more closely resemble what we might more accurately label a synthetic.

Synthetic traditions are those traditions that are characterized by having adopted parts of other traditions, whole and intact, into its own practice, and then systematizing them into orthodox belief and/or orthopraxical practice over a long period of time. This leads to these practices crystallizing into a stable form that is not easily recognizable as having borrowed elements from other sources. This leads to synthetic traditions taking on an independent identity, despite the hybrid background of their beliefs and practices. This identity formation is a result of both the systematization of hybrid beliefs and practices, as well as the passing of time. The borrowed elements in synthetic traditions become so integral to the religion over time that to remove it would render the tradition almost unrecognizable.

Gellner makes the case that all world religions fit into this category best. Sikhism is a clear example of a synthetic religion. An integral component of Sikhism is that, like Islam, religious iconography is officially discouraged. Sikhism's founder, Guru Nanak (1469-1539), engaged in both Muslim and Hindu rituals, while not performing any rituals involving iconography.[23] If in the present, a Sikh sect were to remove this facet of the

---

[20] Ronald Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism (*Columbia University Press, 2002), 129.
[21] Davidson, 129.
[22] Davidson, 129.
[23] Irfan Habib,"A Fragmentary Exploration of an Indian Text on Religions and Sects: Notes on the Earlier Version of the Dabistan-i-Mazahib," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 2001* (2001), 474–480.

religion, however, it would present such a fundamental departure from the Sikh religion that an overwhelming majority of Sikh adherents would deny it the label "Sikh."

Religious situations are accretive or complementary when two religions exist alongside each other, providing for the same communities, but often in open competition.[24] In these situations, religious adherents will peruse the spiritual services of each major tradition in the region. Often, one religious tradition will be dominant in an accretive environment. When this is the case, the dominant religious group can seek to regulate the perusal of spiritual services by non-dominant groups. Unlike syncretic situations in which one tradition generates parallel practices so that it is unnecessary for their devotees to go elsewhere for their services, accretive situations actively encourage going elsewhere, as two religions compete to provide services. Accretive situations also possess the possibility of leading to the generation of syncretic practices, as adherents who use the services of an outside religion might learn and adapt the practices into their own religion. Some prominent examples include Thailand and Japan. In Thailand, devotees will seek soteriological aid from the local Buddhists and direct pragmatic concerns toward local non-Buddhist authorities. In Japan, Buddhist monks typically handle death services and Shinto priests commonly handle worldly supplications.[25]

Yemeni Religion in the Twentieth Century

Two world religions were represented in Yemen during the early twentieth century: Islam and Judaism. The Islamic community, which was initially established during the seventh century, came to be divided between the Shi'ite Muslims of the Zaydi sect and Sunni Muslims of the Salafi sect by the thirteenth century.[26] Tradition maintains that Jews were present in Yemen since Biblical times. By the Modern period, their population comprised almost entirely of Jews of the Mizrahi ethnicity. The Zaydi have historically been the group in power, ruling the nation during most of the early twentieth century. They are very puritanical concerning orthodoxy, rejecting the validity of the

---

[24] Gellner, "For Syncretism", 289.
[25] Gellner, 287.
[26] Sect here denotes a school of Islamic jurisprudence.

cults of sainthood present in other Shi'ite sects.[27] Traditionally, Zaydi Imams have also denied the existence of any supernatural entity other than God himself. Salafis are a Sunni sect known for their conservative jurisprudential customs. They are more inclined toward mysticism than other Sunni sects, as is evidenced by the number of Salafi Mullahs who have written large tomes on arcane knowledge hidden in the Qu'ran. The Mizrahi Jews of Yemen are subordinate to their Muslim neighbors, enjoying a diminutive status as a protected people. They are particularly known for their Kabbalistic and magical practices.[28]

Eraqi-Klorman's work in Yemen largely focuses on the interactions between the Mizrahi Jews and their Muslim neighbors. In urban spheres related to places of authority and power Jews were segregated and kept away by the Muslim majority to ensure that they had no chance of corrupting them; Jews were viewed by Muslims as possessing an intrinsic mystical nature, an amoral character, and a corrupting presence.[29] In the rural, tribal domain, Jews and Muslims interacted much more frequently, primarily in the economic sphere but also in the religious. Further, their perceived natural affinity for magic and mysticism often attracted oppression. Whenever a drought came, or a demon was thought to possess a child, Jews were the first to be blamed.[30]

Aside from uncritically labeling the phenomena she documents as syncretic, Eraqi-Klorman's work does not offer a detailed analysis of the variety of hybridic forms, as it loses granularity by assigning all of them the label "syncretistic." In the following section, this rich diversity will be further explored using Gellner's typology. As mentioned above, Gellner suggests that when applying the term syncretism, one has an obligation "to ask whether it is a question of an entire tradition or of a single ritual, or some other aspect of practice" that can accurately be described as syncretic.[31] The same

---

[27] The other main Shi'ite groups are the *Jafari* and the *Imamiyyah*, both of which partake widely in saint veneration.
[28] Eraqi-Klorman, "Magic," 125-127.
[29] Eraqi-Klorman, 128-129.
[30] Eraqi-Klorman, 128-129.
[31] Gellner, "For Syncretism," 289.

questions might well be asked when attempting to responsibly apply any of the terms of Gellner's typology, including bricolage, synthetic, and accretive.

Therefore, one might begin applying this theoretical framework by asking which of Gellner's four types best describes Yemeni Religious Culture of the early twentieth century when viewed as a symbiotic whole. Eraqi-Klorman offers a long list of well-established hybridic beliefs and practices that in effect render the application of the term bricolage to the whole of Yemeni religious culture inappropriate. At the same time, it is also clear that Yemeni religious culture has not solidified into a synthetic whole that might be considered on par with the other so-called world religions. At least as the evidence is presented in the sources, the Muslims and Jews of Yemen generally saw themselves as belonging to separate religions.

One could describe the situation as syncretic or accretive, but neither is a perfect fit. There are most certainly many examples of syncretic adaptations, see examples below, that are well-established but not accepted by an overarching orthodox or popular worldview that unselfconsciously combines both Judaism and Islam. Nevertheless, there are also examples that demonstrate that Yemeni Muslims and Jews maintained a complementary, accretive coexistence (see examples below), as the laity seek to satisfy a wide range of needs that are not all addressed by the religious institutions with which they identified.

One can easily observe the Jewish and Muslim hybridity in some aspects of Yemeni religiosity and come to the conclusion that Yemeni religion is syncretic, in the conventional sense of the word. However, there is an obvious difference in adopting a practice, native to an outside religion and perusing outside religion to get access to a certain practice. The allowance for these idiosyncrasies is more likely to produce new insights into a religion or its specific practices and traditions. Continuing with Gellner's suggestion that we ask about the whole of the religious culture and also specific practices, we can also ask what practices we see that can be didactically described as bricolage, syncretic, synthetic, and accretive.

As we begin to discuss bricolage, it should be noted that Eraqi-Klorman's work is focused on two main points. First, she aims to describe the prevailing attitudes toward Yemeni Jews by their Muslim neighbors. Secondly, she seeks to draw attention to the roles of Yemeni Jews as the providers of religious, magical services for both Jewish and Muslim patrons. Because she focuses on well-known and long-standing relationships between Yemeni Muslims and Jews, there is, of course, very little in her work that can reasonably be described in Gellner's terms as bricolage. However, one can easily imagine something as simple as including a Hebrew prayer in your pre-meal ritual just once, perhaps you thought it appropriate because you were a Muslim eating Jewish food. If it happens irregularly and does not become a well-established and well-known practice, then it should be described as something less formalized than syncretic, and in Gellner's typology, there is only bricolage remaining to employ. A widening of the current study to include a broader range of historical and ethnographic sources would likely reveal ample anecdotal examples—for they only need to be anecdotal to be described as bricolage— that could be insightfully described as bricolage to highlight their unsystematic character.

Perhaps the clearest example of what Gellner would critically describe as syncretic can be observed in the Muslim responses to a sequence of Jewish messianic figures. In the eighteenth century, Yemeni Islamic Messianism reached a peak of popularity.[32] The Ottoman Empire had tried to conquer Yemen since 1849 and had inflicted mass suffering upon the Yemeni people. It seems that in the chaos of the Ottoman campaigns, many Muslim Yemenis took the claims of the Messianic figures seriously, with many investing their hope and faith in them. Pretenders claiming the mantle of the Islamic Messiah known as the *Mahdi* began with Faqih Said, in 1840, and Sharif Ismail, in 1846.[33] Shortly afterward, Jews, who were experiencing the same hardships as their Muslim neighbors, began expecting a messiah of their own. In the new reality of constant and mortal war, all Yemeni communities were faced with a new spiritual need: one for salvation on earth. Muslim communities had met this need with the

---

[32] Bat-Zion Eraqi-Klorman, "Muslim Supporters of Jewish Messiahs in Yemen," *Middle Eastern Studies* 29, no. 4 (1993): 714.
[33] Eraqi-Klorman, 714.

raising up of Messiahs. Thus, Jewish communities did the same. Never did a Jewish Messiah and an Islamic one co-exist in Modern Yemen. In the absence of a *Mahdi*, many Muslims accepted Jewish Messianic figures.

There is a long history of Jewish Messianic figures who have captured the imagination of large numbers of Yemenis, including Muslims. The most notable of these were Shukr Kuhayl I (1861-1865) and Shukr Kuhayl II (1868-1875).[34] Both of which were accepted as messiahs by many among the Muslim community, notably Salafi Sunnis. However, both were also defamed as anti-messiahs by Zaydis in the region and would later be executed, seemingly at the order of Zaydi religious leaders.[35] This fact demonstrates the efforts of the Zaydi Shi'ites to maintain power over which forms of syncretization and hybridity was allowed to be practiced by minority religious groups. Shukr Kuhayl I and Shukr Kuhayl II were supported for their views on the imminent end-times, sating the Yemeni Muslim spiritual need for hope and salvation in the absence of their own messianic figures. The Muslim needs that allowed for the political emergence of a messiah did not end with the deaths of Faqih Said and Sharif Ismail. The Ottoman wars continued, and the resulting death and suffering did not abate due to the lack of a *Mahdi* in Yemen. Thus, Muslims were willing to paint a thin veneer of Islamic paint over the Jewish messiahs, both in the mouths of the Messianic figures and by thinking of them as heralds clearing the way for the coming *Mahdi*.

Furthermore, the *Mahdi* prophecies are at best on the periphery of Muslim theology. The *Mahdi* is a figure that, in the minds of most Muslims, is mysterious and vague. Even the singularity of the *Mahdi* is uncertain. Many Muslims hold that the first four leaders of the Islamic community after the death of the prophet Muhammad, known as the rightly-guided successors, were *Mahdis*. Many also hold that there is only one. Imams give sermons on the Islamic messiah less often than on Qu'ranic material and much division exists over who and what the term *Mahdi* connotes. Muslims in Yemen took the disparate beliefs based on Tanakh prophecies and aligned them with Islamic

---

[34] Eraqi-Klorman, "Magic", 128.
[35] Bat-Zion Eraqi-Klorman, "The Messiah Shukr Kuḥayl II (1868–75) and His Tithe (ma-aser): Ideology and Practice as a Means to Hasten Redemption," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 79 (1989): 199–217.

messianic lore, adopting these figures into their religious praxis. As such, it is reasonable to describe this aspect of Yemeni religion as syncretic.

Synthetic religious traditions are those which have enveloped aspects of other traditions within themselves in a systematic fashion.[36] The envelopment into Islamic orthodoxy of ideas about the value of Jewish piety, as documented by Eraqi-Klorman, seems to fit into this category. Muslims in twentieth century Yemen saw piety within the Jewish community as a spiritually beneficial state of affairs for all Yemenis. This belief seems to be an old one, as written sources expressing it are at least hundreds of years old.[37] Often, Muslims would encourage Jews to adhere closely to their religious obligations, even going so far as to bring unobservant Jews before Muslim judges and Imams, so that they could chastise and punish them.[38] This was done to preserve the purity of the entire Yemeni population. As can be observed from both communities praying together for rain, Muslims thought the Jewish communities to be equally important to God.[39] It seems Muslims encouraged Jewish piety to safeguard the Yemeni community, both Jewish and Muslim, from God's retaliations and punishments. Thus, as even Muslims engaged in systematizing it, this represents a synthetic aspect of Yemeni religion.

A broad analysis of Yemeni religion would likely not reveal many synthetic aspects of Yemeni religious practice, as Jews and Muslims maintained a distance from each other's identities. This did not have to have been the case. The final independent ruler of Yemen seemingly engaged in actions aimed at uniting Jews and Muslims under his spiritual and secular rule. In the first years of his reign (1904-1948), Imam Yahya Muhammad Hamid ed-Din (1869-1948) declared that the djinn of Yemen were as much his feudal subjects as the men.[40] This dramatic decree, being addressed to his human subjects, this decree implicitly told them that he had the power and authority to control

---

[36] Gellner, "For Syncretism," 288.
[37] Eraqi-Klorman, "Magic," 128.
[38] Eraqi-Klorman, 128.
[39] Gellner, "For Syncretism," 288.
[40] Mikhail Rodionov, "Jinn in Hadramawt Society," *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 38 (2008): 279.

the djinn and protect mortal Yemenis from them. Yahya, unlike all Zaydi imams before him, sent out demonological directives to his subjects, possibly aimed at leading Jewish demonologists to see him as an authority on the matter.[41] He was the de-jure spiritual leader of the Zaydis, though he also held secular authority over all Yemenis as the ruler of the land of Yemen. The Zaydi community, as mentioned above, had historically been consistent in their denials of supernatural entities or occurrences, outside of God. Especially in the Zaydi consciousness, belief in demonic entities was considered a Jewish superstition and was to be avoided by good Muslims. It was therefore a dramatic move when Imam Yahya broke with this tradition. One might fairly presume that he did this in a move intended to raise support in the Yemeni Jewish communities, especially given other more overtly pro-Jewish decrees he later gave. He would later ensure Yemen would be the only nation in the Middle East to allow unrestricted Jewish through-traffic to Palestine.[42] Further, Imam Yahya would give back Jewish land, taken from Yemen's Jews by his predecessor.[43]

Throughout his rule, Yahya would engage in many actions that seem to bring Yemen's Jews more and more under his spiritual authority. Whether in declaring himself the most capable of protecting Yemen from demons, a service mainly performed by Jews, or setting himself up as the conduit by which Jews could visit their holy land, Yahya seemed to be attempting to merge the religious hierarchies of Yemen under his aegis. Were this his goal, the creation of the nation of Israel and his assassination ensured his failure. Were Imam Yahya to have been successful, Yemen might have eventually become more characterized by a synthetic Muslim-Jewish organic religion.

Using the lenses of Gellner's framework, there are several aspects of Yemeni religion that can be viewed as accretive and complementary. Jewish specialists were seen by both Jews and Muslims as the authority on demonological matters. These specialists were consulted for their exorcist skills by both communities. This is best characterized as

---

[41] Rodionov, 279.

[42] Aharon Gaimani. "Rabbi Yihye Yitzhak Halevi and His Relations with Imam Yahya," *Middle Eastern Studies* 46, no. 2 (March 2010): 239.

[43] Gaimani, 237.

an example of an accretive environment. Eraqi-Klorman writes, "Jews were thought to possess the powers to control the demons and exorcise them from humans."[44] As one of the spiritual needs of the Muslim population was not being met by their own religious tradition, here being the need for demonological rites to ward off demons and djinn, they sought out the services of the specialists of a competing religion.[45] Jews were thought to have the ability to speak to demons inherently.[46] Demonological beliefs in Yemen demonstrate a high degree of mixing, as evidenced by both communities seeking out the same demonologists and exorcists. This allows one to categorize Yemeni demonology as accretive. Eraqi-Klorman also mentions that some Muslims often sought to demonize Jews for their perceived demonological predispositions. This further fits Gellner's typology, as it makes allowances for dominant groups regulating and suppressing the accretive activities of those groups with less power.

Conclusion: The Insights that Arise out of Applying Gellner's System

Ultimately, although Eraqi-Klorman's body of work contains invaluable accounts of Muslim and Jewish interaction in early twentieth century Yemen, both her descriptions and her analyses are stifled by her application of a theoretically underdeveloped conception of syncretism. Moreover, the uncareful employment of the terminology of syncretism allows for her work to be interpreted in support of the Islamist purist who would interpret what she documents as immoral. In this paper, I have applied a more nuanced and careful theoretical typology that distinguishes between a variety of relationships that emerge when multiple religions overlap in the same public sphere. The resulting analysis offers a far more nuanced description of the relationships and developments in Yemen that occurred during and due to centuries of interaction between Yemeni Muslims and Jews. While attempting to categorize the whole of Yemeni religious culture, it became evident that there are reasons to describe the symbiotic whole

---

[44] Eraqi-Klorman, "Magic," 129-130.
[45] Due to the Jews being perceived as being inherently mystical by the Yemeni Muslims, they were sought out to fulfill some of the more arcane spiritual needs of Yemen's Muslims.
[46] Eraqi-Klorman, "Magic," 129.

as syncretic, but there are just as many reasons to conclude that it is accretive. Nevertheless, we found that at the global level, the diversity of religious manifestations denied simple categorization. While examining smaller units of religious culture, however, we found practices that could accurately be described as syncretic, synthetic, and accretive. Given more resources, we would likely also find anecdotal evidence of bricolage.

As a result of the above analysis, it is now possible to distinguish phenomena that are less disruptive to the status quo of power dynamics in the region, such as is seen in the synthetic idea that Jewish piety affects the entirety of the Yemeni people, from phenomena which are quite disruptive, as seen in many of the accretive practices described above. When they took the responsibility to ensure pious Jewish conduct, Muslims were necessarily asserting their superior position in their power dynamic. Jewish communities are not recorded as performing a similar action towards their Muslim neighbors in the sources we have and, indeed, they could not have. Yemeni Muslims, due to their favorable position in the asymmetric power structure, had the privilege to take a paternalistic attitude towards the Jews. This sentiment and in the Jewish acceptance of this dynamic implicitly legitimized Muslim ideas of Islamic supremacy. In the synthetic envelopment within the Muslim faith of the value of Jewish pious practices, we see the employment of Muslim power to suppress transgressive Jewish religiosity. Furthermore, in the examples of Jewish messiahs who gained many Muslim followers, we see the regulation of Jewish influence and employment of their power. Both main Jewish messiahs were killed by Zaydi Muslims and, in so doing, Jews were made to accept a weaker position in the Muslim-Jewish power structure. As mentioned, syncretic situations often reveal hidden power dynamics, as a more powerful religious community seeks to regulate syncretic activities with and in weaker religious communities. This seems to be illuminated here as well.

Nevertheless, the accretive relationships involving Jewish demonological specialists demonstrate a reversal of the predominant Yemeni power structure. In these accretive situations, Yemeni Jews enjoyed a position of power and authority over their

Muslim neighbors. However, as mentioned by Eraqi-Klorman, even in this realm, Jews were oppressed. They were often labeled the perpetrators of supernatural ailments in Yemen. It seems that Eraqi-Klorman's observation, that Jews were both integrated into Yemeni society, as well as "Othered," is in some sense true.[47] These complexities of the relations of power in twentieth century Yemen have been brought to light so that they can be more easily analyzed through the application of Gellner's robust typology. Hopefully, this paper will, in some small way, influence further studies of Yemeni religion to use more granular typologies without reinforcing the asymmetrical power relations between Muslims and Jews. It is hoped that the consistent application of theoretical frameworks that are mindful of the potential for unwitting endorsement of negative power dynamics will avoid any further cases of etically playing partisan to asymmetric power structures.

---

[47] Eraqi-Klorman, "Magic," 130.

An Assessment of The Indian Reorganization Act and the Civilian Conservation Corps - Indian Division

Daniel Temples

Abstract:

Native Americans living on reservations were severely affected by the Great Depression in the 1930s. Many of them were already in poverty before the stock markets crashed, and the ensuing recession further limited their economic opportunities. The US Federal Government funded two separate programs intended to aid Native Americans: the Indian Division of the Civilian Conservation Core (CCC-ID) from 1933 to 1942, and the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934. The IRA's goal was to help the Native Americans to regulate and govern themselves without outside influence from the Federal Government, but it failed to do so in any lasting way. The CCC-ID's main purpose was to aid the Native Americans economically, and it succeeded, along with accomplishing many goals of the IRA inadvertently. This paper argues that the CCC-ID was more helpful than the IRA in restoring Native American culture, tribal identity, and self-governance than the IRA.

In 1933, Congress formed the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) to combat the poverty and unemployment brought about by the Great Depression. The Indian Division of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC-ID) was formed shortly after, and, like the CCC, became a very popular and successful program. Similarly, in 1934, an official act was passed by Congress to address the "problem" of Native Americans.[1] This legislation, the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), was the brainchild of John Collier, a reformer and activist for Native Americans. He intended to undo decades of assimilation of Native American tribes into US culture. Part of his plan included sponsoring a "by-Indians-for-Indians" magazine called *Indians at Work.* While the CCC-ID's primary purpose was the same as the "regular"[2] CCC, it ended up doing more to promote the un-assimilation of Native Americans than the IRA would ever accomplish. The Indian Division of the Civilian Conservation Corps was more beneficial to Native Americans than the Indian Reorganization Act in many areas, such as agriculture, medicine, Native American culture, and politics.

Historical Setting

In 1928, the Institute for Government Research (IGR) created an official government report to assess the Native American "problem." This report, called the Meriam Report after the head survey member, revealed the truly sorry state of Native American reservations. Despite the dramatic rise in standards of living all across the US during the "roaring twenties," the status of the average Native American was poorer than that of all the other people groups living in the US. Much of this was due to the dismal health conditions caused by a lack of hospitals, uneducated doctors, and debilitating housing. Along with poor health, poor education, high crime rates, and low-income rates, each contributed to the slow and steady degradation of Native American society. Many Native Americans were jobless even before the unemployment crisis of the Great

---

[1] Many Native Americans today refer to themselves as "Indians" or "American Indians," however many find it insulting to be called such a name by a non-Native American. This paper will refer to them as "Native Americans" wherever possible.
[2] "Regular" is referring to the non-Native American CCC.

Depression. When the crisis did come, Native Americans were among the first groups of people to be fired. Adding to all of this was the failure of the US government's assimilation policy, under which many tribes remained only partially assimilated. According to the Meriam Report, these people were far worse off than those who had not been assimilated and even worse off than those who had been fully assimilated.[3]

Perhaps prompted by the results of the Meriam Report, the Office of Indian Affairs published a magazine called *Indians at Work* from 1933 to 1945, which provided an overview of the work being done by and on the behalf of Native Americans.[4] It was a bi-monthly (and later monthly) collection of articles by various authors, both white and Native American, written mainly for Native Americans on tribal reservations. In every issue (except the last one) an editorial written by John Collier preceded the magazine's content. While Collier usually focused on the CCC-ID events and news, it also covered many other topics related to Native Americans in general, celebrating various events and following news stories concerning Native Americans. The magazine has an obvious bias towards the CCC-ID, praising the workers and their accomplishments, but it does not appear to have misrepresented facts.[5]

The Indian Reorganization Act

The basic intention of the Indian Reorganization Act was to help Native Americans. John Collier had been an activist for Native American rights ever since his 1920 visit to a Pueblo reservation in New Mexico.[6] There he became enthralled with the

---

[3] Lewis Meriam, *The Problem of Indian Administration* (Washington DC, Institute for Government Research, 1928).

[4] *Indians at Work* is one of my major sources for this paper; the other is Graham Taylor: *The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism: the administration of the Indian Reorganization Act, 1934-1945* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1980). This is an overview of the IRA, along with its creation and implementation. Taylor was a history professor at the University of Pennsylvania who specialized in Native American history. While the book is mostly unbiased, it does tend to be a little soft on the few Native Americans who created problems for everyone, such as the feuding between half-blooded Native Americans and full-blooded Native Americans (this is discussed on page 5).

[5] Although I have not found a reliable source that directly evaluates the integrity of *Indians at Work*, the fact that it lasted as long as it did suggests that it did work enough to merit continued funding. Many of the buildings built by the CCC-ID are still standing as well.

[6] Taylor, *New Deal and Tribalism,* 12.

idea of an independent, self-governed and self-reliant population of Native Americans in the US.[7] From then on he spent his time advocating the abolishment of laws he deemed harmful to Native Americans, such as the Dawes Act, which allowed the Federal Government to allot land from Native American reservations to anyone of their choosing. Due to Collier's initial attempts at improving the status of Native Americans, president Franklin D. Roosevelt elected Collier the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1933. Collier planned to aid Native Americans by "...the development of Indian economic resources and the restoration of Indian self-determination through the revival of tribal governments,"[8] un-assimilating[9] the Native Americans from US culture while encouraging their (the Native Americans') own, and decreasing US federal control over Native American tribes by increasing their own governments' autonomy. This would both allow the Native Americans to set their laws as well as remove the Native Americans' poor estate from Federal responsibility.

On paper, the Indian Reorganization Act was to start a revolution in US-Native relations. In practice, very few of John Collier's ideas ever went through as planned. For example, a major component of giving Native Americans more autonomy was new tribal constitutions, specially tailored to best serve each reservation. However, Collier found that making every constitution custom-fit for each tribe was too large of a job for the IRA to handle.[10] Instead, several broad templates were created, and minor adjustments were made to meet the reservation's situation. This was far more effective in getting the constitutions down on paper, but it angered many tribes who had different needs and wants than their neighbors.[11]

While Collier had the best of intentions, the practical implementation of the new laws was far from ideal. Many Native Americans had been fully or mostly assimilated into US culture and had no wish to return to the old ways of tribal government. Alongside

---

[7] Taylor, 12.
[8] Taylor, xi-xii.
[9] Collier had no assumptions that the Native Americans would ever again be fully removed from US culture, but he intended to undo as much of the past assimilation as he could. Taylor, xi-xii.
[10] Taylor, 28-29.
[11] Taylor, 73-75.

this was the reluctance of many Native Americans, assimilated or not, to give up their property rights. Traditionally, Native Americans viewed the land as a gift to everyone, and the idea that one individual could possess any amount of land was a completely foreign concept that was eventually introduced to them by the arrival of Europeans. But when individual Native Americans began to own property, it gave them much more power in terms of access to food and other resources than their fellow tribe members. "Landed" Native Americans were opposed to returning control of their land to the whole tribe. Several entire reservations, such as the Klamath tribe of Oregon, unanimously rejected the IRA as a tribe.[12] The Klamath tribe was one of the most fully landed tribes in the northwest at the time. These landed Native Americans were among the most vehement opponents to the re-implementation of tribal laws on their reservations.

Another major problem with the new constitutions was the conflict between full and "half-blooded"[13] Native Americans. In 1937 on the Tongue River reservation, a council of "full-blood" Native Americans submitted an official report to take several hundred mixed-race Native Americans off of "the roll" (probably the federal aid list).[14] These issues contributed to a very lackluster implementation of Collier's original plan.

Despite these internal conflicts, an enduring accomplishment of the Indian Reorganization Act was that it rekindled many Native Americans' sense of tribal identity.[15] Although this had little (if any) impact on the living conditions on reservations, it slowly encouraged a small resurgence of Native American art and traditions.[16] A great example of this was the Blackfeet Renaissance, which began in the summer of 1936 on the Blackfeet reservation in Montana. A small group of Native American women led by the reservation's community manager, Mrs. Jessie Schultz, created traditional Blackfeet garments to be sold at a nearby camp event. These clothes, sold to both Native Americans

---

[12] Taylor, 33.

[13] A derogatory term used by "full-blood" Native Americans to describe members of the tribe who did not have an unbroken line of Native American ancestry. This was a common (though insulting) description in the early twentieth century.

[14] Taylor, *New Deal and Tribalism*, 104.

[15] Calvin Gower, "The CCC Indian Division: Aid for Depressed Americans, 1933-1942," *Minnesota Historical Society Press*, (1972): 3-13.

[16] *Indians at Work*, Volume 7 Issue 7 (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1933-1942).

and white tourists, became very popular items. This initial success led to the construction of an official craft house where many other traditional Blackfeet items, such as spears, dolls, moccasins, and jackets, were manufactured and sold.[17]

Despite Collier's good intentions, the IRA did not achieve the success he had envisioned. While the individual reasons are far more complicated, most of them can be traced back to resistance from many whites BIA officials and even some Native Americans.[18] Another reason was the well-meaning but incorrect assumptions made by Collier about how Native American tribes would react to the IRA. It was a common misconception that once Native Americans were given all the rights and freedoms provided by the act that they would quickly and easily adapt to the more "natural" situation.[19] However, as seen with the many tribes who rejected the IRA, this was not a universally shared Native American value.

By far the most prominent reason for the IRA's failure came directly from those who implemented it, both Native Americans and white officials. In *The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism*, Graham Taylor explains one of the fundamental flaws of the act:

> ...members of the Indian Organization Division and the Interior Department legal staff under Collier and Ickes sought to give tribes the maximum degree of freedom possible in matters of internal regulatory powers. The weakness of this system was that it depended on the attitudes and flexibility of bureau officials in interpreting the limits of tribal constitutions...[20]

Because the IRA relied on traveling down a staircase of officials and bureaucrats, by the time any new law reached the level of the reservation, it was a pale imitation of the original law.[21] This severely limited the level of self-governance that Native Americans could achieve, as on many reservations some prejudiced officials in charge of the application of the IRA would amend it as they saw fit.[22] Taylor goes on to describe the failure of the act in financial terms: "Whatever the intentions of Collier and his associates

---

[17] *Indians at Work*, Volume 5 Issue 10.
[18] Taylor, *New Deal and Tribalism*, 149.
[19] Meriam, *Indian Administration.*
[20] Taylor, 105.
[21] Taylor, 149.
[22] Taylor, 149.

in the bureau, they did not, in practice, promote the development of tribal self-determination in the crucial area of fiscal responsibility".[23]

The Civilian Conservation Corps – Indian Division

The Indian Division of the Civilian Conservation Corps, known until 1937 as the Indian Emergency Conservation Works (IECW), was created to reduce unemployment on Native American reservations. A secondary objective was to give specific job training to Native Americans so that in the future they could have employment beyond the CCC-ID.[24] Focusing on the same issues as the "regular" CCC, Native Americans were sent to clear land, build trails, dams, and cabins, and fight fires.[25] It also, like the IRA, aimed to allow Native Americans to become more self-reliant in terms of business and administration.[26] Another problem that the CCC-ID sought to address was the terrible state of the Native Americans' general health through the education of CCC-ID workers on basic first aid and the construction of on-reservation hospitals.[27]

The CCC-ID set out to provide jobs to unemployed Native Americans and to improve the quality of life on reservations, and it accomplished both of its goals. Less than two months after the CCC-ID was funded, over 15,000 Native Americans had been employed by the new organization. It was unclear how many Native Americans had steady jobs during the first half of the twentieth century, but less than half of all working-age men were probably employed.[28] By the CCC-ID's deactivation in 1942, it had employed over 85,000 Native Americans or around 25% of all Native Americans living in the US.[29] The transferal of administration duties from white to Native American officials also took place over time, although slowly. By 1934 Native Americans held over 752

[23] Taylor, 111-112.
[24] Gower, "CCC Indian Division."
[25] *Indians at Work*, Volume 2 Issue 2.
[26] *Indians at Work,* Volume 2 Issue 19.
[27] Gower, "CCC Indian Division."
[28] Information from Meriam Report statistics.
[29] Gower, "CCC Indian Division."

managerial positions out of 1,268 in the CCC-ID.[30] As for the quality of life, the CCC-ID's "Rehabilitation" program was one of their most successful undertakings in reservation improvement. It created a standard housing plan to help create livable homes for the many Native Americans who lived in temporary, makeshift huts made of whatever materials they could scrounge.[31]

In contrast to the CCC-ID's empowerment of Native Americans, under the IRA's administration, most Native American officials had very little power over their tribes. A tribal council was sponsored by the IRA so that the tribe felt more autonomous. Council members were hand-picked by IRA officials from important men in the tribe. While the tribe council was populated entirely by Native Americans, they often only represented small constituencies in the tribe, and most of the tribe's population remained unrepresented or were represented by white governors. This was seen on the Flathead Reservation in Montana, where the tribal council represented less than ten percent of the tribe's population.[32] This means that the other 90% of Native Americans on the reservation were not being represented by other Native Americans, but by white BIA officials who were not on the council.[33]

Hundreds of other construction projects were completed by the CCC-ID, most on Native American reservations. The *Indians at Work* magazine was an excellent source for these and lists a large collection of projects throughout the issues. For example, in Pipe Stone, Minnesota, a large community center was built for the Native Americans on the reservation.[34] In Pine Ridge, South Dakota, CCC-ID workers "...built a dam, set up a windmill and dug a well.".[35] These three projects allow the tribespeople to regulate river flooding, grind corn and wheat, and have access to safe water right in their town. Also in Pine Ridge, a dam was constructed that successfully provided water to the farms near the

---

[30] Gower.
[31] *Indians at Work*, Volume 6 Issue 1.
[32] Taylor, *New Deal and Tribalism,* 86.
[33] Taylor, 86.
[34] *Indians at Work*, Volume 5 Issue 6.
[35] *Indians at Work,* Volume 6 Issue 2.

reservation.[36] In Nett Lake, Minnesota, an on-reservation hospital was built by the CCC-ID workers. At Rice Lake, also in Minnesota, a large rice-farming camp was built for a village of 1,500 Native Americans.[37]

Fire-fighting was very important in the West, where many reservations were located in fire-prone areas. In one instance, described by the very first issue of *Indians at Work,* Native Americans worked around the clock for nearly forty-two hours to extinguish a large forest fire on the Fort Belknap reservation in Montana.[38] Along with the heroics of large-scale fire-fighting, every CCC-ID detachment in the West worked on some form of fire-prevention project. The CCC-ID even set up small schools to train Native Americans in the specifics of sustainable modern forestry methods.[39]

Unlike the IRA, the CCC-ID sought to address and solve problems that affected the everyday life of Native Americans. Life on reservations was often difficult, mainly because so many lived in poverty.[40] Because of this, there was always some project or problem that needed a solution that the Native American residents were unable to provide for themselves with their limited resources. Many reservations had very little or poor access to medical services.[41] The CCC-ID built hospitals, such as the facility on the Nett Lake reservation mentioned above. It also helped the Native Americans improve in the area of agriculture by aiding in techniques and constructing equipment. They also constructed farming facilities, such as the rice camps at Rice Lake, mentioned above. As a result of the CCC-ID's financial support and organization, Native Americans living on many reservations were able to vastly improve their quality of life.

The practical issues of construction and conservation were more readily solvable than trying to reverse decades of cultural assimilation of Native Americans into the US culture. Additionally, while there was heavy resistance for Collier's IRA proposal in Congress, the CCC-ID received the green light shortly after Congress approved regular

---

[36] *Indians at Work,* Volume 6 Issue 1.
[37] Gower, "CCC Indian Division."
[38] *Indians at Work*, Volume 1 Issue 1.
[39] *Indians at Work,* Volume 7 Issue 12.
[40] Meriam, *Indian Administration*, all pages.
[41] Meriam, all pages.

CCC.[42] Native American tribes loved the CCC-ID almost universally, while many of those same tribes resisted the IRA.[43] This was most likely due to the IRA directly affecting the tribal governments, whether for better or worse. So, while the IRA and the CCC-ID shared many goals in improving the Native American's status, the CCC-ID left the government of the Native Americans for the Native Americans to sort out.

While the CCC-ID was officially a subdivision of the "regular" CCC, in reality, it operated more like a parallel program. Regular CCC officials had little or nothing to do with CCC-ID administration, as tribal leaders (assisted by the BIA[44]) chose projects.[45] Unlike the "regular" CCC, Native American divisions often worked on their land. This allowed much-needed direct federal aid to be given to reservations, without any red tape getting in the way. This was almost a complete opposite of the IRA's handling of similar situations, as problems created by uncooperative officials would often slow implementation of the new laws down to a crawl.[46]

One example of this can be seen in the building of work camps on Native American reservations. Camps that were away from their homes were built on a situational basis, depending on how far away the worksite was to be. When camps were built, they usually were constructed to accommodate the Native American worker's entire family, as the directors of the CCC-ID assumed that most Native Americans would not work if they were separated from their relatives for too long. They were free to return to their homes at any time, to take care of any domestic issues, or to tend to the harvest. This was especially important because the little agriculture that the Native Americans did was often their only source of income (outside of CCC-ID payments). If they chose to live in a camp away from home, their pay was $30.00 a month. If they lived at home, it was $2.10 a day with a maximum of $42.00 a month.[47] Workers in the "regular" CCC did not

---

[42] Gower, "CCC Indian Division."
[43] Such as the Klamath tribe mentioned above.
[44] The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) was the highest administration level in the US government concerning Indian affairs.
[45] Cody White, "The CCC Indian Division" (National Archives, 2016), single page.
[46] Taylor, *New Deal and Tribalism*, 148-149.
[47] Gower, "CCC Indian Division," 3-11.

have a choice, as residence in on-site camps was mandatory. The choice of living in a camp or at home gave the Native Americans a greater sense of autonomy compared to non-native workers.

Another significant difference between the two organizations was who was able to join. In the "regular" CCC, the only men who qualified for enrollment had to be unmarried and between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. Native American workers could be of any age, as long as they were physically fit, and their marital status was not a factor. And while "regular" CCC workers would often not see their families for their entire employment, Native American workers could live with their families while they worked. All in all, due to the circumstances seen by CCC administrators, the Indian Division was given a much more flexible employment program than the "regular" CCC.[48]

Conclusion

The Indian Division of the Civilian Conservation Corps more successfully aided Native Americans than the Indian Reorganization Act. Although the IRA was well-meaning, its officials failed to effectively put the law into practice.[49] There were several reasons for this, such as the resistance from both white and some Native American groups, as well as a flawed method of implementation. Conversely, the CCC-ID was successful in nearly all of its tasks. Granted, the CCC-ID's tasks were much simpler than the total reversal of decades of US-Native American policy. But because they were simpler, they were more achievable, as the CCC-ID completed many hospitals, dams, roads, houses, and schools. These projects had a much greater and more positive impact on Native Americans.

Unfortunately, the CCC-ID was shut down along with the regular CCC in 1942 as the US prepared for war. Its sudden deactivation was a terrible blow to the morale of Native Americans. Their monthly paychecks, however small, were helpful in more ways

---

[48] Gower.

[49] The Hopi, a Pueblo people in Arizona were a very isolated and unique Native American tribe, with specific issues and needs. But under the IRA, they were treated the same as the other Pueblo tribes, leading to an almost harmful shift in life for the Hopi people. Taylor, *New Deal and Tribalism*, 74.

than just financially. Like other Americans, the Native Americans wanted to work and feel proud of themselves, and without the CCC-ID bringing jobs onto reservations, many Native Americans fell back into perpetual unemployment.[50]

---

[50] Taylor, 74.

Extras
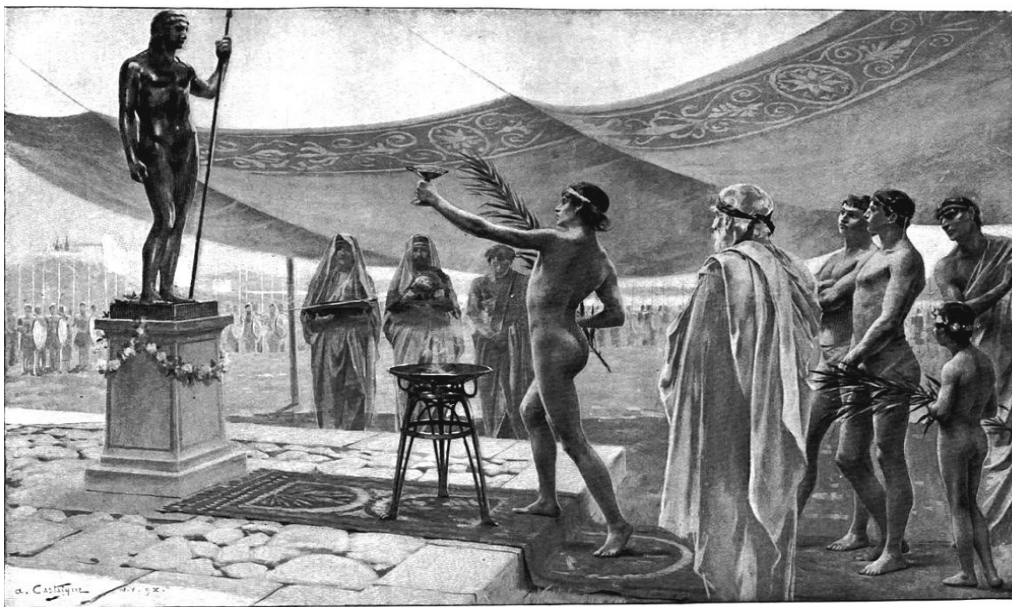
DRAWN BY A. CASTAIGNE.

ALEXANDER AT ILIUM.

Professor Nathan Alexander Remembered

By Alice Rivera

Dr. Nathan Alexander was born March 13, 1968 to Steve and Sandra Alexander in Bremerton, Washington. It is here that he would spend his childhood with his three siblings. Charismatic and quick-witted, Dr. Alexander's popularity was evident even in his youth. He graduated from Bremerton High School in 1986 and left home for Seattle, where he studied at the University of Washington. While enrolled at UW, Dr. Alexander helped establish a student historical journal, titled Intersections. This journal is still officially in publication, though it has been on hiatus since 2015. Dr. Alexander graduated with a Bachelor of the Arts in Comparative History of Ideas in 1990.

Dr. Alexander studied European history at the graduate level at Harvard University. He earned his M.A. in 1994 and assumed a lecturer position in the History of Literature concentration in 1997. Four years later, in 2001, he would officially earn his PhD. Dr. Alexander continued to teach at Harvard until 2005, when he took a position as Assistant Professor in History here at Troy University. Dr. Alexander was immediately adored by almost all who had the pleasure to get to know him. His enthusiastic hunger for learning and seemingly constant smile kept him in high regard by both student and professor alike.

Unfortunately, Dr. Alexander's tenure at Troy University was brief. In the August of 2008, he fell ill from complications regarding leukemia. Faculty at Troy University showed their support, filling in for Dr. Alexander's classes as he returned home to Washington for treatment at Seattle Cancer Care Alliance hospital. While in the hospital, Dr. Alexander passed away on May 24, 2009.

Dr. Alexander's legacy in Troy lives on in the form of *The Alexandrian*, named in his honor. The impact that he had on the lives of the students and professors who knew

him cannot be overstated, even as new people come and go. His brief stay enriched the lives of those around him. We miss him, but we are excited to dedicate our scholarship to his memory.

Department News

Award Winners

The Department of History and Philosophy and Religion would like to congratulate our undergraduate and graduate award winners of 2020:

> Colonial Dames of America Paper Award: Noah Joseph Mynard
>
> G. Ray Mathis Memorial Award: Alexander Kyle Beerenstrauch
>
> Leonard Y. Trapp History Education Award: Brantley Kade Thomson
>
> Nathan Alexander Memorial Phi Alpha Theta Scholastic Award: Joanna Ellis
>
> Outstanding Student for 2019-2020: Joseph Castleberry

Faculty News

The Wiregrass Archives at Troy University Dothan Campus, directed by history faculty member Dr. Marty Olliff, has created the "Wiregrass under COVID-19 Documentation Project" to collect diaries, journals, memoirs, and K-16 class projects in all formats reflecting the lived experiences of people in southeast Alabama, southwest Georgia, and northwest Florida. These will be open to research. To contribute to the project or for more information, contact Dr. Olliff at molliff@troy.edu.

Dr. Aaron Hagler will be promoted to Associate Professor (tenured) at the end of this academic year. Congratulations, Ari!

Dr. Joungbin Lim published "Are We Essentially Animals?" in *Philosophical Forum* (Fall 2019).

Dr. Jay Valentine published "On the Life of Chos rgyal bsod nams (1442-1509): Unlocking the Mysteries of a Byang gter Master from Mustang" in *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* (April 2020).

Dr. Luke Ritter has published "Immigrants, Crime, and the Economic Origins of Nativism in the Antebellum West," in *Journal of American Ethnic History* (February 2020), and "The King James Bible as Nationalist School Curriculum amid Immigration to the American West," in *American Nineteenth Century History* (April 2020).

Dr. Aaron Hagler published "Sunnifying ʿAlī: Historiography and Notions of Rebellion in Ibn Kathīr's *Kitāb al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*" in *Der Islam* (forthcoming, 2020).

Ms. Machelle Danner welcomed her first grandbaby! Welcome to the Troy family, Wesley James Glass.

Alumni News

As always, we are very proud of our history and philosophy graduates! Here is some news from recent grads:

Cheyenne Davis was accepted to the University of Alabama, where she will pursue her Masters in Archaeology specializing in Mesoamarica.

Laura Katherine (Kat) Rogers was accepted to the University of Maryland School of Law.

Emily Ward was accepted to the University of Alabama-Birmingham medical school.

Abhishek Ghimire (Biomedical Sciences major and Philosophy and Religion Minor) was accepted into multiple doctoral programs in biology. He will be heading to the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (RPI) in New York next year.

Lacey Folmar has accepted a full-time job with the state of Alabama as a court specialist in preparation for law school.

Cori Horton was hired as an Administrative Assistant at the Koochiching County Historical Society and Museum in International Falls, Minnesota.

Ansley Markwell is celebrating her one-year anniversary at Anzalone Liszt Grove Research, where she joins a team working for the Democratic nominee for president for the fourth election cycle in a row.

Elana Woodall is teaching ninth grade at Pike Road High School and working on her Masters in Social Science at Troy University.

Logan Horton is completing his Master of Education in Higher Education Leadership and Policy at the University of Mobile, and also teaches History at Chickasaw Middle School in Chickasaw, Alabama.

Phi Alpha Theta Inductees, Fall and Spring 2019-2020

Phi Alpha Theta is a national, professional society whose mission is to promote the study of history through the encouragement of research, good teaching, publication and the exchange of learning and ideas among historians. We seek to bring students and teachers together for intellectual and social exchanges, which promote and assist historical research and publication by our members in a variety of ways.

Nola Aycock

Joseph Castleberry

Cheyenne Davis

Laura Katherine Rogers

Mitchell Thomas

Gratitude

I was so excited to have the opportunity to edit *The Alexandrian* again this year. My team and I learned a lot creating last year's issue, and it was a joy to be able to expand and apply that learning. A project like this is impossible to complete alone; I am so thankful for every person who did something to help.

This was the year of COVID-19. It has been a startling, scary time. The pandemic upended our most basic activities. It has threatened us with death and fundamentally changed our lives. At the time of writing, no one knows when quarantine will end. In the context of this nightmare, I am immensely grateful that we can have an issue at all, and beyond impressed that the contributors were able to produce such quality scholarship. Revising one's work for publication is no easy task in normal times. To the contributors and the faculty members who worked with them on revisions: thank you for your hard work.

Thank you, once again, to the Alexander family. It is impossible to overstate the importance of your support. I have never met Dr. Alexander and so to be trusted with an important project in his memory is an incredible privilege. Thank you to Sandra, Steve, Rachel, Sarah, Andrew, and Elise for your intellectual, financial, and spiritual support over nine beautiful issues.

Lauren Post volunteered to be my copy editor and has been an inspiration ever since. She has an impeccable grasp of the English language and, more importantly, a sense of good cheer and kindness. Thank you, Lauren, for your literacy and for your friendship.

Our faculty editor, Dr. Karen Ross, was forced to abruptly transition to online teaching along with the rest of the faculty. Despite this, she contributed enormously to the journal. Thank you, Dr. Ross, for your careful attention and support.

This is my last semester at Troy University and *The Alexandrian* has made it special. I can only hope that I, in turn, have made *The Alexandrian* special.

Sincerely,
Nola Aycock, Editor

PS – I would like to add my thanks to Nola's. This has been a labor of love for many years, and thanks to the work of our talented student-authors, -editors, and -artists, as well as faculty, we have completed this ninth volume.

And, as always, we so deeply appreciate the support of the Alexander family. Thank you for your love and continued involvement!

Karen Ross, Faculty Editor

Professor Nathan Alexander

(photo courtesy of the Alexander Family)