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The *Columbia Journal of History*, formerly the *Columbia Undergraduate Journal of History*, is a publication of the Undergraduate History Council at Columbia University and sponsored by the Columbia University History Department. The Journal provides opportunities for students to contribute their research to the field of history. We review undergraduate submissions from history departments across the United States and abroad, and then select the most exemplary among them to be published in the Journal.
Cover image courtesy of Buildings and Grounds Collection, Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Columbia University.

About the Contributors

Heidi Katter, *Yale University, Class of 2020*: specializes in environmental and Native American history with additional interests in global early modern history, the history of education, and anthropology/archaeology. She is passionate about expanding history curricula at the high school level to include marginalized narratives. She plans to pursue graduate studies in History.

Mary Kate Wolken, *Creighton University, Class of 2019*: specializes in the History of Medicine with an emphasis on European history. She is fascinated with the intersection of gender and science, as well as the impacts of medical knowledge in social development. She will teach in Spain on a Fulbright Fellowship for the 2019-2020 school year before attending the University of Minnesota in pursuit of her PhD in the History of Medicine.

Elizabeth Sadusky, *University of St. Thomas, Class of 2019*: specializes in Eastern European history and the history of the former Soviet Union. She also majored in International Relations, with a similar focus. She is currently working as a member advisor before attending Central European University to complete her Masters in Nationalism Studies in the fall of 2019.

Perry Ivie Young, *Columbia University, Class of 2020:* majors in both mathematics and history. Perry's research interests center in twentieth century European history, and especially in the Stalin period of the Soviet Union. In a tradition of embracing foreign languages, Perry plans to spend the coming summer in Russia reading archival documents in "Bolshevik," in preparation to write a history senior thesis.

Chris LaMack, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Class of 2019*: majored in History and Archaeology. He is currently studying the historical archaeology of South Asia as a PhD candidate in Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania. Chris' primary historical interests include Medieval and Early Modern South/Central Asia, historical memory, imperial encounter/interaction, and the history of anthropology/archaeology.

Ines Maximiano, *SOAS University of London, Class of 2019*: majored in international relations and history, specializing in Ottoman and Middle Eastern history, particularly that of the 2011 Arab Revolution. In July, she will be finishing her master's program in human rights, with a focus in international human rights law at the University College London.

About Art History Initiative Contributors

Cecily Chen, *University of Pennsylvania, Class of 2020*: dual major in English and History of Art, specializes in post-1945 modern and contemporary American and European art, and is currently researching pornographic fiction and art created by female artists in the late 1980s. After graduation she wishes to do curatorial research for the contemporary art scene and also to pursue a PhD in English.

Roy Ng Yu Quan, *National University of Singapore, Class of 2019*: specializes in art and postcolonialism; has written his honours thesis on the history of art in Singapore and Malaya, with a focus on social realism and abstraction from the 1950s to 1970s. After graduation he will pursue a Master's degree in the History of Art and Visual Culture at the University of Oxford and plans to work as a curator.

Maia A. Kamehiro-Stockwell, *Univeristy of California, Santa Barbra, Class of 2018*: specializes in the intersection of the arts and environmental studies, with a focus on art activism as it relates to climate justice, food systems, and issues of representation around "race," culture, and place. Since graduating, she has been working at an exhibition space exploring the incarceration of Japanese Americans during WWII and its relevance to exclusionary policies, immigration and carceral states.

Izzy DeSantis, *The Ohio State University, Class of 2020:* is a double major in Art History and Creative Writing, with a minor in Medieval and Renaissance Studies. She is interested in the intersections of art history, illustration, book arts, and feminism, both in academia and her own art practice. After Ohio State, she intends to earn an MA in Art History and work in museum education, while also pursuing her career as a novelist.

Acknowledgement from the Editor-in-Chief

On behalf of the Spring 2019 CJH Editorial Board, I am proud to present the *Columbia Journal of History: Summer 2019 Edition*. We opened our submission portal for less than three weeks in January and received over seventy papers to review—slightly more than the previous edition that opened for nearly three months. Our readership analytics for the *CJH: Winter 2018 Edition* report nearly five thousand unique visitors from across the United States as well as from countries such as the United Kingdom, Canada, South Korea, India, France, Germany, Japan, and the United Arab Emirates (as of June 6th, 2019). This not only shows a growing interest in our publication, but also reveals a global fascination with topics addressed by undergraduate research. We hope that this Journal will continue to help make the study of history a more collective, shared endeavor.

With the invaluable support and insight of our extraordinary faculty advising board, the Executive Committee of the Journal selected six papers for publication—roughly 9% of total submissions. These articles were selected for recognition and publication due to their precision, nuance, and persuasiveness of argument, as well as the grace and elegance of their prose. Our staff worked tirelessly with the author of each article over the course of four months to revise these excellent manuscripts to the structure, style, and overall expectations of the Journal. We hope that the articles we have selected accurately represent the key questions, methods, and techniques of historical inquiry. I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to the authors of these remarkable articles for providing us with the enriching opportunity to work alongside you throughout the lengthy publication process.

While we began by only publishing the Journal on an annual basis, the current issue initiates a tradition of publication on a semesterly basis. This particular installment of our publication is significant, not only because it marks the completed transition to a semesterly publication cycle, but also because of the successful inclusion of the Columbia Art History Initiative (CAHI). Editors involved in the CAHI project focused on assembling high-quality articles from undergraduate students around the world in the hope of furthering discussion in the field of Art History. In late November 2018, CAHI editors delivered solicitations to numerous Art History Departments from across the United States and around the world; this yielded an unexpected response of over forty-five submissions. As a result, CJH decided to include four of the most exemplary short articles at the center of this semester's issue. I encourage the reader to review these articles and send us feedback on whether we should continue this tradition in the future.

The CJH staff are excited by the progress in fostering critical intellectual dialogue and recognizing outstanding undergraduate scholarship in the field of history, a process we hope continues as we stand with other national student publications in founding the Society of Undergraduate Humanities Publications (SUHP)—an intercollegiate organization comprised of undergraduate humanities research journals from across the United States. The official mission of SUHP is to promote innovative, ethical, and diverse scholarship by encouraging the collective research and communities of all participating members. Earlier this year, we had the honor of hosting representatives from seven universities during the inaugural SUHP Conference where we laid the foundation for greater intercommunication and cooperation between our various publications. I encourage you, the reader, to visit www.suhp.org and get involved with our project to make undergraduate research more accessible to the global community.

The Spring 2019 Editorial Board of the Columbia Journal of History included twenty-six incredible editors—one senior, fifteen juniors, six sophomores, and four first-years—most of whom were retained from the Fall 2019 Editorial Board of the Columbia Journal of History. In early February, we recruited twelve new editors from a pool of over thirty-five Columbia undergraduate applicants. These editors were selected for their excellent quality of writing, attention to detail, departmental standing, unique backgrounds and interests, as well as demonstrated passions for studying the intricacies of historical narratives. I would like to personally thank the twenty-six editors who dedicated much of their time during the past semester, and even the initial weeks of summer vacation, to the development of this edition of the Journal. I would also like to thank the Executive Committee of the Journal who met in-person for countless hours this semester to ensure a dutiful and fair review process; to learn more about our fantastic undergraduate editors, I encourage our readers to Meet the Team by perusing the individual autobiographies of our editorial board members located on our website. Thank you for taking the time to read our Journal, and by extension, to support the recognition of exemplary undergraduate scholarship.

To everyone involved in the making of this edition of the Journal, I genuinely wish you all the best in your academic and professional careers.

Sincerely,

Dimitri Vallejo
Editor-in-Chief

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Part I

VEHICLES OF DISPOSSESSION

RAILROADS AND THE WHITE EARTH RESERVATION, 1860S-1920S

Heidi Katter

Yale University

Abstract

This paper reframes the demise of the White Earth Reservation (culturally and environmentally) in the context of railroad expansion in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Established in northwestern Minnesota for the Anishinaabe people in the mid-19th century, the White Earth Reservation underwent allotment and Euroamerican settlement which significantly infringed on the Anishinaabeg's capacity to adhere to their traditional lifeways and to carry out a viable existence. While previous scholarship has emphasized land allotment policies as initiating this demise, this paper explores railroad expansion as the necessary precursor to allotment policies and ensuing environmental repercussions.

Introduction

Clustered in make-shift shacks, the Anishinaabeg[1] survey the terrain around their dwellings in 1915: trees cut to stumps, banks flooded along the Wild Rice River, and all this clearly visible with the bleak November sky shining overhead. After lumber companies ruthlessly logged the once pine-rich forests of the White Earth Reservation to decimation, the Anishinaabeg lost logging as a valuable source of seasonal wage labor.

The Anishinaabe community gazes west towards the grasslands far in the distance of the reservation. The Euroamerican settlers, permitted to occupy the reservation since the Nelson Act of 1889, transform this land into agricultural fields. Though a sedentary farming existence remains at odds with the Anishinaabe subsistence economy, the Anishinaabeg nevertheless would appreciate access to their once-allotted land. Yet, advertisements for settlement at White Earth insist that "Indians are not farmers" as an excuse for land grab initiatives.[2]

Although invisible from the Anishinaabeg's vantage point, a train thunders its way across the western grasslands of the reservation to load up with agricultural produce before chugging southeast to the Minneapolis-St. Paul markets. The railroad carries Euroamerican settlers to White Earth, and the railroad carries away the reservation's natural resources—all the while depriving the Anishinaabeg of their cultural heritage.

The White Earth Reservation in northwestern Minnesota, home to thousands of Anishinaabe people, comprises 800,000 acres en route to the agriculturally-rich lands of the Red River Valley.[3] When the Treaty of 1867 forced the Mississippi Band of Chippewa Indians to renounce their hold on remaining lands after undergoing generations of land cessions, the federal government relocated the Anishinaabeg to the newly-created White Earth Reservation.[4] With this treaty and several policies pertaining to Native Americans thereafter, the federal government wished to assimilate the Indians and encouraged them to adopt sedentary, agricultural lifestyles by granting them individual land allotments.[5] The federal government, however, recognized the subsistence-based economy and seasonal rounds that comprised the Anishinaabe lifeways for centuries, so government agents shaped the White Earth Reservation around lands consisting of three vegetal zones (i.e., grasslands, deciduous forests, and coniferous forests) and ample waterways, thereby facilitating a gradual lifestyle transition for the Anishinaabeg.[6] The Anishinaabeg soon fell prey to market forces demanding access to the abundant natural resources on reservation lands. Within decades, lumber and land companies assumed control over the once-promising acreage of the White Earth Reservation: stripping the Anishinaabeg of their lifeways; fomenting strife by constructing artificial racial identities; and ultimately leaving much of the reservation an environmental wasteland.[7]

In her seminal work *The White Earth Tragedy*, Melissa Meyer traces the reservation's arc concerning land allotment and the incorporation of White Earth resources into the market economy, but she only briefly touches on the role of railroads in this process. This paper seeks to reframe the "tragedy" of the White Earth Reservation within the context of railroad expansion, revealing how the influx of railroads in the region: 1) applied pressure on allotment policy; 2) introduced waves of immigrants hungry for reservation lands; 3) allowed Euroamerican settlers to apply race labels to the Indians to validate their land grab desires; and 4) served as a direct link to the Twin Cities and Eastern markets. In *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, William Cronon speculates that Chicago's ability to tap into its hinterlands and extract natural resources via various modes of transport—including railroads—allowed the Western city to emerge as an economic power.[8] Applying this methodology to the relationship between the Twin Cities and its hinterlands sheds light on the effect of railroads on the White Earth Reservation. As Cronon writes, the West was "an

expanding metropolitan economy creating ever more elaborate and intimate linkages between city and country."[9] What happens when these "intimate linkages" pertain not just to city and country, but also to city and reservation? The results yield not only environmental degradation, but also cultural upheaval, racial marginalization, and conflict as Western capitalistic motives project onto a people practicing alternative economic relations with their environs.

Despite decades of conflict with French, British, and American colonization, the Anishinaabe people persisted and adapted in their seasonal rounds. The introduction of railroads and, consequently, the flood of settlers overpowered any legislation in place to curb the effects of Western incursion and domination; this reveals that railroads shaped the trajectory of the Anishinaabeg's downfall and inability to adhere to lifeways on the White Earth Reservation. Minnesota received its Federal Railroad Land Grant in 1857 and, by 1864, received a charter for a transcontinental railroad: the Northern Pacific.[10] These grants curiously align with the creation of the White Earth Reservation three years later, and the Northern Pacific trains chugged along only 20 miles south of the reservation.[11] Likewise, the reservation's lumber resources dwindled in the 1910s just as the lumber industry in the Twin Cities fell into disrepair owing to exhausted resources.[12] Yoked together, the Twin Cities and White Earth rose and fell in tandem.

The following pages discuss the Anishinaabeg's encounters with new European and Euroamerican powers before turning to the emergence of railroads and the rise of the Twin Cities in the mid-nineteenth century. Succeeding sections concern the establishment of the White Earth Reservation and the growth of the Northern Pacific Railroad in the 1880s as a catalyst for opening reservation lands to settlers in 1889. The final sections examine how continued railway growth coincided with Anishinaabe land dispossession, racial biases, and environmental degradation on the reservation in the early twentieth century. This chronological approach exposes the degree to which railways fueled Euroamerican settlement and the legal and economic forces that deprived the Anishinaabeg of their surviving cultural and economic lifeways.

Seasonal Rounds, Fur Traders, and the Federal Government

The Anishinaabeg moved with the seasons for centuries, relying on nature's bounty and splitting gender roles in the process. Ancestrally located in the East, the Anishinaabeg followed the guidance of a prophecy and migrated west to "the land where food grows on water," settling around the Great Lakes over hundreds of years.[13] Wild rice evidently became the food to which the prophecy referred, and the Anishinaabeg heavily incorporated wild rice harvesting into their seasonal rounds.[14] Both men and women harvested wild rice,

gathered berries, and engaged in maple sugaring, revealing the balance spread across genders. Men, however, hunted and fished, whereas women focused on preparing food and making clothing.[15] Anishinaabeg clustered in villages much of the year. Hunting parties generally left in the winter and moved in camps as a peripheral, nomadic offset to the villages.[16] They set up their wigwams in camp, covered them with mats, and dried fish. In the colder winter months, men often ventured further from the winter camps and would spend weeks away hunting. In the spring, Anishinaabeg gathered in villages once again for the maple sugaring process and simultaneously fished heavily (though fishing occurred to a certain extent throughout the year).[17] In the spring and summer, Anishinaabeg engaged in gardening, planting crops such as beans, corn, and squash.[18] In the height of the summer, they gathered berries before harvesting wild rice in the fall at rice camps. Women took charge of gathering rice, while men poled them in boats to access the rice. Finally, as winter approached, the Anishinaabeg harvested their crops.[19] Such a variety of subsistence strategies and locations (i.e., hunting camps, rice camps, sugaring camps, and main villages) reveals the Anishinaabeg's need to coexist with a variety of ecological spaces.

The arrival of fur traders served as the first challenge to Anishinaabe seasonal lifeways, though the Indians adapted by fitting the commercial demands of fur trading into their preexisting rounds. The height of the fur trade era occurred in the eighteenth century and spilled into the early decades of the nineteenth century; that is, until the Indians hunted the prized species to decimation.[20] The French fur traders supplied trade goods (such as guns), which the Anishinaabeg in the Great Lakes region happily exchanged for furs. This required Anishinaabe men to travel further in the winter to meet commercial demands, but these hunting patterns nevertheless fit the seasonal model.[21] Fur traders also valued the fish, wild rice, maple sugar, and produce Anishinaabeg collected and cultivated throughout the year, so the traders' desire to barter for these items did not infringe on Anishinaabe subsistence patterns.[22] French traders (later, British and American) intermarried with Anishinaabe women, creating a cultural group called the Métis, or mixed bloods, that separated themselves and opened trading posts—fostering an ethnic hierarchy within the Anishinaabe population.[23] Nevertheless, friendly relations between these trading posts and the peripheral Anishinaabe people practicing their traditional existences continued into the 1840s (when fur trading collapsed).[24]

This era witnessed the arrival of oxcart trails that cut into Indian lands, especially branching out from the central trading hub of Crow Wing in the Red River Valley, but the limited transport and motives surrounding the fur trade prevented these transportation routes from endangering the seasonal round. The oxcarts carried commodities and furs from Crow Wing via the Woods Trail and Red River Trail to St. Paul, Pembina, and Canada. The sparseness of

the trails, limited quantity of items traversing the landscape, and the relationship between the Métis and Anishinaabeg preserved the surrounding lands—large-scale settlement never emerged as a concern.[25] These trails persisted in the early years of the White Earth Reservation; in the 1870s, for example, Indian agent Lewis Stowe frequently commented on the need for carts to transport necessary supplies and lumber to and from St. Paul in his letters. His mindset represents a continuation of the trading habits endemic to Métis-Anishinaabe relations, despite the emergence of lumber as the primary natural resource in demand.[26]

The era of treaties and reservations threatened but did not dismantle the Anishinaabe subsistence economy. Starting with the Treaty of 1837, in which the Anishinaabeg ceded many lands to the federal government, the U.S. granted the Anishinaabeg continued use of ceded lands for seasonal rounds.[27] Though the settler population prevented this from taking hold, the federal government nevertheless tried to respect the Anishinaabe lifeway. A series of treaties whittled away the remaining Anishinaabe lands throughout the 1850s and 1860s. Once the Anishinaabeg cohered at White Earth in 1867 and received allotments from the federal government, which the U.S. promised to increase if the Anishinaabeg farmed their plots, they still resisted falling into sedentary farming lifestyles. The Anishinaabeg sold their seasonal produce (i.e., wild rice, berries, and maple sugar) to maintain their existence.[28] As lumber companies began to infiltrate White Earth towards the end of the nineteenth century, men hired themselves out as wage laborers during the winter (lumbering season); this did not threaten the subsistence economy for the remainder of the year and provided the Anishinaabeg with some form of income.[29] Lewis Stowe comments in 1876 how, despite encouraging the Indians to engage full-time in wheat harvesting and lumbering, the young Indian men nevertheless "follow…in [their] fathers' footsteps."[30] So long as the Anishinaabeg possessed flexibility to shift around on their reservation lands, they could maintain some semblance to traditional subsistence living.

The railroads catalyzed the end of land accessibility and resource preservation at White Earth. Despite adapting to fur trade demands and resisting U.S. policies, the Anishinaabeg could not fulfill their seasonal rounds without land and healthy ecosystems. Meyer describes the Nelson Act of 1889, which transferred all remaining Anishinaabeg in Minnesota to the White Earth Reservation (except those at Red Lake) and opened all unallotted lands at White Earth to settlers, as the critical turning point for the corruption and land alienation that undermined Anishinaabe living.[31] The emergence of the Twin Cities economy and, subsequently, the railroads spidering across the Minnesota terrain applied pressure for access to the abundant White Earth resources via the creation of the Nelson Act.

Railroads and the Rise of the Twin Cities

Before Minnesota gained statehood in 1858, its inhabitants already recognized the benefits of railroad infrastructure for the economy when the then-territory received a Federal Railroad Land Grant in 1857.[32] Only three years later, Governor Alexander Ramsey voiced his support for large-scale railroad projects in his *Inaugural Address*, stating "a railroad to the Pacific from some proper point in the Mississippi Valley, is already regarded as too important to be longer delayed. It would be most advantageous to…Minnesota…that the question should be determined in favor of the route through her own valleys."[33] Ramsey continued his speech by elaborating on the agricultural and lumbering yields Minnesota had achieved that fiscal year.[34] Ramsey, and succeeding governors, perceived the value of transporting the rich natural resources from Minnesota's hinterlands to Eastern markets; following the demise of the fur trade, lumbering and flour-milling filled that void. Minneapolis and St. Anthony consolidated their sawmilling companies in 1856, signaling the rise of the Twin Cities as a lumber hub.[35] Ten years later, Minnesota farmers produced 9.5 million bushels of wheat, and the mills sawed 62 million feet of lumber, revealing the utility in drawing the state's natural resources to the Twin Cities, and then on to the East, via railroads.[36]

The Civil War served as a turning point in investment and policy in Minnesota's resource production and railroads. The Homestead Act of 1862, granting all settlers 160 acres of land if they moved to the West, increased Minnesota's population by 45% between 1862 and 1865.[37] By 1864, the Minnesota State Board of Immigration published advertising guidebooks on the fecundity of Minnesota's land for prospective settlers, which falls in the same year that the Northern Pacific Railroad (NPR) received its charter to begin construction.[38] In 1869, just a few years following the end of the Civil War, Minnesota's railroads reached Chicago for the first time.[39] These coinciding events reveal the converging political and economic interests of the state.

An understanding of the geography of Minnesota's railroads assists in placing White Earth within the hinterland narrative of lumber extraction. The NPR, extending west to the Washington coast and east to the Great Lakes, cut directly through the Red River Valley en route to North Dakota; the closest station to White Earth was in Detroit, only 20 miles south of the reservation.[40] The central hub of the NPR resided in the Twin Cities, and advertisements for the railroad describe its connections to the East (via Milwaukee and Chicago) by the time the final line was laid in 1883: New York City, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, and Montreal.[41] Such advertisements reveal the degree to which the national, and even international, market economy incorporated Minnesota's resources by the 1880s.

Several other regional railroads wended their way across the landscape as well, though the closest line to White Earth (other than the NPR) did not infiltrate the region until the early twentieth century.[42]

The expansion of railroads not only linked Minnesota to eastern markets, but it also drew immigrant settlers into the Western landscape. As the Homestead Act, population trends, and natural resource production statistics suggest, Minnesota's population and the economy grew exponentially with the emergence of railroads, and this mode of transport provided the means to communicate and move people and commodities more efficiently. In *Replenishing the Earth*, James Belich argues that railroads more importantly moved settlers westward than farm products and lumber eastward in the nineteenth century.[43] Because railroad companies possessed large land grants, the land around the railroads was unoccupied, so railroad investors eagerly publicized the lands to encourage settlement.[44] As the NPR headquarters resided in St. Paul, much of its advertising centered in the Twin Cities. Publications such as *The Great Northwest* (1889) and *Description of the lands and country along the line of the Northern Pacific Railroad* (1884) highlight the regional quality of timber stands and agricultural produce at stops along the line to draw tourists and settlers onto the land. This bilateral movement along railroad lines, amplified by railway advertisements, entrenched the lands surrounding White Earth into the Twin Cities' market economy by the 1880s.

Railroad at White Earth: Early Years

Soon after the Anishinaabeg moved to White Earth, Indian agents already recognized the benefits of tying the reservation to the market via railroads. Lewis Stowe, an Indian agent at White Earth in the 1870s, records timber extraction from the reservation and his interactions with the Anishinaabeg in his letters. Per Stowe's correspondence to the Committee on Indian Affairs in January 1877, the Committee "direct[ed] [Stowe] to make a thorough exam…of the matter" on "all the facts in regard to the timber…its present condition; the expense of preparing, hauling, and converting it into lumber" and "the expense of taking the lumber to market" following a fire on the White Earth Reservation that fall.[45] Stowe proceeds to break down the amount of lumber available to extract (1,000,000 feet that year alone), and describes that "on the Northern Pacific Rail Road [the lumber] is worth $12 per thousand [feet]."[46] The Committee on Indian Affair's keen interest in, and Stowe's awareness of, the national market's linkage to White Earth via railroads hints they viewed it as a tool to assimilate the Indians into a Western economic existence.

Indeed, Stowe's continued correspondence suggests he viewed the railroad as an overwhelming positive for the Anishinaabeg's economic situation. The agents built a

sawmill on the reservation by the 1870s, and Stowe describes hiring "Indians and mixed-bloods" to work in the mill.[47] He seeks "permission to sell lumber off the reservation to pay them for the balance of this work," believing "it would be of great benefit to the Indians."[48] Stowe's expressed interest in benefitting the Anishinaabeg via lumbering speaks to his understanding of the railroad's action in a single direction: shipping commodities back to the East.

Stowe makes no mention of infringing on the Indians' seasonal rounds in his letters. At one point he laments that Indians "follow…in [their] fathers' footsteps" instead of engaging in more substantial agricultural practices, but he only discusses hiring out the Indians for the logging season (the winter months), so the Anishinaabeg presumably still adhered to a subsistence lifestyle.[49] As long as the railroad brought the White Earth resources East, but did not allow settlers to infiltrate the region, the Anishinaabe land, ecosystems, and seasonal practices remained intact.

Although Stowe perceived the railroad and the market connections through an optimistic lens, other federal documents suggest the degree of immigrant pressure already at play in concentrating the Anishinaabeg at White Earth. In 1872, an Indian agent letter to the Committee on Indian Affairs discusses two Anishinaabe bands' unwillingness to migrate to White Earth and communicates "that there is growing in the white people of this State a decided sentiment that these men cannot live among them in barbarism; that they must be civilized or removed."[50] This sentiment contrasts sharply with the Métis-Anishinaabe symbiosis in preceding decades and suggests that railroads may have played a part in concentrating the Anishinaabeg at White Earth.

The 1880s: A Tipping Point

The completion of the NPR in 1883 chimed in a new era of railroad land advertising, revealing how White Earth's proximity to the main railway line exposed its land and resources to incoming settlers. The NPR provided land exploration tickets to anyone willing to travel west, and payment for such tickets contributed to a down payment on lands owned by the NPR.[51] Surviving publications expose how tightly the NPR wound the White Earth Reservation into its initiatives. Not only did general maps of the railway line highlight the lands just south of the reservation (around Detroit), but guidebooks, such as *The Great Northwest* (1889), presented the White Earth Reservation as a tourist destination along the railroad.[52] The White Earth Reservation was the only Indian reservation featured in this publication and one of the only destinations that lay more than a few miles from an NPR station. When the authors of *The Great Northwest* summarized the features of each stop along the line, they emphasized the fertile soils and timber stands to lure prospective settlers onto

the land. Yet, when discussing White Earth, the authors instead showcased the excellent service they provided the "red man": how the Anishinaabeg's "friends" (meaning the NPR) "secured for them this beautiful reservation, as fair a country as the sun ever shone upon" and how the "railroad company was his friend" wherever "the rights of the red man were concerned."[53] These statements not only admit that the NPR played an influential role in forming the White Earth Reservation, but they also incite curiosity within prospective settlers to see this "fair" land firsthand. Indeed, the NPR makes a point to say that visitors to the reservation "are always received with kindness."[54] Whether intentional or not, such publications implicate the NPR with the Nelson Act of 1889 (enacted the same year this guidebook was published) and its opening of reservation lands to settlers.

The Dawes Act of 1887, which set the national precedent for allotting reservation lands and opening remaining lands to settlers, materialized when settlers flocking to the West perceived reservations as inaccessible "islands" within coveted terrain.[55] Studying the intimacy between the NPR and White Earth reveals the role railroads played in fostering this impression. A map published by the NPR in 1887 of Becker and Otter Tail counties (part of White Earth was in Becker) illustrates how closely lands for sale mirrored the railroad's curvature. As the railroad approaches White Earth, the contrast between the lands for sale (represented in orange) and stark white of the reservation lands creates an "island" effect.[56] This map, published only two years before legislators introduced the Nelson Act, suggests that the NPR served as a significant pressure point for the future policy.

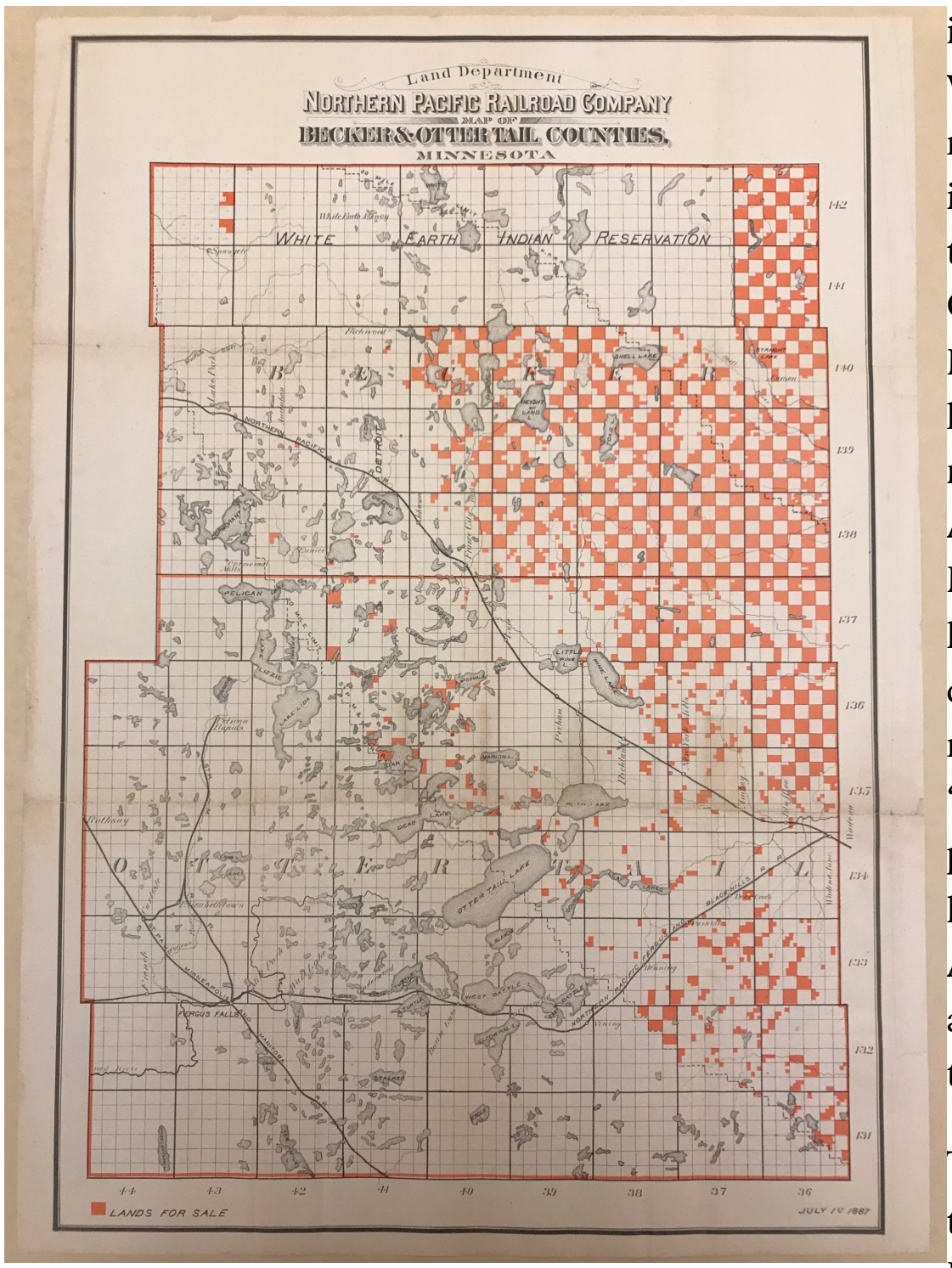

Figure 1: *Map of Becker and Otter Tail Counties, Minnesota* (1887)

The corruption and inexorable torrent of settlers onto the White Earth Reservation following the

Nelson Act reveals that the power of railroads transcended policies to intermix the Anishinaabeg and settlers gradually. The Treaty of 1867 allotted lands to encourage Anishinaabeg to settle into subsistence agriculture while also engaging in other forms of labor. Each Indian could gain up to 160 acres through this policy. In contrast, the Nelson Act of 1889 consolidated all remaining Anishinaabeg in Minnesota at the White Earth Reservation (except Red Lake) and provided Indians much less land than the Treaty of 1867 promised—up to half the amount initially stated.[57] The Nelson Act also opened all remaining lands to settlers, following the example set by the Dawes Act. The railroad pressure of the 1880s provided the groundwork for settler accessibility to reservation lands, illumining the NPR's effect on this abrupt change in reservation policy.

To safeguard Anishinaabe allotments from hungry settlers, the Nelson Act stated that Indian allotments would be held in trust for 25 years to assimilate the Anishinaabeg into an agricultural existence.[58] Once settlers purchased remaining lands, however, surveyors evaluated the reservation's pine stands and fixed the prices in a way to benefit lumber companies wishing to access the lands. Moreover, by the turn of the twentieth century, new (fraudulent) legislation permitted Anishinaabeg to sell the pine on their lands to lumber companies, undermining the Nelson Act's decision to keep Indian allotments in trust for 25 years.[59] Made possible through the advent of the railroads, this turn of events both limited the Anishinaabeg's accessibility to land and threatened to destroy its bounty with the speculators eager to send lumber to market.

An 1890 newspaper clipping from Duluth "warned [all settlers] not to go upon any of the lands within the limits of the reservation," as they were not yet for sale.[60] Such a cautioning message hints at the vast number of settlers flocking to the reservation, likely guided by the NPR. Although policy attempted to provide a framework for integration, within ten years the Nelson Act's authority fell to the whims of speculators. Railroads of the early twentieth century continued to shape this narrative.

More Railroads: Land Alienation and Racial Implications

By 1894, other railroad companies desired "right of way" through the White Earth Reservation. A House Report from May 1894 details the Duluth and Winnipeg Railroad Company's petition to pass through the reservation to the state's western border for the "great future benefit to the people of that State."[61] In the 1930s, a social study of the reservation's Anishinaabe population mentions a railroad cutting through the northern part of the reservation en route to Duluth, suggesting this 1890s railroad project materialized.[62] The House Report discusses how the railroad company would provide for "the protection of

the [Indians'] interests," but the NPR's effects on the White Earth Reservation expose how connections to market towns inevitably yielded settlement.[63]

Indeed, when the Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Sault Ste. Marie Railroad ("Soo" line) began daily service to the White Earth Reservation in 1904, settlement patterns within the reservation immediately shifted.[64] White settlers congregated in villages around the railroad lines on the western end of the reservation, accruing wealth by sending timber and produce to market, while Indians transitioned further from the lines into the remaining hinterlands where resource extraction occurred; this pattern remained into the 1930s.[65] The *Standard Atlas of Becker County*, published in 1911, reveals how the market town Ogema grew up around the "Soo" line, and more importantly shows the large plot of land one of the primary lumber companies, Nichols-Chisholm, owned in town.[66] The convenience of daily transport fueled lumber extraction, endangering the lands and resources remaining on the reservation.

The introduction of this daily railroad service coincided with a series of laws (1904-1906) opening pine lands on the reservation for allotment.[67] Although the Anishinaabeg should have had access to these lands, lumber companies surveyed the available territory to claim the best parcels of pine. They subsequently cajoled Anishinaabeg into selling pine on their lands, and by 1909, 80% of available land on White Earth was held privately, particularly by lumber and land companies.[68] The *Standard Atlas of Becker County* visually shows this trend, as Nichols-Chisholm and other land and lumber companies accrued vast tracts of land across the reservation—many exceeding 160 acres, or the amount of land originally intended for Indian allotment in 1867.[69] The Luck Land Co. proudly showcased its most expensive lands directly along the "Soo" line, highlighting the value of owning farmlands on the path to Twin Cities markets.[70] The influx of railroads in the early twentieth century fomented the land greed already tearing allotted terrain away from the Anishinaabeg, spawning legislative action for the settlers' benefit.

Moreover, policymakers applied artificial race labels to the Anishinaabeg to justify ending the 25-year trust period and to integrate their allotments into the market economy sooner. The 1906 Clapp Rider permitted all mixed-blood Indians to sell their allotments (perceived mixed-bloods to be "competent").[71] While the mixed-blood and full-blood labels emerged during the fur trade era, the Clapp Rider's definition did not carry the same biological connotation these earlier definitions held. Instead, the term "mixed-blood" applied to any Anishinaabeg engaged in the market economy (even just as part-time wage labor), while "full-blood" connoted those Anishinaabeg who remained wholly isolated on the reservation from contact with settlers. These terms related to cultural (not biological) identities, and as the majority of Anishinaabeg engaged with settlers, most allotments became subject to

sale.[72] Few Anishinaabeg heavily cultivated their lands; instead, they adhered to a pseudo-subsistence economy with wage labor elements. As a result, their lands fell prey to sales and tax forfeiture.[73] Investigators of this land thievery attempted to redefine the mixed-blood and full-blood labels using eugenics to determine who could enroll as a White Earth Anishinaabeg. Their findings persisted as a definition for tribal citizenship until the White Earth Nation prepared its own constitution in the twenty-first century.[74] The introduction of the "Soo" line heightened land grab desire that consequently influenced twentieth-century policy. The railroad therefore indirectly fostered the creation of artificial race labels that would define tribal citizenship for the following century.

The Demise of the Seasonal Round and Diaspora

The seasonal round lost its adaptability once the NPR and "Soo" line sliced their way across the Minnesota terrain. Once stripped of their lands, the Anishinaabeg did not have access to the swath of ecozones necessary for gathering berries and other seasonal foods.[75] As lumber companies greedily plucked trees from the earth, they built logging dams which flooded and destroyed the wild rice fields.[76] State policies deepened the Anishinaabeg's inability to adapt: hunting laws established seasons in which hunting was permitted, preventing the Anishinaabeg from pursuing hunting as a subsistence strategy for much of the year.[77] The state also assumed control of swamplands in the nineteenth century, thwarting Anishinaabe access.[78] As Brenda Child describes, Western influences "criminaliz[ed] the seasonal round" in addition to destroying reservation lands.[79]

The Anishinaabeg never assimilated to an agricultural existence—in part owing to land alienation—so limited resource accessibility and the decreasing wage labor opportunities following deforestation resulted in diaspora from the reservation.[80] Those who remained fell into deeper poverty, and they clustered in tar-paper shack communities by the 1930s as a legacy of their wigwam heritage.[81] The diaspora to nearby towns completed the assimilative goals of the Treaty of 1867 and Nelson Act.[82] While Meyer argues that land alienation served as the root cause for the collapse of the seasonal round, the vehicle to land dispossession—the railroad—shaped the conditions favorable for land thievery and environmental destruction.

Conclusion

Just as timber on the White Earth Reservation dwindled, so lumber collapsed as an essential industry for the Twin Cities. Euroamericans began to recognize their destructive practices: Norman Gras, in a speech to the Minnesota Historical Society in 1926, lamented, "with forests gone, best mines exhausted, soil fouled, streams polluted, and rivers reduced to

brooks, our descendants will say, what a price to pay for progress."[83] Legislators instituted reactive measures, such as the creation of the Red Lake Indian Forest in 1916, to heal the damages of resource extraction.[84] The damage at White Earth had already been done. By "intimately linking" the Twin Cities and White Earth, the railroads devastated not only White Earth's ecosystems but also the cultural practices that occurred within the reservation.

Language preservation provides a means to Anishinaabe cultural survival. Fred Auginaush of White Earth, born at a maple sugaring camp in 1922, adhered to the seasonal rounds that continued on a limited scale.[85] Without sustaining lifeways, Auginash says, "we're not losing our language, the language is losing us."[86] By projecting Western lifeways onto the Anishinaabeg, settlers accelerated the loss of culture and tradition inseparable from Anishinaabe language. Anishinaabe language inherently advocates for sustainable measures: one Leech Lake Ojibwe man used the word *jiniganawejigandaagwak*, meaning "the way one might care for another," to describe sustainability.[87] Such a translation expresses the environmental stewardship entrenched in Anishinaabe culture. The Menominee of Wisconsin, related to the Anishinaabeg, have lived by their own conservation values in recent decades by running a sustainable forestry program after recovering from termination as a tribe—the Menominee Forest is one of the most successful forestry programs of its kind in the world.[88] As current generations grapple with environmental challenges, the stewardship built into Anishinaabe culture and language encourages us to disentangle the "intimate linkages" of transportation networks to adequately preserve ecosystems and those who dwell within them.

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Public Spaces, Public Health, and the Public Good

Spanish Medical Culture and the Junta de Damas de Honor y Mérito

Mary Kate Wolken

Creighton University

Abstract

The Junta de Damas de Honor y Mérito was founded in Madrid in 1787 by a small group of upper-class women who dedicated their group to the mission of empowering women through education. The very definition of education grew with the times as this group evolved alongside the nation of Spain, and the organization remained devoted to upholding this foundational cause. Examining the group's work in the period of 1860-1920 best demonstrates their work in public health, and how they established a more permanent, public presence. Critical to this analysis is the study of Spanish medical culture during this time, in addition to the religio-social role of the Spanish woman. Medical language served as the most potent force in determining gender-based social roles and expectations; scientific advancements and authority dominated public attitudes towards women. The Junta de Damas at times worked in conjunction with and also against broader sentiments and policies, weathering social and medical changes in Spain as the eugenics movement and modernity loomed in the early 20th century.

Introduction

"*Pero se teme, que estos males nazcan de la concurrencia de las Señoras á nuestras Juntas, y de ahí se concluye, que deben ser excluidas de ellas.*"[1] These words, denying the woman's request, settled the formal discussion on whether to allow women entrance into the Real Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País. The Royal Societies were a critical part of Enlightenment culture across Europe, and Spain was no exception. Founded in 1775, the Real Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País was the classic model of an Enlightenment group; this organization maintained close ties to the king, boasted educated and wealthy members, and was dedicated to philanthropic works as well as the more general improvement of society. Their 1786 refusal to permit women to join their ranks ushered in

the formation of La *Junta de Damas* de Honor y Mérito, which has continued into the modern day as the oldest, non-religious philanthropic women's association in Europe.

Evolving alongside the nation of Spain, this group has been a regular part of national fabric since its inception in 1787. Founded by a small collective of aristocratic women, the organization's mission was to empower women through education. When a woman was literate, she had significantly more power, and thus a generation of educated women would have the potential to bridge the social gaps between men and women. Attention to the establishment of this group and some of its remarkable founding women during its early stages demands much of the scholarship of this group. However, the broader role of this society must be examined to understand its impact on Spanish society. More specifically, the group's work was significant in public health in the mid-19th century, extending into the early 20th century with the rise of the eugenics movement.

The *Junta de Damas* subtly challenged the spaces where women were permitted, and it slowly established a legitimate, authoritative female presence for public recognition and admiration in the Spanish capital. Devoting attention to the knowledge and ideas of the body that governed the social perception of gender inequality is a critical aspect of analyzing the role of women within a specific society.[2] The Enlightenment is famously characterized by a firm reliance on rationality, great advancements in science, and a sense of the individual. Public knowledge of anatomy and physiology, along with perceived social implications, grew and was readily discussed in publications and society meetings.[3] These conclusions impacted the lives of all Spaniards as they took on legal significance and thus ruled society. Notably, in Spain, ties to the Catholic Church remained steadfast and devoted.[4] These religious overtones resulted in a later arrival of Enlightenment thought, in comparison with nations such as France and Britain, resulting in a less dramatic shift in thought within Spanish society.

Enlightenment thought brought change to European—and Spanish—society. In Spain, as across the continent, its legacies were to be scientific thought, rationality, individual liberties, ideas of citizenship, and much more. The movement in Spain compressed in duration, compared to neighboring France, who experienced the beginning of Enlightenment thought sooner; however, this did not mean that the movement did not affect Spain.[5] Interestingly enough, religion remained integral and influential throughout Spanish society even as rational thought took hold. This coexistence is a unique feature—perhaps a limiting one—of the Spanish Enlightenment, and the religious overtones that dominated Spanish culture, society, and the law had profound effects on its female subjects.[6] Debates over moral philosophy and its religious or legal influences threatened church

authority and books concerning moral questions were banned.[7] While the centrality of Spanish Enlightenment virtues fits in with the mainstream European narrative of Enlightenment thought, Edward Coughlin argues that scholars must work to separate them into secular and religious influences and contexts, rather than take them at face value.[8]

The combination of Enlightenment-based scientific thought, religious overtones, and a long-standing social status quo yielded an intense struggle for progress and equality between genders in Spain. That struggle involved interdisciplinary elements, which the historical record preserves with discussions of women's roles in society as well as attitudes and perception of health and the body. The journey of the *Junta de Damas* incorporates this aspect of the debate and scientific legacy throughout their mission most notably in the mid-late 19th century, often improving public health measures and perceptions towards the female body as they sought to empower that same demographic. The shift in the work of the *Junta de Damas* to focus on public health was not only a critical period in its history and the lives of the women of Madrid, but it also served as a vital link between the group's original initiatives to their support in the suffragette movement. The period from 1860-1920 in the group's history best highlights the effects of their efforts and its development in the agency and autonomy of the Spanish woman, especially as changes in medical culture and discourse developed. The scientific and social roles of women were intertwined, and this group used their platform and dedication to education to improve healthcare access and knowledge to the citizens of Madrid, regardless of popular sentiment or opposition.

Medical Culture

The role of women in 19th century Spanish society was determined by broader sociocultural attitudes, which were in turn influenced by established institutions. Francisco Pi I Margall wrote in 1869, in *La Misión de la mujer en la sociedad*, that the role of women was integral yet straightforward. A woman, "*que es todo amor, todo sentimiento*" is to remain in the home, providing her family with emotional support; critically, her grandest mission is the education of her children.[9] Further analysis in the essay reveals the perceived impropriety and fruitlessness of allowing women to be involved in public political or economic spheres, as they cannot keep up with the heated, passionate discussion of men's matters. These sentiments have echoes in parallel contemporary writings, including Francisco Alonso y Rubio's *La Mujer.*[10]

Mid-century writings espousing the inferiority of women and the necessity of their presence in the private spheres were not exclusively male. Female authors took this view as well, as demonstrated by the 1857 *La Mision de la Mujer*, written by Ángela Grassi and calling upon God's will for social structure.[11] Furthermore, Joaquina Balmaseda's "Lo que toda mujer

debe saber" breaks down the precise goals of a woman's education, which revolves around concepts of morality that she can then instill in her children.[12] All of these writings, along with many others, were developed with the attitude of the private sphere alone as the proper place for a woman; while some explicitly advocated for the woman's education, it was to raise educated, morally upright children. Women who fit this social ideal received praise; others were ignored and excluded from admiration and higher society.

Not just found in academic and professional settings, these ideas received reinforcement in popular publications accessible to literate women capable of holding a subscription to the publication such as the *Correo de la Moda.*[13] The *Correo de la Moda* was printed twice a month from 1851-1892 and was styled as a women's magazine focused on social matters and trend updates—similar to many magazines of today. In its pages, the emphasis on propriety in docility is evident. Article after article, feature after feature, present information about various upcoming charitable social works in Madrid and broader society in conjunction with illustrations of the latest fashions. The publication also printed snippets about the latest theater openings and cultural developments in order to keep their general readers in style.

Notably, a section of the publication published on March 18, 1879 features a book excerpt entitled "La Mujer y La Caridad."[14] Women are portrayed as inherently timid, prone to forgetfulness and confusion, without power, and filled with strong feelings and emotions. As such, men provided direction and protection in life, according to the excerpt. Education is noted as a critical aspect of a woman's life, and she should learn to seek to emulate the example of historical pious and important women. Examples included the religious figures of the Virgin Mary and St. Theresa of Avila, as well as the political and social leaders such as Isabel I and her daughters, Catherine of Aragon and Juana. Interestingly enough, this article also invokes the name of the deposed Queen Isabel II as a model; the historical narrative worked these women into roles acceptable to contemporary society of the late 19th century.

What was responsible for this shift in public thought, exclusively relegating women to the private sphere, when less than a century before the discussion revolved around merging the private and public spheres? Established institutions, such as the Catholic Church and a more conservative government, influenced these attitudes that subjugated women within social bounds. Additionally, however, a significant portion of a woman's role and status in the latter half of the 19th century was guided by medical knowledge and understanding of female anatomy and physiology.

Women's bodies, once considered mysterious and even taboo, were now being studied discussed by esteemed physicians and scholars; that newer knowledge trickled into more comprehensive, more public discussions. European medical fascination with women's bodies

was not unique to this time frame, as Katherine Park's *Secrets of Women* demonstrates in its analysis of female dissections in Italy from the late 13th century through the 16th century. Furthermore, *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* by Londa Schiebinger emphasizes the essential tie between science and society, even going as far to say that the scientific foci on the role of a woman's body were in response to female social challenges. As this core trend of knowledge solidified and grew, it developed into the public discourse seen in 19th century Spain.

The science of the late 19th century was far from exact. Catherine Jagoe emphasizes how medical knowledge, coupled with its professional socially and historically based applications, yielded several strains of ideology concerning the female body.[15] Writings on gynecology, revolutionary in themselves considering that it fostered public knowledge of the inner workings of the female body, were still rather unspecialized while acting as defining evidence for the proper status of women in Spanish society.

Doctors no longer upheld the infamous Greek idea of the wandering uterus, but the psychological impacts of women's diseases and afflictions remained a core component of the analysis of these conditions. Women underwent menstruation cycles related to fertility levels, hormonal balances, and many other physiological processes that science acknowledges and understands today. However, these gender-unique experiences that scientifically correlate with conditions such as post-partum depression and premenstrual syndrome lacked the modern context for analysis; instead, the female afflictions rendered them weaker and less reliable than a man, who by nature did not experience such changes.[16]

The establishment of gynecological study as a formal subject in Spain is credited to Baltasar de Viguera and further developed by Francisco Alonso y Rubio – the same man who wrote the 1869 work *La Mujer* advocating for the containment of women in the private sphere.[17] This science and knowledge of the woman quickly evolved from the basic female anatomy of genitalia to its physiology, thus determining more extensive, scientifically-back theories about the inferiority of women in comparison to the biological stability of men. Catherine Jagoe carefully notes the grand irony of the success of the work of the *Sociedad Ginecológica*, which examined women in order to advance the field while simultaneously denying women the right to study its works and access its resources.[18]

To further understand the context of the amplified discussions of female-specific illnesses, writings from Juan Cuesta y Ckerner in 1868 and José María Esquerdo in 1889 shed light on the development—or lack thereof—of the understanding of women's infirmities.[19] Hysteria continued to be a prominent feature in later 19th century works, especially in regards to its biological roots and social consequences. Sexuality featured prominently as well, and Juan

Giné y Partagás wrote an essay that outlined the hygienic essentials of sexual activity in addition to its deviances.[20] Overall, these writings displayed a similar message saying that the inability of women to control themselves harmed society and that their irrational actions and overly strong passions were indicative of biological imbalances in her body. These deviant activities not only brought danger and consequences to the women, but to society as well: sexually transmitted diseases and morally upstanding women were both threats to public health, a tangible threat, and an example.

What had led to the rise of these sentiments, and what were the strong scientific and social proofs? The expansion of medical knowledge of the female body, in turn, provided commentary on the female condition itself. The late 18th century Enlightenment era, although compressed and less effective in Spain than in neighboring France, still allowed a shift in thought for a greater appreciation of rationality.[21] Women were allowed into more public spaces and made cases for the advancement of the female condition, namely through learning. However, during the mid-late 19th century, this same appreciation of education and public discourse on new knowledge became a mechanism to dampen their social advancement. By taking education to the female population itself, fostering their self-understanding and thus enabling them to think and make decisions autonomously, this momentum had the potential to be reversed.

The *Junta de Damas* of the 19th Century

A newer force inserting themselves into the medically-minded conversation of the mid-19th century was the *Junta de Damas*. Although the organization established themselves based on improving and providing education access to the young female population in and around Madrid, this very definition of education became fluid and evolved alongside Spanish society. In the mid-19th century, the group's focus expanded to include health education for grown women, in addition to targeting young children and their improved literacy rates. A critical part of the Enlightenment's legacy was its dedication to scientific thought and knowledge; this element was not lost in the foundation of the *Junta de Damas* and was subtlety omnipresent in its early discussions and attitudes.

The *Junta de Damas* had established themselves as a strong, respected public presence working towards bettering the lives of women while continuously striving to advance the overall status of the gender in Spanish society by adjusting step-by-step to meet injustices directly. Intentionally or not, they laid a robust foundational legacy for later work in medicine and public health, in relation to education, when "they were requested to take charge of the [institution's] direction to enhance the hygiene and education of the orphan children" as stated by the Condesa de Montijo.[22]

One of the most celebrated women of the Spanish Enlightenment is Josefa Amar y Borbón; as an early member of the *Junta de Damas*, she played a vital role in both its immediate history as well as the public discourse of the day. Amar y Borbón was a fierce advocate for the education of women, but the underlying part of her commitment to education was her appreciation and celebration of science. The daughter of the court's doctor, she grew up in a uniquely privileged family, and the organization she helped found adopted some of her specific principles.[23] Important elements of the successful integration of scientific thought into the mainstream discourse were the compromises made in regards to religion; there was a critical balance that Spain struck that permitted the growth of Enlightenment thought, and the appreciation of science and rationality, but the Catholic Church reigned supreme. Perhaps since the Enlightenment occurred over a smaller time frame in Spain, this marriage was permitted to last.[24] Additionally, new medically based hygienic literature was promoted by the organization from the early parts of the 19th century, following the War of Independence.[25] That initiative, in particular, would echo throughout the group's history as it combined its mission of education with the necessity of promoting public health.

Perhaps the first inklings of the *Junta de Damas*'s foray into the advocacy and education of public health were publically announced when schoolchildren were required to be vaccinated, as per an 1854 publication of the *Boletín de la Medicina*.[26] Alongside this, the same decree continues, stating that the (regional) *Junta de Damas* was to be in charge of teaching proper hygiene to new mothers and children with the intent of furthering the moral potential for the children. In particular, professionals and the members of the *Junta* encouraged mothers to breastfeed their infants since it was beneficial to the children, and thus the duty of the mother; or, as Angel Pulido Fernández described in 1876 "the nourishment with mother's milk, conveniently utilized, is, in cases that we will later discuss, applied rigorously and possesses undisputable benefits."[27] Improving the moral good of society and essential knowledge for women could happen to adults, outside of the classroom as well.

As the broader public conversation refocused on the role of women as morally upright, strong in feminine virtue, and ultimately healthy for their children and husbands, the *Junta de Damas* did not remain behind. Characteristically of this organization, there is no clear political stance offered on where they believe women belonged: in the house, in the public sphere, or even a hybrid of the two options. Delving deeper into the actions of this organization reveals a slight countercultural narrative that reached out to support the most vulnerable women and children in the city.

In 1860, the *Junta de Damas* assumed jurisdiction of the *Casa de Maternidad*. Under its new leadership, the *Casa de Maternidad* was remodeled and reenergized to serve the needs of its community, providing shelter and medical care for unmarried, expectant mothers. [28] It is critical to realize the significance of this role: while these women were fulfilling their destinies as mothers, bearing children for the good of the nation, they were unmarried and thus immoral. During this period, maternal and child mortality rates began to decline as women married later and had few children due to higher instances of survival.[29] Regardless, public health issues and social injustices were still rampant, and the *Junta de Damas* worked to alleviate both. "The *Casa de Maternidad* is also required by the public morals, by the civilization, by the culture of this capital, by the importance of it, by humanity and by the social interest carried to its last degree." Founded in 1837 and run by an order of Hieronymites, or the Order of St. Jerome, the *Casa de Maternidad* was intended to be a home for expectant mothers who faced the arrival of an illegitimate child.[30] Under the jurisdiction of the *Junta de Damas,* the *Casa de Maternidad* served the needs of mothers, their children, and emerging medical professionals.[31]

With the *Junta* de Dams at the helm, the *Casa de Maternidad* was much more than a women's shelter; instead, it was a center of legitimate medical care, featuring operating rooms, x-ray machines, and competent staff. Certainly, it was a safe and hygienic place for women to deliver their often illegitimate children, but general gynecology care also increased better overall care for the whole health of the women.[32] The administrators of the *Casa de Maternidad* kept detailed records of the institution's activities to such a degree that a modern biologist used its data as a case study to locate the role of circadian rhythms in human birth patterns.[33] Whether intentionally or not, this organization united the two foundational aspects of the late-19th-century medical field: scientific understanding and the humanity of sociocultural influences.

With the wider social expectations of women as mothers came a certain pressure to perform in that duty. Part of the inherent danger of motherhood was its beginning: childbirth. Before what was considered the shift to modern demographics, infants and mothers died at high numbers. The leading killer for the mothers was post-partum infections, and infants were vulnerable to all types of maladies caused by poor hygiene, as well as even malnutrition.[34] Campaigns to improve public health by targeting mothers, the core unit of the family, intended to ensure a woman's capabilities properly care for her body, as well as those of her children. Mortality rates began to decline when the vulnerable experienced more hygienic conditions, as well as access to medical care as provided by charitable hospitals and institutions such as the *Casa de Maternidad*. When more children survived to adulthood, there was less need for a woman to provide children to maintain a family continuously.

This knowledge of self-care was a fundamental part of the original initiatives of the *Junta de Damas*. Their early initiatives targeted the poor literacy rates of younger girls, but that initial dedication to social advancement through science remained. With the decreased need for constant pregnancy and birth rates, women could allow their bodies to recover and spend more time nurturing the healthier children they had produced, as well as themselves.[35] In these sentiments lie the foundations of the next way for women to obtain autonomy through knowledge, as well as the seeds of the eugenics movement. By educating women about their health and the intricacies of their bodies, as well as basic hygienic care for children, practitioners, and educators empowered them to start thinking on their own behalf. Having working to mitigate literacy discrepancies within Madrid, the next form of education that the *Junta de Damas* focused on was public health. These initiatives were simply an evolution of their foundation and mission of educating women, as the very definition of education developed with the society it targeted.

Interest in improving public health was not only a foundation aspect of the group's legacy. In addition, it was an expansion of scientific thought and appreciation, a way to improve the lives of children and their mothers, and a method in which to improve society in an overall sense.[36] Ideas of the "normal" female body and health were tantamount in determining the woman's social danger or value.[37] Anatomical knowledge of the female body and its basic physiology had increased, resulting in better education bit alongside conclusions of biological inferiority; female-specific diseases, such as hysteria, and ideas of impurity still dictated treatment and perception.[38] Body politics were nothing new, and the relationship between the church, state, and social role of women was far from over. In the latter half of the 19th century, breakthroughs in medical knowledge and understanding generated conversations about the female body and then developing commentaries on sociocultural aspects, as rooted in science.

An 1877 article in the successful ladies' magazine, the *Correo de la Moda,* notes how the *Junta de Damas* actively helped to establish a children's hospital, thus reinforcing the maternal duties of women in society while showcasing the continued, traditional relationship between church, state, and the role of women.[39] The Enlightened women who loved books and learning were offering lessons in literacy and access to books, as featured in 1878; the article ties together the group's desire for increased education among women, as well as their equality.[40]

Educated, literate women were accepted in Spain and even desired, but the prevailing subjugation of women—educated and uneducated, alike—was still very much expected, as evidenced in writings such as "La Misión de la Mujer" (1857) and several by different

authors all titled "La Mujer."[41] In an official sense, the "Dictamen del Consejo de Instrucción Pública sobre la enseñanza de la mujer" (1882) acknowledged the necessity of educating women in things other than basic domestic skills and arts.[42] Articles of the *Correo de la Moda* spanning from 1879-1881 discuss the benefit of women to society and their critical role in Spanish history, describing the ideal woman as "timid and sensible in temperament, fraternizes necessarily with the benevolence for the spirt of love that animates her."[43] Calling upon the names of great, pious women such as Isabel I, her daughters, and Saint Teresa of Avila—in addition to advising women how to act, dress, and raise their children—reinforced social models for the "modern" woman of the late 19th century.

This rhetoric, while seemingly similar to that of the previous eras, was less based in ideas of biological inferiority and more on the concept of fundamental duties.[44] Liberal reforms had altered some perception of women in comparison to men, but further progress ensued. The work of the *Junta de Damas* is mentioned intermittently, such as in the 1881, number 27 edition that details the work in local hospitals and with the poor.[45] Cleanliness, health, and basic education became integrated factors of civility and social potential; the *Junta* strived even more publically to improve all of these conditions among the poor of Madrid.

In specific, narrow senses, the advancement of women benefitted the nation of Spain itself. The Enlightenment legacy of rationality, based on empirical thought and investigation, combined with the desire for morally upright citizens, resulted in calls for the continued domestication of women. However, countercurrent thought and actions, accidental or designed, slowly chipped away at these social conventions as the 20th century loomed.

20th century: A Shift to Modernity

Following the 1868 Revolution that saw the overthrow of Queen Isabel II and the installation of her son upon the throne, a cultural shift began to stir in earnest. The great Spanish writer Emilia Pardo Bazán identified that event as a catalyst in her life, spurring her to political thought, writing, and action. [46] Regardless of whether conservative or liberal politics were dominating Spanish society at various times throughout the 19th century, writing was an acceptable and powerful outlet for women.[47] In addition to being politically active in her support of the monarchy and liberal views, Bazán's novels, plays, and articles were an outlet to criticize the state of women's rights in Spain. "La Mujer Española" explicitly calls for the emancipation of women and their rights after detailing the state of each class of women in late 19th century Spain, among wider analysis.[48] In 1912, Emilia Pardo Bazán became a member of the *Junta de Damas* de Honor y Mérito.[49] While only one notable feminist activist and member of the *Junta de Damas*, her work tied together contemporary challenges and Enlightenment ideals to demand equality of education and

status for women. As individual members of the group obtained more socially prominent roles, the organization continued to develop a stronger public presence.

As discourse over the role of women in Spanish society became more public and increasingly intense, so too did the *Junta de Damas* establish a permanently tangible presence. Beginning in 1903 and under the local and national governments based in Madrid, the *Junta de Damas* initiated the construction of various buildings at the cross-sections of O'Donnell and Doctor Esquerdo streets. For thirty-one years, they worked closely with the *Diputación de Madrid* and its local governing bodies as partners to develop the area, the buildings, and the services within them. These public places included the new *Inclusa*, the *Colegio de la Paz*, and the *Casa de Maternidad*.[50] This public presence on O'Donnell Street of the *Junta de Damas* signaled the legitimacy of the group through its cooperation with the government; additionally, it reflected the growing sense of permanence and importance of women in society, while maintaining the group's commitment to public health work and the spread of scientific knowledge and medical care.

The *Junta's* growing presence and prominent work in public health with medical education and access to healthcare for the marginalized are highlighted in the context of more significant social shifts. The Junta became more present, working for, and with marginalized women and children who are undesirable, individuals who did not fit religio-social norms. Their work challenged 20th-century medical culture, as religious and social pressures influence the idea of the autonomy of the female body, coinciding with calls for legal and social authority over themselves. The preservation of the family as the core unit of Spanish society coupled with a declining mortality rate coincided with the rise of the eugenics movement, which took a positive approach in Spain.

Most historical work on eugenics has focused on the Anglo-American world, with some exceptions; these works give stronger context to understanding the work of the *Junta de Damas* within evolving Spanish medical culture. Mark Adams' *The Wellborn Science* provides such a perspective, focusing on continental Europe and Latin America. This step away from the predominant research and literature of the field gives fascinating insight and depth into Latin genetics, which differed significantly from the American and British Mendelian-based eugenic approaches. Taking root in Francis Galton's late 19th-century work, eugenics came from the Greek for "wellborn" and essentially promoted the line of thought that the future of humanity and its progress depended wholeheartedly on improving its stock since physical, mental, and moral traits were deemed to be inherited.[51] Diversity from country to country was evident, and trends emerged from this shared basis of improving humanity, resulting in significantly different approaches towards achieving this end goal. "In the

decades between 1890 and 1930, eugenics movements developed in more than thirty countries, each adapting the international Galtonian gospel to suit local scientific, cultural, institutional, and political conditions."[52] Taking this work into account, researchers can better contextualize and study the eugenics movement in early-mid 20th century Spain.

Latin genetics, with a stronger Lamarckian influence, were characterized by an externalist account which focused on the social context of the eugenic concerns; in contrast, the Anglo-Saxon internalist account tended to highlight evolving scientific ideas and advancement with stronger means.[53] Thanks to the variation in eugenic thought and processes, evolutionary theories of the international eugenics movement have developed. How did Galton's basic premise evolve into ideologies spanning from Mendelian, genetically based breeding to socially-concerned Lamarckian approaches, thus horribly yielding plans that spiraled into the right-wing and racist agendas of Germany, or forced sterilizations in the United States? Although it is easy to boil all eugenics policies into the retroactive view of harmful and detrimental, there was, in fact, a distinction in genetic practice between 'positive' and 'negative.'

The eugenic concepts discussed and acted upon in Spain fell under the category of 'positive,' meaning geared toward the betterment of society without the eradication of people perceived as undesirable, or interference with their reproductive abilities.[54] Religious undertones—or even overtones—were a strong influence on the limits and breadth of Spanish eugenic practice. Their neighbor, France, favored natalist policies to increase their population and birth rate while working to improve social hygiene.[55] A combination of Church and medical authority on eugenics legitimized the practice, and its scientific basis reinforced this.[56] Slowly, the medical authority would become the stronger force, and even subvert the Church's power in regards to biologically based social working—including the status of women.

Leaving behind the failure of the 19th century, Spain shifted its goals towards a new and improved culture and nation, focused on law, reform, and hygiene; thus, relating to the advancement of its women. These lofty goals of modernity proved especially challenging in Spain, as Catholicism provided a considerable obstacle to conversations regarding reform on reproduction and sexuality.[57] Once such debate that arose was to arrest prostitutes or to treat them for venereal disease: which was better for society?[58] However, "regenerationist" ideas provided a middle ground for these two competing institutions of thought, allowing for the growth and development of a 'positive' eugenics movement in Spain.[59] Related to British eugenic thought and considered part of the Latin eugenics, Spanish application focused on education and social reform, stemming from social medicine.[60]

Building upon hygienic thought of the late 19th century, the Spanish eugenics movement was dominated by focuses on medical knowledge and broader education, with social reform as its goal.[61] Procreation was to be a passionate, intentional biological act; the ideal woman was an ideal mother, who created an ideal race.[62] Not unlike other nations involved in the eugenics movements of the early 20th century, Spain considered the proposition of a health certificate for marriage, thus ensuring that two people were medically sound and advised to give life to the next generation of their race.[63] Spain did not have its own Consultative Committee in 1912 at the First International Eugenics Conference; however, records show that a Professor of Medicine and Toxicology at the University of Barcelona gave a talk entitled "The History of a Healthy, Sane Family showing Longevity."[64] It was not an authority on eugenics, but the scientific movement certainly had impacts on Spanish society.

Based on the evidence provided, the mission of the *Junta de Damas* fit in with this overarching discourse while at the same time challenging parts of it. This organization worked to support and serve Madrid's women, including unwed and expectant mothers. Their orphanage provided for children with less than ideal pedigrees and who were most likely not products of the ideal breeding situation for the future glory of Spain. Their work gives insight into the early 20th-century medical culture—combining scientific and social pressures—and broader discourse. Spain, with its Lamarckian-based Latin eugenics approach that worked in parallel with their desire to end the nation's decline, coupled with heavy pressure from the Catholic Church, was forced to reconcile social need with scientific understanding. The key to both of these missions, however, was education.

Sexual education required belief in others to understand and apply their knowledge, and officials used statistics, and information to teach the public about the values of race improvement and continued education, thus promoting a eugenic mindset.[65] These initiatives steadily rose into the1920s, after which the literature and public conversation greatly expanded. By carefully choosing a spouse (and thus a sexual partner), individuals were consciously selecting a pool of acquired and inherited traits for their future descendants. While promoting social improvement through selective procreation, Spain managed to remain on the 'positive' side of eugenics by avoiding sterilization programs and emphasizing a greater role for education.

However, striking a balance that advocated for female morality and protection on the grounds of cultural and social equality was made difficult by continued opposition from right-wing Catholic publications; this constant challenge obstructed conversation and policymaking.

The more extensive platform of advancements featured other contentious demands that put the women in direct conflict with the church. Just as education had come to have various levels of significance and impact, full equality meant individual autonomy for each female citizen. As the *Junta de Damas* subtly aligned itself with the suffragette movement and its wider controversial platforms seeking reproductive and legal autonomy, it almost worked in opposition to the Church and the burgeoning eugenics movement.[66] Strengthening the woman could result in shifting the balance of the family, and empowering women to understand and control their own reproduction threatened the success of the natalist, 'positive' eugenic approach so favored in Spain.

The legal rights to education and work were guaranteed in the years since the inception of the *Junta de Damas* in 1787, and the next serious inequality addressed was full political equality. Contraception was not entirely new in Spain, nor was it exactly espoused by the authorities. An additional issue centered on a woman's ability to seek a divorce from her husband, which did not exist in the early 20th century. Divorce was briefly legal in France in 1794, and women of that time in Spain took note, "A group of middle-class women met at a chocolate shop in Madrid, applauding divorce and sending their support to a newspaper in the city...".[67] The church responded in opposition, upholding the belief that marriage and procreation was for God to decide, not man: "all those that abuse marriage, while also avoiding the procreation of the common people, are committing a grave crime."[68]

Critically, however, Mary Nash argues that the Church no longer dominated overall modernization. In her essay "Un/Contested Identities: Motherhood, Sex Reform and the Modernization of Gender Identity in Early Twentieth-Century Spain" she states that "biological essentialism," and not a religion, was the core of forming Spanish womanhood as an identity.[69] Science reinforced the authority of the existing submissive gender identities of women, and its power lies in gendered language. The double threat of inferior/superior discourse in gender and race tied neatly into the wider socially-accepted medical culture of this age.[70] Besides, the quest for political equality was significantly more complex than women chasing after the paradigm of equality: "the sociocultural demands that entailed the defense of their social and civil rights, access to quality education and professional training, integration into the labor market, and a voice of the social issues."[71]

Within this evolving role of the woman, determined by science and according to generally accepted religious leanings, motherhood continued to remain supreme.[72] Gregorio Marañón was a powerful force in promoting the ideas that women and men were socially equal, with key biological differences – which were neither inferior nor superior to the other. However, those biological differences did inherently determine social roles and reasserted the woman's

primary role as a mother. Doctors, thanks to their scientific expertise, became the dominant male authorities; they controlled the scientifically-based gender discourse. The model of the "Angel of the Home" persisted, and some female authors continued to praise it. While potentially viewed as detrimental to the overall status of women in Spain, these women were not working to undermine the advancement of their gender. Instead, they were still advocating for women and their access to steady education and the ability to public autonomously, all while addressing the woman question; they did not, however, wish to see a change in the existing social structure.[73]

With this emphasis on motherhood, and against the backdrop of the growing eugenic discussions and initiatives, a question arose: was conscientious motherhood an option? First and foremost, the Catholic Church remained opposed to birth control, regarding it as sinful.[74] In order to avoid conflicts over its morality and general use, Spanish eugenicists danced around the touchy topic by proclaiming it to be used only for the health of the mother and the child. Those who supported its use justified their views with medical evidence and language, drawing upon the social necessity of hygiene and social improvement. Some addressed the eugenic approach of conscientious motherhood directly; others espoused societal improvement through lifting the working classes out of poverty; still others focused entirely on the public health aspect of lowering mortality rates in mothers and infants.[75] The conversation over reproductive rights took time to grow, which it did despite established and serious obstacles.

Medical language, then, proved to be the driving force in the discussions over the status of women. Near the turn of the century, knowledge of female anatomy had shifted to conversations about biological differences between the genders, and less about male superiority in society. For the most part, women had reasonable access to education and were present in the workforce. These accomplished goals, in addition to a decreasing maternal and infant mortality rate, in correlation with a lowered birth rate, allowed women to step into roles and spaces otherwise banned to them. Part of the decreasing birth rate stemmed from education initiatives and a fuller sense of anatomy and physiology; however, the rise of awareness and accessibility to birth control played a serious role. Finally, the newer bodies of scientific facts in regards to women's bodies had started to pay back its own subject population

Conclusion

By studying the developing Spanish medical culture from 1860 to 1920 in conjunction with the initiatives of the *Junta de Damas de Honor y Mérito,* the gradual challenges to the role of women in society are clear, and set-up for revision. The Enlightenment serves as an

important legacy in this development, from the emphasis on progress and education to an appreciation of human logic and scientific thought. Scientific developments and subsequent medical language and application heavily defined the status of women in Spain during this period, as seen in publications and scholarly works authored by men and women alike. The *Junta de Damas* focused on public health initiatives and outreach during this period, reaching out to marginalized women and their children; at the same time, their work and establishments on O'Donnell Street firmly anchored them in the public sphere. The turn of the 20th century was a time of turbulence for Spain, but the *Junta's* actions and dedication to their mission remained consistent. As the future seemed uncertain and conversations about conscious motherhood grew out of economic struggles and improved access to healthcare and education, a 'positive' Latin eugenics movement developed and gained traction in Spain, integrating social, scientific, and religious elements into a eugenic framework in order to advance the nation. The *Junta de Damas* committed to the further advancement of women in society while continuing to support them and their families through educational programs and health centers. This combined lens allows for a more in-depth analysis of late 19th – early 20th-century Spanish medical culture, as well as its application and implications for women.

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Tap to jump to the Bibliography

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[61] Ibid., 23

[62] Ibid., 28-29.

[63] Ibid., 29. France, other countries either advised or implemented this practice. A medical examination confirmed that an individual was healthy and capable of passing on their traits (acquired or inherited, depending on the dominating scientific attitude of the specific country/area) and thus fit to marry.

[64] Valenti y Vivo, "The history of a healthy sane family, showing longevity, in Catalonia" in "Problems in Eugenics: Papers Communicated to the First International Eugenics Congress Held at the University of London, July 24th to 30th, 1912. International Eugenics Congress, and Eugenics Education Society (Great Britain), editors.

[65] Ibid., 37.

[66] María de los Ángeles Ezama Gil, "La Liga Internacional de mujeres ibéricas e hispanoamericanas y Cruzada de mujeres españolas," in *Mujeres en la Frontera,* ed. Margarita Almela Boix, María Magdalena García Lorenzo, Marina Sanfilippo, and Helena Guzmán García (Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2013), 53-82.

[67] Crespo, 361-362.

[68] Ibid., 454.

[69] Mary Nash, "Un/Contested Identities: Motherhood, Sex Reform and the Modernization of Gender Identity in Early Twentieth-Century Spain," in *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain,* eds. Victoria Lorée Enders and Pamela Beth Radcliff, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999).

[70] Ibid., 26.

[71] Ibid., 31.

[72] Ibid., 30-33.

[73] Maria Cristina Urruela, "Becoming 'Angelic': Maria Pilar Sinues and the Woman Question," in *Recovering Spain's Feminist Tradition,* edited by Lisa Vollendorf, (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2001).

[74] Nash, 36.

[75] Ibid., 37.

CRIMINALIZING CAPITALISM

SOVIET INDICTMENT OF AMERICAN RACISM FROM 1922-1933

Elizabeth Sadusky

University of St. Thomas

Abstract

This paper studies the Soviet relationship with and policies towards African Americans in the interwar period, tracing three distinct stages. Initially the Soviet state was concerned with generating a world revolution for international socialism. Consequently, they engaged African Americans as potential leaders of an anti-imperialist Black Nationalist movement, considered akin to communism due to their mutual aggressor, capitalism. In 1928, the world revolution not forthcoming, primary interests were repurposed to the solidification of communism in one country. Rapid industrialization was identified as quintessential and foreign workers were recruited to assist. To avoid criticisms of these industrial policies as capitalist-oriented, Stalin differentiated himself by mobilizing established critiques of that system; denunciations of American racism evolved into full-blown Soviet propaganda. Lynching images became analogous with capitalism as Soviets sought to prove ideological and moral superiority to the United States. Furthermore, racial paternalism became evident in this stage as the Soviet Union worked to establish their superiority. The third stage, began in 1932 and was characterized by menacing maturation of Nazi Germany, which threatened the Soviet Union and led to their subordination of anti-US policies in hopes of an allyship in war.

Introduction

On August 22, 1930, in Stalingrad, two American mechanics, Lemuel Lewis and William Brown stood trial for attacking an African American man at the Traktorostroi factory. When put on the stand, one of the defendants, Lewis, reportedly stated, “I did not think that I would be brought to trial.” His partner, Brown, explained “in America, this would be treated as a joke” and later, “Negros were slaves, and should remain slaves."[1] These men’s attitudes had been bred in the Jim Crow era of United States history, when African Americans were subjected to everything from daily racial segregation to lynching. The Soviet Union aimed to establish itself in contrast to the relatively normative racism of the United States. In full accordance with its communist ideology, the USSR publicized its opposition to racism not as

mere party policy, but rather as an important characteristic of the new Soviet man. When the Traktorosroi factory committee failed to investigate the incident initially, the Soviet government retaliated by publicly shaming and then remodeling the group.[2] When the attack was reported in the Soviet newspaper *Trud* on August 9, Soviet authorities depicted their crusade against Lewis and Brown as driven from the bottom up.[3]

This trial represented the pinnacle of Soviet indictment of American racism in the interwar period; not only did the Soviets use propaganda to criticize the US, but they also took action on race-related incidents. In studying the relationship between African Americans and the Soviet Union at this time, the secondary literature tends to posit African Americans as the primary actors. Although these individuals are important in informing and transmitting Soviet policy, this paper focuses on the ambitions of the Soviet state.

Initially, the primary actors of the USSR were concerned with generating a world revolution that would lead to international socialism and the true Marxist utopia. Under such motivations, the party engaged African Americans as a part of an anti-imperialist Black Nationalist movement. They considered this movement akin to communism because the primary aggressor in both cases was capitalism. In 1928, the promised world socialist revolution had not materialized, and under Stalin's iron fist, the Soviet Union's primary interest was redirected to the solidification of communism in one country. Officials identified rapid industrialization as fundamentally necessary and recruited foreign workers for assistance. Due to criticisms of Stalin's industrial policies—specifically, that they were oriented towards capitalism—Stalin sought to differentiate his country by fully mobilizing established critiques of capitalist systems. It was in this arena that the critiques of racism became Soviet propaganda. Images of lynchings became analogous to capitalism, as the Soviet Union attempted to prove its ideological and moral superiority to the American industrial machine.

As Nazi Germany matured and ingrained itself in the international hierarchy, the Soviets turned their ideological criticism towards fascism. As a result, Soviet priorities shifted again and the early 1930s saw the subordination of the indictment of American racism and all other policies towards African Americans. This paper will argue that the Soviets engaged the African American population initially to be a vanguard of the world communist revolution. However, in 1928, this interaction expanded to an internationally broadcasted indictment of capitalism in order to establish Soviet superiority and to enable a recruiting mission to facilitate the rapid industrialization of the USSR.

This paper continues the argument made by many scholars that the Cold War began when, or even before, the Soviet Union was established. This contends the common consideration

that the Cold War started after the Second World War, with events such as the Marshall Plan, Berlin Blockade, and Korean War. Evidence for this periodization of the Cold War lies primarily in ideological considerations. The liberal democratic ideology of the United States and the communist ideology of the USSR were both universalistic in nature; the countries considered themselves near messianic saviors that would transform the entire world.[4] "With such broad aspirations, permanent coexistence was [never] possible."[5] Furthermore, each considered the events of the First World War to be evidence of the necessity of its particular ideological solution.[6] As a result, the post-war negotiations saw the two powers contending with one another for the first time.[7] Despite the US refusal to acknowledge the Soviet Union diplomatically, interactions between the two were constant in the interwar period.[8] The engagement of African Americans in indicting US racism was only a small portion of the multifaceted relationships between the two states, much of which featuring the same contentions the Cold War has become notorious for.

There have been several works published on the relationship between African Americans and the Soviet Union. Prior to 2007, three manuscripts existed on the subject. *The Black Worker: The Negro and the Labor Movement* addresses the relationship between the American Communist Party and the Communist International as largely ordered by Moscow. The work studies Soviet identification of racial oppression as economic, in addition to the priority of racial equality for the Comintern, with special attention to the American situation. Allison Blakely's *Russia and the Negro* focuses on the Soviet mission of recruiting African Americans. She argues that, for the Soviets, the "negro struggle has been… an integral factor," referenced as far back as Lenin under varying names. She validates Soviet anticipation of the international aspects of the movement against racial oppression. Cedric Robinson's *Black Marxism* examines how the ideological aspects of the Soviet policy developed, particularly within the timeframe of the third communist international.

Among contemporary scholarship on the subject is Gilmore's *Defying Dixie*, in which she explores "The Radical Roots of Civil Rights," as her subtitle suggests. She argues that these roots are paired with the forging of Soviet policy on race. Also important is Carew's *Blacks, Reds, and Russians,* which depicts African Americans in the Soviet Union. The accounts of these black sojourners refer heavily to Soviet policy towards African Americans and reflects its successes while providing context for the sojourners' experiences in the Soviet Union. Meredith Roman's *Opposing Jim Crow* analyzes how and why the Soviet Union propagated its intolerance of racism. She addresses the domestic and international value in bringing US Racism into focus, for the Soviet State, and the goal of a society without racism. As a whole, her work demonstrates the complexity and nuance of Soviet opposition to Jim Crow in the 1920s and 30s. Katrina Clark's article focuses on the aspect of colonial oppression in Soviet

representation of African Americans. Paired with primary sources—including works from Marx, Lenin, Stalin, the Communist International, newspaper articles, memoirs, and films—these secondary authors help craft and support the complexity of the topic of this paper.

Stage One: Generating a World Revolution

In 1922, the Fourth Congress of the Communist International drafted its first publication on the "Black Question," but this was not the origins of Soviet policy towards African Americans. Previously, discussion of blacks used terms appropriated from Lenin's 1917 essay on *Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism*.[9] In it, he does not discuss African Americans by name, but his digressions on exploitation are numerous. His idea is clearly tied back to Karl Marx's own vision of socialism as the international outcome of proletariat economic conditions.[10] It was not until June 5, 1920, however, that Lenin clarified these thoughts into a necessary union with the colonized nations.

> [T]he Communist International's entire policy on the national and the colonial questions should rest primarily on a closer union of the proletarians and the working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle… This union alone will guarantee victory over capitalism, without which the abolition of national oppression and inequality is impossible.[11]

Lenin's draft thesis called the international contingents of the communist revolution to arms. He clarified the mission of the Soviet Union to be victorious over capitalism as impossible without the help of the rest of the world's proletariat. His emphasis on identifying nationally and colonially oppressed people as part of the proletariat vastly increased the potential power of international socialism. Lenin, building on Marx's ideas, looked beyond the confines of white working-class Europeans to others he identified as victims of the bourgeois capitalist world. Within the thesis, Lenin specified "American Negros" as a group for which "all Communist parties should render direct aid to the revolutionary movements [of]."[12] The specific tie to African Americans was not one which Marx himself had made, although he had spoken out against slavery.[13] Socialism, however, was known for its lack of racial frameworks . One of the earliest historical works addressing socialism and African Americans, published in 1969 by Columbia University Press summarizes this idea as follows: "The early socialists had no racial policy. They were oblivious to racial differences. To them post-Civil War competition of Negro labor was not at all a racial question. It was just another facet of the class struggle."[14]

In 1922, the Fourth Congress published the answer to the "Black Question," inaugurating Soviet Policy towards African Americans. In it, Soviet policy makers did not merely mention

African Americans as an example; they singled them out as being uniquely prepared to liberate "the entire African race."[15] The Congress dedicated almost half the document to explaining the history of African Americans. The product is educational on the unique Soviet perception of the propagation of American history. In identifying this moment as quintessential to my periodization, the connection between Comintern Policy and Soviet Policy deserves some digression. Although these two entities were distinct, it became a requirement "with the formation of the Third International for member nation parties to pledge their loyalties to the Comintern, the Soviet Union and, in practical terms, to the Bolshevik Party."[16] The Soviet Union's sole success in revolution grounded its ability to pressure all other communists.[17]

The document produced by the Fourth Comintern Congress publicizes the situation of African Americans as conceivable exclusively as the byproduct of capitalism. African Americans are referred to as proletariat, their oppressors as bourgeois, and the Civil War as the confrontation of "blacks with a choice between forced labour in the South and wage slavery in the North."[18] American blacks are identified as "the vanguard of the struggle for black liberation," in which they are simulated with the Bolshevik party vanguard that fought and won the Russian Civil War.[19] Black autonomy and agency is clarified to further the assertion: "The blacks were not docile slaves; their history is full of revolts, uprisings, and an underground struggle for freedom."[20]

The presence of Claude McKay in the Congress enabled the members of the Fourth Comintern to gain a better understanding of African Americans and their struggles. He provided extensive information on the position of African Americans in the United States.[21]Afterwards, the Soviets commissioned McKay to write *Negros in America*, published in 1923, and *A Trial by Lynching*, published in 1925.[22] His work helped to establish African Americans as kin to the Soviet proletariat. Prior to the communist revolution, Russians viewed African Americans stereotypically as exotic and spiritual.[23] McKay's emphasis on economic considerations, particularly when discussing violent lynchings and proletariat unity, replaced this earlier notion. He was not the only African American in the Soviet Union at this time.

In the early 1920s, most African American emigrants to the Soviet Union came in order to be educated. The Moscow Communist University of the Toilers of the East (KUTV) began to recruit and educate African Americans in the early 1920s. [24] One of its most famous early attendants was Lovett Fort-Whiteman, a leader amongst African American Communists who traveled to the Soviet Union and became the first African American to attend KUTV in June of 1924.[25] Fort-Whiteman's leadership role among African American communists

epitomized the goal of KUTV, which was to not only inform individuals on communist ideology but also give them the means to be leaders in communist agitation and revolutions.[26] The subject hour requirements serve as evidence to this point. They were as follows: Party building (330), Leninism (280), History of the All-Union Communist International (240), Political economy (200), Historical materialism (120), military science (120), and current politics (80).[27] Another key feature of KUTV was the preferential, privileged treatment given to African Americans and other blacks. The Soviet state allotted African Americans free rides at the best institutions, money for clothes, vacation, and travel, as well as access to high-ranking officials.[28] This treatment shielded foreigners from the material conditions of ordinary life in the Soviet Union. When there were racial issues, usually at the hands of foreign whites, Soviet authorities did everything they could to suppress the occurrence and appease the victim.[29]

In addition to learning from African Americans living in the USSR, Soviet intellectuals also embarked—literally and figuratively—on a journey to study the African American experience in the United States. Perhaps the most famous of these individuals was the revolutionary poet Vladimir Maiakovskii. The works of Maiakovskii, along with other Soviet authors, "forge[d] and exhibit[ed] simultaneously as fact the superior racial consciousness which the New Soviet Person was supposed to possess."[30] The language he used in indicting American racist norms built the foundation of speaking anti-racism.[31] Maiakovskii honed his skill as an essayist in order to condemn the American character as fundamentally racist. He emphasized violence in this critique, principally that of rape and lynching. "The white man… will rape black girls with impunity, and will subject a black man who goes anywhere near a white woman to lynch law – that is to say, he'll tear off his arms and legs and roast him alive over a bonfire."[32] In doing so, Maiakovskii communicates the realities of Jim Crow America. This builds on the ideological norms disseminated by the Fourth Comintern Congress. He also furthered the ideas of the Communist International by demonstrating thorough solidarity with African Americans. This is evident in his establishment of the agency of African Americans in his writing and the weight he places on the pivotal role they would play in American, and world, teleology. "The Negroes who are heated over the bonfires of Texas may yet prove to be a sufficiently dry powder for explosions of revolution."[33] This quote also demonstrates the significant role Maikovskii played in bringing the ideas of anti-racism down from the lofty linguistics of an international intellectually oriented body to the popular literature of the people. The language he used as a popular author was easier to understand and invoked emotional responses in his audiences.

Maiakovskii and the rest of the Party's engagement of African American agency and nationalism is evidence that the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the Soviet Union in the first half of the interwar period was able to to compromise on the issue of nationalism.[34] Prior to the October Revolution, nationalism had been the undoing of the Second International. The genius of Lenin's policy was to institutionalize it within the new, uniquely Soviet, socialism. This institutionalized nationalism is evident in the USSR's policy towards African Americans. By emphasizing blacks' autonomy in their unique history in the United States and assigning them a leading role in the liberation of "the entire African race," Soviets honed nationalist sentiments halfway across the world to their own utopian objectives.

The Soviet policy towards African Americans prior to 1928, was, admittedly, more conspicuous than what would follow.[35] The first half of the interwar period saw a comparative lack of engagement with African Americans within Soviet borders. This, however, was the direct result of the completely different role the USSR took on internationally at that time. The Soviet Union saw itself as merely the first domino to fall to communism, as did the rest of the world.[36] Thus, the USSR worked to spearhead the international socialist revolution that Marx's works dictated, just as they–the Bolshevik party vanguard–had done within Russia itself. While this paper cannot evaluate to what degree the Soviet Union actually engaged in African Americans' resistance, it is evident that the US media believed them to be doing so.

Mainstream United States newspapers articulated and analyzed the success of Soviet policies towards African Americans. This speaks to the perception, held by nations outside of itself in the early 1920s, that the Soviet Union represented the real potential for a world socialist revolution. The fear that resulted is formally referred to as the First Red Scare. The United States mass media acknowledged Soviet policy towards African Americans by publishing material on the relationships between the Soviet Union and labor–and other, more radical–movements among African Americans. Furthermore, many articles went as far as to legitimize the logic behind such a policy. In August 1919, *The Washington Post* reported supposed proof, gathered by the Department of Justice, of Russian financing behind the Chicago Race Riots.[37] On January 17, 1926, *The New York Times* made a similar report.[38] The documents produced by the Soviet Union and the Comintern legitimated the details in these newspaper articles, such as observations of the actions of the Communist Party of America orchestrated by Moscow and the intent focus of communism on African Americans. In 1922, the Communist International promised to "support all forms of the black movement which aim either to undermine or weaken capitalism and imperialism or to prevent their further expansion."[39] The degree to which this fact is true remains unknown. What is important here is the fact that the United States acknowledged that goal. The newspaper publications

in 1925 and 1926 quite literally analyze the potential for a Communist revolution within the United States. That analysis went so far as to draw some of the same conclusions as those made by officials in Moscow. *The New York Times* included a comment from W. E. B. Du Bois, which stated, "it is up to the white people of America to treat the negroes better in order to keep them out of the Communist ranks."[40] White Americans did not heed his advice.

Stage 2: Solidification of Communism in One Country

By 1928, the USSR modified its policy towards African Americans, but earlier motives and theories continued to play a significant role in its understanding of the Black Question. The initial policy sought out the African American population solely as a body through which to accomplish its end goal of encouraging the natural evolution from capitalism to a world socialist revolution as Marx had envisioned. The new policy demanded a more aggressive and precise call to action, with the underlying goal being to prove Soviet superiority to the United States; in this arena, the Soviet Union's preeminence would prove the ideological supremacy of communism. This is evident in the "1928 Comintern Resolution in the United States" where the Soviet-led body finalized its message concerning African Americans.[41] The following excerpt from that document reflects the solidification of the previous policy, not a complete departure from it.

> The struggle for equal rights and the propaganda for the slogan of self-determination must be linked up with the economic demands of the Negro masses, especially those directed against the slave remnants and all forms of national and racial oppression. Special stress must be laid upon organizing active resistance against lynching, Jim Crowism, segregation and all other forms of oppression of the Negro population.[42]

This is a part of the specific blueprint laid out in "For Complete Emancipation of the Oppressed Negro Race," which built on what had been said in 1922.[43] The Communist International still identified the ideas of equal rights and self-determination as primary. Additionally, the connection of the African American condition to economics is an evident continuation of previous policy. The new blueprint was a culmination of the ideological work undergone prior to 1928. Analysis of the African American situation in the United States paired with the absence of the world revolution to spearhead a new, more violent, and specific call to action. This document inaugurates lynchings, Jim Crowism, and segregation as the new lens through which the Soviet Union would attack the United States, and establish its superiority to it.

With the world revolution not forthcoming, the Soviet Party leaders, headed by Joseph Stalin, adapted two policies: the solidification of communism in one nation and the

intensification of class warfare. The new outlook was, in part, the result of Stalin's extremely public recognition of the historical weakness of Russia.[44] In order to combat this backwardness he instituted a rapid industrialization of the country.[45] The Soviet Union designated the industry of the United States and other capitalist nations as models for this industrialization and recruited their workers in order to assist the Soviet Union in producing the same. Both actions were sources of widespread "anxieties among officials in Moscow that they were simply reinstituting capitalism."[46] Also critiqued was the intended speed of that industrialization. In the face of widespread criticism, Stalin, and the rest of the party, "called for an intensification of class war."[47] "[T]he external challenge of an allegedly imminent danger of military attack by the encircling capitalist powers" further legitimized this intensification.[48]

Indictment of American racism played a crucial role in explaining the intensification of class war. Its aggressors, identified as capitalists, served a dual purpose. In relationship to their victims–the African Americans with whom the Soviet proletariat were meant to identify–they were the local bourgeois enemy in the class war. For the state the Soviet proletariat were citizens of, they were Americans, members of the encircling capitalist powers. Roman expands on the utilization of, in particular, lynchings in showcasing that the USSR was–as her chapter is titled–"Not Bourgeois America."[49]

This legitimization of communist ideology vis-à-vis violent American racism was a key aspect of Soviet policy in the late 1920s and the early 1930s. Stalin mobilized indictment of American racism as a part of the class war on the bourgeois. It was, therefore, overwhelmingly present in party propaganda. He and the Party juxtaposed and contrasted racial hatred, defined as a strictly capitalist entity, with the progressive racelessness present in the Soviet society. The fact that it had reached its "most depraved form… [within] the most advanced capitalist country" was taken as proof that capitalism was an ideology rotten to its core.[50] Portrayal of American racial violence became the norm in mass media.[51] Soviet newspapers at the time recognized African Americans as suffering "from merciless exploitation no less harsh than [the] slavery which existed until the Civil War."[52] The publishing of lynching photos in Soviet newspapers was so common that often articles would not accompany them, only brief captions. If information was included, it was often incorrect. "[T]he details were inconsequential–it was just another example of the horrific racial violence in capitalist America."[53]

The militaristic aspects of the American bourgeois enemy, as well as the relatability of the African American victim was furthered by the crime Soviet media claimed they were being punished for: class consciousness. An example of this is a political cartoon from the Soviet

newspaper *Pravda*.[54] In it, an armed overweight man, the white American capitalist, is nailing a sign above a lynched African American's head, which says, "Do not dare struggle for your rights;" the translated caption states, "We will chop off the clutches of the hangman."[55] The image clearly exemplifies the violence of racism in America, a concept the author portrays as inseparable from ideological considerations. In her explanation of the source, Roman relates the portrayal of lynchings to the "growing threat of imperialist war."[56] She analyzes the use of the standard capitalist image as, in this particular case, an armed perpetrator. The illustrator clearly connected the violence against this man to the war the Soviet State argued the capitalist powers were planning, by arming him with a military weapon and calling on the audience to "chop off the clutches of the hangman." The message is clear: "black men constituted the frontline casualties in a war that would eventually be directed at the USSR."[57]

The attack on capitalist oppression of African Americans in the United States corresponded with an increase of the physical presence of blacks in the Soviet Union. Although some intellectuals had visited the Soviet Union prior to the implementation of the new Soviet policy in 1928, most African American emigration to the Soviet Union occurred between 1928 and 1932.[58] Some of these individuals were communist party members looking to further their ideological education and be trained as leaders of the communist movement in the United States. The majority of African Americans however were indifferent towards communism, attracted only by the concept of a society without race.[59] In his memoir Homer Smith, an African American from Minneapolis who traveled to the Soviet Union in 1932, discussed his reasoning for his emigration: "I yearned to stand taller than I had ever stood… to breathe total freedom… The solution seemed simple to me: Russia was the only place where I could go and escape color discrimination entirely."[60] His and other testimonies speak to the success of Soviet propaganda in the United States during the interwar period.[61]

Once African Americans arrived in the Soviet Union, the people and the nation followed its professed policy and embraced it with open arms. In practice, the treatment they received

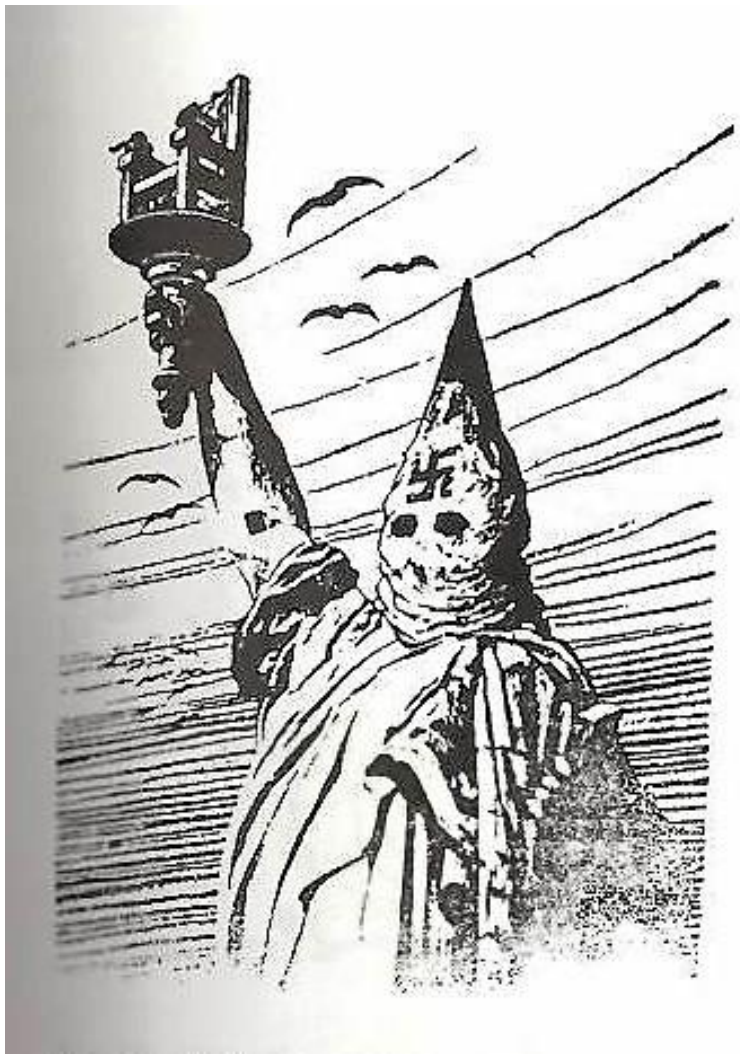
surpasses that implicated by the contemporary term affirmative action. In his memoir, Smith recalls it vividly. He discusses Russian mothers teaching their children racial tolerance, men stepping out of the way to allow him to dance with Russian women; even in the infamously long Soviet lines for goods and services, "a Russian might long have been waiting his turn, [but] he would always be willing to relinquish [his spot] to a Negro."[62] Homer's testimony proved the integration of anti-racism policies into the everyday Soviet man. This treatment of African Americans within the Soviet Union often worked to legitimize the socialist ideology for them. The previously mentioned Fort-Whitman explains this phenomenon after studying at KUTV, stating, "Race prejudice is not an inherent thing in the mental makeup of the individual… [it] springs from the capitalist order of the society."[63] There was, however, often low-level insensitivity and ignorance that perpetuated stereotypes and prejudices, which tended to disillusion some individuals with the Soviet State.[64]

One of the key aspects of this perpetuation of racial paternalism was the USSR's presentation of itself as the savior to the African American race. The enactment of this idea intended to fully mobilize the masses, as well as gain the approval of the international community. The policy was integrated from the top down, as can be demonstrated by the "Resolution on the Negro Question in the United States" released by the Sixth Comintern in 1928. In this document, the Comintern- led by Soviet officials- tasked their American branch to assist in the mobilization of the African American masses. "[T]he Communist Party," they dictated, "must come out as the champion of the right of the oppressed Negro race for full emancipation."[65]

The mass media surrounding the Stalingrad Trial of 1930 and the Scottsboro Campaign the following year collectively demonstrates the epitome of this policy and therefore deserves extensive analysis. The role of the Soviets as saviors in Stalingrad was inaugurated within the first official report of the attack, which emphasized that "it was not until Russian workers arrived on the scene that the three men were pulled apart and Robinson was liberated from the grip of his white American assailants."[66] As reports continued, the focus changed, from the Soviet workers who saved him that day, to the masses at large. Newspapers portrayed Soviet workers as responding almost instantaneously.[67] Within this arena, the media placed emphasis on workers at factories such as Elektrozavod–an important success story of the Five Year Plans.[68] When it was time to put the men on trial, Soviet officials appointed a workers' brigade to indict them. The working masses also contributed the idea of expelling the men from the Soviet Union. Memoirs of those in Moscow at the time to testify to the success of framing the Stalingrad Trial as motivated, universally, by workers.[69] The promulgation of an attitude of indignation as being the

appropriate Soviet response was practical for party officials. As a result, "articulating indignation… became a means for workers to assert their 'proletariatness.'"[70]

In portraying the Soviet workers in this role, the agency given to African Americans leading up to this point was, to some degree, undone. Robert Robinson had not saved himself like the African American slaves had in the US history lesson of the 1922 Comintern. Rather, the Russian workers saved him, which "perpetuated a form of racial paternalism."[71] This continued in further representations of Robinson in the Soviet press. When he resurfaced, four years later, workers had elected him to the Moscow City Soviet. The media portrayed him as a leader and a teacher, positively remade by his experience in the Soviet Union into an ideal proletariat worker. This emphasis of the transformative power of living in the Soviet Union replaced almost any details of his personal life. The most individualized portrayal of him was a short story produced by Boris Agapov, which was intended to be a biography of Robinson's life. [72] The intention of the author is evident in the story's relatively inaccurate details; with the portrayal of the main character as being unsafe because he sees through capitalist racism and attacks a man out of class-consciousness, he becomes both proletariat and revolutionary. Once again, the emphasis is placed on the situation rather than the individual himself. When the opportunity arises to work in the Soviet Union, Robinson obliges, with complete naivety regarding the raceless society that awaits him.[73] In doing this, Agapov highlights the treatment he receives from the Soviet workers and underscores their impact. As a result, the heroic black worker of the Soviet press became such only under Soviet influence.



Outside of its own borders, the Scottsboro boys played another popular role in Soviet anti-racism propaganda. Eight young African American boys had been condemned to death in an American trial with little to no physical evidence. Almost immediately, a movement began in order to free them. The International Red Aid spearheaded its organization, with the goal being to lead the Soviet people in a liberation campaign.[74] Distinctively from the indictment of American racism in the Stalingrad Trial, the Scottsboro campaign extended beyond Soviet borders, stretching into the United States as well as England and Germany. As Roman contends, the Soviet case was different. The "use of the

liberation movement to glorify the Soviet state as enlightened rendered it distinct –in both content and form- from [those] in the United States and Europe."[75] Here, once again, Soviet political cartoons capture the State's indictment of US racism. *Pravda* published the above image on March 10, 1932 without a title, less than a year after the Scottsboro incident occurred.[76] In it, a figure simulating the Statue of Liberty is dressed up as a member of the Ku Klux Klan. Where the torch of liberty would normally be placed, this figure holds instead the electric chair, to which the US sentenced the Scottsboro boys. The setting behind her is dark, filled with black birds. Both of these additions indicated death. A month later, *Pravda* addressed Scottsboro even more explicitly, stating the capitalist leaders of the US "need death in the electric chair for these seven negro proletarians in order to show their strength to those white and negro members of the working class rising up in revolutionary class struggle, to frighten them and destroy their fragile class unity."[77] This article told the Soviet masses that there was a revolutionary class struggle in the United States, similar to the one they and their countrymen had succeeded in, but bourgeois Americans were actively attacking it. Once again, the USSR called upon the unity of the Soviet proletariat with African Americans, under socialism, this time to save the lives of seven young boys. The possibility of their deaths also furthered the image of the US as waging war against communism.

Stage 3: Facing a Greater Threat

Although its orchestrators were unaware, the Scottsboro campaign would also serve a second purpose: it would be the last great campaign against the United States for over a decade. The year 1932 marked the beginning of the second major change in Soviet policy towards African Americans. Whereas the full mobilization of this policy had begun only four years earlier, a different set of objectives now subordinated it, because of new circumstances. In 1933, the United States would finally recognize of the Soviet Union, as Germany regained its Great Power status under Hitler's Third Reich.[78] These developments coincided with the deceleration and modification of Soviet policies and propaganda indicting American racism.

The Roosevelt-Litvinov conversations in 1933 demonstrates the connection between the rise of Nazi Germany, the potential need for an American-Soviet Alliance, and the subordination of the policy of indicting US racism. This is also manifested in the Soviet film industry at the time.

In 1932, Soviet indictment of American racism headed to the big screen. A month after production began however, the Politburo telegrammed Stalin having determined the following: "We think that may be it is possible to do without this film. Mezchrabpom did this without the permission of the Central Committee."[79] Extensive suspicion and criticism

met this decision. Newspapers such as the *New York Herald Tribune* reported that the abandonment occurred in order to woo the United States. Many African Americans thought this was simply a ploy "to turn Negroes against the only land that gives them perfect equality."[80] Evidence, however, speaks overwhelmingly to the contrary.

In Washington, the Roosevelt-Litvinov Conversations were at an impasse. The goal of the conversations was to, finally, secure the United States' recognition of the USSR, after almost 16 years of non-recognition. One of the key identified issues in the non-recognition was the "Communist subversion and propaganda within the United States."[81] The Red Scare founded these allegations, as demonstrated in the 1920s newspaper articles analyzed earlier. Hardships in America, especially the Great Depression, multiplied these fears. The damage of a film, especially one as bold as *Black and White* would have been irreconcilable. On November 16, 1933, the Soviet participant in the conversations, Maxim Litvinov, agreed that the USSR would no longer run domestic interference in the US vis-à-vis aid to the American Communist Party.[82] This element was of such great importance that it received its own distinct letter. The letter featured the point reiterated in four distinct ways, the most straightforward of which was as follows:

> [I]t will be the fixed policy of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics… To respect scrupulously the indisputable right of the United States to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way and to refrain from interfering in any manner in the internal affairs of the United States, its territories or possessions.[83]

In addition to political concerns, there was economic uneasiness. In the United States, the Great Depression forced President Theodore Roosevelt's hand. He "believed that full diplomatic recognition would serve American commercial interests in the Soviet Union," a fact which the US gives considerable weight in regards to Roosevelt's decision to engage the Soviet Union.[84] The Soviet Union also had economic concerns. US government officials reported Col. Hugh L. Cooper, an American executive, known for lobbying for recognition of the USSR, as extremely upset by the new film.[85] Soviet archives reported similar evidence.[86]

The film that was produced instead, *Circus*, is famous among scholars of Russian history because it epitomizes considerations of the Soviet state as to how its citizens should relate to African Americans, white Americans, and Germans at this crucial juncture in history.[87] Roman reports that "on nearly every occasion in which the topic of this book was mentioned [they] responded by uttering the title of a 1936 Soviet film: Circus."[88] This was because *Circus* made the complex nature of a changing foreign policy simple and clear. Its themes demonstrated the new Soviet policy by portraying the US as redeemable as it sought their

assistance in the face of the new Nazi war machine, through a medium that easily communicates to the masses. The white American woman in this film, Marian Dixon, was not a racist capitalist but the mother of a black child, who learned to love and embrace the Soviet Union.[89] Although the mob that chases her out of the South during the opening credits demonstrates an indictment of racism in the Southern United States, it appears only briefly. The main villain of the film is instead a German. As Marian proved that not all white Americans were evil, Franz von Kneishitz insinuated that Germans—in fact—were.[90] The Soviets appear as the saviors of both Marian and her African American child, through the characters of the Soviet man she falls in love with and an audience of the Soviet proletariat. Furthermore, the last song exemplifies the preparedness of the Soviet Union to fight a war: "But beware, enemy aggressive our borders are strong and fortified. Our country love we like a mother."[91]

Circus' plot epitomizes the final reason for the subordination of Soviet indictment of United States racism in the mid-1930s, the fear of the Nazi war machine. Hitler's rise to power in 1933 created a geopolitical concern for both the US and the USSR.[92] Both states identified fascist ideology to be a more imperative threat than each other.[93] This fear of the Nazi war machine paired with concerns about the Japanese expansions in Manchuria.[94] As a result, these two nations formed an alliance with one another as well as with Great Britain and France, in order to create a popular front against Fascism.[95] Within that alliance, there was no room for the continuation of a constant barrage against US racism. Rather than antiracism, Soviet officials instead turned their propaganda machine to antifascism.[96]

Although the relationship between the Soviet Union and African Americans during the interwar period has been addressed by historians, emphasis is mainly placed on the African Americans, rather than the ambitions of the Soviet State itself. Those ambitions, and the driving forces behind them, was the focus of my argument. By focusing on the strategies and policies of the Soviet State, instead of the impact of their actions on African Americans and the Civil Rights Movement, my paper distinguishes itself from previous literature. In this arena, policy towards African Americans can be seen within the development of the international drive for socialism and the earliest phases of the Cold War. Studying the Soviet state's ambitions adds an international perspective to a scholarship that was largely domestic, placing some of the ideological foundations of the Civil Rights Movement within the context of world history. Not only was Soviet policy towards African Americans important to that population, it also laid the groundwork for and played a powerful role in the struggle for superiority between the United States and the USSR and between capitalism and socialism that would dominate the globe for the second half of the 20th century.

The limited nature of the scope of this paper, particularly due to the availability of sources, both in terms of translation and access, leaves much to be studied. These sources would allow analysis of the degree to which the policies were driven from the top down, not whether or not those policies existed. The fact that these policies did exist, and much of the logic behind them, is demonstrated by the current translated source base, and the analysis of it done before and during this paper. What can be definitively stated is the nature and development of Soviet policies towards African Americans during this timeframe. From 1922 to 1933, the Soviet Union underwent ideological warfare against the United States by indicting American racism and engaging with African Americans in order to generate the international socialist revolution. The year 1928 marked a dramatic expansion of this policy in the interest of establishing international Soviet supremacy and facilitating the USSR's domestic policies (largely, rapid industrialization). Finally, political, economic, and geopolitical considerations of the year 1933 drove the subordination of Soviet indictment of capitalism, as epitomized in its indictment of US racism, until fascism was defeated.

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Part II: Art History Initiative

"This Has Everything To Do With You"

Phenomenology, Race, and Identity in Adrian Piper's What It's Like, What It Is #3 and Mythic Being

Cecily Chen

University of Pennsylvania

Abstract

The primary objective of this paper is to provide a phenomenological reading into the work of Adrian Piper. In specific, this paper focuses on Piper's 1970s performance project The Mythic Being and a 1993 installation piece What It's Like, What It Is #3. By examining Piper's awareness of her body, material, space, media, and audience, this paper argues that Piper uses her art not only as a medium to provide her own social commentary on racial and body politics, she also uses it as a means to reach out to her audience and to invite them into a "chiasmic" framework of empathy and discourse.

Introduction

On the occasion of her *Dislocations* exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in 1991, American artist Adrian Piper wrote, "I find it discouraging when someone says of my work, 'The message is obvious, *she's* against racism.'"[1] Indeed, although known for its incisive and oftentimes ruthlessly blunt commentary on the politics of race and identity, Piper's work is never merely about the artist's own stance on such issues, nor is it ever "obvious" in its artistic, philosophical, and political praxis. Rather, as this paper will demonstrate, the affective core of Piper's work rests in the her conscious endeavor to mobilize viewers and to generate discourse.

Using her own body as the medium for her art, on one hand, Piper discloses her own experiences as an African-American woman—namely, how her body has become inured to marginalization due to the codification of social stigma—and on the other hand, radically uses her body as a political instrument to expose and critique the institutional trappings upon which society is structured.[2] Underwritten by a phenomenological edge in the tradition of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Piper's work is thus structured within a "chiasmic"

frame, in which dualistic binaries break down into a reciprocal relationship: the viewer who is seeing is also being seen and one cannot exist without the other.[3]

Focusing specifically on Piper's video installation *What It's Like, What It Is #3* (1991) and her performance project *The Mythic Being* (1973-1975), this paper therefore investigates how Piper draws from phenomenological thought in order to fortify her work's "potential strength… [to] promote change."[4] There is thus a twofold discursive mobility to Piper's art. On one level, it not only represents the embodied experience of marginalization and racial prejudice, but also actively reaches back to the society which institutionalizes such stigma, delicately negotiating the interrelationship between an individual's personal identity and the public's external perception of it. On the second level, it refuses to remain a stationary, submissive art object in the audience's visual experience. Instead it continuously implicates the viewer into the fold of its discourse, acting as a "catalytic agent" that provokes its viewer both emotionally and intellectually.[5]

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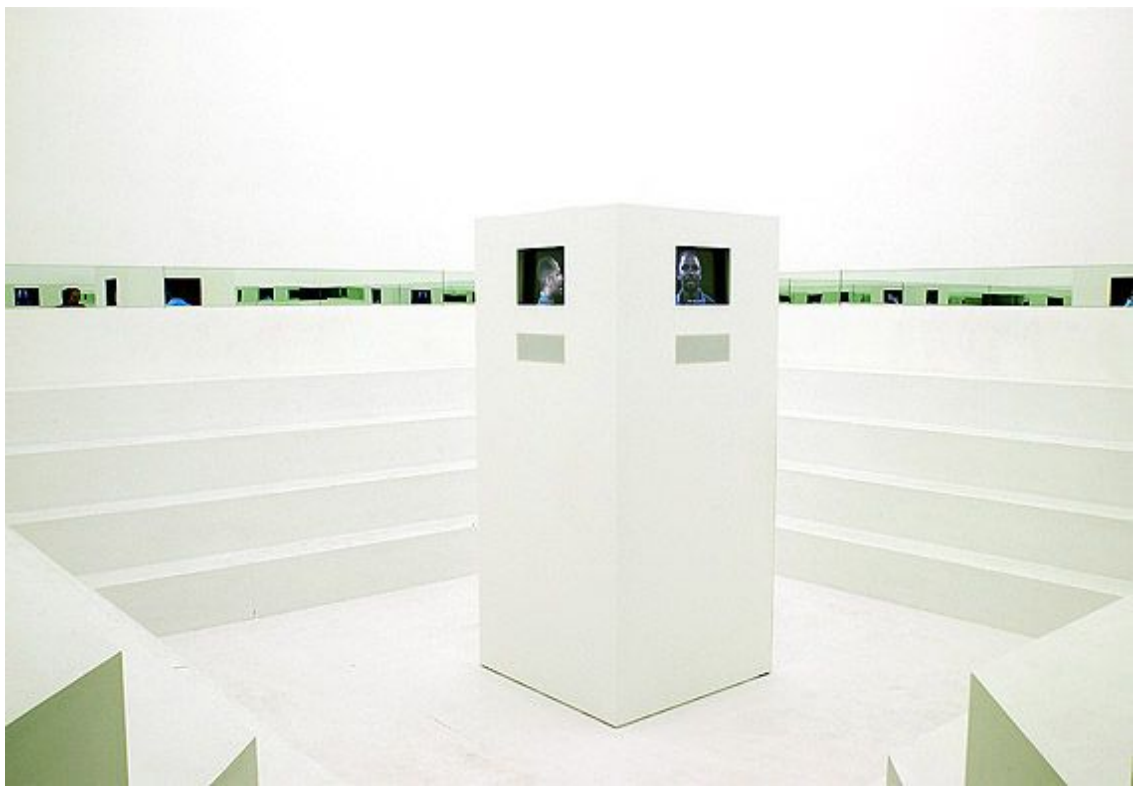

Figure 1
What It's Like, What It Is #3, 1991. Video Installation: Wood constructions, mirrors, lighting, 4 videodiscs, videotape, music soundtrack, dimensions variable. #91001. Photo credit: David Campos/ MACBA. Collection of the Adrian Piper Research Archive Foundation Berlin. © APRA Foundation Berlin.

In 1973, Adrian Piper began the first iteration of her *The Mythic Being* performances. Taking place in the streets of New York, these performances involved Piper periodically roaming around, dressed in a mustache, an Afro wig, and sunglasses with a cigarette hanging from the corner of her mouth. Despite the racial stereotypes associated with her appearance, such as the mustache and the Afro wig, Piper never explicitly designates a specific race to her alter-ago, the Mythic Being, merely describing him as a "third world, working-class, overly hostile male." In other words: the Mythic Being only appears black because the viewer *assumes* he is. Pieced together from the viewer's own presumptions about race, identity, and the body, the Mythic Being is therefore an uncannily familiar presence in spite of the jarring "otherness" of his appearance. Blurring the divide between subject and object, art and

audience, Piper pushes the viewer to confront figments of their own imagination that materialize before their eyes. Tucked within Piper's performance is thus a loaded question addressed to its viewer: "Is this what *you* think a black man looks like?"

Between 1973 and 1975, *The Mythic Being* continuously manifested in various forms, including ad-works that appeared in the *Village Voice* magazine and photo-pictures. In one of Piper's photo-picture tableaux from this period, entitled The Mythic Being: I Embody (1975) (figure 2), the internal disjunction between the Mythic Being's silenced personal identity and the burden of the external viewer's racial presumptions is significantly more pronounced. In this drawing, Piper blends the thick, dark curls of the Mythic Being into the background. His face is almost completely obscured, with his cigarette-holding hand covering his mouth and his sunglasses, shadows, and stray curls of hair covering the rest of his face. The only part of his face that is visible is his eye, staring directly at the viewer in hostility and challenge. Next to the Mythic Being's slightly hunched over figure is a speech bubble that contains the text "I EMBODY EVERYTHING YOU MOST HATE AND FEAR," distinctly intelligible in contrast with the obscurity of the Mythic Being's features. The black of the background and the white of the speech bubble overlay against one another, with marks of crayon extending beyond the frame of the page. These marks give the drawing a gritty, grimy, and squalid quality that contrasts starkly with the drawing's stripped-down composition. While his apparent cageyness suggests social disenfranchisement, erasure, and marginalization, the drawing configures around an extreme close-up of the Mythic Being's face, amplifying the volume and intimacy of his presence.

The razor-sharp pointedness of both the caption and the Mythic Being's gaze infuses the drawing with an undercurrent of belligerent hostility and resentful irony: he embodies everything the viewer most hates and fears *because they assume he is a black man*. Tucked away in the dark and hidden space beyond the bounds of normative society, the Mythic Being's identity nonetheless remains contingent upon his relationship with the viewer. Laying bare unquestioned perceptions of what a black man *should* look like, Piper not only critiques the institutional naturalization of implicitly racist ideologies but also brings the viewer into the picture, reminding them of their own accountability and urging them into action. If the Mythic Being only appears black because the viewer assumes, by extension the viewer is also the only party can disavow and denaturalize this stigma.

In Mythic Being, Piper compels her audience to confront and reconsider racial stereotypes through positive reenactment. Piper's process of putting on the wig, mustache, and sunglasses is analogous with the process of waiting for a photograph to develop: she transforms herself into the material visualization of racial stereotypes and lets the world

back in again, forcing her audience to see society as it is. In What It's Like, What It Is #3, however, Piper seeks similar ends but through different means and endeavors to denaturalize social assumptions of racial stereotypes through negative dialectics.

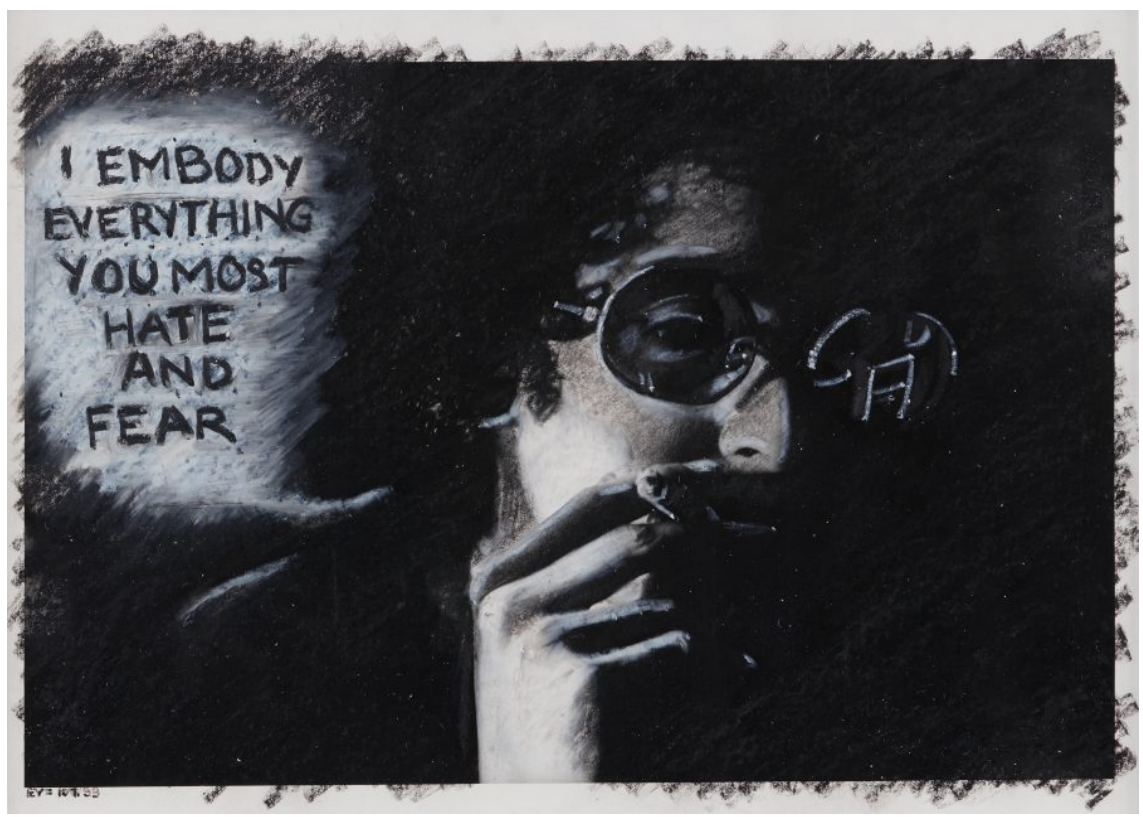

Figure 2
The Mythic Being: I Embody Everything You Most Hate and Fear, 1975. Silver print, oil crayon. 8"x 10" (20.32 x 25.4 cm). Private Collection. © Adrian Piper Research Archive Foundation Berlin.

First shown at the *Dislocations* exhibition in 1991, *What It's Like, What It Is #3* (figure 1) consists of a stark, white, cube-shaped amphitheater. At its center is a four-sided kiosk, each facet framed with a video monitor that shows the back, front, left, and right sides of the same African American man's head. Throughout the video, which is played on loop, he monotonously utters a litany of negative stereotypes associated with his race: "I'm not pushy, I'm not sneaky, I'm not lazy, I'm not noisy, I'm not vulgar, I'm not rowdy, I'm not horny, I'm not scary, I'm not shiftless, I'm not crazy…" and so on. As the video plays on loop indefinitely, the man repeats his negations, as if trying to shed himself of the layers of the social masks that cling to his unwilling body. At the end of every four sentences, the man turns to the left, pauses for a brief moment – as if trying to compose himself – and continues with his script. Combined with his monotonous tone and bland expression, the measured deliberateness of his performance strengthens his words with indisputable authority: uttering line after line of simple, maxim-like truths, the idea of refutation is rendered trivial. Suspended in a space between the social stigma that restrains his body and the personal truth of living with that restraint, the man in the video forcefully negates the former in order to liberate himself from the latter.

Though the gallery space itself is not large, the formal elements of *What It's Like, What It Is #3* —specifically, the fluorescent lights above in combination with the narrow strip of mirrors that run across the gallery walls—create an illusion of vastness, highlighting the "otherness"

Figure 3
Village Voice newspaper page from 3 Jan. 1974 containing Adrian Piper, The Mythic Being, Cycle I: 12/12/64, #4 of seventeen, 147/8 in. x 111/2 in., © Adrian Piper Research Archive, Berlin

of the black man. Against the stark whiteness of his surroundings, the black man at the center of the gallery becomes increasingly isolated, even obtrusive. His appearance brings to mind the famous Zora Neale Hurston quote, "I feel most colored when I am thrown against a sharp white background."[6] By creating a space so visually striking, Piper analogizes the sense of being the racial "other," cast adrift and rendered invisible in the margins of society, with the viewer's disorienting visual experience. While the black man at the center of the room is completely isolated within his kiosk and violently "thrown" against his surroundings, the viewer similarly endures the visual harshness of the room with little to no choice. The uncompromising harshness of the gallery-space's lighting therefore obliquely rhymes with the heavy burden of social stigmatization forced upon the man in the video. Driven by phenomenological intent, Piper metaphorically shatters the screen that separates the man from the viewer, and thereby pushes her audience into the shoes of the man in the video, inviting the viewer to identify and empathize. The viewer becomes equally embroiled in the context of the gallery as a subject of Piper's vision: whereas the man in the video takes up the bulk of the installation's affective potential, the work is only fully realized when the viewer participates within the gallery-space.

What It's Like, What It Is #3 positions itself to a highly selective and targeted audience. Not only is the work catered specifically towards gallery-goers, its communicative potential is contingent upon the viewer's initial willingness to enter into the room. Piper creates a space

of discourse, but it is the viewer who must take the first step. With *Mythic Being*, however, Piper deliberately circumvents institutional "art contexts" (such as galleries, museums, performances, situations) and seeks alternative routes to interact with her viewers.[7] Although *Mythic Being* began as a performance in the streets of New York, its main medium of dissemination was in fact a series of ad-works that appeared in the *Village Voice* magazine. It was therefore accessible to an audience unrestricted by either physical space or artistic, philosophical, or political inclination. Where Piper endeavors to get her message *across* as clearly and emphatically as possible in *What It's Like, What It Is #3*, she aims to get her message *around* with her *Village Voice* advertisement (figure 3), speaking to an audience that is not necessarily immersed in the art world, but is nonetheless intelligent, educated, and possesses the potential to implement social change. Stepping beyond the gallery, Piper takes advantage of the media's capacity for wide dispersion to buttress the effectiveness of her art, demonstrating her hyperawareness of her audience and her conscious effort to involve their participation in the making, contribution, and completion of her art.

To borrow from theorist Kaja Silverman, Adrian Piper's oeuvre reflects how "two is the smallest unit of Being in the world… all things in the world are *interlocking*."[8] Pushing her viewers from passive spectatorship into the role of an active participant, Piper persuades them to recognize and reconsider their positionality in the world in relation to the other. Where *What It's Like, What It Is #3* encloses the viewer within an embodied sensorial environment in order to physically and emotionally *move* them into a political discourse, *The Mythic Being* catches the unsuspecting magazine-reader by surprise with harsh visual realities of hostility and stigma, shocking them into action. For Piper, spectatorship, abstraction, and theorization are no longer enough; reducing questions of race and identity to merely black/white, us/them binaries is no longer sufficient. Pushing forward, she asserts that the complexities of these issues require a *community* of individuals to collectively unpack and actively combat them. Inviting her audience to meet her half-way at the center of a phenomenological chiasm, Piper encourages them to enter into such a community and asks them to ponder how their personal identity is dependent upon their influence upon others and vice versa, entwined in a web of relationality. As Piper emphatically declares in her 1988 performance piece *Cornered*, where the camera slowly closes in on her face, "This is real. You. This has everything to do with *you*."

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[3] Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Visible and the Invisible*. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968) 123: "…my eyes which see, my hands which touch, can also be seen and touched… this occurs because a sort of dehiscence opens my body in two, and because between my body looked at and my body looking, my body touched and my body touching, there is overlapping or encroachment, so that we must say the things pass into us as well as we into the things."

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Beyond Borders and Civilizations

Assessing Histories of Indian Art

Roy Ng Yu Quan

National University of Singapore

Abstract

Where, on the one hand, hegemonic 'European' art history in India served as a basis for Britain's civilizing mission, the nationalists' demand for creation for indigenous art histories, on the other hand, taints the narrative with an exclusivist anti-colonial aspiration. This essay argues that, given the ideas of cultural fluidity de rigeur of a 21st-century globalized world, one may wish to consider instead the inclusive assimilation and cosmopolitanism of the Baroda narrative school as a more accurate depiction of art history in India.

Introduction

Rooted in the intellectual pursuit of the 18th century European Enlightenment, art history stood not just as a discipline in and of itself, but was invariably entrenched as an ideological edifice of culture by which Western nations had come to be identified with.[1] The cultural discourses of European art history, however, extended towards civilizational paradigms as the field entered India under the aegis of colonialism. As much as one wished to delineate the Western gaze as a neutral enterprise, the context of imperialism made it difficult to ascribe art historical lenses in a manner that did not automatically presume the inferiority of a colonized 'Other'. Such an assumption remained as a bedrock of a hegemonic 'European' art history, and stood as a basis for the discipline which served the larger goals of Britain's *mission civilisatrice* in India – to reform native taste in art and culture through the establishment and institutionalization of a 'Western' standard.[2] And yet, this same set of criteria and schemata, imposed as displacement under the colonized East, was not without its bitter opposition. One may consider, for instance, on the other end of the ideological spectrum the emergence of Indian cultural nationalism particularly in the early 20th century, whose proponents resisted firmly the narratives they perceived as a type of hegemonic 'Eurocentrism' pervading interpretations of their own local art and its histories.[3] Driven by a

desire to invigorate nativist sensibilities, these Indian nationalists demanded the creation of indigenous art histories that would be in harmony with their anti-colonial aspirations.

A view of this dichotomy would appear quite strange, however, had we peered through the prism of historiographical methods present in today's globalized reality. Notions of national identity and civilizational progress seem to pale in comparison with the ideas of cultural fluidity *de rigeur* of our time. Rather than simply exalting a monolithic cultural standard either for the advancement of European civilization or anticolonial nationalism that risks the homogenization of art historical narratives, should we not also consider cosmopolitanism as an essential premise for the evolution of art in both the West and the non-West? In this essay, I explicate the state of Indian art history during and after colonial rule, and examine how the ideas of hybridity and syncretism pose a challenge to the 'Eurocentric' art histories endorsed by the British as much as to the nationalist narratives produced by literary member of the *swadeshi* movement. Just as the exaltation of European naturalism by art historians like James Fergusson and John Ruskin bordered on a prejudice towards Hindu "paganism," the nationalist preference for Vedic aesthetic features in Rajput painting amongst authors like Ernest Binfell Havell and Ananda K. Coomaraswamy risked alienating non-Hindu variants which too had played a crucial role in the development of art in India. Considering the post-colonial frame of art history, I argue that the dual shortcomings of Euro- and ethnocentric art histories may be redressed through a framing device of cosmopolitanism vis-à-vis Raja Ravi Varma and his patron Sayajirao Gaekwad III under the Baroda narratives school. Forged within the interstices of European modernity and indigenous antiquity, art and its representations in history are, perhaps, more a product of *inclusive* assimilation and acculturation, rather than of *exclusive* cultural exceptionalism.

European standards and the civilizing mission

Edward Said, in *Orientalism*, aptly cites Marx's statement—'[the Orientals] cannot represent themselves; they must be represented'—when he explicates how certain bodies of knowledge about the Orient were maneuvered to serve the colonial ideology of its time.[4] Similarly, art history, as a field that arose epistemologically from a transplantation of European disciplinary practices, travelled to India with all its affixed assumptions of cultural and civilizational superiority over a colonized 'Other'.[5] Embarking on the excavation and visual documentation of individual monuments through "sketches, engravings, photographs, and plaster casts," colonial pioneers of the scholarly circles like the Asiatic Society under the custodial authority of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), laid the institutional cornerstone of art historical research in India.[6] However, the project of these colonial archaeologists was clearly antiquarian rather than art historical *per se*—the aesthetic qualities

of objects and sites were less relevant than that of quantity in the collection. The pervasiveness of such attitudes persisted even as late as 1935, where, out of the 105 museums surveyed by two delegates of the Museum Society of London, only three were classified as possessing "art".[7] It was within this narrow definition of Indian "art" that the discipline of art history found a nascent platform for the representation (and misrepresentation) of pre-colonial architecture.

Drawing from a vast collection of archaeological reports and photographs from the ASI, Fergusson imbued within his seminal work *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* a hierarchy of values that was naturally, and expectedly, European.[8] For instance, he elevated the late Mughal work Taj Mahal to epitomic of 'Indian' architecture, its 'extreme delicacy, and beauty of material employed in its construction,' regarded as attributes beyond compare.[9] To Fergusson, the monument's rich geometric ornamentation, embodied in the 'relief carving of white marble' and 'inlay of semi-precious stones' might be equivalent to a medieval cathedral, which had been constructed in the—then admired—Gothic style of his preference.[10] Contrastingly, the intricate carvings of Hindu temple complexes at Srirangam were labelled disparagingly as examples of cultural decay and degeneracy, its romantic excesses faulted for the visual exaggeration of 'absurd fables and monstrous superstitions'.[11] By articulating the historicity of artworks based on how they may be emblematic of moral and social progress, Fergusson seemed to have inherited the methodological framework set by his predecessor, Johann Winckelmann.[12] The values of European classicism, projected as the pinnacle of artistic excellence, were transposed onto an assessment not only of the aesthetic materiality of Indian architecture, but also the contextual circumstances with which these monuments are emblematic of its time and place.[13] Mughal fiefdoms ruled by 'rajas and maharajas, nawabs and nizams' fulfilled the assigned roles of English notables for they possessed the traditional status and authority in the localities that afforded their participation in the British imperial project both valuable and reliable.[14] Natural it was, then, that monuments like the Taj Mahal, a product of an imperial realm relatable to the British Empire, were regarded more highly than the 'socially decadent' milieu of Hindu-ruled medievalism.[15] Judging Indian architecture via a yardstick of harmonious proportion, symmetry and order reflective of a well-ordered society, Fergusson privileged that which aligned more closely to the aesthetic conventions and cultural values he was accustomed to, at the expense of monuments deemed to have deviated from the standards set by the colonial gaze.

A similar view was echoed by Ruskin, who extended his imposition of Western aesthetic values into the thresholds of civilizational judgment. Cognizant of the same multi-headed, multi-armed idols of temples of Srirangam which Fergusson himself observed, Ruskin

Figure 1
Taj Mahal, Agra, Uttar Pradesh, 1629-51, outer gateway.

Figure 2
Sri Ranganathaswamy Temple, Srirangam, Tamil Nadu. Tirtha Yatra.

indicted these same renditions as *contra naturam*, 'unnatural… and therefore contrary to what is rational'.[16] Whilst denigrating the idols as absurd 'eight-armed monsters,' Ruskin further derided the extravagant, yet grotesque, figural renditions of Hindu mythology, judging them as manifestly inferior to the grace and elegance of its Greco-Buddhist counterparts in Gandhara.[17] Unlike the 'colossal and grotesque proportions' of the former, the latter's Greek stylistic affiliations—a consequence of Hellenistic influence stemming from the Alexandrian raids of Bactria and Scythia in the 4th century BCE—was adulated for its mimetic and naturalistic qualities.[18] In this sense, Ruskin's preference for the Greco-Buddhist sculptures at Gandhara and aversion to the 'monstrous' figures of Sriranga fell back to a 'familiar mould of Biblical and Patristic literature,' which set a dichotomous, and almost antagonistic, relationship between the monotheism of Christendom and the polytheism of Hinduism.[19] Perceived as a relatively 'rational' religion spearheaded by a 'Christ-like Messianic figure,' Buddhism—along with its 'classical' sculptural manifestations—evoked the kinds of admiration conversely unaccorded to the 'paganized' manifestations of Hinduism.[20] The 'perfected' ideal of Gandhara sculptures, wrought by the Hellenistic sculptors who based their styles on the figures of Greek mythological figures, embodied the purity of an Aryan civilization prior to the intrusion and miscegenation by the 'contemptible' non-Aryan races, presumably embodied in the spread of 'heathen' Dravidian

tribes in the 1st century AD.[21] Therein lies the essential trope of art historical writing in the British Raj; that India's cultural and civilizational progress could only be energized and revitalized by opening its doors to the winds of external influences of the Hellenes, the Persians, and by extension, the British.[22] Bereft of a rigorous theoretical lineage from indigenous sources on art and aesthetics, the archaeological approaches adopted by Fergusson and Ruskin thus served not merely as arbiters of taste in Indian art and architecture based on the standards they were accustomed to, but also as perpetuators of a *mission civilisatrice* inherent in the colonial enterprise.[23]

Figure 3
Sri Ranganathaswamy Temple, Srirangam, Tamil Nadu, c. 6th to 9th century AD.

Figure 4
Standing Buddha, Gandhara, Pakistan, c. 1st-2nd century AD, Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo

Swadeshi and a "national" aesthetic

Cultural nationalists, on the other hand, resisted the introduction, intrusion, and imposition of European standards in the understanding of Indian art. Spurred by the persuasive spirit of cultural revivalism in early 20th century Bengal, and sustained by the fiery political activities of the newly assembled Indian National Congress in 1885, the discipline of art history in India took a volte-face towards the nativist polemic of *swadeshi*, as an affront to the 'colonial denigrations' and 'detached connoisseurship' of Indian artefacts.[24] As utopian critics of industrialism, nationalists like Havell and Coomaraswamy sharpened the cultural edge of *swadeshi* ideology, elaborating the 'spirituality of Indian art' as antithetical to European 'materialism' and 'naturalism' promoted under the auspices of British colonial power.[25] Launching a veiled attack on the Italian Renaissance, Havell, for one, indicted the 'pure intellectual thrust' of post-17th-century art as lacking in a vital force, and deficient in the 'national sentiment' essential to Indian identity.[26] Having reassessed the influence of Hellenism in the Buddhist sculptures of Gandhara as '[having] only been peripheral,' Havell argued that the 'Indo-Aryan' sculptural conventions had long been entrenched in Indian soil long before the 'arrival of the Macedonians'.[27] What Ruskin has lauded as merit in the infusion and acculturation of Greek styles under the Kushan Empire, Havell refutes as a phenomenon of adulteration, preferring instead the Mathura images of Buddha in the preceding Asokan period, which he describes as 'the genuine 'Indian' type' traceable to the pre-existing images of the *yakshas* of 3rd century BCE.[28] Primordialism, construed by Havell

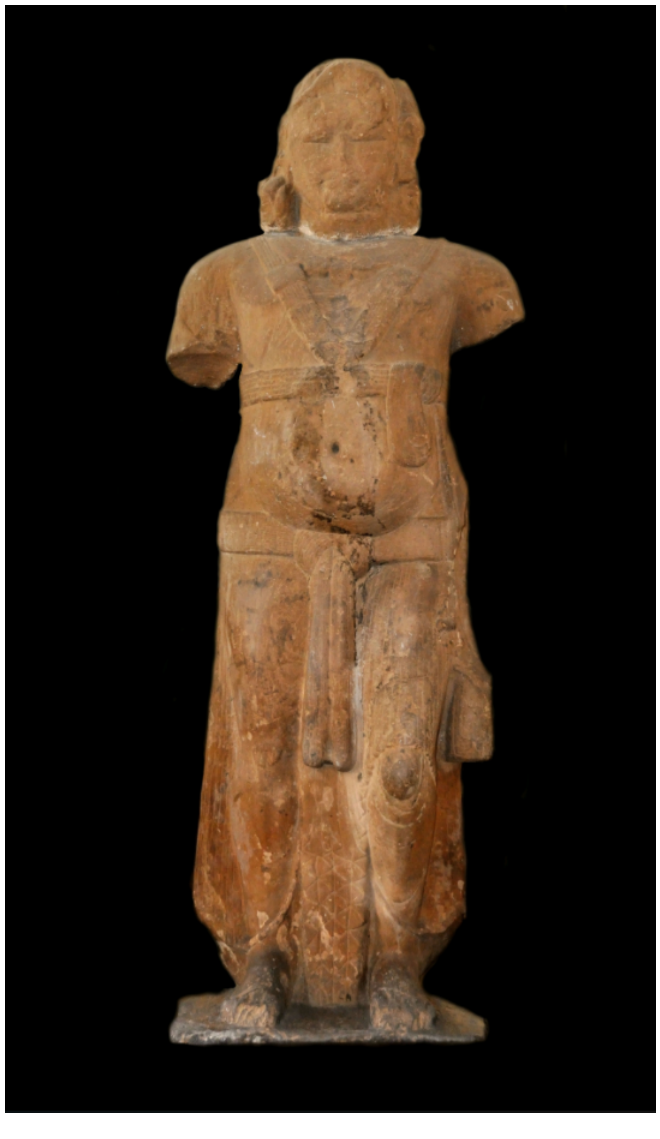

Figure 5
Yaksha Manibhadra, Mathura, c. 3rd-2nd century BCE, Government Museum, Mathura.

as proof of the glories of India's ancient past, served to reinstate the nation's spiritual ethos, as a buttress to the emerging anti-colonial and nationalist agenda of the early 20th century.

This reinstatement of 'Indian-ness' in art was further echoed by Coomaraswamy's own political and philosophical undertakings. A champion of Indian artistic thought, Coomaraswamy urged in his 1908 lecture *Art and Swadeshi*: 'modern India, Anglicized India, had produced no beauty or romance, but has gone far to destroy the beauty and romance which are [India's] heritage from the past'.[29] For him, Swadeshi connoted not simply just a political or economic weapon, but a 'religious-artistic ideal' centered on the 'higher qualities of imagination and spirituality' permeating Eastern aesthetics.[30] Renaissance emphasis on 'object' representation and the faithful imitation of nature—those which are ordinarily experiential to the viewer—were rejected, in favour of a metaphysical, and specifically a Neo-Platonic, ideal underlying 'the world of material appearances'.[31] Convinced that the latter ideal bore synonymy to the Hindu, and presumably, 'genuinely' Indian principles of aesthetics, Coomaraswamy became a purveyor of Indian sensibility and anti-naturalistic aesthetics entrenched in Sankarite and Upanishadic transcendentalism – their emphasis namely on poetry, literary mood, and the refusal of the 'ordinarily experiential'; towards a network of similitude, analogies, and metaphorized correspondences which presupposed an essentialism that went far beyond the immediate and positive image structure of consciousness.[32] This Neo-Platonic vision was further empowered by Coomaraswamy's personal acquaintance with pan-Asian ideas as discussed in Okakura Kakuzō's *The Ideals of the East*, which searched actively for an Oriental identity not merely rooted in Eastern antiquity, but of a living wave of spirituality and a 'superior' wisdom that could resist the cultural and intellectual colonization of the West.[33] Okakura's book offered a welcoming picture of a single, integrated Oriental civilization, where all of Asia, unshackled from colonialism, could stand united as a common 'range of ideals' that ranged far above the illusory trappings of the material world.[34] Hence, rather than attempting to approximate the artistic standards set by the West, Coomaraswamy sought instead a reversal of discourse; to turn the deficiencies so often criticized for its aesthetic 'deviations' into an assertion of nativist intention, and to elevate these artistic qualities as higher, purer spiritual visions unshackled by the dross materialism of Greek or Renaissance aesthetics.

Such a vision may be observed in Rajput painting, a genre which Coomaraswamy eulogized as an expression of 'profound accomplishment, tenderness, and passionate intensity'.[35] Distinct from the aristocratic and 'secular' court art of the Mughals, the paintings from Rajasthan and the Punjab hills offered an idealized picture of an Indian self-rule, given its partial status as a type of 'folk art' and its predominantly 'hieratic' Hindu themes devoid of foreign 'Mohammedan' or 'Christian' influences.[36] Rather than attuning to the aphrodisiac

realism of Mughal miniature painting, Rajput painting, according to Coomaraswamy, retained within it a 'rhetoric' of spirituality—'an abstract language which calls up… feelings as elusive, as indistinct and as powerful as do poetry and music'.[37] One may like to consider, for instance, the 18th century Udaipur work *Krishna Fluting* as exemplary of Coomaraswamy's vision of genuine 'Indian' art.[38] Despite a limited palette, *Krishna Fluting*'s dominantly bright green and golden hues appear to accentuate the intrinsic qualities and sentimental values of divinity over a fidelity to nature.[39] This bold tonality is beset against the whiteness of the background, a contrast that increases the viewer's awareness of the painting's lyrical symbolism.[40] Emotional and spiritual tendencies are paired with the distinctive posture of Krishna, whose poise is reminiscent of *bodhisattvas* depicted in the murals of Ajanta.[41] Moreover, the solidly patterned foliage of the trees and clarity in the silhouette of plant forms seems to be compositionally and conceptually close to *The Miracle at Sravasti*, a sandstone relief from the Great Stupa of Sanchi dated to the 1st century AD.[42] Hence according to Coomaraswamy, Rajput works, in their preservation of a pure 'Indian' historical lineage and spiritual sentimentality, could have potentially served as a bulwark for the nascent nationalism which emerged during the late 19th century and early 20th century.

Figure 6 *Krishna Fluting in the Forest*, Malwa, Rajasthan, c. 1720.

Figure 7 Miracle at Sravasti, Great Stupa, Sanchi, early 1st century A.D. 1720.

Yet, in attempting to formulate a core of Indian identity synonymous with their findings in Hindu metaphysics and history, cultural nationalists seemed to have fallen into the same trap of essentialism and cultural insularity that European art historians were equally guilty of. In a sense, the transcendentalist view of Indian art theory paralleled Hegel's own idea of a Universal Spirit continually acting in the unfolding of artistic development, its idea of a *Geist* manifesting similarly as the *paramātman*, or Supreme Self, of Brahmanic awakening.[43] However, much like the pitfalls of Hegel's methodology, nationalist approaches risked disregarding the manifold particularities of Indian art within a single time or place.[44]

Asserting the primacy of Vedic traits in Rajput painting may have served to invigorate ideas of nationhood under the zeitgeist of Indian self-rule, but it came at the inevitable cost of alienating the achievements of medieval Islamic and modern periods which too produced works that were influenced and have influenced the world of Indian art. Whilst possibly lauding a work like *Krishna Fluting* for its ostensibly Hindu themes and denouncing its non-Hindu variants for their 'Mahomeddan bigotry' and 'British philistinism,' cultural nationalists like Havell and Coomaraswamy neglected the cross-ethnic and interdependent nature of cultures critical in the development of Indian art. [45] It is thus ironic that, in their parochial conflation of Indian national identity with Hinduism, they fell short of taking into account the influence of *Krishna Fluting* on late Mughal imperial portraits, particularly *Muhammad Shah Viewing a Garden*, the latter miniature painting which historian Milo C. Beach has identified as having served as a major stylistic inspiration for the former.[46] In their attempt to collapse, synthesize, and encapsulate all phases of Indian art history within 'a pristine core of… Vedic Hindu civilization,' nationalist historians have nevertheless reverted the course of art history back into its exclusivist dimensions.[47]

Baroda's heterodoxy

While the nationalists' exaltation for 'Indianness' attempts to undercut the European model of naturalism and Greco-Roman superiority, the ideas surrounding both approaches to art history were hitherto predicated on the assumption that culture, howsoever ascribed in its 'purest' form, is immutable. As much as one may sympathize with these epistemic models, it is also necessary to recognize the anachronism of these approaches, especially in the wake of a new 21st-century globalized reality. More often than not, the confluence and contradictions of art narratives within and between East and West, Islamic and Hindu complicate the search for an 'authentic' voice within a particular cultural or religious group.[48] Frederick M. Asher, for one, suggests the need to 'expand the existing frame' of art history, to acknowledge cultural specificity as 'fractures become norms,' and to point towards a field that would be more 'inclusive, heterodox and interrogative'.[49] Such inclusivity may be found, if I may suggest, in the narrative school of Baroda, in the Western Indian state of Gujarat. Engaging with the local in a 'cosmopolitan framework,' Baroda's fractured tales seek to critique the linearity of narration often found in European and nationalist art histories through its venture towards an 'inclusive experiment' that drew on 'royal collection, artisanal crafts, and Euro-American modes of production'.[50] Gulammohammed Sheikh, an artist of the Baroda workshops, references the practices of late Maharaja of Baroda, Sayajirao Gaekwad III, as an example of mediating a 'cross-cultural dialogue' between the European artistic genres alongside indigenous practices in the 19th century.[51] Under the indirect British rule and localized authority in the princely states of

India, rulers like Sayajirao were able to pursue their traditional dynastic objectives and exert some degree of native agency with respect to the collection, consumption and modernization of their own cultural realms.[52] What started as a naïve emulation of Western genres by the Maharaja quickly evolved towards gradual adaptation, hybridization, and critically informed figurations of a local art *in continuum*.[53] Operating within the interstices of colonial rule in Baroda, Sayajirao's patronage exemplified a cosmopolitan modernity, one that is consciously designed to assimilate the multifarious modes of production and expression on a *local* level, in hopes of representing the *national* and projecting the *global*.[54]

Baroda's creation of a new 'national high art' through the systematic indigenization of Western styles may be observed through the Maharaja's patronage of his court painter Raja Ravi Varma. Trained in both the traditional Thanjavur School and the European academism of his mentor Theodore Jenson, Varma synthesized Western naturalism in colour, form and perspective with Indian poise, ornamentation and costumes.[55] His Indian subjects, whilst rightfully noted for their scientifically precise attributes (Rembrandt-esque flesh tones, chiaroscuro, and texture surfaces), were nonetheless localized by an added treatment of Orientalized fabrics, jewels and anatomical proportions.[56] Despite being dedicated to the emerging national cause of pan-Indianism, Varma saw himself more as a product of the hybrid milieu of Baroda than the rigid monolithic nationalism of his *swadeshi* counterparts. [57] For him, Western mimetic canons were not anti-Indian, but rather congruous as a new language of narrative art could bring to life his 'authentic' re-creations of past Hindu glory.[58] Playing the role of an allegorist, Varma intended to bring to par native Indian life with Greco-Roman representations of a classical past.[59] Furthermore, the popular reproduction and circulation of his work—through the medium of oleographic prints—proselytized a new creative vision of classical 'Indian' culture unprecedented in the much-dichotomized realm of fine art in India.[60]

Varma's new iconographic programme took shape most considerably in his work *Shakuntala's Looking Back to Glimpse Dushyanta*.[61] Drawing copiously from the epics like the *Puranas* the plays of Kalidasa, and other Sanskrit authors, Varma's mythological composition of Kerala women aimed to evoke the sentimental and the palpable, to '[pluck] the beholder's heartstrings'.[62] This sentimentality, whilst embedded within the voluptuous femininity of Guercino's portraits, differed greatly from the typology of romantic love in Rajput miniatures, where generalized emotions were treated as 'literary conceits' in accordance to the mood that they expressed.[63] Instead, *Shakuntala* presents a concrete situation; a young Kerala girl looking back to catch a glimpse of the crown prince. Convinced of the universality of European naturalism fashionable in the Victorian era, Varma saw no need to turn to Indian aesthetic principles, for he regarded both traditions as favourable

towards melodrama, nostalgia, and a deep sentimental reverence for the past.[64] This sentimentality is evoked through his amalgamation of Western mimetic conventions along with indigenous elements, the latter of which may be observed through Shakuntala's hyperbolic gesture and rhetorical posture, which alludes to the *sringara* (erotic mood) of Kathakali through contemporary courtier writers like Iraimman Thampi and Vidwan Raja Ravi Varma.[65] Sayajirao's commissions, inclusive of and inspired by the works of Varma, thus not only demonstrate Baroda's experimentation of the high arts by bypassing the mere state of indigenizing a predominantly European space of aesthetics, but also opened up this European practice to bring within its range several vernacular and regional aesthetic inputs contributing to the creation of a cosmopolitanism that doubled up as a pan-Indian expression. Much like Erwin Panofsky's method of unravelling the context and form of art through the lens of iconography and iconology, Sayajiro's promotion of the kind of artistic autonomy as exercised by Varma thus exalts not what Indian art should be, but *is* – a pictorial expression of cultural specificity within its own place and time, the former; of the Baroda court, and the latter; of colonial experience.[66] It is with this emphasis on cultural specificity, affiliated to the wider network of cosmopolitanism, that art history may redeem itself as worthy of its position in a globalizing 21st-century reality.

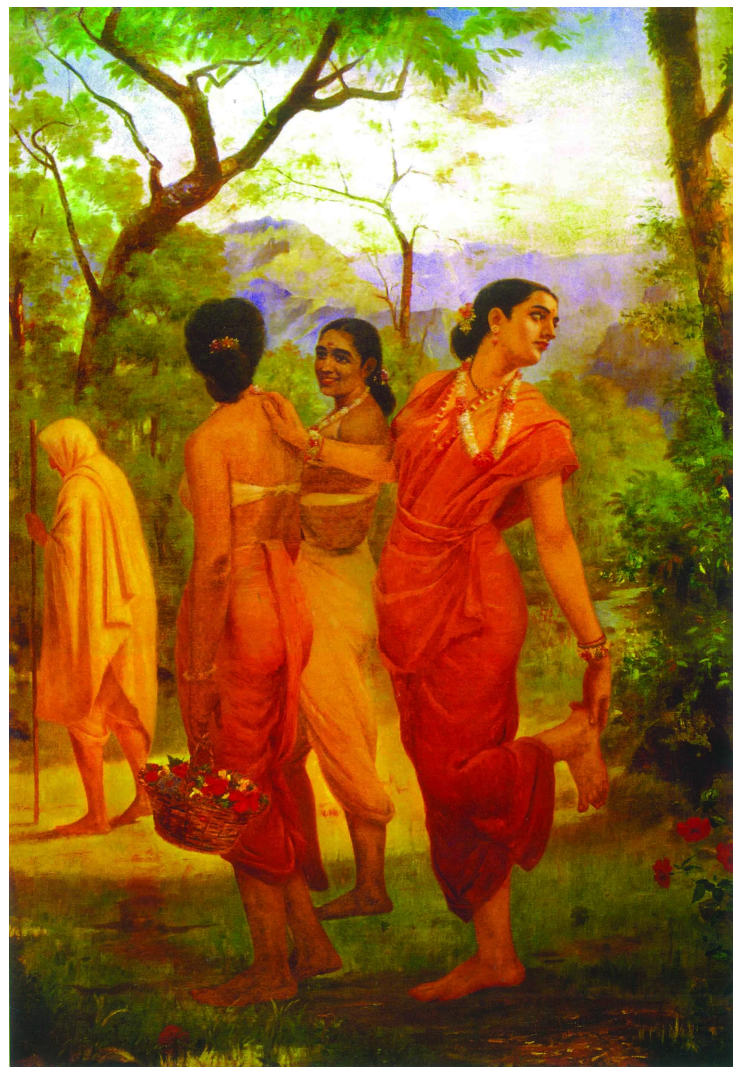

Figure 9
Raja Ravi Varma, *Shakuntala Looking Back to Glimpse Dushyanta*, c. 1890-1900.

Conclusion

In presupposing art history for its social and political utility, the self-restricted frameworks of both the traditional European and the nationalist art historian potentially exclude and

misconceive works that do not fall within their monolithic view of culture. The Baroda narratives school thus stands as a possible solution to this hermeneutic problem, offering the discipline a cross-cultural dialogue that was unexplored, and often ignored, by earlier art historical frameworks. It is through this new prism of cosmopolitanism and cultural fluidity, along with considerations on the processes of cultural inclusion and assimilation, that art historians of India may gain a new global consciousness—one which, if I may conclude, brings the field to renewed relevance for the 21st century.

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RE-VISIONING THE ARCTIC

Maia A. Kamehiro-Stockwell

University of California, Santa Barbara

Abstract

Irreversible, intense, and rapid climatic changes in the Arctic threaten vital socio-ecological systems that support the region's complex web of life. A tradition of nature photography that idealizes, aestheticizes "the natural world," and depicts Indigenous peoples and their environments as isolated and dehistoricized, have shaped a problematic vision of the Arctic that grew out of, and continues to contribute to colonial processes that enable the extraction of resources, land, and life. This paper examines the work of photographer Subhankar Banerjee who critically challenges visual tropes associated with nature photography to trouble the dominant vision of the Arctic and propose a new vision that exposes how visual mechanisms and institutions are implicated in tangible ecological struggles.

Introduction

Visual theorist Nicholas Mirzoeff describes the dominant "visuality" of our socio-ecological relationship as a Western imperial project that "keeps us believing that somehow the war against nature that Western society has been waging for centuries is not only right[,] it is beautiful and it can be won."[1] As we enter into the age when climate change awareness is absolutely vital, the implications of visual production are ever more stark and profound. Greenhouse gas emissions from the extraction of fossil fuels has reached catastrophic levels, [2] producing more dramatic and unevenly distributed effects of the global climate crisis in extreme weather events, degraded ecosystems, pollution, food insecurity, human and nonhuman displacement (if not disappearance), and countless other environmental and social injustices, with the communities that often contributed least to the crisis, most vulnerable to its effects. A tradition of nature photography that idealizes, aestheticizes, and disjoints "the natural world," and depicts Indigenous peoples and environments as isolated and dehistoricized. has shaped a problematic vision that grew out of, and continues to contribute to, a history of colonialism and the extraction of resources, land, and life.

Visual characterizations of the Arctic as "*terra nullius*"[3]—a white, barren, unpopulated, distant landscape—have dominated cultural and political discourses and have both furthered

and masked colonial encroachments on the region and its ecosystems. Nature photography centered on the Arctic in particular, has contributed to a flawed perception of climate change as a temporally and spatially distant phenomenon and, indeed, largely invisible and insignificant. Yet, due to its latitudinal position, the Arctic is experiencing especially rapid and intensified climatic changes that significantly impact vital socio-environmental relationships supporting complex local and global ecosystems. Thus, the region serves as a central image of the global climate crisis. As the ice continues to melt due to global warming, substantial oil reserved are exposed,[4] revealing nearly a quarter of the planet's unexploited hydrocarbon reserves (Fig. 1).[5] This ironic "discovery" (one "powered by the 'liberation' of unprecedented amounts of fossil fuels from the earth, dramatically [speeding] up the same process that is liberating the ice from existence")[6] and the demand for fossil fuels, have resulted in foreign powers "racing to carve up the region,"[7] despite risks of massive oil spills and ecological collapse.[8] As a result, we need new visual discourses about the Arctic that foregrounds the very visible struggles in the region rather than those that insist on a fantasy maintained by destructive capitalist interests and consumer blindness of awe-inspiring and pristine landscapes.

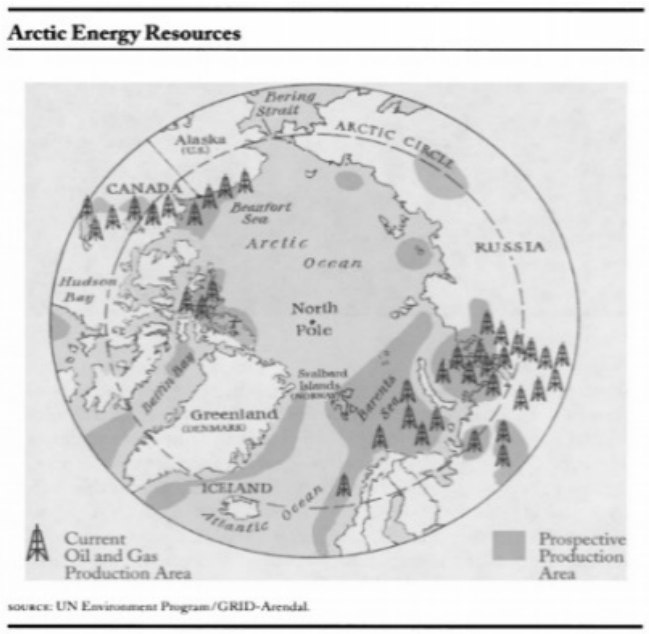

Figure 1: *Arctic Energy Resources*

This paper will analyze an interventionist visual culture project that critically engages familiar visual tropes associated with nature photography in order to expose how ways of imaging the Arctic are ideologically loaded and have shaped peoples' environmental imaginaries and behaviors in ways that directly contribute to socio-environmental harms related to climate change. Photographer Subhankar Banerjee describes the Arctic as "our planet's tipping point" due to the dire effects climate change has not only on the intimately connected landscape, animals, and Indigenous communities, but on the entire globe. [9] His photography participates within an established genre of nature photography, but manipulates its visual conventions to reveal the uneven impacts of (and contribution to) climate change in a region that is home to imminently threatened human and nonhuman populations that are acutely impacted by the effects of climate change linked to ongoing colonial processes.

> *If the Arctic is the barometer by which to measure the earth's health, these symptoms point to a very sick planet indeed* – Scott G. Borgerson [10]

Subhankar Banerjee's photography engages and responds to a long tradition of nature, wildlife, and landscape photography that tends to be visually stunning and often objectifies nature as a thing of beauty to be consumed for pleasure. Banerjee draws the viewer in with the familiar expectation of beautiful untouched landscapes but challenges that expectation with visual strategies including color, subject matter, text, and exhibition venue, that make viewers aware that their ways of seeing and imagining the Arctic have contributed to environmental and social injustices in the region and that offer a different way of seeing. In his *Arctic Series* (2000), he captures the complex socio-environmental landscape in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) as a conflicted site of ecological disaster exacerbated by the changing climate. As the temperature increases and the icy landscape melts, habitats are transforming and disappearing altogether, rendering them uninhabitable for many human and nonhuman populations. The increasing endangerment of species places even greater pressure on Indigenous peoples, who rely on a stable food source in the region, to relocate.[11] Banerjee's photography responds to the mainstream complacent "visuality" of the Arctic as a "barren wasteland" or "flat white nothingness" that has been used by pro-oil politicians to justify industrial intervention, Indigenous dispossession and displacement, and foreign extraction of resources.

Arctic Series focuses on three regions, Alaska, Yukon, and the Sakha Republic of Siberia, and is categorized into three sets by color: *(Photo Set I) White*, *(Photo Set II) Green/Grey*, and *(Photo Set III) Brown*. Rather than make distinctions based on geography, he constructs these color groupings as a "visual language to help us unlearn some of these intolerances."[12] Banerjee's *White* set makes a specific allusion to the dominant perception of the Arctic, which is typified by whiteness in nature photography and insinuates emptiness and purity, but he juxtaposes this with two colored photo sets, *Green/Gray* and *Brown*, colors often associated with life, growth, and vitality, which are populated with human and nonhuman subjects to challenge the visual reading of the Arctic void. For instance, a photograph from his *Brown* set, *Caribou Tracks on Coal Seams II* (Fig. 4), is a comprised of black, browns, and deep oranges and shows caribou tracks from past migrations embedded in the coal seams. Since coal rests on the land's surface, possible coal development here would utilize mountain-top removal, which would devastate the land that caribou herds have used for millennia as a migratory passageway and calving ground.[13] The striking photograph confronts the viewer with another vision of the Arctic landscape that unearths the linkages between the Arctic ecosystem and global fossil fuel interests. It reminds the viewer that the ANWR is not so barren and distant but vibrant and alive, with both physical (i.e. steam rising in the distance) and ecological (i.e. caribou tracks) processes, that are implicated in an ongoing global competition for its resource extraction potential. It simultaneously suggests a living dynamic landscape, but also shows it in its precarity. The gloomy depiction presents a

productive tension that underscores the existing damage to the Arctic ecosystem and forebodes the future destruction that development of energy infrastructure will have on the land and its inhabitants, while at the same time offers the potential to transform the viewer's perception into seeing the traces of life that exist, but are threatened. The viewer now realized a different view – no longer an untouched, empty whiteness, but colorful and alive (though precariously so) landscape.

Figure 4 (left): Subhankar Banerjee, *Caribou Tracks on Coal Seams II,* "Coal and the Caribou" Series (*Brown* photo set), 2006
Figure 5 (right): Subhankar Banerjee, *Loon on Nest,* "Oil and the Caribou" Series, (*White* photo set), 2002

Banerjee also highlights the Arctic as more than an unoccupied, colorless landscape by inhabiting his photos with flora and fauna and a lively, biologically diverse collection of environmental and social interactions that make up the complex web of life. These contrasts are especially evident in his *White* set. White as a color connotes emptiness or a void, but Banerjee employs that allusion in a way that recalls this dominant perception, thus inciting an expectation, but then includes content that refutes that notion. The *White* set itself explores how the region is perceived as white, but shows how whiteness is not really "white" in the sense of color or ideological weight, but is rather a construction of a mythic landscape. For example, Figure 5 presents a loon in a habitat of melting snow – the whiteness is literally melting away within the frame of the photograph (leaving mostly a mix of brown and grays that serve to visually questions assumptions of Arctic whiteness) – while also serving as a reference to the precarity of the loon species itself since the lake habitats on which loons depend are increasingly disappearing due to permafrost melting.[14]

Figure 6
Subhankar Banerjee, *Caribou Hunt—Jimmy John,* "Gwich'in and the Caribou" Series, (*White* photo set), 2007

Another image from the *White* set, *Caribou Hunt—Jimmy John* (Fig. 6), is placed in a white snowy backdrop but foregrounds an Indigenous Gwich'in hunter processing a bloody caribou carcass that stains the prevailing expectation of "pure" and "pristine" Arctic landscapes. The image demonstrates a moment of active ecological exchange, further underscoring how the landscape is alive, while also visually countering the mythic understanding of an unpopulated landscape. Gwich'in communities call the ANWR's Coastal Plain "Iizkik Gwats'an Gwandaii Goodlit," or "The Sacred Place Where Life Begins"[15] because it is the calving ground for a key species of caribou.[16] Lorraine Netro of Old Crow Agency in Yukon, Canada, and a board member of the Gwich'in Steering Committee explains that the Coastal Plain is the spiritual *and* "biological heart of the Arctic Refuge" because the fifteen Gwich'in communities in Alaska and Canada rely on caribou for their nutritional security and cultural/spiritual vitality. Therefore, protection of the Coastal Plain is vital to ecological survival when there is increasing pressure from fossil fuel companies and foreign powers to expand their operations. Former President Obama and Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau released a statement on March 10, 2016 pledging to lead the way toward a low carbon economy and provide more protections for "the fragile Arctic."[17] Tom Goldtooth, the executive director of the Indigenous Environmental Network expressed concern about the U.S.-Canada's "business as usual approach" relying on market solutions that will ultimately not provide protection for Alaskan communities and are not solutions at all. While the U.S.-Canada statement said that the countries will honor their Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDC) pledges from the Paris Agreement for reduced greenhouse gas emissions and aid for developing nations, Goldtooth insists that "these INDCs are a farce" because they are voluntary and will not improve atmospheric temperatures, but could actually result in significant increases.[18] Given the current Trump administration's stance on climate change and its withdrawal from the landmark Paris Agreement, the Arctic ecosystem and the Gwich'in Nation are at even greater risk.[19]

Banerjee's images present Indigenous "ways of life" and hunting traditions in their ecological contexts, exposing the environmental *and* humanitarian crises posed by climate change and increased fossil fuel development in the ANWR. By making visible and centering the Arctic human and nonhuman populations that are intimately tied to each other and the land, Banerjee provides visual evidence that supports the Arctic as full, not barren, and where extractive practices bring about real and lasting consequences. Within the context of global ecological crisis, it is imperative to recognize and make visible Indigenous knowledge systems and practices that wish to protect these sites for their sacred, cultural, and ecologically critical significance; Banerjee calls for a re-imaging of our vision of place and how that translates into our relationship with ecological systems and all of humanity.[20]

Figure 2 (left): Subhankar Banerjee, *At the Corral—Nikolayev Matvey Gathering Reindeer,* "Even and the Climate" Series, 2007

Figure 3 (right): Subhankar Banerjee, *At the Corral—Ilya Golikov, Nikolayev Matvey and Osenina Dariya Mikhailevna,* "Even and the Climate" Series, 2007

Banerjee's mindful investigation of these complex ecological, cultural, political, and economic contexts is demonstrated through his arduously descriptive captions that accompany each image in the *Arctic* series. The captions detail the ecological interactions between the landscape, nonhuman animal, and human populations. Banerjee's *Even and the Climate* series (2007) (Fig. 2-3) captures the time he spent with Even reindeer herders in the Tomponski Region of the Sakha Republic, Siberia. The caption associated with *At the Corral —Nikolayev Matvey Gathering Reindeer*, describes a conversation he had with the head of the camp, Nikolayev Matvey. Matvey, who is featured in both photographs included here, explains that since the climate crisis is shifting the location, abundance, and seasonal growth of regional vegetation, it is impacting the entire food chain. This has a devastating effect on reindeer populations and the Even people who rely on a stable population of reindeer for nutrition, tools, shelter, fuel, and materials of cultural significance.[21] The

incorporation of detailed captions that prominently display an Indigenous perspective enhances the effect of visual storytelling in Banerjee's photography.[22] Storytelling through word and image helps provide context and further expose the ecological crisis that is placing not only nonhuman populations, but "great swathes of human culture…on the endangered list."[23] Banerjee inhabits the images with voices to present a complete narrative that describes an alternative way of relating to the land and makes reference to the quieting of oral history traditions often entangled in these struggles.[24]

> Caribou are not just what we eat; they are who we are. They are in our stories and songs and the whole way we see the world. Caribou are our life. Without caribou we wouldn't exist.[25]

Banerjee uses images of caribou populations to capture the conflicted ecological landscape and to symbolize the entanglements between Indigenous life, extractive energy industries, and climate change in his *Oil and the Caribou* series. *Caribou Migration I* (Fig. 7) shows an aerial view of migrating caribou over the Coleen River toward the Coastal Plain. Dominant wildlife photography famously pictures migrating herds in their massive forms as an awesome ecological spectacle, but here, caribou populations are declining from increasing temperatures and altered habitats, so they are shown like tiny ants steadily navigating the unstable landscape. The thinning of the herd is further emphasized as it traverses the

Figure 7 (left)
Subhankar Banerjee, *Caribou Migration I,* "Oil and the Caribou" Series, 2002

Figure 8 (right)
Subhankar Banerjee, *Polar Bear on Bernard Harbor, Barter Island,* 2001, featured on Democracy Now!

thinning ice. Banerjee plays with the viewer's visual expectation of seeing thundering and massive herds, characteristic of much aerial imagery in nature photography and film, by presenting a dwindling species in an altered landscape, encouraging viewer's recognition of the linkages between ways of seeing and the futures of threatened species and habitats.

The photographic medium itself can reach a broad audience due to its ease of distribution and accessibility. Banerjee's work has been featured in a variety of spaces including art venues, magazines, television, scientific presentations, governmental reports, and independent media websites.[26] Environmental NGOs and Indigenous communities working against the expansion of extractive energy industries in the Arctic have utilized Banerjee's photographs in their struggles to contribute to a different image discourse around the Arctic. [27] Proposing an alternate vision aims to protect the ecological rights of nonhuman and human populations and support Indigenous voices against the oil and gas rush in the Arctic.[28] The ways his images have been employed in a variety of politicized contexts speaks to the power of developing a new "visuality" to shape policy and action. In March 2003, the Alaska Wilderness League asked Banerjee to submit his photographs for a Congressional debate centered on opening up the Arctic refuge for further drilling.[29] Republicans closely tied to the fossil fuel industry employed status quo depictions of the Arctic as a "barren" landscape to argue that oil drilling would not disrupt the environment (since, ostensibly, nothing exists there anyway).[30] In response, Barbara Boxer (Democratic California Senator at the time) used Banerjee's photographs to provide a re-visioning of the Arctic region that testified to the tangible life to which it is home. She displayed a photograph that shows a polar bear carefully navigating its melting habitat (Fig. 8) [31] to argue for protections to the threatened habitat from industrial intervention, helping to effectively halt the drilling proposal.[32]

Following this debate, Banerjee's exhibition at the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History was moved from its prominent space on the ground floor to a smaller gallery in the lower level of the building and all the language that mentioned oil drilling was stripped from the exhibit. Even though the exhibit did proceed, legal advisors at the museum pressed for the removal of the Smithsonian name from Banerjee's book and did not advertise the exhibit on their website because it had a "pro-conservation message," ironically claiming that the museum "could not take sides."[33] Due to the increasing presence of fossil fuel interests and corporate sponsorship at natural history, art, and science museums, these institutions are reluctant to engage in climate change politics at the risk of losing funding.[34] In March 2015, 148 prominent scientists (including leading climate scientist James Hansen) responded to these problematic financial arrangements by signing a joint letter voicing their concern about the "links between museums of science and natural

history with those who profit from fossil fuels or fund lobby groups that misrepresent climate science."[35] The letter directly referenced David Koch, a donor, sponsor, and trustee on the Board of Directors at the Smithsonian at the time of Banerjee's exhibition,[36] and someone deeply linked to fossil fuel interests, right wing politics, and climate change denial campaigns. When public institutions are increasingly desperate for funding, Banerjee and the suppression of his work became implicated in this disquieting cultural-economic dynamic. The controversy surrounding the display of Banerjee's photographs in a public space unmasked the heavy hand of corporate sponsorship in the supposedly public institution. The fact that Smithsonian administrators intervened reveals how private interests can impact what public institutions display. The effect, in this case, is to support corporate visions of the Arctic and to prohibit alternate perspectives especially in a place that has traditionally shaped public understanding. This situation challenges the notion of these public institutions as places of authoritative and "objective" knowledge and exposes the venue itself as historically ideologically biased. The Smithsonian's censorship of Banerjee's work further made visible the systems of power that deeply influence the environmental imaginaries that lead to the tangible environmental and social violence we see today.

Nevertheless, the controversy also shows how Banerjee's work has been successful in troubling dominant visions of the Arctic ecology. The exhibition reminds of the neutral or pleasing effect that nature photography is "supposed" to embody or of natural history museums as places that are nonconfrontational or purely educational in a comfortable way. By using familiar visual tropes present in nature photography, but altering them through the strategic use of color, subject matter, and the inclusion of alternative narratives, and employing them in a national museum space, he sensitizes viewers to histories of colonial representation and prompts them to critically reconsider the relationship between image-making, seeing, and political impact. Presenting an alternate vision prompts a critical understanding of the history of image-making itself in the production of destructive visions and underscores the role of public institutions as powerful tools in shaping our views of the environment and its consequences. Banerjee visually captures the Arctic as "our planet's tipping point" by exposing the intricate ecological relationships that are connected to social, cultural, and spiritual vitality, increasingly threatened by violent economic and political interventions rooted in problematic visions.

Conclusion

Banerjee utilizes a visual vocabulary that would be familiar to typical Euro-American consumers of nature photography but deploys particular interventions in the mode of image

making and image viewing to unmask how dominant visions of the Arctic have rendered invisible the interconnections between fossil fuel investment, transformed ecological systems, and subverted Indigenous sovereignty. Banerjee's photographs critically engage a specific history of image-making linked to tangible environmental and social injustices today. Producing and perpetuating a vision of the Arctic as a barren, desolate, "nothingness" that has been used to make people and places invisible, contributes to violent dispossession, resource extraction, failed democratic processes, and apathy. Banerjee, in order to shape more conscious viewers, deliberately uses the visual tools that created these visions to expose how they are powerful and problematic, calling for a re-visioning of the Arctic ecosystem and its relationship to colonial histories and global consumption. Directly engaging visual technologies that have historically dehumanized, marginalized certain people and environments, implicates the viewer in their action or inaction in perpetuating status quo visualities.

Today there is a pressing need to have awareness that a culture of seeing is intimately connected with a culture of politics. Images that perpetuate socio-environmental violence maintain their relevance – as we witness the same debate that took place 16 years ago taking place today – only with increasing urgency. It is imperative to change the perception of this subject matter populating these images (human and nonhuman) as not just "collateral damage" among political and economic agendas, but the very targets of violence. Re-populating our images can make visible what has been rendered invisible in the production of vision and insist that this vision does not have to be the future.

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Even when talking about energy alternatives, Goldtooth and the IEN also reject the standards generally used to determine renewable energy sources, such as mega-hydro power and agrofuels, because they break Indigenous law and traditional knowledge, further undermining Indigenous sovereignty. Alaska Native, Faith Gemmill, Executive Director of REDOIL, a grassroots group in Alaska, stresses that any proposed agreement must protect the land the ecosystem and the rights of Indigenous communities to pursue their established ways of life. She resists such statements that mention Indigenous sovereignty because it is a "bitter pill to swallow for Alaskan Natives;" who over the years have had to watch their "ancestral lands transferred to corporate entities created by land claims and [their] rights traded for profit at any and all cost.
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INTER/NATIONAL IMAGERY IN 1980S CHINESE PROPAGANDA

Izzy DeSantis

The Ohio State University

Abstract

Traditional Chinese symbolism and American standards of beauty collide in post-Mao Chinese propaganda. This paper analyzes how the visual competition of this imagery in the 1984 propaganda poster, Our Nation is Our Mother, plays through the introduction of American culture to China in the 1980s.

Introduction

Chinese Communist propaganda is synonymous with the Chairmanship of Mao Zedong. Maoist propaganda represented China to its people as the self-reliant center of the world, as red, bright, and shining as the Chairman himself.[1] But Chinese propaganda did not die with Mao in 1976; rather, the Chinese government of the 1980s adapted its propaganda to suit the new political climate. The 1980s marked a cultural turning point, as China, without the filter of Maoist rhetoric, perceived its authentic place in the world order for the first time.[2] Contrary to the vision of Mao's propaganda, China was neither a world leader, nor an icon of development and advancement, and this realization among the people prompted an intense drive to claim global power. As a result, the government implemented programs such as the Four Modernizations,[3] and opened its economy to international companies with the Open Door Policy of 1979.[4]

Incorporated into these modernizations was the idea of city beautification, inspired by Western cosmopolitanism.[5] Chinese cities competed to be clean, orderly, and fit to show to the world. These programs were recorded in propaganda, and so was the broader cultural embrace of Western, and especially American, ideas.[6] To China, the United States was the hegemonic superpower of the 1980s, and so America became China's model to "get on track with the world."[7] Such a cultural crusade, however, was wrought with internal Chinese tension between the desires to preserve the notion of an innate Chinese identity and to keep

up with the American model.[8] This tension played out in the symbolic systems of government propaganda works such as Liu Xiji's *Our Nation is Our Mother* (1984), a poster which promotes city beautification (Fig. 1). The coexistence of traditional Chinese symbolism and contemporary American beauty standards in *Our Nation is Our Mother* captures the competing national and international aspects of urban Chinese identity in the 1980s, particularly for Chinese women.

Fig. 1
Liu Xiji, *Our Nation is Our Mother* (1984)

Our Nation is Our Mother uses traditional Chinese symbolism to lay the groundwork for its message of city beautification. The poster's composition is busy with competing imagery, but its focus is on a beautiful young Chinese woman, dressed as a tourist in a clean urban setting. She leans against a blue-green railing, and her hand rests on a post decorated with a dragon twisting through clouds. The city behind her is rendered in gentle blues and greens, and large pigeons and doves flit around her. While the woman is the center of the work, each of these decorative elements is a symbol in the Chinese visual tradition, and here, their symbolic meanings work together to present an ideological whole: city beautification as distinctly Chinese.

Since propaganda itself is inherently symbolic of government ideas, it is reasonable to believe that the artist, Liu Xiji, would not only be cognizant of the symbolism behind the animals and colors he chose to include, but he would also be interested in using them to

represent city beautification. To that end, the blue-green of the city and the railing is the color of jade. This particular shade, *qing,* is traditionally associated with ideas of youth and immortality.[9] The lively symbolism of this color alludes to the revitalization of the city through urban beautification. Doves and pigeons also symbolize longevity in the Chinese visual tradition, and this vivacity is furthered by the springtime connotation of the dragon, represented on the post in its *qing* constellation.[10] The motif is repeated on the tower behind her. The dragon, the highest-ranking creature in the Chinese animal hierarchy, occupies a central position in the composition, just under the woman's hand.[11] The prominent placement of this symbol suggests the importance of its meaning to the message of the work as a whole. The dragon is a symbol entrenched in Chinese culture, so its central placement in this image is representative of a central national identity. This symbolic compositional choice takes ownership of city beautification and renewal as Chinese ideas, and as part of a Chinese national identity.

But just as Chinese symbols are at work in this image, so too are Western modes of representation present. For example, the color *qing* is also associated with looking East; perhaps, in this case, looking towards America.[12] Indeed, the American influence is evident in the woman's personal style. Not only does she wear Western clothing and makeup, but her pale facial features are Eurasian, and her hair is cut in a wavy, American style. Her boisterous American sweater and dark skirt give her a defined, feminine figure, and are a clear departure from the gender-neutral smocks of women in Maoist propaganda.[13] This woman's physical features reflect the social beauty ideal to which Chinese women aspired in the 1980s. Urban women in particular embraced trends like pale skin, and some underwent cosmetic eye and nose surgery to look more Eurasian.[14] According to one researcher, Stanley Rosen, single women in the Chinese city of Harbin spent at least half of their income on cosmetics, clothing, and hairstyling during this period.[15] This example is symptomatic of a national obsession, particularly among urban women, with looking like idealized Westerners, or, to be more specific, like Americans.

Not only is the woman in *Our Nation is Our Mother* decorated like an American, but she herself acts as a decorative object. The woman, like the traditional Chinese symbols in the image, is an ideological decoration, a symbol of the overall message of city beautification. Her surface beauty represents the topical nature of city beautification, and the policy's preoccupation with looking a particular, Westernized way. Indeed, it is not unreasonable to believe that this representation of woman as decorative object is the direct result of the influence of American advertising, especially since such representation is incongruous with Maoist portrayals of women. Under Maoist communist belief, women supported the socialist state just as much as men.[16] Thus a woman in Maoist propaganda is an active figure

whose character is defined by how she serves the state.[17] The woman in *Our Nation is Our Mother* clearly departs from the Maoist representational code. She is not active; indeed, she stands still, and poses before her clean, beautiful city. Her passivity is similar to that of women in American media from the 1980s.

Fig. 2

Dee Dee McCall (Stepfanie Kramer) and Sgt. Hunter (Fred Dryer) from *Hunter,* (1984-1991).

The emulation of American culture in the 1980s exposed Chinese people to American representations of women in television and advertisements, which primarily featured women as decorative, supporting, or one-dimensional characters. Post-Mao, Chinese ownership of television sets increased dramatically, from 4.8 million Chinese televisions in 1979, to 2.8 billion in 1982.[18] As a result, the network of television channels and broadcast stations expanded, but there were not enough domestic programs to fill this new space.[19] Enter American TV dramas, which depicted women, even independent women, as beautiful assistants of the male hero.[20] In the popular crime drama *Hunter,* for example, the main character's partner, Sgt. McCall, is a clever, accomplished detective in her own right.[21] Yet at the same time, her femininity is symbolic—she is the token woman in a pink blazer, and her hair has perfect 1980s volume (Fig. 2). The presentation of gender roles in these dramas confirms the value of feminine beauty to its audience, which included the Chinese people. Thus, if a Chinese woman must model herself after her American counterpart, then she too is reduced to a symbolic decoration. This confirms the role of the woman in *Our Nation is Our Mother*: she is a decorative object who exists to promote city beautification.

The trope of using female beauty to sell products, as in *Our Nation is Our Mother,* is a hallmark of American advertising. These American advertisements entered the Chinese markets in the economic reforms of the 1980s.[22] Despite the efforts of the Western Feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s, portrayals of decorative women increased in American advertisements from the 1970s to the 1980s.[23] In a 1983 study, researchers Gary L. Sullivan and P. J. O'Connor reported that 60% of women in American magazine advertisements were decorative, passive objects.[24] These depictions of women were most often seen in cosmetic advertisements; in a similar survey, Linda J. Busby and Greg Leighty found that 92% of

American advertisements for beauty products utilized decorative women.[25] These advertisements entered the Chinese market in the 1980s and 1990s.[26] If one considers advertising as the American corporate corollary to state propaganda, and one remembers the importance of cosmetics to the Chinese female consumer in the 1980s, it is plausible to believe that advertisements of American women influenced the trend towards decorative women in propaganda works like *Our Nation is Our Mother.*

In these ways, both traditional Chinese symbols and American feminine ideals are at play in *Our Nation is Our Mother.* The central, Americanized woman is surrounded by symbols of prosperity and beauty that are distinctly Chinese. Yet, this is not an easy compositional coexistence. The limited space of the poster requires the layering of symbols: for example, a dove flies in front of the jade railing, which is in front of the woman. The busy, full quality of the composition forces the Chinese and American elements to compete for the viewer's attention. While the woman is the physical center, and though she engages in eye contact with the viewer, the jade dragon post is closer to the viewer, and the kinetic flapping of pigeons and doves is difficult to ignore. What is the viewer to do with all of this visual information?

Perhaps the resolution lies in the title of this work: *Our Nation is Our Mother.* As outlined above, China underwent a substantial cultural shift in the 1980s, which caused the country to question its national identity. In regards to *Our Nation is Our Mother,* consider the terms "nation-state" and "motherland" in Chinese.[27] *Guojia* (country) consists of the words *guo,* meaning nation, and *jia,* meaning family.[28] Under Chairman Mao, China was a nation-state, and the kinship, multi-generational family was the unit of social organization. But, after Mao, as popular, America-oriented culture took the place of some state-sanctioned Chinese culture, the nuclear family became the ideal social unit.[29] Thus, the Westernization of Chinese society in the 1980s changed the connotations of Chinese social units, of families and individuals themselves. But this change was not fully crystalized when *Our Nation is Our Mother* was made, and so the poster captures the overlap of Chinese and Western urbanity, culture, family, and womanhood in the 1980s.

Our Nation is Our Mother exists at a cultural turning point: as a state-sanctioned work, its form is Maoist, even old-fashioned, yet it clearly expresses the influence of popular, Western culture as well. Both national and international Chinese identity exist in *Our Nation is Our Mother,* and neither qualifier can claim full ownership of the work. *Our Nation is Our Mother* is not fully Chinese or Western; the work combines both cultural influences into a unique expression of urban China in 1984. Just as it contains both Chinese symbolism and

American female representation, *Our Nation is Our Mother* is both *guo* and *jia*. It is between Maoist and post-Mao China, between nation and motherland.

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Part III

DER SPIEGEL AFFAIR

AN UNEXPECTED HARBINGER OF DEMOCRACY

Perry Ivie Young

Columbia University

Abstract

This paper focuses on primary source material that elucidates the reaction of various public sectors to the Spiegel Affair. Newspapers here analyzed include both German newspapers, such as Frankfurter Allgemeine, Die Zeit, and Süddeutsche Zeitung, and international newspapers, such as The National Review (USA), Neue Zeit (Moscow), and Excelsior (Mexico). Beyond newspapers, the outrage of students at universities across Germany is studied, and the thoughts of important public figures are exposed in their letters to Rudolf Augstein, the publisher of the Spiegel. The evidence corroborated by primary sources displays the resolution of the German Federal Republic to preserve democracy and suppress authoritative measures reminiscent of Nazi Germany.

Introduction

Four years after World War II, West Germany, under the guidance of the Allied Powers, adopted a democratic constitution championing both freedom of expression and restrictions on political authority. These new developments, however, directly opposed an autocratic political tradition in German history; these two incompatible trends were poised inevitably to collide.

The challenge to freedom of the press came on October 26, 1962, when Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss, in response to a degrading article in *Der Spiegel*, ordered raids on its headquarters in Bonn and Hamburg, as well as the arrests of several of its prominent employees.

Historians have grappled with what has come to be known as the *Spiegel* Affair, attempting to place the crisis within the frame of German history. Ronald Bunn describes the *Spiegel* Affair of 1962 as "uncomfortably reminiscent of the style of Nazi Germany."[1] The National Socialist period was defined by severe, arbitrary limitations on the freedom of the press. One notable decree establishing such restrictions was the "Decree of the Reich President for the

Protection of the People and State," or "Reichstag Fire Decree," issued in response to the February 1933 attempt to set fire to the Reichstag. This order proclaimed that "restrictions on personal liberty, on the right of free expression of opinion, including freedom of the press...are permissible beyond the legal limits otherwise prescribed."[2] Another law, the "Editorial Law" of October 1933, further stipulated that "the Reich Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda will determine which periodicals are to be considered as political within the meaning of the law."[3] The Nazi government thus established unchecked control over the press; an individual, unfixed set of criteria was to decide which material was acceptable for publication. In effect, thousands of journalists and editors were arrested for "unsuitable" articles, and the newspapers of opposition groups, including Communists and Social Democrats, were outlawed.[4] Strauss's sudden and unexpected persecution of *Der Spiegel* thus appeared vestigial of the arbitrary decrees of the previous era.

David Schoenbaum, on the other hand, qualifies that although Strauss's actions may have been reminiscent of Nazi Germany, its development into political discord and shifting loyalties mirrored the Weimar Republic.[5] The early government of the Weimar period was notorious for its instability, and discord manifested itself in uprisings that threatened political order. Among these included the 1919 left wing Spartacist Revolt led by Rosa Luxemburg and William Liebknecht, the 1920 right-wing Kapp Putsch, and the infamous 1923 Beer Hall Putsch orchestrated by Hitler.[6] As the *Spiegel* Affair polarized West Germany into supporters of the publication versus defenders of Strauss, it threatened to resurrect the factionalism and political unrest of Weimar Germany.

Although Strauss's reaction to *Der Spiegel* may have recalled past censorship policies, it did not necessarily signal a return to the previous totalitarian decades. Instead, the *Spiegel* Affair, when considered as a whole, marked a clear break away from the Nazi past and, in fact, served as an unexpected indication of progress in the West German democracy. *Der Spiegel*'s burgeoning popularity as an "opposition newspaper" evidenced an expanding freedom of the press and a growing acceptance of political criticism. Strauss's abuse of power alone did not negate this development, but rather served as a test to the German democratic system. In response, overwhelming protests from various sections of the public, including Bundestag deputies, students, and newspapers, proved that West German society had successfully defeated this anti-democratic threat. In the end, Strauss resigned as Defense Minister, sealing the *Spiegel* crisis as an affirmation of the health and strength of the new West German democracy.

Some historians have previously interpreted the *Spiegel* Affair as a sign of the strength of democracy, rather than a vestige of fascism. Frederick Taylor, for instance, mentions in a

brief exposition of the *Spiegel* Affair that "the mobilisation of public outrage over the '*Spiegel* Affair'—sometimes described as 'the beginning of post-war German democracy'—was one indication, perhaps the greatest, that things were changing."[7] The present paper, building on Taylor's argument, presents the *Spiegel* Affair as a harbinger of democracy, rather than a regression to the arbitrary authority of the past. It seeks to establish this interpretation using primary sources, including petitions of political figures, letters to the victims of the *Spiegel* actions, protests of students, and articles in various domestic and international newspapers. Moreover, this paper argues that the *Spiegel* Affair provided an opportunity to display to a foreign audience, and especially to the United States, the German people's commitment to justice. The Federal Republic, by inviting the recognition and approval of the international community, thereby facilitated its integration into the West.

The Spiegel and the Trend Toward Free Expression

The trend toward freedom of expression was exhibited by increasing political criticism in West German media. This development was enabled by the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany (*Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland)* adopted in 1949, which was supervised and signed by the United States and the other Allied nations. Article 5 of the Basic Rights (*Die Grundrechte*) section affirms, "the freedom of the press and the freedom of reporting through broadcast and film will be guaranteed. There will be no censorship."[8] These laws, in opposition to the "Reichstag Fire Decree" and the "Editorial Law" of the prior decade, enabled free criticism of political figures.

At the forefront of political criticism was *Der Spiegel*. Since its establishment in 1947, it relentlessly exposed the most objectionable actions of contemporary politicians.[9] One of *Der Spiegel*'s most routine targets was Defense Minister Strauss. Beginning in 1958, the newspaper published humiliating accounts of Strauss's traffic violations, alleged intentions to support the death penalty, as well as scandals, notably the Fibag and Onkel Alois Affairs.[10] *Der Spiegel* even dared to criticize Konrad Adenauer, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic. The publisher of *Der Spiegel,* Rudolf Augstein, released a biography of Adenauer "debunking" popular praise of the Chancellor who had died only one year earlier. Among other criticism, Augstein accused Adenauer of betraying German unity and resurrecting the dysfunctional politics of Weimar, while sarcastically wondering how a modern nation like Germany "could be governed with so small a display of intelligence and so barbaric a lack of articulate expression."[11] In David Schoenbaum's words, "the West German press had seldom been freer—in every sense. The story was scarcely conceivable in the United States."[12]

For years, *Der Spiegel* suffered little consequences for its open, and often scathing, criticism of West Germany's most prominent political leaders. Only decades earlier, under the "Reichstag Fire Decree," even a suspicion of a degrading comment could have provoked arrest or exile. Undeniably, *Der Spiegel*'s continued existence as a "loyal opposition"[13] magazine marked a new era in German political history, perhaps in response, and in revulsion, to the immense censorship of the previous Nazi period. The press's ability to express opinions and concerns about political leaders allowed the country to evaluate and improve upon itself.

The catalyst of the *Spiegel* Affair, the article "Conditionally Prepared to Defend" (*bedingt unabwehrbereit)* continued earlier press criticism of prominent German politicians. This article, published October 10, 1962, uncovered the results of the hypothetical NATO "Fallex 62" exercise. The article began by presenting a potential military threat, which officials including Adenauer and Strauss pathetically evaded, shirking their duty to defend their country.[14] Strauss, in particular, was laughably depicted as retreating from the political scene in order to calm his frayed nerves over the recent Fibag affair. The article continued its criticism of Strauss, exposing his rearmament rhetoric as empty and self-serving, and accusing him of incompetency and unwillingness to cooperate with both German and foreign leaders. The article's author, Konrad Ahlers, blamed the country's unpreparedness entirely on Strauss, who, after six years of leading German rearmament, had failed to bring Germany's armed forces above NATO's lowest military grading, "conditionally prepared to defend."[15] The article not only criticized Strauss's actions and policies, but tied them to an imminent catastrophe for the nation, challenging political authority in a way unthinkable in years prior.

Historians have debated Ahlers's intentions in writing "Conditionally Prepared to Defend." Ronald Bunn claims that *Der Spiegel*'s attack did not intend to depose Strauss; the newspaper was aware, from its previous efforts, that a press denunciation was not enough to diminish Strauss's political following.[16] If the article was not aimed at discrediting Strauss, as Bunn suggests, then it was alternatively written to express genuine concern about Germany's inability to defend itself. In contrast, Wolfgang Krieger argues that the proportions of the Soviet attack presented in the article were unrealistic, and could not have been seriously considered a present danger.[17] In this case, the article intended not to express dismay over the West German military situation, but to implicate the Defense Minister in a disgracing scandal.

Whether Ahlers intended to reveal defects in the German defense system or in the Minister of Defense, it remains that *Der Spiegel* openly criticized the government, more intrepidly

than ever in "Conditionally Prepared to Defend." Although the article, in isolation, may seem particularly extreme, it was a logical step in a continuous sequence of accusations, including the Fibag and Onkel Alois affairs, against Strauss. *Der Spiegel* was also notorious for criticizing political figures in general, and yet, or perhaps as a result, by 1962, its readership encompassed 5 million people.[18] The accessibility of material critical of the government signaled a radical shift in political life, in stark contrast to the absolute rule of the one-party Nazi system.

Defense Minister Strauss and the Trend Toward Unchecked Authority

While freedom of the press continued to flourish, a latent trend toward unrestricted power was also fomenting. After the Second World War, Bavaria, which had long been Germany's most industrially underdeveloped region, was positioned to regress even further. At this point, Strauss, the leader of the Christian Social Union, capitalized on the opportunity to lead industrialization in the area, with the aim of aggrandizing his own power. He launched a massive industrial program in Bavaria, and eventually took over national rearmament as the Defense Minister of West Germany, assuming increasingly powerful positions, to the concern of both his political rivals and allies.[19]

The two inchoate currents emerging in West Germany in the early 1960s, a revolutionary freedom of expression and a return to arbitrary authority, came to their inevitable clash two weeks after the publication of "Conditionally Prepared to Defend." On October 26, the Bonn and Hamburg offices of *Der Spiegel* were raided on the pretext that state secrets had been betrayed; most of the impounded papers, however, were instead concerned with or pertaining to Strauss. In addition, several associates were arrested, including Rudolf Augstein, the magazine's publisher; and Konrad Ahlers, the author of the article, who was vacationing with his wife in Spain at the time. Strauss initially denied involvement in the affair, but was later revealed to have been directly responsible for ordering the arrests and the raids. Strauss seemed to put his personal interest in power above all else in this "act of state arbitrariness."[20]

Even more alarming than Strauss's overstepping his prerogatives was his exposed collusion with Konrad Adenauer. While Adenauer initially stood by Strauss, as the investigation progressed and it became increasingly evident that Strauss was guilty, Adenauer turned against his Defense Minister in an attempt to salvage his own career.[21]

Adenauer's initial collusion with Strauss, in what seemed to be an exploitation of the opportunity to silence the critical news magazine, is evident in Strauss's letters to the Chancellor. On November 19, Strauss reminds Adenauer of the link between the FDP's

"Away with Strass" (*Strauss muss weg*) plot and its efforts to install a new Chancellor in Adenauer's place.[22] Strauss seemed to be outlining a plan for the proceedings of the *Spiegel* actions, in which neither he nor Adenauer would be found guilty. Adenauer's complicity, as Chancellor, even if he was not directly responsible for ordering the raids, hinted at wider corruption among German politicians. Adenauer, moreover, was quick to switch sides against Strauss when the Defense Minister was publically shamed for his involvement in the affair.

Some historians suggest that Strauss's actions were justified in self-defense against the unwarranted and unfairly incriminating *Spiegel* attacks. Although David Schoenbaum eventually admits that Strauss was "uniquely guilty" in overreacting to the article, he insists that *Der Spiegel* was decidedly anti-Strauss and anti-Adenauer.[23] Schoenbaum is more forgiving of Strauss than many historians, claiming that there was legitimate suspicion that official state secrets had been betrayed and that German law permitted the arrest of suspects without indictment.[24] Wolfgang Krieger adds that Strauss's political rivals may have played a role in engineering the affair.[25]

Before concluding that the raids and arrests of the *Spiegel* Affair signaled a relapse into National Socialism, it is necessary to consider the response of the public. The event must be considered in its entirety, not isolated from its context and consequences. At this point, it can only be said that Strauss's actions in the *Spiegel* Affair *opened a possibility* for Germany to regress into the arbitrary dictatorial policies of the Nazi period.

Public Reaction

Immediately following the seizure of the *Spiegel* offices, politicians objected, students demonstrated, academics protested, and newspapers expressed concern, disdain, and alarm. In the week following the action, *Der Spiegel* announced that it had received around two thousand sympathetic wires and letters per day.[26] The public's reaction was clear: arbitrary searches and arrests out of personal interest would not be tolerated.

Before the newspapers had an opportunity to react, Bundestag deputies voiced their disapproval of the actions taken against the *Spiegel*. The morning following the raids, the SPD deputy Fritz Sänger filed a claim in the Federal Prosecutor's Office testifying to the illegality of the *Spiegel* headquarters search.[27] Sänger was closely followed by deputies Wehner and Lohmar, who in turn ushered in a flood of complaints from numerous officials concerning the questionable raids. Most of the objections came from left-wing politicians,

especially from the SPD. Some historians, such as Mark Milosch, have interpreted the eagerness of politicians such as Wehner and Lohmar to criticize Strauss's actions as a collaborative effort to eliminate Strauss as a political rival.[28] The protests, however, were visibly uncoordinated; for the first 24 hours following the *Spiegel* actions, individuals voiced their immediate reactions in outbursts, rather than in an organized offensive. Political officials launched narrow complaints against a hopelessly wide field of charges, among which were the abrogation of press freedom, the illegal use of criminal police, the unauthorized search of the *Spiegel*'s office for unrelated material, and the sensational arrest of Ahlers in Spain.[29] Although these methods of protest were not coordinated, thus sacrificing effectiveness, they boded well for German democracy: individual politicians felt comfortable enough to lodge protests, even against the Minister of Defense, without necessarily being bolstered by numbers. Alternatively, deputies may have felt certain that they would be joined in their moral outcry by their compatriots. In either case, the immediacy and confidence behind the officials' protests elucidates a striking lack of trepidation in voicing opinions.

Other prominent political and cultural figures, outside the Bundestag, lodged complaints about the *Spiegel* actions or expressed their sympathy for *Der Spiegel* and its employees. For instance, the former mayor of Hamburg, Edgar Engelhard, personally wrote a letter to Augstein, in which he offered his condolence and support to the publisher.[30] In another example, the actor and director of the Deutsches Schauspielhaus, Gustaf Gründgens, expressed his disillusionment and anger at Augstein's incarceration, and affirmed the value of *Der Spiegel;* he claimed that he read every issue, and asserted that, despite the articles' provocative nature, an end to their existence would be intolerable.[31] The support of such public figures was essential; if it did not sway mass opinion, it at least sanctioned discontent with the political authorities.

University students across Germany were also proactive in leading public demonstrations. Less than 48 hours following the *Spiegel* actions, on October 28, a group of students in Stuttgart stood outside the Office of the Attorney General "silently" holding *Spiegel* magazines, with taped X's across their mouths, to protest the silencing of *Der Spiegel* by the government.[32] The next day, students in Frankfurt posted covers of recent *Spiegel* issues and the text "THE SPIEGEL" over hundreds of CDU political campaign posters, hoping to bring public attention to the CDU leader's recent misconduct.[33]

Over the next couple of weeks, both demonstrations and demand for *Spiegel* magazines grew astronomically. On October 31, in Hamburg, around 1000 students gathered in the university auditorium to protest the authorities' misdemeanors, following which several

hundred marched to the prison where Augstein was being held, shouting their support for the incarcerated publisher. Meanwhile, 500 people gathered in Berlin to demonstrate, calling for Strauss's resignation. In one particularly striking example, on November 7, chemistry students at the technical state school in Reutlingen publicly carried the "freedom of the press" in a coffin to a grave, where they lamented its "sudden and unexpected death."[34]

The speed with which students responded, beginning only hours after the *Spiegel* Affair, even before the newspapers had an opportunity to cover the event, demonstrated how informed and uncompromisingly invested in the country they were. As much of the older generation of leaders had been barred from higher offices due to their involvement in Nazi politics, the future of the German state lay in young, motivated students. More than ever, student life was indicative of the course of the country. In this case, students' immediate, unhesitant, and brazen protests against Strauss's extra-constitutional actions promised an intolerance for both dictatorial measures and restrictions on freedom, thus anticipating a strengthening of West German democracy.

While the public was able to begin protesting the day after the *Spiegel* action, the raids occurred on a Friday night, and could not immediately be reported by the newspapers. In their next issues, however, the press outcry proved unvitiated by the lapsed time. Various weeklies, in fact, intensified their accusations by arguing that the timing of the raids was all too suspiciously engineered. One influential and widely-circulated newspaper, which continues to enjoy prominence today, *Die Zeit*, released on November 2 the article "*Spiegel* Affair, State Affair" (*Spiegel-Affäre, Staats-Affäre*) a mercilessly blunt report of the known facts connected to the scandal.[35] In this introductory account, *Die Zeit* passed no initial judgment on the *Spiegel* raids, instead allowing its readers to formulate their own opinions based on a raw description of the event.

Gresmann, the author of "*Spiegel* Affair, State Affair," proceeded to expose the contradictions and unfounded, nebulous accusations that dominated the *Spiegel* case, declaring that the skeptical public would not settle for any conclusion that left room for doubt.[36] The article proposed that the time gap between the release of the article and the raids revealed extensive planning on the part of authorities. It also claimed that if *Der Spiegel* had released state secrets, then this classified information should have been identified and confronted immediately. Gresmann ended the article with a critique of Strauss's "impenetrability," asking if Strauss was so inviolable that he must, despite any misdemeanor, remain in office. The author's confident attacks on Strauss suggest his assurance that the public would take his side, against the corrupt politics behind the *Spiegel* raids. At one point, Gresmann lamented how insufficiently constitutional principles were instilled in the Federal Republic,

as if to challenge the readers of *Die Zeit* to contradict him and prove their commitment to justice and democracy.

Another influential periodical, *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung*, first mentioned the *Spiegel* Affair on October 29, the Monday following the raids. In this issue, the scandal appeared in several articles, which provided in great detail, an account of the *Spiegel* action itself, the current proceedings, and even the protests thus far. The authors also presented unanswered questions and controversies along with facts, informing their readers of the complexities and difficulties concerning the *Spiegel* Affair.

While describing the uncertainties orbiting the affair, *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung* implicitly took a stance, on the side of *Der Spiegel,* with the information it choose to release. In the October 29 issue, for instance, the article "Police Action against *Der Spiegel* (*"Polizei-Aktion gegen den 'Spiegel'"*) exposed the disillusionment of both the Federal Press Conference (*Bundespressekonferenz*) and the German Journalists Association (*Deutsches Journalistenverbund*) with the pretexts surrounding the raids, who both demanded more precise evidence and justification.[37] Even more striking is the article on the third page of this issue, in which Gert Kistenmacher described the nightmarish scene of officials invading the chief editor Claus Jacobi's house, rousing his sleeping children from their bed in order to search their mattresses for secret documents.[38] He even quoted the journalist Leo Brawand explicitly voicing the parallel between these recent police searches and the secret investigations of the Third Reich.

Ironically, news organizations across the country, including *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung,* did not back away from public criticism once *Der Spiegel* had been punished for its brazenness. Instead, they amplified their solidarity with *Der Spiegel*, printing scandalous articles about the affair that recalled *Der Spiegel*'s own daring commentaries. In effect, the *Spiegel* Affair was an effectively unforeseen catalyst in solidifying many West German newspapers' commitment to unconditional freedom of the press.

One week later, *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung* published a collection of responses to the *Spiegel* Affair, from both celebrated and unknown citizens of Munich. It grouped the overall reactions into three categories: those against, uncertain, and supporting the *Spiegel* actions. In the first group were a university professor and a lawyer, the latter of which called for a popular rebellion as a means of "effective protest."[39] The second block of opinions highlighted the insufficiency of information to pronounce judgment at the time. To this category belonged a city council representative, who said he would support the *Spiegel* actions if the accusations of treason were to be proven, and an actor, who proposed the unlikeliness that Strauss would have risked attacking the newspaper for personal motives.

Finally, the article quoted a scientist who did not object to the raids, proclaiming that keeping state secrets was equally as important as the press's freedom of expression.[40]

Otto Fischer, the author of the article, proffered a diverse assortment of Munich citizens and their opinions on the *Spiegel* Affair, but neither defended nor condemned any of them. *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung* published bold, and potentially offensive, arguments from all positions, thereby enforcing its own call for complete freedom of the press, regardless of the stances represented.

The *Spiegel* Affair continued to occupy large portions of *Süddeutsche Zeitung* issues for weeks following the raids. Still on November 27, the periodical published an article lamenting the lack of publicly available information concerning the affair, and hoping for the release of complete details to the public in the near future.[41] The amount of space devoted to the *Spiegel* scandal indicates a maintained public interest in the affair, and a continued concern for the threatened freedom of the press.

The articles in *Die Zeit* and *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung* did not represent every West German newspaper, but those exhibited were paradigms of responses against the *Spiegel* actions. Historian Ronald Bunn conducted research on the reactions of various West German newspapers; he analyzed 34 *Generalanzeiger,* or "advertising" newspapers that provided an outlet for local advertisers while covering major news, and "serious press" newspapers, which generally avoided sensationalized journalism.[42] Bunn argues that his sample was representative of the widely circulated and "prestigious" daily newspapers in West Germany; among his selections were *Die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Der Tag,* and *Die Welt*.[43] Of the 34 newspapers sampled, 21 were explicitly critical of Strauss's actions in the *Spiegel* Affair, while only 6 were sympathetic with Strauss, and 7 failed to take a strong stance.[44]

Although it may seem disquieting that a significant number of newspapers condoned, and even supported, Strauss's arrest of *Spiegel* employees, the spectrum of opinions in official newspapers attested to a functional freedom of the press; authors did not feel externally compelled to argue either for or against the *Spiegel* action, but instead felt comfortable publishing their personal stances. Effectively, a variegated press is a strong check on government since it exposes to the public various perspectives, equipping readers to arrive at their own conclusions and thereby properly express their political voices.

Of the newspapers critical of the *Spiegel* raids and arrests, many argued against similar aspects of the affair, especially those related to censorship and state arbitrariness. 52% of the 21 critical newspapers singled out the suspicious time gap of over two weeks between the article's publication and the government's reaction, and 39% spoke out against both the

attempt to pre-censor the forthcoming issue of the *Spiegel* and the extensive search of archived material in the *Spiegel* headquarters.[45] In contrast, only 26% mentioned Strauss's possible implication in the affair, suggesting that concerns for press freedom outweighed dislike of a particular political figure.

A month after the raids, on December 5, 1962, *Der Spiegel* itself published a collection of other newspapers' responses to the affair. The six-page account "Hypothetical Occupation by the Enemy" ("*Gleichsam Besetzung von Feindesland*"), subtitled "Voices of National and International Press on the *Spiegel* Affair", cut short passages from 13 German and 9 foreign newspapers regarding the recent *Spiegel* crisis.

As might be expected, these passages, chosen and exhibited by *Der Spiegel,* spoke in favor of the news magazine, and against Strauss. Even so, this extensive accumulation of critical material remains impressive, especially given the ferocity of many of these denunciations. Inside the country, *Die Hannoversche Presse* declared that Strauss's ineptness was more dangerous than any leaking of secret documents, and that political infighting had indirectly damaged the army by depriving soldiers of necessary depots and training grounds.[46] *Christ und Welt* in Stuttgart proclaimed that democracy could only be revived by replacing Germany's prominent political leaders; *Der Tagesspiegel* in Berlin portended the end of the Adenauer era with the *Spiegel* Affair; and *Die Frankfurter Allgemeine* confirmed that "Strauss is not democracy, and Adenauer is not the Federal Republic. The country is more than its administration."[47] *Die Hannoversche Allgemeine* even deemed Strauss to be "Machiavellian."[48]

This caustic commentary from within West Germany clearly illustrates a vibrant culture of press freedom. Additionally, observations from the foreign press offer a supplementary angle for viewing West German democracy from the outside. Unanimously, the foreign articles in "Hypothetical Occupation by the Enemy" depicted the German public and press as laudable engines of democracy. On the first page, the *Excelsior* newspaper, based in Mexico City, portrayed the *Spiegel* action as proof that although Nazism was not dead, the German people were standing over its corpse, ready at any moment to extinguish it again should it threaten to arise.[49] *Excelsior* drew the connection between the *Spiegel* Affair and the arbitrary prosecutions of the Nazi era; however, it expressed trust in the German people's ability and intentions to defeat the vestiges of this authoritarian era. Another foreign newspaper, *Die Neue Zeit,* based in Moscow, flattered the progressiveness of West German society by suggesting that the *Spiegel's* popularity was, in fact, a direct result of its harsh political criticism. *Die Neue Zeit* was the official newspaper of the CDU, a political party in East Germany that supported German unification. Its review illuminated that *Der Spiegel,*

rewarded for its outspokenness, enjoyed extensive subscribership, thereby presenting press freedom as an attractive consequence of unification with the West.

The *Correio da Manha* in Rio de Janeiro admitted that the *Spiegel* was not well-known in Brazil, but seized the opportunity to introduce it, lauding it as highly intellectual, yet irreverent in its criticism. [50] The *Correio da Manha* clearly admired the *Spiegel*'s intrepid reports, which may have served as guiding examples for the Brazilian press.

Many of these encouraging reviews in "Hypothetical Occupation by the Enemy" were from smaller, less powerful countries, whose veneration painted the Federal Republic as an influential beacon of democracy. Most influential, however, was the criticism from the United States, which remained West Germany's primary benefactor, even after the official end of occupation.

One liberal American newspaper, *The New Republic,* similar to left-leaning periodicals in West Germany, expressed alarm at the attempt to restrict the press, and condemned Strauss and Adenauer. In the article "The Spiegel Affair" in *The New Republic,* Terence Prittie initially split the guilt for the affair between "the bucolic Minister and the insidiously aggressive management of the *Spiegel*" in order to establish himself as a "totally unbiased observer."[51] He later, however, took a firm stance denouncing the *Spiegel* actions, even more sharply than the most liberal newspapers in Germany. Prittie wrote, "Dr. Adenauer set a lamentable example" and that "the government [had] failed badly" in its responsibilities toward the people.[52] A couple of weeks later, the *New Republic* published another article maintaining its stance against the West German authorities and revealing that Strauss had ignominiously lied about his involvement in the arrests. [53]

Despite its criticism, *The New Republic* was able to separate its judgment of individual politicians from its view of the German people as a whole. In fact, Prittie finished his article with a surprising commendation of the West German public; he lauded the outcry of the Social Democrats, trade unions, students, and journalistic associations against the *Spiegel* actions.[54] He concluded that "this bodes well for West German democracy," ultimately pronouncing a positive verdict on the Federal Republic's progress and strength, despite the misguided leadership of a few political figures.[55]

Although Americans were removed from the direct consequences of the *Spiegel* Affair, they still had an interest in the outcome of the proceedings. The United States had invested deeply in West Germany's development and reconstruction, and as a result, it seemed that its own status and reputation as a world power depended on the progress of its protégé nation.

The approval of the United States, the most influential Western country, was crucial in vaulting West Germany's international status to that of an acclaimed, accepted, and trusted democracy, ultimately helping it to integrate into the Western world. Thus, the *Spiegel* Affair provided the opportunity for a public outcry against state authoritarianism, which in turn prompted an international acknowledgment of the West German people's integrity. In this sense, the affair tested the integrity of the West German people, and ultimately strengthened the Federal Republic's image in the eyes of the international community.

Not all American periodicals sided with *Der Spiegel;* some, like the conservative *National Review,* sought to exonerate the Defense Minister, depicting him as an unfortunate target of a ruthless press. E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn wrote in *the National Review* that Augstein, the publisher of *Der Spiegel,* was misanthropic, vengeful, and harbored an "ill-defined grudge against the Federal Republic," which he was determined to undermine in his press.[56] Kuehnelt-Leddihn opined that Strauss was the unfair victim of Augstein's anti-Catholic bias and that it was an understandable, and forgivable, response for Strauss to attack the *Spiegel.* In contrast to the *New Republic's* praise of the German people, the *National Review* declared that they were ignorant and impressionable. Here, the conservative American magazine argued that the German people were in need of guidance in implementing democracy, thus advocating for West Germany's dependence on the United States. Even so, the article attested to the positive intentions of the German masses to perpetuate West German democracy, albeit with the assistance of the United States.

Outcome of the *Spiegel* Affair and Conclusion

As the case progressed, and Strauss eventually admitted direct involvement in ordering the arrests, Bundestag deputies took steps to unseat Strauss as Defense Minister. On November 19, the FPD members of Adenauer's cabinet resigned and made their return contingent on Strauss's removal from office. Shortly afterward, the CDU/CSU cabinet members also resigned, creating openings for opposition parties in the cabinet. Strauss, in order not to undermine the CSU's recent gains in Bavarian state elections, finally resigned as Defense Minister on November 30.[57]

If Strauss's invasion of the *Spiegel* headquarters and arrest of its employees opened a door for the return of Nazism, the West German public, in response, immediately and resoundingly slammed it closed. Although Strauss clearly overstepped his powers as Defense Minister and violated the constitution, the *Spiegel* Affair must be seen in its complete context, including the reactions it ignited and the outcome it induced. The protests by students, politicians, and periodicals were unequivocally promising for the democracy of West Germany; many people felt confident, safe, and morally compelled to speak out against the government's

transgressions in the *Spiegel* Affair. In the end, the trend toward free expression emerged victorious against Germany's historical inclination to unrestricted power.

Even more than a break with the censorship and enforced silence of the Nazi period, the *Spiegel* Affair was a sign of the strength and progress of West German democracy. The country's independent, peaceful, and ultimately successful resolution of the conflict proved its capacity to resist rising tyrants and defend itself against encroachments on its freedoms. In addition to affirming its democratic values from within, West Germany's international reputation was also elevated as a result of the affair. Much of the foreign press, including that of the United States, commended the German public for its triumph over Strauss's hunger for power, thereby helping Germany to establish itself on the international stage. Finally, the direct outcome of the crisis—Strauss's forced resignation as Defense Minister, sealed the *Spiegel* Affair as a successful mass effort to check political power and preserve the democracy of the Federal Republic.

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"I Have Simply Written the Truth"

Kingship and Memory in the Baburnama

Chris LaMack

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Abstract

The Baburnama is one of the world's best-known works of Mughal historiography. It is also a strikingly intimate personal history of the dynasty's founder and first Indo-Timurid emperor of Hindustan, Babur. This essay explores the ways in which the Baburnama—as well as the genre of a 'Timurid kingly autobiography' it inaugurated—was appropriated and deployed by successive Mughal sovereigns. This essay also addresses the Baburnama's role in the construction and transmission of a Timurid imperial identity through the collectivization of personal memory. These self-histories established a structure for dynastic remembering and legitimation; and this structure was largely influenced by Babur's descendant Jahangir in a later interpretation: the Jajangirnama—a seventeenth century augmentation of the original sixteenth century Baburnama manuscript. This essay utilizes close readings of both the Baburnama and the Jajangirnama to reimagine the modal interaction between emperor and text as a dialogue, contextualizing a 'Timurid kingly autobiography' within an Indo-Persian knowledge system which emphasized the role of text as supplementary to that of human scholars.

Bābur, Jahāngīr, and the Tīmūrid Kingly Autobiography

On June 4, 1607, Jahāngīr, the fourth Mughal ruler of Hindustan, entered the ancient Afghan city of Kabul.[1] The emperor's leisurely inspection—complete with a wine party, strolls through opulent gardens, and countless tedious obeisances from Kabul's nobles—seemed a far cry from his great-grandfather Bābur's arrival in the old Ghaznavid capital more than a century before, in September of 1504. Bābur, then a young prince struggling to carve a kingdom out for himself in the chaos of post-Mongolian Central and South Asia, had entered the city a conqueror, marking his success with the bloody suppression of an Afghan riot at the gates of the citadel.[2]

By contrast, the Tīmūrid empire of Jahāngīr's time (r. 1605-27) lapped at its high-water mark.[3] The fourth *padishah*'s ("emperor") father, Akbar, had greatly expanded Mughal Hindustan and consolidated the dynasty's authority over the powerful and exceedingly

wealthy states of Rajputana; he also instituted a brilliantly efficient bureaucracy to manage imperial affairs, and proclaimed *suhl-i kuhl* (universal religious toleration) throughout his multiconfessional empire. By the time Akbar's throne passed to his son, the Mughals found themselves beneficiaries of the nascent global commercial network of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, allowing South Asian markets access to new and exotic commodities.[4]

It was as master of this ascendant kingdom that Jahāngīr decided to make a tour of Kabul. He was given an account of the old city during his stay, capped by the presentation of an exceptional manuscript. So it was that Jahāngīr found himself holding the original autobiographical account of the life of his ancestor Bābur, written, as Jahāngīr later enthusiastically recorded in his own journal, "entirely in his own blessed handwriting," except, he continues—crucially—"for four sections I copied myself. At the end of these sections I penned a sentence in Turkish to show that the four sections were in my writing."[5] Rather than contenting himself with simply reading Bābur's text as historical narrative, the fourth emperor augments his ancestor's personal recollections by interposing narrative of his own.

What was it about this octogenarian folio that struck Jahāngīr so powerfully? And what compelled him to alter the text? Jahāngīr provides no indication of what he might have changed, and the manuscript that his account refers to—the original incarnation of Bābur's autobiography—is lost. Only copies remain. Their inclusions, omissions, and variations provide only tantalizing clues for conjecture. Yet they stand as testaments to the singularly lively afterlife of this document—an afterlife which survives even the House of Bābur and the reign of the Tīmūrids in India.

This essay will explore that afterlife by presenting a close reading and contextualization of this primary text, the *Baburnama*, as well as analyzing an additional Tīmūrid autobiography, the *Jahangirnama,* to identify common elements and further develop the fascinating relationship between the two texts. It will address two lines of inquiry in particular: 1) how does narrativity in the Baburnama contribute to the purpose of the text and inform a conception of how it was meant to be read; and 2) how is Jahāngīr's interjection into Mughal dynastic memory best understood? Both sets of questions address how elites in South Asia during the reign of the Indo-Tīmūrids perceived historical memory. Contemporary approaches to knowledge transmission underscored the preeminence of human repositories over textual sources, placing specific spheres of knowledge into the care of masters and relegating books to auxiliary status. Within this context developed a novel genre of kingly literature, to which this essay refers to as the 'Tīmūrid kingly

autobiography.' This genre, of which the *Baburnama* must be considered the genesis, sought to preserve the master-student relationship through which knowledge was understood to pass from generation to generation. Kingly autobiographies transmitted the experience of kingship, a body of advice on, ethics and perceptions of, and responses to governance which grew with each subsequent Tīmūrid emperor's contribution to the genre. The master's role in the master-student model was occupied by Mughal rulers through their autobiographies. The execution of intimate observations and subjective feelings—elements which give the texts a distinctive narrativity—demonstrate an interest in imparting the facts of Mughal reigns as well as self-intended perceptions of them to successors. The passage of this accumulated knowledge made each Indo-Tīmūrid ruler the new master of his forebears' life experience, the repository of an ever-expanding 'memory collective' which in turn made him the definitive source of good government. Thus, Jahāngīr saw himself not simply as the descendent of Bābur, but as the embodiment of his ancestor's narrative; therefore, granting him the authority to augment Bābur's text without affecting its integrity.

The first section of the essay establishes the theoretical foundations for subsequent analyses of autobiography, memory, and legitimacy. The second introduces the *Baburnama*, providing a brief synopsis of content and introducing a few considerations in order to situate the text within a slightly broader Central and South Asian historical context. The third portion underscores the role of narrativity in the *Baburnama* as a mechanism for contextualizing Mughal autobiography within an Indo-Persian literary tradition which understood and emphasized the role of text as supplementary to human 'remembrancers.' In the fourth and final section, this essay argues that one facet of Indo-Tīmūrid legitimacy was crafted through the dialogue between reigning sovereigns and the kingly autobiographies of their predecessors, the object of which was the appropriation of Tīmūrid collective experience and the creation of an engagement with a kingly 'memory collective' archived within each individual *padishah*. Each of these components also functions as a way to explain or interpret Jahāngīr's intervention into the text and taken together they provide a framework for analyzing the meaning and function of authenticity in Tīmūrid kingly autobiography. The rich and layered text of the *Baburnama* evinces the complexities of its author while providing a lens to examine the foundation of one of the world's great dynasties, including the self-conscious establishment and transmission of Mughal memory.

An Auspicious Conjunction: Autobiography, Memory, and Legitimacy

'Autobiography' here must be understood in fairly loose terms, and it is important to note that all of the Tīmūrid personal histories were, in one way or another, mediated. Parts of the *Jahangirnama*, for instance, seem to have been "ghostwritten," while the *Baburnama* was

extensively reworked later in its author's life. Yet both the *Baburnama* and the *Jahangirnama* are written in first person and are clearly intended to be understood as literal historical products of their respective royal authors. Even a cursory skimming of either text reveals intimacies and subjective feelings that would simply be out of place in a biographical sketch. This essay adopts the phrase 'Tīmūrid kingly autobiography' to refer to the genre of these histories, acknowledging that their nuances and subtleties evade easy categorization.

The concept of 'autobiographical memory,' like that of 'autobiography' itself, needs to be explored within its Tīmūrid context, since it, too, meant something different to the Mughals. By the simplest assessment, 'memory' refers to the capacity to recall some formerly perceived article of information. Along these same lines, 'autobiographical memory' refers to the capacity to recall past information related to the 'self': a concept defined by William Brewer as the mental structure that merges the ego (the conscious, experiential entity), the self-schema ("the cognitive structure that contains generic knowledge about the self"), and portions of long-term memory (personal memories, generic personal memories, and autobiographical facts).[6] Though somewhat technical, this characterization renders self-memory a fairly straightforward affair: events are perceived by a cognizant observer, the incoming information interfaces with a set of unconscious mental structures which organize generic knowledge held by that observer about their self, and the product is mentally recorded. Naturally, in a practical sense, memory is more complex: information is recorded incompletely, perceptions are bent in order to make sense of events, and mental structures subtly influence sensory intake. Later, this essay will explore the ways in which the Tīmūrids understood the transmission of memory. For now, however, it will suffice to note that the Mughals conceived of 'autobiographical memory' not as an inviolate and personal understanding of the facts of one's own life, but as a set of knowledge that is transferable from person to person and incorporated into the receiver's own recollections.

A more difficult case raised by this accumulation of memory is that of 'collective memory.' James Wertsch notes that this 'social' form of memory is almost invariably understood as existing to serve some identity project by providing a "usable past."[7] The notion of a common past, however contrived, carries considerable power in Central and South Asian historiography where, for decades, a model that Douglas Streusand terms the "national kingship hypothesis" held sway. Its assignment of a 'national' character to the Mughal empire, created by tolerant religious policies under Akbar, is an essential anachronistic logical leap; it was dynastic legitimacy coupled with the personal loyalty of imperial officers to the Tīmūrid throne, rather than mass involvement in an identitarian project, that made the empire real.[8] This essay suggests a distinct, though related, concept: the 'memory collective.' The 'memory collective' refers to the creation of a body of Tīmūrid kingly

experience, passed from ruler to ruler via innovations on established Central Asian and Indo-Persian forms for the transmission of knowledge. In the world of Bābur and Jahāngīr, to "commit knowledge to memory was not merely to store it in one's mind in a mentally internalised 'book' of memory, but also to incorporate it into one's whole person, moral, metaphysical and social."[9] Only through understanding the role and dimensions of memory in the Indo-Tīmūrid dynasty can one fully appreciate the object and effect of, as well as its engagement with, its self-history.

Finally, a word on legitimacy. Prior to the advent of nationalism, dynastic legitimacy was underpinned by the personal legitimacy of a sovereign. In Early Modern Central and South Asia, that kingly validity was itself underwritten by genealogical proximity to Tīmūr Beg-Tamerlane—the legendary adventurer who, in the late fourteenth century, carved out an empire from Mongolia to the Black Sea. So exalted were Tīmūr's credentials as a conqueror and ruler that merely establishing a plausible relationship to the Tīmūrid lineage served as sufficient justification for governmental authorities—even for those that bore no credible genetic link to the empire builder. Rival princes staked their claims, with varying degrees of success, on the universally acknowledged political capital of a Tīmūrid connection.[10] Bābur certainly understood the power of his charismatic genealogy and, in many ways, the *Baburnama* reads as an ode to his utter self-assurance in his Tīmūrid credentials.[11] Tīmūrid and Mongol princes were, however, in no short supply within the Turko-Mongolian heartlands; and, as consequence, Bābur's Central Asian rivals, a stifling cast of professional kings, all vied to claim their shred of Tīmūr's domains. In Hindustan, however, the Mughals were able to formulate a working 'imperial' loyalty in the absence of credible Tīmūrid rivals; and yet, these newly imperial Mughals remained doggedly self-conscious of, and committed to, Bābur's Tīmūrid heritage.[12] Bābur's successors conflated Bābur's Tīmūrid associations with his own credentials as a conqueror. In doing so, they appropriated Tīmūr's accomplishments to forge a novel, distinctively *Mughal* legitimacy.

"The Truth of Every Matter": The *Baburnama* as Autobiography

> In the month of Ramadan in the year [AH] 899, in the Province of Ferghana, in my twelfth year I became king.[13]

So begins the *Baburnama*: the journal kept in Chaghatay Turkish by Ẓahīr u-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur (1483-1530), founder of the Mughal dynasty. Bābur, like many of his rivals in Central Asia, was born with a conqueror's pedigree. On his mother's side, he claimed descent from Chinggis Khan; and, on his father's side, Tīmūr Beg.[14] The first Mughal began recording his experiences in 1494 when he succeeded his father, 'Umar Sheikh Mīrzā, as governor of Andizhan at the age of ten. In 1527, with his empire firmly established in Hindustan, he

began dictating his memoirs from the journal. The text is, sadly, incomplete; the events of nearly eighteen years in total are lost. The longest of these silences spans a full eleven consecutive years, from 1508 to 1519; also absent are nearly five years from 1520 to 1525, and sixteen months between 1502 and 1503.[15] Thus, the journal of Bābur contains two levels of autobiographical remove. The first, and most obvious, is the absent time; the second is the approximately thirty-four-year delay between the first events of Bābur's recollections and the beginning of the final form of his memoirs.

The journal concerns itself with the author's turbulent princely career. Since the death of Tīmūr, Transoxiana[16] had been gripped by decades of wars, intrigues, and power struggles. The young Bābur resolved to conquer Samarkand, formerly Tīmūr's capital; but his efforts to reconstitute his ancestor's domain failed, and Bābur was swiftly dispossessed by his rivals. The young prince found better fortune to the south and, in 1504, Bābur conquered Kabul without a battle. Despite stiff resistance on the part of native Afghans, and Bābur's continued fixation with Samarkand, the lands of Kabul constituted a kingdom he could hold. From Kabul, Bābur pushed his domain further southward. In 1526, the first Mughal defeated Ibrahim Lodi, the Sultan of Delhi, at the Battle of Panipat. A victory over Rana Sanga, and the establishment of a Rajput coalition a year later after which Bābur proudly added the title of *Ghazi* ('holy warrior') to his seal, further consolidated his Indian gains and laid the foundation for the grand empire of his heirs. The narrative ends in 1529 and Bābur died the following year, at the age of forty-seven.[17]

If the *Baburnama* can be frustratingly overburdened with thick geographical description, tedious climatic observations, and exasperating rolls of minor characters who are introduced only to never resurface, then it is also striking for its frankness and intimacy, and for the sharpness of its narrator. The story, with significant omissions aside, makes for a respectably tidy narrative, at least until its third and final component.[18] The *Baburnama*'s narrative quality, however, goes far beyond its coherence as a sequence of historical events. The blending of social, political, and dynastic history with personal perceptions and motivations —the definitive feature of autobiography—was utilized by the Tīmūrid authors to extend their experiences of kingship beyond their own lives while transforming them into lessons of governance for their successors. The *Baburnama*'s narrativity, which will be explored in the next section, allows a reconstruction of the ways in which the Mughals sought to establish their legitimacy through personal connections to the lives of their predecessors themselves.

Kings and *Huffaz*: The *Baburnama* as Narrative

Historians have long appreciated the significance of the *Baburnama* as a unique document—a near-ethnography of the peoples, customs, and social arrangements of Early Modern Central

Asia, crafted in Geertz-like thick description.[19] The *Baburnama* is, in many cases, the definitive account on such matters. Important aspects of the 16th century cannot be reconstructed from any extant historical work besides Bābur's text; even archaeological evidence for these contexts is scant.[20] Where alternate records do exist, they simply do not match the scope or depth of the *Baburnama*; subsequent histories often obtained much of their material directly from Bābur's memoirs. In any event, as Stephen Dale points out, however useful these secondary sources may be for corroborating specific sequences of the *Baburnama*, they still fall far short of providing an alternate narrative.[21] The implications of a narrative ego-text (a text written about the self) enjoying the status achieved by the *Baburnama* have troubled historians and have resulted in a mountain of meticulous supplementary research. Yet, the narrative aspects of the work are far from ahistorical; they legitimize Bābur's memoirs by the literary and scholarly conventions within which they were written—conventions which prioritized internalized, embodied knowledge over knowledge contained in text. The Tīmūrid authors signaled their engagement with these conventions through their incorporation of genre influences, and their use of narrativity to convey their subjective experiences must be seen as an innovation which preserves the recitative quality of knowledge transmission in textual form. For subsequent Mughals, the literary character of the *Baburnama* was no inconsequential flourish; instead, it was a conscious appeal to a culturally situated mode of knowledge transmission which allowed the text to stand in for a human 'memorizer,' anchoring a master-student relationship between predecessors and successors.

H. Porter Abbott writes that "any story is an act of mediation and construction, and this includes its characters."[22] Bābur's text appears particularly unconcerned with softening or concealing evidence of its own refinement; rather than presenting an unintegrated series of historical events as observed by a witness-actor, the autobiography is consistently self-referential and affirmative of its second-iteration status.[23] The *Baburnama* is characterized by narrative conventions which indicate that large swathes of it were written from a point of knowledge of future events, a phenomenon exemplified by Bābur's observation that a sword he gave to Ahmad Tambal in AH 907 (1501-1502) "was the sword that later came crashing down on my head, as will be reported in the events of the coming year."[24] Then there is the intimate, personal level of detail which make the *Baburnama* such a fascinating historical text. Consider, for instance, the following famous passage which describes Bābur's infatuation with Baburi, a boy from the camp market at Khodzhent:

> Occasionally Baburi came to me, but I was so bashful that I could not look him in the face, much less converse freely with him...In the throes of love, in the foment of youth and madness, I wandered bareheaded and barefooted around the lanes

> and streets and through the gardens and orchards, paying no attention to acquaintances or strangers, oblivious to self and others...Sometimes I went out alone like a madman to the hills and wilderness, sometimes I roamed through the orchards and lanes of town, neither walking nor sitting within my own volition, restless in going and staying.[25]

Bābur's striking candor, coupled with the *Baburnama*'s well-polished account of events, establishes what Abbott refers to as "narrativity" within the story: it suggests that the recitation of information is at least as significant to the purpose of the text as the information being recited.[26]

In order to understand why narrativity was so central to the *Baburnama*, and how it can inform a reading of subsequent Tīmūrid kingly autobiographies, one must first explore the scholarly context of the Tīmūrid South and Central Asian world of the Mughals' time. Jahāngīr, like his great-grandfather Bābur, kept a personal record of his reign: the *Jahangirnama*—beginning with his ascension to the Mughal throne in 1605 and ending three years before his death in 1624. Like the *Baburnama*, the memoir of Jahāngīr contains an autobiographical gap from 1622-4 where illness compelled the emperor to dictate his experiences to his personal secretary.[27] One dimension of the personal inflection of both the *Baburnama* and the *Jahangirnama* is that such an effect indicates to readers the functionality of the texts as works of kingly advice literature. Both texts are well-provisioned with prescriptions and pithy aphorisms; Bābur's writing quite often take the form of short snippets of poetry, including original compositions and proverbs such as:

> Put out a fire today while you can, for when it blazes high it will burn the world. / Do not allow the enemy to string his bow while you are able to pierce him with an arrow.[28]

Virtually identical apothegms appear in the *Jahangirnama*, among them the following excerpt which Jahāngīr attributes to Shaykh Sa'di:

> In the end a wolf child becomes a wolf even though it grows up with humans.[29]

By formulating their histories through using opportunities in the texts to cite the philosophical foundations of their decisions and the lessons they learned as rulers, the Mughal self-historians drew upon a convention of *akhlāq* literature (a genre of philosophical treatises meant to impart to princes the precepts of good governance).[30] This situated the texts within an established cultural form familiar to Tīmūrid readers. A similar function of the kingly autobiographies is hinted at by a common name for the *Jahangirnama*: the *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*. The Persian word *tuzuk* ("regulation") specifically refers to a prince's orderly

maintenance of his armies and staff.[31] This is in accordance with Jahāngīr's own assertion that he arranged to have copies "sent to other countries to be used by the rulers as a manual for ruling."[32] The evidence suggests that Jahāngīr intended for his memoirs to serve as guidelines, or regulations, for maintaining an empire. It appears that all of the Mughal self-histories were intended to be read in this way, as Tīmūrid autobiographies provided "instructive memory" and formed the backbone of early Mughal historiography. [33]

The desire to approximate the conventions of Indo-Persian princely advice literature cannot, on its own, account for the depth of Bābur's character that comes through in the *Baburnama* —even if that character is, by definition, mediated and, therefore, manufactured. After all, if Bābur and his progeny were interested only in recreating *akhlāq* literature, then they would have been well within their depth simply to generate *akhlāq* literature in the first place. Another explanation is that the Tīmūrid autobiographies adopted a personal, narrative language in order to promote their legitimacy as sources of knowledge within the context of Early Modern Indo-Persian scholastic practice. It has to do, according to Nile Green, with the role of books in Early Modern Central and South Asian epistemology as "appendages to the personal pedagogical relationships through which knowledge was transferred." These are tools in an "anthropocentric mode of knowledge" which valued them mainly as *aides-mémoires*.[34] This argument posits that the authority of the written word in Tīmūrid Central and South Asia was not self-evident; instead, it was contingent on the existence of a literati fluent in the information contained within a particular text, and the physical object of which was relegated to a supporting role in the act of knowledge transfer.

Memory and knowledge were, in the Indo-Tīmūrid context, linked in a fundamental way: knowledge was not simply read, but was also remembered, internalized, and embodied. Green points to the widespread pedagogical tradition of Qur'anic recitation as a model. For the majority of Muslims during Bābur's time, access to the Qur'an came through the spoken performances of *huffaz* ('remembrancers') and not through engagement with the physical text. Scholarly works boasted *huffaz* of their own, the masters who had likewise committed their meanings to heart.[35] Placing the life-histories of the Tīmūrid kings within this framework, it suggests that they were written with a view to establish each successive Indo-Tīmūrid *padishah* as a 'remembrancer' of the canon of dynastic memory—a *huffaz* fluent in the experience of Mughal kingship—as a critical component of a princely education.

Green cites a variety of genres circulating in the late Medieval and Early Modern Indo-Persian world which functioned primarily as mnemonic 'props' to facilitate the recollection and recitation of knowledge. Among those cited are: the *dīwān* (poetic anthology), which collected verses for the well-heeled to commit to memory for recitation; the *tārīkh*

(historiography), which concerned itself primarily with recording dates; the *tabaqāt* (saintly biography), which "provided performative moral models of emulation for the pious;" and the *tazkira* (memory books), which served simply as spaces for users to store information to augment their internalized memories.[36] Conspicuously, the *Baburnama* incorporates elements of all three genres. As would have been expected of a cultured Tīmūrid noble, Bābur makes his appreciation of poetry abundantly clear by reciting poems and fragments of poems as though from a *dīwān*. His frequent inclusions of poetic excerpts, authored by the very people he describes in his assessments, seem to further suggest that Bābur utilizes poetry as a 'hook' upon which to hang his memories.[37] Despite the rewriting of large sections of the *Baburnama* from Bābur's original journals, and the smoothing out of their formerly calendrical style, the exact dates for the vast majority of events are retained, integrated, and appear even throughout the most polished tracts. Despite the considerably higher level of finish attained by the *Jahangirnama*, it, too, includes a profusion of specific dates. Both texts also periodically employ chronograms (poetic devices in Turkish and Persian which record the dates of events using a system that assigns numerical value to the letters of a word or phrase).[38] These conventions imbue the two autobiographies with qualities of *tārīkh* literature. Biographical sketches of characters encountered by both Bābur and Jahāngīr are plentiful throughout their respective texts. Most astounding, however, are the hordes of characters not given full profiles, or even much in the way of profile at all. For the uninitiated prospective reader of the two memoirs, perhaps the most daunting hurdle to overcome is the apparent obsession of both texts with names, titles, lineages, and feudal relationships. Historical 'extras' come and go in rapid-fire succession; an index of characters included at the end of the Thackston translation of the *Baburnama* includes no less than six-hundred and eighty-six entries—exclusive of characters mentioned only once, which the translator did not include.[39] Such exhaustive lists of personages, while they may appear overbearing, begin to make sense when read in their Tīmūrid Central and South Asian context. Like *tabaqāt* literature, for example, the inclusion of these lists was driven by established conventions for remembrance.[40]

Mastery of works within these genres was contingent on a contemporary scholar's embodiment of the information contained within them, and measured by the scholar's ability to recite that information from memory. Likewise, the mastery of a Tīmūrid autobiography like the *Baburnama* would have been contingent on the embodiment of the experience of kingship; this experience was understood to include not only the facts of rule, but also the previous rulers' perceptions of them. The narrative style of the *Baburnama*, as well as Bābur's own mediation and repackaging of the events of his life, imbues the text with his subjective experiences, thereby enshrining these as part of the Tīmūrid memory collective the *Baburnama* helped create. The personal nature of the *Baburnama* was precious

to generations of later Indo-Tīmūrids because it rendered Bābur's experiences, particularly his subjective experiences, accessible through the memory collective of the dynasty.[41]

The narrativity of Bābur's prose was also instrumental in establishing the *padishah*'s text as not simply a history, but as a narrative that approximates a performance and as a text that makes its own recitation. The *Baburnama*, with its keen judgements, ready explanations and justifications, moralizing apothegms, opportunistic interjections, and periodic bouts of self-aggrandizement, is winding: sometimes it reads as a lecture, sometimes as a travelogue, sometimes as a tragedy, sometimes as an ethnography, and sometimes as a poetry review. It is, in keeping with the precepts of the transmission of knowledge in Indo-Persian literature, a performance convention emulated by successive Tīmūrid texts. Narrativity complemented narrative while the autobiographies became 'packages of memory' rather than simply catalogues of information; this allowed later Mughals to internalize not only the words, but the lived experiences of their predecessors.

The Life and Afterlife of the *Baburnama*

The *Baburnama*, as the first Tīmūrid kingly autobiography, provides a perfect example of how this relationship worked in practice. One can begin to understand the text's afterlife, and the purpose it served for future Mughals, by considering the ways in which these later kings perpetuated the narrative. Ironically, they accomplished this through substantial intervention into the text. In his useful preface to his translation of the *Baburnama*, Wheeler M. Thackston contemplates the apparent anomalous nature of the journal: "We have no way of knowing what prompted Babur to write his open, frank, and occasionally quite intimate memoirs, and aside from a few internal references to the work as a 'history'. . .he gives no hint of his motivation or inspiration."[42] According to Thackston, the *Baburnama* was wholly unprecedented in the Central or South Asian literary tradition.[43] No manuscript of the *Baburnama* from Bābur's time is known, making it virtually impossible to know how close later versions are to the original work. The text survives in a number of competing forms, outlined by premodern Central and South Asian scholar A. Azfar Moin: "in official and illustrated sixteenth-century Persian translations, in relatively faithful copies of the original Turkish work, and in garbled Turkish versions that appear to have been partially re-translated from Persian."[44] Yet for all the shakiness of its provenience, this curious text remains unmatched in the window that it creates on the formative period of the Mughal empire. In reconciling the uncertainties of the *Baburnama*'s creation with its outsized impact on modern scholarship, today's historians face a similar problem to that faced by Bābur's Tīmūrid descendents: before the text could function as a source of kingly legitimacy, a font of knowledge of good governance, it must first be legitimated itself.

Towards this goal, Mughal rulers modified the *Baburnama*'s language, and apparently also its content, in order to give Bābur's words a more official stamp. The authorized Persian translation of the *Baburnama* was commissioned by Bābur's illustrious grandson, and the most famous Mughal, Abū a-Fatḥ Jalāl u-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar (r. 1556-1605). As the earliest known Turkish language copy dates to over a century after Bābur's death, the Persian versions are generally thought to predate the Turkish.[45] The two renderings correspond well, except for one conspicuous difference: at the first prominent break in the text, between 1502 and 1503 (the year AH 908), the Turkish translation includes a sequence not found in the Persian, in which Bābur is visited in a dream by the Naqshbandi holy man Khwaja Ahrar (d. 1488), who recognizes the young prince's right to the Tīmūrid throne.[46] Annette Beveridge, author of the most widely known—though not the first—English translation of the *Baburnama,* rejected this fragment from the Turkish reading as spurious based on its use of several anachronistic terms. Although the authorship of this suspect passage cannot be proven, the fact that it appears to postdate Akbar's translation lends credence to the idea that it may have been added by Akbar's son, Bābur's great-grandson Jahāngīr. Jahāngīr's own admission that he edited the original manuscript suggests that the *Baburnama* remained a living, dynamic text nearly a century after its initial composition and well after its official Persian translation.[47]

The *Baburnama* and the autobiographies of subsequent Tīmūrid kings of Hindustan, such as the *Akbarnama* and *Jahangirnama,* should be understood as projects of memory beyond simply autobiographical works. Jahāngīr and his father Akbar not only consciously associate themselves with the memoirs of the first Mughal, they also mediate the text; Akbar does so through the official Persian translation, and Jahāngīr through his additions—their personal natures are underscored by their author's physical signature on Bābur's record. The actions of both men can be understood as attempts to legitimize the text. Akbar formalized the *Baburnama*—heretofore an interesting but politically inconsequential account of his ancestor's life—by commissioning a state-sponsored rendering in the language of the Mughal court.[48] Importantly, Akbar and Jahāngīr created their own records following this formal model, further tying themselves to Bābur's text.[49] As for Jahāngīr's "embellishments", Azfar Moin has suggested that they were a response to the "temporal and cultural priority" of Bābur's "social memory" over his authentic court history, by which the first Mughal's frankly "unepic" life was exaggerated "not to enhance Babur's historical repute but to help the *Baburnama* keep up with it."[50] Put differently: when the *Baburnama* failed to deliver on the expectations of Tīmūrid kingly autobiography, it was amended to promote its legitimacy as a kingly text.

The careful treatment of Bābur's journal by his successors strongly suggests that they conceived of the text as more than simply a courtly history of an ancestor's reign. That the Mughals chose to work with the *Baburnama,* as left to them by its author, is evidence of the importance to the dynasty of the Tīmūrid kingly autobiographies: "As imperial advice literature, each of the memoirs was a carefully composed clarification and justification of the Mughal's sovereign legitimacy, and as such was a critical part of the dynasty's imperial inheritance." Promoting the memoirs in their role as instructive texts, through which the Indo-Tīmūrids could tap the memory collective of prior reigns, worked to Mughal sovereigns' benefit by establishing a phylogeny that made them inheritors of both their predecessors' titles and wisdom. The Tīmūrid rulers' roles as students of their forebears in the crafts of government and empire-building would have been immediately recognizable to Hindustani elites, who were themselves the students of master poets, clerics, scholars, and saints, and who conceived of the legitimate transmission of knowledge in terms of those relationships. For these court officers and functionaries, to be good at anything meant diligent study under acknowledged tutors. To be simply the biological son of a *padishah* was one thing; but to also be the pupil of a good ruler would qualify one for imperial office in an entirely different way, at least in the eyes of the South and Central Asian literati that surrounded the Mughals. Consequently, the conspicuous demonstration of the master-student relationship on the part of Bābur's descendants was, in and of itself, a legitimating act. Simply composing new, state-managed official histories would not do; the sources of kingly knowledge were as important as a sovereign's grasp of the knowledge itself to making the king an authority on kingship recognized by his classically trained civil servants. Both contemporary accounts from the Mughal court and extant Tīmūrid manuscripts strongly suggest that these self-histories were read by successive royal generations exactly "as they were intended: pored over, translated, discussed, scrawled on, and cross-referenced."[51] Such engagement with the texts approximated the engagement of a student under the watchful tutelage of a master, and constituted a critical component of a Tīmūrid king's study in the eyes of those who represented the greatest potential challenge to his rule.

There are similar phylogenetic impulses in the creation and maintenance of Tīmūrid genealogical portraiture. This artistic genre imagines reigning sovereigns in the company of their illustrious predecessors, often extending back to Tīmūr Beg himself. Such depictions were regularly retouched and expanded to include representations of subsequent rulers, as in the case of the so-called "Princes of the House of Tīmūr" which was created around 1550 for the second Mughal emperor and son of Bābur, Humāyūn, about five years prior to Humāyūn's reclamation of Hindustan from the Sūri Afghans.[52] The painting originally depicted an imagined garden party attended by Humāyūn, Bābur, and Tīmūr; later, it was amended to incorporate successive emperors: Akbar, Jahāngīr, and Jahāngīr's heir, Shah

Jahān.[53] Jahāngīr himself describes one such scene in a picture gallery in a garden in Kashmir:

> On the upper level was a picture of Jannat Ashyani [Humayun] and His Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar]. Opposite they had drawn a picture of me and my brother Shah Abbas. Then there were pictures of Mirza Kamran, Mirza Muhammad-Hakim, Shah-Murad, and Sultan Danyal...One of the poets produced this chronogram: 'An assembly of Solomonic kings.'[54]

Likewise, *silsilahnamas* (illustrated genealogical texts) which predated the Indian Tīmūrids—in some cases, of Ilkhanid vintage, preceding even Tīmūr Beg himself—were edited to reflect the dynastic claims of later Mughals.[55] Such efforts on the part of Tīmūrid kings to present themselves together with their predecessors do, of course, reflect their desires to establish hereditary links to previous *padishah*s. However, they also promote Indo-Tīmūrid kingship as a single, unbroken line through which kingly knowledge passes from ruler to ruler. The status of later Tīmūrids as not only titular successors to their ancestors, but also devotees and pupils of them, gave them legitimate claim to the Tīmūrid kingly memory collective, the intellectual justification for Mughal rule.

Once the memory collective passed through kingly autobiography to Tīmūrid king, the sovereigns then themselves became *huffaz;* they were now repositories of and authorities on kingly knowledge. In this capacity, the Mughal emperors were understood to have more authority over the narrative of Mughal kingship than the texts, which assumed an auxiliary role. Thus, Jahāngīr could alter the text of the *Baburnama* without altering its integrity: he simply adjusted, or perhaps corrected, the text to better fit his own knowledge and understanding of his ancestor; and this is an understanding that he would himself pass to later Tīmūrid kings. As a student, Jahāngīr was legitimated in the eyes of his literate elites by his diligent study of his predecessors' kingly knowledge through their autobiographies. As master himself of that knowledge, the fourth Mughal legitimated the memoirs of the first by reconciling them with a memory collective which had outgrown them. In doing so, he returned the *Baburnama* to its role as a conduit. This smoothed out the seams of individual kingship and presented the throne of Tīmūr, not as a succession of discrete self-contained sovereigns, but as a single institution containing the totality of the perceptions, intentions, and claims—the memory collective—of Indo-Tīmūrid rule.

Conclusion: Jahāngīr and the *Vaqā'i'* of Bābur

We do not know what Bābur called his memoirs. If his original manuscripts had a title at all, it was lost with them. Stephen Dale has cited evidence that Bābur's intended name for his text was *Vaqā'i'* ('*Events*'). In any case, he almost certainly did not use the title

'*Baburnama*' (the '*Book of Bābur*') which successive Mughals are not known to have used.[56] Just as contemporary observers are obliged to take care to avoid letting modern conceptions of the structure of memory, or the role of written history, color perceptions of those concerns in the past, one must also use caution when making claims about the intentionality behind the Tīmūrid kingly autobiographies. One can know, for instance, how the *Baburnama* interacts with other genres in vogue in the Turko-Indo-Persian literary climates around the time that the first Mughal was carving out a kingdom for himself in Afghanistan and Hindustan. Through an analysis of generic forms and the practica associated with them, one can situate his work squarely within an important South and Central Asian tradition of memory text. One can also know how successive Indo-Tīmūrid kings responded to Bābur's text. Consider the glorification the *Baburnama* received in the court of Akbar, primarily in the form of richly illustrated Persian translations which command a place among quintessential works of Mughal miniature painting,[57] as well as analyses of the ways in which Mughal emperors thought about dynastic memory. These conclusions suggest that Mughal rulers were not concerned simply with linking themselves to the memory collective of the dynasty of Tīmūr Beg, but with internalizing and embodying the legacies and experiences of Tīmūrid kingship.

What will remain unknown is whether or not Bābur anticipated his text's lively afterlife. Perhaps the very fact that he could not foresee how his descendants would manage the empire, including the office he left to them, inspired him to create the *Baburnama* as a reminder to capitalize on the opportunities, and weather the setbacks, offered by life as a Tīmūrid king. Despite five centuries' remove, it is strikingly easy to get a sense of Bābur: his character, his desires, his grievances. Bābur ceases to be a mere chronicler and becomes somehow tangible; he is foreign, perhaps, but essentially knowable.

One may feel uneasy about the unflinching and unqualified application of the label '*Events*' to a text that has endured mediation after mediation: starting from Bābur's perception of events, to his ostensible recording of them in his journal, to their eventual inscription in manuscript form, to the loss of this original manuscript, to their translation from Chaghatay to Persian, to Turkish, and, finally, to English. Within their Indo-Tīmūrid structures for the production, incorporation, and transmission of knowledge and memory, however, kingly autobiographies like Bābur's were written, re-written, and written over not to change the facts, but to make the narrative fit. The lives and legacies of past *padishah*s belonged not to the texts, but to their students: the reigning and future Tīmūrid kings, those to whom their triumphs, failures, virtues, vices, and experiences of kingship were an indispensable guidebook for their own governance.

Thus, Jahāngīr's alteration of Bābur's original manuscript did not, for him nor for later Mughal emperors, constitute a violation of the sanctity of a primary historical source; it should not affect any perception of the authenticity or integrity of the text. By committing Bābur's memories to heart, Jahāngīr took on the role of *huffaz*, and became the authoritative repository of knowing for his great-grandfather's text. His additions to the manuscript, then, must be understood not as augmentations to Bābur's narrative, but as inclusions in Jahāngīr's narrative about the life of Bābur. This hypothesis asserts more than a reaffirmation of the tired cliché that 'history is what its chroniclers have made it.' For Jahāngīr, and for the whole host of Early Modern Tīmūrid emperors of Hindustan, the written word itself has no power to confer legitimacy. Instead, both scholastic authority and kingly legitimacy derived from the internalization of the aggregate history and experience (i.e., the memory collective) of the dynasty of Tīmūr and Bābur. Only within this epistemological framework can the full impact of the genre of Tīmūrid kingly autobiography be appreciated.

References

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[1] "Hindustan" here refers to northern India; that is, the Punjab and Indo-Gangetic Plain.

[2] Jahāngīr, *Jahangirnama: Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India,* ed. and trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 75-7; Bābur, *Baburnama,* pp. 167-9. All references to either the *Baburnama* or the *Jahangirnama*, unless otherwise specified, are to these two editions.

[3] The term *Mughal* is problematic, as several scholars on the dynasty have noted. *Mughal* is the Persian rendering of "Mongol" and came to be used broadly in reference to various Central Asian peoples — Turkis, Uzbeks, Uighurs, and Kazaks, to name just a few — who spoke Mongol languages and dialects. Though descent from Chinggis Khan (which Bābur's dynasty would claim through the Great Khan's son Chaghta) was held in high esteem, Bābur characterizes contemporary "Mughals" as uncouth and barbaric in his memoir. In India, the dynasty referred to themselves as the *Gurkani*, a Persianized term derived from a title of Tīmūr Beg. Marshall G. S. Hodgson prefers "Indo-Timurid." This essay uses "Tīmūrid," "Indo-Tīmūrid," and "Mughal" interchangeably. Harbans Mukhia, *The Mughals of India* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), pp. 2-3; Wheeler M. Thackston, Preface to the *Baburnama: Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 30; Douglas E. Streusand, *The Formation of the Mughal Empire* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 21.

[4] In March of 1612, Jahāngīr's memoirs report his fascination with the new North American bird a servant purchased for him at the port of Goa: "larger in body than a peahen and significantly smaller than a peacock...Its beak and legs are like a rooster's. Its head, neck, and wattle constantly change color...The piece of flesh on its head resembles a cock's comb." Jahāngīr, p. 133. For a comprehensive history of the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr, see Abraham Eraly, *The Mughal Throne: The Saga of India's Great Emperors* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2000), pp. 114-296.

[5] *Jahangirnama*, p. 77.

[6] William F. Brewer, "What is autobiographical memory?" in *Autobiographical Memory: Addresses, Essays, and Lectures*, ed. David C. Rubin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 27.

[7] James V. Wertsch, "Collective Memory," in *Memory in Mind and Culture*, ed. Pascal Boyer and James V. Wertsch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 122.

[8] Streusand, p. 5.

[9] Nile Green, "The Uses of Books in a Late Mughal *Takiyya*: Persianate Knowledge Between Person and Paper," *Modern Asian Studies* 44, no. 2 (2010), p. 247.

[10] Lisa Balabanlilar, "Lords of the Auspicious Conjunction: Turco-Mongolian Imperial Identity on the Subcontinent," *Journal of World History* 18, no. 1 (2007), p. 5.

[11] Stephen F. Dale, *The Garden of the Eight Paradises: Babur and the Culture of Empire in Central Asia, Afghanistan, and India (1483-1530)* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 38.

[12] Balabanlilar, p. 6.

[13] 'AH' refers to a year of the Hijri calendar (Latin: *Anno Hegirae*), the Islamic lunar system of reckoning time. It begins in CE 622, the year of the *Hijra*, or remove of the Prophet Muḥammad and his *ummah* to Medina. Further, one year in the Hijri calendar is ten days shorter than a Gregorian year. Bābur's ascension to the throne of Ferghana roughly corresponds in the Common Era to June of 1494. Unless otherwise specified, all dates presented here are given in CE.

[14] Recent research has demonstrated that the ideas, themes, modes, and practices that anchored Mughal kingship blended aspects from many distinct traditions. Eminent Central and South Asian historian A. Azfar Moin has argued compellingly that individual rulers legitimated themselves through the construction of a "sacred kingship" which drew on dynastic legitimacy, Sufi mystical notions of sainthood from Tīmūrid Central Asia, and assertions of auspicious astrological conjunction. See A. Azfar Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012). Although this essay refers to Mughal kingship only within its distinctly and self-consciously Tīmūrid framework here, "Tīmūrids" is by no means all that the Mughals were or presented themselves as.

[15] Thackston, Preface to the *Baburnama*, p. 15. Thackston gives a wonderfully useful explanation of the organization of the *Baburnama*.

[16] A region of Central Asia comprised of modern Uzbekistan and parts of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan.

[17] For a more thorough appraisal of Bābur's life and deeds, see Abraham Eraly, pp. 5-37. For a brief but useful contextualization of the dynasty in the broader history of South Asia, see Thomas R. Trautmann, *India: Brief History of a Civilization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), esp. pp. 148-81, or Catherine B. Asher and Cynthia Talbot, *India Before Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 115-151.

[18] Large swathes of this section appear to have been copied unedited directly from Bābur's diary; in fact, the *Baburnama* simply ends midsentence at the beginning of AH 936 (September of CE 1529): "Shaykh Ghuran and Nur Beg were sent to Gwalior so that Gwalior could be turned over to them…" Thackston suggests that Bābur likely intended to organize and edit these final events, but never got the chance. Bābur, *Baburnama*, p. 447; Thackston, preface to the *Baburnama*, p. 15.

[19] R. Nath, *India as Seen by Babur (AD 1504-1530)* (New Delhi: MD Publications, 1996), pp. 14-15.

[20] Dale, *Garden of the Eight Paradises*, pp. 6-11. Bābur's descriptions of Afghanistan, for instance, are unmatched.

[21] Ibid., p. 11.

[22] H. Porter Abbot, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 47.

[23] Perhaps nowhere in the *Baburnama* is this more clear than in its recounting of the events of AH 935 (1528 to 1529), in which Bābur makes several allusions to his creation of the physical text itself. Examples can be seen on *Baburnama*, 427, which records Bābur's gift of a copy of the text to Khwaja Kalan, and on Ibid., 440, which discusses damage to Bābur's original manuscript during a storm.

[24] *Baburnama*, p. 134.

[25] *Baburnama*, pp. 112-113.

[26] Abbott, p. 22.

[27] Jahāngīr, *The Jahangirnama*, 386. Jahāngīr insists that he required the secretary to submit all of his records for editing before their official inscription.

[28] *Baburnama*, p. 139.

[29] *Jahangirnama*, p. 202.

[30] Taymiya R. Zaman, "Instructive Memory: An Analysis of Auto/Biographical Writing in Early Mughal India," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 54, no. 5 (2011), p. 678; for more on *akhlāq* advice literature in Mughal India, see Muzaffar Alam, "Akhlaqi Norms of Mughal Governance," in *The Making of Indo-Persian Culture: Indian and French Studies*, eds. M. Alam, F.N. Delvoye and M. Gaborieau (New Delhi: Manohar, 2000). A letter written by Bābur to Humāyūn in November of CE 1528, copied and included in the *Baburnama*, contains several points of advice reminiscent of those made in *akhlāq* treatises, an indication of the prescriptive intent of the manuscript. *Baburnama*, pp. 412-14.

[31] Thackston, preface to the *Jahangirnama*, p. ix.

[32] Jahāngīr, *Jahangirnama*, p. 271

[33] Zaman, p. 677.

[34] Green, p. 243.

[35] Ibid., pp. 243-244.

[36] Ibid., p. 246.

[37] A typical example of this usage can be found in Bābur's appraisal of Baysunghur Mirza, the governor of Hissar; appended to Bābur's treatment of the Mirza's character is the following report: "He composed some marvellous poetry. His pen name was Adili, but he did not compose enough poetry to make a divan [*dīwān*]. This is one of his verses: 'Like a shadow, I stumble and fall from weakness. If I don't lean against a wall I fall down.'" *Baburnama*, p. 106. For a discussion of the mechanics of forming and recalling autobiographical memory, see Brewer.

[38] F.C. de Blois, "Ta'rikh: In the Sense of 'Chronogram,'" in *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. Consulted online 9 December 2017.

[39] Thackston, "Appendix to the *Baburnama,*" pp. 460-465.

[40] Thackston also suggests that the deluge of Turkic names introduced, apparently aimlessly, by Bābur into his memoir in fact satisfy "a tendency in Muslim historiography to legitimize a historical account with all the known names of persons involved, regardless of how insignificant their roles may have been." This adds an interesting new dimension to the *Baburnama*'s fixation on names and titles; outside of its propriety in Indo-Persian memory literature, it could itself be, in a sense, a reality device — what Roland Barthes termed *l'effet de réel* — intended to establish the verisimilitude of Bābur's recollections within established cultural parameters. Thackston, "Introduction to the *Baburnama*," p. 17.

[41] The notion of 'subjective experience' here, which this essay has briefly touched on, could do with some unpacking. Thomas Nagel first speaks of the "subjective character of experience" in his seminal philosophical treatise "What Is It Like to Be a Bat?" Nagel refers to the nature of experience as "not analyzable in terms of any explanatory system of functional states, or intentional states, since these could be ascribed to robots or automata that behaved like people but experienced nothing…[or] in terms of the causal role of experiences in relation to typical human behavior - for similar reasons." Implicitly, he also describes an *objective* counterpoint to this subjective character: the "facts of experience," which "can be observed and understood from many points of view and by individuals with different perceptual systems." While modern historical scholarship in the North Atlantic tradition values objective experience, in Early Modern South and Central Asia both objective and subjective experiences were understood to contribute to the historicity of a source. Thomas Nagel, "What Is It Like to Be a Bat?" *The Philosophical Review* 83, no. 4 (1974).

[42] Thackston, forward to the *Baburnama*, p. 9.

[43] Dale asserts that, contrary to Thackston's assessment, a flourishing autobiographical tradition existed in the Indo-Persian world both before and during Bābur's time. However, when it appeared Bābur's text was unique in its authorship by the founder of a dynasty as well as in its scope and precise detail. Dale, *Garden of the Eight Paradises*, pp. 28-36.

[44] A. Azfar Moin, "Peering through the cracks in the Baburnama: The textured Lives of Mughal sovereigns," in *Indian Economic & Social History Review* 49, no. 4 (2012), p. 494.

[45] Thackston continues the narrative of re-rendering of the *Baburnama* given here with a fairly comprehensive summary of later European translations. Thackston, preface to the *Baburnama*, pp. 11-15.

[46] Moin, p. 494.

[47] Ibid., p. 496.

[48] For a discussion of the status of Persian as the language of the Mughal Empire, see Muzaffar Alam, "The Pursuit of Persian: Language in Mughal Politics," *Modern Asian Studies* 32, no. 2 (1998).

[49] The *Akbarnama*, Akbar's own contribution to Tīmūrid self-history, provides a useful example of the complexities of defining the genre as autobiographical in a strict sense: Akbar famously never learned to read or write, and so entrusted his record to his friend and confidant Abū al-Faṣl. Asher and Talbot, 124.

[50] Moin, p. 508.

[51] Balabanlilar, p. 3.

[52] For a history of Humāyūn's reign and exile, and an account of Sher Shah Sūri's rule, see Eraly, pp. 42-113.

[53] Gulru Necipoglu, "The Serial Portraits of Ottoman Sultans in Comparative Perspective," in *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman* (Istanbul: Isbank, 2000), p. 51.

[54] *Jahangirnama*, p. 341. Here, Humāyūn and Akbar are referred to by their posthumous titles, common practice in Persian historiography. Each Mughal sovereign received a fixed posthumous designation; Bābur's was *Firdaws-Makani*, and Jahāngīr's was *Jannat-Makani*. Thackston, "Preface to the *Jahangirnama*," p. xiii.

[55] Necipoglu, p. 48.

[56] Dale, *Garden of the Eight Paradises*, p. 23.

[57] See, for example, the exquisite examples in the collection of the National Museum in New Delhi. Daljeet and Rajeshwari Shah, *Baburnama: Memoirs of Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur Padshah Ghazi*, photo. Shri R. K. Dutta Gupta (New Delhi: National Museum, 2004). '*Ghazi*' is a title that means 'warrior of the Faith'; Bābur added this epithet to his seal after his victory at the Battle of Khanua in 1527. *Baburnama*, p. 387.

Rescued or Used?

The Militarization of Armenian and Turkish Orphans by the Ottoman Empire during WWI

Ines Maximiano

SOAS University of London

Abstract

This paper analyzes the Ottoman Empire's treatment of its orphans during WWI, especially its endeavors in their militarization. Part of a wider attempt to achieve a constant state of military mobilization throughout the empire, the militarization of orphans occurred differentially across ethnic lines: Turkish orphans, or "orphans of martyrs," were all militarized through state-controlled programs in orphanages established by the government. Non-Turco-Muslim orphans experienced Turkification and Islamization on top of militarization. Moreover, non-Turkish orphans became a form of commodity sought after by varying parties, namely the Ottoman state and foreign philanthropic agencies that aimed to "civilize" orphans according to their particular interests, whether religious or political. To advance these arguments, this project draws from a variety of interdisciplinary and multimedia sources, including photographs, orphanage reports, postcards, personal correspondence, memoirs, and more. This research ultimately aims to reappraise and retrace how orphans turned into state commodity and property.

Introduction

The Ottoman Empire of the 19th century faced enormous internal and external pressure to modernize as a result of threats of foreign invasion as well as domestic challenges to state authority. Major European powers, such as Britain and Russia, subtly or directly marked Ottoman land with imperialist ambitions, while global movements of anti-colonialism and nationalism encouraged separatism among ethnic minorities throughout the empire.[1] The Ottoman state, therefore, sought to develop a unifying and collective identity among its diverse subjects to combat destabilizing developments that threatened the empire's decline, or worse, its dissolution. It envisioned this new identity to pair with modernization—specifically that of society's combat capacity—so that one could enhance the other and produce a stable and defensible empire.

By the late-1800s, however, the state realized that inclusive Ottoman patriotism was effectively utopian, as extant national consciousness among ethnic minorities proved harder to reverse or uproot. Instead of creating an all-encompassing Ottoman identity to tie together every nationalizing group within the empire, the government favored an already-existing Turco-Muslim identity as the face of the state.[2] In short, inclusion failed and exclusion became the path toward survival—both in the domestic and global contexts. At the turn of the century, this emergent path toward state-sanctioned Turkification and Islamization of Ottoman society was paved by the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP): a Pan-Turkic political party that aimed to end the status of the empire as "the sick man of Europe" by removing or relocating those deemed weak by the Party—those causing the "sickness" of the empire, or, simply, the non-Turks.[3]

Racializing national identity was achieved, primarily, through the Armenian Genocide that began in 1894 and, secondarily, through a full military mobilization of the Ottoman society; with the outbreak of WWI, both developments exacerbated in violence. The war served as camouflage for the increasingly bloody genocide of Armenians as well as other state-sanctioned acts of terror against ethnic minorities, which exposed various dependents of minority origins—particularly orphans—to widespread manipulation.[4] It facilitated and provided justification for the mass militarization of various populations in the empire, resulting in the martial transformation of traditionally non-bellic sections of society—especially orphans, one of the most vulnerable groups. This paper, thus, zeroes in on the parentless population of the wartime empire, analyzing how the CUP-led government exploited orphans for the sake of ethnonationalist statecraft. The primary aim of this project is to illuminate the lives of orphans and amplify their voices—particularly those of Armenian origin—as their stories remain untold or silenced even to this day.

Context & Background

The subject of the Ottoman Empire's militarization, Turkification, and Islamization of orphans in the era of WWI invites an obvious question: why orphans?

The history of the empire's relationship with its *subaltern* populations must be grasped to understand the state's interest in orphans. Coined by Antonio Gramsci, the term subaltern is now closely associated with colonized peoples of the Indian subcontinent and is also often misunderstood as simply meaning the "oppressed."[5] The definition of subaltern that best captures the state of Ottoman orphans in WWI—especially Armenian orphans—comes from theorists like Gayatri Spivak and Homi K. Bhabha. According to these scholars, the subaltern is "everything that has limited or no access to the cultural imperialism" of the dominant population; it entails those "forgotten by the state" who exist apart from, or on

the outskirts of, the dominant state-power and population—both require the subaltern for self-definition and self-preservation.[6] Orphans are one subaltern group that specifically caught the attention of the Ottoman state during wartime when new directions in self-definition and self-preservation became poignantly urgent for the divided empire.

Until the 19th century, those who fit the Spivakian definition of the subaltern were exclusively preserved by religious institutions.[7] Just as the Quran declares assisting the poor as a primary obligation in Islam, Muslim institutions were the major source of relief for orphans.[8] The adults of these religious organizations deemed some orphans to be more important than their peers and subjectively divided the parentless into groups that are "deserving" or "undeserving" of their help.[9] Social welfare for orphans during this time was, therefore, haphazard and arbitrary.

In the mid-19th century, the state began to take a more active role in assisting its orphans after the *Tanzimat* reforms began in 1839. Concerned with the growing nationalist uprisings and democratic movements within the empire, the Ottoman government started to modernize its military and judiciary while centralizing administrative authority.[10] The state imbued its modernization projects with a strong sense of Ottoman nationalism to resist developments of separatist-nationalism sparked by ethnic minorities, presenting itself as a multi-ethnic empire with a common national identity.[11] The state also aimed to appear magnanimous by spearheading charity as one of its main responsibilities, shrewdly tailoring its image for the practical purpose of holding together its broad empire.[12] In this changing political landscape, the government subsumed both charity and piety as its own duties in order to singularize various cultures into one dominant empire-wide character. Orphan welfare, thus, naturally fell under state responsibility.

Another development that heightened the government's interest in orphan exploitation was the popularization of political demography and population manipulation that originated from the rise of ethnonationalism in the late-19th century.[13] Inspired by nationalist ideologies that connected national power to population size and homogeneity, the Ottoman elite and the state took interest in orphans; those children, regardless of their ethnic identity, could be converted to expand the dominant Turco-Muslim population in the empire. In essence, the state saw an opportunity in the vulnerability of the orphans. The parentless displayed a heightened ability to learn and adopt new languages, religions, behaviors, beliefs and national identity, because survival required adaptation.

These new perspectives in population politics fueled a growing state interest in creating an ideal citizenry and orphans became unfortunate subjects of the state's experiment. As noted, the state considered orphans to be especially "malleable" and able to "easily embrace a new

identity." The Ottoman government readily sought possession of orphaned children; it competed with surviving Armenians who struggled to preserve their lives, Muslims who desired to acculturate them, and the aforesaid foreign institutions of charity who, in the eyes of the state, aimed to "kidnap" orphans of the empire.[14] Thus, by the early 20th century, parentless children emerged as state commodities.[15] By centralizing orphan care, the government had secured a major path toward creating its ideal citizenry.

In the late-19th and early-20th centuries before the Balkan Wars, the state's attitude toward charity was pan-Ottoman for the practical purpose of using orphans to create citizens of a state-sealed national character; with warfare and resultant loss of territories, this policy headed toward ethnic cleansing and ethnonationalism. Moreover, the state opened its first institutions of social welfare that effectively became the centers of its experiments in population politics. For example, in 1895, thanks to Abdulhamid II, the *Darülaceze*, meaning "poor house," opened in Istanbul and many orphans were accepted into the shelter.[16] Emphasized as "open for all," the *Darülaceze* boasted a church, a mosque, and a synagogue; the multi-religious and multi-ethnic character of the shelter was far from coincidental, as it symbolically emphasized the legitimacy of the state and offered a chance at actualizing a uniquely *Ottoman* citizen.[17] In short, pan-Ottoman nationalism—which yielded to pan-Turkish nationalism—brought orphans to the domain of politics and the state.

The Ottoman defeat in the Balkan Wars redirected the state's attitude toward orphan care; most citizens viewed the empire's loss of Turkish-dominated European territories as one of the greatest disasters in its history. More than ever, the empire faced a crisis of division and separatism. The Unionist elite framed the defeat as a consequence of the average Ottoman citizen's physique and morale, suggesting that the loss could have been avoided had the empire been exclusively Turkish.[18] This ethnonationalist understanding inspired the CUP to privilege Turco-Muslim nationalism over pan-Ottomanism. A social-Darwinist vision of the empire's future was crystallizing: orphans were beginning to resemble the Turkish personification that would repel the old image of the empire as "the sick man of Europe."[19]

During this brief interwar period, the CUP also launched a successful coup 'd'état against the government; as a result, the coup provided de facto rule over the entire empire to three leaders of the Party known as the "three Pashas"—Talaat Pasha, Enver Pasha, and Djemal Pasha. As the three Pashas all deemed hardline ethnonationalism to be essential to Ottoman survival in the midst of global war, the aforesaid processes of Turkification and Islamization exacerbated in reach and violence. Militarization, too, expanded when the Pashas forged an Ottoman-German alliance that brought WWI to the empire.[20]

Under the rule of the Pashas, the boundary between the bellic and the civic blurred. As the CUP's pan-Turkism began to dominate the empire, the gradual emergence of total warfare rendered 19th century modernization projects in the Ottoman military insufficient; rather,in light of its losses in the Balkan Wars and amidst the dawn of the first global war,the state turned to full-scale militarization of society. Newfound ethnonationalism merged with hardline militarism.[21] The Turkish elite's fascination with the idea of constant mobilization —popularized by European military professionals—was paralleled by the Pashas, specifically Enver Pasha who declared to the Ottoman press in 1914 that the state must become a "nation-in-arms" to survive the era of war.[22] At this juncture, the Pasha also declared that each child must be turned into a perfect soldier—"even at school."[23]

Thus, at the dawn of WWI, the Ottoman state launched a mass militarization campaign for its orphans that centered around the CUP's social-Darwinist vision of a new, exclusively Turkish citizenry, or "a new Turkish World."[24] Instead of becoming ideal *Ottoman* citizens, orphans were to become "New Turks"—strong, patriotic, and combat-ready Turkish Muslims. The ethnico-religious aspect of this mass militarization project meant that orphans experienced resultant violence differentially according to their ethnic identities. Of all Ottoman orphans who witnessed wartime terror, Armenian orphans bore the brunt of the violence amidst state-sanctioned genocide that killed off many of their families.

Literature & Historiography

While the role of subaltern populations in Ottoman nationalization has been explored to some extent by historians like Nazan Maksudyan of Freie Universität Berlin, the treatment of orphans by the state and foreign humanitarian agencies remains an under-researched realm within Ottoman historiography, rendering the lives of orphans hidden or invisible. That being said, existing primary and secondary sources on orphans of the empire indicate that historiography on this subject can be categorized into two broad camps.

On one side, analyses from WWI missiology literature and recent works by a few scholars offer accounts that depict foreign and domestic programs of charity for orphans as exclusively rooted in religious values or pure benevolence. Writers of this perspective include James L. Barton—missionary and principal architect of an American humanitarian organization called the Near East Relief (NER)—and Ella Ayalon, a doctoral candidate specializing in the subject of orphans during WWI at Tel-Aviv University. In his book called *Story of Near East Relief*, Barton describes the NER and its efforts in saving thousands of Armenian orphans as pure acts of American benevolence.[25] Similarly, Ayalon argues in her works on Ottoman history that orphan relief for the Jewish community in Jerusalem by Zionist organizations was purely "progressive" and benevolent, as it aimed to raise orphans

in family settings rather than in large institutions.[26] While these scholars provide useful information in many respects, their analyses are over-simplified and overlook the hidden interests that often guided acts of charity during wartime.

The other side of the spectrum provides a more revisionist perspective toward orphan welfare, accentuating personal or group interests unrelated to charity that motivated the seemingly authentic altruism of the state and foreign humanitarian organizations. This camp of scholars include key experts on the Armenian Genocide, such as Keith David Watenpaugh of UC Davis and Vahakn Dadrian of the Zoryan Institute, who define the empire's treatment of Armenian children as a part of the broader ethnic cleansing due to their forceful Turkification and Islamization.[27] Other revisionist scholars, such as founder of the Gomidas Institute of American Studies and historian Ara Sarafian, argue that Armenian women and children were more readily absorbed into Muslim households during the war because of their heightened vulnerability—a "structural component of the Armenian genocide."[28] This school of historiography deems Ottoman charity to be inextricably tied to the genocidal vision of homogenizing the empire.

The last and the most recent group of scholars emphasize the social and societal forces behind orphan welfare by taking a bottom-up approach to uplifting stories of orphans. Engaging in multi-disciplinary and multimedia analyses, these scholars use the aforesaid notion of the subaltern to reappraise the past. They include public historians like Selim Deringil of Boğaziçi University, Benjamin Fortna of the University of Arizona, and the aforementioned Maksudyan.

For example, Deringil argues in the Ottoman History podcast and in *After This Day*—a documentary on the Turkification and Islamization of Armenian orphans—that the state forcibly acculturated Armenian children in order to prevent foreign organizations from imposing their respective identities upon them.[29] Maksudyan and Fortna echo this sentiment, noting that the Ottoman state took in orphans for nationalist goals, as it feared losing state commodity to foreign agencies.[30] Apart from understanding sources of charity as competing parties in a *de facto* marketplace of human commodities, these scholars converge on the point that children are not merely objects of historical analyses, but are also subjects of history-writing; they privilege primary sources authored by the orphans, such as memoirs and records of oral history. While their works are invaluable additions to the extant literature, they tend to either gloss over the ethnicized framework of militarization or overlook the nationalist vision of the state.

This paper aims to fill this gap. Aligning with the third group of historians like Maksudyan and Fortna, the project relies on memoirs, visual images, and other primary sources to

recreate and reevaluate the state's treatment of orphans as well as the orphans' day-to-day experiences; in terms of memoirs in particular, two are used as case studies—the memoirs of a CUP inspector Halidé Edib and an Armenian orphan named Karnig Panian. In using such sources, the article focuses on the Armenian experience to accurately highlight the ethno-religious facet of the Ottoman state's mass militarization projects.

Ethnicized Militarization

Figure 1: Propaganda postcard depicting children as soldiers[31]

Showcasing children as soldiers with the first two lines of a German military song that roughly translates to "when the soldiers march through the town," this German propaganda postcard that was sold in present-day Turkey and Austria during WWI inspired this project. The postcard depicts children of four allies in WWI, marching in their respective military uniforms—like the Ottoman child with a sword, a Turkish flag, and the fez, a traditional Ottoman hat. Apart from highlighting wartime alliances, this image also valorizes the soldier, implying that children should aspire to become such figures. Furthermore—considering a propaganda artist of the empire's closest ally depicted the typical Ottoman soldier in a clearly Turkish light—one can begin to understand how non-Turkish identities were erased from the view of both insiders and outsiders. Thus, this postcard effectively clarifies that the ideal soldier and citizen of the empire at war was Turkish. For Turkish orphans, this meant a new world of discipline; with the dawn of war, the state relocated its "orphans of martyrs" to its orphanages, where they would be transformed into little soldiers.

Militarization of Turkish Orphans

Unlike Armenian orphans, Turco-Muslim orphans did not undergo programs of Turkification or Islamization for obvious reasons; as images and reports from the Ottoman Archives indicate, Turkish orphans only experienced militarization, whereas others faced cultural assimilation that was inextricably connected to ethnic cleansing.

By the beginning of WW1, the CUP became increasingly obsessed with the quality and quantity of the "nation's children." This concern led the Party to use Ottoman orphans as lab rats in its projects of population surgery, aiming to create the "perfect Turk citizen."[32] Given that orphans were parentless and thereby defenseless, they served as apt test subjects in these state experiments. Moreover, the Unionists framed these programs as part of the nation's right to educate its orphans.[33]

In early 1914, the CUP formed the first Directorate of Orphanages and ordered Şükrü Kaya —the empire's general director of tribes and migrants—to open new state orphanages.[34] By late 1914, at least 20 new orphanages were opened. By 1917, 85 orphanages had emerged and 12,000 children were housed in them.[35] Evidently, warfare coincided with the rapid expansion of the state's charity for orphans.

Turkish orphans occupied the center of the state's welfare programs. In order to finance the orphanages for Turkish children, the CUP created a "tax for the orphans of martyrs."[36] Entrance was limited to those whose fathers had died or been badly injured in combat.[37] The fact that such a large number of orphanages were established in such a short period of time suggests that the CUP wanted Turkish orphans to be under state control and invulnerable to external influences.

Run by government employees, these orphanages were connected to the War Ministry and consequently militarized from their founding. The state intended to instill militaristic nationalism by reducing the gap between the spheres of warfare and education. In 1915, the CUP issued a law making military training mandatory in the orphanage curricula.[38] Furthermore, the newly appointed Directorate of Orphanages issued a report in October 1915 that suggested orphans needed to train with guns and rifles. According to the report, the inclusion of firearm training would ensure that "orphans were raised in the most profitable way, intellectually and physically," for the state.[39]

As an experiment, 300 rifles were sent to the boys' orphanage in Kadıköy of Istanbul and were immediately put to use. A report by the head of the orphanage concluded after the experiment that children who practiced with weapons were quicker in displaying discipline

and nationalist sentiments.[40] The head of the orphanage declared the Kadıköy experiment successful and advised the Directorate to order 1000 rifles from the War Ministry, so that all orphans could use them in their military training. Furthermore, he also ordered flags and uniforms of both Ottoman and Allied armies from the Battle of Gallipoli; these were brought to the orphanages to inspire patriotism, militarism, and to encourage a sense of vengeance. The Directorate of Orphanages ordered all of these items from the War Ministry, alongside 400 tents, to be used in military training throughout orphanages of the empire.

After such extensive measures in militarization, the director of Kadıköy reported back to the Directorate that boys would play in the courtyard of the orphanage with real combat equipments brought home from the warfront. Enthused by what he deemed to be as massive success, he claimed the educators of the orphanage planned to use the military gear from the War Ministry to set up a game re-enacting the Gallipoli victory. He, like the state, wanted to "create a patriotic generation" and ensure that orphans of martyrs were equipped to protect the nation in times of trouble. As such, guns entered education.[41]

The correspondence between the Kadıköy director and the Directorate of Orphanage, vis-a-vis The War Ministry, reveals that the process of militarization was a meticulously-planned and experimental top-down process. The Ottoman state's project was one that aimed to control both the mental and the physical. It envisioned orphans, specifically Turkish orphans, to embody its Atatürkian founding myths.

Thus, it is no coincidence that Turkish orphans were rebranded as "orphans of martyrs." The reclassification, which assigns morality to death in war by employing a language of heroism and sacrifice, embedded in the children a feeling of responsibility to live up to their fathers' legacy. This trend can be observed in one CUP project that attempted to create a colony of "orphans of martyrs." Envisioning the "model child" who would encompass all the features the CUP deemed valuable, the experiment unfolded in the town of Burhaniye, a coastal town in the Aegean region that had been evacuated for the orphans. There, the local government created two neighborhoods: one for girls and one for boys; all children brought to the town were both Muslim and "children of martyrs."[42] In these neighborhoods, the children were restricted to socialize solely with each other; and each carried an identity card that indicated where—and how—their father had been "martyred."[43] The project aimed to turn the children into the living extensions of their fathers, whom the CUP deemed most appropriately nationalist. As the report of the local governor sent to the central government illustrates, the experiment in Burhaniye was considered a success just like the one in Kadıköy.

Militarization of orphans also entailed industrial training, specifically in Germany. Between 1917 and 1918—under Enver Pasha's orders—1000 Muslim orphans were sent to Germany for vocational training in various locations, such as mines, factories, and farms.[44] The boys lived in a masters' house, where they would learn at home and work.[45] The choice of Germany as a destination is reflective of the CUP's admiration of its ally as a "nation-in-arms" that could maintain a constant state of mobilization; it also displays its trust in the German capacity to appropriately mold the orphans. The Party believed that a German education could both benefit the orphans while allowing the state to export its surplus orphans, particularly the worst-behaved ones.[46]

Although the project in Germany eventually failed, its procedure nevertheless provides an opportunity for historical inquiry; for example, the CUP specifically ordered that the masters in Germany to respect the religious and national identity of the orphans. They were instructed not to provide the boys with alcohol or pork and to respect praying times and holidays in Islam.[47] This highlights how much the state cared about the preservation and promotion of its Turco-Muslim identity; this also reveals how fearful the state was toward foreign exploitation of its prime commodity in nationalization. Considering this, one can imagine just how doggedly the state attempted to Turkify and Islamize its non-Turkish orphans.

Figure 2: "Boys from the Turkish orphanage at Ezerum waiting for the coming of General Harbor's party at Ezerum, Turkey"[48]

Ultimately, the militarization campaign of the Ottoman state targeted its Turco-Muslim orphans; photographic evidence best preserves the scale of this development. For example, the above photo, taken soon after the end of the war, effectively shows the manifestation of the CUP vision. As the caption specifies, the photo depicts "Boys from the Turkish orphanage." Moreover, the photo shows an incredibly militarized group of very young children, all of whom appear to be between 6 and 9—ages well below the accepted age limit

for conscription. Given that the photographer was an American missionary, one must note his intentions in what he intended to achieve through this photo. Considering American missionaries sought to raise awareness about, and support for, Ottoman children, it is likely that the photographer aimed to shock his American audience with the image of child soldiers. The photo is a harrowing testimony to how innocent children were indoctrinated and abused throughout the war.

Militarization of Non-Turkish Orphans

While most new state orphanages established under the aforementioned Şükrü Kaya were for Turkish orphans, a smaller number of shelters were created specifically for non-Turkish orphans—namely Armenian ones, among others. By 1917, the majority of the estimated 400,000 Armenian orphans were placed in state-owned orphanages.[49] From the beginning of the war, the CUP had been rounding up Armenian orphans from French, and later American, missionary schools.

These children were given Turkish names, forbidden to speak Armenian, and often circumcised.[50] The erasure of cultural identity was accompanied by militarization as well. Yet, since non-Turkish children were "farther away" from becoming the ideal Turkish citizen, the CUP privileged cultural assimilation over militarization for these children. Nonetheless, both developments were unmistakably present in the lives of orphans.

In June 1915, Talaat Pasha issued an order that relocated Armenian children into Muslim households in communities devoid of ethnic Armenians.[51] On July 12 of the same year, the Pasha sent out another order declaring that government-run orphanages would take custoy of children orphaned during mass Armenian deportations.[52] These two decrees highlight the state's two-pronged plan for Armenian orphans: children sent to Muslim houses were to undergo acculturation, while those sent to state orphanages were to face a similar fate as well as militarization.[53]

In January 1916, a state-sponsored orphanage with 1000 beds was opened in Diyarbekir—a city on the banks of the Tigris River.[54] Following Talaat Pasha's orders, the orphanage's staff began to round up Armenian orphans immediately after its opening. In March of the same year, a Danish missionary nurse named Hansine Marcher wrote in her memoir that she noticed only Armenian orphans were living in the orphanage.[55] She also noted that they had all been given Turkish names and that they were all speaking Turkish.[56]

Similarly, in the town of Armash in Armenia, the Ottoman state attempted to create an agricultural orphan colony in a seized Armenian monastery. This orphanage was unique

because the CUP had extensive plans for its purpose and function. It aimed to relocate ten Armenian orphans over 13 years of age from each Ottoman province to Armash, which would ultimately amount to around 10,000 orphans.[57]

Figure 3: The Armenian Monastery in Armash[58]

Agricultural training was at the crux of this project.[59] After their time at Armash, the Armenian children were sent to government-controlled villages to modernize the local centers of agricultural production. Furthermore, the state planned to collaborate with an Austrian industrial company to establish nine factories in the orphan-colony.[60] The CUP envisioned Armash as a hub in agricultural innovation and an organized industrial zone that would exclusively operate through orphan labor. Similar to the Burhaniye project that set aside two neighborhoods for a community of Turkish orphans, the Armash orphans were also to live within a designated sphere—they were instructed to inter-marry each other.[61] Although the grand plan eventually fell through, the 600 Armenian orphans—already relocated before the plan's failure—lived in Armash through the war, learning mechanized agriculture in departments named after CUP leaders. As a report from the Ministry of Interior declares, by 1917, this orphanage was composed almost entirely of Armenian orphans from Aleppo.[62] As the war neared its end in 1918, and the reclamation of Armenian orphans by Armenian families seemed inevitable, the state relocated the majority of its orphans to Istanbul. The Armenian children of Armash, however, were left in the town alone.[63] The fact that the Directorate of Orphanages decided to abandon the Armash orphanage suggests that it deemed the Armash children unworthy of saving. It is highly likely that these Armenian orphans endured incredibly violent processes of conversion and militarization that rendered them impossible to save. As the 1919 report of the Armenian

National Relief Mission indicates, there were only 60 survivors remaining from the original 600 when these children were found.[64]

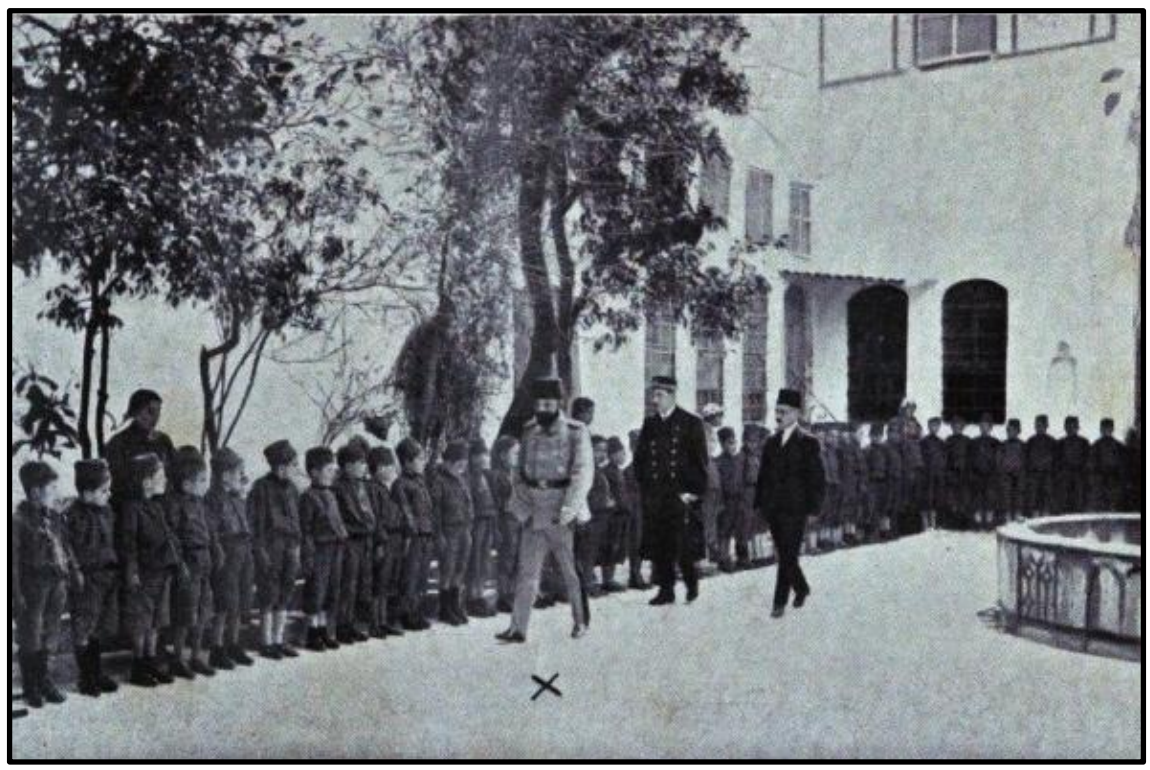

Figure 4: Djemal Pasha visits an Orphanage of Armenian children accompanied by Nurset Bey and the leader of the orphanage, Hasan Bey[65]

The photograph above offers a glimpse into the daily lives of Armenian children at orphanages like the one in Armash. It shows Djemal Pasha and his subordinates surveying the Armenian children as they walk by a single row of orphans dressed in military-like uniform. As if he is a commander interacting with real soldiers, Djemal Pasha does not make eye contact with the children. Moreover, forced assimilation is visible, as evidenced by the boys wearing hats that resemble the aforementioned fez.

Figure 7: Like Little French Soldiers[66]

Antoura: A Case Study

The last section of this paper aims to use one CUP project—the Antoura orphanage in Lebanon—to present the experiences of orphans in detail. The Antoura orphanage was chosen for closer analysis, because the state's humanitarianism intersected with its militarism under Djemal Pasha's close supervision at Antoura, which suggests that it held strategic importance in the eyes of state leadership. Here, the memoirs of two individuals will paint the picture of orphan militarization and forced assimilation: the memoir of Halidé Edib—a well-known Turkish nationalist and feminist who inspected the Antoura orphanage—and the memoir of Karnig Panian, an Armenian orphan at the Lebanese orphanage who grew up to become an educator of Armenian history.[67]

Halidé Edib

In 1926, a few years after the end of WWI, Edib published her memoirs in English. Describing the rise of what she calls "The New Turkey," Edib explains in her writing how she entered the CUP's domain as a woman. A sense of pride can be grasped in her language, as she writes: "in 1912 the general congress elected me as its only woman member."[68] Furthermore, she recalls receiving a letter from Djemal Pasha in the summer of 1916 that asked her to "study the situation and draw up a plan for a larger number of schools in Damascus, Beirut and Lebanon," since he had to close down all the French schools in the region "for political reasons."[69]

In particular, the Pasha had told Edib to survey the situation in "Aintoura."[70] An old Jesuit college run "by only a few women and two men…[for] about 400 children," Antoura left Edib with images of children she could not forget. She remembered that each child—whose parents were massacred "by the parents of the other children"— "had a Turkish or Moslem name."[71] She also noted that these children—who were Turkish, Kurdish, and mostly Armenian—looked "dejected, miserable, and sick beyond description."[72]

The most telling passage from Edib's memoir, however, comes from Djemal Pasha, as Edib includes her conversation with the national leader after her Antoura trip. When Edib asked him why he ordered "Armenian children to be called by Moslem names" and said that "history some day will revenge it on the coming generation of Turks," the Pasha responded:

You are an idealist…and like all idealists lack a sense of reality. Do you believe that by turning a few hundred Armenian boys and girls Moslem I think I benefit my race? You have seen the Armenian orphanages in Damascus run by Armenians. There is no more room in those; there is no more money to open another Armenian orphanage, and only Moslem orphans are allowed. I send to this institution any wandering waif who passes into Syria from the regions where the tragedy took place. The Turks and the Kurds have that

orphanage. When I hear of wandering and starving children, I send them to Aintoura. I have to keep them alive. I do not care how. I cannot bear to see them die in the streets…After the war they will go back to their people. I hope none is too small to realize his race…I will never have anything to do with such an orphanage…if you see them in misery and suffering, you will go to them and not think for a moment about their names and religion. You speak as if I am doing something inhuman. I am taking the bread out of the mouths of Moslems who would have the money spent on them if I did not keep such a large number of Armenian children.[73]

Figure 8: Halide Edib, Djemal Pasha and other Turkish Military Dignitaries on the steps of Antoura[74]

As the Pasha's words suggest, the Antoura orphanage was, in essence, home to the most vulnerable of the abandoned. When Edib returned to Antoura upon the Pasha's request later during the war—this time as an official in charge of education in the region—she focused on the children's wellbeing, as the war's toll on the children was observable. Edib brought in a new headmaster and removed the "incapable men and women, and a few soldiers."[75] She organized workshops for older boys, who would make clothes and bedding for all the children of Antoura.[76] And when the war reached its final months, she allowed parents who could prove their parenthood to come find their children. Yet despite Edib's last-minute efforts in bettering the conditions of Antoura, the arrival of parents illuminated the damage done by forced assimilation. For example, a little Armenian girl named Jale denied being Armenian and asserted she was Turkish, indicating that her previous identity had been erased in her mind. According to Edib, when the American Red Cross arrived at Antoura after the war and pronounced Jale as an Armenian child, she told its workers: "Ask Mother Halidé…she will tell you I am not Armenian."[77] To Jale, her former self was unrecognizable.

Her words suggest that Edib might have attempted to demilitarize the orphanage, but continued to Turkify and Islamicize the Armenian children.

Thus, Edib's memoir presents the perspective of a state official who, despite her efforts in bettering the lives of orphans, effectively remained complicit in the program of militarization and forced assimilation until the war's end. While she refers to circumstances in Antoura as "the horrors of World War," she neither explicitly condemns wartime violence toward orphans, nor offers any significant details on the lives of these children. The memoir of the aforesaid Karnig Panian, however, offers a more in-depth account of what orphans experienced on a daily basis before Edib stepped in.

Karnig Panian

Written in Armenian and translated to English in 2015, Panian's memoir, *Goodbye, Antoura*, recount's the author's life in 1915, when he was just five. The memoir first describes his life in an orphanage in Hama, Syria that was directed by a caring Protestant priest. Panian notes that life in the orphanage under the priest was simply enjoyable; however, when Turkish soldiers visited the priest, his eyes donned "immeasurable sadness."[78] Soon after, Panian heard the older boys say that "Jemal Pasha, the military commander in the area, was taking the Armenian orphans to Lebanon."[79] He remembers one child remarking, "Better to die than to become Turks."[80] He also remembers the day when the Turkish soldiers returned to the orphanage. Before the soldiers took them away that day, Panian recalls, the priest told all the boys: "You are Armenian children, and you will always be Armenian."[81]

Discipline characterized life beyond that point. Panian's initial impression of the Antoura orphanage was positive. Although the boys were greeted by a few women in Turkish, Panian recalls liking his new home during his first nights, because the boys had not slept in comfortable beds "since leaving our homes" and because the Antoura orphanage had "thick blankets and clean sheets."[82]

However, Panian quickly realized something was off in Antoura when the women at the orphanage kept insisting the boys speak Turkish. He explains: "A few women approached us with smiles. They began speaking to some of the older boys in Turkish. They apparently said that we would always have to speak Turkish in this Orphanage."[83] When they were caught speaking Armenian, Panian recalls, the women would "kindly but insistently exhort us: 'Speak Turkish, my dear!'"[84]

Panian's memoir reveals that the process of Turkification did not go unnoticed by orphans. One morning, he writes, all the boys were told to line up in a regimented fashion, after

which they were taken to the headmaster's office in groups of five. The headmaster, Fevzi Bey, told each of them they had to forget their names and receive new ones. The Turkish man then made the Armenian children say their new Turkish names and shouted at those who got them wrong: "Forget your old name. Forget it! From now on, your name will be Ahmet!"[85]

When Panian's turn came, he recalls replying with his Armenian name: Karnig. This reflexive act of resistance led Bey to slap and kick Panian until he passed out from pain, waking up in the infirmary two days later. Panian asserts that his experience was not unique at the orphanage, where only Armenian and Kurdish boys lived.[86] "Turkishness had begun to take a hold," Panian wrote in the midst of war.[87] As the older boys grew up, the orphanage exploited them to keep the younger boys under control. Bey made them carry whips in the classrooms and the courtyard for those refusing to forget their Armenian heritage. The more vulnerable among the abandoned were made to salute the "privileged orphans, just as we salute Fevzi Bey."[88]

Violence, however, did not stop at discipline from older, Turkified boys. In physical education classes, orphans were "simply made to march, like soldiers, for an hour and a half."[89] The instructor was an old soldier who kicked children in the ribs for the "slightest infraction."[90] Panian describes how militarization and Turkification became increasingly violent as the war continued; after some time at Antoura, they were forced to salute the Turkish flag every night and call out "Yaşasin! Yaşasin! Jemal Pasha!...another way of Turkifying us, of course."[91]

Furthermore, Fevzi Bey introduced guidelines for punishing orphans according to the severity of the transgressions. According to Bey, stealing from, or fighting, a teacher or a guard meant 25 to 100 strokes of *falaka*, which means bastinado. Disrespecting Islam, ignoring the Turkish language, speaking Armenian, praying in Armenian, or making any reference of Christianity equaled 200 to 300 strokes. One night, Panian, at the age of five, had his feet caned for speaking Armenian, which immobilized him for 10 days.[92]

Yet again, the most telling moment described in Panian's memoir is the time when Djemal Pasha visited Antoura. Panian remembers that the Pasha visited with "an entire column of military officers" and a "tall, stately lady"—the aforesaid Halidé Edib—who had a "haughty expression in her eyes."[93] Moreover, before his visit, the boys were told that Djemal Pasha was coming to visit "his beloved sons" to bring them large amounts of food.[94] When he visited, Panian notes, "four of five boys came forward, saluted the Pasha and bowed." They told them: "Pasha! You are our father! You have saved us from the jaws of death…But Pasha! We are still starving…we'll die if you don't help us!" When the boys said that, a wave of

orphans came rushing and crying for food and some of the oldest boys climbed the trees and shook the branches, "making a huge racket."[95] Panian notes that, afterward, Bey was furious and Edib was in tears; the visitors, including Djemal Pasha, left without saying a word. Afterward, the boys were left without food for 3 days.

All in all, Panian's memoir—coupled with that of Halidé Edib—reveals the the extent of Islamization and Turkification at orphanages like the one in Antoura: the children were to forget who they were, or resist and be tortured. The Antoura children, in essence, embodied the transition from pan-Ottomanism to pan-Turkism as executed and envisioned by the CUP.

Perhaps most importantly, however, the memoirs reveal the agency of orphans. From the time when the boys huddled around the Pasha to ask him for food to the countless nights when the children uttered Armenian amongst themselves, the orphans resisted. Furthermore, according to one Islamic scholar, when the war ended and the Red Cross arrived at Antoura: "Immediately Armenian children asserted their rights. They refused to use their Turkish names and brought out Armenian books, which they had hidden away in secret places."[96] This resistance, in the light of the terror they endured, illuminates the bravery and agency of these children. In short, the children were not simply objects of history; they were, in fact, its creators.

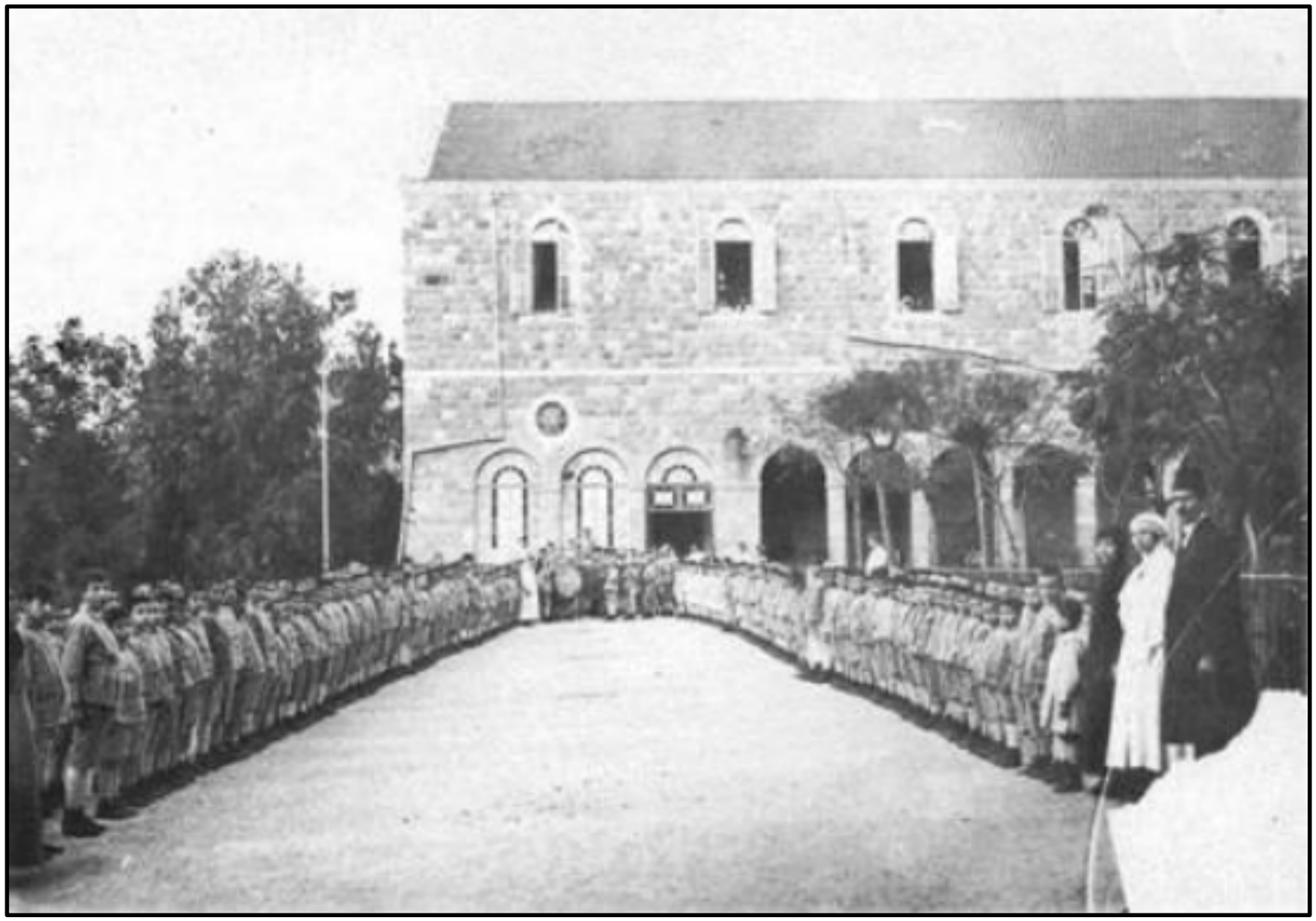

Figure 9: Orphans lined up in the courtyard of Antoura[97]

Figure 10: Orphans play in the Antoura courtyard after the arrival of the NER in 1919[98]

Conclusion

The Ottoman Empire's militarization and acculturation of its orphaned populations in WWI is a part of Ottoman history that requires further analyses. Considering the empire included non-Armenian minorities, orphans of Kurdish, Greek, and other origins warrant scrutiny. The gendered dimension of orphan exploitation is another realm that remains unexplored.

Likewise, the long-term consequences of the Ottoman state's militarization of its orphans is still largely unknown. In this sense, primary sources like Panian's memoir are incredibly important as they shed light upon the personal experiences of orphans: how they lived, persevered, and resisted. As Panian's words show, war did not deprive these children of their lives; the war and the state changed contexts of living, but orphans preserved their lives and identities. It is this type of bottom-up social historiography that underlies this paper. Future scholars will hopefully continue to further this thread in order to uplift the voices of those unsung, or silenced.

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[75] Ibid, 432.

[76] Ibid,446.

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