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Dear Readers,

The current issue marks the fifth anniversary of the *Chicago Journal of History*, a heritage as much as a vision for us, a gift to all inquiring minds, and a showcase of scholarship distinguished for rigor, style and innovation. Indeed, the editors insist on these values as criteria of excellence in the writing of history. As a community, we take pains in investigations of truth, unwilling to take as inquiry the first story that comes to hand; we esteem the art of eloquence, trusting that rhetoric, hollow if alone, is critical to the exposition of facts; at last, we admire ingenuity with industry in the examination of the past, knowing by faith and from experience that the youthfulness of the soul aids creativity more than undermines discipline.

I wish to thank, on behalf of this laureate team, Professor Clifford Ando for his letter, "History and Science, History as Science: Simplification, Modeling and Humility" that sheds light on the standing, boundaries and potentials of the historian's craft. The most generous Professor Fredrik Albritton Jonsson counsels the editorial board, raising it to higher forms. Professors Emilio Kourí, Matthew Briones, and our very Jake Smith, long-time mentors of history students, deserve glory as pillars of this institution, the fountainhead of knowledge nourishing our diverse interests and the source of illumination to our ambitions. We owe much to comrades Joanne Berens, Cyndee Breshock, David L. Goodwine Jr., without whose continued administrative support the *Journal* would not have survived so many of fortune's trials.

Our historians' souls are as fastidious as open-minded, never exhausted in the exploration of 'interdisciplinarity.' In the past year, we hosted Professor Ghenwa Hayek and Paola Iovene, experts on Arabic and Chinese literature, Ada Palmer and David Perry, Renaissance historians known also for their science fiction and journalism, in the panel "History and Fiction: Narratives, Contexts and Imaginations" moderated by the irreplaceable Professor Jane Dailey. Then in April, we assembled a mixed audience of natural and social scientists in Professor Robert Richards's Dragon-and-Darwin themed talk, "Principles of Historical Analysis." Finally, in May, eager to examine the role of the 'intellectual'—historian, philosopher or poet—in cities ancient and modern, we sat down with Clifford Orwin from Toronto, Karuna Mantena from Yale, Robert Howse from New York University, and our own Haun Saussy and Dwight Hopkins. The *Journal* has expanded from a printed to a public presence, thanks to bountiful resources—intellectual, moral and financial—from Professor Jacob Eyferth of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, Professor Dennis Hutchinson and Ms. Susan Rueth of the New Collegiate Division, Professor Shadi Bartsch-Zimmer, Ms. Macol Cerda and Vicky Lim based at the Stevanovich Institute on the Formation of Knowledge, and Ms. Ingrid A. Sagor from Germanic Studies and Comparative Literature. But most of all, it is our readers who deserve the most praises, whose satisfaction more than anything else justifies our painstaking labor.

This issue boasts some of the *Journal*'s most outstanding papers. We are grateful for Jack Ford, Doha Tazi Hemida, Jack Dickens, Raya Koreh, Hannah Fagin, Hannah Hauptman, Nicholas Stewart for their contributions. It is our hope also that the interview with Professor Kate Masur, whose work contributed to the foundation of the National Monument for Reconstruction, fill at least some of our readers with the hope that historical scholarship offers as much personal enrichment as public good.

Sincerely,

Hansong Li

August 12, 2017

Letter from a Historian: History and Science, History as Science: Simplification, Modeling and Humility

By Clifford Ando, University of Chicago

I would like to open by thanking the editors and contributors of this issue of the Chicago Journal of History for their dedication to our shared endeavor. Historical research is a creative as well as a scientific endeavor. In writing thus, I intend no slight to scientists! I want only to draw attention to the issue that the profession of history has no clear guidelines and few norms regarding many issues related to the writing of history or crafting of historical argument—concerning narrative form, rules of evidence, models of causation, and so forth—that would in other disciplines be subject to settled if contestable convention. For this reason, among others, writing history is hard, and publishing a journal is a means not only to disseminate scholarship but also to celebrate it. In what follows, as a gesture of respect to the Journal, I celebrate features of historical research with which I wrestle, and which are therefore both challenging and dear to me.

Virtually all academic inquiry requires acts of simplification. Two types of such acts can illustrate what I mean. In some cases, this occurs when we select a single text or image for explication. Of course, we almost invariably study such items as instances of a type or as intelligible within some context of production or reception. Whatever the approach, study at this level invariably involves the isolation of certain factors as relevant to interpretation and understanding, and other things that we know, as it were, about the relevant contexts are deemed irrelevant and so often not named.

Other acts of analysis, particularly those that study large numbers of instances, require acts of simplification on at least two levels. First, in order to render the experiences and actions of many individuals susceptible to aggregation, complex factors of every conceivable kind—environmental, contextual, sensory, emotional, linguistic, political, social, economic—must be translated into similar terms, and often into numbers. The violently metaphorical nature of this process cannot be overemphasized: there is little reason to believe that human feelings or human self-understandings are naturally expressed numerically, or that humans deliberate in numbers. (These issues have recently been the subject of some splendid work, of which I single out that by Peter Spiegler and Sally Engle Merry as particularly inspiring for me.) Second, in order for the experiences of those many individuals to appear similar enough to be comparable—to make it useful and permissible to analyze them in the same way—one must design a model of the phenomena under study. The purpose of modeling is to identify certain factors as causally and hermeneutically salient and push all others into the background, bracketed, as it were, after the form of ceteris paribus assumptions. But there is of course a quite fundamental sense in which it is the viewing of situations through the lens of such models that makes them appear similar in the first place.

The result of all this translation and simplification is that vast areas of human experience are rendered susceptible to manipulation via mathematical operations, and of course great insight is thereby gained at a descriptive, historical and analytic level. I want to advance two claims about historical and humanistic research in this context. To clarify what is at stake, I want to contrast historical and humanistic forms of inquiry with others, which use such insights into past and present to claim predictive power. What makes the results of one's method not simply descriptive, but normative? When does history become destiny?

The issue is complicated, and as with all complicated issues, many answers will capture some of the truth, and only a complex answer will do the problem justice. In the present context, it is perhaps sufficient to say that the power of such representations in the world of ideas and politics rests in part on our tendency to grant prestige and power to mathematics. For it is by means of quantitative analysis above all that patterns in data of this kind are not simply discerned, but extrapolated into the future. What I wish to stress is the twofold problem that such representations of society are both alien to how humans think—they are, as I have stressed, translations, and fully as problematic, but also as necessary, as all translations. Mathematical representations of social phenomena are also simplifications. This grants them a kind of clarity, but clarity of this kind should not be mistaken for normative power. I need hardly stress that modeling a complex future on the basis of a simple representation of the past is hardly a recipe for success.

By contrast, it is a hallmark both for well and ill that the rules of evidence in history—and perhaps many areas of the humanities—are both ill-defined and always contested. For example, in historical research, in many domains the aggregation of instances requires wrestling with varied forms of discourse analysis and historical semantics. One cannot simply count words from place to place and time to time. What is more, in many forms of historical inquiry, what counts as evidence

and what satisfies as explanation are questions to be debated afresh at each instance. This undoubtedly contributes to the perception that historical and humanistic inquiry is not quite "scientific." But one might redescribe this problem, if problem it is, as issuing from the tendency of humanistic inquiry to commence from capacious understandings of the world and to take first-order products of human culture as their units of analysis. In other words, historical inquiry starts by accepting the world in all its complexity, and performs purely contingent acts of simplification. What is more, the more complex one's object of study—and, crucially, the more comprehensively one models it—the more particularist become one's results, and the harder it becomes to draw normative conclusions from them.

In short, at their best, history and the humanities practice a kind of epistemic humility, which results, I suspect, from inner tendencies toward curiosity and self-critique, and perhaps many other causes. In the contemporary landscape, in which the knowledge sciences are assessed according to a narrowly instrumentalist calculus, history and the humanities in general pay a very dear price for this bravery, namely, a potent loss in social prestige. A first step toward redressing this situation might be a clear-eyed understanding of what the problem is.

A final word, lest these remarks be taken as a counsel of despair! In my view, the practice of history is not simply hard or creative in the terms that I adumbrated at the start of this letter. It is also frequently expressive of real intellectual virtues. For one thing, history practices a sort of Aristotelian empiricism, in elaborating its theoretical constructs from the data themselves, and worrying about whether those constructs suit the problem at hand. For another, historical inquiry exhibits a deep epistemic humility concerning the power of its results. The past might enable a project of critique, telling us things about the sort of future we'd like to have; and perhaps a proper understanding of the past might help to bring one of those futures about. But those and many other projects will be more successful, the more we honor the limits of what historical inquiry can reveal and what historical knowledge itself can be. That project alone is hard enough.

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History and Fiction: Narratives, Contexts, and Imaginations

By Jane Dailey, Ghenwa Hayek, Paola Iovene, Ada Palmer, David Perry

The panel is transcribed by Hansong Li, Emelia Lehman, Darren Wan and Elazar Chertow. This event is generously sponsored by the University of Chicago Student Government, Department of History, Department of Comparative Literature, the Medieval Studies Program, the New Collegiate Division, Near East Language and Civilization, and East Asian Language and Civilization.

Jane Dailey: I would like to first introduce our panel. Professor Ada Palmer has published two science fiction novels. The most recent one is *Too Like the Lightning*, which was listed in *Scientific American*'s picks for new science fictions. Professor Palmer specializes in Early Modern Europe and the Renaissance, cultural and intellectual history, as well as the history of the book and printing. She specializes in the 'isms': humanism, atheism, deism, epicureanism, animism, stoicism, skepticism, Platonism and Neo-Platonism. And in between she finds time to write novels.

One of the great things about introducing this panel is that I get to meet colleagues that I didn't know I had, and one of them is Paola Iovene. She is an Associate Professor in East Asian Languages and Civilizations and the College, and she studies Chinese literature and film with a focus on the mutual influence of history and literary production. And your new project, which I found particularly interesting, is called the 'Politics and Poetics of Air': you are trying to talk about the cultural history of climate modification in China with a conceptualization of weather as a lens through which to read literature. I find that very confusing and would like to know more about it.

Our next panelist is Ghenwa Hayek, who is Assistant Professor of Modern Arabic Literature. She studies Arab society and literature with a special interest in relationships among cultural production, space and identity formation. I know that your first book focused on Lebanon, and it sounds like your second project also has some focus on Lebanon. She is also a translator. Her work has appeared in literary magazines, the *New York Times*.

Our final panelist in terms of introductions is David Perry, who is Professor of History at Dominican University, which is a neighbor to us and we are glad to welcome you to the University of Chicago. He is a scholar of Medieval Mediterranean History, a journalist and a cultural critic, and he blew me away a minute ago when he said he's written about 200 pieces of editorials, interventions in the public sphere in the last few years, which I think is really important. And I think for all of you who are not planning to go on to become professional historians, your training and your knowledge can be put to good use if you do things like this. When he is not doing things to help all of us, he is addressing the relationship between the Venetian merchant republic and the larger world of intellectual and mercantile exchange in which Venetians took part, and that was his first book product. One of the things that I think make you a good choice for this panel is that you talk about how Venetians tried to make sense of their world through what you say are constantly evolving processes of narrative myth-making, in other words the stories they told to themselves about themselves through time.

This panel is sponsored, finally, by the *Chicago Journal of History*. We are all very proud of our *Chicago Journal of History*, if you stop by the History Department, you will find several boxes of the publications. This is their latest journal produced by all of you, written by all you, and pride-producing for all of us. So, with that, I'm going to sit down and let the panelists take it away.

Paola Iovene: Thanks very much to the organizers for putting a panel around this very fascinating topic. Some of my graduate students have been very interested in this topic, and they had a certain workshop a couple of years ago, in which each of them debated, and though it was more generally about the relationship between literature and history, it has some similarities with this one. And it is also great to see all of you and it is also great to meet my colleagues. And I think there are interesting aspects in common, interesting commonalities among us, and none of us will be able to speak to each of these commonalities but I hope we can discuss them later. For instance, I am most interested in science fiction and I have written about science fiction, though I won't talk about it today.

So, I will start: history and fiction are so mutually entangled and often difficult to keep apart. Engaging with a text, be it a fictional narrative or a historical document means to make sense of it, and to provide an interpretation, which involved reading the text closely, situating it in a context, reconstructing the world in which the text emerged and circulated, and understanding the role that this text played

in that world., ideally, the role that its authors wanted it to have, or hoped it would play and the role that it played. So, both literary scholars and historians have to go through these steps, and in this respect the tools and the approaches partially overlap. Now writing a paper for your history class, writing a thesis in comparative literature or writing a novel of course aren't the same thing, but there are more commonalities than you might imagine. Writing a history of course means crafting a narrative. Historical events, as we know, can significantly change, depending on who is telling it, why, and how. And even those of us who do not write history, and do not write novels are confronted with the question: what story do we want to tell? Some may claim that they found the story in the archive or in the materials, but as a matter of fact the story isn't something you find readymade. Of course, as a scholar of Chinese literature and film I differentiate between history and fiction, so I call history the conditions that enable the creation of certain fictions. In turn, I assume that these fictions partly reflect, and exceed, their historical conditions, in the sense that they offer inventive, surprising, unexpected responses to the problems of their age. But this is too simplistic. Indeed, how do we go about identifying the conditions that really matter? In my field, scholars have tended to focus on concepts of China and 'Chinese-ness' as the main condition shaping Chinese literary writing. So, the questions they ask are such as: How did the rise of China as a nation-state and its ascendance as a global power shape its literary writing? Or they also ask: What's Chinese about certain literary forms? Meanwhile, especially in the last three decades, scholars have criticized any fixed notion of 'Chinese-ness,' pointing out that 'Chinese-ness' itself is an artificial construct that suppresses the variety of languages and ethnicities that thrive both within and outside the boundaries of China proper. As for me, I have not been very interested in the problem of China and 'Chinese-ness.' I have been more interested in investigating the historical nature of the practice of fiction itself. This means at least two things: first to examine how different actors, writers, editors, readers, the texts themselves have redefined what fiction is and what it should do, and second, to explore how fact and fiction blend within specific works. Lately I have enjoyed studying texts in which facts play an important role and in which the line between historical document and fictional invention is blurred. Such works are often called 'reportage literature,' or literature of facts, and they are based on first hand observation of contemporary events. They sway between fiction and documentary, literature and journalism and put any preconceived notion of what literature is under question. In other words, they redefine, so-to-speak, the boundary of fiction and more in general, that of what is literary. About these texts, I found two things quite fascinating. First, how the authors conveyed what I call their 'poetic self-presence' which is to say, the experience of being on the scene, the experience of being there. And second, I'm drawn to the ways in which these texts re-define the boundaries of literature or fiction, a process that involved the re-enactment of one of the paradoxes of the literary, and this gets a little abstract here. I am trying now to articulate this idea so I welcome any question about things that may be a bit unclear.

So, I talk about the paradoxes of the literary, or the paradoxes of literature. One of these paradoxes is a tension between two beliefs. On the one hand, the belief that literature is special, that it can achieve things that other forms of human communication cannot. On the other hand, the belief that in order to achieve its goals, literature has always to become something other than what it is, something less special, something for instance closer to the spoken language, closer to everyday life, or closer to reality. So, studying 'reportage literature' means in some ways to study how it maintains is special status as literature but disavowing it, and by claiming commonalities with non-literary or with, we could say, historical phenomena. I want to give an example, which may help you understand what I mean. These days I am studying a collection of writings tilted *One Day in Shanghai*, which was published in 1939. In 1939, China was at war; it had been at war with Japan since 1931 but hostilities greatly intensified in the summer of '37 and from August 13th to late October 1937, Shanghai became the main battleground. In order to bear witness to the war, some journalists at the Shanghai newspaper issued a call for contributions in which they called for common people to describe one day of their life during the past year. They received 2,000 essays written by people from all walks of life and in the end about two-thirds of these essays made it into the volume, *One Day in Shanghai*, which was issued in 1939. This was not the first text that was describing one day of life in the lives of the common people. There had been two other precedents, one is *One Day in China*, edited by Mao Dun, and published in 1936, and the other was One *Day in the World*, edited by Maxim Gorky and published in Moscow in 1937. Actually, similar experiments in the literature of fact and mass observation had been taking place in different parts of Europe and the Soviet Union till the late 1920s. These experiments reflected efforts to create a mass literature written by and for the people. So, the idea was that literature ought to offer detailed accounts of the lives of ordinary people in order to convey the social inequalities, the conservative beliefs and the structures that shaped them, and thus contribute to social change. So, the question as to whether *One Day in Shanghai* is a fictional work or a historical document, in a way it is both. Historians of war-time Shanghai and war-time China may mine the text for information on how the violence of the war affected the lives of ordinary people; as a literary scholar, however, I'm more interested in exploring the entanglements

between the global discourses on the goals of literature, the material and institutional factors, and local factors that made these texts possible in the first place. So, the questions that matter most to me are: how did the war blur the boundaries between journalism and literature? And how did it transform the revolutionary nature of collectively compiled texts that shadowed fact and fiction? Noting then that some of the contributions in the texts are written by professional writers and journalists but many more are written by students, clerks, shop-keepers, dancers and so on. I also ask, how much genius in these voices, do they project a unified front of resistance against Japan? I want to conclude with two points. At this moment of alternative facts, I want to justify the importance of facts and in some way to have a broader discussion on what constitutes the fact in our respective disciplines? And my second point is about fiction. Some of you might be very familiar with this sentence, the concluding sentence of a short story titled "My Old Home" by the famous author Lu Xun. He said, "hope cannot be said to exist, nor can it be said not to exist. It's like paths across the earth. For actually, the earth has no paths to begin with, but when many people pass one way, a path is made." Back in college, it was one of the sentences that convinced me to study Chinese literature. Today, reading fiction helps me imagine a path even when there doesn't seem to be one. Thank you! (Applause)

David Perry: Like my colleague, I was thinking a lot about alternative facts. As I was preparing for this, I did not know that there would be chanting outside. We are clearly in a moment when this is much more timely and honestly political, than one might have anticipated. I am a historian but also a journalist, in the classic report-on-thing way, an opinion-writer, a think-piecer, and also a critic. I'm particularly interested in issues of disabilities and representation in literature and movies, both visual and written performances, but also science fiction. In fact, at the last book-launch of the esteemed Dr. Palmer's, we met in the 57th Street Books, and we will do that again in a couple of weeks.

I'm really interested in the different kinds of fictions. But what I'm really going to talk about today is Hamilton. I'm going to get there by starting here, in the Great Council Chamber of the Ducale Palace of Venice. This is an eighteenth-century painting of the sixteenth-century, 1577 redecoration after a big fire of the Great Council Chamber of Venice. This is very pretty and you should all go. Along each wall in this building, there are two epic stories, and I'm using the word "epic" really quite intentionally. One of them happened, but not at all in the way it was portrayed here on this wall. And the other didn't really happen at all. So, every day, the most powerful people come here, and are surrounded by these fictions that are fundamentally things that didn't happen. As I always like to say to my students, medieval people are not stupid. They may or may not believe it. They may or may not be more or less credulous than we are. That's the political narrative. But they are highly aware of what is going on here. So, I'd just like to take you through these stories and talk about them as fictions. We could talk about them as lies, certainly at this time there could have been many people in Venice who would be extremely happy to call them a bunch of liars—maybe still today, but certainly in the sixteenth century, and my Renaissance colleague here is nodding. You could call them myths—myth is another good word. I'd like to think of it as a formulist anthropological framing of myth by people like Bronislaw Malinowski. There's the myth as a story with a purpose or function. That work was really done in areas such as Indonesia, and other parts of the world where there are "primitive" peoples—if you will excuse me—who would look at myths. But unsurprisingly I'm going to talk about this in terms of fictions. And I'll present this famous quote from the famous historian Natalie Zemon Davis, who is particularly well-known for a wonderful book called the *Return of Martin Guerre*, and there's a really romantic movie, in which Gérard Depardieu is really Gérard-Depardieu-like. But this is the better book in my mind, it is called "Fictions in the Archives"—you can see why. "I want to let the fictional aspect of the documents be the center of analysis. By fictional I don't mean the feigned elements, but rather using the other broader shade of the root of the word, *fingere*: they are forming, shaping and molding elements, the crafting of narratives, and the diverse efforts to define the characters of historical narratives. The shaping choices of language are needed to present an account that seems to the writer and reader, both true, meaningful, real and explanatory." So, I've read this paragraph again and again, as my pathway to thinking about a bunch lies, myths and fictions that the Venetians produced, really for well over a thousand years, in my interests from about 400 to 1600 and maybe still to this day. You go there, talk to the guides, and will hear a lot of myths, real, true, meaningful and explanatory. So, there are these two stories, the first is the Fourth Crusade in which the Venetians built a fleet with a bunch of French, German and Italian Catholic warriors. They were going to attack Egypt but instead they took Constantinople. My first book was about the story of the looting of relics, sacred Christian relics. When these relics came back home it was an opportunity for fictional creation and for narrative innovation—it's a part of a broad tradition here. So, this is a 1204 story. We have the brave Doge Enrico Dandolo taking the cross, and there is a big battle. In this moment, right here, this is a great prince who's getting a letter from Pope Innocent III in which the pope says, "Go to the Crusaders and tell them to attack on Constantinople." And this is the narrative moment in which

the story says, the deviation to Constantinople is for the Pope. That's malarkey—it absolutely didn't happen. I'm a Venetian partisan, in the sense that when it comes as a writer, I'd like to take Venice fairly seriously, and like to say that they were smart and savvy. But this is just malarkey: the Pope said, don't go there or I'll excommunicate you. They went there, and he excommunicated them. And there's just no debate about that. But here on the walls, is a totally different story, which continues in very dramatic and beautiful works of art, big sea battles, the conquest of city, Baldwin of Flanders became the emperor and they all lived happily thereafter—for about three months, then they got killed by a bunch of Bulgars. So, there's a fiction there, that moment in the middle, the moment that, if you analyze it as a narrative, is not something that happened.

Here's one that's even more so. This is the story of the Peace of Venice in 1177, in which the emperor Frederick Barbarossa is raging across Northern Italy. The Italian cities in the north are gathering together, Pope Alexander has to flee from Rome, and ends up in a convent right here in Venice, in hiding and incognito. The Doge comes in and finds him and asks, what can I do for you? The Pope says, quite a lot. And then Venice puts together a fleet—that's a big fleet but not as big as the imperial fleet that they had to defeat, and yet with God on their side, they defeated Emperor Barbarossa who had to come and kneel before the Pope in Venice. And the Doge gets a lot of fancy gifts, including a sword. I'm really interested in the material culture, and these narratives of material exchange, whether it's spices from India, a piece of fish, or a sword. That's something that really drives me as a scholar. So, we have all these cool objects, big sea battle, and Frederick Barbarossa kissing the feet of the Pope, which is a big deal, and lots of other beautiful ceremonies. It totally didn't happen, not at all. Well, there was a big civil war and Venice stayed out of it. When it became time for a peace treaty, Venice was a nice neutral place with good negotiators to help as go-betweens of the hostile parties. It's really an interesting and important moment in 12th century Italian or papal history. But Venice was not involved in the battle. However, here in the very halls of power, you can see these incredible narratives, these fictions.

There were in the Middle Ages and beyond, actually more so if we move into the era of humanism, debates over authenticity, things that we might begin to talk about as the origins of the historical method. I have to say that the people I'm looking at are much less concerned with authenticity, not, again, because they were stupid or credulous, but because they were interested in the ways narrative-creation could get access to deeper kinds of truths, and help shape identities and realities. So, when I think of the entanglements—I love the word entanglement in the prompt which we were supposed to think for today—these are the kinds of narratives that come to my mind. There are historical framings here, but they are not necessarily true in an objective modern historical sense. But I guess they are true in a different way. And when in fact these narratives run into troubles, is exactly the moment in which humanist historians had to try to prove their accuracy in eight, ten and twelve volume compendiums, saying, no, this one kind of truth actually works as another kind of truth. And in this tension, and honestly, mostly failure, there is one final thing: around the same time as those paintings, a Venetian poet wrote this thing called the *Enrico*, it's like the *Aeneid* or the *Odyssey*. It's a very exciting story, in which Enrico Dandolo, this great epic hero, in his nineties and blind, still participated in the Fourth Crusade. But here, he is reimagined as this epic hero warrior, and it makes me think of Hamilton. Because it is not less or more true than the idea that Alexander Hamilton was a Latino-immigrant-fast-talking rebel genius, and I don't know that Hamilton will have long chain of history helping us imagine who we are and who we could be. I do think he has as much potential to do so as George Washington and the cherry tree, one of the myths I grew up with, which is also not true in any particular kind of way. And these are ways I think the long view of the entanglement between history and fiction inform the narratives that are being produced right now. Thank you. (Applause)

Ada Palmer: I'm happy to talk a bit next. I would also like to address the noises coming from outside the window, from the protests that are going on here, and the many protests that are going on across the country, by citing the fact that within a month of Trump's election, every single English-language publisher had sold out their copies of Orwell's *1984*. And they're now printing them a mile a minute because they cannot keep up with demand. We use fiction as a tool for understanding the situation we're in now, and comparing it to its historical precedence. And one of the great assets we have that's stimulating how quick political action has been right now is the historical example of what happened in the 1930s and the 1940s in Europe. And we also have many narrativizations of that, both fiction and non-fiction narrativizations, to make it very vivid and to help us relate to it and imagine what we would have done if we were there and know what we can do now. Our great asset is this: we have the case study, the real case study, and we have fictional reimaginations. And with all of these different tools for re-experiencing that event, we can then address a parallel event with great speed and efficiency because the fiction has in effect reviewed and, from a science-fictional perspective, previewed, the moral situation. One of the great things that science fiction does as a genre is to fight our moral battles before we get there by saying, you know, we think we're going to invent cloning in twenty years, let's go through a whole bunch of the

moral scenarios of what cloning might result in well before we get to it. So, we already have case studies for how to talk about the question of civil rights and whether artificial intelligent robots should get the vote. And that's a question we started fighting in 1943, whether artificial intelligent robots should get the vote. We're really well-prepared when that finally comes up, thanks to partly science fiction but also reusing historical narratives in that context, because when I say we started fighting that battle in 1943, we did, but in Japan, where what they were actually trying to talk about was racism, but there was ferocious censorship so they couldn't talk about racism, so they talked instead about anti-robot prejudices, and anti-robot activists wearing what we would recognize as KKK uniforms, lynching, robot-rights activists, and that was an acceptable way to examine this very real historical question in a fictionalized space, in a literary situation where the real thing was not, at that time, welcome. So, we use the combination of history and speculation about the future to explore a lot of moral and action-oriented questions, in a frequently very efficient manner.

You may have heard people comment on the phrase "as different as night and day," pointing out that night and day are more similar to each other than any other two things! They're both periods of time that are approximately twelve hours long, about the same length, you get seven of them a week. They're really very similar! Similarly, there's nothing more similar than the future and the past. It's a long period of time over which human civilizations evolve and interact, and when we're trying to imagine what the future might be like, looking at the past and how it flows is our most efficient corollary in a large number of ways. So, we always have to, we cannot avoid narrativizing when we make a retelling of history. Even if it's something as naked as a timeline, there's an act of narrativization with what you include in that timeline and what you don't, or if it's a timeline of every single thing, you make something bold, you have already introduced narrative into that. So, you can make the most neutral-seeming historical retelling, but still include narrativization, which is one of the arenas in which having both histories that strive to seem objective, be objective, and be distanced, neutral or balanced is very valuable when wielded in parallel with histories that attempt to be biased, that attempt to engage in bias. Because we ourselves experience real life filled with bias! We have people we care about and get upset when those people are hurt. We have places that are more important and loom larger in our imaginations than others. And we think of distanced histories, objective histories, as being in a way more accurate, but in many ways, they're a lot less like the real experience of history than a fictionalized narrative which calls upon you to have an emotional investment in one faction or another.

And I'm going to use a very specific example at this point that will embarrass at least eight of the people in the room. In my Italian Renaissance class (laughter in the audience), there they go! In my Italian Renaissance class that I run every year, we run a simulation of the papal election of 1492 in which each of the students is a different participant in the election. They're all members of factions, all scheme against each other, bribe each other and betray each other, and eventually they elect the Pope and then have a horrible war and burn down some part of Europe. It's a different part of Europe every time: last year it was mostly Spain, the year before that it was Genoa. It's different every time. And while David was talking about these histories of Venice, and everyone was nodding along and being interested in the stories of the history of Venice, the students who were in that simulation were having a very visibly different reaction, because the Venetian (points at a student) turns red as a cherry and embarrassed at Venice having these lies exposed and the two Romans next to her were sort of sympathizing in all those condescending "yes, your city-state is silly compared to our city-state anyway!" And the guy from Naples back there was just sort of sighing, and then the Florentine was sort of semi-detached until humanism came up and then he was very excited! And the Frenchman over here was like... the Italians! The Italians are doing all these stupid things again, in this wonderfully distanced and condescending way. It's wonderful! I watched that moment in European history replay itself perfectly. And that is a totally different way from the way we often think of approaching history, particularly in a classroom, but certainly gets to an aspect of what the history was like, that's actually very difficult to understand without that. Because when you're looking at something like Renaissance Italy, where these tiny fractious city-states that hate each other are betraying each other every six months, and fighting giant vicious wars over who didn't marry whose uncle's great-aunt's friend one time eight generations ago, and they're burning cities to the ground over things like that. WHAT? Just stop! Just have peace! What is wrong with you? That's the reaction you have when you just read about it as a summary. When you go to Wikipedia and read its summary of the War of the League of Cambrai, you start laughing half way through, because you're like: "I cannot believe anyone cared about this enough." But by presenting it in the slightly fictionalized way that I do in the classroom, where everyone is part of that faction, you come out at the end realizing exactly why they don't make peace, because there's a viciousness to having a side, being against other sides, betraying, being betrayed, not wanting the person who betrayed you to have power, wanting to tear them down by any means. And suddenly, a part of history which was opaque until we zoomed in and used a fictionalized narrative to get the bias and the historical empathy that lets us imagine ourselves in that position, a piece of history that

was opaque and incomprehensible to the modern audience is now comprehensible in a different way. And that's a tool that can be wielded in parallel to the wielding of more distanced histories, timelines, so that you get these two things side by side, so you get the Wikipedia entry on the War of the League of Cambrai, which tells you straightforwardly what happened. And by giving us different aspects of the historical experience, sometimes facts, sometimes experience. Fiction and narrative history, and attempts at distanced and objective history, the three of these things team up to give us access, and help cross the barrier between us and understanding past peoples, of which the biggest barrier is not language, or lack of information, but the lack of understanding other people's mindsets. The people of the past are aliens. Their way of thinking, their judgment about what is right and what is wrong, is more different from ours than any alien species Star Trek people have ever encountered in the history of the show, all of whom were made up by modern people and based on modern mindsets. Through exploring history via narrative, we can then zoom in on what it meant to be those people, and then through exploring it in science fiction, we can use it to imagine our successors who will be as mentally different from us as we are mentally different from the people who thought that painting those non-existent narratives on the walls of the Doge's palace was a good, appropriate and positive thing. And I'll close there. (Applause)

Ghenwa Hayek: I'm really glad I get to go last, and can work some of this discussion into what I was thinking about talking. Before I start, I just want to say thank you to the editors of the *Chicago Journal of History* for inviting me to be a part of this.

So, my approach to the relationship between history and fiction comes from the place I study, which is also the place I'm from. And the reason why I'm interested in the fictionalization of history is because I come from a place with very much and no history. And I'll explain that. I come from Lebanon. It's a very old country. Every time you go, or meet a Lebanese person, or go to a Lebanese restaurant, people will bore your ears off, or bore your brains out, with discussions of the Phoenicians, and how the Phoenicians sent the alphabet to the world, and then the Romans, and then the Crusaders, et cetera et cetera. So, there's a history that's very ancient, and one that's very celebrated, to the extent that it is often unwelcome when it's sort of piled on you in heaps when you're just trying to eat hummus. But at the same time, I come from a country that, between 1975 and 1990, fought a very long, protracted, and vicious civil war, as a result of which about 10% of the population died, about 20% or 30% were displaced, and at the end of which, to bring about the end of this war, rather like the people in Venice, a group of the men who had fought the war got together in Saudi Arabia and made a deal that they would become, rather than enemy combatants, colleagues together in the new political system that was to bring peace after the war in 1990. And this is truly what happened: everyone who had been a warlord became a member of parliament or minister. They divided the national pie amongst themselves.

But the problem is that people don't forget things very easily. But if you control the state, you also control the way that the state propagates information. And one of the way it propagates information is that it sets educational curricula. So, in Lebanon, history as is taught in school and in college ends in 1946. Nothing has happened in the Middle East, according to the Lebanese educational textbooks, since 1946, which if you think about it means that the State of Israel and the displacement of the Palestinians never happened, the nationalization of the Suez Canal and various independence movements across the Arab Middle East, Egypt, Iraq, never happened, and most importantly, the Lebanese Civil War never happened. Right? So that's how the state decided to get rid of the very inconvenient problem of factual history, by pretending it's not there. And while this may be more or less, or less of a problem for people who actually lived through the war and remember aspects of it, and even that is problematic because they only remember what the members of their village or their sect or political party they or their parents were affiliated with told them, but it's a big problem for successive generations who are losing that contact, and whose only knowledge of the history is through the stories that people want to tell, and most often do not want to tell, and the stories that the government definitely does not want to tell.

So, I became interested in history because effectively as someone who studies literature, fiction and authors, contemporary Lebanese authors, came in to write the gap. The writing of fiction became the resistance through which, sort of the cultural resistance, and the repository of a kind of memory of those years, of 1975 to 1990, and after 1990 also, a rethinking of what could have been. So, it's a speculative moment that used history and the fictionalization of history to think about the country's present and past. So, for me, fiction and history are connected in a very real, and very visceral way. And in fact, for people who study Lebanon, fiction is where you go to get a sense of, like *One Day in Shanghai* but without the official, or perhaps, without necessarily the same kind of political motivations, to get a sense not just of witness, but also of a counter-history, I'm going to say, to a history that is rejected, or is blanked out.

So, for example, one of the novels that I work on is a historical novel written in 2015. And the way that the young writer does this, the way that the young writer recreates the history is that he superimposes a story about a person trying to write a novel in the late 2000s with the story of someone who was living through the past of the 19th century city that

now no longer exists. Because one of the things that happened during the Lebanese Civil War was that the middle of Beirut, so the heart of the city, was razed to the ground. And in the post-war reconstruction effort, which was a privatization effort, through which basically the city was sold to a private company and told do whatever you want with it. And of course, no private company is going to want to restore a city not for profit. So, what they wanted to do with it was to create a theme park, a kind of theme park, it's actually... you don't pay an entrance fee, but it's that kind of space. And so, the novel then becomes a way of reminding people what was there, or teaching people who didn't know that this space existed, by for example, his technique, rather than bearing witness or actually using bibliography, right? To sort of reach in to the language of historical research and historical documentation in the fictional novel, to tell us, this is real. It plays on, I'm writing a story but I'm also referencing what is real, the authority of history, which is something we might want to talk about. And by doing that, the author manages to recreate a moment that may be fictional, but that also has grounding in a historical past that the political establishment, the political elite and the state want to erase. So, as someone who studies the Middle East and thinks about the terrible state of that part of the world at this moment in time, the entwinement of history and fiction becomes more and more necessary with every moment, and this sort of relationship of narrativizing the present but also having the presence of mind to think about when this present moment becomes past, what is it that we're going to remember and what is it that we are able to document, and what is it that we're able to archive, and how is this going to be presented is essential for me. So, I think I'm going to stop and maybe, with just throwing out there: what do we do with history when we're living it in the moment? And what do we do with this knowledge of the relationship between fiction and history, in the era of alternative facts? I mean, I never thought this would be an American problem, but I'm somewhat glad that it is, because this is a conversation that we can now all have collectively, and instead of being abstract it's now real to all of us in this room, not just to those of us who study complicated parts of the world. So how do you write a history of the present, is basically my question, and what do we have to be careful about as we write the history of the present. (Applause)

Jane Dailey: I'll just take questions from all of you. I'll say that your history of Lebanon reminded me of after the Civil War in Virginia, the Virginia Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, which was basically the Virginia Historical Society, founded their library and archive, which was dedicated to preserving the history of Virginia from 1607 to 1863. Right to Gettysburg! And then things went downhill after that.

Ghenwa Hayek: They'd rather not think about it!

Jane Dailey: Exactly.

David Perry: When the Mongols conquered Russia in the 13th century, the Russian chroniclers just didn't mention it! They'd literally been conquered by Mongols and periodically major players drop off the map because they've been executed by the Mongols, but these Russian chroniclers just don't mention it for sixty or seventy years. And then they defeat the Mongols and then suddenly it's everywhere!

Jane Dailey: So, questions!

Audience: So, you touched upon it earlier, that we currently have a type of history known as alternative facts, and historically we know that history is fictionalized and propagandized by winners. How do you propose that we as historians and as people get past the fictionalized narratives and uncover the truth, or do you think there is even a truth at all?

Ada Palmer: I mean I think we need to use the fictionalized narratives to get at the truth rather than a question of getting past them. In so many circumstances we learn as much if not more about a society from the story that it's telling at any given point than we do from what you would consider the bland fact, data, such as it is in a space like baptismal records I guess, or one of the more neutral documents we can think of. But for example, if you're a novelist and you're trying to write a book in any given decade in the 19th or 20th century, and you want to know how to write a plausible street scene, what shops would you walk past when people greet each other in the morning, what greeting to they use et cetera, you want to read bland romance novels that were written in that decade, because the fiction is who the people are and what their wild romance is, the inadvertent fact-keeping of those narratives is the enormous amount of information about the normal background that the author has had to paint behind the fictitious figures, that can be, whether it's in the 20th century or in the Middle Ages, one of the absolutely most informative sources that we have.

Ghenwa Hayek: And I would second that. I wouldn't make that distinction to begin with. I think that fiction has an enormous potential to affect people and have them respond. As Professor Palmer was saying earlier, that fighting alternative facts with real facts is not doing a lot of good, right? The narrative throughout the election was: this is not true, here's science, or here's history, or, this is a fact! But clearly, not everyone responds to that, so it can be part of our... I don't

want to say the word 'arsenal' because it sounds violent, but, you know, it's late. (audience laughs) It's one of the tools! Yes!

David Perry: I do think we shouldn't undersell the dangers of fictionalization of what's going on either, and I don't think anyone is, and we could talk about any number of historical moments, but I'd just like to talk about the inauguration. In a hundred years, is the picture on the wall on the National Gallery of Trump's inauguration, is it a hand-painted oil of the biggest crowd in American history? That's not an inconceivable fictionalization of something that we know right now is not true. I mean, it has a kind of aspirational, generative power that can be leveraged in wonderful ways, but also in dangerous ways. Like I said, I believe in truth, but I don't believe in objectivity. By shedding objectivity, can we get to truths in a better kind of way, in a more powerful kind of way? I hope so.

Jane Dailey: One of the best stories along this line that I know of, is at Versailles. Georges Clemenceau, who was the Prime Minister of France, was speaking to one of the German delegates. And the German delegate asked him, "What do you think people will make of all of this a hundred years from now?" And Clemenceau turns to him and says, "They won't say that Belgium invaded Germany."

Audience: It seems that intrinsically, fiction plays into human fears, the fear of the unknown and the other, such as tides of migrants, supposedly bad people flooding into the country. It's something that strikes, and that people react to, perhaps by contrast to science or fact. How do you recommend we deal with that? Do you think that positive fictions can counteract that? Or do you think that the truth can be framed so that you will elicit more visceral reactions?

Ada Palmer: I mean, yes. Positive characters are very popular. Superman is still actually more popular than Batman, as much as Batman is in many ways more awesome than Superman. The actual amount of sales of the story, it's Superman, the most unilaterally uncomplicatedly positive character that you can think of in the comic book world. People also really like positive narratives, and one of the experiences I've actually had since my novels have been coming out, actually since well before my novels were coming out is that in a world where science fiction and fantasy are full of dystopian, post-apocalyptic and grimdark, all of which are huge, popular genres. And when I first submitted my manuscript to the woman who was then my agent, she was saying that she really enjoyed this positive, exciting, interesting future where everyone has 150-year life spans and has a twenty-hour work week, and we have flying cars. She was just gloating in the office that all the other agents were all: "these books that I'm reading are so depressing." And everyone's reactions to it since have been: "How interesting and refreshing it is to see a depiction of a positive future." Not a perfect future, it has a lot of problems, this future, but it's an exciting and interesting future. There are very strong reactions to positive narratives too. One last example that also ties into a conversation that you were having before, and I hope others will weigh in on the same question, but I mentioned the 1940s Japanese engagement with the question of whether artificial intelligence should have civil rights. So, the central fictitious character created for this is Astro-boy, created by Osamu Tezuka who's the founder of modern manga and also a political activist as well. And Astro-boy was this enthusiastic, extremely powerful, extremely positively spirited boy-superhero who was atomic-powered, which was an argument that the atomic power, the dreadful atomic power that just destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki could be repurposed for helping the world and saving the world. And he and his classmates have field trips to the moon and also incredibly terrible encounters. There is a section when he is hired to try to intervene in the Cambodian genocide and fails. And you see piles of burning corpses. And this is a comic for seven-year-olds. It is a comic for seven-year-olds who have just lived through World War II and seen their parents' corpses on fire as well. So, they're very different seven-year-olds from the seven-year-olds you may be used to encountering in America here. But there are real seven-year-olds who are reading this. And Astro-boy is the symbol of the idea that there could be a positive, international and cooperative future in which America and Japan and all of these countries that had just fought battles were allies working together through technology to make a better future. And it was such an overpoweringly inspiring message that you cannot find a roboticist or doctor in Japan today, who, if you ask him, why did you go into it who will not say, I wanted to build Astro-boy. Three years ago, Japan hosted an international peace summit for the United Nations, and they decorated the main hall of the summit with a giant poster that said, "We must make a future that would not make Astro-boy cry." And for everyone who knew this character, it was an incredibly deeply powerful statement of the responsibility of how good a future they're setting out to make. That is: a) reusing a positive character in a very powerful way; b) reusing a character that was created in a moment of censorship and silence as a substitute for the fact that we couldn't talk about the war yet. But even that tool of thwarting censorship, now that censorship is gone and it *is* ok to talk about this, is still immensely powerful beyond that context, because the tools of art that we make in moments of attempted silencing are some of the most powerful we can forge. So, there's my response—do others have more?

Ghenwa Hayek: I would say that I think your question opens

up an issue of aesthetics that we would need another panel and about four more hours to address. It might be worth thinking about what kind of fiction, and what quality of fiction endures in moments like this and, you know, what quality and kinds of alternative facts and bad fictions don't.

Jane Dailey: More questions?

Audience: So, several of you talked about historical cultures and understandings of their own pasts and present. One thing that one of you mentioned is that it's dangerous and inaccurate to think of people in the past as being necessarily credulous and were understanding their own fictionalized pasts in a simplistic way. I just want to hear from all of you, about how you think of the ways in which people in the various past periods you have studied understood their own fictionalized pasts and presents and how that differs from how we, looking back on them, might judge how they framed their past and wrote their fiction?

Paola Iovene: I think the answer would really depend on the context. In the case of the paintings in Venice, they knew, of course! It was a process of making up. I think when people write the fictionalized account, they know that they are writing fiction.

David Perry: I think there are moments in the Middle Ages in which, for many authors, who are living in, particularly in monastic contexts and are deeply engaged in concepts of sacred time, often in quite apocalyptic ways, simply higher truths, for whom there are simply truths much greater than the stuff that actually happened. And so, in the acts of narrative creation, which I prefer—well, we can say 'fiction' again in the Natalie Zemon Davis context—in fact, their job is to get to those higher truths, which is different from accurate relation of the stuff that happened. That's simply not the job of those genres. So, no one is especially stressed about that; that's not the question. It doesn't mean that they think: 'Oh yeah, that's actually what happened.' It's that, 'here's the way this narrative is supposed to work, and I'm going to have my narrative work in that way,' because it has a function, a job to do. In fact, one of the things that really interests me, in my dissertation and in my first book, let's say, 17 years of my life, from the start of it to the publication, and still today, is that when you take a relic from a place and you move it to somewhere else, you've brought the saint along with it and you have to tell a story. You have to tell a story about why the saint wanted to go, how miracles happened along the way, in really standard, boring, trope kind of ways. Stuff happens, really predictable sorts of things, so at the end you can paint a picture and do a sermon and develop a new liturgy and write down the story and tell it orally, although we never get those because oral narratives are the dark matter of the past. You know, they're like 97% of everything that's out there and we don't have any of them. But still, we get bits. You have to do it, there's work to do. So, what's really interesting about most of the sources I work with from this big Crusade is that they totally failed to do the job. The Venetian ones do the job magnificently, but the ones from Germany and other parts of France just don't, because I think there's a disconnect between the function that the source is supposed to do and what they know actually happened because of the whole excommunication thing. It's a real problem. they're neither credulous nor stupid, and they're not, in some ways, good enough writers to do it; or, they come up with really weird things. So, there's a guy who blames the fall of Jerusalem on multiculturalism. Basically, the reason Jerusalem falls to Saladin in 1189 (Jerusalem is conquered in 1099 by the first group of Crusaders, falls again in 1189). The reason, according to this monk, who has spent the whole or most of his life in this little monastery in a beautiful part of France, is because there was too much mixing of races and language in Jerusalem. That's why it fell. And that's, I mean, nonsense. And not only is that nonsense, but it doesn't help his text do the job of authorizing the presence of this relic from Constantinople, it's a total non-sequester. And that, as a historian, is the kind of thing, once you get a sense of a frame, genre and the work it's supposed to do, when you encounter a source that really screws up that mission, that's often a moment to really dig in and start figuring it out. And that's, in fact, my whole academic career was me sitting in the sub-basement of my library at Minnesota with these 19th century editions of these 13th century texts thinking 'I know this kind of source, I know this genre really well. These are weird. They don't work.' And trying to answer that question, which, again, 17 years later, I might have some answers.

Ada Palmer: I think, in a parallel sense, when we're looking at, you know, Christian late-Medieval and Renaissance Europe in particular, within their understanding of metaphysics and religion, the world exists to *serve* narrative. It isn't generating narrative. God made the earth in order to give us a bunch of moral parables that we could use to learn about virtue so that we could be guided to heaven. And God made the Roman Empire, made it rise, made it fall, in order that we could tell a story about it, so that we would get moral lessons from those stories. So, the narratives are much more important, and in fact, causal than the material reality. We have it backwards when we are trying to understand it. And so, to a medieval person, if there's a piece of data, or to a Renaissance person, if there's a piece of data which contradicts the narrative, the data is definitely wrong, because in fact, the narrative made the entire world in the first place and if there's a mystery, it's: 'oh interesting, why does this piece of data which doesn't fit, why

is it here? How can we explain, you know, what miracle caused this obviously not-actually-real object to exist that interferes with the narrative which we know *must* be true with certainty. And you get this … it's easy to laugh at these things, but you know, you see images of the medieval sky and all the stars are in perfectly straight lines and this is because, rationally, the stars must be in perfectly straight lines because the heavens are perfect, and therefore it must be that if they seemed to be scattered about randomly, it's because the distortions in the upper atmosphere are making them seem to be where they aren't. And the accurate version is the logically certain: they're in a straight line. It's hard for us to prioritize narrative over reality the way they do, which is one of the reasons we often hit these medieval things or these Renaissance things and laugh. And, you know, there's a church outside of Rome that has a holy relic which is the skull of the baby Jesus. And the people involved in this have no problem with baby Jesus deciding to have a skull and leave it on earth in order to do miracles and communicate with people. He can do that if he wants, he made the entire Universe. He can have a baby skull if he wants to. That's not a problem, and it's not funny: it is funny, but it's also not funny. We have to work that hard until you get to the state where that makes sense before you're understanding the medieval thought process about narrative, really at all.

Paola Iovene: I think your question is very interesting because it makes us realize what is it that we *need* to investigate or we need to keep in mind even before asking that question about what's a fact and what's a fiction here. We have to take a step back and think about what kind of logic and relationship between narrative and reality, or imagination and fact, what kind of logic governs the world in which this work was produced. So, we need that kind of knowledge in order to access that text. If we don't have that kind of knowledge, then we can't make sense of it. And we also need to have some kind of knowledge—and I don't know where we get it, partly from the text itself, so it's all a bit circular—but we also need to take into account what kind of goals these authors had in setting up that particular narrative. So, we can't take our own concepts of narrative and reality and bring them there. We have to put on some other kind of lenses, I suppose, in many cases. I mean, not always, but in many cases.

David Perry: I'd say the stakes are really high. In the 12th century there's a monk named Thomas, who decided to promote a saint cult of a boy who he claimed had been murdered by local Jews. And he came up with a story, and even interviewed an ex-Jew, according to his story, who said that "yeah, every year we meet in France, all the Jews, and we decide which country is going to kill a Christian boy and then they draw by lot in which city they're going to do it, and then they do this sort of reverse, kind of reenactment of the crucifixion, to murder a Christian boy. Well, this is a fiction. And, it took him a while, it took him a couple of re-writes, to get it to a point where it caught with the local community, but then boy did it catch, and it's still caught. And there's a lot to say about that medieval myth and that fiction, the way it works. But what I want to tell you is that there was someone who believed that Hillary Clinton and John Podesta were running a child sex ring out of a pizza joint in D.C. enough to take weapons and to go investigate. And that too is a kind of fiction, and a fiction I see very connected to the blood-liable myth, obviously in a very different context and very different media. But as you were saying, what connects and how does it work and what are the implications of it, I think that the stakes can be very high, literally life and death

Ghenwa Hayek: And as someone who studies fiction for a living, I would just say that it's often the simplest narratives that need to be probed the most extensively. And the people who are trying to find and understand a complex situation and reality and, without ironing out or flattening out details, in ways that make you as a reader want to tear your hair out because they're using, for example, different languages or different grammars or they're moving back and forth, and sometimes their sentences are nine pages long… That's where the interesting intervention happens, where there are people who make things complicated, and not just the people who are trying to make things simple. Because from a literary perspective, it's often the simplest narratives that can be the most dangerous one. You can tell a really easy and convincing story eventually about a bunch of Jews who meet and decide to kill a baby once a year, right? But some of the most difficult novels are about the day-in-the-life of a random guy in Dublin in 1916. So, it's just something to think about. And sometimes, politicians and political language is very simple, and even overly simplistic. 'Build a wall.' 'There are bad hombres.' So, the language that we need to think about resisting that language, that is simple on the immediate face of it, but with time needs to become more and more complex, I think.

Jane Dailey: I'll just say that, the piece of the American past that most Americans will do anything to avoid thinking about, is of course slavery, and this is not because there is no great scholarship on slavery—there's lots of scholarship on slavery that's tremendous. Most people aren't going to read the scholarship, but there are also many, many wonderful novels about it. And I would encourage all of you, every single one, to immediately go over to 57th Street Bookstore and get Colson Whitehead's novel *Underground Railroad*, which is just great and won a Pulitzer Prize, the National Book Award, and it deserved everything it got. It has elements of science fiction in it, because, and I'm not giving anything away, one of the

great fictions of it to start with is that the underground railroad is *literally* an underground railroad, that moves through the South. But as an example of someone who weaves in actual history—he's quite learned in what he's done—but also puts it in the wrong time and puts it in the wrong place, but it's a fascinating, terrific book and it's also a total page turner. In fact, my heart was beating as I read this book, and I was trying to remember the last time I read something that made my heart beat the way that a movie does, right? So, I encourage all of you, you'll learn many things. Do not go home and say there was an underground railroad, but, that is something that in the United States, I think, novelists have reached more people with that history probably than historians, no matter how we try. So, one last question?

Audience: You all touched on the importance of personal narrative and personal experience in understanding history, but I feel when we teach history we often teach it with a very simplistic narrative, particularly, an example that comes to mind is East Germany. I feel like East German history is painted in one color, while the personal experiences of people, if you read them, are very varied. So how exactly do we go about telling the narrative of a certain period of history without being exclusionary to certain experiences?

Paola Iovene: What make you say that the history of East Germany is taught in such a specific way? I'm just curious

Student: Well, I'm mostly referring to the high-school history class in the United States, such as in the state of Ohio. It was taught in this way: capitalism won in East Germany, where everyone was spying on each other, that system fell and now West Germany has encompassed East Germany. And that history is kind of lost.

David Perry: You've answered your question. The problem is that history is leveraged as the history of civic formation and the history of the victory of a certain set of values. And I would say that's fairly universal in terms of how states try to control the teaching of history, especially to children. And if you don't have a history that you can easily leverage in that, you stop at 1946. Right now, there's a sustained, decades-long attempt to write the history of slavery as much *out* of American history textbooks as possible, which is not none, but you can mostly do a lot of it, you can make sure the Civil War is presented as about states' rights, you can say that, you can paint the myth of basically 'happy slaves,' to say, yeah, they weren't great but they were not, you know, most slaves were ok. And you know, the American history of civic formation is mostly what gets taught, the victories of capitalism, and you get people writing great fictional works like *The End of History,* Francis Fukuyama, who is now very regretful about it. He's telling us instead what's really going to happen next and getting a lot of press for that. But this is why college history matters, this is why college history that is not about coverage of historical fact but about building the tools, and college history taking place in a broad—I'm going to say liberal arts, but let's also not forget the sciences, but in the liberal arts context—broad disciplinary context, so that I mostly get to teach one person, any one student one time for fifteen weeks of their college career. There is no *fact* that I'm going to teach them that will be relevant; they can look that up on their phone—their phone has more information than the great encyclopedias of the early modern period could have dreamed of, you know, the phone has that. What they need are tools, what we *all* need are tools to access information, to engage it, and this is why college history matters and this is why political action to free high school history and to open up the possibilities of the imagination of what history could be from early on, and this is why, frankly, things like Hamilton matter. Someone earlier said that fiction is about fear, but I think it's about imagination and imaginations can go in a lot of different ways, but, certainly in terms of curricula, and what happens in curricula, imagination is shut down and we get a very closed narrative.

Ada Palmer: Both historians and authors of speculative fiction, such as alternate history, fantasy, or science fiction, are, as Ursula Le Guin put it in her National Book Awards speech a couple of years ago, are people who think of other ways the world could be, other ways of being. She refers to speculative fiction writers as realists of a larger reality. And historians are also this, we are studying not only this moment and the way we live, but lots and lots of other ways that people have lived and could live. We do that in college classrooms, and I and others do that in fiction. Fiction is accessible to a lot more people because the high school student who never makes it into a college classroom still makes it into a movie or a comic bookstore or a bookstore and consumes fiction in a variety of different ways. So, until the liberation of the high school curriculum from being taught to a standardized test that has particular standards and no space for the idea that we don't know, college history is about proving that we don't know things! Here's how you can go learn them. There's a giant gap, let's pick away at it as a team gradually over time. Being a professional historian is studying what we *don't* know rather than what we do know. High school history is still locked into being about what we *do* know, but fiction is not and therefore is giving people access on a different axis.

Jane Dailey: I'd like to thank our panel.

Divine Love in the Medieval Cosmos

The Cosmologies of Hildegard of Bingen and Hermann of Carintiha

By Jack Ford, University College London

Love
Gives herself to all things
Most excellent in the depths,
And above the stars
Cherishing all…
(Hildegard of Bingen, *Antiphon for Divine Love*)[1]

In every constitution of things
the most cohesive bond is the
construction of love… the one
bond of society holding every-
thing in an indissoluble knot.
(Hermann of Carinthia, *De Essentiis*)[2]

Introduction

Throughout the Middle Ages love possessed an exalted status in regard to the cosmos. In a tradition stretching back to Plato and culminating in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, love was synonymous with an expression of divine power. In numerous cosmological works, love was believed to constitute the glue and structure of the universe, and was employed among the Christian Neoplatonists of the twelfth century as a virtual synonym for the Platonic World-Soul (*anima mundi*), the force which emanated from the Godhead and fused the macrocosm (the planets, fixed stars of the firmament, and Empyrean heaven) to the microcosm (the terrestrial earth and man) in cosmic harmony. Unsurprisingly then, in the cosmologies of the twelfth century philosophers Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179) and Hermann of Carinthia (1100-1160), "divine love" plays a central role, functioning as the binding force of the universe.

Yet what exactly is meant by the term "love"? and how can its "divine" variant be situated within the context of the Middle Ages? Whilst the Latin term *caritas,* defined as "love" or "charity," on its own is ambiguous and problematic, a useful point-of-entry to answer these questions is to examine contemporary works in which love is explored from a cosmological viewpoint. The origins of late medieval cosmological interpretations of the relationship between the microcosm and macrocosm arguably lie in late-antiquity. "All this harmonious order of things is achieved by love which rules the earth and the seas, and commands the heavens," exclaims Lady Philosophy, in the Roman statesman Boethius' (c.476-526) *Consolations of Philosophy.*[3] Writing at the end of a great Neoplatonic tradition, Boethius was naturally heavily influenced by Platonic cosmology. It is indeed from Plato's own cosmological myth, the *Timaeus,* where we find the initial idea of the World-Soul: the soul of the world that Timaeus tells Socrates "is interfused everywhere from the center to the circumference of heaven," and the same World-Soul which Hildegard and Hermann identify with God's force and power that sustains the cosmos with his love for creation.[4]

Perhaps the greatest figure to make love synonymous with the cosmos was Dante Alighieri (1265-1321). In his early work, the *Vita nuova* ("The New Life"), Dante's courtly love for his childhood sweetheart Beatrice is portrayed in a cosmological setting. The goddess Love comes to Dante and says: "Anyone of subtle discernment would call Beatrice love because she so greatly resembles me."[5] He ends the work with the hope that his soul in future will join Beatrice in the innermost sphere of heaven, 'who in glory contemplates the countenance of the One who is blessed for ever.'[6] In the *Divine Comedy* too, love, like God, is omnipresent in the structure of

1 Fiona Bowie and Oliver Davis, ed., Hildegard of Bingen: An Anthology, trans. Robert Carver (London: SPCK Publishing, 1990), 119.

2 Hermann of Carinthia, De Essentiis, trans. Charles Burnett (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1982), 129.

3 Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, The Consolation of Philosophy, ed. Douglas C. Langston (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2010), 32.

4 Plato, The Dialogues of Plato, trans. Benjamin Jowlett (New York: Charles Scribner Sons, 1892), 530.

5 Dante Alighieri, Vita nuova, XXIV, 5. Accessed 20 April 2017 via the Princeton Dante Project: http://etcweb.princeton.edu/dante/pdp/vnuova.html.

6 Ibid, XLII, 3.

Dante's cosmology.[7] Dante, passing through the sphere of Venus discovers that even God's divine mercy and love has allocated a place in heaven for the biblical prostitute Rahab (seen in Joshua 2 and 6). By showing faith in God through her actions in aiding the Israelites, Rahab is allowed to 'grow bright with peace' in the depths on earth, and as a reward for forsaking bodily love for love of the divine, she is given the privilege of being 'lifted up before all other souls' to paradise.[8]

A later example, the poem *Orpheus and Eurydice*, written by the Scottish author Robert Henryson (c.1420 - c.1505) serves as another useful point of comparison from which to approach Hildegardian and Carinthian cosmology. In this adaptation of the traditional Greek myth, Orpheus in an endeavour to rescue Eurydice, embarks on a virtual tour of the cosmos, starting from the upper sphere of the Empyrean heaven moving through the traditional order of the planets: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, the Sun and the Moon. It is notable that this cosmological journey is the opposite of Dante's. Orpheus begins 'close to God (in harmony, celestially and otherwise), but moves toward the centre, and then beyond it, to hell to reunite with his love.'[9] It is during his passage through the planetary spheres that Orpheus learns how to play the celestial music that he will use to temporarily win back Eurydice from Hades using his lyre:

> He hard a hevinly melody and sound,
> Passing all instruments musicall,
> Causit be rollyn of the spheris round;
> Quhilk armony, of all this mappamound,
> Quhilk moving seiss, unyt perpetuall –
> Quihilk of this warld Plato the saul can call…
> Thare leirit he tonis proportionat.[10]

Whilst this passage clearly alludes to the cosmological doctrine of the Harmony of Spheres (which will be explored in depth later in Hildegard and Hermann's works) what is significant is the direct reference to musical relationships constructing the Platonic World-Soul. It is musical proportions and ratios inherent in the World-Soul that cause 'the rollyn of spheris round' and 'armony' of universe. Significantly, love in this poem is given cosmological significance as Henyrson proceeds to juxtapose Orpheus and his wife Eurydice: Orpheus, in being able to hear the music of the spheres, allegorically embodies the qualities of the divine intellect and the heavenly creator ('the pairte intellecyfe'), whereas Eurydice, located in the Underworld, is associated with the desire, corruption and earthly appetite of humankind ('Our affectioun,/ Be fantasy oft movit up and doun').[11] This misogynistic portrayal of love is not an isolated case in Henryson's works, for in *The Testament of Cresseid*, after a celestial tribunal of the planets, Saturn and the Moon mete out the sentence of leprosy to Cresseid for insulting them, and ultimately for being a bad lover by forsaking her romantic love of Troilus for Diomede.[12] In both cosmological poems, Henryson shows the impact of the heavenly macrocosm on the fate of man; Henryson is explicit that it is Orpheus' knowledge of the mathematical ratios inherent in the music of the spheres that enables him to win back Eurydice, and in a similar vein it is Cresseid's forsaking of the heavens that results in the divine punishment of leprosy being subjected upon her.

These above works provide helpful examples of the Neoplatonic trend to equate love with God in a cosmological sense—a trend that Hildegard, Hermann and others would engage and develop. Outside this first type of divine love, Hildegard and Hermann necessarily reacted

7 See Dante Alighieri, The Divine Comedy, trans. Robin Kirpatrick (London: Penguin, 2012). The cosmology of the Divine Comedy is structured on God's love. Beatrice reveals to Dante the pilgrim that heaven can be identified by 'an ordered ratio,' and it is 'this – such form – that makes the universe resemble God' (Paradiso, Canto 1, Lines 103-5). As opposed to order of heaven, Hell is a place characterised by corruption and shrouded in a darkness through which Dante cannot 'discern a single thing,' (Inferno, Canto 4, Line 12). The last circle, home to a three-headed Satan, represents the fullest corruption of the divine trinity; punished for his rebellion and rejection of God through the loss of his angelic nature, his six bat-like wings create frigid winds that freeze all movement in ice (Inferno, Canto 34, Line 49-50). The stillness, silence and darkness a clear contrast from the circular motion, music and light which characterises the perfection of divinity. In the final canto of the poem Dante's desire to be reunited with God in love is realised as his will is linked with God just 'as wheels that move equilibrium,/ by love that moves the sun and other stars.' (Paradiso, Canto 33, Lines 143-145). Lino Pertile in particular has argued the Paradiso should be viewed as a 'drama of desire,' the longing of Dante the pilgrim to be reunited with the love of God. See Lino Pertile '"Paradiso": A Drama of Desire,' Word and Drama in Dante (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993), 145.

8 Dante, Divine Comedy, Paradiso, Canto 9, Lines 115-20, 362.

9 Jennifer N. Brown, "Cosmology, Sexuality, and Music in Robert Henryson's Orpheus and Eurydice," in Sexuality, Sociality, and Cosmology In Medieval Literary Texts, ed. Jennifer N. Brown and Maria Segol (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 152.

10 Robert Henryson, "Orpheus and Eurydice," in The Poems of Robert Henryson, ed. Robert L. Kindrick (Michigan: Western Michigan University, 1997). See lines 220-226.

11 Ibid. See lines 428-33.

12 Robert Henryson, "The Testament of Cresseid," in The Poems of Robert Henryson, ed. Robert L. Kindrick. (Michigan: Western Michigan University, 1997). See lines 309-344.

to the other, much broader "scholastic" and "mystical" definitions of love in currency throughout the late Middle Ages. For scholastics such as Hermann of Carinthia, the exercise of the intellectual faculties was seen as a way to open up the love of the divine. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) famously defined love as knowledge: 'for nothing is loved except if it be first known,' he writes in his *Summa Theologiae*.[13] Consequently, love for theologians involved the operation of the intellect, as it was through the contemplation of divine things that man could know true happiness.[14]

Whilst this was enough to satisfy theologians, the mystics of twelfth and thirteenth centuries—figures such as Hadewijch (c.13th century), Mechthild of Magdeburg (c.1207-c.1282/1294), Gertrude the Great (1256–c.1302), and Hildegard herself—saw the sanitised and stripped back version of love propagated by the schoolmen as lacking the passion that characterised "mystical love." Admired by Hildegard (and possibly modelling her own treatise, *Scivias*, on his *On the Sacraments of Christian Faith*), Hugh of St. Victor (c.1096-c.1141) is an important example of a theologian who blurred the lines between mystic and theologian, and who certainly did not accept the narrow definitional parameters of love that his fellow churchmen expounded.[15] The 'heart is love' and it 'is wholly impossible that there be a heart wishing to live without love,' he confidently proclaims.[16] This mystical love recognised an intimate personal love shared by each Christian with God; a love so passionate that the religiosity it inflamed could even convince people to leave the safety of their homes and fight in the crusades to recover the Holy Land.[17]

Towards the end of the period, the *Mirror of Simple Souls* of Margaret Porette (1250-1310) exemplified the anti-clerical sentiment concerning any form of mystical union with God. Setting herself against the theologians, Porette writes in her prologue that 'Men of theology and scholars… Will never understand this writing properly' because they have made 'reason their guide, which cannot climb where Love and Faith can.'[18] She proceeds to beseech her reader to 'listen humbly to a brief story of worldly love' with the understanding 'that it applies also to divine love.'[19] For mystics from the twelfth century onwards, earthly love could be elided with a higher love of the divine, and the allegory of the relationship between the Church and Christ as one of bride and bridegroom, united in marriage, was commonly employed.[20]

So where do Hildegard and Hermann fit within these typologies of love and other cosmological works? Although not conforming to one single topos *per se*, both authors were primarily Neoplatonic writers, and their works chiefly blend together the scholastic and mystical love typologies. For Hildegard the "work" or "activity" of the cosmos—itself a reflection or mirror of God's power and tangible presence in the universe—is the natural and inseparable expression of divine love.[21] Hence, Hildegard's own goddess, Caritas (Divine Love), states: 'I, the fiery life of divine essence, am aflame beyond the beauty of the meadows, I gleam in the waters, and I burn in the sun, moon, and stars… I am also reason. Mine is the blast of the resounding Word.'[22] Thus, I will argue that what Hildegard and Hermann call divine

13 Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, 1:2, Accessed 20 April via: http://www.newadvent.org/summa/1002.htm.

14 Colleen McDannel and Bernhard Lang, ed. Heaven: A History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 89.

15 As Barbara Newman has noted, Hildegard's Scivias is both similar in content and its structure to Hugh of St Victor's treatise written only a decade before in 1134. The twenty-six visions of the Scivias in content are similar to the thirty sections of Hugh of St. Victor's On the Sacraments of Christian Faith. See Barbara J. Newman, "Introduction," in Scivias, trans. Mother Cumbria Hart and Jane Bishop (New York: Paulist Press, 1990), p.23.

16 Hugh of St. Victor, Selected Spiritual Writings. Accessed online at: https://archive.org/stream/hughofsaintvicto012978mbp/hughofsaintvicto012978mbp_djvu.txt.

17 Jonathan Riley-Smith notably has argued that only 'love of God' can explain the motivation of pilgrims during the crusading movement. In a cost-benefit analysis of the rewards of crusading, for most it was an act of charity that motivated crusaders as opposed to tangible, financial reward. See Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The State of Mind of Crusaders to the East, 1095-1300," The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 67-90.

18 Margaret Porette, The Mirror of Simple Souls, trans. Jack C. Marler and Judith Grant (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 9.

19 Ibid, 10.

20 However, when mystical love was taken to its utmost conclusion, this passionate love of God could easily become transformed into something more recognisable an entirely different type of love, 'sexual love' (which will not be discussed here). Perhaps the prime example of this is the Song of Songs, the fifth book of Wisdom. Opening with the exclamation: 'Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth, because your breasts are better than wine,' the text represents an unabashed celebration of sexual love and eroticism, albeit in a highly allegorical form. See Mary Dove, ed. The Ordinary Gloss to the Songs of Songs (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 82.

21 Barbara Newman, Sister of Wisdom (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 70. By the term 'inseparable,' Hildegard views the 'divine love' of God as indistinguishable from the Holy Spirit (which is the third part of the indivisible Trinity) or World-Soul, which performs the "work" of God.

22 Hildegard of Bingen, Book of Divine Works: With Letters and Songs, ed. Matthew Fox (Santa Fe: Bear and Company, 1987). See Vision 1:2, 8.

love equates to the "work" or "activity" of the World-Soul in the universe. Indeed, despite originating from dissimilar backgrounds and contexts (Hermann being a classically-trained philosopher and Hildegard an "unlearned" abbess) the extracts quoted at the start of this essay demonstrate how similar the roles of divine love in the Hildegardian and Carinthian cosmological models were. Whilst Hildegard saw divine love more as an expression of the Holy Spirit, both she and Hermann clearly characterised it using the language of the Neoplatonic World-Soul, the force ('above the stars' and 'in the depths') binding together the Platonic Same and Different – the incorruptible celestial realm to the corruptible terrestrial earth. As Hildegard writes in her aptly named, *Antiphon for Divine Love*, love 'gives herself to all things,' and as such love is *everywhere* in the cosmos. Hermann too believed love was to be found in 'every constitution,' producing the 'indissoluble knot' by which the macrocosm was tied perpetually to the microcosm. Evidently then, not only is love prominent in these cosmologies, it is both a mystical and knowledge-based entity that takes centre-stage as the very structure of the universe.

Why Hildegard of Bingen and Hermann of Carinthia?

But, why study Hildegard of Bingen and Hermann of Carinthia? What valuable insights can be gained from such a comparison, particularly since both writers worked in radically different contexts from each other? As John Stuart Mill observed, a comparison is valid as long as there is a "method of agreement," a single similarity between the phenomena under study.[23] Ultimately, for Hermann and Hildegard, this method of agreement is that both writers' love cosmologies bare witness to the state of cosmological thought at the time: a great transition between two radically different philosophical systems, Platonism and Aristotelianism. To show this, I will compare Hildegard's *Scivias* and *Book of Divine Works* to Hermann's *De essentiis*; all three treatises being vast Neoplatonic compilations, which demonstrate remarkable resemblance to the "framework" of ideas exemplified by the School of Chartres. It is in these works that we will discover that Hildegard and Hermann found themselves situated at the terminus of the Platonic tradition, being part of a school of thought caught up in the beginnings of the gradual transition from a Neoplatonic to an Aristotelian world-view (*Weltanschauung*); a movement stimulated by the translation movement based in Toledo, bringing Aristotle's natural philosophy to the Latin West for the first time. Similar to other works of the period such as Bernard Silvestris' *Cosmographia* (1143-1148), Hildegard and Hermann warn against a 'simple periodization' of the twelfth century, as philosophers who both looked 'back to the earlier tradition of the liberal arts, but also forward to the natural philosophy of the Middle Ages.'[24]

In terms of manuscript transmission, both Hildegard's and Hermann's works register at the lower end of the scale. Despite being an extremely popular work, only ten manuscripts of Hildegard's *Scivias* are known to exist (only eight survive today), five for her *Book of Life's Merits*, and only four for her magnum opus, the *Book of Divine Works*.[25] Moreover, Hildegard did not even broadcast her naturalistic works, the *Causes and Cures* and the *Physica*, probably since they 'would not have been so immune to criticism as her great visionary writings.'[26] However, that we are in possession of only a few extant copies of her work does not mean Hildegard's works did not reach a wide audience. Quite the opposite, intellectuals asked for copies of her visionary writings and, considering her status within the institutional Church as a woman, she commanded remarkable influence among the literate, male elite. A case in point is her first work entitled *Scivias,* which was recommended to Pope Eugenius III by Bernard of Clairvaux for its fiery apocalyptic visions, and was likely read out before an ecclesiastical council in 1147. As Katherine Kerby-Fulton has persuasively argued, our modern notion of publication is divorced from the meaning it possessed in the twelfth century. For Hildegard's twelfth century counterparts "to publish" meant *to make public* (*procendendi in publicum*), as the publication of a text would often be accompanied by a public reading. If the *Scivias* was indeed read out before this council, then as a result the blessing of Pope Eugenius took on the distinct overtones of literary patronage [27]Thus, it appears that of most importance to Hildegard's audience were her visions of the Last Judgement. It was these sections of her work that were excerpted as florilegia, the most notable being a compendium of her visions of the apocalypse, the 1220

23 John Stuart Mill, "Two Methods of Comparison," A System of Logic (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1888), 279-283.

24 Robert N. Swanson, The Twelfth Century Renaissance (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 174.

25 Barbara Newman, "Sibyl of the Rhine," in Voice of the Living Light, ed. Barbara Newman (Berkeley: University of California Press 1998), 25.

26 Forence Eliza Glaze, "Medical Writer," in Voice of the Living Light, 145.

27 Katherine Kerby-Fulton, "Hildegard of Bingen," Medieval Holy Woman in the Christian Traditions c.1000-c.1500, ed. Alistair Minnis and Rosalynn Voaden (Belgium: Brepolis, 2010), 351-2.

text, *The Mirror of Future Times* by Gebeno of Eberbach, of which over a hundred manuscripts exist.[28] In general, Hildegard's works were rarely copied, undoubtedly due to their daunting length. Therefore, it appears that Hildegard's works were transmitted to a wider audience through Eberbach; and in the eyes of her contemporaries, her scientific and cosmological merit were viewed as secondary in contrast to her writings on ecclesiastical reform.

The situation seems even bleaker for Hermann's *De essentiis*, as three extant manuscripts have been identified, only one of which is contemporary.[29] Yet, tracing the distribution and transmission of these manuscripts is easier. Hermann's companion Robert of Ketton may have taken a manuscript to England in the twelfth century, which served as the now lost exemplar for the later fourteenth and fifteenth century manuscripts held at the British Library and Oxford University, respectively.[30] Likewise, in 1948, Theodore Silverstein noticed that Bernard Silvestris' *Cosmographia* drew upon on the most recent Arabic-Latin astronomy, in particular Abu Ma'shar's *Introductorium maius* as it was disseminated in Hermann's *De essentiis*, suggesting that Bernard Silvestris first read Abu Ma'shar in Hermann's treatise, a fact which indicates the diffusion of Hermann's work among Neoplatonists at Chartres.[31] Indeed, Richard Lemay has argued the point further, stating that Hermann constituted one of Bernard's "habitual sources," an argument strengthened by the fact that Wetherbee's translation features fourteen references to Hermann of Carinthia and eight to Abu Ma'shar.[32] [33] Mark Kauntze, however, is more sceptical, believing that it is more credible to see Silvestris borrowing from alternate works such as Apuleius*' Asclepius* and the pseudo-Aristotelian text *De mundo*. Nonetheless, the affinity of these ideas does suggest that there was some borrowing of ideas from the *De essentiis* by later Chartrians, or at the very least they knew of the work.[34]

Despite the rich historiographical tradition surrounding both philosophers, the subject of divine love has not been systematically explored.[35] Indeed, even when the parameters are narrowed to divine love, the range of themes possible in these two thinkers remains expansive. Therefore, after beginning with a chapter detailing an overview of twelfth century philosophy, this essay will proceed to analyse four interconnected aspects of Hildegard's and Hermann's works, in areas I believe fresh insights can be generated: (1) cosmological structure, (2) the goddess tradition, (3) the "Harmony of the Spheres," and finally, (4) the creation of man. In the first chapter, my investigation of divine love will begin with an exploration of the Neoplatonic dualism of the "cosmic egg" of Hildegard's *Scivias* and its similarity to Hermann's cosmos constructed on the harmonious Neoplatonic proportions of the Same and Different essences. The second chapter will then discuss Hildegard's own goddess, Caritas. Following this, the third chapter explores divine love as a manifestation of the Pythagorean doctrine of the "Harmony of the Spheres," the popular idea that celestial orbits were regulated by musical harmonies. To conclude, the fourth chapter will analyse the Hildegardian and Carinthian ideas of creation as an expression of both divine love and musical harmony – a theme that unites the three previous chapters, to emphasise the degree of unity within the Neoplatonic cosmos.

The School of Chartres Framework

The world of Hildegard of Bingen and Hermann of Carinthia was one of renaissance. The century started with the rudimentary outline of the seven liberal arts and ended with Roman and canon law, Aristotle, Euclid and Ptolemy, and was in possession of a "new philosophy" and a "new science."[36] At the dawn of the twelfth century there were three main "intellectual centres" or nexus points at which knowledge converged and was subsequently diffused:

28 Newman, "Sibyl of the Rhine," 25.
29 Hermann of Carinthia, De Essentiis, 57.
30 Ibid, 57-66.
31 Theodore Silverstein, "Fabulous Cosmogony," Modern Philology 46 (1948): 96.
32 Richard Lemay, Abu Ma'shar and Latin Aristotelianism in the Twelfth Century (Beirut: American University Press, 1963), 282.
33 Bernard Silvestris, Cosmographia, trans. Winthrop Wetherbee (New York: Columbia University Press 1973), 174-177.
34 Mark Kauntze, Authority and Imitation: A Study of the Cosmographia of Bernard Silvestris (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2014), 69.
35 I am indebted to scholars such as Charles Burnett, Peter Dronke and Barbara Newman who have explored Hildegard's and Hermann cosmology. However, the topics of cosmology, music and creation are generally treated atomistically. Thus, this dissertation aims to show how these topics were harmonised together in Hildegard and Hermann's world-view. For publications by the above see: Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke, Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of her Thought and Art, ed. C. Burnett and P. Dronke (London: The Warbug Institute, 1998); Barbara Newman, Sister of Wisdom: St Hildegard of Bingen's Theology of the Feminine (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987) and Barbara Newman, Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
36 Charles Homer Haskins, The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1957), 6-7.

monastic schools, princely courts and cathedral schools.[37] The School of Chartres exemplifies the last kind, and is connected with the Neoplatonism of Hermann, and to a lesser extent, Hildegard.

Importantly, at Chartres was the realisation that 'advances, discoveries and recoveries in all fields of learning were part of a single whole.'[38] The twelfth century witnessed a "re-discovery of nature," as contemporaries realised they were 'themselves caught up within the framework of nature, [and] were themselves bits of the cosmos.'[39] Consequently, there were no "just scientific discoveries"' as theology and philosophy were indistinguishable from one another, everything possessing a deeper symbolic connection to the divine. We see this in the words of Hildegard's contemporary, Hugh of St. Victor, who writes in his *Didascalion* that 'every nature tells of God; every nature teaches man; every nature reproduces its essential form, and nothing in the universe is infecund.'[40] Within Hugh of St. Victor's thought we can perceive the growing trend to view nature in terms of "physico-theology," the idea of observing natural phenomena as an expression of the theophany of God. Throughout this period, scholars were 'building up proofs and gathering illustrations of the existence of God from the world of nature observable on earth.'[41] Early on, the School of Chartres placed importance on natural philosophy, privileging the utility of the mathematical quadrivium for understanding the cosmos.[42] Chartrians such as Thierry of Chartres built hierarchal systems and recognised the quadrivum's "four-roads": arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy as the "steps" trodden in an ordered progression to the divine.[43]

The supreme architectural expression of the Neoplatonic worldview is the Cathedral of Our Lady of Chartres, the first High Gothic church in all of France and a structure built 'to express the very human desire to surge toward the skies.'[44] Figure 1 shows the right tympanum of the Royal Portal, in which Christ as the *Sedes Sapientae* ('seat of wisdom') is placed at the centre of the portal, with the voissoirs surrounding the Logos constituting a recreation of the cosmos in miniature, embodying how wisdom is passed to man from God through the liberal arts.[45]

Figure 1. Chartres. Royal Portal, Right tympanum. Photo: Nick Thompson, Flicker.

Clockwise from the lower left to the lower right are female goddess-like personifications of each liberal art, beneath which their key patrons are recreated in stone: Priscian for Grammar, Aristotle for Dialectic, Cicero for Rhetoric, Euclid for Geometry, Boethius for Arithmetic, Ptolemy for Astronomy and Pythagoras for Music.[46]

If we turn our attention to Figure 2 we see Pythagoras situated at the base of the inner archivolt and staring attentively at his vellum, a quill in his right hand and a penknife in his left to hold the vellum still and scrape away any mistakes. Clearly, Pythagoras 'concentrates on getting it right, and is ready to correct his errors.'[47] He is studiously engaged in thought and judgement – the process of "ontopoiesis" – which underlies the Chartrian belief that it is the *process of thought* that opens up the divine.[48] It is Bernard of Chartres' famous statement that the moderns (*moderni*) of the Middle Ages were like "dwarves perched upon the shoulders of giants" recreated in stone, as Music/

37 Ibid, 32.
38 Peter Ellard, "Sacred Cosmos" (PhD. Diss., Fordham University, 1999), 27.
39 Marie-Dominique Chenu, Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 5.
40 Hugh of St. Victor, "Didascalion," in Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c.1100-c.1375, ed. Alistair J. Minnis and A. Brian Scott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 82.
41 Clarence Glacken, Traces on the Rhodian Shore (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 177.
42 Haskins, The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century, 98.
43 Henry Chadwick, Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 72.
44 Patricia Trutty-Coohill, "Pythagoras in the Sacred Cosmos of Chartres Cathedral," Phenomenology of Space and Time, ed. Ann-Teresa Tymieniecka (New York: Springer Press, 2014), 39.
45 Ibid, 46.
46 Ibid, 46.
47 Ibid, 7.
48 Ibid, 52. "Ontopoiesis," meaning the self-creative activity of consciousness: a concept borrowed from the study of phenomenology.

Harmony is literally being supported on the hunched shoulders of Pythagoras.[49] Like their human philosophers working at Chartres, 'the arts can see further because they stand on the shoulders of real human giants.'[50]

Figure 2. Pythagoras. Chartres. Royal Portal, Right Archivolt. Photo: Nick Thompson. Flicker.

In a world in which theologians wrote under the omnipresent threat of censure, Thierry of Chartres' decision to broadcast the Neoplatonic cosmos into the "public sphere" represents a bold statement of the Chartrian agenda.[51] For spatial reasons, this essay cannot engage with the debates over the School of Chartres, which also have been discussed in greater length by other historians.[52] Nevertheless, it must be said that whilst it is a moot point as to whether Chartres was an international nexus for Platonism, what we can be fairly certain of is that something resembling a "network" in its basic structure did exist. Winthrop Wetherbee, the exponent of what R. W. Southern has dubbed the "New Chartrian Hypothesis," has argued that the ideas underpinning the "School of Chartres" are best seen as a 'convenient label for a body of ideas.'[53] This is plausible, as whilst the institutional particularities of Chartres remain ambiguous, its general characteristics can at least be identified. Borrowing upon the terminology of Max Weber, the core ideas constituting the Chartrian School are best seen as a "framework" or mutable "ideal type," which included:

(1) The humanistic and scientific investigation of nature to understand the universe.

(2) An understanding of humanity's place in creation expressed in Neoplatonic ideas of the World-Soul.

(3) The belief that all knowledge gained through the quadrivium and trivium could be consolidated and synthesised as an extension to the divine.

Clearly, Hermann of Carinthia fits this ideal type. In his preface to Ptolemy's *Planisphere*, he praises Thierry of Chartres (c.1100-1150) as his 'teacher' suggesting Hermann likely studied at Chartres.[54] More significantly, his 1143 cosmological treatise *De essentiis* exemplifies the Chartrian methodology of "imitatio" *par excellence*, attempting the grandiose task of synthesising the knowledge of the ancients with Arabic science. As Robert Swanson has noted,

49 The only known evidence for Bernard's statement is John of Salisbury. See John of Salisbury, Metalogicon, trans. Daniel McGarry (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1971), 167.

50 Trutty-Coohill, "Pythagoras in the Sacred Cosmos," 53.

51 The term "public sphere" is taken from the pioneering work of Jürgen Habermas who distinguished between the "private" or domestic sphere (Intimsphäre) and that of the world of letters and social institutions that comprised the public sphere. See Jürgen Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), in particular pages 27-31.

52 The most vocal critic is Robert W. Southern who has argued that the importance of Chartres has been grossly over-exaggerated in comparison to other scholastic centres, namely Paris. 'The idea of a large-scale or a distinctive contribution by the school of Chartres is based on a combination of errors, and must be abandoned,' he writes. Robert W. Southern, "Chartrian Humanism: A Romantic Misconception," Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe. Vol. 1: Foundations (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 58-101.

53 Winthrop Wetherbee, Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), xii.

54 "Preface to Ptolemy's Planisphere," in Hermann of Carinthia, De Essentiis. See Appendix II, 349. Hermann refers to Thierry as "Preceptor Theodorice". As Burnett notes: 'this is evidently more than a title of respect… it does suggest that he was educated amongst the group of intellectuals associated with Thierry,' 4.

Hermann of Carinthia is the 'prime example' and witness to this new system of thought, a bridge between the "old" Platonic world and the beginning of a world soon-to-be dominated by "The Philosopher," Aristotle. In particular, Hermann's occupation as an Arabic translator in the Ebro valley gave him unrivalled access to the "underground tradition" of Aristotle.[55] Consequently, Hermann believed himself to be the "cutting edge" of scientific re-discovery and consolidation, writing in the preface to the *De essentiis* that its purpose is to make known 'the depths of the treasuries of the Arabs.'[56] In fact, Hermann introduced Ptolemy at least seventeen years before the first known translation, alongside "new" thinkers, including Abū Ma'shar, al-Kindi, Hermes Trismegistus and al-Battāni.[57] A general survey of the authorities cited by Hermann indicates this influence (see Figure 3), as he references Abū Ma'shar (thirteen citations) by name more than any other author, except Ptolemy (sixteen citations). In the *De essentiis*, an Arabic authority accompanies each Latin authority, correlating to Hermann's Chartrian desire to produce a cosmology of consolidation, reconciling Plato and Aristotle.

Hildegard's *Scivias* (short for *Scito Vias Domini* or "Know the Ways of the Lord," c.1151/2) and her *Liber divinorum operum* ("Book of Divine Works," c.1161) too are impressive Neoplatonic compendiums of a similar, but also different kind of calibre. Both her egg cosmology in the *Scivias* and her love cosmology in the *Book of Divine Works* borrow heavily on Neoplatonic themes, but are blended with Christian doctrine. Similarly, Hildegard's figures of Caritas and Sapientia borrow on the goddess mythology, a tradition repeatedly evoked throughout the Middle Ages.[58] Whilst claiming to be unlearned, Hildegard was a significant contributor to renaissance of the twelfth century and her numerous letters show that she was linked to the "cult of friendship" of this period.[59] Unless more evidence presents itself, historians can only speculate as to how learned she really was. Yet, in a period in which visionaries were judiciously scrutinised by the Church for their validity, it is likely that Hildegard downplayed her learning as a deliberate technique to avoid crossing the fine line between being heralded as mystic or being branded as a heretic. Hildegard notably begins the *Scivias* with a disclaimer to add veracity to her claims, a declaration entitled: 'These are True Visions Flowing from God.' Throughout the work she also alternates between speaking about God in the third

Authority	No. Citations
Abu Ma'shar	13
Al-Battāni	5
Apollonius Thebanus	3
Apulieus	1
Aratus	1
Archimedes	1
Aristotle	8
Astalius	2
Augustine	1
Boethius	5
Cicero	3
Dorotheus	1
Eratosthenes	1
Euclid	4
Galen	1
Hermes Trismegistus	13
Hipparchus	1
Martianus Capella	1
Māshā'allāh	2
Nichomachus	1
Plato	11
Pliny	1
Ptolemy	16
Pythagoras	1
Rutilius Palladius	1
Socrates	1
Solinus	1
Theodosius	2
Theophrastus	1
Varro	2
Vitruvius	1

Figure 3. A table of my own construction showing the authorities directly cited by Hermann of Carinthia in the text of De essentiis.

55 Swanson, Twelfth Century Renaissance, p.107. Charles Burnett suggests in the De Essentiis that Hermann's knowledge of Aristotle originated through a series of intermediaries such as al-Kindi, Questa ibn Lūqā and al-Fārabī (see 33-35). A total of eight direct citations are attributed to Aristotle in the text of De Essentiis, suggesting some familiarity with his works.

56 Hermann of Carinthia, De Essentiis, 6.

57 Ibid, 29. The earliest known translation of Ptolemy from the Arabic was Gerard of Cremona made in 1175 at Toledo.

58 Martianus Capella's figure of Philology in his Marriage of Philology and Mercury began this tradition. It was built upon by Boethius with his Lady Philosophy, and.most. notably.popularised.by Bernard Silvestris' and Alan of.Lille's personification of nature as Natura.

59 Swanson, Twelfth-Century Renaissance, 197.

person and to speaking *through* him in the first person.[60] She is adamant that her source of knowledge is the "Living Light," or God, who in a letter to Bernard of Clairvaux, she writes chose to reveal to her 'the inner meaning of the exposition of the Psalter and the Gospel.'[61] [62] These techniques would certainly have aided her in constructing her image as a mystic with a unique channel to God.

Clearly, Hildegard was not the first female visionary or writer of theology; the works of others – names such as Perpetua, Egeria, Baudonivia, Dhuoda and Hrotsvitha – too were remarkable, but had fallen into silence during the twelfth century and were unknown to her.[63] To place Hildegard in context, she is often compared with fellow abbess, Herrad of Landsberg, who began composing her treatise *Hortus delicarum* ("The Garden of Delights") four years before the point of Hildegard's death in 1175. Indeed, the similarities are palpable. Both works featuring lavish imagery alongside text primarily dedicated for the didactic purpose of teaching fellow women; both were salvation histories; finally, both presented scathing critiques of the institutional Church. As is evident from Figure 4, Herrad's illustration depicting the Seven Liberal Arts indicates that both women experienced a traditional "Chartrian" education in the liberal arts.[64] Yet despite these apparent similarities, there is little that marks the *Hortus delicarum* as a "women's book," being devoid of the goddess imagery, sexual metaphors and rhetorical strategies to circumvent scholastic methodologies prominent in Hildegard corpus of works.[65] Ironically, Herrad displays more similarities to Hermann than Hildegard, citing her authorities meticulously in the manner of a scholastic theologian. By contrast, Hildegard stood outside of this elite, masculine Latin culture. The twelfth century had seen the positions of women ever-increasingly defined, with the gender double standards from the growing cult of the Virgin Mary narrowing female power and influence away from masculine spheres into concentrated female ones.

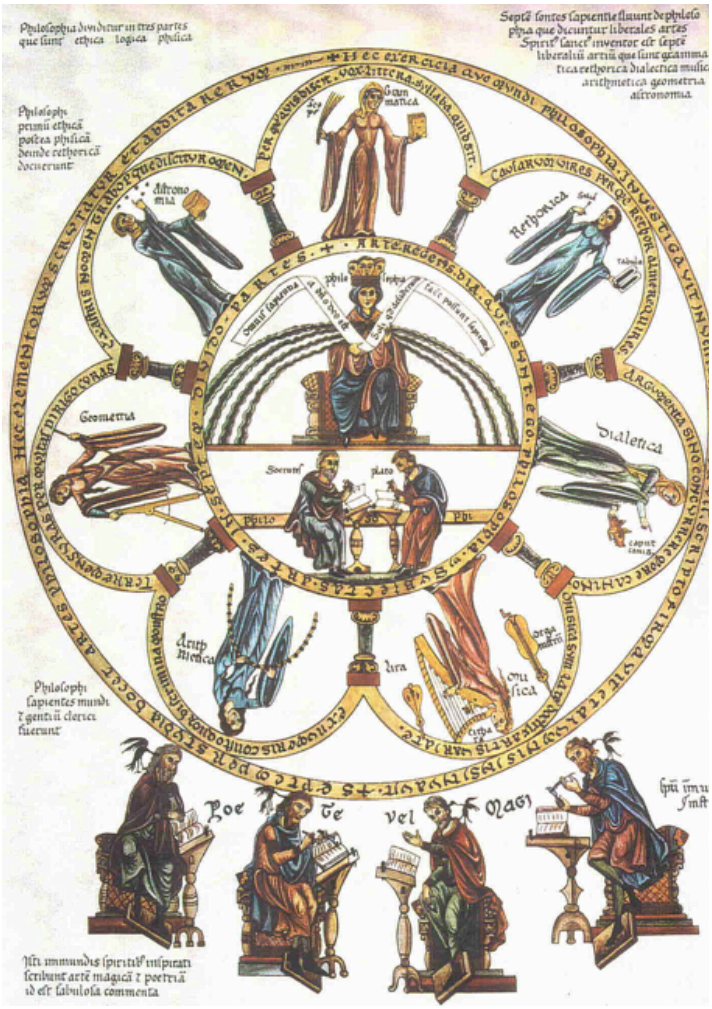


Figure 4. The Seven Liberal Arts. Herrad of Landsberg, Hortus Delicarum.
Source: Wikipedia Commons.

Paradoxically, since 'all other women contrasted unfavourably with Mary,' the growing status of the Virgin was tied to the increasing compartmentalisation of the status of women into the domestic roles prescribed by the institutional Church.

Although women remained powerful in these private, closed off spheres such as the home and the monastery, in the minds of both men and women alike, the growing standard of comparison for the female sex was a model of unobtainable purity, one based on the exemplar of the

60 Hildegard of Bingen, Scivias, trans. Mother Colombia Hart and Jane Bishop (New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1990), 60. This acts as a disclaimer to counter the misogyny inherent in the institutionalised Church that women should not advise on theological matters, a strictly masculine sphere of interpretation.

61 Ibid, 59.

62 Hildegard of Bingen, "Letter to Bernard of Clairvaux," in Hildegard of Bingen: Selected Writings, trans. Mark Atherton (London: Penguin Books, 2001), 3.

63 Hildegard of Bingen, Scivias, 9.

64 In the illustration Philosophy personified as a women is located in the inner circle. Below Socrates and Plato studiously engaged in copying down her truths. From Philosophy flow seven rivers, connected to each goddess personifying a specific liberal art around the inner circle. Philosophy is clearly the fountain of all knowledge: a point made evident by the four figures at the bottom that are copying down falsehoods whispered to them in their ears by evil spirits.

65 Fiona J. Griffiths, The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance Women in the Twelfth Century (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 7-8.

divine chastity and piety of Mary.[66] As an intellectual, Herrad was able to work within Scholasticism on its own terms, but this was the exception, not the general rule for women, and is likely due her adaptation of the scholastic method and vocabulary. Hildegard certainly knew of these gender roles as she and her writings were shaped by the prevailing conditions of the time. But even though gender roles were becoming increasingly fixed, working within them, and utilising their boundaries could be a powerful tool. The *Scivias* and *Book of Divine Works* are witnesses to a skilful strategy on Hildegard's part, a strategy that exploited the contradiction at the heart of Christianity that God exalted the meek and powerless. As Hans Liebeschütz suggested as early as 1930 in his pioneering monograph on Hildegard, her writings fit into the dual genre of allegory and that 'of the unlettered holy man, whom God makes wise with a wisdom which is not his own.'[67] This was a tradition Hildegard would have been familiar with through the *Vitae* of the earliest monks and desert Fathers.[68] Women, especially holy women, were included in this "unlettered" category, and could command influence because of their perceived difference by men who assumed women, on account of their liminality from the male ecclesiastical hierarchy possessed a unique channel to the divine.[69] Therefore, Hildegard did not reference her authorities like Hermann or Herrad precisely because of the fact that dispelling her masculine claims to learning fed into the female mystic tradition. This tradition was not a new one, having roots in holy men of the desert, but the growing cult of the Virgin Mary it intersected with gave female spirituality a new vitality in this period. As such, it is no coincidence that there is a preponderance of divinely elected women at this time, Hildegard included, who were seen as conduits between heaven and earth, man and God. These privileged few women were recognised by the Church as being given the responsibility directly by God for hearing, or more aptly in Hildegard's case, seeing his message through the medium of visions, in order to spread God's word throughout Christendom.

66 Ann Storey, "A Theophany of the Feminine: Hildegard of Bingen, Elisabeth of Schönau, and Herrad of Landsberg," Woman's Art Journal 19 (1998): 16.

67 Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke, Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of her Thought and Art (London: The Warbug Institute, 1998), 2.

68 Ibid, 2.

69 Griffiths, The Garden of Delights, 6.

(1) Cosmological Structure as an Expression of Divine Love

In the third vision of Hildegard of Bingen's *Scivias* we are introduced to the Hildegardian cosmos (see Figure 5).

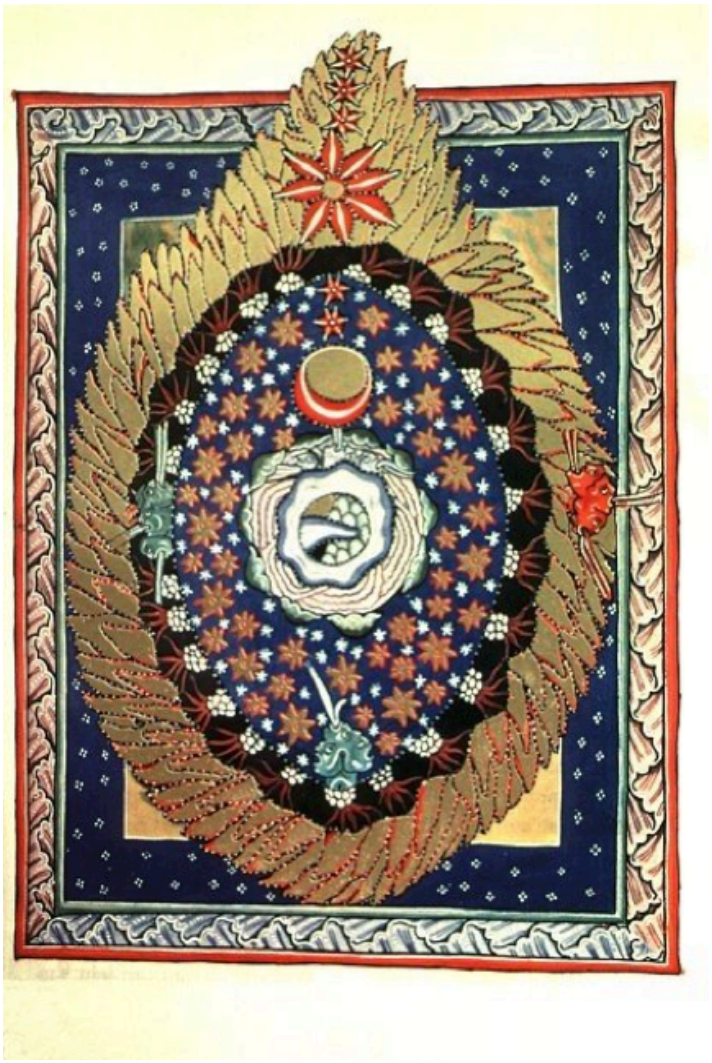


Figure 5. The Cosmic Egg Universe. Scivias, Book One, Vision Three. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

Of particular importance is the structure of the universe, the firmament being 'in the shape of an egg, small at the top, large in the middle and narrowed at the bottom,' surrounded by a 'bright fire' in which the sun and the three other planets are contained.[70] At its centre, the earth and its elements are situated, enveloped by flower shaped stars and the three remaining planets, the whole universe kept in harmony by four winds, issuing forth from the four corners of the cosmos.

In the Chartrian tradition, Hildegard invites the

70 Hildegard of Bingen, Scivias, 3:1, 93.

reader to crack open the shell "covering" (*integument*) the cosmic egg, to unpick its symbolism. Allegorically, she exclaims the shape represents 'Omnipotent God, incomprehensible in his majesty.'[71] As Kent Kraft has convincingly shown, the underlying shape of the cosmos is that of a mandorla, the almond-shaped enclosure, which iconographically symbolises the magnificence of Christ.[72] Significantly, the mandorla is also the geometric shape produced from two intersecting circles. Thus, I suggest the egg shape of Hildegard's cosmos is the physical depiction of divine love, a cosmic imagining of the Father and Son as intersecting circles emanating forth the World-Soul or Holy Spirit, an image of the Trinity subsequently encountered in the final canto of Paradise in the *Divine Comedy*.[73] As the World-Soul was responsible for the perpetual emanation of life throughout the cosmos, it is no coincidence that the egg shape also mirrors eschatological history. Hildegard writes that humanity was 'at first rude and rough' but became 'enlarged through the Old and New Testaments,' correlating to the widening shape of the egg.[74] The narrow endpoint of the egg anagogically heralds the Last Judgement and End of Days, a period 'beset with many tribulations.'[75]

Hildegard's Christianisation of the egg's shape was clearly novel. However, some parallels can be drawn with the image of the Orphic egg in Antiquity, from which Phanes or Eros, the first-born of the gods (Protogonos) was created. Aristophanes in *Birds* (Lines 693-702) wrote of the universe:

> At the beginning there was only Chaos, Night, dark Erebus, and deep Tartarus. Earth, the air and heaven had no existence. Firstly, blackwinged Night laid a germless egg in the bosom of the infinite depths of Erebus, and from this… sprang the graceful Eros with his glittering wings, swift as the whirlwinds of the tempest.[76]

The epithet "germless" or "sterile" Aristophanes applies to the egg can alternatively mean 'born or wafted on the wind' or 'wind egg.'[77] Aristotle writes in *De Anima* that "wind eggs" are those produced by the female hen without male impregnation, and are connected to the idea that the soul, either 'is itself air or being a similar substance is blown about by the winds and is drawn into the bird at birth.'[78] It should not be forgotten that Hildegard's cosmic egg is regulated by four winds, and in Latin, the noun 'soul' (*anima*) alternatively means breathe. Lexically, the Greek *psyche* historically possessed similar connotations. Similarly, the alternate name for Eros or Phanes is Metis, denoting "wisdom" or "council". Therefore, if we transpose these meanings onto Hildegard's vision, the image of the cosmic egg symbolising divine wisdom, which continuously moves the soul or breathe of life into all creation through the four cardinal winds seems plausibly connected to a string of ancient symbolism. So too is Hildegard's connection with the egg to the Last Judgement substantiated. The three-fold idea that matter existed originally in a confused mass, was then subsequently separated, shaped and given form, and finally returns to its primordial confusion with the end of time is corroborated by original Greek commentaries on the egg. Concerning the above Orphic image of the cosmic egg, Orpheus' pupil, Musaios, wrote that: 'Everything comes to be out of One and is resolved into One.'[79] Though it is tempting to say there is a direct connection, without further evidence this must remain a purely speculative hypothesis, as it is unclear if Hildegard knew of these ancient symbolisms. Furthermore, this set of ideas in their most general form – that of a cosmogony in which matter is created and returns to its original form – is mirrored by a number of religious philosophies. Nonetheless, it is safe to say that we can see borrowing of the ancient Orphic egg shape, but one subject to Christianization by Hildegard to bring it in line with Christian creation theology.

In 1917, Charles Singer posited that the egg shape was inspired by Hildegard's misunderstanding of *Mappaemundi* charts that presented the surface of the earth as an oval.[80] However, due to her learning, it is unlikely that Hildegard would have made such a mistake. To fully understand Hildegard's egg-shaped cosmos, a helpful question to ask is: who was the first to use the egg as a symbol of creation? Whilst unusual, her cosmos is not as idiosyncratic as it initially seems; as already mentioned, the idea of the egg as the shape of the vault of heaven had been common since Aristotle in the fourth century

71 Ibid, 3:2, 94.
72 K. Kraft, The Eye Sees More than the Heart Knows: The Visionary Cosmos of Hildegard of Bingen (PhD. Diss., University of Wisconsin, 1977), 256-57.
73 'There appeared to me/ three circling spheres, three-coloured, one in span./ And one, it seemed was mirrored by the next/ twin rainbows, arc to arc. The third seemed fire,/ And breathed to first and second equally.' See Dante, "Paradiso," in Divine Comedy. Canto 33, lines 116-120, 481.
74 Hildegard of Bingen, Scivias, 3:2, 94.
75 Ibid, 3:2, 94.
76 Aristophanes, Birds. Lines 693-702. Accessed via Perseus, see bibliography for details
77 William Keith Chambers Guthrie, Orpheus and Greek Religion (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), 94.
78 Ibid, 94.
79 Ibid, 74-75.
80 Charles Singer, "The Visions of Hildegard of Bingen," Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine 78 (2005): 65.

B.C.[81] The prominence of the egg in some form in Vedic, Egyptian, Phoenician, Indian, Chinese, and particularly Greek cosmology in the aforementioned Orphic Egg, is suggestive of a high degree of cultural transference, borrowing and subsequent reshaping of specific elements of the myth across the Antique world.[82] Even within one specific tradition, there could be several different versions of the myth; for example, the Orphic accounts of Aristophanes, Hieronymus, Hellanicus and the *Rhapsodies* each accepted or rejected different elements of the myth.[83] What is clear is that the cosmic egg came to the Middle Ages through figures such as the Roman philosopher Varro (B.C.116-B.C.27) and Cassiodorus (c.485-c.585) who had likened heaven to an eggshell, the yolk being the earth and the albumen the air.[84] Most notably, Martianus Capella's (c.365-440) *Marriage of Mercury and Philology* popularised this image in the psyche of the early-Middle Ages. In Capella's mythic poem, Philology is given a goblet to drink whose contents had:

> The appearance of an egg inside, but its outside shone [glinted with red], being anointed with saffron, within that, it seemed transparent with void and a white humour, and then something more solid at the centre.[85]

Here, the goblet represents the elemental cosmos in liquid form, the 'red' representing the fiery shell, the 'pellucid void' air, the 'whitish moisture' water and the 'saffron yellow' yolk, the earth. Thus, for Philology this is the 'goblet of immortality,' as when she drinks this "cosmic egg" 'her limbs are strengthened with new vigour… the power of earth leaves her, and there comes to her the immortality of heaven…."[86] For Philology, 'it is her first taste of the celestial world, and in absorbing the 'universe' she at the same time absorbs the divine life-giving power with it,' wrote Regimus of Auxerre (c.841-908) in his commentary on this passage.[87] Unmistakably then, Regimus understood this animating force to be the Platonic World-Soul, a connection Peter Abelard (c.1079-1142) too made when he envisioned the cosmos as an egg in his *Expositio in Hexameron*, albeit in a Christianised version. Abelard had identified the World-Soul with the Holy Spirit, a force that nurtured and gave life to the world 'like a bird warming its egg, from whose different elements life came into being.'[88]

Despite there being a rich "cosmic egg" tradition, Hildegard's cosmology is unique, for whereas other twelfth century cosmologists presented the world-egg purely schematically, 'Hildegard presents a turbulent drama of cosmic processes inside.'[89] It becomes a dynamic balancing act, containing a volatile mixture of destructive elemental forces: dark fire, whirlwinds, jagged stones, thunder and lightening – all threatening the stability of the cosmos. Amidst this chaos, the only stability seems to be the zone of watery air, which gives forth a 'pleasant and softly falling rain.'[90] However, the egg does not, like Abelard's, hatch into a fully formed universe. Instead, 'it is the universe in flux, exposed to the never-ending interplay of divine and demonic forces.'[91] As Figure 5 shows, the bright celestial fire of the firmament is surrounded by 'a shadowy zone under it.'[92] Much like the opposing elements bound together in pact of friendly trust in Hermann's description of the Neoplatonic Same and Different or the Manichean idea of dualism, these opposing light and dark forces are constantly at play. Neither is this an isolated example, for in the *Causes and Cures*, Hildegard's cosmogony is one in which 'the material of the world came out of [God's] will still unformed and like a dark mass.'[93] As such, these two texts demonstrate clear parallels to the figure of Hyle/Silva (primordial matter) in Bernard Silvestris' *Cosmographia*. This Neoplatonic influence in Hildegard's cosmos is unsurprising since Hildegard had access to Plato's *Timaeus*

81 Rudolph Simek, Heaven and Earth in the Middle Ages, trans. Angela Hall (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), 20.
82 For the most comprehensive explanation of the subject see the previously cited Guthrie, Orpheus and Greek Religion (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), 90-92.
83 Eugenio R. Martinez Luján, "The Cosmic Egg," in Tracing Orpheus: Studies of Orphic Fragments, ed. Miguel Herrero de Jáuregui et al (Berlin: Walter de Gruyer, 2011), 86.
84 Peter Dronke, F[abula: Explorations Into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), 80.
85 Martianus Capella, The Marriage of Philology and Mercury, trans. William Harris Stahl and Evan L. Burge (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 48.
86 Ibid, 48.
87 Dronke, Fabula, 82, in Commentum in Martianum Calellam, ed. C. E. Lutz (Leiden: 1962), 177. Interestingly, this action of swallowing the world is paralleled in the Orphic accounts on a much greater level as Zeus being 'created' becomes the 'creator' by swallowing Phanes, and takes in all of creation: 'Thus then engulfing the might of Erikepaios, the First-born, he held the body of all things in the hollow of his own belly; and he mingled with his own limbs the power and strength of the god.' See Guthrie, Orpheus and Greek Religion, 81.
88 Constant Mews, "Religious Thinker," Voice of the Living Light, 59.
89 Dronke, Fabula, 67.
90 Hildegard of Bingen, Scivias, 3:1, 93.
91 Dronke, Fabula, 97.
92 Ibid, 3:1, 94.
93 Hildegard of Bingen, "Causes and Cures," in Hildegard of Bingen: Selected Writings, 93.

in Calcidius' incomplete translation.[94] Yet, this work was subordinate to theology. Similar to Abelard's cosmos, Hildegard's own is subject to Christianisation, becoming an ambiguous blend of Christian and Neoplatonic creation myths. On her explanation of the second whirlwinds, Hildegard states that this symbolises the 'rage of the Devil… who sends out the worst dishonour and the most evil utterances' which diffuse throughout the world, corrupting people.[95] The dark fire in explained in similar terms, Hildegard writing that 'you cannot look at it' because it represents Satan's 'most evil and most vile snares vomiting forth blackest murder.'[96] These extracts show that her cosmos is more "organic" as opposed, to what we will see is, the "mechanical" *machina mundi* (machine of the world) style universe Hermann supports.[97] As a mirror of the human organism, in the Hildegardian cosmos "evil" and man's original sin abound in equal amounts with the divine, a dualism that Hildegard attempts to harmonise. Therefore, although Hildegard's cosmology on the surface appears idiosyncratic, under the surface, when each layer of *integument* enveloping her cosmic egg is "uncovered," her cosmos manifests itself as intricately interwoven with theological and Neoplatonic symbolism. In fact, when compared to Hermann of Carinthia's palpable parallels in Neoplatonic influence present themselves, in particular the idea of a World-Soul which binds the chaotic mixing elements – the Neoplatonic Same and Different in harmony.

Hermann's *De essentiis* (*On the essences*), as indicated by the title, concerns a cosmology produced from the union of un-mixing celestial "essence" (the Same, the material of the seven planetary spheres and the eighth sphere of the fixed stars) with corruptible, mixing "substance" (the Different, the material comprising the four parts of the sublunary world). Both originate from what he calls "primordial seeds" or the four elements: fire, air, water and earth.[98] The fact that both the macrocosm and microcosm are composed of the same four elements in an ordered hierarchical degeneration from the divine indicates the symmetrical unity in the structure of the universe. As Hermann explains, the Creator-Demiurge 'divided the whole mass of seeds into a higher and a lower part, calling them 'Substance' and 'Essence'… so that the generation of things might result from the mixture."[99] In this cosmology, the masculine 'active' essence is joined to the feminine 'passive' substance in order to link them by 'the tightest bonds' in a 'pact of friendly trust.'[100] For Hermann the opposing genders of essence and substance allow for a bond of love to be established, and harmony to be created from opposition.

Here, Hermann seems to have been influenced by Boethius, whom he cites most out of his Latin authorities, and is the sole writer to be attributed the honorific title 'our family' (*familiaris noster*).[101] As Boethius had previously wrote in his *Consolations of Philosophy*, if the chains binding the cosmos were to slacken, 'all that is now joined in mutual love, would wage continual war, and strive to tear apart the world which is now sustained in friendly concord by beautiful motion.'[102] Indeed, Hermann describes the bond of love in terms of an everlasting marriage: 'He married single mixtures from each sex, by a lawful bond.'[103] The word "marriage" carries inseparable connotations of a perpetual and unbreakable union, and in a Christian context, evokes the marriage of Christ to the Church. It is here that we can see the difference between Hermann's "mechanical" cosmology and the "organic" universe of Hildegard. Hermann privileged the role of mathematics in his universe, viewing the "marriage" between essence and substance as one of mean proportion: 'in the lowest part of Essence [He placed] what was contrary to the highest part of Substance.'[104] Such a relationship Hermann goes on to say 'is called in Euclid 'equal proportion' – the most tight bond of all things.'[105] This image is also replicated in the *Cosmographia* in the marriage of Silva to the World-Soul, Endelechia, but the supreme authority for both is Plato. Hermann knew Plato's *Timaeus* intimately, hence the citing of Euclid and stress on proportion emphasize his Platonic belief that the World-Soul is fashioned through

94 Peter Dronke, "The Allegorical World-Picture of Hildegard of Bingen," in Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of her Thought and Art, ed. Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke (London: The Warburg Institute, 1998), 10.
95 Hildegard of Bingen, Scivias, 3:9, 96.
96 Ibid, 3:10, 96.
97 Dennis Doyle, "Vision Two of Hildegard's Book of Divine Works: A Medieval Map of a Cosmic Journey," Pacifica 20 (2007): 153.
98 Hermann of Carinthia, De Essentiis, 91-93.
99 Ibid, 113.
100 Ibid, 113.
101 Ibid, 158. Five citations are attributed to Boethius (see Figure 3).
102 Boethius, Consolations of Philosophy, 32.
103 Hermann of Carinthia, De Essentiis, 113.
104 Ibid, 115.
105 Ibid, 115.

mathematical ratio.[106] [107] As chapter three will explore, Hermann saw these Pythagorean mathematical ratios that bound the universe as the paramount expression of love.

(2) Caritas: Goddess of Divine Love

The *Book of Divine Works* opens with Hildegard's vision of Divine Love, the goddess-figure Caritas. However, this was not the first time Hildegard had represented love in a female guise. Rather, Caritas was modelled on the earlier figure of Celestial Love in the *Scivias.*

In Figure 6, Celestial Love appears with four other virtues: Discipline, Modesty, Mercy and Victory, all personified as women.

Figure 6. The Five Virtues in Five Towers. Scivias. Book Three, Vision Three. From left to right: Celestial Love, Discipline, Modesty, Mercy and Victory. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

As the first of the five virtues, Celestial Love has primacy over the others. Hildegard glosses this vision with the explanation that divine love should always be the guiding principle in the lives of Christians, who 'should always hold to the perfect heavenly love' in order to 'shake off the evil actions of sin-stained humanity.'[108] For mankind to become strong in the Catholic faith requires the cultivation of these five virtues; as Hildegard writes, beginning with Celestial Love and culminating in Victory, the person becomes a 'strong soldier perfected in mind by imitating My Son.'[109] Just as the Chartrian philosophers who saw the cultivation of the liberal arts as the steps trodden to ascend to the divine, Hildegard, who was raised in the Benedictine monastic habit, regarded the virtues as an aid this ascension. Dennis Doyle, for example, has drawn attention to the *Rule of Saint Benedict* as the seminal text for the development of Hildegard's ideas of wholeness, regulation and harmony in her cosmos, especially the image of Jacob's Ladder.[110] Alluding to the Genesis story of Jacob (Gen 28:12), St. Benedict writes that 'if we wish to reach the greatest height of humility… we must erect the ladder which appeared to Jacob in his dream.'[111] The idea of a heavenly ladder to God is prominent in Hildegard's works and is especially linked to the figure of Caritas in the *Book of Divine Works*, given Hildegard's belief that only through virtue can mankind trace the path of the "Living Light" radiated from heaven and be reconciled with the love of God.

Thus, it is unsurprising that Caritas was chosen as the subject of the first vision of the *Book of Divine Works.* As Figure 7 shows, Divine Love is represented as a robed, four-winged and feminine-looking figure radiating golden light, with a bearded elderly man perched upon her head, whilst she holds a haloed lamb and tramples upon a hideous monster.[112]

106 As suggested, the Cosmographia likely borrowed on the De essentiis, an argument reinforced by Silvestris' description of the cosmic marriage between Endelechia and Silva: 'And since what is subtly refined does not willingly accord with what is dull and heavy, a more adaptable mean proportion interceded to effect their connection, and fastened body to soul as if glued, or bound in marriage.' (see Bernard Silvestris, Cosmographia, 74).

107 Hermann's primary authority here is certainly Plato. In the Timaeus, Plato writes: the fairest bond is that which most completely fuses… proportion is best adapted to effect such a union.' (See Jowlett, Dialogues of Plato, 526).

108 Hildegard of Bingen, Scivias, 3:3, 347.

109 Ibid, 350.

110 D. Doyle, "Vision Two of Hildegard of Bingen's Book of Divine Works," 145.

111 Saint Benedict, The Holy Rule of Saint Benedict, trans. Reverand Boniface Verheyen (Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1949). Accessed 20 April 2017 at http://www.ccel.org/ccel/benedict/rule.html.

112 Hildegard of Bingen, Book of Divine Works, 1:1, 8.

Figure 7. Caritas. Book of Divine Works. Book One, Vision One. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

This vision perfectly encapsulates Hildegard's love cosmology, and as recorded in her *Vita*, unlike her standard visions, this one was so powerful that receiving it 'made all her organs tremble' and brought on a rare bout of ecstasy, suggesting its importance.[113] Allegorically, Hildegard explains that the bearded figure signifies the 'loving-kindness of the Godhead' and the lamb 'gentleness.'[114] Yet, it is scarcely possible not to read them as emblems of the Father and Son respectively, meaning that the fiery central figure can only be the Holy Spirit.[115] Indeed, Figure 7 reveals the Trinity as deliberately layered vertically from the bottom upward: the Son/Logos sits in the arms of Caritas/Holy Spirit, who is surmounted by the Godhead. Just like Celestial Love in the *Scivias*, Caritas evokes the imagery of Jacob's Ladder, that imitation of the virtues of Christ will lead to Divine Love (Caritas) and finally to God Himself. Indeed, this Trinity depicts the 'endless circulation of the energy of love' in the cosmos.[116]

The Neoplatonic idea of a universe born from divine wisdom and regulated by divine love reaches its literal genesis in the second vision of the *Book of Divine Works*, as the cosmos is literally produced from Caritas' breast: 'Then a wheel of marvellous appearance became visible right in the centre of the breast of the afore-mentioned figure' (See Figure 8).[117] Significantly, this "revised" cosmos is no longer an elemental "egg cosmos," and instead of violent whirlwinds, the 'major winds… along with their auxiliary winds, are seen to be more restrained and slow.'[118] Emphasizing this balance, the most significant alteration Hildegard makes to her cosmology is that the firmament is circular as opposed to an egg shape, a change she defends as demonstrating the 'correct measurement of the world-elements: the circle with no end or beginning is the ideal 'metaphor of God's might, which has neither beginning nor end.'[119]

Whilst Hildegard identifies Caritas with the Holy Spirit, it is nearly impossible not to also equate her with the Neoplatonic goddess tradition. Barbara Newman has drawn attention to the goddess as a signpost of Platonism as 'whenever such personae appear, we will find the Platonising cosmology that captivated twelfth century thinkers.'[120] This is certainly true in Hildegard's case, as her goddess Caritas clearly identifies herself with the World-Soul, stating: 'I kindled every spark of life, and I emit nothing that is deadly.'[121] As Figure 8 shows, her arms stretch out to gently cradle the entire cosmos, conveying her protective role in nurturing life and maintaining harmony.

113 Gottfried of St. Disibod and Dieter of Echternach, Vita Sanctae Hildegardis, ed. J. P. Migne, 197, in Newman, Sister of Wisdom, 71.
114 Hildegard of Bingen, Book of Divine Works,1:2, 12.
115 Newman, Sister of Wisdom, 71.
116 Ibid, 45.
117 Hildegard of Bingen, Book of Divine Works, 2:1, 22.
118 Ibid, 42.
119 Ibid, 4:11, 86.
120 Newman, Sister of Wisdom, 70.
121 Hildegard of Bingen, Book of Divine Works, 1:2, 8.

Figure 8. The Macrocosm and Microcosm. Book of Divine Works. Book One, Vision Two.
Source: Wikimedia Commons.

In essence, Caritas performs three things. First, she gives "life" to the universe; second, she is "reason"; and third, she carries out the "work" of God.[122] It is these three characteristics that liken her to both Bernard Silvestris' goddesses Noys and Endelechia, and Alan of Lille's Genius. Yet surprisingly, Hildegard never refers to Caritas as *the* World-Soul, either because she did not know the term, or she knew that the Cistercians had condemned Peter Abelard for aligning the World-Soul too closely with that of the Holy Spirit.[123] Considering that Hildegard Christianised her cosmology, it is more likely that she blended Neoplatonism with the biblical tradition of personifying wisdom in female form. Proverbs 8, Ecclesiasticus 24, and the Wisdom of Solomon all stress the role of Sophia or Wisdom as the female consort of God and 'goddess-like' collaborator in the process of creation, thus giving Hildegard plenty of biblical material to work from.[124]

(3) Musical Harmonies and Divine Love

A standout feature of the cosmologies of Hermann of Carinthia and Hildegard and Bingen is their inherently musical nature. In particular, the "Harmony of the Spheres" (*musica mundana*), the Pythagorean belief that planetary orbits were attuned to musical ratios, was popular in the twelfth century, and borrowed by both Hermann and Hildegard as an expression of heavenly harmony.[125] In the *De essentiis*, the idea of musical ratio is first encountered in Hermann's discussion of the mediators, the seven planets which "mediate" the binding of the celestial realm (the Same) to the sublunary realm (the Different), the area of his cosmology he believed to be the most original.[126] As Hermann states, 'the universe would by no argument seem to me to be complete, unless there was that which alone is the binding force of all composition.'[127] Hermann imagined the purpose of the mediators as the "glue" of the cosmos, as being of 'twin nature… it is neither the same as, nor completely different from, either of the extremes,' allowing the planetary mediators to function as the 'conciliating cause' and causing the incorruptible macrocosmic essence to 'drag around' the corruptible microcosmic substance.[128]

Of particular significance is the numerological significance in regard to the musical ratios linked to the structure of the cosmos. The configuration of the seven

122 Newman, Sister of Wisdom, 70.

123 Ibid, p.68. William of Conches too had faced strong opposition for stating that 'the World-Soul is a natural energy… this natural energy is the Holy Spirit, that is, a divine and generous harmony.' See Charles Jourdain, Excursions historiques et philosophiques à travers le moyen âge (Paris, 1888), 36-37.

124 Ibid, 43. In fact, Ecclesiasticus 6-9 parallels Hildegard's description of Caritas (cited in the introduction, footnote 16): 'I made that in the heavens there should rise light that never faileth… I dwelt in the highest places… and have penetrated into the bottom of the deep.'

125 Boethius's De institutione musica (Principles on Music) written c.510 was an important text for transmitting the Pythagorean categories of music to the Middle Ages. These categories were threefold: musica mundana (celestial music), musica humana (music of the human body) and musica instrumentalis (instrumental music).

126 Hermann writes: Aristotle, whilst 'concerned with the whole, in the end finished off the extremes without weaving in the mediators. Likewise, Plato understood the significance of mediators yet 'seems to have turned his strength less to [their] understanding.' See Hermann of Carinthia, De Essentiis, 151.

127 Ibid, 151.

128 Ibid, 129.

planets between the two extremes is one of elegant musical proportion because they equal the number nine. Though not insignificant that the square root of nine equals three, the number of the Trinity, the importance of nine Hermann writes is that 'Cicero plainly understood this number to be virtually the bond of all things… all things are connected for you by nine orbs… a connection of the most strong bond which first shows itself filled with every musical proportion.'[129] As Charles Burnett has shown in an unpublished essay, this is just one element of Hermann's 'explicitly musical universe.'[130] As previously stated, essence is divided into eight parts whereas substance has four divisions producing an 8:4 ratio, which Hermann believes produces the 'most cohesive bond' of all, love.[131] This binding ratio of love is also a musical ratio: 8:4 being 2:1 or an octave, and 12:8 (twelve representing the number of the zodiac) being 3:2 or a fifth.[132] In apocryphal accounts, it was Pythagoras who first made the discovery that the pitch of a musical note was linked to mathematical ratio. For Pythagoras, everything in the universe could be reduced to arithmetical proportions, as such 'Music *was* number, and the cosmos *was* music' making mathematics and music essential to philosophy.[133] In Plato's *Republic*, the story of Er perfectly encapsulates the Pythagorean belief that the axis of number extends in two directions - towards the stars and through the body and soul of man – connecting the macrocosm and microcosm through music.[134] Whilst Hermann was only familiar with Plato's *Timaeus*, his belief in the intricate connectivity of the universe through music is palpable. Hermann writes:

> If, therefore – as musicians claim – every vigorous movement gives forth a sound… the sounds responding to the distance of the intervals, the single changes varying with harmony modulation according to the ascent and descent of the planets. This is the one bond of holding everything in an indissoluble knot… a strength of love exists between the kinds of music belonging to the Different, so that when one thing vibrates, the other follows it promptly, being brought into the same vibrations.[135]

Evidently, Hermann imagines the movement of the planets as a cosmic symphony, their 'vigorous movements' producing *musica mundana* or the music of the spheres. The phrase 'indissoluble knot' indicates the absolute cohesiveness of the bonds of love, which tie the universe together, an image that evokes the marriage of musical ratio to that of essence and substance. The concept of "sympathetic vibration," 'the harmonic phenomenon whereby a formerly passive string or vibratory body responds to external vibrations to which it has a harmonic likeness,' best explains this passage.[136] Indeed, because any measurable thing or 'circumscribable substance' in Hermann's words is 'determinable by some space or number,' everything can be expressed as a mathematical/musical ratio.[137] Just as plucking the strings of a lyre (*musica instrumentalis*) can arouse sympathetic vibrations in the human instrument (*musica humana)*, the music of the spheres can engender a response in the sublunary world 'because both are (we might say) tuned to the same harmonies, so 'when one thing vibrates' the others are 'brought into the same vibrations.'[138]

Stanislav Tuskar has challenged reading music into Hermann's cosmology, arguing that 'Hermann was not prepared to make the term "music" a synonym for an overall vision of the world founded on ideas of harmony and proportion.'[139] As evidence he points to the fact that instead of employing the specific terms for the "Harmony of the Spheres" (*musica mundana*, *musica coelestis* or *musica naturalis*) Hermann instead uses the word "musica," which denotes music in the narrow sense (*musica instrumentalis*). I believe this viewpoint is misinformed for four reasons. Firstly, Tuskar's argument is based on the sole term "musica," a word used only once in the entire *De essentiis*, and therefore not representative for the entire work.[140] Secondly, as evidenced by the above lyre metaphor of the

129 Ibid, 129.
130 My thanks to Professor Charles Burnett who gave me a copy of this essay. See Charles Burnett, "Latin and Arabic Ideas of Sympathetic Vibration as the Causes of Effects between Heaven and Earth", (Unpublished), 2.
131 De Essentiis, 129.
132 Burnett, "Sympathetic Vibration", 4.
133 Jamie James, The Music of the Spheres (London: Little Brown and Company, 1959), 31.
134 Plato, The Republic, trans. Chris J. Emlyn-Jones (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014). The soldier Er recounts how the structure of the cosmos is that of a steel spindle 'the chain of heaven' that 'holds together the circle of the universe.' All the while, the planets and fixed stars rotate together in 'one harmony' by the sounds produced by sympathetic vibrations of musica mundana and musica instrumentalis, originating from the singing of three sirens, Lachesis (past), Clotho (present) and Atropos (future). See Book X, 471-75.
135 Hermann of Carinthia, De Essentiis, 149.
136 Burnett, "Sympathetic Vibration", 1.
137 Hermann of Carinthia, De Essentiis, 159.
138 Ibid, 40.
139 Stanislav Tuskar, "Musico-Theoretical Fragments by Two Medieval Scholars: Herman Dalmantinac and Petar Pavao Vergerike, Sr," International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music 13 (1982): 97.
140 Hermann of Carinthia, De Essentiis, 128.

universe, Hermann clearly perceived the World-Soul as produced from musical ratio. Thirdly, given the purpose of the *De essentiis* as an "imitation" and synthesis, Hermann needs only to cite Pythagoras and Trismegistus to evoke a credible chain of authorities from Plato to Boethius.[141] Indeed, Burnett has pointed to several Arabic influences for this doctrine, a factor that may also account for his lack of references to the Latin tradition since Hermann was more concerned with using "new" Arabic thinkers.[142] Lastly, and most significantly, Hermann's discussion of musical proportion acts as the crescendo and last words of the first book (out of two). Structurally, as the "midpoint" of the whole text, it is the ideal place to discuss the musical proportion of the mediators, which are themselves the "midpoints" of the cosmos. Therefore, befitting Hermann's desire for proportion, the ratio that pervades his cosmology is mirrored in the very treatise in which he presents this cosmology to the world - a truly powerful statement of macrocosmic-microcosmic harmony, and one that would not have been missed by medieval contemporaries who looked for and privileged the art of numerology in the universe as an indicator of interconnectivity with the divine.

Similarly, in Hildegard's cosmology, we find the Pythagorean idea of the music of the spheres, as Hildegard notes that the 'revolving of the firmament emits marvellous sounds, which we nevertheless cannot hear because of its great height and expanse.'[143] Indeed, for Hildegard, the idea of "sympathetic vibration" too is significant in expressing divine love. One of the most important positions in the abbey was chantress. In Benedictine monasteries, the chantress not only directed the choir but also composed music for the psalms, and both lyrics and music of hymns for special feast days.[144] In fact, the technical sophistication

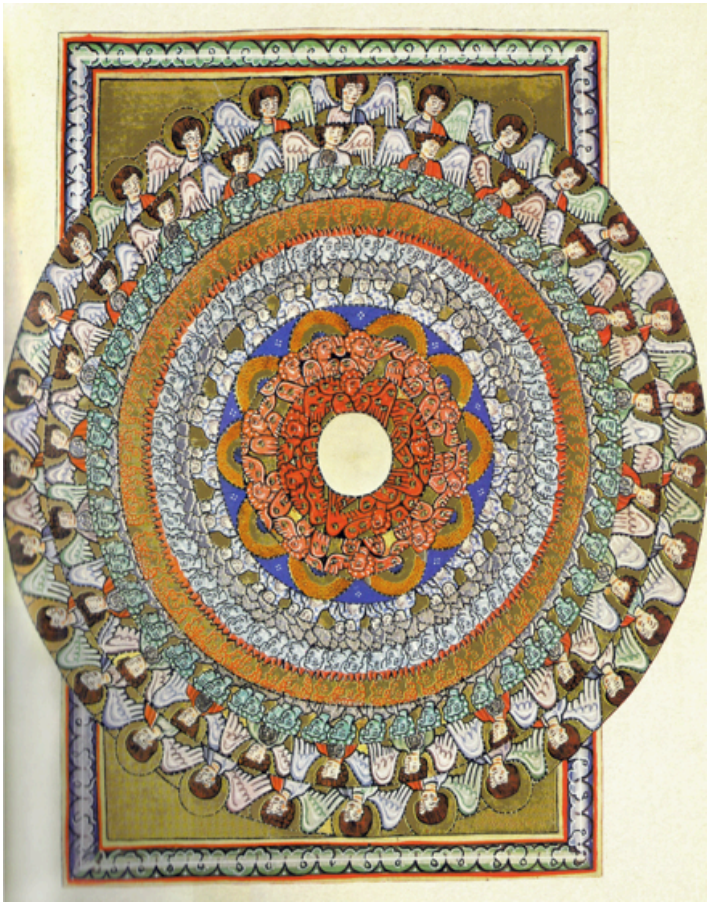


Figure 9. The Choir of Angels. Scivias. Book One, Vision Five. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

of Hildegard's *Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum* (*Symphony of the Harmony of Celestial Revelations*) and her morality play, the *Ordo virtutum* (*Play of the Virtues*), suggests that Hildegard herself may have been apprenticed to a chantress at some point. In particular, the first draft of the *Ordo virtutum*, encompassing the final chapter of the *Scivias*, features as the visionary work's literary and musical finale. Hildegard opens the vision with the image of a 'lucent sky' from which the melodious sounds of 'different kinds of music' reverberate with 'the praises of the joyous citizens of Heaven, steadfastly preserving in the ways of Truth….'[145] Here, the 'different kinds of music' suggest the three Boethian categories of music, which are used to extoll the citizens of Heaven, who, following the virtues have raised themselves up to God. The imagery evoked here undoubtedly would have called to mind Hildegard's earlier vision, the 'Choir of Angels.'

As Figure 9 shows, hierarchies of angels are arranged in a circle, with rings of fire and colours similar to

141 Parallels can also be seen with the later Neoplatonist, Alan of Lille. His goddess Natura wears a diadem upon her head in which the Harmony of the Spheres is literally played out. In the diadem is set a 'group of twelve gems' representing the zodiac, under which, the planets, 'a set of seven gems, forever maintaining a circular motion' dance with their 'own sweet harmony.' See Alan of Lille, The Plaint of Nature, trans. J. J. Sheridan, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies (Toronto, 1980), 81-82.

142 Burnett notes the similarity between Hermann and the Enneads of Plotinus (204/4-270 C.E.) '…just as in one tense string: for if the string is plucked at the lower end, it has a vibration at the upper.' Clearly, the language and imagery Hermann uses to describe sympathetic vibration closely mirrors that of Plotinus, suggesting a connection, and perhaps even direct citation. (see Ennead IV.4.41, P. Henry, ed., Plotini Opera, II, Paris, 1959, 139-41, in De Essentiis, 41-42.

143 Hildegard of Bingen, "Causes and Cures", 105.

144 Thérèse B. McGuire, "Monastic Artists and Educators in the Middle Ages," Women's Art Journal 9 (1988): 5.

145 Hildegard of Bingen, Scivias, 3:13, 525.

Hildegard's cosmic egg, 'singing with marvellous voices all kinds of music about the wonders that God works in blessed souls.'[146] In typical Hildegardian artistic style, the circle of angels extend out of the frame, emphasizing how their music rings from heaven to earth, linking the macrocosm to the microcosm, and celestial creatures to corruptible man. Unmistakably then, Hildegard saw music as an expression of the divine, a way to lift humanity up and glorify God.

Returning to the final vision of the *Scivias*, Hildegard writes that 'the song of rejoicing softens hard hearts, and draws forth from them, the tears of compunction, and invokes the Holy Spirit.'[147] Just as the Pythagoreans saw all types of music as connected, Hildegard sees human music as capable of instilling virtue and "softening hard hearts," linking *musica instrumentalis* to the music of body*, musica humana*. Hildegard extends this connection further, stating that 'words symbolise the body, and jubilant music indicates the spirit; and the celestial harmony shows the Divinity, and the words of the Humanity of the Son of God.'[148] Thus, all three forms of music are united as an upward pathway to the divine, *musica instrumentalis* sympathetically stimulates *musica humana*, which in turn leads up to *musica mundana,* celestial harmony. The idea 'that the heart of a person is tuned to music was one of Hildegard's theories, and when music no longer affected the soul, it portended the presence of evil.'[149] Since music was the language of heaven, the Devil is the only character not permitted to sing, his garbled words signifying a corruption of even speech itself, the lowest form of *musica instrumentalis*. As previously explored in chapter two, in Hildegard's eyes, the cultivation of Jacob's Ladder of virtues from Celestial Love to Victory makes man a 'strong soldier' raised up to God. Consequently, it is in the final chapter of the *Scivias* that Hildegard's "soldiers" (the Virtues) aided by music, wage war against Satan, overpowering him with eleven songs sung in 'harmony and concord,' physically "lifting up" souls from Hell to Heaven.[150] In fact, the defeat of the Devil is marked by the harmonious music of trumpets, timbrels, harps and the clashing 'cymbals of joy' which signify not only the victory of the Virtues but the orchestral crescendo to the *Scivias*.[151]

Yet, the strongest evidence for Hildegard's view on music remains her 1178 *Letter to the Mainz Prelates,* in which she condemned the decision of the Mainz clergymen for excommunicating her abbey. This letter 'offers striking proof of the central importance singing had for monastic communities in the Middle Ages and for the Rupertsberg nuns, in particular.'[152] Importantly, the hours of the Divine Office in Benedictine monasticism were accompanied by singing. Therefore, for Hildegard, music defined her daily motions and her own songs were the 'stunning summation of the matins service and the crowing jewel of the entire liturgical day.'[153] However, under interdict, the usual Church rituals such as monthly communion and singing the Divine Office were suspended. As such, Hildegard's letter is significant because 'she objected to the silencing of chant even more vehemently than she did the loss of sacrament.'[154] 'We have till now ceased to celebrate the divine office in song, reading it only in a low voice,' she writes.[155] Her tone is laced with dejection, as her sisters, once vivified by music, are now 'oppressed by a huge sadness.'[156] Symbolically, Hildegard uses the same quote from Psalms used to end the *Scivias*: 'Praise him in the call of the trumpet, praise him on psaltery and lute, praise him on tambour in dancing, praise him on strings and on organ… praise him on cymbals of jubilation.'[157]

For Hildegard, music functions as an aid for understanding the psalms, and by extension is a way of understanding God. To emphasize this connection, she ends the letter by linking the practice of music with prelapsarian man to stress its importance both before and after original sin was introduced. Before Adam fell from grace his voice 'was the sound of every harmony and sweetness of the whole art of music.'[158] Yet, after The Fall, the devil heard man signing through divine inspiration, and became 'so terrified' and he 'has not ceased to trouble or destroy the affirmation and beauty and sweetness of divine praise' in order to prevent man from 'remembering the sweetness of the songs in the heavenly land.'[159] Hence, linking this *Letter* with the *Scivias*, the singing of man (*musica instrumentalis*) is connected with the divine, lifting man up from his earthly station to a heavenly one. Here, sympathetic vibration is most overtly alluded to in all her works, as Hildegard reminds the Mainz prelates

146 Ibid, 1:6, 139.
147 Ibid, 534.
148 Ibid, 533.
149 McGuire, "Monastic Artists and Educators in the Middle Ages," 5.
150 Hildegard of Bingen, Scivias, 532.
151 Ibid, 534-535.
152 Margot Fassler, "Composer and Dramatist," in Voice of the Living Light, 149.
153 Ibid, 153.
154 Newman, "Sibyl of the Rhine", Voice of the Living Light, 27.
155 Hildegard of Bingen, "Letter to the Mainz Prelates", in Hildegard of Bingen: An Anthology, 150.
156 Ibid, 149-150.
157 Ibid, 150.
158 Ibid, 151.
159 Ibid 151.

that the prophet David knew 'that the soul is symphonic (*symphonalialis*) and wisely exhorted man in the psalms to play the lute, 'which sounds lower, to the body's control; the psaltery, which sounds higher, to the spirit's striving; its ten chords, to the fulfilment of the Law.'[160] This hierarchy of different instruments emphasize the Pythagorean belief that different tones are capable of resonating with different parts of the human body and soul. In Hildegard's view, *musica instrumentalis* activates *musica humana*, which is in turn a channel to return to the Edenic paradise of prelapsarian man. Consequently, the Mainz prelates are doing the Devil's work for him by prohibiting singing. And so Hildegard leaves them with a dire final warning to always remember the divine role of music: 'lest in your judgment, you are ensnared by Satan, who drew man out of the celestial harmony and delights of paradise.'[161]

(4) Creation: The Hildegardian and Carinthian Synthesis

It is in the creation of man where we can see divine love, cosmology, and celestial music harmoniously synthesized. In Hermann of Carinthia's view, man is the mirror of the macrocosm because he is made from the same mixture of primordial seeds: substance and essence. Consequently, man is 'in part failing, in part unchanging, universal and principal,' and thus 'is rightly the image of the whole universe.'[162] Likewise, for Hildegard, the elemental constitution of man also reflects the cosmos as 'each human being contains heaven and earth… and within every human being all things lie concealed.'[163] Not only is man made from the same elemental building blocks as the cosmos, his construction is connected by Hermann and Hildegard to the planetary order. Hermann writes that the Creator adorned the head 'with seven instruments, he dedicated the two orbs of the eyes to the Sun and the Moon, the ears to Saturn and Jupiter, the nostrils to Mars and Venus, and the mouth with the tongue to Mercury.'[164] Similarly, in the *Book of Divine Works*, Hildegard argues that the head's circular shape reflects the firmament, stating that the 'right and balanced measurements of our head reflect the right and balanced measurements of the firmament.'[165] Indeed, Hildegard goes further to say:

> The highest planet is indicated by the top of the cranium… while the sun is found in the midst of the space between the highest planet and the moon. On each side of this spot, the other planets – the two upper ones and the two lower ones… For the features on our head are proportionately just as far apart from one another as the planets are from one another in the firmament.[166]

Consequently, for Hermann and Hildegard, human anatomy mirrors the very universe in synaesthetic harmony. For Hermann, the sun and moon being the two great luminaries symbolise the eyes, connecting them with sight. Likewise, Hildegard writes that the 'sun, moon and stars are the eyes; the air our sense of hearing, the winds our sense of smell, the dew our taste; the sides of the cosmos are like our arms and our sense of touch.'[167] In very tangible ways, therefore, both their cosmologies present man as a model of the cosmos in miniature.

It is in Hermann's *De essentiis* that cosmological structure is united also with the final sensory quality, sound. Musical harmonies not only "glue" the universe together, but also constitute the adhesive that harmonises the marriage of the celestial soul made from essence with a corporeal body made from substance. As Hermann exclaims, inside man are the 'constant choruses of the Muses – fitted, that is, to the related example of heavenly harmony whose leading movements, by their perpetual gliding, would temper the modes of this related music, as a model for his double condition.'[168] Clearly, in Hermann's view, the heavenly music that produces the "Harmony of the Spheres" serves as a "model" for *musica humana*, the music that regulates the body. Just as celestial music keeps the universe joined in cosmic love, these same musical harmonies are inimical to man's survival as 'by no pact' could man's celestial soul be contained in a mortal shell, 'unless by harmonious bonds in a receptacle related to the celestial form.'[169] As Hermann points out, if these bodily musical ratios are disturbed, 'the soul is shut out, and, at the same time life expires,' because the 'rational soul' and 'vital soul' of humanity are so 'inseparably united' that no force can keep them together other than themselves.[170] Evidently then, the universe was imagined as a cosmic "organic analogy" of the human body. For humanity, made in God's image, both mirrors the elements used in the construction and structure of the cosmos itself.

160 Ibid, 151.
161 Ibid, 151.
162 Hermann of Carinthia, De Essentiis, 211.
163 Hildegard of Bingen, "Causes and Cures", 95.
164 Hermann of Carinthia, De.Essentiis, 230.
165 Hildegard of Bingen, Book of Divine Works, 98.
166 Ibid, 98.
167 Hildegard of Bingen, "Causes and Cures", 105.
168 Hermann of Carinthia, De.Essentiis, 231.
169 Ibid, 231-35.
170 Ibid, 233.

Conclusion

As this essay has shown, the cosmologies of Hildegard of Bingen and Hermann of Carinthia gravitate around the principle of divine love, which both authors perceive to be the "work" or "activity" of the World-Soul. Throughout the three texts that have been explored, the Neoplatonic World-Soul abounds as an expression of the love of God for his creation, the only force capable of facilitating the fusion of the macrocosm to the microcosm and sustaining life. As we have seen, these two writers can both be classified as belonging to the "framework of ideas" loosely associated with the School of Chartres. Yet, whilst both Hermann and Hildegard borrowed from a similar pool of ideas, texts, and authorities, their cosmologies differ due to their divergent purposes: Hildegard seeking to reform the institutional Church and Hermann aiming to produce a grand synthesis of Plato and Aristotle for all time. Consequently, whereas Hermann fuses "new" Arabic thought and "old" Latin Neoplatonism together, Hildegard blends Christian doctrine with Neoplatonism. Nonetheless, the end-product for both is a cosmology in which divine love is placed at the very centre.

Due to the expansive nature of this subject, additional research is required to fully understand the significance of divine love. In particular, the subject of "sympathetic vibration" warrants further study, and a complete analysis would require an exploration of Hildegard's *Book of Life Merits* and *Causes and Cures*, both of which feature additional cosmological material. Nonetheless, this essay attempts to show how the topics of cosmological structure, the goddess tradition, music and creation should be seen as inseparable from Hildegard and Hermann's world-views structured on divine love. As renaissance philosophers, Hildegard of Bingen and Hermann of Carinthia stood on the cusp of the shift in the twelfth century from a Neoplatonic to an Aristotelian worldview.

The idea of the "cosmos" - an organisational framework that helps explain the interrelationships between man, nature and the supernatural - has persisted throughout history in countless variations. But importantly, the cosmos is a dynamic model: one subject to revision, addition and change. This model is never static but rather a schema that undergoes perpetual evolution. In these twin senses, our modern scientific explanations of the physical world, grand unifying theories such as Albert Einstein's theory of general relativity, are comparable to the hierarchical and organisational models developed in the Middle Ages. Like Hildegard and Hermann's cosmologies these models represent hypotheses that increasingly appear incomplete in the wake of new evidence and discoveries. Undoubtedly, the *Scivias, Book of Divine Works* and *De essentiis* represent *scientific* attempts to categorise and explain the world by exploring natural principles within a Christian mentality. But instead of the research into string theory, black holes, quantum mechanics and dark matter that offers to revolutionise modern science, the paradigm-shifting thought of the twelfth century was to come with the "new" Aristotle, Euclid, and Ptolemy that were to captivate the attention of scholars until the late fifteenth century, before in turn becoming surpassed themselves by Copernican heliocentric theory. Tragically, it was this very renaissance, which ensured that Hildegard and Hermann's works sunk into obscurity, quickly appearing outdated and redundant in contrast to the resurgence of the enticing naturalistic vocabulary and methodological toolkit of Aristotle that allowed philosopher-theologians to point their magnifying lens at the universe in a more critical manner. Hildegard and Hermann were indeed dwarves standing on the shoulders of giants, to use Bernard of Chartres' phrase, and were able to "see further" and develop strikingly unique theories regarding the cosmos largely because of the continuum of philosophical, scientific and religious ideas developed by their predecessors. Their significance to historians lies in that they provide an invaluable snapshot of the gradual transition from a Neoplatonic world in which the cosmos was regulated by goddesses and divine love, to the naturalistic and critical philosophy of Aristotle: a crucial juncture in the History of Science which would come to revolutionise the late Middle Ages.

A Hindu-Islamic Translation: Retrieving Dārā Shikūh's Confluence of the Two Oceans

By Doha Tazi Hemida, Columbia University

As early as the tenth century, important moments of encounter between Islam and Hinduism occurred, most notably through Al-Bīrūnī's historic journey to India, known in Arabic as *al-Hind*, and the publication of his renowned *Tarīkh al-Hind* (*The History of India*). Similarly, Sufi master al-Jīlī in the fourteenth century argued that the *barāhima* (Hindus) belong to the religion of Abraham and seek to realize *tawhīd* (the ontological oneness of God) too. In such a long history of cross-cultural exchange and discourse between the two religions, the comparative treatise between Islam and Hinduism, *Majma' al-bahrayn* (*Confluence of the Two Oceans*) by the Mughal prince Dārā Shikūh (1615–1659), as well as his translation of the Upanishads (*Sirr-i akbar*) from Sanskrit into Persian, are only drops in a larger ocean of Hindu-Islamic encounter. Dārā's comparative treatise is far from being the first one. Mīr 'Abd al-Wāhid Bilgrāmī writes in the *Haqā'iq-i Hindī* or *Indian Truths* (1566 C.E.) that the "truths of India" overlap with the truths of Islam. As Orsini tells us, Bilgrāmī wrote his treatises in a larger context of Sufi poetic engagements with Krishna stories, songs and devotional lyrics called *bishnupad*.[1]

This lengthy and rich dialogue, of which Dārā Shikūh is one among many interlocutors, has produced mutual epistemological enrichment and has contributed to the rich pluralism of the Indic tradition. It fortunately did not start nor did it end with Dārā Shikūh. The works of the young prince are part of one of the greatest and longest movements of translation in human history (from Sanskrit and Hindavi to Persian and Arabic).[2] What can we learn from Dārā's comparative hermeneutical endeavor in *Majma' al-bahrayn*? And can we judge the *Sirr-i akbar* according to the expectation of a purely "word-by-word" translation of the Sanskrit Upanishads?

Dārā's life and works illustrate how translation can have profound impacts and how the translation of religious treatises cannot be simply reduced to the realm of political tactics and calculative thinking. A more textually rooted and nuanced assessment of Dārā's translations should include concepts such as semantic expansion across religious traditions and inner transformation. I suggest we could learn from both these texts by seeing them as translations of *metaphysical concepts* and as *commentaries,* which are connected to Dārā's self-portrayed spiritual and intellectual journey. The prince claims that it is the meeting of Sufism with Advaita Vedanta that made him realize and underline the metaphysical principle of *tawhīd.*[3] Translation of language and concepts seems to go along with metanoia, an inner translation.

I will begin this essay by providing some historical background to the Mughal Empire as well as by addressing historiographical questions, namely "the narrative of exceptionalism" in relation to revisionist scholarship on Dārā. After introducing Dārā's political and intellectual-spiritual life, I will move on to discuss translation theory as a hermeneutical model for understanding cross-religious encounter. This will set the ground for exploring not only selected aspects of Dārā's *Majma' al-bahrayn* (namely, the elements, the soul, the divine attributes, and the four worlds) but also the process by which it is translated from Persian to Sanskrit (*Samudrasangama*).

1 Francesca Orsini, "Krishna is the Truth of Man": Mir 'Abdul Wahid Bilgrami's *Haqā'iq-i Hindī* (Indian Truths) and the Circulation of Dhrupad and Bishnupad" in Thomas Bruijn and Allison Busch eds., *Culture and Circulation: Literature in Motion in Early Modern India.* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

2 Carl Ernst says that "the translation movement between the Indian and Islamic cultures is still rarely studied, though as a cross-cultural event the movement from Sanskrit into Arabic and Persian is comparable in magnitude and duration to the other great enterprises of cross-cultural translation (Greek philosophy into Arabic and Latin, Buddhism from Sanskrit into Chinese and Tibetan)." [Note: more studies have happened since this statement was made] Carl W. Ernst, "Muslim Studies of Hinduism? A Reconsideration of Arabic and Persian Translations from Indian Languages," *Iranian Studies* 36:2 (2003): 173. For an extensive survey of Persian works on Indian learned traditions, see "Perso-Indica: An Analystical Survey of Persian Works on Indian Learned Traditions," accessed April 24, 2016, http://www.perso-indica.net/contacts .

3 *Tawhīd:* Unity, at once of the Divine and of all things and also the integration which leads to the awareness and realization of Unity: Allah is our origin and our ultimate goal as "there is nothing else but Allah and Mohamed is his Messenger" (*lā illāh illā allāh wa Muḥammad rasūl allāh* is the *shahāda* or the declaration of faith, the first pillar of Islam). Sufis take it further: the ultimate stage of *tawheed* is to dissolve separateness in union with God. A practice of *tawhīd* is to pray for someone that hurts you. See Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Ideals and Realities of Islam* (New York: Praeger, 1967).

Finally, I will look at how Dārā's *Sirr-i Akbar* demonstrates the intrinsically commentarial nature of his translation, and of translation as such, as well as the necessity for translation, in Dārā's terms, within "the soul of the translator."

Historical Background, Historiographical Issues

Around 1520, the Mughal dynasty was founded by Babur, a descendant of the Timurid line, in North India. The Mughals, however, were not the first Muslim dynasty in the Subcontinent as they established themselves after the long rule of the Delhi sultanate from 1206 to 1526. Mughal governance lasted from 1526 to 1857, ending with British colonial rule in India. When speaking of any premodern empire, it is important to avoid uncritically describing it as a "state" in the modern sense: Sudipta Kaviraj distinguishes pre-modern Indic governance (both Hindu and Muslim) from the modern British colonial state. If, in the former, sovereignty rested on a divine and morally transcendent legislative order that stood above the political ruler, in the latter the state, which emerged out of the East India Company, monopolized sovereignty and gradually destroyed transcendent forms of authority, especially after 1857, when direct colonial domination over the Indian empire was explicitly established.[4]

The accommodative and pluralistic governance of the Mughals was then conceptually far from being "secular" in the modern sense since, like most pre-modern modes of governance, including the Mughals' Timurid ancestors or their Safavid and Rajput contemporaries, it was framed by a notion of kingship that was embedded in a sense of the sacred.[5] Paradigmatically, the Islamic ruler had the duty to enforce, *not to legislate*, the expression of divine will as translated into law (which is coterminous with morality), namely the *sharī'a*, under which he was himself subjected. A king, hence, ought to be virtuous and just, subjected to God, to the moral law as interpreted by the legal scholars. This model has a completely different metaphysic from the modern state's legal monopoly, since the rulers are subservient to a legal framework which they do not create.[6]

In particular, the Mughals' pluralistic governance did not emerge in a vacuum: the spatial and temporal extent of Hindu-Muslim cross-religious encounters at the level of popular devotional practices is vast, commencing perhaps from the third century *hijrī* (ca. ninth century C.E.) onwards, as exemplified by the encounters between the (Hindu) bhakti and (Islamic) Sufi mystical traditions.

In this context, Jalāl al-Dīn Muhammad Akbar (r. 1556–1605), the third Mughal emperor, oversaw the *kitābat-khāna,* a translation bureau which translated texts from Sanskrit to Persian for the sake of religious understanding, created the *ibādat-khāna* (house of worship) for inter-religious debate, and implemented the policy of *sulh-i kull*. The policy literally means "the peace of all," referring to the ruler's duty to achieve universal peace in his realm. He also initiated the "religion of God" (*dīn-i ilāhī*), which was influenced by Sufism, and was based on the idea that no single religion has monopoly over truth. These are the conditions of Mughal rule which led to greater possibilities for Hindu-Muslim encounters, an environment that can be said to have contributed to such texts as Dārā Shikūh's *Majma' al-bahrayn* and *Sirr-i akbar*.

I will now address some historiographical issues surrounding the latest Mughal revisionist scholarship that has engaged with valid concerns about the (British Orientalist-initiated) "narrative of exceptionalism," which posits Akbar and Dārā Shikūh as having been the only Mughal emperors who upheld *sulh-i kull*.[7] In fact, the political framework of *sulh-i kull* as guiding all facets of governance was not an episodic occurrence but a paradigm that was sustained independently from the individual tendencies of specific rulers. The demonization of Aurangzeb thus has very weak historical basis and operates in a larger scheme that "emplots" violence into historical narratives (using Hayden White's term).[8] However, although the framing of Dārā and Aurangzeb as the "good" and "bad" Muslims respectively should be challenged, it ought not involve fabricating a derogatory image of Dārā altogether. Nehru's naming of Dārā as the great synthesizer and the "genius of the nation" is partially a "nationalist myth-making" and partially true if we see him as symbolizing the larger encounter between

4 See: Sudipta Kaviraj, "On the Enchantment of the State: Indian Thought on the Role of the State in the Narrative of Modernity", *European Journal of Sociology* 2 (2005), 263-296; Wael B. Hallaq, *Sharī'a: Theory, Practice, Transformations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 197-223.

5 Profoundly demonstrated in A. Azfar Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), passim.

6 On the "paradigm of Islamic governance" and the separation of powers, see Wael Hallaq, *The Impossible State: Islam, Politics, and Modernity's Moral Predicament* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 48-72.

7 See Rajeev Kinra, "Handling Diversity with Absolute Civility: The Global Historical Legacy of Mughal Sulḥ-i kull," *Medieval History Journal* 16 (2013): 251–95.

8 He was compared to the Taliban in 2001 after their destruction of ancient Buddha statues. Aurangzeb was supposedly "the last person who had tried to destroy them". Brown shows that the claim about Aurangzeb banning music is fallacious at many levels. See Brown, Katherine, "Did Aurangzeb Ban Music? Questions for the Historiography of his Reign," *Modern Asian Studies* 41 (1) 2007: 78.

the Islamic and Hindu worlds.[9] This essay will consider the real possibility of appreciating Dārā's life and works, without actively attempting to excavate details that show his insincerity, immaturity, or "adolescent sexual frustration".[10] Persianthe soul of the translator. tion, treatise, for cross-religious encounter. ce he hears.

Comparative Hermeneutical Endeavor: Majmaʿ al-bahrayn or "The Confluence of the Two Oceans"

The Political, and Beyond the Merely Political

Before engaging in a lengthy intellectual-spiritual biography of Dārā, a glimpse of the more explicitly political aspects of his life is necessary. He is said to have been the favorite son of his father, emperor Shāh Jahān—a status that enabled him to be more isolated than his brothers and to spend most of his life in the cocoon of the Delhi court. His administrative and military experience was thus limited. He never served as a governor in the Mughal provinces (*subas*) and faced a terrible failure in the battle of Qandahar against the Safavid armies in 1653.[11] By the end of the struggle for succession (1658–9), Dārā and his brother Murad Baksh were killed at the behest of their newly enthroned brother, emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir.[12]

One interpretation of the fact that Dārā received large political, financial, and military support, that was equal to that of his three brother combined by 1650, the "greatness" and saintliness he portrayed could be read along with his "major ambition" of succeeding the throne of his father.[13] Faruqui makes the distinction between the outward appearance of the prince's personality as "theological" and the implicit one as "political."[14] Traditionally, the iconography of Mughal emperors (Akbar, Jahangir etc.) would depict the bearer of worldly power with signs indicating ascetic Sufi leanings. In the case of Akbar, the king is supposedly a *faqīr* (Muslim ascetic) in the garb of a prince: his political identity hides his more ontologically accurate ascetic identity. Faruqui's proposition seems to be that the metaphor of the *faqīr* in a prince's garb should in fact be interpreted as a trick used for political gain. The "theological personality" portrayed is only a garb hiding Dārā's primary intentions, which are, we are told, political in the first order. Such a conclusion could be contested or perhaps supplemented by a "hermeneutics of grace," to use Ricoeur's term, which would not see political power as the ultimate framework of interpretation. This "hermeneutics of grace" could allow us not to dismiss the possibility for the principle behind the metaphor of the *faqīr* to exist, namely the principle that gaining political power is conceptually inferior to abandoning worldly attachments altogether.

In fact, even Foucault, who is often misunderstood to have claimed a totalizing view of power, never implies that there is no escape from a "regime of truth."[15] He acknowledges that there are two ontologically distinct forms of "truths:" if one is manipulative and ideological, the other is ethical and in a sense "truly true."[16] The latter involves "the courage of truth" or *parrhesia*[17] and suggests that the truth which Socrates spoke is not of the same nature than the propagandist so-called truth produced by the human sciences in the service of the modern state. That is why Wael Hallaq argues for the similarity between the spiritual techniques of theologian mystic Al-Ghazālī and Foucault's "technologies of the self" or "care of the self",[18] which, in Foucault's words, permit "individuals to effect by their own means, or with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of

9 Faruqui, Munis D., "Dara Shukoh, Vedanta, and Imperial Succession," in Vasudha Dalmia and Munis D. Faruqui, eds., *Religious Interactions in Mughal India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014), 32

10 See Rajeev Kinra, "Infantilizing Bābā Dārā: The Cultural Memory of Dārā Shekuh and the Mughal Public Sphere." *Journal of Persianate Societies* 2 (2) 2009: 165-93.

11 Faruqui, "Dara Shukoh, Vedanta," 57.

12 There is much discussion about the reasons behind the assassination of Dārā, his "heresy" or more generally the fact that he challenged his brother's authority.

13 Faruqui, "Dara Shukoh, Vedanta," 59.

14 Ibid, 34.

15 Frederick Gros, "The Courage of Truth (1983-1984)", (Seminar, Foucault 13/13: The Columbia Center for Contemporary Critical Thought and The Society of Fellows in the Humanities, Columbia University, New York, NY, April 14, 2016).

16 Ibid.

17 Foucault interprets the Greek term *parrhesia* as follows: "To summarize the foregoing, *parrhesia* is a kind of verbal activity where the speaker has a specific relation to truth through frankness, a certain relationship to his own life through danger, a certain type of relation to himself or other people through criticism (self-criticism or criticism of other people), and a specific relation to moral law through freedom and duty. More precisely, *parrhesia* is a verbal activity in which a speaker expresses his personal relationship to truth, and risks his life because he recognizes truth-telling as a duty to improve or help other people (as well as himself). In *parrhesia*, the speaker uses his freedom and chooses frankness instead of persuasion, truth instead of falsehood or silence, the risk of death instead of life and security, criticism instead of flattery, and moral duty instead of self-interest and moral apathy" Foucault, Michel, and Joseph Pearson, *Fearless Speech* (Los Angeles, CA: Semiotext(e), 2001), 19-20.

18 Hallaq, *The Impossible State*, 98.

happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or immortality."[19] I find that these possibilities of the self allow for a hermeneutics that can go beyond a monolithic interpretation which claims that the "truth" of a historical text or figure must be an ideological and manipulative one. An expanded hermeneutics can allow for a different reading of Dārā Shikūh's life and literary/ religious endeavors.

The Steps Towards Confluence

Assuming that humans have the *capacity* for transcending the merely political and calculative, we could look at Dārā's spiritual and intellectual journey more closely by drawing from the writings ascribed to him (See Appendix B.). In keeping with the traditions laid down by his Mughal ancestors, Dārā was from a very young age in direct contact with Sufis and their *tariqas*. In fact, he was born in Ajmer (1619 C.E.), the city and pilgrimage site where the mystic Moinuddin Chishti, also called Gharīb Nawāz (Benefactor of the Poor), is buried.[20] After the death of his first daughter, Dārā met the mystic Miyan Mir, who is the master of the Sufi Qadiriyya order for a long time revered by Shah Jahan, in the city of Lahore.[21] During the same year, 1634, he became a disciple of the Qadiriyya order under Mullah Shah, Miyan Mir's successor. His aspiration for divine knowledge did not cease after Miyan Mir's death since he continued seeking guidance in the lives of past saints and prophets. He said that an angel told him God had bestowed on him what no king has had before, which meant he would receive divine knowledge. "And day by day the veil was lifted little by little", he said.[22] This is reflected in his book *Safinat al-Awliyā'* in 1640, where Dārā, after being inspired by visions in his dream,[23] dedicates hundreds of pages to describing saints and prophets: from prophet Muhammad to his wives, the four righteous caliphs, the Shi'i imams, and the leaders of Sufi orders. He also includes women saints at the end of his book. K.R. Qanungo rightly interprets this attitude as an "act of devotion *substituting* the company of the saints."[24]

The phase coming after this quest is epitomized by his *Sākinat al-Awliyā'* in 1642, which collected biographies of Qadiri saints, mainly Miyan Mir and his *pir* and *murshid* Mullah Shah.[25] This was followed by *Risāla-yi Haqq Numā* ("The Compass of Truth") in 1646, which marked a significant turning point. Again, he declared to have been divinely inspired to unveil the truths of Sufism for novices and uninitiated disciples, as a *pir* to a *murid*. [26] In his introduction, he already speaks of the divine unity present in all religions, including Hinduism, and articulates the different stages a Sufi ought to go through: annihilation of self (*fanā'*), intoxication of union (*sukr al-jam*), and ultimately "Unity in Plurality" (*wāhidiyya*).[27] To pass away with the "small self" is to realize that ontologically nothing exists except God—this is Ibn Arabi's *wahdat al-wujūd* or Unity of Existence. Such a realization leads one to see that "there are as many ways to God as there are seekers of Him": *wāhidiyya* is to realize that the many are identical in essence with each other and with the divine reality.[28]

He says that, like Hindu gods, Prophet Muhammad did not cast a shadow and that no fly could sit on him.[29] The culminating point of the journey that he describes is poignantly reflected in the progression of his life and works. In the 1650s, he wanted to understand more profoundly the plurality within unity and hence studied the sacred scriptures from other religious traditions—the book of Moses, the Psalms, the Gospels, Hindu scriptures and the Pentateuch (possibly taught by the eclectic Muslim-Hindu-Jewish mystic Sarmad in 1651). His reaction to different scriptures will be discussed later in this paper, but what is relevant is that he perceives deep similarities particularly between the Islamic and Hindu religions—a logical conclusion considering the

19 Michel Foucault and Paul Rabinow ed., *Ethics*: *Subjectivity and Truth* (New York: The New Press, 1997), 225. Hallaq, *The Impossible State*, 98.

20 Shikūh, Dārā, and Asghar Ali Engineer, *Comingling of Two ceans = Majma-'ul-bahrain: A Discourse on Interreligious Understanding* (Gurgaon: Hope India Publications, 2006), 20. Dārā followed a long line of emperors who had intimately strong connections with Sufi orders and Hindu sages.

21 Qanungo, Kalika Ranjan, *Dara Shukoh* (Calcutta: S.C. Sarkar, 1952), 99.

22 Ibid., 100.

23 The cosmological importance of dreams as reflecting a higher level of reality. Dreams can enable a more direct access to Truth. The Upanishad says that during sleep "the self sleeps with the Self."

24 Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, 102 (emphasis added).

25 Mullah Shah in a ghazal exalting spiritual achievements of Dara says "*our Dārā Shikūh "the Sāhib Kirān of heart"*". Shikūh and Asghar Ali Engineer, *Comingling of Two Oceans = Majma-'ul-bahrain*, 28. The Timurid continuity of sacred kingship and Sahib Qiran (the Lord of Conjunction) can be found as late as the 17th century. For a expansive treatment of the subject, see A. Azfar Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign: Sacred Kinghsip and Sainthood in Islam*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), passim. 83) Suprn with the Chisti o had intimately strong connections with Sufi orders: Akbar and the Chisti, on and history that the l

26 In his *Risala* he tells his readers: You would remark "that God has, in spite of his being in this garb (of a prince), opened to him the portals of saintliness and divine knowledge; so that human beings may know that His favour is without any particular cause" Shikūh and Asghar Ali Engineer, *Majma-'ul-bahrain*, 29.

27 Tasadduq Husain, "The Spiritual Journey of Dara Shukoh," in *Social Scientist* 30 (7/8) 2002: 60-2.

28 Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, 114.

29 Ibid., 107.

oneness of their source. He also gradually commissioned new translations of the *Bhagavadgītā,* the *Yogavāshishtha*, the *Prabōdha-chandrōdaya*, the *Atmāvilasa*, and Śankarācārya's *Brahmasutrabhāsya* at the court.[30]

His intellectual intuition was further confirmed and his metaphysical doubts answered through his discussions with Hindu sage Baba Lal Das as recorded in *Mukālama-i Bābā Lāl wa Dārā Shukōh* ("Conversations of Dārā Shikoh and Baba Lal").[31] These events lay the ground for his comparative treatise on (Hindu) Vedanta and (Islamic) Sufism *Majma' al-bahrayn* ("Confluence of the Two Oceans") in 1655 and, of course, *Sirr-i Akbar* ("The Greatest Secret"), his translation of fifty-two Upanishads with the help of pandits (Sanskrit scholars) and sanyasis (renouncers, ascetics) of Banares in 1656-7. The *Majma' al-bahrayn* and translation of the Upanishads are the "culminating project" of his spiritual journey,[32] for he claims it to be his duty to reveal the "importance of the Upanishads at the metaphysical level for all religions."[33]

How to Read Confluence?

"He is manifest in all; and everything has emanated from Him. He is the first and the last and nothing exists, except Him."[34] The first lines of the *Majma' al-bahrayn* spell out Dārā's commitment to *tawh*īd and his emphasis on describing ultimate reality through opposites, echoing the Upanishadic apophatic *neti neti* (not this nor that). From the onset, the "*faqī*r," that is, himself, is said to have attainted knowledge of the "Truth of truths" through Sufi teachers and to have been moved into knowing the religion of the *muwahhidān-i Hind*[35] through their highest scholars and teachings.[36] This endeavor leads him to see the difference between Hindus and Muslims as an outward and merely verbal one, the distinction being one of language and expression (*ikhtilāf-i lafzī*).[37] He gathers the knowledge of the two "Truth-knowing groups" for the spiritual growth of truth seekers and his family members rather than to convince a larger audience as "he has no concern with the common folk of either community".[38] Far from claiming to undertake a comprehensive survey of the extremely diverse strands within Hindu tradition, I think Dārā's project is a more humble one. He is honest in explicitly stating that he has "put down these researches of [his], according to [his] own intuition (*kashf*) and taste".[39] We can now read his treatise as a form of conceptual *translation* conceptually preceding the Persian translation of the Sanskrit Upanishads.

Dārā offers twenty-two chapters or discourses in

30 Faruqui, "Dara Shukoh, Vedanta," 40.

31 Rajeev Kinra relays different retellings of these dialogues. One major argument is made in contrasting two accounts of Dārā's encounter with the Hindu sage Bābā Lal. The account of Surjān Rā'i shows that Dārā had metaphysical questions for the sage on the difference between *nāda* ("ineffable cosmic sound vibrations") and *veda* (knowledge) and more importantly on matters of kingship—how to reconcile higher objectives with the exercise of worldly power. (Kinra, "Infantilizing Bābā Dārā," 172). The latter is contrasted with the *Mathnavi-e kajolāh* of Anandaghana "Khosh" in which Dārā is supposedly portrayed as "an oversexed adolescent in need of adult supervision" (Kinra, "Infantilizing Bābā Dārā," 177) because of his asking for help in controlling his physical desires. This rather crude conclusion fails to see that these two accounts are far from contradicting each other. Metaphors of desire, longing and separation from human and divine love are central in Hindu-Muslim Indic tradition and poetry, as Kinra himself points out. Even a literal reading does not demean Dārā since the control of the senses is a matter of ultimate concern (rather than a sign of adolescent immaturity), especially with regards to kingship. However, Kinra strikingly sees that Shir Khan Lodi criticizes Dārā Shikoh *along with his forefathers*, *Akbar, Jahangir and Morād Bakhsh,* which shows that even Dārā's critiques did not see exceptionalism in his rule and personality. Despite retelling the accounts of Dārā's opponents, he admits considering himself an admirer of the prince. (Kinra, "Infantilizing Bābā Dārā," 191).

32 Faruqui, "Dara Shukoh, Vedanta," 42.

33 Ibid, 42.

34 Shikūh and Asghar Ali Engineer*, Majma-'ul-bahrain*, 66.

35 Literally, "those who make/realize Oneness" or *wahdat al-wujud*, unity of existence. "Oneness" should not be read in the numerical sense but in its ontological meaning

36 Shikūh and Asghar Ali Engineer*, Majma-'ul-bahrain*, 66.

37 Shikūh and Asghar Ali Engineer*, Majma-'ul-bahrain*, 66. Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, 144.

38 Shikūh and Asghar Ali Engineer*, Comingling of Two Oceans = Majma-'ul-bahrain*, 66-7. In the introduction: "Now, thus sayeth this unafflicted, unsorrowing *fakīr*, Muhammad Dārā Shukoh, that, after knowing the truth of truths and ascertaining the secrets and subtleties of the true religion of the Sūfis and having been endowed with this great gift, he thirsted to know the tenets of the religion of the Indian monotheists [*muwaḥḥidān-i Hind*]; and, having had repeated intercourse and discussion with the doctors and perfect divines of this religion, who had attained the highest pitch of perfection in religious exercises, comprehension, intelligence and insight, he did not find any difference, except verbal, in the way in which they sought and comprehended Truth. Consequently, having collected the views of the two parties and having brought together the points—a knowledge of which is absolutely essential and useful for the seekers of Truth—he has compiled a tract and entitled it *Majma-ul-Bahrain* or "The Meeting-Point of the Two Oceans", as it is a collection of the truth and wisdom of two Truth-knowing groups." Jonardon Ganeri, "Dara Shukoh and the Transmission of the Upanisads to Islam," in William Sweet ed., *Migrating texts and traditions* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2012), 155-6.

39 Ibid, 67.

his *Majma' al-bahrayn*. The following themes are only a sample: the elements, the senses, devotional exercises, the attributes of God, the soul, resurrection, salvation and the infinity of cycles. I will emphasize the search for words across languages as a translation of metaphysical concepts between the two traditions, as Dārā interprets them. Tony Stewart proposes "translation theory", as opposed to syncretism, as a hermeneutical model to understand the meeting of the two religions, a method that involves shifting the preoccupation from "the final form" to the *process of encounter*.[40] His approach is relevant to understanding both *Majma' al-bahrayn* and the Persian Upanishads. He asserts that religions and languages share important features as they are both "semiotic systems" with the ability to "capture, preserve, and reify basic cultural values, to structure experience according to shared conceptual elements".[41] They are intimately concomitant in producing meaning, value and experience. When Bengali Muslim authors (Stewart's focus is on early Islamic Bengali texts) imagined the world, they did not "borrow" terms, but sought "in a more intellectually astute process" to find "terms of equivalence" between Islamic metaphysics and their Hindu counterparts, the latter being *already available* within Bengali/Sanskrit.[42] Most importantly, these terms are not just words but conceptual and metaphoric worlds which can make "the other become self".[43] This is crucial in our engagement with Dārā's works.

Paul Masson-Oursel explains that the principle of comparison is not necessarily "identity" nor "distinction" but *analogy*, the equality of two relations, as follows: A is to B what Y is to Z. He suggests that this equivalence would accommodate heterogeneity between A and Y, as well as B and Z.[44] Furthermore, for Stewart, metaphoric equivalence involves "shared metaphoric worlds" and "the domain of the intersemiotic."[45] The realm of the intersemiotic is especially relevant to this essay. For example, translation can be dynamic in a cultural context in which terms are used interchangeably (i.e. in eighteenth century Bengal, since *nabī* and *avatara* share an *analogous function* in restoring morality on earth, saying that Muhammad is an *avatara* expands the "semantic domain of the concept avatara itself").[46] The intersemiotic involves equivalence of ideas among mythologies, rituals and theological systems. It is a full-fledged cultural translation where "an entire conceptual world is understood in terms of another, not just in its single terms or phrases."[47] This metaphoric equivalence enables a "Muslim truth" to be expressed "in a language and conceptual structure that is Hindu,"[48] thereby possibly effecting an inner transformative dimension at the intellectual and spiritual levels. It could produce inner translation[49] and the capacity to see the inward Truth underlying its seemingly contradictory forms.[50]

Elements of the Confluence Itself

Dārā's first discourse in the *Majma' al-bahrayn* is on the five elements (*'anāsir)*. The "great element", also called *'arsh-i akbar* (the great throne), from which wind emanates, followed by fire, water and dust. He finds a direct parallel to this succession in the Hindu concept of *panch bhut* (Sanskrit. *pancha bh*ūta). All creation is constituted by *akās* (Sk. ākāśa or primal element), *ba'i* (Sk. *vāyu* or wind), *tej* (Sk. *tejas* or fire), *jal* (Sk. *jala* or water) and *pirthi* (Sk. *prthivi* or dust). Out of the primal element (*māhakās'a* or '*arsh-i akbar*) emerged theophanic Love (*ishq*) called *māyā*, which was created out of the movement of divine awareness from oneness to multiplicity.[51] Both *māyā* and '*ishq*, Shayegan notes, share a bi-dimensional function—that of cosmogonic revelation through the power of projection and that of obscuring

40 Tony K. Stewart, "In Search of Equivalence: Conceiving Muslim-Hindu Encounter through Translation Theory," in *History* of *Religions* 40 (3) 2001: 273.

41 Stewart,"In Search of Equivalence," 268.

42 These concepts in Islamic metaphysics, cosmology, theology, were *present* in Bengali. The ideas were not so alien and therefore could be expressed in that vocabulary. *Ibid,* 269.

43 Ibid, 273.

44 Daryush Shayegan, *Les Relations de l'Hindouisme et du Soufisme d'après le Majma' al-Bahrayn de Dārā Shokūh* (Paris: Editions de la Différence, 1979), 19.

45 Originally formulated by Eugene Nida. Stewart,"In Search of Equivalence," 281-2. An example: Avatara and *nabi* because prophethood and *avatara* have analogous *functions*, i.e. guidance to dharma right path. Prophet Muhammad is therefore called *avatara* in Saiyid sultan's *Nabi Vamsa*. He thus expands the "semantic domain of the concept *avatara* itself" by using it for Mohammad. Siva and Hari are also *nabis*. Similarly, Ali Rajā uses Samkhya terms to describe duality in Islamic cosmogony. The terms are not *identical but share "common core of meaning in specific local contexts"* Stewart,"In Search of Equivalence," 281-83.

46 Stewart, "In Search of Equivalence," 281-2.

47 Ibid, 283.

48 Ibid, 284.

49 In the Vedas, as in the Biblical-Qur'anic traditions, 'the word' or 'the sound' (OM) is at the beginning of all that exists: translating that first element is at the root of revelation and hence essential to any attempt to achieve true knowledge.

50 "Dogmatism reveals itself not only with its inability to conceive the inward or implicit illimitability of the symbol, the universality that resolves all outward opposition, but also by its inability to recognize, when faced with two apparently contradictory truths, the inward connection that they implicitly affirm, a connection that makes of them complementary aspects of one and the same truth." Frithjof Schuon, *Transcendent Unity of Religion*, (Wheaton: The Theosophical Publishing House, 1984), 3.

51 Shayegan, *Les Relations de l'Hindouisme et du Soufisme*, 19.

through the power of a veil.[52] Although these two terms are not interchangeable, they have analogous functions. They are both between being and non-being, the absolute and the relative, participating in each without being identical to either, and hence explain the divine movement from the one to the many.[53]

Rūh-i a'zam (the great soul) or *jivātman* (soul of the self) was then born from this Love, Dārā tells us. This soul was embodied in its perfect form (*nafs-i kāmil*) in Muhammad—*ahl-i hind* (people of India) name this soul *Hiran Garbha* (Sk. *Hiranyagarbha*), referring here to the "golden womb" at the source of cosmic manifestation, that also symbolizes cosmic Intellect,[54] and *Avasthat* (Sk. *Avasthātman*) which means "state of the soul/self/ātman."[55] In his "discourse on the soul", he distinguishes the common soul, *rūh* or ātmā, from the "Soul of souls", which is *abul arwāh* (Father of souls) or *paramātmā* (Supreme Self).[56] Pure selfhood expresses itself on the subtle plane as *rūh* or ātmān and on the substantial realm as *sarīr* (the body). Water is to the waves what *sarīr* is to *rūh*. Existence or consciousness (*caitanya*) is the water, while the Supreme Self (*paramātmā* or *abul arwāh*), in its universality, is the totality of waves.[57]

His comparative approach to the attributes of God is also expressed through analogy. He starts by stating that Sufis see the *jamāl* (Beauty) and *jalāl* (Majesty) of God as encircling all of creation whereas the Indians have *tergon* (Sk. *triguna*, the three attributes constituting reality in Hindu metaphysics), which is *sat* (Sk. *sattva* or light), *raj* (Sk. *rajas* or passion), and *tam* (Sk. *tamas* or darkness). He sees these three attributes as equivalent to Creation, Duration and Destruction, the three functions of God in Islam and those respectively embodied in Brahma, Visnu and Mahesh (a name of Siva) within the Hindu *trimurat* (Sk. *trimūrti* or three-forms of the divine).[58] He sees the *trimūrti* as comparable to the three angels in Islam: Jibra'il is, like Brahma, an instrument of creation while Mika'il, like Visnu, is a vehicle of sustenance, and Israfil, like Siva, one of destruction.[59] The analogy goes further as each attribute is connected to an element: Brahma, like Jibra'il, is associated with water, the moisture of the tongue at the root of Divine utterance; Visnu, with Mika'il, is associated with fire, the fire in the eyes as the source of light and eyesight; finally, Mahesh, like Israfil, is associated with air, the air in nostrils "instrumental in creating two breaths which lead to death if stopped."[60] These attributes are manifested in all beings. Dārā then mentions *sakt* (Sk. *sakti* or the principle of power manifested in the Goddess) as the "potential power above these three attributes," which is *terdivi* (Sk. *tridevī* or the three consorts of the *trimūrti*).[61] He concludes by connecting Saraswati with Brahma and the attribute of *raja*, Pārvatī with Siva and the attribute of *tamas*, and Lakshmi with Visnu and the attribute of *sattva*.[62]

Another beautiful analogy is found in Dārā's discourse on the four worlds in which he lays down the four spiritual stages all beings must go through according to the Sufis. *Avasthātma*, the "state of the soul/self/ātman" is the equivalent for the faqīrs of Hind.[63] *Nasūt* corresponds to *jāgrat*, the world in which humans are awake and conscious, *malakūt* to *sapan* (Sk. *avapna*), the invisible world where humans are unconscious, *jabarūt* to *sakhūpat* (Sk. *susupta*), where "I and thou" dissolves, and finally *lādhūt* to *tury* (Sk. *turīya*), the world of His Existence.[64] These vertical stages can be either ascending or descending steps in human life. This culminates in *mukt* (Sk. *mukti* or *moksha*) or the deliverance from the embodied selfish self,[65] which is the "annihilation of all determinations in the Divine Essence", the entrance within *rīzwan-i akbar*, the greatest divine satisfaction.[66] Ultimately, *Brahmānd* means *al-kul,* the All, the Necessary Being.[67]

I have attempted to offer a glimpse of the *Majma' al-bahrayn* by elucidating Dārā's discussion on the elements, the soul, the divine attributes, and the four worlds. Dārā does not invent new syncretic concepts but partakes in what Supriya Gandhi has framed as a *dialogue* or *samvāda* ("speech together"), a hallowed genre in Sanskrit and Indic literatures.[68] He participated in a space where exoteric differences can be discussed in light of their metaphysical unity[69] and in the larger engagements of the Persian and Indic

52 Ibid, 20.
53 Ibid, 20.
54 "The awakening of Visnu at the damn of creation from which names and forms are projected ad extra in a total vision symbolized by the Golden egg (Hiranyagarbha) which is also a sort of cosmic Intelligence" (my translation). *Ibid,* 21.
55 Shikūh and Asghar Ali Engineer*, Majma-'ul-bahrain*, 68-9.
56 Shikūh and Asghar Ali Engineer*, Majma-'ul-bahrain*, 78. Shayegan, *Les Relations de l'Hindouisme et du Soufisme*, 33.
57 Shikūh and Asghar Ali Engineer*, Majma-'ul-bahrain*, 78. Shayegan, *Les Relations de l'Hindouisme et du Soufisme*, 33.
58 Shikūh and Asghar Ali Engineer*, Majma-'ul-bahrain*, 76-7.
59 Ibid, 76-7.
60 Ibid, 76-7.
61 Ibid, 76-7.
62 Ibid, 76-7.
63 Ibid, 80-2.
64 Ibid, 80-2.
65 Ibid, 116-22.
66 Shayegan, *Les Relations de l'Hindouisme et du Soufisme*, 43.
67 Shikūh and Asghar Ali Engineer*, Majma-'ul-bahrain*, 106.
68 Supriya Gandhi, "The Prince and the Muvah h id: Dārā Shikoh and Mughal engagements with Vedānta," in Vasudha Dalmia and Munis D. Faruqui eds., *Religious Interactions in Mughal India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014), 69.
69 This is described in the Alamgirnama: "He always had affection for Brahmins, Jogīs and Sanyāsīs, and considered that straying, misleading and false group to be perfect spiritual guides and

traditions through the *samvāda* narrative frame of Vedantic texts, that is, the frame of the spiritual seeker (i.e. the prince) asking questions to the master (i.e. Hindu sage Baba Lal) and learning from him.[70]

Waves Back and Forth: The Samudrasangama

The dialogue indeed continued as the scholar-prince commissioned the writing of the *Samudrasangama,* which was the translation of his *Majma' al-bahrayn* from Persian to Sanskrit. The initial inclusion of Sanskrit terms in the Persian treatise expanded the conceptual realm of Persian. The waves go back and forth as the Persian to Sanskrit translation under Dārā's supervision again expanded the religious world of the host language.[71] Through expansion, the two worlds overlap. For instance, when passages from the Qur'an are translated into Sanskrit, they start *functioning* in the Hindu conceptual world. In fact, the Qur'an is called "asmadveda" which means "our Veda".[72] This expression reflects selfhood and difference: that the scriptures have the same *substance*, since they are both Divine Knowledge, albeit in different *forms*, since each is associated with a particular community. Perso-Arabic expressions easily find their Sanskrit correspondence, Jean Filliozat tells us, and both versions (Persian and Sanskrit) give both the original words and their equivalents.[73] The expression *nubuwwat* and *wilayat* is translated as *siddhatva-rsisvaratva*: the first, prophecy, is "the fact of being Perfect" and the second is "the fact of being a master of the clairvoyants."[74] The *rsi* or the seers are the authors of the Vedas and the *rsisvara* are "presented as equivalents of the *wali* in the Islamic tradition."[75] Again, cross-lingual search for equivalence produces mutual religious and conceptual enrichment, expansion and overlap between Persian and Sanskrit worlds. The latter culminates with the project of the *Sirr-i Akbar*, the translation and commentary of the Upanishads into Persian.

Sirr-i Akbar: Translation as Commentary, Creating Inner Translation

Translation as Commentary (Tafsīr)

Happy is he who having abandoned the prejudices of vile selfishness, sincerely and with the grace of God, renouncing all partiality, shall study and comprehend this translation entitled the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, knowing it to be a translation of the words of God, shall become imperishable, fearless, unsolicitous and eternally liberated.[76]

The Sanskrit to Persian translation of fifty-two Upanishads by Banares pandits under the supervision of Dārā is another instance of great historic-spiritual significance. Entanglements about the linguistic exactitude or authenticity of *Sirr-i akbar* ("The Greatest Secret"), accusations of "selective appropriation", of "Islamization" of Hinduism or of using the "advaitic filter", could all be set aside if we look at translation as being intrinsically *commentarial*. In our case, two levels are involved. On one hand, Dārā sees the Upanishads not only as one of the divine revelations, but as being an especially deep esoteric expression of *tawhīd*, a "treasure of Divine Oneness" (*ganj-i tawh*īd).[77] It elucidates *tawh*īd in a way that no other sacred scripture does. It was for him hermeneutically continuous with the Qur'an, in that *Sirr-i akbar* was a direct commentary or *tafsīr* on the Qur'an, elucidating the Qur'an's subtleties.[78] He interprets a Qur'anic verse in Surah *Al-Wāqi'a* (The Event): "Truly it is a Noble Quran in a Book concealed [*kitāb maknūn*]. None touch

gnostics united with the truth. He thought that their books, which they call "Bed," were the word of God revealed in heaven, and he called them "eternal codex," (*muṣḥaf-i qadīm*) and "noble book" (*kitāb-i karīm*)" Gandhi, "The Prince and the Muvah h id," 67.

70 Gandhi, "The Prince and the Muvah h id," 65-68. This narrative frame can be seen especially in the dialogue between Dara and Baba Lal Das but is also indirectly present in his other works since he learns about Hindu teachings from several pandits and sanyasis.

71 It is often said that translation does not go from Persian to Sanskrit and that Sanskrit writings refer only in subtle ways to Mughal presence. Audrey Truschke analyses the *Kavindracandrodaya* ("Moonrise of Kavindra"), a Sanskrit anthology of panegyric poems to Kavindracharya– a Brahmin noble in the Mughal court who taught Sanskrit to the royal family. The latter integrates a contingent or worldly event directly related to the Mughal court while adopting a framework of timelessness where myths and wider ethical teachings are poetically fostered. See Audrey Truschke, "Contested History: Brahmanical Memories of Relations with the Mughals," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 58, 2015: 419-52.

72 Jean Filliozat, "Dara Shikoh's *Samudrasangama*," in M. Waseem, *On Becoming an Indian Muslim: French Essays on Aspects of Syncretism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 138.

73 Filliozat, "Dara Shikoh's *Samudrasangama*," 135. In the introduction, Muhammad is called "*paramaprakasa-prakasakah*, kindler of the supreme light; *jagatsrstinimittah*, cause of the world; *asmakam siddhanam siddha* "the perfect among the perfect among us", *satkrta* and *sammatita* (favoured and confirmed) by *Paramesvara*, the Supreme Master, God." Filliozat, "Dara Shikoh's *Samudrasangama*," 137.

74 Filliozat, "Dara Shikoh's *Samudrasangama*," 138.

75 Ibid.

76 Ganeri, "Dara Shukoh and the Transmission of the Upanisads to Islam," 155

77 Faruqui, "Dara Shukoh, Vedanta," 50.

78 See Ernst, "Muslim Studies of Hinduism?" 185-6.

it, save those made pure, a revelation from the Lord of the worlds" (Q56:77–80).[79] The Upanishads are the *kitāb maknūn* ("Hidden Book") referred to in the Qur'an, from "which all other revelations take their cue".[80] Sanskrit etymological roots also show that "upanishad" can mean "a hidden secret" or "that which is taught in secret". Shankaracarya in fact calls the Upanishads *paramam guhyam*, "the greatest secret".[81] Faruqui confirms that Dārā saw Hindu texts as *tafsīr*[82] on other scriptures in the sense that "the words of God are their own commentary" (*kalām-i ilāhā* ***tafsīr****-i khud ast*).[83]

On the other hand, the *Sirr-i Akbar* is itself a commentary of the Upanishads from a Sufi point of view. Svevo D'Onofrio rightly sees it as a proper Advaita[84] *bhāsya* (commentary) accompanied by Sufi *tīkā* (subcommentary), "in accordance with the Indian traditional commentary genre".[85] It is full of annotations, remarks and interpretations. The organizational scheme of the Persian translation allowed for the direct insertion of commentarial texts (*Upanisadbhāsya-s*),[86] especially those of the great eighth century philosopher and theologian Shankara.[87] D'Onofrio also traces the advaitic "bias" of the Hindu translators.[88] However, Dārā and his translators do not falsify the Upanishads by using an advaitic or Islamic filter. They simply give a *commentary* that incidentally illustrates a metaphysical essence common to Sufism and Advaita. Their effort was a serious attempt to create a bridge between Hindu and Islamic metaphysics.[89] Abhinavagupta, eleventh century philosopher-mystic, as relayed by Sudipta Kaviraj, defines the nature of commentary:

Commentarial texts sometimes claim, in a revealing metaphor, that they have removed the deposit of grime that covered the originals with excessive use; and a good commentary restores the original shine to the meanings of orginary textual words.[90]

Sirr-i akbari could be assessed through such a definition. To truly translate is to "reconstitute as nearly as possible the *effect of a certain cause,*"[91] which means to comment such as to reinstate the *original shine* of a scripture as well as its *effects*. For the Upanishads to be successfully translated into Persian,[92] Sufi vocabulary, Persian mystical verses, and oral retellings of Shankara's commentaries seemed to be necessary to give it aesthetic value, scriptural authority, and *effectual* spiritual power.

Conceptual translation is the most profound cross-religious exchange possible as it requires *inner translation* in the soul of the translator. Shayegan clearly elucidates such a necessity from Dārā Shikūh's point of view:

Dārā believed that translation is not merely "transposing in a servile manner the subtleties of a metaphysical doctrine

79 The Qur'anic verses are taken from the following translation: Nasr, Seyyed Hossein, and Caner K. Dagli, Maria Massi Dakake, Joseph E.B. Lumbard, Mohammed Rustom eds., *The Study Quran: A New Translation with Notes and Commentary* (San Francisco: HarperOne, 2015).

80 Irfan Omar, "Where the Two Oceans Meet: An Attempt at Hindu-Muslim Rapprochement in The Thought of Darà Shikuh," in *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* (44:2) 2009: 306.

81 Douglas Berger, "The Unlikely Commentator: The Hermeneutic Reception of Sankara's Thought in The Interpretive Scholarship of Dara Shikoh" in *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 50 (1) 2015: 91.

82 People questioned him, because he does not have the long training required before being considered as *mufassir*, a qualified exegete who has mastery of previous work of *tafsir*. He is seen as questioning the qur'anic logic of supersession through ta'wil (subset of tafsir which uses dreams). Faruqui, "Dara Shukoh, Vedanta," 54-5.

83 Faruqui, "Dara Shukoh, Vedanta," 55.

84 *Advaita* is one of the schools of Vedanta philosophy upholding non-dualism of the Human and the Divine, also called monism. The Supreme Being and the other beings are One universe.

85 Svevo D'Onofrio, "A Persian Commentary to the Upaniṣads: Dārā Šikōh's «Sirr-i Akbar»," in Denis Hermann and Fabrizio Speziale eds., *Muslim Cultures in the Indo-Iranian World during the Early-Modern and Modern Periods* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2010), 533.

86 Berger, "The Unlikely Commentator," 91.

87 Sankaracarya established the advaita Vedanta school of philosophy. He is one of the "great integrators" within the Hindu tradition. Sankaracharya's commentary, the *Brahmasutra*, was included in the following Upanishads: Aitereya, Brhadāranyaka, Chāndogya, Isa, Māndaka, Māndukya, Kena and Katha. Berger, "The Unlikely Commentator, 90.

88 D'Onofrio, "A Persian Commentary to the Upaniṣads,", 533.

89 Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Sufi Essays* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1973), 141.

90 Kaviraj, Sudipta, "The Sudden Death of Sanskrit Knowledge" in *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 33 (1) 2005: 128.

91 A.K. Ramanujan is quoting St John of the Cross. A. K. Ramanujan, *Speaking of Siva* (London: Penguin, 1973), 13.

92 "This type of translation typically mediated Vedāntic philosophical and mystical texts through a loose oral commentary provided by Indian pandits; this was rephrased in the Sufi technical vocabulary, presenting the texts as a kind of gnosis (Persian *ma'rifat*), and frequently amplifying their contents by the insertion of Persian mystical verses." (Ernst, "Muslim Studies of Hinduism?" 183) Supriya Gandhi confirms this: "While Shaikh Ṣūfī follows quite faithfully the order of the *Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra*'s Sanskrit verses, he weaves into his translation a commentary that expands on and explains certain verses, sometimes interspersed with Sufi sayings in Arabic […] Shaikh Ṣūfī's rendition amplifies the Sanskrit, while adding the famous *ḥadīṯh qudsī*, or the Prophet Muḥammad's report of God's words to him, "he who knows his soul, knows his Lord" (*man 'arafa nafsahu fa-qad 'arafa rabbahu*),[44] a saying that circulated extensively in Islamic mystical writings." Gandhi, "The Prince and the Muvah h id," 81.

into another language, but requires, on the doctrinal level of gnosis, an active participation in the spirit of the text, and *assimilation and recreation of that thought in the soul of the translator*.[93]

The later trajectory of the Upanishads from Persian to Latin through Anquetil-Dupperron's translation had an immense impact on nineteenth century European thought. Schopenhauer, Wittgenstein, and Romantic poets Blake and Schelling, also assimilated Upanishadic thought perhaps in a comparable way.

Conclusion

Translation, inner change, cross-religious encounter, and the relationship between linguistic and semantic worlds are among the most significant issues and themes with which Dārā Shikūh grapples. His works have served as a case study that is illustrative of a larger translation phenomenon that he neither started nor ended. The meeting of Sufism with Advaita Vedanta made him realize and impart the metaphysical principle of Oneness. The translation of language and concepts seems to go along with metanoia, an *inner translation*. As this essay has demonstrated, Dārā can be read in counterposition to "the narrative of exceptionalism," and allows us to question the epistemological basis of "romanticization" as an accusation that discredits an author's legitimacy. Dārā's life can be situated in both the realm of the political and beyond the merely political; hence, a hermeneutical method based on translation theory is best suited for a reading of the prince's works. Dārā's *Majma' al-bahrayn* and its translation from Persian to Sanskrit (*Samudrasangama*) were then discussed in relation to cross-religious conceptual expansion that resulted from translation. Finally, Dārā's *Sirr-i Akbar* exemplifies translation as an inherently commentarial project and its effects as possibly transcendental—as causing a change within "the soul of the translator."

We can see that Dārā ultimately articulates what his grandfather Jahangir saw after meeting the ascetic Jadrūp: that the latter "had mastery over the science of Bedant [Vedanta], which is the science of *tasawwuf*".[94] Does Dārā Shikūh's "foray into Hindu texts" "paradoxically" serve "to solidify and secure his essentially Quranic worldview,"[95] as Faruqui suggests to us? The "transcendent unity of religion" as Schuon defines it, and as Dārā Shikūh demonstrates, could help us ponder on this question:

If the expression 'transcendent unity' is used it means that the unity of the religious forms must be realized in a purely inward and spiritual way and without prejudice to any particular form. The antagonisms between these forms no more affect the one universal truth than the antagonisms between opposing colors affect the transmission of the one uncolored light… Just as every color, by its negation of darkness and its affirmation of light, provides the possibility of discovering the ray that makes it visible and of tracing this ray back to its luminous source, so all forms, all symbols, all religions, all dogmas, by their negation of error and their affirmation of truth, make it possible to follow the ray of revelation, which is none other than the ray of the Intellect, back to its Divine Source.[96]

Appendix

Appendix A

Discourse on light (*nūr*) in the *Majma' al-bahrayn* showing striking resemblance with Upanishadic passage.

Dārā Shikūh:

When one does neither "behold anything with his eyes nor hears with his ears nor speaks with his tongue nor smells with his nose nor feels with his sense of touch […] the senses of sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch become merged in one—such is the Light of Essence/ of God" [97]

Kena Upanishads 1:

The Self is the ear of the ear,
The eye of the eye, the mind of the mind,
The word of words, and the life of life.
Rising above the sense and the mind
And renouncing separate existence,
The wise realize the deathless Self.
Him our eyes cannot see, nor words express;
He cannot be grasped even by the mind
[…]
Because he is different from the known
And he is different from the unknown.
Thus have we heard from the illumined ones.

93 Daryush Shayegan, "Transcendent Imagination in Sufism and the Vedanta according to the Persian Translation of the Upanishads," in Frank Moraes et al, eds, *Science, Philosophy, and Culture Essays Presented in Honour of Humayun Kabir 's Sixty-Second Birthday* (New York Asia Publishing House, 1968), 253-254 (emphasis added).

94 Jahangir, and W. M. Thackston, *The Jahangirnama: Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India* (New York: Freer Gallery of Art, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in Association with Oxford University Press, 1999), 79.

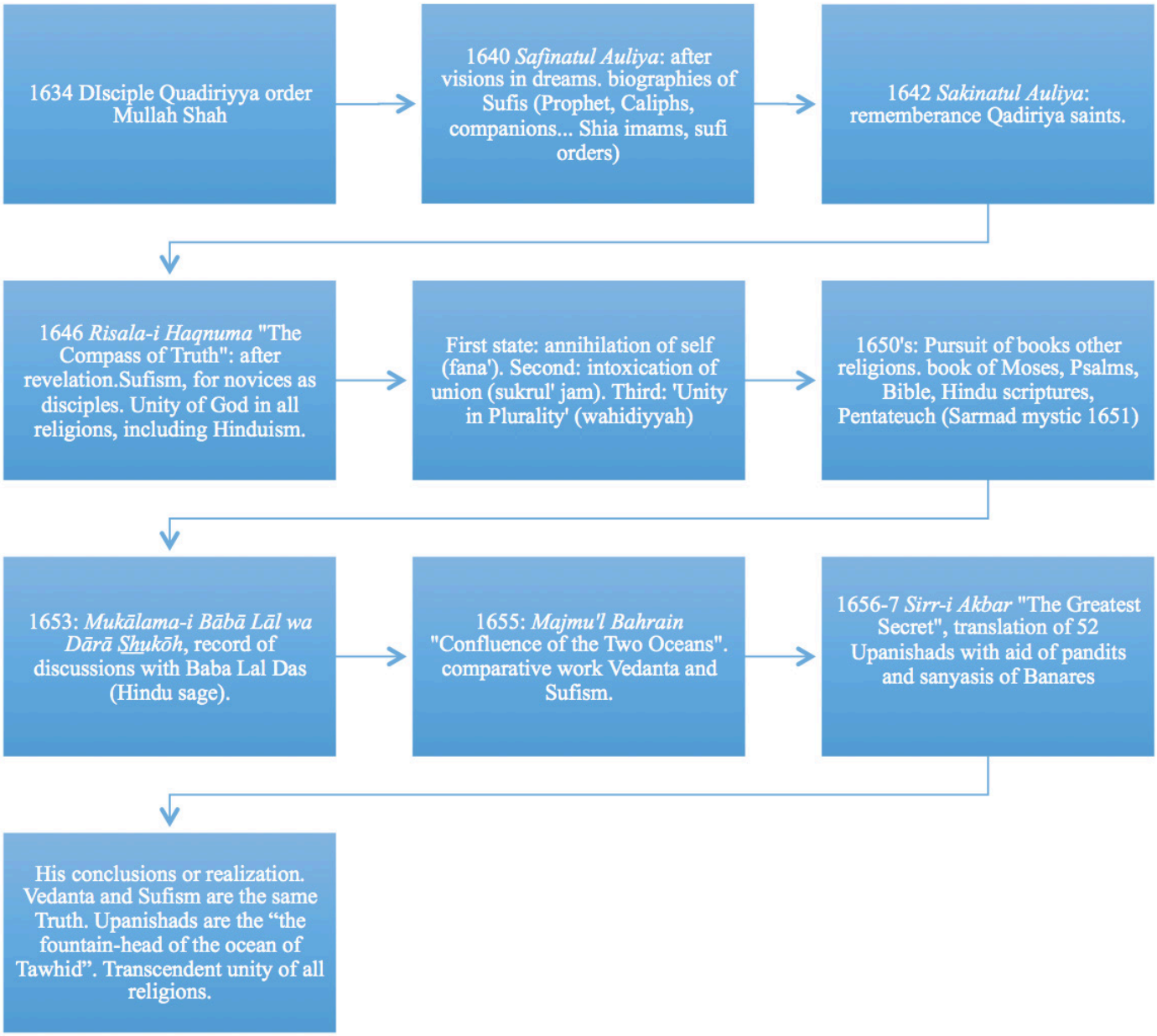
95 Faruqui, "Dara Shukoh, Vedanta," 32.

96 Schuon, *Transcendent Unity of Religion*, xxxiv.

97 Shikūh and Asghar Ali Engineer, *Majma-'ul-bahrain*, 85-7.

That which makes the tongue speak but cannot be
Spoken by the tongue, know that as the Self.
This Self is not someone other than you.[98]

Appendix B



98 Eknath, Easwaran, and Michael N. Nagler, *The Upanishads* (Petaluma, CA: Nilgiri Press, 1987), 214.
99 Husain, "The Spiritual Journey of Dara Shukoh," 54-66.

William Gladstone: Providence and the People, 1838-1865

By Jack Dickens, University of Cambridge

Abstract

The career of William Gladstone was one of the most dramatic journeys in nineteenth-century British politics. Indeed, few politicians in recent history have been at the forefront of politics for so long, or so profoundly transformed by that experience. In his review of William Gladstone's The State in its relations with the Church (1838), the whig writer and historian Thomas Babington Macaulay described the young Gladstone as 'the rising hope of those stern and unbending Tories.' Macaulay's review was aimed at an MP who had opposed full civil rights for all non-Anglicans and who upheld above all other principles the ideal of a theological state allied and subjected to a politically active established Church. Yet thirty years later in 1868, the same William Gladstone rode upon a wave of radical popular support into Downing Street, christened by the Daily Telegraph as 'the People's William', crying 'Justice for Ireland!', promising to disestablish the Irish Anglican Church, and commanding the loyalty of a Liberal Party majority in parliament. Faced with such a transformation, how is the historian supposed to explain the existence of what appear to be two very different politicians within the same person and the same political life? [1]

To understand Gladstone's transformation, one must inhabit the very mind of Gladstone. In pursuit of this challenging task, a political history alone will not suffice – it requires a thorough examination of his intellectual and religious thought situated within a 19th-century context in which the man himself and his contemporaries experienced highly disorientating change and transformations.[2] Unsurprisingly, therefore, precisely what caused Gladstone to abandon the Toryism castigated by Thomas Babington Macaulay in the *Edinburgh Review* and to embrace the populism of the 1860s is a matter of great contention amongst historians. Indeed, Gladstone's contemporaries themselves drew starkly different conclusions about his apparently Lazarean resurrection in the 1850s and 1860s as the torchbearer of liberal financial reform and a champion of 'the people'. The Liberal politician, writer, and friend of Gladstone, John Morley, in 1902 biography, believed that his subject had remained throughout his career a 'pilgrim' who sought, and eventually found the expression of his innate liberality in the Liberalism of his older age. Walter Bagehot, however, in a famous 1860 reflection upon Gladstone's career up to that point, was more skeptical: his 'adaptive mind' was converted to the ideas of the age along with the average intellect, as had been the case with his mentor, Sir Robert Peel: 'Mr Gladstone is essentially a man who cannot impose his creed *on* his time, but must learn his creed *of* his time.'[3]

The questions surrounding Gladstone's political journey have increased ever since: was his remodelling one forged from the germ of his High Tory thought?[4] Was his 'journey' from High Church pariah to Liberal demagogue in fact undertaken 'along the High Anglican Road'?[5] Neither Perry Butler nor H.C.G Matthew, for example, have denied that Gladstone's ideas underwent profound changes in the 1840s, but the emphasis in both of their accounts is clearly

1 I would like to acknowledge my debt to Professor Boyd Hilton of Trinity College Cambridge for having introduced me to this area of historiographical debate while I was a first year undergraduate under his supervision. This paper has grown out of a supervision essay which he first set me in November 2015, entitled *Trace the process by which 'the rising hope of those stern and unbending Tories' became 'the People's William'*. His advice with reading materials and discussions of Gladstone's personal religion and political career have been tremendously valuable in helping me turn my original short essay into this longer paper. His work *The Age of Atonement*, has also been an invaluable guide in understanding the religious temper of the age, and is accordingly used at several key points of this essay.

2 This is the approach of David Bebbington in *The Mind of Gladstone: Religion, Homer and Politics.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). A different approach to understanding the mind of Gladstone has also been made rather crudely by Travis L. Crosby's *The Two Gladstone's: A Study in Psychology and History* within a psychoanalytic approach of his private and public conduct.

3 Morley and Bagehot are cited in Richard Shannon, *Gladstone: Peel's Inheritor, 1809-1865* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1999), 168.

4 See H.C.G. Matthew, *Gladstone, 1809-1874* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

5 Perry Butler, *Gladstone: Church, State and Tractarianism: A study of his religious ideas and attitudes, 1809-1859.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 151.

upon a consistency in at least some of his thought across his career. Richard Shannon, on the other hand, has placed greater emphasis upon a sharp change in direction taking place during the political discourse of the 1840s. This did not involve a subtle reweaving of old religious thought to match new contexts, Shannon argues, but rather the cutting of an ideological 'Gordian Knot', which both legitimated Gladstone's 'new vocation' as a liberal politician and enabled him to become 'Peel's inheritor.'[6]

However, despite the clear importance of the 1840s, it has rightly been pointed out that it is essential to extend any analysis into the domestic and fiscal discourses of the 1850s and early 1860s.[7] It was in the 1850s that a Gladstonian approach to finance, founded upon Peelite principles, was first put into legislative action while Gladstone cut his teeth as Palmerston's Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was in the 1860s that Gladstone would turn from a sole reliance upon the legislative mode of action and cultivate extra-parliamentary support through moving his rhetoric to the people. Moreover, while keeping sight of both of these crucial shifts, the precise influence of foreign affairs, particularly Gladstone's attachment to Italian unification, must not be neglected as a cause of the realisation of the later popular politician, as D.M. Schreuder highlighted many decades ago.[8] Accordingly, in this essay I do not dispute the value of these dimensions to any account which reflects the complexity of Gladstone's mind, but rather urge none of them can be understood fully in isolation from one another. In this respect, the crucial factor underpinning these developments and Gladstone's wider transformation was his changing understanding of providence, how it operated within the natural world, and *through whom* it exercised its agency.

The self-governing energy of the nation made objective'

In order to establish precisely how Gladstone changed between the years 1838 and 1865, it is necessary to begin before his process of intellectual reimagining by placing the young politician in cultural and political context. The Repeal of the Test and Corporations Acts in 1828 which, since the seventeenth century had forced Dissenting Protestants to swear the Oath of Supremacy to the Anglican Church and British Crown in order to serve in Civil Office had startled the old order. The passage of Catholic Emancipation in quick succession in 1829, also by the Duke of Wellington's Ministry, had rocked it at its foundations. For many in Parliament and the country, these epoch-making reforms, combined with the reform to the franchise and distribution of seats in Parliament itself in 1832, marked a serious threat to the liberties and principles of the British Constitution itself. Lord Eldon had protested against Lord Russell's 1828 Act in the House of Lords upon the grounds that that 'the Church of England combined with the State, formed together the constitution of Great Britain, and…the Test and Corporation Acts were necessary to the preservation of the constitution'[9] Lord Holland, a great country Whig who would serve in the Grey and Melbourne governments, highlighted the significance of Catholic Emancipation highlighted that 'Catholick Emancipation…in principle' would be the most powerful and transformative of all reforms, because 'it explodes the real Tory doctrine that Church & State are indivisible.'[10]

Yet while historians such as J.C.D Clark have undoubtedly been correct in highlighting the significance of such measures, it is erroneous to highlight this moment as the end of *ancien régime* culture in British politics.[11] Indeed, as Boyd Hilton and Peter Mandler have shown, the 1830s-1840s were in fact a time in which the crisis of the old order stimulated a powerful renaissance in romantic, conservative, and establishment thought.[12] For elites this renaissance consisted of a cultural pivot towards the past, characterised by a yearning nostalgia for a pre-industrial, medieval idyll, the most striking expression of which is arguably Sir Charles Barry's neo-Gothic Palace of Westminster, built after the old Houses of Parliament were destroyed by fire in 1834. This cultural pivot can also be found in literary form in Southey's *Colloquies on Society* (1830), and on canvas in Daniel Maclise's *The Chivalric Vow of the Ladies and the Peacock* (1835).[13] It

6 Richard Shannon, *Gladstone: God and Politics.* (London: Continuum, 2007), especially at chapters 2, 3 and 4.

7 For the case for Peel's influence see Shannon, *Peel's Inheritor,* op cit., p166: 'There is good case to be made for Peel as the progenitor of Gladstonian Liberalism; there is certainly a convincing case to be made for Peel as progenitor of Gladstone's Liberalism.' For the case for the 1850s, see K. Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846-1886.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

8 This is the argument of D.M. Schreuder, *Gladstone and Italian Unification, 1848-70: the making of a Liberal?* English Historical Review (1970): 475-501.

9 Cited in J.C.D. Clark, *English Society 1688-1832: Ideology, Social Structure, and Political Practice During the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 396.

10 Quoted in Clark op cit. p 397.

11 Clark, *English Society,* op cit.

12 See Hilton, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People? England 1783-1846* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 24-30; and see an excellent overview of the 1830s and the phenomenon of popular romanticism in English cultural history in Peter Mandler, *The Rise and Fall of the Stately Home* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1999), ch.1, 'The Stately Home and England'.

13 See Philip Connell *Romanticism, Economics and the Question of 'Culture'.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 258-265 for the example of Southey's *Colloquies;* Mandler, *op cit.,* for Maclise.

was also in such a cultural milieu that a young Benjamin Disraeli came to be associated with a group of young Tories called Young England, consisting chiefly of George Smythe, Lord John Manners, H.T. Hope and Alexander Baillie-Cochrane. Their program consisted of a return to a de-industrialised communitarianism allied with Burkean organic change in which a patriarchal Toryism might provide a Coleridgian remedy to the ills of early industrial society and the increasing power of centralized bureaucracy.[14] At a time when many artists, architects, politicians, and writers were seeking a response to the fallout of early industrialism and religious-constitutional crisis, neither Gladstone nor Disraeli were outside this wider cultural trend.

The profusion of cultural responses to the crisis of 1828-32 was mirrored in the establishment of political and religious movements of different hues who sought to provide solutions to the new status quo. Two of the most important of these movements were Oxford Tractarianism and what has been called 'Liberal Anglicanism.'[15] The Tractarians were a part of a tradition which, as Peter Nockles has highlighted, stretched back into the 18th century High Anglican counter-Enlightenment and anti-rationalism advanced by Bishop Joseph Butler and William Law.[16] Known as the 'Oxford Movement' because of their more immediate origination in Oriel College, Oxford, the Tractarians sought to reform the Anglican Church so as to revive what they believed to be its original ecclesiological form and liturgical practices immediately after the 16th century Reformation. The movement's foremost writers, including J.H. Newman, E.B. Pusey, and Henry Manning, utilising key concepts drawn from Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* and Bishop Joseph Butler's *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed,* sought by active reform within the Church to bring about an authentic and distinctive Anglican ethos, and in doing so restore its integrity.[17] If need be, they would advocate the wholesale disestablishment of the Anglican Church from the State rather than accept the compromising of Anglican orthodox doctrine by secular ministers, as John Keble made clear in his July 1833 Sermon delivered at St Mary's Church in Oxford, *Of National Apostasy.* On the other hand, buoyed by the recent successes of reform, a broad-Church, latitudinarian, and Erastian Anglicanism came to be ever more vigorously espoused by Whigs such as Lords Morpeth and Russell, the seminal text of which was Thomas Arnold's *Principles of Church Reform* (1833). According to this ethic, as Russell declared in a speech in the commons on the Irish Tithe Act in 1836, 'the duty' of the State was 'not to choose and select that doctrine which the Legislature or the supreme authority may consider to be founded in truth, but to endeavour to secure the means by which they can inculcate religion and morality among the great body of the people'[18] This predominantly Whig Liberal Anglicanism was the *bête noir* of Tractarianism: it considered itself as a part of a peculiarly English tradition of moderate but moralistic improving enlightenment, utilising the traditional institution of the Anglican Church as a subordinate arm of the State to forge a harmonious, tolerant, and moral society.

It is in this context of charged cultural and political crisis, conflict and challenge, that Gladstone's 'stern and unbending' Toryism must be placed: Gladstone had been raised in an evangelical Anglican household, learning and embracing from his earliest years the evangelical focus upon the doctrine of Atonement and the dialectical clash between good and evil, virtue and vice, sin and salvation.[19] While at University at Oxford during the apex of the crisis of 1828-32, however, Gladstone had turned his back upon what he had perceived to be the increasingly extreme nature of the evangelical emphasis upon private judgment and contrition for sin propagated by the St Ebbes set under Henry Bulteel.[20] Evangelicalism, infected by pentecostalists and prophesiers, was becoming too individualizing, too subversive of the institutional Anglican Church, and too spiritually severe at a time of constitutional and cultural instability.[21] He turned instead to a belief in High Church Anglicanism, ostensibly the opposite of Anglican evangelicalism. Yet, as Hilton has highlighted, he nonetheless retained some of his original evangelical principles in the transition, notably the centrality of atonement, salvation, sin, and conscience.[22] The chief significance of his move, however, was that Gladstone, like

14 See Boyd Hilton, 'Disraeli, English culture, and the decline of the industrial spirit', ch.3, in L.W. Brockliss and David Eastwood eds., *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles c.1750-c.1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); and see Jonathan Parry, 'Disraeli and England', *The Historical Journal,* 43, 3 (2000), 699-728.

15 Richard Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics: Whiggery, Religion, and Reform, 1830-41* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987).

16 See Peter Nockles, *The Oxford Movement & The Legacy of Anglican Evangelicalism: Religious Reform in the Early 19th Century Church of England.* Published independently on Academia.edu. (2010), p. 9; and see J. Pereiro, *'Ethos' and the Oxford Movement: At the Heart of Tractarianism* (Oxford, 2008), 79-80.

17 Nockles ibid. and P.B. Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship in Britain 1760-1857* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

18 *Hansard,* HC Deb 01 June 1836 vol. 33 cc1238-332.

19 Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangeliclism on Social and Economic Thought 1785-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 340-341.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

the Tractarians, sought refuge against the corruption of the distinctive liturgy, doctrine, and exclusivity of the Church of England through a reification of the historic corporation as an institution which was a residuum of theological truth, spiritual authority, and the keys to salvation.

Gladstone's first book *The State in its Relations with the Church* (1838)[23], that which earned him the ire of Macaulay, was initially written in response to his bitter disappointment with Robert Chalmers, but it was part of a wider vision of an Anglican theocratic state in response to the reforms of 1827-32. The latter, a moralistic High Churchman whom Gladstone had admired, provided a series of lectures in London in 1838 in which he had failed, in Gladstone's opinion, to provide an impassioned, principled defence of the Establishment, Visible Church, and Apostolic Succession, grounded in natural law.[24] The work combined a manipulation of Aristotelian concepts of an organic natural hierarchy with a denunciation of Lockean individualism in a fusion of Burkean and Coleridgian natural conservatism with Puseyan apostolicism: the State was an 'organic body' in which persons existed 'not as individuals, but only as constituents of the active power of that life…the state is the self-governing energy of the nation made objective'.[25] There was 'a national conscience…formed upon a pure and comprehensive idea of right and wrong' requiring an established 'religion' deigned by providence as 'directly necessary to the right employment of the state as a state' and to 'instruct the young as they grow into consciousness and responsibility.'[26] All ethics and spiritual power were derived from the state, from which the individual could not be separated, and from which they received their very life and moral being.

Such thought does not at first sight appear to provide promising foundations for the development of liberal principles, and liberal whigs and broad-Churchmen such as Macaulay accordingly found the work impossible to swallow without offering rebuke. Even more importantly, however, his grand and doctrinaire statement of High Church principles also frightened Anglicans committed to the visible Church. While sharing characteristics of the Tractarian agenda, it was nonetheless a controversial thesis for Gladstone's friends and allies within the Oxford Movement. As Hilton has written, John Keble, in his review in *The British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review* in 1839, believed Gladstone's vision to be hopelessly unrealistic: 'the long-term consequence would be the secularization of the clergy, not the spiritualisation of the state.'[27] Gladstone's plan, Keble believed, would lead to the doctrine that the Church would be corrupted by an unholy Trinity of meddling ministers, liberal bureaucrats, and latitudinarian principles, rather than inaugurating a state infused with an Anglican ethos.

Yet Gladstone was never quite as uncompromising or assured in his Tory principles as the headlines might suggest: beneath the veneer of stern and unbending principles there resided much doubt and anxiety. Indeed, it can be argued, as Matthew has done, that within his High Church Toryism there lay the germ of Gladstone's later changes.[28] The work contained a number of internal tensions, as Gladstone's opponents and allies pointed out, and many of which he attempted to work out in his *Church Principles Considered in Their Results* published two years later in 1840. It is amongst these tensions that it is possible to see fertile soil for Gladstone's later apotheosis as the 'People's William'. At the heart of the *State in its Relations with the Church* lay a paradox: Gladstone's High Anglican Churchmanship lay behind his belief that in Anglican doctrine 'we have the final consummation of all human destinies'. But such conviction belied more revivalist elements to his Churchmanship, features he shared with the Tractarian movement, which brought a more active, reformist impulse. Rather than being always 'stern and unbending', he possessed a conception of the Church which was in reality moderately Burkean: a vision of a visible institution which must be malleable, adaptive, and progressive, in order for it to survive.[29] This Gladstone was perhaps derived from his early evangelicalism and his association with the Oxford Movement, as well as his own schooling at Christ Church, Oxford, in the works of Aristotle. Peter Nockles has highlighted that, similarly to Gladstone, many High Churchmen of the Tractarian movement were motivated by a theology of 'reform' as well as 'revival', an impulse aided by the fact that many of the

23 The statement of its original and extended title rather than the abbreviated 'Church and State' by Macaulay and other critics fails to give an indication of the emphasis of Gladstone's title being upon the State as much as the Church, as Matthew has argued in *Gladstone 1809-74,* op. cit.

24 Hilton, *The Age of Atonement,* 341.

25 See Butler, *Gladstone,* at ch.2, 'Politics, Theology and Friends: 1833-1838'*;* William Ewart Gladstone, *The State in its Relations with the Church*. (1838; 4th rev. edn. 1841). i, 296-7, cited in Hilton B, *A Mad, Bad, & Dangerous People?*, 485, and *The Age of Atonement: the Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic 1795-1865.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 341.

26 Ibid., i, 190, cited in Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?,* 485.

27 For John Keble's critique see 'Gladstone – the State in its relations with the Church', *The British Critic and Quarterly Theological* Review, 26 (1839), 396, cited in Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement,* 349. For other reviews of Keble's critique see Shannon, *Peel's Inheritor,* 76-83; Butler, *Gladstone*, 87-88.

28 This is the view of Matthew, *Gladstone 1809-74,* op. cit.

29 *Church Principles*, quoted in Matthew op cit. p40; also, see Peter Nockles, *The Legacy of Anglican Evangelicalism,* 30-32.

'adherents and followers of the Oxford Movement had come from evangelical households or had had an early Evangelical career.'[30] It appears that even while it was ostensibly 'stern and unbending' to someone such as Macaulay who was an outsider to Gladstone's cultural and ideological tradition, his Toryism was really far more nuanced, and infected with hopes of activism and revivalism.

When writing about the Church and the State, Gladstone invoked Aristotle's image in *The Politics* of 'the oak' which 'unfolds the life it has carried seminally within it from the acorn', consequently an image he would later use in his support for the Italian cause in his 1859 essay, *The War in Italy.*[31] In the same works in which he espoused necessity of Anglican doctrinal hegemony over the State, Gladstone had also conceded the fallibility of Anglican doctrine: 'What political or relative doctrine is there, which does not become an absurdity when pushed to its extremes?'[32] In his speech on the Irish Temporalities Bill in 1835 he had described his doctrine rather soberly as merely 'that form of belief which it conceives to contain the largest portion of the elements of truth with the smallest admixture of error.'[33] Crucially, in August 1841, even *before* entering office under Peel, and perhaps under the influence of Keble's critique, Gladstone was already conceiving of the change in his attitudes to a confessional state: 'I can digest the crippled religious action of the State'.[34]

Furthermore, Gladstone's High Church supremacism could clash, as well as harmonise, with his vision of an organically changing society and Church derived from natural law. In areas, Gladstone's arguments from abstract natural law became too strained, and his shaky philosophical edifice instead had to rely upon more pragmatic and unwittingly utilitarian territory than he had intended, most notably when he came to handle the awkward status of Dissenters.[35] He simply struggled to reconcile liberty of conscience under the natural law with his elevated claims for the secular and theological authority of the Church.[36] Consequently he argued in a philosophical tradition that he despised when he declared that the common good of society meant that 'the individual man, in virtue of his rational understanding and free agency, is entitled and bound in the sight of God to be in the last resort the arbiter of his religious creed, subject to his won full responsibility for employing the means most calculated to put him in possession of the truth.'[37] In light of such an argument, Gladstone's later conversion to a belief in universal religious liberty and 'religious nationality', epitomised by his cry of 'Justice for Ireland!', appears less surprising.[38] His works may indeed have contained high principles, but they were hesitantly held and heavily qualified.[39] After all, he had himself confessed to François Rio, the French liberal Catholic, while writing *Church Principles* that *'the straight lines of abstract speculation do not fit into the tortuous course of modern politics.'*[40] It was because of the qualifications beneath the grand claims that Macaulay, while chastising Gladstone's work in a brilliant display of wit and rhetoric in the *Edinburgh Review*, privately admitted that although he despised its principles, he did not disagree with *all* of Gladstone's remarks. He even confessed to Sir Charles Napier in one candid conversation that 'I wish that I cold see my way to a good counter theory; but I catch only glimpses here and there of what I take to be the truth.'[41]

Turning away from the two books, it is also possible to glean from Gladstone's other writings and remarks glimpses of conservative thought with the possibility of fitting itself to later liberal contexts.

Gladstone's private conclusion in 1835 that 'the most singular argument' he had found in his Aristotelian studies was the view that 'the clubbed intellects of the multitude may render them fitter to govern than the few' seems to offer another temptation to draw a line between his early Toryism and his later populism.[42] This conclusion from Aristotle ultimately appears to adumbrate a principle that would later mature into one central to his popular appeal in the 1860s: Gladstone was not opposed, even in the 1830s, to reform of the franchise *per se*, only that the benefits of any reform should be accorded to 'intellects'. This has a remarkable

30 Nockles, *The Legacy of Anglican Evangelicalism*, 4.
31 *Church Principles*, cited in Matthew, *Gladstone,* 42. He wrote of the need for Piedmont to unify Italy 'by the strictest respect for every political and legal right…by the slow growth of the oak.' 'The War in Italy', *Quarterly* Review, April 1859, cited in Schreuder, *Gladstone and Italian Unification,* 486.
32 *The State in its Relations to the Church, i, vii.*, cited in Shannon, *Peel's Inheritor,* 82
33 Matthew, *Gladstone 1809-74,* 41.
34 Gladstone's *Diaries*, quoted in Shannon, *Peel's Inheritor,* 112. Boyd Hilton suggests that Keble's critique of his works might have caused Gladstone to reconsider his positions on the Church and the State even before he took office under Peel in Hilton, *The Age of Atonement,* 349.
35 Butler, *Gladstone,* 83-84.
36 Ibid.
37 Matthew, *Gladstone 1809-74,* 63.
38 'Justice for Ireland!' was of course Gladstone's 1868 Election Campaign slogan in which he avowed to disestablish the Anglican Church of Ireland.
39 Hilton, *The Age of Atonement,* at ch.9, 'Gladstonian Liberalism: the Last Days of Atonement', 340-373.
40 Cited in Butler, *Gladstone,* 96 – my italics.
41 Shannon, *Peel's Inheritor,* 82
42 Notes on Aristotle, 1835, Add MS 44723, f. 120. Cited in Matthew, *Gladstone 1808-74,* 46.

similarity to the argument which he would later make in his 1864 speech upon Baines' Borough Suffrage Bill in the House of Commons: there he urged the necessity of bringing working men who had advanced in both 'property and intelligence' within 'the pale of the constitution', a conviction which would also underpin his 1866 Reform Bill. In foreign affairs, too, the later pacific faith in international justice can be seen in the aversion of the young Tory to an unjust use of force during the Opium War in China between 1839-42. This episode seems to illustrate greater continuity between the Gladstones of the 1830 and of the 1860s than has perhaps been suggested – his outrage certainly rhymes with the moral indignation that caused him to resign from Palmerston's cabinet over the continuation of the conflict in the Crimea, and which would later propel his charges against what he perceived as Disraeli's immoral support for the Turks in their suppression of the Balkan peoples from 1875.

Of course, it is paramount to avoid a teleological downplaying of the discontinuities in Gladstone's development into the People's William of the 1860s by reference to a selection of extracts authored by his younger self. There were fundamental and necessary discontinuities in Gladstone's ideas, whatever consistency he would later claim existed between his early career and his later politics. At the same time, however, the existence of continuities cannot be ignored. While being careful to stress that becoming a Liberal 'was…an ultimate outcome undreamed of by Gladstone in 1839 and 1840' it would be wrong to divide Gladstone into two lives, incongruent with one another and wholly lacking in intellectual and political equivalence.[43] Yet it remains true that upon the eve of joining Peel's cabinet at the end of 1839, Gladstone still opposed relief beyond tolerance for Dissenters and Jews, and he still opposed the endowment of Roman Catholicism in Ireland. Above all, he continued to believe in the operation of providence through a confessional state bound in alliance with a doctrinally pure High Anglican Church. In 1840, he could still write with regret that Church principles had been 'grievously lowered and relaxed.'[44] What eventually led Gladstone to change his mind upon these questions involved more than a measured reimagining, recasting and reapplication of his initial principles: it was a disorientating dislocation in which he would emerge with a new formulation of his purpose in politics and the role of providence, and it is therefore to the 1840s to which we shall now turn.

'Lowering the religious tone of the State'

It was arguably the 1840s and the tutelage of Peel that proved the seminal decade in a process of transition from archconservative to Peelite Conservative that would provide the essential bridgehead to the populism of the 1860s[45]. Indeed, Matthew has argued that 'the decade of 1841-51 is the crucial period of his political development.'[46] This was the decade in which he shed his theocratic approach to the State and began the economic education that would allow him to emerge as the architect of mid-Victorian public finance. For example, whereas 1840 had witnessed the publication of *Church Principles*, as early as 1844 he voted heartily in favour of the Dissenters Chapel Bill, a measure involving the statutory recognition of the right of non-conformist Protestants to own buildings and charitable funds originally owned by orthodox Protestants.[47] The crucial gauge of just how much Gladstone had altered his religious politics came in 1845, when he, after initial hesitation, backed Peel's Bill to establish seminaries for the training of Catholic priests from the pocket of the British taxpayer in the form of the Maynooth Grant.

What had happened? In part Gladstone had come to accept the logic of Keble's argument, but this is not the whole story, because there was now emerging in Gladstone's rhetoric a heightened belief in religious liberty as a great force of the age, and one which it was imperative to advance in order to be on the right side of history. That 1844 and 1845 were not isolated occurrences, but indicators of a very real shift in Gladstone's approach, is illustrated by his remarks in support of a Bill of 1847, introduced under Lord John Russell's Whig Ministry, which permitted Jews to take a different Parliamentary oath to Christians, and thus become MPs: 'the application of the immutable principles of justice to the shifting relations of society must', he declared, match 'the political temper of the age.'[48] Indeed, in one particularly spectacular *renversement*, Gladstone even took Russell's Ministry to task over religious liberty during the commons debates on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill on 25th March 1851:

'We cannot change the profound and restless

43 For the case for a stark separation between the earlier and later Gladstones, see Shannon, *God and Politics,* 86

44 *Church Principles,* cited in Butler, *Gladstone,* 65.

45 Shannon, *Peel's Inheritor,* 121 and 166-7.

46 Matthew, *Gladstone 1809-74,* 81.

47 See Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?, 530*

48 Matthew, *Gladstone 1809-74,* 73; However, Shannon argues that Gladstone's motives by this stage were perhaps not as charitable and progressive as such rhetoric would suggest: see *Peel's Inheritor,* 225-6, where Shannon argues that Gladstone was hoping that this limited concession would enable the concentration upon the defence of the established Church in other areas of policy which really mattered. However, it appears to nonetheless be a significant change in tack. The younger Gladstone wouldn't have voted for such a measure.

tendencies of the age towards religious liberty. It is our business to guide and to control their application, do this you may, but to endeavour to turn them backwards is the sport of children, done by the hands of men, and every effort you make in that direction will recoil upon you in disaster and disgrace.'[49]

It was in this spirit in 1852-4 that Gladstone not only supported the Whigs' University Reform Bill, he himself drew it up and piloted it through the Commons. He thus contributed to a measure abolishing the religious tests that had for so long prevented non-Anglicans from matriculating from Oxford and taking degrees at Cambridge.[50] If one were ignorant of any context, one might be forgiven for supposing here that it was Gladstone who was the broad-Churchman, and Russell the Tory. Gladstone's actions flatly contradicted the ideals which he had passionately upheld just years earlier – the very reason he had entered politics in 1833-34 was to save the religious establishment by guarding its privileges. In 1841, he had spoken against a bill to allow Jews to hold office in municipal corporations, arguing that no broad or clear line could be drawn between their eligibility for that and their eligibility to sit in parliament. Such examples provide in themselves evidence of a real shift away from High Tory politics and towards the politics of the later 'People's William..

Gladstone was therefore clearly now beholden by the mid-1840s, by the standards of his earlier career, to a conception of the state whose religious character was significantly 'lowered'. The obvious corollary of this muting of the religious state and the advocacy of religious liberty was a profound dislocation and reconfiguration of religious principles, a phenomenon which can be traced in Gladstone's private correspondence. In two letters of 5th and 19th April 1846 in particular, he wrote to his friend and confidant, the Tractarian Henry Manning, that he was now overseeing a 'process of lowering the religious tone of the State, letting it down, demoralising it – i.e. stripping it of its ethical character, and assisting its transition into one which is *mechanical.*'[51] This 'essential change', Gladstone held, meant that 'the state never can come back to the Catholic means of agency within itself…'[52] What he meant by 'the Catholic means of agency within itself' was that the state could no longer be considered, as his earlier principles had held, as a force breathing energy, spirituality, and being into the lives of its subjects. Of course, in *The State in its Relations with the Church*, Gladstone had already envisaged a 'stripping' down of the State's religiosity being necessary if the State, guided by Erastian ministers such as Lord Russell, were to encroach upon the doctrinal purity of the Anglican Church. The crucial difference was that Gladstone now also rationalised an aethical, or post-ethical, state not only out of expediency, but because it was also the only morally sustainable possibility. A state with no ethical character, and therefore not beholden to an established Church, was the only one which could ever be sustained because, he now wrote to Newman in 1845, 'the State cannot be said now to have a conscience...inasmuch as I think it acts…as no conscience – that is no personal conscience (*which is the only real form of one*) can endure.'[53] Agency, morality, and conscience did not reside in the central state giving its people their spiritual lives but *vice versa*: the only conscience which existed was not collective, but individual, and accordingly it was the aggregation of moral consciences which must give character, or rather an *absence* of character, to the state.

This chief importance of this change in the locus of morality, ethical agency and conscience towards the people and away from the state was firstly that it signifies a fundamental transformation in the way Gladstone envisioned the operation of providence. His belief in an ethical Anglican state had accompanied his faith in the conclusive and superior nature of the Anglican interpretation of revelation. Gladstone's belief in the fundamental veracity of the Anglican interpretation of revelation did not change, but it was relegated in importance to his increasing belief in natural providence which was to be discerned not in scripture, but in natural second causes. Confronted by a succession of controversial religious questions in Parliament under which the lofty principles asserted in the 1830s came under severe strain, Gladstone had sought answers from a work encountered at Oxford while an undergraduate which now took on a far greater significance: the natural theology of the 18th century divine, Bishop Joseph Butler.[54] Indeed, his obsession with Butler became such that in 1860, Gladstone, and he was not even exaggerating, wrote to his son that 'I never take a step in life without thinking how Butler would have advised me.'[55] During the aftermath of Maynooth in

49 Cited in Butler, *Gladstone,* 144 – my italics.
50 Shannon, *Peel's Inheritor,* op cit. p 289-90.
51 Gladstone to Henry Manning, 19 Apr. 1846 in *Correspondence on Church and Religion of William Ewart Gladstone*, ed. D.C. Lathbury (1910), ii. 272 *italics added*, cited in Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, 340-72, and *A Mad Bad and Dangerous People?*, 486.
52 Gladstone to Henry Manning, 5 Apr. 1846, printed in *The Correspondence of Henry Edward Manning and William Ewart Gladstone, 1844-1853,* ed. P.C. Erb (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
53 Gladstone to Newman, 19 Apr. 1845, in *Correspondence on Church and Religion of Gladstone,* i. 72 *italics added*, cited in Hilton, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?,* 486.
54 Hilton, *The Age of Atonement,* 342.
55 Cited in ibid.

June and July 1845, Gladstone had turned to Butler's anti-deistic *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed* (1736) to provide him with counsel, but he drew rather different conclusions than his Tractarian friends from this 18th century sage. From this work, he derived the philosophically weak but nonetheless influential argument that every human being had an individual 'superintending faculty' (i.e. a conscience) placed within them by God.[56] This was not a mere alteration of earlier principles: it was a new formulation of the operation of providence and the place of the spiritual individual within it. With this realisation Gladstone had renounced his anti-individualist thought of the 1830s and embraced a fully blown theory of individual conscience unbreakably bound with the right to individual religious liberty. For Gladstone, the agency of providence was no longer conceptualised as working to bestow morality through the actions of the central institutions of the State; it was invested within laws of natural providence with which the private ethical consciousness of individuals interacted in the scheme of human salvation. The mode of providence was not, as he had previously believed, the revelation of infallible doctrine to Man but *nature* and could only operate through the mechanisms of natural theology.[57]

Because providence primarily worked not through the dark glass of revelation, but in the much more clearly discernible, even '*legible*', operations of nature and its interactions with individual conscience, any religious revival would have to come *'to States through the individuals that compose them, and not to the individuals through States.*[58] To do otherwise and attempt to 're-establish national religion by enacting it' through legislation which, Gladstone now believed, was not only *practically* futile, it was also *ethically* bankrupt. The theocracy he had advocated earlier in his career, he accepted, fundamentally offended the Christian duty to God of social justice because it enshrined an 'inequality of dealing' amongst confessions.[59] This inequality was made worse by the existence of a quorum in parliament of Churchmen and anti-Catholic dissenters in Parliament against the Maynooth grant whose sole motive in maintaining the privilege of the Anglican Church was not to lead society towards salvation, but to discriminate against Catholics. In this quorum Gladstone saw an unholy alliance whose anti-Popery bigotry was ironically undermining the illusory State consciousness they were claiming to defend: such action, Gladstone argued, only 'repudiates the religious character of the State' by 'pretending to maintain a conscience in the State and yet systematically contravening it.'[60] According to Gladstone's re-formulated conception of a mechanical, post-ethical, state within a natural providential order, individuals were to seek out religion amongst competing confessions in their own personal quest for ethical sustenance and spiritual salvation, a quest in which they were to be freed from obstruction.

The providential scheme thus envisioned was to provide the only hope for the spiritual mission of the Anglican Church in its own quest to convert and save souls. Contrary to the conclusion of Richard Shannon, that Gladstone had repudiated and reformed his political mission along with his previous religious beliefs, Gladstone's mission remained constant. He was still the political guardian of the Anglican Church, but his mode of defence had now shifted from a positive maintenance of statist constitutional safeguards to the negative anti-statist defence of the doctrinal purity and independence of the Church itself. The Church, Gladstone declared to Manning, 'has a very high mission before her', but nonetheless 'must descend into the ranks of the *people* and find strength there…'[61]

Thus, Gladstone responded to the religious contestations of the 1840s with a new theory of providence more akin with an individualising evangelical soteriology than his High Church ecclesiology; and thus did he make a crucial formulation from which he emerged as the proponent and active champion of religious liberty. It was this combination of personal piety with the espousal of public religious liberty that would prove so intoxicating to radical and nonconformist supporters in the 1860s. Indeed, in his *Autobiographica,* Gladstone himself looked upon this transition as the moment that he was awoken to '*the great fact that liberty is a great and precious gift of God* and that human excellence cannot grow up in a nation without it.'[62] Yet it must be noted that this was not a religious liberty in the tradition of broad-Church whigs: Gladstone had no truck with notions of non-doctrinal latitudinarianism or hubristic whiggish conceptions of improvement, and he despised the whigs' desire to use the established Church as an instrument of non-dogmatic moralism. For Gladstone, the very *essence* of religious faith was that it *was* dogmatic, and that the adherents to different dogmas should be liberated to concentrate their efforts upon whatever dogmatic creed satisfied their conscience in the

56 Ibid., 342 and also see Shannon, *God and Politics*, 83.
57 Hilton, *The Age of Atonement,* 350.
58 Gladstone to Newman, 3 Sept. 1844, cited in Butler, *Gladstone,* 127.
59 Ibid., footnote 43.
60 19 June 1845, BL Add. MSS 44735, f. 41 cited in Butler, *Glastone,* 120.
61 Gladstone to Manning, March 15 1847 and March 10 1846, ed. Erb - my italics.
62 *Autobiographica,* 12 July 1892, 37, cited in H.C.G. Matthew, *Gladstone 1809-98* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 25-6 – my italics.

pursuit of salvation. This, and not the dilution of doctrine, was the Anglican Church's only hope and means by which it could come to pursue its spiritual mission freed from the interference of secular power. Mutual respect and doctrinal integrity for Gladstone were better ways to ensure the harmony of society than diluting the very principles upon which integrity was based, and were the driving forces of his religious liberalism.[63] His was a High Anglican road to Liberalism, justified through the moral elevation of the 'lower principles' of government to serve the grandest designs of Providence.[64]

But what were the designs of providence? At this stage Gladstone was already convinced that providential designs could be unleashed by a 'Providential Government' ensuring the harmony in society, of which religious toleration under a neutral was one crucial pre-requisite. Gladstone's reading of Butler had accordingly solved only half of the problem: it had assured him that it was indeed possible to have a political career founded upon 'sound principles applicable to the mode of Providential government'.[65] However, now that he had rejected the Church-State nexus which he had entered politics to defend, he required a new outlet by which it was possible not only to serve the Anglican Church from the vantage point of the State, but also to assist an even higher divine mission by deconstructing the obstacles to the advance of providence's directing of the progress of society and humanity more generally.[66]

In this context, it is significant that just as Gladstone found his religious principles in crisis, he discovered a new outlet for his moral crusading, and one that harmonised with his new conceptions of the relationship between personal consciousness and a mechanical providence in nature. Despite Perry Butler's justifiable scepticism that Gladstone's personal religion influenced his advocacy of political economy, Boyd Hilton is closer to the mark when he asserts that 'Gladstone's gradual rediscovery of "individual conscience" went *pari passu* with his emergence as a Peelite.'[67] It was in Peel's Cabinet as President of the Board of Trade Gladstone oversaw the swingeing reductions of the 1844 budget. In this capacity, he was so inspired by Peelite finance that in 1843 he wrote a piece in the new *Foreign and Colonial Quarterly Review* praising the government's 'Course of Commercial Policy at Home and Abroad', advocating the 'stimulus of competition' although not yet 'repeal' with regard to the Corn Laws. What is significant in this text is the elevation Peelite economics upon the high plain of religious morality: 'moral elements, resolution, energy, skill, perseverance, and good faith' as well as 'religion and Christian virtue, like the faculty of taste and the perception of beauty, have their place, aye and that the first place, in political economy, as the means of creating and preserving wealth.'[68] As Hilton has remarked, Gladstone's conception of political economy and commerce, like his vision of providence, were above all defined by movement and action: the right political economy, advanced by 'Providential Government' could, accordingly, provide the forum in which the laws of providence could operate, and, through their operation, act upon society and conscience.

The development of Gladstone's free trading sentiments was undoubtedly solidified by his support for Corn Law Repeal in 1846 and his seizing of the Peelite mantle thereafter under the guidance of Lord Aberdeen. Indeed, Gladstone's changing personal convictions upon the Corn Question nicely illustrate how his shifts towards natural theology and *laissez-faire* rhymed with one another. Before the crisis of 1845-6, Gladstone had not seen Repeal as a pressing moral issue, writing to his father that Protection was 'to be dealt with as tenderly and cautiously as might be according to circumstances, always running in the direction of Free Trade.'[69] Yet the crisis had folded into Gladstone's own personal reformulations of providence and by 1845-6 he saw the issue afresh within the evangelical dialectic of salvation and sin, writing that the Famine in Ireland was 'the minister of God's retribution upon' the 'cruel and inveterate and but half-atoned injustice' of Corn Protection.[70] He avowed in another letter to his father that those advocating the 'maintenance of a corn law and protective system' must clash with the forces of free trade in 'a great struggle'.[71] For Gladstone political economy had a captivating appeal as a mode by which to express and enact policies in harmony with natural laws of providence, which in turn reflected his transition from a faith based upon revelation to one which

63 For example, see his later writing in his 'Memorandum on the Athanasian creed, 8 June 1873', cited in J.P. Parry, *Religion and the Collapse of Gladstone's First Government, 1870-1874*. The Historical Journal, Vol. 25, Issue 01, March 1982, 71-101: here he wrote that to 'uphold the integrity of Christian dogma' was 'perhaps the noblest of all tasks' and 'the guardianship of the great fountain of human hope, happiness and virtue.'

64 I.e. what Perry Bulter describes as 'the high road to Liberalism'

65 Gladstone to Maud Stanley, 27 Jan. 1856, Lathbury, *Correspondence on Church and Religion,* ii. 30, cited in Hilton, *The Age of Atonement,* 347.

66 Hilton, *The Age of Atonement,* 343.

67 Ibid, 341

68 Shannon, *Peel's Inheritor*, 123-4.

69 Gladstone to his father, 30 June 1849, Foot and Matthew, *The Gladstone Diaries,* iii. xxxviii-xxxix cited in Hilton, *The Age of Atonement,* 351.

70 Gladstone to his wife, 12 Oct. 1845, ibid., ii. 266, cited in Ibid., 351-2.

71 Gladstone to his father, 30 June 1849, Foot and Matthew, *The Gladstone Diaries,* iii. xxxviii-xxxix cited in Ibid., 350.

invested confidence in nature.[72]

Around this time also, another crucial series of events occurred in parallel with Gladstone's rejection of the religious state and his discovery of a passion for liberal political economy. Slowly throughout the 1840s some of Gladstone's closest friends from the Oxford Movement: Newman, Hope, Manning and all the Wilberforces save Samuel, joined the Roman Catholic Church. This was a profoundly disorientating experience for Gladstone and the common flaw in Matthew and Shannon's very different accounts is to underestimate the pain and personal distress involved in Gladstone's changing religious thought during the decade: he described the year 1841 as 'a year of heart burnings and heart bleedings, a chastening and a humble year.'[73] Upon hearing that Manning and Hope had received the communion of the Roman Catholic Church on 6th April 1851, he recorded in his Diary 'A day of pain! Manning and Hope!' Later in the year, in December, he recorded that 'It has been a sad year… the rending and sapping of the Church, the loss of its gems, the darkening of its prospects.'[74] This crisis of friendship combined with the unexpected death of his four-year-old daughter Jessy of cerebral meningitis in 1850 and the bankruptcy of his wife's family in a sense established a perfect personal, familial, religious and political storm inside the young politician.[75] The pain of these years not only brought Gladstone suffering, it also forced much sombre and inward reflection upon his own religiosity and his place within public life; it must not be underestimated as a cause of Gladstone's re-evaluation of his own self, and therefore his search for a new medium by which to exercise his personal mission.

The aggregate result was a complete reworking of Gladstone's political framework, combining the fiery and explosive nature of his old religious intensity behind a new approach informed by religious liberty and personal consciousness. It was a crucial shift in strategy and intellectual justification towards achieving the benevolent order of a religious society through means which harmonised with liberal rather than illiberal sentiments in Parliament. This would later enable Gladstone to forge a new political identity not only as a politician of popular causes but also one of popular appeal. The stripping back of the religious character of the state would be allied with the stripping back of its fiscal restrictions to remove the impediments to the workings of providence. It was in many ways *under* as well as '*from*' Peel, 'as of from a mighty alchemist of state, that Gladstone first learned the sublime art of turning the base metals of politics into gold.'[76]

'The moral check which it has pleased the Almighty to impose'

Yet it would take more than an aptitude for political alchemy for the 'People's William' to be forged. If the 1840s were a formative period in the process by which Gladstone laid the groundwork for the 1860s, it is equally necessary to stress the importance of his successive Chancellorships of the Exchequer from 1853 in this process. It was as Chancellor that Gladstone was able to become the architect, or at least the *perceived* architect, of mid-Victorian financial policy and establish his credentials as a competent guardian of the public purse in the mode of Peel, boost his public image, and satisfy popular calls for retrenchment.[77] This all brought him into fiscal confluence with the body of opinion in the House of Commons that would later be able to facilitate his populist demagoguery – the Whig-Liberal Party. For example, in demolishing Disraeli's December 1852 Budget, Gladstone secured the defeat of the Derby Ministry, the collapse of the government and his own chance to set the fiscal agenda. Both H.C.G. Matthew and Martin Daunton have demonstrated the great significance of this moment not only in the career of Gladstone, but in shaping a new minimalist financial consensus which would characterise the dominant discourse on the nature of the state for most of the remainder of the 19th century.[78]

Gladstone's 1853 budget laid waste to indirect taxation upon consumption in the budgets of 1853-5 and 1861-5 to the extent that by 1865 indirect taxation stood at the lowest level up to that point in the century – 64.9% with a net decrease of 4.9% from 1846-50 – and a corresponding net increase in relative percentage revenue from direct taxation of 4.9% over the same period.[79] The budget of 1853 secured the maintenance of the income tax at the level of £100, with

72 Ibid.

73 Gladstone to Hook, 16 Dec. 1841, BL Add. MS 44213, f. 29, cited in Butler, *Gladstone,* 105.

74 *Diary*, iv, 7 Apr. 1851 and 31 Dec. 1851, cited in Ibid., 222-223.

75 Shannon, *God and Politics,* 64.

76 Shannon, *Peel's Inheritor,* 121.

77 Ibid., 260 and Matthew, *Disraeli, Gladstone, and the Politics of Mid-Victorian Budgets,* The Historical Journal, 22 (1979): 615-43; Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation,* 152.

78 Matthew, *Disraeli, Gladstone, and the Politics of Mid-Victorian Budgets,* ibid., and Martin Daunton, *Trusting Leviathan: The Politics of Taxation in Britain, 1799-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p7-103.

79 Matthew, *Mid-Victorian Budgets,* 152: while there was a relative in the percentage of revenue from direct taxation relative to indirect, Gladstone was able to bring down the total charge of the income tax itself from 10d. on incomes over £150 in 1861 to just 4d. by 1865; see also Theodore Hoppen K, *The Mid-Victorian Generation,* 214.

a fall from the exemption limit from £150, the absorption of a 92% increase in persons paying in Schedule D for the first time. The great achievement here was the maintenance of the principle of the income tax as 'the corner stone of our whole financial plan', both 'permanent and unreconstructed' behind the smokescreen of a sliding scale in 'one of the great conjuring tricks of the century.' [80]

Gladstone, through his taxation and fiscal policies, had not only settled the question of the income tax, he had also directly satisfied many of the calls which pacific and utopian free traders from popular urban constituencies of the likes of Manchester, such as Richard Cobden and John Bright, had been demanding since the 1830s. Gladstone's policies of debt conversion and reduced military spending,[81] combined with the repeals of the stamp and paper duties in 1855 and 1861 (the 'taxes on knowledge') and the Cobden-Chevalier free trade treaty of 1860 with Napoleon III's France to further cement this image: Radicals such as George Howell praised Gladstone as the first Chancellor 'to discover how to increase the receipts by reducing the burthens.'[82] These all represented policies which were not only fulfilling 'Sir Robert Peel's principles of commercial reform' but which were also tremendously popular.[83] This can be seen in the reaction of the Financial Reform Authority, a radical weathervane, to such provisions as relayed by Robertson Gladstone: 'They say it is the best Budget that has ever appeared: some excellent points: Legacy Duty on Real Estate, Income Tax to Ireland, Duty off Soap & they are determined to stand by it. The Financial Reform Association came to this determination today…our business letters from Glasgow and Manchester mention just the same sentiments.'[84]

Nonetheless, as Martin Daunton has argued, what was truly remarkable about the clamour with which radical received Gladstone's budget was the way in which he made opposition to a *differentiated* income tax into an orthodox position for the next forty years.[85] How he achieved this provides not only an indication of how Gladstone had become able of capturing radical opinion – it further illustrates, as we shall see, how his new conceptions of providence operated in political context. One of the great debates surrounding the income tax in the early 1850s before Gladstone's budget was whether it should be instituted upon the principles of *graduation* or *differentiation.* Many in the Select Committees of 1851 and 1852, in which radical such as J.G. Hubbard and Joseph Hume as well as Conservatives such as Benjamin Disraeli had sat, had generally come to the conclusion that differentiating different levels of taxation for incomes *earned* by industrial and commercial means, and those more passive sources of income inherited in 'permanent property' and the land.[86] In the words of J.G. Hubbard: differentiation was required in order to fulfil the 'fundamental principle', that 'all property should pay in proportion to its value', and accordingly 'industrial earnings' should be taxed more lightly as an active contributor to the generation of wealth. Furthermore, Hubbard believed that the opposite, a graduated income tax which taxed larger incomes higher than lower ones, 'arraigns the dispositions of Providence, subverts individual rights, and shows itself to be in principle but a step towards Socialism'.[87] Differentiation accordingly also formed a crucial part of Disraeli's 1852 budget, which Gladstone had passionately denounced.

Yet in his own budget Gladstone managed to balance the fiscal system without recourse to differentiation, a concept which he feared would lead to a violation of the principle that all forms of property should be taxed at an equal rate. He believed that equality of taxation should apply both to the *level* as well as the *type* of income.[88] Yet Gladstone, despite also having concerns that graduation was 'generally destructive in its operation to the whole principle of property, and to the principle of accumulation' and the enemy of 'all social peace' introduced an income tax which equally taxed both industrial and agricultural incomes with the £100 exemption limit, but added an additional, moderate, graduation between those earning £100-150.[89] Because of the way in which Gladstone justified the measure he was able to present it in such a way that opposition to graduation became a genuinely radical position. Gladstone made two claims: the first was that the income tax was a temporary expedient which should be constructed in such a way as to make its abolition dependent upon financial responsibility elsewhere in the abolition of military expenditure; and that the income tax was a permanent source of revenue for future fiscal emergencies, and so its it was 'of vital importance, whether you keep this tax or whether you part with it that you should either keep it, or should leave it in a state in which it will be

80 Matthew, *Mid-Victorian Budgets,* 631.
81 In the case of military spending Gladstone partially succeeded by reducing the debt charges as a % of gross government expenditure by 12.5% from 1846-50 to 1861-5 *despite* the Crimean War – see Matthew, *Mid-Victorian Budgets,* op. cit. and Theodore Hoppen op. cit.
82 Cited in Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation,* 215.
83 Gladstone's, cited in Shannon, *Peel's Inheritor,* 261.
84 Cited in Matthew, *Mid-Victorian Budgets,* at 631-632.
85 Daunton, *Trusting Leviathan,* 97.
86 Ibid., 77-90.
87 PP 1861 VII, Select Committee on Income and Property Tax, draft report, p. II, written by the chairman, J.G. Hubbard, cited in ibid, 84-5.
88 Daunton, *Trusting Leviathan,* 98.
89 Matthew, *Mid-Victorian Budgets,* 627-30

fit for service on an emergency, and that will be impossible to do if you break up the basis of your income tax.'[90] In other words, Gladstone was repackaging the income tax as a means of constraining the state, 'by creating a degree of resistance to tax increases' and incentivising its own abolition through 'fiscal responsibility'.[91] This, along with some concessions to differentiation, such as the introduction of tax relief on premiums on life insurance annuities, converted radicals such as Hume, Hubbard, and the Financial Reform Association, to a new radical consensus which saw the undifferentiated tax as the enemy of fiscal probity.[92]

The entire thrust of Gladstonian finance in the 1850s and 1860s thus formed the final rejection with a vengeance of what has been called the 'fiscal-military state'. This was a system whereby military conflict conducted by the state (the military dimension) was funded by public credit and long periods of public borrowing (the fiscal dimension) which had emerged after extended periods of war in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Yet it was first in the aftermath of conflict against the colonial revolutionaries North America from 1776-1782, and then globally against the French from 1793-1815, that it came to be characterised with the taint of corruption and immorality. The vast expansion of the public debt, alongside military expenditure and the perception that the administration handling this expansion was bloated and sinfully wasteful with the money of the public solidified in the rhetorical accusation levelled at the government in the form of 'Old Corruption'.[93] It was to nullify once and for all the perceived sins of the state, with it high expenditures on poor relief, sinecures, and worthless government posts for incompetent lackeys that ministers from the Marquess of Rockingham in 1782 and William Pitt the younger in 1783 to Lord Liverpool in the early 19th century had pledged allegiance to a program of 'Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform!'

It was in this respect that Gladstone was acting as the successor not only of his mentor Sir Robert Peel, but walking in the footsteps of Whigs such as Lord Althorp, Nassau Senior, and E.J. Littleton. All of these individuals had desired to rid the state of the charge that it was sinfully wasteful and governed by a caste of despotic aristocrats with Venetian venalities. But where Althorp, Peels, and others had governed during a period in which the central government was held in deep mistrust by the people, the Chartist Movement being the apex of this enmity, Gladstone was perceived by many to have succeeded finally where previous Chancellors had failed. It was under his Chancellorships in the 1850s that what Jonathan Parry has identified as a tradition of financial reform originating with the 'Liberal Toryism' of the 1820s began to pay dividends, and consequently Gladstone became its main beneficiary.[94] By becoming the champion of popular yet responsible public finance, Gladstone established and galvanised a reputation amongst the radical and Liberal opinion of the nation whose support would accumulate to a crescendo to be cultivated in the 1860s, thus making the 'People's William' a possibility.[95] This period fundamentally 'marked Gladstone's transformation after 1859, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, from an executive Peelite politician into a charismatic tribune.'[96] In dealing the death blow to old corruption, Gladstone marked his re-birth as a politician with a popular constituency.

How does all of this related to Gladstone's continually developing understandings of natural providence? Martin Daunton's excellent work on the debates surrounding the income tax and Gladstone's budget of 1853 highlights many important justifications which Gladstone himself provided for his reformation of income tax as the central part of a new fiscal constitution. Yet in other ways Daunton, understandably in a work which aims to use trust and taxation theory rather than examining intellectual history, falls short of identifying the full significance of Gladstone's words and actions upon this matter. The income tax which Gladstone installed also fulfilled several important functions of 'Providential Government'. Firstly, because it acted as an incentive to reduce military spending and tariffs in commercial policy, it could help facilitate what he would come to call the 'Divine Governing Power' which was actively 'standing in certain relations to us' and 'carrying on a moral government of the world' through prescribing and favouring 'what is right' while forbidding and disregarding 'with displeasure what is wrong'.[97] The income tax, by incentivising

90 Arguments, and quotation from Gladstone during the Parliamentary debates of 1853 over the income tax, cited in Daunton, *Trusting Leviathan,* 99.

91 Ibid., 99

92 Ibid., 100-101

93 See John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State.* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990) and also Philip Harling. and Peter Mandler, *From "Fiscal-Military" State to Laissez-Faire State, 1760-1850.* Journal of British Studies, Vol. 31, No 1, (Jan., 1993): 44-70.

94 Jonathan Parry, 'The decline of institutional reform in nineteenth century Britain', ch. 7 in David Feldman and John Lawrence eds., *Structures and Transformations in Modern British History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

95 Matthew, *Mid-Victorian Budgets,* 603.

96 Angus Hawkins, *British Party Politics, 1852-1886.* (London: Macmillan Publishing Ltd., 1998), 86; Angus Hawkins, *Parliamentary Government' and Victorian Political Parties, c.1830-1880.* English Historical Review (1989): 638-669.

97 Gladsstone in the House of Commons, 26 April 1883, *Parliamentary Debates,* 3rd Series, cc.xxxviii. 1193, and W.E.

low government spending, the reduction of import and excise on trade, and state interference, thus encouraged individual action in relation to providential laws: if an individual or company went bankrupt due to a lack of state protection or because of the cheaper price of foreign imports, the onus was on them to accept the chastisement of providence and reform their personal situation, and in so doing to make acts of personal atonement. This very metaphysical worldview was why, in his personal financial crisis in the 1849, he had written to Henry Manning that he 'had never seen the working of the prudential and moral laws of God's providence more signally exhibited.'[98] Secondly, because the income tax imposed a burden in emergency situations such as conflict, it also acted as a providential punishment for the sins of war and militarism. This was why, when Gladstone was forced to raise the level of the income tax in the Commons in March 1854 in response to the demands of the Crimean War, he remarked that it was virtuous that 'the expenses of the war' were being paid for in such a way: it was 'the moral check which it has pleased the Almighty to impose upon the ambition and the lust for conquest that are inherent in so many nations.'[99]

There was also in Gladstone's desire to bring social harmony through the use of the budget another dimension of the income tax which extended into his providentialist theology. Daunton is undoubtedly right in remarking that 'the success of Gladstone' resides in 'his use of the budget to recreate an organic, balanced, society' with trust and harmony between different classes.[100] Indeed, as he points out, Gladstone had himself opposed the radical reconstruction of the income tax based upon differentiation because 'That is not the way in which the relations of the classes brought into the nicest competition with one another under a scheme of direct competition are to be treated'.[101] Yet Daunton is wide of the mark when he argues that Gladstone from the 1840s still envisioned 'the state' as 'more than a collection of individuals' and that he simply 'moved to a new position' in which 'free trade and fiscal probity became the new morality' by 'providing the basis for a moral, organic, state in which all classes could co-operate.'[102] As we have seen, the transition was not so straightforward, and not only was Gladstone's state no longer 'moral', it was no longer 'organic' either. The state was not moral because, as he had written in 1845, it had no conscience; it could not be organic, because it was 'mechanical', and its duty was to act mechanically in order to ensure that it enforced the laws of providence upon individual consciences so that providence could fashion an organic society. In this regard, free trade was not so much the key to a moral state, as an *amoral* state, a *post*-moral state stripped of its ethical character. In such a vision of the State, a mechanism without a conscience, it was even more important that income taxation was equitable and fair, for otherwise the state would be failing to sustain its neutrality, in which case the mechanism would then be corrupted, meaning that it would not be functioning amorally, and would be presenting obstacles to the operation of providence.

Moreover, the fact that he considered so many of his political successes as failures or as unfinished work can only be understood in relation to his personal religion, and his vision of how providence operated in practical political affairs and everyday life. It was also these perceived failures which contributed most profoundly in forging his reputation as the 'People's William'.[103] For any politician, objectively speaking, the achievements of Gladstone in 1853-55 would indeed have been considered as a success, as Daunton is right to highlight. But Gladstone wasn't just any politician, and by his elevated standards, his mission would never be completed until he had permanently abolished the income tax and vanquished military spending to an absolute minimum. The Crimean War, the Orsini Affair and the Palmerstonian enthusiasm for defence spending forced Gladstone to get the Treasury to offer £6m of Exchequer Bonds for sale, which, though technically repayable in 1858-60, were later added to the funded debt.[104] By 1855, the army and navy had more than doubled in size and cumulative war expenditure had reached something around £70m, of which just under half was eventually met by additions to net public borrowing.[105] By 1856, Britain's spending had skyrocketed to £46.7m or 50.2% of total central government expenditure on its military machine.[106] In such a context, the reduction in gross central government expenditure on debt merely hid the net increase in compound *total* debt due to the meteoric rise in defence expenditure. Overall, across 1856-60, defence expenditure constituted an average of 39.9% of gross central government expenditure, the highest in peacetime of the century, and not matched again until 1900-03.[107]

For an obsessive man, rectifying these impingements upon his providentialist policies became one of the greatest

Gladstone, 'On the influence of authority in matters of opinion', *The Nineteenth Century,* 1 (1877), 10, both cited in Hilton, *The Age of Atonement,* 346.

98 Hilton, *The Age of Atonement,* 346.

99 Hansard, cxxxi. 376 (6 Mar. 1854), cited in Theodore Hoppen, 152.

100 Daunton, *Trusting Leviathan,* 101-3

101 *Parliamentary Debates,* 3rd ser. 125, 18 Apr. 1853, cols. 1383-4, cited in Daunton, *Trusting Leviathan,* 99.

102 Daunton, *Trusting Leviathan,* 75.

103 Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation,* 214

104 Ibid., 153.

105 Ibid, 180.

106 Ibid.

107 Matthew, *Mid-Victorian Budgets,* 633.

and most atavistic preoccupations of his career, and one which would haunt him until the end. Gladstone became the populist of the 1860s because these perceived failures provided the rationale for an essential ingredient in his reimagined, popular politics: that an appeal over the heads of the government and 'the declining efficiency of Parliament' to the consciousness of the people, and the enfranchisement of those with 'property and intelligence' could provide an irresistible momentum to drive down state expenditure.[108] Indeed, it is no coincidence that the years 1862-4 witnessed both some of the highest spending receipts on defence of the Victorian period, and Gladstone's emergence as a fully fledged popular *extra*-parliamentary politician. These were the years of his tours of Tyneside and Lancashire, urging the bringing within 'the pale of the constitution' those he thought likely to demand retrenchment as well as his christening as 'The People's William' by *The Daily Telegraph.*

Gladstone's recourse to popular forces in the 1860s can perhaps best be understood in terms of his evaluation of the political landscape as formulated in his anonymous 1859 article for the *Quarterly Review,* 'The declining Efficiency of Parliament': his experience of administration in the 1850s had solidified a realisation that 'the youth and prolific vigour of the country had brought new ideas, new relations, new spheres of life into existence, and no provision, religious, moral, political or municipal, social or physical, had been made for them'. This was due to the decline of a Commons defined by horizontal clashes between two parties into an indecisive parliamentary government of compromise and coalition rather than polarised ideological drive.[109] For Gladstone it had become 'plain that a public opinion has for many years been forming itself both broad and deep – broader in some respects than the limits of party organisation. This public opinion is considerably adverse to speculation or constitutional changes, but is disposed to view with great favour all *active and efficient government*.' The key, therefore, to harnessing this public opinion and focussing it upon the quest for minimalist and moral government along the Peelite model was to choose the correct 'one of the two great parties' to 'acquire predominance in Parliament and *in the country*' by succeeding 'in *impressing the public mind* with the belief that it is most deeply and earnestly impressed with the right…of the people to what is called good government'.[110] Gladstone's vision then, as early as 1856, was clearly one of a popular party led by a popular politician capable of mastering the tides of the growing phenomenon of 'public opinion'. It was a powerful statement of the inadequacy of the era of 'parliamentary government' and a call for a return to an old form of politics whereby sharply polarised party groupings would seek legitimation from an electorate of the politically and economically literate.

This was a call which originated in the moral and economic frustrations of government in the 1850s. It is significant that when Gladstone realised this call for action in person during his 1879 Midlothian campaign, one of the crucial exhortations of his audience was that they employ their 'right to claim everything that the Legislature can do for you…in procuring for you some of those provisions of necessary *liberation from restraint*'.[111] The people, in Gladstone's mind, clearly took on a crucial significance in British politics as agents which could, if properly directed, act as the driving force behind parliamentary measures to liberate the individual, and thus free their conscience to act in relation to providence. Going to the people would thus become a vital part of his providentialist politics. It would perhaps be a mistake to designate the 1856 article as the moment in which Gladstone became a populist: he was surely not yet certain himself how far he would take this new approach to the political landscape. Nonetheless, it could be seen as a crucial intellectual precondition to the demagogic activism that would be a feature of Gladstonian politics, and Gladstonian Liberalism in the era of the 'People's William'. Above all his realisations in this work forced Gladstone to choose a side, and that side for him had to now be the Liberal Party.

While the role played by domestic politics upon Gladstone's thinking and politics was clearly significant, it must not be viewed in a parochial vacuum; to ignore the role of a growing interest and involvement in foreign affairs, particularly in Italy, in the formation of the 'People's William' as Professor Shannon and Dr Vincent have done would be unsound.[112] In fact there is, as D.M. Schreuder has wisely

108 William Ewart Gladstone, *The declining Efficiency of Parliament*. The Quarterly Review. (Albermarle Street: John Murray, June & Sept. 1856, Vol. 99). Gladstone kept his identity anonymous upon the first publication.

109 Gladstone, *The declining efficiency of Parliament*, 524. Two rough parties of opinion that is: Gladstone's remarks should not be read as an indication of a fully-fledged two party system of the post-1867 model; for context upon this point see Hawkins 'Parliamentary Government' and Victorian Political Parties, c.1830-1880', English Historical Review (1989): 638-669

110 Gladstone, *The declining efficiency of Parliament,* 567 – my italics.

111 Cited in Bentley, M., The Climax of Liberal Politics, 1868-1916: British Liberalism in Theory and Practice (London: Hodder Arnold, 1987), 68.

112 Richard Shannon's analysis of Gladstone's support for Italian unification dismisses its influence upon his thought process without exploration or elaboration upon why this is the case. John Vincent's *The Formation of the Liberal Party: 1857-1868.* (London: Constable and Company Ltd, 1966), similarly dismisses the significance of Italian unification and indeed most other factors, especially on pages 211-215. In Vincent's view, 'If

highlighted, a significant body of evidence to illustrate that the Italian Question played no trivial part in the emergence of Gladstone as the popular politician of the 1860s.[113] For example, it is clear that Gladstone's attachment to the cause of Italian unity brought forward his messianic zeal for the principles of legality and freedom from tyrannical government, however conservative in conception, that would be a later hallmark of his popular Liberalism. It also forced his movement into the Liberal Party, a body capable of facilitating such popular ideals in the 1860s. The barbed denunciation of the Neapolitan government as 'E la negazione di Dio eretta a sistema di governo'[114] in his July 1851 *Letters to Lord Aberdeen* and his riposte to that same government in his 1852 *Examination of the Official Reply of the Neapolitan Government,* both published in *Gleanings,* alienated Gladstone from his conservative-minded colleagues such as Aberdeen. Taking the side of the Neapolitan government Aberdeen denounced Gladstone for aiding 'the promoters of revolution throughout Europe' while, on the other side of the house, his efforts earned him the praise of Liberals such as Lord Palmerston. [115] Yet despite this it must be remembered that Gladstone actually defended Derby's government on the crucial vote of confidence on Italy after the Willis' Tea Rooms Meeting of June 1859, a meeting in which Gladstone was absent. Nonetheless, his continued support for Italian unity added a further ideological wedge between himself and the protectionist-legitimist Conservative party. Italy may have made Gladstone a 'Liberal' by bringing him into a political harmony with liberal opinion in parliament and the country on the Italian Question, but it did not automatically make him a member of Palmerston's Liberal government.

More significantly, there is a very real sense in which the Italian Question from 1852 provided a focal point for all of the factors which had been developing up to that date: providence, progress, the power of the legislator, and the importance of the people in producing an organic, harmonious society. The experience of the Italian Question profoundly influenced Gladstonian finance and 'the social contract' of Victorian *laissez faire*, and both were in turn influenced by his conceptions of the operations of providence.[116] It was in his *Examination* he declared that 'we have entered upon a new career: that of free and unrestricted commerce', and it was in his *Letters* he emphasised the importance of economic development linked with social stability in creating a basis for justice in a modern society.[117] Yet what was perhaps most important in this experience for establishing Gladstone as the popular firebrand of his later career was the resplendent and vigorous rhetoric, infused with the power and resonance of Homeric tones and the zeal of providentially-inspired religious moralism, with which he defended the cause of Piedmontese extension, and then fully-fledged national unity after 1859. Gladstone forcefully urged in the *Quarterly Review* that 'our task should be…*moral*…to urge on this side and that the claims of *reason* and *justice*…'[118] and in his *Examination*, he wrote of the need:

'To harmonise the old with the new conditions of society, and to mitigate the increasing stress of time and change upon what remains of the ancient and venerable fabric of the traditional civilisations of Europe…The principle of conservation and the principle of progress…have ever existed and must ever exist together…freedom and authority (must) sustain and strengthen one another.' [119]

This was the language and fire of Gladstonian Liberalism and the People's William emerging in substance, even if Gladstone remained adamant about the underlying 'conservatism' of his approach. It was the force of providentialist morality combined with the emphases upon justice, freedom and the establishment of a harmony between the forces of change and continuity, order *and* liberty, that would underscore the vast popular appeal of Gladstone's Irish Church Disestablishment campaign of 1868-9 and his Midlothian crusade against the Bulgarian horrors in the 1870s. Italy thus became one of the first of Gladstone's endless 'practical experiments in truth': a series of evolving strategies, policies, postures, enthusiasms, missions...'[120] Immanuel Kant once described the French Revolution as a moment in which he became convinced that there was a 'special moral quality in the human race', one confirming a lifelong faith in his theories of metaphysics, nature, and

he was a Liberal, it was because he was a landowner…'

113 Schreuder, *Gladstone and Italian Unification,* 501

114 'This is the negation of God erected into a system of government.' From *The Letters to Lord Aberdeen*, cited in Ibid., 479.

115 Aberdeen to Gladstone, 9 Oct. 1851 – 44088, fo. 116, cited in Ibid., 481.

116 This is the argument of Dr Matthew; for the phrase 'the social contract' of mid-Victorian laissez faire see Biagini, E.F., *Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 103-4, but tying these arguments to his understandings of providence is my own addition.

117 *'An examination of the official reply of the Neapolitan Government in 1852'* in *Gleanings of past years* (1879), IV, 134, cited in Schreuder, *Gladstone and Italian Unification,* 625; Matthew makes the link between Gladstone's political economy and his desire for a stable political order in Europe in *Mid-Victorian Budgets,* 625; also see Schreuder, *Gladstone and Italian Unification,* 482-3.

118 Cited in Schreuder, *Gladstone and Italian Unification,* 489 – *italics added.*

119 Cited in Ibid.

120 D.M. Schreuder, 'Gladstone and the conscience of the state', 85, cited in Hilton, *The Age of Atonement,* 347.

history. The Italian Question provided a similar moment for Gladstone, and it was crucial to his eventual populist destination by not only bringing him further into harmony with Liberal and radical opinion, but for providing him with weight, force, and conviction in his mission – that of harmonising of property and popular opinion in an ordered civil society facilitated by the integrative framework of minimalist fiscal policy. What European despots failed to do by force of arms, Gladstone would succeed in doing by liberality, radical demagoguery and the power of providence.

'System and fixity in nature'

We can see, therefore, that even before he had come across Charles Darwin's work or the malleable and much-abused concept of 'evolution', William Gladstone had already largely developed an understanding of providence as a force capable of bringing about progressive stages by which society and civilisation could move towards linear improvement. Indeed in later life he was convinced that 'the idea of evolution is without doubt deeply ingrained in Butler.'[121] This confirms the trend of much recent work on 19th century intellectual history in 'de-centring Darwin', and which, like the work of Margaret Schabas or J.W. Burrow, tends now to stress the importance of the ways in which contemporaries appropriated Darwin's concepts to furnish theories which they had already developed over the previous decades.[122] Nonetheless, evolutionary ideas further impacted upon Gladstone's own understandings of providence and galvanised his thoughts upon the mode of minimalist political economy. Spencerist evolutionary concepts underpinned his own ever-evolving conceptualisations of the individual conscience operating within a mechanical-providential natural order.

Here, the crucial ingredient in his intellectual shift came with an enhanced, hyperform notion of progressive and evolutionary temporality, possibly imbibed from works as various as William Paley's *Natural Theology* (1803), Robert Chambers' *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (1844), the whig geologist Charles Lyell's *Geological Evidence of the Antiquity of Man* (1863) and appropriated from Spencer's *Social* Statics (1851) or Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859).[123] For Gladstone, the aggregate importance of such ideas was manifest in a further elaboration of his view of providence operating according to laws, and the conviction that it was the role of the human politician to liberate their operation. For it was the case, he wrote to William Stanley Jevons, that 'the doctrine of Evolution, if it be true, enhances in my judgment the proper idea of the greatness of God, for it makes every stage of creation a legible prophecy of all those which are to follow it.'[124] In other words, it had galvanised his earlier beliefs in progressive temporality, convincing him that Britain was now moving 'from a stationary into a progressive period' when the 'movement' of society would advance 'through successive stages.'[125]

This heightened temporality further advanced the crucial shift from a belief in God's revelation tied with the state authority that Gladstone had adhered to in his youth, towards the natural religion of the older Gladstone. This was a natural religion that combined the Butlerite individual conscience and evangelical soteriology with a dynamic and constantly evolving truth (in contrast to Butler and Paley's static truth). Nowhere is this triangulation more evident than in the *Studies Subsidiary to Butler* (1896), in which he wrote with fascination that 'the more we have of system and fixity in nature, the better. For, in the method of natural second causes, God as it were takes the map of his own counsels out of the recesses of His own idea, and graciously lays it near our own view.'[126] The topographies of time in the 'natural second causes', to use Gladstone's metaphor, were everywhere in nature and constantly changing. Therefore, it was because God's providential plan possessed a pattern that operated according to progressive and evolutionary stages of development, that His meaning could only be understood by a stripping back of the state. This was to enable the workings of private consciousness within the providential laws of nature, and thus to enable these laws to *evolve.*[127] Few western thinkers after Immanuel Kant had as powerful a faith in

121 Gladstone to Argyll, 9 Dec. 1895, cited in Hilton, *The Age of Atonement,* 344.

122 See J.W. Burrow, *Evolution and Society: A Study in Victorian Social Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), at ch. 4, 'The Laws of Nature and the Diversity of Mankind'; see also Margaret Schabas, *The Natural Origins of Economics* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 142-150; also, see Hilton's assessment of the early impact of Darwinism in *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?,* 441-454 and 636.

123 See Hilton, *op cit.*, 441-454 and 636, and Burrow, op cit.

124 *Correspondence on Church and Religion of William Ewart Gladstone*, ed. D.C. Lathbury (1910), ii. 101, cited in Ibid., 636.

125 The first citation is W.E. Gladstone, *A Chapter of Autobiography* (10th edn, 1868), 1, reprinted in Gladstone, *Gelanings of Past Years,* vii. 101-2. The second citation is Gladstone, *Studies Subsidiary to Butler*, 305, both of which are cited in Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 343-344.

126 Gladstone, *Studies Subsidiary to Butler,* 306-9 quoted in Hilton, *The Age of Atonement,* 344.

127 I must give my thanks to Professor Boyd Hilton for a very valuable discussion on the topic of the influence of evolutionary thought upon Gladstone's conceptions of political economy, time and natural religion.

nature, providence, and destiny as did William Gladstone.

The continuing development of Gladstone's liberal providentialism and its vision of a mechanical-natural order also provides a fascinating point of departure in the context of changing economic thought in the mid-19th century, a field which has been brilliantly examined by Margaret Schabas.[128] Schabas highlights that this period witnessed a point in time in which the proponents of economic thought such as John Stuart Mill, in his *Principles of Political Economy* (1848), John Elliott Cairnes, and William Stanley Jevons as well as others were developing a discourse which increasingly led to the 'denaturalisation of the economic order'.[129] Adam Smith and other 'classical economists' had envisioned a natural order in which commerce took place, and upon which all economic activity was ultimately founded. However, Schabas demonstrates, these individuals developed an early form of 'neoclassical' economics which saw *the* economy as an all-encompassing phenomenon increasingly detached from the natural world, and originating in the faculties of the human mind. For example, one of Mill's contemporaries, Richard Jennings, moving economic theory hand-in-glove with the growing Victorian fascination with psychology, drew a line in his *Natural Elements of Political Economy* (1855) between the 'province of human nature' and the 'external world', determining that 'All the phenomena of Political-economy are of two kinds, caused severally by the action of matter on man, and of man on matter.' Accordingly, the sphere of economics was an area of human activity relating to the action of man on matter, and which was powerfully determined by the force of the human mind to create production, industry, and change, independently of the natural world.[130]

Where does Gladstone fit into such a context? Gladstone seems to have been at once a part of this intellectual trend and outside of it: on the one hand his faith in the capacity of individuals, each with their consciences, to act as moralistic economic agents in a mechanical providential order perhaps testifies to his adherence to early visions of political economy centred upon the power of the human mind. It might be suggested that whereas Jevons and co. believed in the omniscient nature of *the* economy, Gladstone had a religiously evangelical equivalent in the all-encompassing presence of providence. Yet at the same time, an individual whose thought placed such a strong faith in the powers of a providence which operated *in nature* could not conceivably detach economic discourse from the natural world: in fact, his whole conception of political economy was a crucial part of his *natural religion* 'of system and fixity in nature'. Gladstone was extremely sceptical about the capacity of individuals to control economic forces through the force of intellect and policies, and whenever he spoke about political economy it was not as an omnipotent force produced from the genius of the human mind for the direction of society; his recommendations in political economy were conceptualised in terms of several loosely connected strategies, including free trade, which were amenable to leaving the world to the capable work and genius of God. In his *Studies Subsidiary to Butler* (1896), for example, Gladstone praised God's providential 'counterpoises, both physical and social, fore the advantages of his creatures', and cited as an example 'the wonderful monetary system of civilized countries, which exhibits the balance of forces in a manner curious and striking than any mere physical (i.e. human) can do it.'[131] A mind as obsessed with the designs of God's will as Gladstone's could only have room for one omnipotent agent, not two. His all-consuming notion of providence operating in the world, and thus in the developments of the market, has more in common with Smithian thought as an evangelically coloured version of the famous 'invisible hand' than with Jennings's belief in the dynamics of the 'action of man on matter.'

Becoming the People's William

Whatever the importance of the first three decades of Gladstone's career, his eventual popular image was an immediate product of his cultivation of extra-parliamentary politics of the 1860s and the mastery parliamentary forces beyond his control.[132] In the words of Eugenio Biagini: 'in the early 1860s something unusual began to happen.

'While Bright remained the last representative of the dynasty of great "demagogues" – the dynasty of "Orator Hunt" – Gladstone was becoming the first 'People's Chancellor' and indeed the first prospective "Premier of the working classes": a "demagogue-statesman", Sir Robert Peel and Feargus O'Connor rolled into one – an explosive combination.'[133]

Quite, for it was Gladstone's ability to provide stunning feats of oratory in the early 1860s which ultimately contributed to his reputation as the 'People's William'. For example, in October 1862, Gladstone undertook his first provincial tour in Tyneside to celebrate 'of what I

128 Margaret Schabas, *The Natural Origins of Economics,* op cit.

129 See Schabas, *The Natural Origins of Economics,* and in particular ch. 1, 'Before "the Economy"', ch. 7, 'Mill and the Early Neoclassical Economists', and ch. 8, 'Denaturalizing the Economic Order'.

130 Schabas, op cit., 134-5.

131 Cited in Hilton, *The Age of Atonement,* 351.

132 John Vincent, *The Formation of the Liberal Party: 1857-1868.* (London: Constable and Company Ltd, 1966).

133 Biagini, *Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform: Popular Liberalism in the Age of Gladstone (1860-1880)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 380.

did, or prevented from being done, in 1859-61…'[134] and to propound the virtues of economy and reform with tremendous success: his diaries record 'the great multitude of people' attending his six speeches.[135] There was also the great tour of Yorkshire and Lancashire which, despite the fact that Gladstone made comparatively few speeches compared to Palmerston, had an electrifying effect. One contemporary, recording Gladstone's visit to Tyneside in 1865, is worth quoting at length to give an indication of just how much of a sensation a fifty-six-year-old High Churchman with thinning hair provided for so many:

> When Mr. Gladstone visited the North…twenty miles of banks (of the River Tyne) were lined with people who came to greet him. Men stood in the blaze of chimneys; the roofs of factories were crowded; colliers came up from the mines, women held up their children on the banks….Every man who could ply an oar pulled up to give Mr. Gladstone a cheer…he heard cheers that no other English minister ever heard…the people were grateful to him, and rough pitmen who never approached a public man before, pressed round his carriage by thousands…and thousands of arms were stretched out at one, to shake hands with Mr. Gladstone as one of themselves.[136]

Another contemporary would write of the explosive atmosphere present in 1868 at 'a great meeting at Preston' where 'the mere mention of Mr Gladstone's name is received with great applause – not so I think Bright – they catch at Gladstone like light at gun powder.'[137] But the greatest *coup de theatre,* truly signalling the arrival of the People's William in the public sphere, was his 11th May 1864 speech in the House of Commons, a performance with extra-parliamentary resonance. Responding to Baines' Borough Suffrage Bill, he counselled that 'every man who is not presumably incapacitated by some consideration of personal unfitness or of political danger is morally entitled to come within the pale of the Constitution…a limited portion of the working class…a select portion.'[138] While this dramatic emergence of Gladstone not only as a Parliamentary but a national politician was in many ways underscored by a myriad intellectual and political preconditions, it is nonetheless important to stress that Gladstone's extra-parliamentary tack of the early 1860s was the crucial ingredient for his arrival at the destination of Gracchan *Tribunus Plebis.*

However, it is also important to highlight the structural changes in British politics which enabled the final shift of Gladstone from popular Parliamentarian to populist tribune to take place. While not underplaying the role of Gladstonian oratory, John Vincent suggests the importance of understanding the influence of 'the new cheap Press', militant dissent, and organised labour in establishing a situation in which a popular politician could and would emerge.[139] Too much can be made of labour at this early stage, but an exploration of the press and dissent are illuminating. For instance, the vast expansion in a popular press enabled by the 'taxes on knowledge' in 1855 and 1861 meant that by 1864 the annual circulation of press publications in United Kingdom stood at 546,000,000 copies, of which 340,000,000 copies were provincial journals.[140] The Liberal *Daily Telegraph*, buoyed by its merger with the Peelite *Morning Chronicle* in 1862, was a chief beneficiary, increased its sales to a mass circulation of 190,000 by the early 1870s.[141] The fact of such a vast increase in the circulation of news undoubtedly helped to shape a vastly expanded public sphere, and with it a vastly inflated Gladstone to reach the dissenting and working class heartlands of Liberal radicalism.

Indeed, as G.I.T. Machin has highlighted, the proliferation of the press dove-tailed with Gladstone's capturing of the moral tone of religious sincerity and liberty beloved of non-conformists, many of whom now swelled the ranks of the Gladstonian crowds, and joined the readership of his journal publications.[142] Henry Allon, the nonconformist editor of the *British Quarterly Review,* captured 'the impression of spiritual earnestness which Gladstone left on Dissenters' when he wrote to him on 6 July 1866 that:

> (Dissenters) have…confidence in the deep feeling of religiousness which appears to imbue your public life and make it a great and sacred responsibility. They feel…that they are safer with a true & earnest man… than with a man of inferior moral tone…I do not think that any public man of late years, has inspired any thing like the confidence & …enthusiasm among Nonconformists that you now command.[143]

134 Gladstone to A.H. Gordon, n.d. 1864: B.M. Add. Mss. 44,320, f. 44, cited in Ibid., 229.
135 Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation,* 244.
136 Holyoake, cited in Biagini, *Liberty, Retrenchment, Reform,* 380.
137 E. Howard to G. Glyn, 22 September 1868K B.M. Add. Mss. 44,347,f. 181, cited in Vincent, *The Formation of the Liberal Party,* 233.
138 Hansard, clxxv. 324-5 (11 May 1864), cited in Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation,* 245.
139 Vincent, *The Formation of the Liberal Party,* 257.
140 Ibid., 59.
141 Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation,* 216.
142 See G. I. T. Machin, 'Gladstone and Nonconformity in the 1860s: The Formation of an Alliance', *The Historical Journal,* Vol. 17, No. 2 (Jun., 1974), 347-364.
143 Cited in Machin, 'Gladstone and Nonconformity in the

In this way, Gladstone's shift from state-centred patriarchal religion to a providentially focussed natural religion began to bear real political fruit in the 1860s, as Gladstone's language and politics captured the popular charge of religious liberty and fiscal probity. In this context, Edward Miall's British Anti-State Church Association, re-founded in 1853 as the Liberation Society, became a powerful campaigning force whose support for Gladstone was premised upon a shared belief in the rhetoric of religious pluralism and voluntarism married with state minimalism which Gladstone now espoused. This was also where the importance of Peel's immediately posthumous reputation fed into Gladstone's representation as the perceived architect of financial probity and rectitude; but this reputation was all the more powerful because tied to the sincerity of a man of faith, capable of capturing the languages of dissenting radicalism.

This was an image in which Gladstone was himself partly implicit: indeed, it was the *Daily Telegraph* of all papers which christened him the 'People's William' during this period and Gladstone had cultivated close relations with Thornton Hunt, one of the *Telegraph*'s senior reporters. In the case of his alliance with religious dissent, it was Gladstone's meetings with the celebrated 19th century Nonconformist divine, Reverend Christopher Newman Hall, at the latter's own home in 1865-66 which opened up avenues to influential dissenting circles. It was from this connection that he was introduced to Edward Baines, R.W. Dale, and Samuel Morley, highly significant figures in the dissenting political community. It was also through these connections that he was asked by nonconformist acquaintances such as Henry Allon to write political articles for the *British Quarterly Review.* No doubt Gladstone's ego was flattered by the attention, his religiosity stimulated by the discussion, and his conscience soothed by allowing himself to be the prophet of providence's liberty.[144]

However, it does not follow that Gladstone was hoping to inspire the support in terms of the sheer magnitude of adoration that his person, reported in the press and witnessed directly at his speeches, was to invoke in the public at large. He had in fact privately written rather reticently after his tour to Lancashire in October 1864 that 'so ended in peace the exhausting, flattering, I hope not intoxicating circuit. God knows I have not courted them. I hope I do not rest on them…It is, however, impossible not to love people from whom such manifestations come.'[145] It is clear that the final stage in the process by which Gladstone became 'The People's William' was not one that was fashioned purely by himself alone. It was a dialogue and, as with all other important shifts experience by Gladstone upon his journey to c.1865, it is important to note his conservative rationales and hesitancy. Yet, the importance of the proliferation of cheap news and its enthusiastic reception by increasingly politicised working and dissenting groups undoubtedly combined with Gladstone's cautious but nonetheless electrifying speechmaking, religiously charged language and his political platform to elevate him to the position of a political Olympian.

Belief in Liberty

On taking leave of Gladstone at his christening as the 'People's William' in the mid-1860s it is perhaps possible to provide an overarching view of the process by which he had been transformed from the rising High Tory of Macaulay's chastisement in the *Edinburgh Review.* It is essential in the first place not to make the younger Gladstone out to be an unthinking High Tory: much of his early thought contained principles which, even if in hindsight only, were capable of being reworked to fit new political contexts. The necessity for institutions to hold within them the capacity for organic evolution and progression, the belief, however uncertain, of a measure of religious toleration and the belief in the agency of 'intellects' all established a tension within his High Tory thought. Yet this can be overestimated, and for Gladstone to change his politics it was first necessary for his beliefs about the relationship between the Church and State to unravel and leave such tensions exposed. It ultimately took the succession of religious questions which arose in the 1840s, the breakdown of the Oxford movement and intimacy with the practical work of government under Peel to break apart Gladstone's old framework of religious thought and recast it into a new one.

The blatant inadequacy of the State as an ethical institution with a conscience forced Gladstone to re-evaluate the philosophical premises of his High Churchmanship and emerge with a Butlerite belief in individual conscience as 'the only real form of one' that can exist. The result was a shift in the locus of providential agency from within the institutions of state suffused with religious truth towards the mechanical laws of the natural word interacting with and through individual moral agents. This changed understanding of providence underpinned the rest of his political career: it was what informed his substitution of the providential power of political economy and private consciousness for the providential mission of the ethical state which no longer seemed viable or indeed justifiable. By throwing his weight behind the defence of religious liberty beneath a state whose religious character had been 'lowered' Gladstone was

1860s', 358.

144 Machin, 'Gladstone and Nonconformity in the 1860s', 358.

145 Diary entry, 14 October 1864 in Matthew, Gladstone Diaries, Vol. 6, 307, cited in Ibid, at 242-246, subtitled 'Public Image and Press'.

able to shed his High Torysim whilst gaining a renewed religious intensity and belief in the moral rectitude of his political action. It was this combination of unshakeable moral righteousness and its articulation through Peelite fiscal policy, support for the freedom of Italy, and religious liberty that enabled Gladstone to become the popular Parliamentarian and architect of the Victorian minimalist state. This popular, radical approach to the finances and the synergy of his own conviction with Liberal and radical opinion brought him towards a Liberalism that was *popular*, but not yet *populist*. Ultimately it was the frustrations of the 1850s which combined with the proliferation of a cheaper press and methods of popular political mobilisation in the 1860s that brought his retrenching finance, magnificent oratory and moralistic conviction to the masses. If Gladstone's changing thought and politics were necessary conditions for his potential emergence as 'the People's William', it was in the new atmosphere of the 1860s that this image was actually born.

Thus, the trajectory of Gladstone's career can be understood in terms of *both* continuity and discontinuity: what changed between 1838 and 1864 was not Gladstone's mission, to defend the Church, but the intellectual conceptualisation of how to fulfil that mission. He came to a position whereby the mission of the Anglican Church, the conversion of souls, could only be possible if a higher, providentialist politics was now pursued: it was only by descending into the people and competing with other confessions that the Church could cultivate individual consciences, and lead them to salvation. This was facilitated shift from a positive safeguard of the privileges of the established Church to a negative defence of its doctrinal integrity. Yet, in fulfilling this mission, Gladstone came to transcend the defence of the Anglican Church alone: from the mid-1840s he pursued what he believed to be the wider duty of removing all obstructions to the operation of providential laws in faith and society, providing both a forum and the social harmony within which providence could act upon society, and make it legibly divine by leading it through phases of progress.

Religious toleration and minimalist political economy were two facets of this providential politics which had as its aim to liberate private conscience and agency, so that they could interact with the laws of providence without artificial obstructions. Religious toleration and voluntarism removed obstructions to the interaction of private conscience with the scheme of providential salvation; minimalist political economy removed the interference of the state with the providential scheme of social reward and retribution through which civilisations progressed. Gladstone's politics were therefore both providentialist and 'progressive', but they were only the latter in the sense that they held fast to a profoundly linear conception of change as a result of the operations envisaged by the former. Gladstone, despite what popular memory will make of him, was not a progressive liberal by any stretch of the 20th or 21st century imagination: he was an unorthodox evangelical who arrived at an unorthodox liberalism. He was a religious dogmatist whose belief in the purity of doctrine and powerful sense of destiny led him to embrace politics which aligned him with liberals who derived their Liberalism from more orthodox utilitarian, whig, and radical traditions.

That he made this paradox possible says much about the time in which he lived – he became a great Liberal statesman because his policies, whatever their motivation, in the later 19th century came to enjoy a populist appeal: religious freedom and financial minimalism were two facets of highly charged contemporary discourses of liberty, and for Gladstone they both formed a part of what he described as the 'liberation from restraint.' If Gladstone became the People's William, then the people themselves became, in his eyes, the vehicles of providence and his providentialist politics. That Gladstone became the embodiment of a cultish populism was not the inevitable conclusion of his political and intellectual journey, still less one that he would have anticipated until it actually happened. It was the result of a recasting of his moral convictions within a new framework of the operations of providence that allowed him to work with the grain of political, socio-economic and intellectual change rather than against it. As he once told Morley in old age,

> 'I was brought up to dislike and distrust liberty; I learned to believe in it. That is the key to all my changes.'[146]

It was by this mastery of the politics of change that Gladstone came both to justify his own obsession with politics and to define the politics of the mid-Victorian age.

146 *Morley, iii.* 474-5 cited in Butler, *Gladstone,* 152.

Soviet Jewish Emigration and Holocaust Collective Memory

American Jewish Organizations' Independent Foreign Policy, 1966-1976

By Raya R. Koreh, Harvard University

From 1967 to 1990, more than a quarter of the Jews who lived in the Soviet Union emigrated, fleeing the Soviet government's policies of forced assimilation. Their journeys from the Soviet Union to Europe, the United States, and Israel became important and divisive political issues for Israel and the American Jewish community. American Jewish organizations such as the American Jewish Committee (AJC), were essential to the world-wide Soviet Jewry advocacy movement. The Israeli government, through the covert Liaison Bureau, was instrumental in equipping American Jewish organizations with the resources and motivation to elevate the Soviet Jewry issue to the tops of their agendas in the 1960s. However, by the early 1970s, American Jewish organizations charted an independent course of action, both from Israeli directives and US foreign policy—a remarkable deviation from the established pattern of American Jewish deference to the objectives of the Israeli government. This divergence in American Jewish and Israeli strategic prioritization vis-à-vis Soviet Jews was due to the development of American Jewish Holocaust consciousness in the late 1960s, distinct from Holocaust memory in Israel.

Part I outlines American Jewish organizational advocacy and the gradual shift away from universalist interpretations of the "lessons" of the Holocaust in the early to mid-1960s. Part II discusses the Israeli involvement in American Jewish mobilization for Soviet Jewry through Israel's Liaison Bureau. Part III analyzes the emergence of distinct Holocaust collective memories in the US and Israel in the 1960s. Part IV argues that the development of American Jewish Holocaust consciousness in the late 1960s led American Jewish organizations to form independent foreign policy objectives to aid Soviet Jews.

American Jewish Advocacy Pre-1967: From Universalism to Particularism

Immediately after World War II, American Jewish advocacy centered on solidarity with oppressed groups, extending to non-Jews the "lessons" derived from the Holocaust. In this article's analysis of American Jewish organizations, the central focus is on the AJC as the epitome of the American Jewish establishment and as a pertinent case study of the ways in which shifts in Jewish identity resulted in concrete policy and organizational change. The AJC was founded in 1906 as a "paternalistic committee of sixty American Jews, horrified by the persecution of Jews in Russia" in the pogroms of 1905.[1] After World War II, the AJC committed to the battle against domestic prejudice, asserting an active role in "promoting the well-being of our society […because] protecting and enhancing the rights of Jews required us to be involved with the rights of other groups as well."[2] The AJC had an elite constituency and traditions of "controlling emotionalism" and quiet diplomacy with government officials.[3] The AJC also commissioned scholarly research and provided a forum for engagement with the central issues confronting Americans and Jews after World War II. The AJC's annual *American Jewish Year Book*, monthly *Commentary Magazine*, and hundreds of other publications

1 Jonathan D. Sarna, foreward to *Let Us Prove Strong: The American Jewish Committee, 1945-2006*, by Marianne Rachel Sanua (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2007), ix.

2 Bertram H. Gold, "Critical Choices for AJC at Home and Abroad," in American Jewish Committee, "The American Jewish Committee's Seventieth Anniversary Meeting Proceedings," May 1976, 58. The universalist slant of the AJC is clear in their self-description as "this country's pioneer human relations organization [...] seek[ing] improved human relations for all men everywhere." See "News from the Committee" (New York: American Jewish Committee, February 23, 1971), 2, AJC Digital Archives.

3 "Controlling emotionalism" was a goal for the American Jewish Committee since the end of World War II, when Jewish organizations were deliberating on the appropriate response to the Holocaust. In this vein, a 1951 Executive Committee Meeting concluded that, regarding German rearmament, the AJC "deplored the emotionalism evidenced by some Jewish groups on this subject, and deemed it advisable that we take leadership in educating the Jewish community to a more objective attitude on this subject." "Problem of Germany," AJC Executive Committee Minutes (New York: American Jewish Committee, May 6, 1951), 11, AJC Digital Archive. Emotional responses were deemed irrational and non-strategic, in addition to showing Jews as different, other, or alien through their connection to a history beyond American shores. Also see Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 98, 305.

enabled the AJC to disseminate information and inform the public of certain debates and arguments.[4] In this way, these publications provide a window into the year-to-year change of organizational stances within the AJC.[5]

The organizational change in the AJC from solidarity with the civil rights movements to the international effort on behalf of Soviet Jews can be viewed—in terms of Holocaust collective memory scholarship—as a shift from universalist to particularist applications of the "lessons" of the Holocaust. After World War II, competing historical camps emerged with differing conceptions of the legacy of the Holocaust, its ownership, and its victims.[6] Particularism—championed by Saul Friedländer in "On the Possibility of the Holocaust: An Approach to a Historical Synthesis"—stressed the uniqueness of the Jewish experience of isolation in a hostile world, and the historical specificity of the circumstances surrounding the Holocaust.[7] Given this understanding of the Holocaust, described by Yehuda Bauer as an event that "happened to a particular people for particular reasons at a particular time," particularists were motivated to fight for the establishment of an ethnic national state for the Jewish people.[8] Meanwhile, universalism—supported by Raul Hilberg's "The Significance of the Holocaust"—viewed the Holocaust as a crime against humanity.[9] In the early Cold War era, universalists strove for civil rights and human rights guarantees.[10] Accordingly, organizations such as the AJC focused on initiatives including Jewish-black solidarity and advocating for the inclusion of human rights clauses in the United Nations Charter. "Lessons" were drawn from the memory of Jewish suffering during World War II which mandated action and advocacy for the protection of rights in general, applying the memory of Jewish struggle to all those oppressed.

At the same time that a universalistic interpretation of Jewish suffering was pervasive, most American Jews focused on assimilating into US society; assimilation was well served by universalistic interpretations that elided ethnic and cultural difference. The post-war McCarthy-era presented a challenge to Jewish assimilation because of the powerful perception of Jewish association with Communism. The AJC was especially adroit at combatting the image of American Jewish "dual loyalty"—either loyal to leftist political affiliations or to the State of Israel, over loyalty to the US. In this effort, the AJC publicly offered to share its files—many compiled by Jewish historian Lucy Dawidowicz, working as the AJC anti-communism expert—with the House Un-American Activities Committee "so that only bona fide Jewish Communists would be called to testify."[11] Dawidowicz also wrote extensively in Jewish publications denouncing communism as incompatible with Judaism. In this vein, Dawidowicz condemned Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, claiming that "one could in good conscience oppose the death penalty for the Rosenbergs only if one also opposed it for Hermann Göring," a leading member of the Nazi Party.[12] By equating the Rosenbergs to Göring,

4 The AJC also sponsored the major multi-author, seven-volume *Studies in Prejudice* in 1950. American social science was tasked with developing "antidotes" to the disease of prejudice. Produced through a partnership between Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer's Institute for Social Research and UC Berkeley's Public Opinion Study Group, *Studies in Prejudice* claimed that American social science was particularly capable of diagnosing and combating anti-Semitism, particularly through a social-psychological heuristic. Keith P. Feldman, *A Shadow over Palestine: The Imperial Life of Race in America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), 32.

5 The transformation of *Commentary* is especially noteworthy. Founded in 1945, *Commentary* "prided itself on publishing a range of left-liberal material germane to its primarily Jewish American intellectual readership." In the 1960s, *Commentary* became "one of the primary publications where racial liberalism would gain a staunch neoconservative tenor. After the Six Day War in 1967, *Commentary* became a forum for pro-Israel neo-conservatism and drew the establishment line for the Soviet Jewry movement. Feldman, *A Shadow over Palestine*, 65. In 2007, *Commentary* became fully independent from the AJC. Nathan Abrams, *Norman Podhoretz and Commentary Magazine: The Rise and Fall of the Neocons* (New York: Continuum, 2010), 292-3.

6 Natan Sznaider, *Jewish Memory and The Cosmopolitan Order: Hannah Arendt and the Jewish Condition* (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 2011), 111.

7 Saul Friedländer, "On the Possibility of the Holocaust: An Approach to a Historical Synthesis," in *The Holocaust as Historical Experience*, ed. Yehuda Bauer and Nathan Rotenstreich (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1981), 1-21. Particularism can be divided into two sub-camps, between intentionalists and functionalists. Intentionalists argue that the intent of the Nazis to completely eliminate the Jews makes the Holocaust unique in history. For the intentionalist view, see Yehuda Bauer, *The Holocaust in Historical Perspective* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978), 31; Functionalists view the uniqueness of the Holocaust in terms of the distinctive bureaucratic and technological methods of destruction employed by the Nazis. For the functionalist perspective, see Richard L. Rubenstein, *The Cunning of History* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), 6-7, 22-35.

8 Yehuda Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 67.

9 Shaul Magid, *American Post-Judaism: Identity and Renewal in a Postethnic Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 189-199. For the universalist perspective, see Raul Hilberg, "The Significance of the Holocaust" in *The Holocaust: Ideology, Bureaucracy and Genocide,* ed. Henry Friedlander and Sybil Milton (Millwood, NY: Kraus International Publications, 1980) 95-102.

10 Sznaider, *Jewish Memory and The Cosmopolitan Order*, 111.

11 Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), 95.

12 Lucy S. Dawidowicz, "The Rosenberg Case: 'Hate-America'

Dawidowicz asserted that Communists were as much of an enemy to Jews as were the Nazis, and functionally aligned the AJC with US Cold War priorities, mitigating doubts about Jewish loyalty to the US.

Similarly, American Jewish Zionist inclinations were viewed as a sign of disloyalty to the US and a threat to assimilation. Upon Israel's independence, the AJC coolly reminded the Israeli government that the "citizens of the United States are Americans and citizens of Israel are Israelis," and that the AJC would be pleased to work with the newborn country on its "framework of national interests," in which "national" does not refer to the global Jewish nation.[13] Likewise, in Dawidowicz's defense of Zionism in the American Jewish community, she couched her arguments in invocations of American Jews' rights as Americans. She compared American Jewish Zionism to the way in which "Americans of Italian origin pressure the Government [...] to admit Italians to this country."[14] Dawidowicz clarified that sympathy among Italians "does not mean that Italian-Americans are acting as agents of Italy," nor does American Jewish interest in Israel trade-off with loyalty to the US.[15]

The Soviet Jewry campaign must be analyzed in the broader context of American Jewish activism in the 1960s and 1970s. American Jews had deep ties to the civil rights movement, a manifestation of the universalist interpretations of Jewish history and suffering. However, by the mid-1960s, assimilationism at times conflicted with Jewish solidarity with the black community. Black-Jewish solidarity reached its peak in Freedom Summer in 1964, when three civil rights workers, Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, and James Chaney—two young Jews from New York and a black man from Mississippi—were kidnapped and murdered in Mississippi.[16] The civil rights movement relocated to northern cities and suburbs in the mid-1960s—campaigning against *de facto* segregation in housing and education—which signaled the end to a decade of collaboration between Jews and blacks.[17] Sociologist Nathan Glazer argued in *Commentary* in 1964 that the civil rights movement's refocusing in northern urban centers encouraged "the Negro masses [to] become [...] more militant in their own interests," such that Jewish leaders were confronted "with demands from Negro organizations that [...] cannot serve as the basis of a common effort."[18] Glazer characterized this "Negro revolution" as threatening "subgroup solidarity," and the very existence of "American community as we have known it."[19] The period of cooperation highlighted by Freedom Summer was soon overshadowed by riots in northern cities, including New York, in which Jewish-owned stores were targets of burning and looting.[20] Glazer's analysis prophesized the end of the "golden age" of black-Jewish relations and the beginning of open hostility in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, Brooklyn.[21]

In the summer of 1967, New York City's central Board of Education experimented with local control of school boards, delegating to the largely African American Ocean Hill–Brownsville section of Brooklyn the opportunity to choose its own school leadership. The local school board claimed the right to hire and fire its teachers, many of whom were Jewish. The ensuing clash pitted the mostly white and majority-Jewish United Federation of Teachers (UFT) against the black school board.[22] Anonymous anti-Semitic leaflets were distributed at some schools, and in response, the UFT made a half-million copies of the leaflets to spread awareness

Weapon," *New Leader* 35 (22 December 1952): 13.

13 Michael N. Barnett, *The Star and the Stripes: A History of the Foreign Policies of American Jews* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 147. In this vein, Dawidowicz insisted that "Israel […] withdraw its gratuitous conferring of Israeli citizenship upon all Jews outside its borders." Israel's attempt to extend citizenship to every Jew in the world would have been the ultimate confirmation of Jewish American dual allegiance to Israel and to the US. Lucy S. Dawidowicz, "A Jew Attacks Zionism," review of *What Price Israel,* by Alfred M. Lilienthal, *New Leader*, January 4, 1954, 26.

14 Dawidowicz, "A Jew Attacks Zionism," 25.

15 Dawidowicz, "A Jew Attacks Zionism," 25-6. Dawidowicz defended Jewish Zionists as "exercis[ing] a privilege available to all citizens in a democracy like ours by expressing their views," but still described their support for Israel as "immoral," in so far as it mirrored the position of Communists—the true threat to American Jewish assimilation—and demanded "a more critical and objective appraisal of Israel's policies and actions."

16 Members of the local White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the Neshoba County Sheriff's Office and the Philadelphia, Mississippi Police Department were involved in the incident. "Murder in Mississippi," *PBS*, accessed December 6, 2016, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/general-article/freedomsummer-murder/.

17 Jack Salzman and Cornel West, *Struggles in the Promised Land: Toward a History of Black-Jewish Relations in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 107; Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, 174.

18 Nathan Glazer, "Negroes and Jews: The New Challenge to Pluralism," *Commentary* 38, no. 6 (1964): 30.

19 Nathan Glazer, "Effects of Emerging Urban-Suburban and Anti-Segregation Developments on Jewish Communal Service," *Journal of Jewish Communal Service* 41, no. 1 (September 20, 1964): 64.

20 Salzman and West, *Struggles in the Promised Land,* 111; Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, 173.

21 In July 1966, Stokely Carmichael, leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), issued a call for "Black Power." Many Jews understood this slogan to mean that *only* blacks could participate in the movement for black liberation. Chaim Isaac Waxman, *America's Jews in Transition* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983), 106.

22 Feldman, *A Shadow over Palestine*, 114-5.

and win support for its cause. The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) issued a report announcing that anti-Semitism in the New York school system was at a "crisis level."[23] For this reason, the departure of Jewish organizational support for the civil rights movement was intertwined with in fears of anti-Semitism.

A perceived resurgence of anti-Semitism in the late 1960s aided in the emergence of collective Holocaust memory; Jewish critiques of the civil rights movement and policy-driven structural interventions like affirmative action and welfare in the pages of *Commentary* were clothed in terms that "advance[ed] free market ideologies of individual meritocracy as the properly American alternative to policies figured as 'reverse racism' or 'affirmative discrimination,'" and justified "by the Cold War challenge of Soviet tyranny and the specter of the Holocaust."[24]

Reflecting on former Jewish-black solidarity at the AJC's Seventieth Anniversary celebration in May 1976, Executive Vice President of the AJC, Bertram Gold, justified the split from the civil rights movement on the grounds that the AJC would fail to fulfil its leadership function "if we ignore the legitimate fears [...] of Jews who are victimized by violence and affected by the demands for greater power by the Negro community at the expense of hard-won gains made by many individual Jews."[25] The AJC could no longer assume that what was good for blacks was automatically also good for Jews. As such, Gold "assume[d] that the big problem today has become largely the adequacy of resources, rather than the legal right to their possession regardless of race, religion or color," and thus the AJC should target "new areas of concern," independent of the civil rights movement.[26] Further, the Jewish break from the civil rights movement must also be considered in context of a widespread disillusionment with an idealized image of America, highlighted by the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy in 1968 and the Vietnam War. Peter Novick's *The Holocaust in American Life* described how Americans ceased imagining themselves as a nation. Instead, "'we' [...] was used to refer to smaller entities, or entities that crossed national boundaries: 'we blacks,' 'we women,' 'we gays,' 'we Jews.'"[27] In this way, Jewish activism earlier projected towards the civil rights movement was transferred to more Jewish-centric causes, such as the struggle for Soviet Jewish emigration.

The Soviet Jewry Movement Before 1967: The Liaison Bureau and Israeli Influence

The Soviet Jewry movement is a vital lens through which to identify and analyze the American Jewish shift from universalist activism to particularist causes. A scholarly debate exists concerning the extent to which the Israeli government orchestrated the activities and efforts of the Soviet Jewry advocacy movement in the US. Some scholars, such as Daniel Elazar, argue that the Soviet Jewry movement was native to the US.[28] Others, such as historians Howard Morley Sahar and Yaacov Ro'i, argue that Israel was wholly instrumental to the success of the movement.[29] From the 1950s to early 1970s, the Israeli government, through the activities of the Liaison Bureau or *Lishkat Hakesher*—a clandestine Israeli-funded operation—was able to encourage and heavily influence American Jewish activism on behalf of Soviet Jewry. The Liaison Bureau persuaded American Jewish leaders of the importance of the Soviet Jewish cause in two ways. The first method involved demonstrating that the condition of Soviet Jewry was a particularistic Jewish concern, distinct from general oppression of minority groups in the Soviet Union. The second method included the Bureau linking the plight of the Soviet Jews to the memory of the Holocaust.

The Liaison Bureau's first tactic was deployed through the dissemination of information beneficial to the Soviet Jewish cause. Information about the condition of life for Jews in the USSR was readily available throughout the 1950s.[30] The AJC published fact sheets, such as the

23 Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, 172; Henry Raymont, "Crisis-Level Anti-Semitism Found Here by B'nai B'rith," *New York Times*, January 23, 1969, 1, 51.

24 Feldman, *A Shadow over Palestine*, 117. See Norman Podhoretz, "Now, Instant Zionism," *New York Times,* February 3, 1974; Norman Podhoretz, "My Negro Problem--And Ours," *Commentary* 35, no. 2 (1963): 93-101; Nathan Glazer, "The Exposed American Jew," *Commentary* 59, no. 6 (1975): 25–30.

25 Bertram Gold, "Report of AJC Executive VP," AJC Executive Committee Meeting Minutes (New York: American Jewish Committee, October 25, 1968), 2, AJC Digital Archive; See also Sanua, *Let Us Prove Strong*, 186-7.

26 Gold, "Critical Choices for AJC at Home and Abroad," 58.

27 Novick considers Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* in the context of the inward-shift of the American Jewish political consciousness in the late 1960s. Novick clarifies that cross-national identifications are not new, but rather "the balance shifted sharply in the direction of particular identities, as opposed to 'all-American' identity." Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, 188-9. See Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991).

28 Daniel Judah Elazar, *Community and Polity: The Organizational Dynamics of American Jewry* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1976), 111.

29 Howard Morley Sachar, *A History of the Jews in America* (New York: Knopf, 1992), 906-909; Yaacov Ro'i, *The Struggle for Soviet Jewish Emigration, 1948-1967* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 343.

30 Information regarding Soviet Jewish life was received mainly through the Israeli Foreign Minister. Simon Segal, "The Situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union: An Overview,"

1953 "What is Behind the Kremlin's Latest March of Crime," but the American Jewish establishment had not yet seriously considered how to create change for Soviet Jews.[31] Mainstream American Jewish organizations were still mostly concerned with effecting change domestically. Moreover, American Jewish organizations, including the AJC, were "unconvinced of the special nature of anti-Jewish discrimination in the USSR."[32] These organizations considered Soviet anti-Semitism to be "an important facet of the Soviet challenge to democracy" and a unifying trait of the "anti-American bloc," rather than "conventional Jew-hatred."[33]

Contrastingly, the Israeli government was acutely concerned with Soviet Jewry. An AJC briefing memorandum in 1963 recognized that "[i]n addition to normal diplomatic channels, the Israelis have a personal interest in their co-religionists and, when possible, communicate with the Jews directly."[34] To act on this 'personal interest,' the Israeli government established the organization first known as the "Office without a Name," later called the Liaison Bureau, in the early 1950s.[35] According to Nehemiah Levanon, who led the Bureau from the late 1960s to 1980s, the Bureau's strategy was to "alert the West to the plight of the Jews in the USSR, and to encourage pressure on Soviet leadership to change Soviet treatment of the Jewish minority."[36] Given the strict Soviet emigration policy in the 1950s, the Bureau's first objective was to increase contact with Soviet Jews in order to foster Jewish identity and connection to Israel so that, if emigration policy were to change, Soviet Jews would look to Israel as a haven.[37] The Liaison Bureau created a second branch, code-named Bar, in 1955 that operated in Western countries, with the mission of persuading Western governments of the importance of the Soviet Jewish issue. Bar emphasized to American Jews the extent of Soviet mistreatment of Jews, and that unlike other people and groups, Jews were being denied individual and collective rights guaranteed under the Soviet Constitution.[38] This strategy enabled American Jews to view Soviet anti-Semitism beyond an abstract "Soviet challenge to democracy" and as a real force impacting lives of Jews and the survival of the Jewish people.[39]

The Liaison Bureau understood that tapping into the advocacy power of American Jewish organizations was vital to achieving their goals, given the connection of American Jews to the US government, and the US government's leverage over the Soviet Union. The AJC was perhaps the most cooperative American Jewish organization, particularly in facilitating quiet diplomacy between the Bureau and the US government.[40] In motivating American Jewish organizational advocacy, the Liaison Bureau kept Israel's involvement secret. Beginning in the 1960s, the Bureau sent emissaries to several US cities, who worked to recruit American Jewish leaders to Bar.[41] These American Jewish recruits, such as Moshe Decter, were key actors in the American Jewish movement on behalf of Soviet Jews, but did not publically acknowledge their ties to the Bureau or to Israel.[42] Levanon recalled that Decter wrote and published brochures and organized conferences, but on account of his covert status, Decter "was invulnerable to any attempts by the Soviets to discredit him" for his ties to Israel.[43]

An important act of persuasion came in the form of Moshe Decter's "The Status of Jews in the Soviet Union." Decter's article, which appeared in *Foreign Affairs* in 1963, tied together the strands of information necessary to convince organized American Jewry of the specific Jewish discrimination in the USSR. Decter discussed the extent of anti-Semitism in the USSR, the prevalence of anti-Semitic writings in the Soviet press, and cultural and religious

Foreign Affairs Department (New York: American Jewish Committee, November 1963), 4, AJC Digital Archive.

31 "What is Behind the Kremlin's Latest March of Crime: A Fact Sheet" (New York: American Jewish Committee, February 1953), AJC Digital Archives; Paul S. Appelbaum, "The Soviet Jewish Movement in the United States," in *Jewish American Voluntary Organizations*, ed. Michael N. Dobkowski (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986), 614.

32 Jerry Goodman, "American Response to Soviet Anti-Jewish Policies," *American Jewish Year Book* 66 (1965): 312; Frederick A. Lazin, *The Struggle for Soviet Jewry in American Politics: Israel versus the American Jewish Establishment* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2005), 28.

33 Naomi Wiener Cohen, *Not Free to Desist: The American Jewish Committee, 1906-1966* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1972), 499.

34 Segal, "The Situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union," 4.

35 Buwalda, *They Did Not Dwell Alone,* 36.

36 Nehemiah Levanon, "Israel's Role in the Campaign," in *A Second Exodus: The American Movement to Free Soviet Jews*, eds. Murray Friedman and Albert D. Chernin (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 1999), 72.

37 Lazin, *The Struggle for Soviet Jewry in American Politics*, 24.

38 Lazin, *The Struggle for Soviet Jewry in American Politics*, 26.

39 Cohen, *Not Free to Desist,* 499.

40 Henry L. Feingold, *"Silent No More": Saving the Jews of Russia, the American Jewish Effort, 1967-1989* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 63.

41 Lazin, *The Struggle for Soviet Jewry in American Politics*, 26.

42 Decter's ties to the Liaison Bureau were less problematic for collaborating with the AJC than his public work for the American Jewish Congress. The AJC's memorandum on Soviet Jewry in 1963 mentions Decter for his expertise on Soviet Jewry, but mentions that his "work is paid for by the Jewish Agency--American Section through the American Jewish Congress, a matter we are loath to publicize." Segal, "The Situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union," 5.

43 Levanon, "Israel's Role in the Campaign," 75.

discrimination Jews faced as compared to other minority groups.[44] In addition, Decter worked with Professor Abraham Joshua Heschel and Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg to launch the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry (AJCSJ). The Conference struggled in its first years, functioning without a budget, full-time staff, or permanent headquarters.[45] Regardless of the AJCSJ's limitations, American Jewish leaders were now 'on the record,' committing to intervene on behalf of Soviet Jews.[46] In this regard, the Liaison Bureau had accomplished its first task: convincing the American Jewish elite of the importance of the Soviet Jewish issue.

To stimulate American Jewish empathy with the plight of Soviet Jews, the Liaison Bureau arranged for American Jews to visit the Soviet Union as tourists. Decter and the Bureau convinced Elie Wiesel, the Holocaust survivor and author, to visit the USSR for the Jewish holidays of fall 1965 and 1966.[47] Wiesel interacted with local Jews and "witness[ed] the fear and suspicion as well as the pride in being Jewish, the indomitable desire to preserve whatever remnants of Jewish communal existence had managed to survive" in the USSR.[48] Wiesel published a series of articles for the Israeli newspaper *Yedi'ot aharonot*, which were then translated into English by Bureau operative Neal Kozodoy.[49] In 1966, the AJC commissioned the publication of the articles as a book, *The Jews of Silence*.[50]

Wiesel's travel to the Soviet Union and subsequent writing led to a turning point for the Soviet Jewry movement through the deployment of the Liaison Bureau's second tactic; *The Jews of Silence* functioned to link the plight of Soviet Jews to the memory of the Holocaust.[51] This linkage was aided by Wiesel's position as the "emblematic survivor," as historian Peter Novick described, "[h]is gaunt face, with its anguished expression, seemed to freeze time—to be staring out from a 1945 photograph of the liberation of the camps."[52] Moreover, Wiesel was instrumental in creating and maintaining an inherently ahistorical Holocaust consciousness. He insisted that "any survivor has more to say than all the historians combined about what happened" and encouraged Jews to view the Holocaust as a "mystery religion," with Wiesel himself serving as the prime "interpreter of the Holocaust" and "Christ figure."[53] Most importantly, Wiesel reminded American Jews of the US's failure to aid Holocaust victims. The double meaning of his book's title is clear: American Jews, not Soviet Jews, may have been the true Jews of Silence.[54] However, the Liaison Bureau's tactic of linking the memory of American Jewish inadequate action during the Holocaust only succeeded in energizing the American Soviet Jewry movement on account of a contemporaneous phenomenon: the rise of American Jewish Holocaust consciousness.

The Six Day War and the Rise of American Jewish Holocaust Consciousness

Holocaust consciousness, or collective memory, is distinct from the historical account of Nazi crimes. Rather, collective memory is a social reality: a political, cultural product that takes shape within the system of social and political variables, as well as community interests. According to French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, a foundational figure in the field of collective memory studies, collective memory is transmitted and inculcated within distinct social groups, and is subject to mutations due to political, social, and structural change.[55] This section explores how political, social, and structural changes gave rise to a distinct American

44 Moshe Decter, "The Status of the Jews in the Soviet Union," *Foreign Affairs* 41, no. 2 (1963): 420–30; Appelbaum, "The Soviet Jewish Movement in the United States," 615.

45 Appelbaum, "The Soviet Jewish Movement in the United States," 617.

46 Extensive organizational efforts aimed at bring attention to the anti-Semitism faced by Soviet Jews are outlined in Jerry Goodman, "American Response to Soviet Anti-Jewish Policies," *American Jewish Year Book* 66 (1965): 312–19.

47 Lazin, *The Struggle for Soviet Jewry in American Politics*, 64. Wiesel maintained that he would have gone to visit the Soviet Union regardless of the Liaison Bureau's encouragement. Ro'i, *The Struggle for Soviet Jewish Emigration*, 242.

48 Ro'i, *The Struggle for Soviet Jewish Emigration,* 242.

49 Kozodoy also wrote a "Historical Afterward on Soviet Jewry" which appears in *Jews of Silence* and includes Kozodoy's gratitude to Decter, "for sharing generously with me the results of [Decter's] own extensive research into the problems of the Jews in the Soviet Union." Ro'i, *The Struggle for Soviet Jewish Emigration,* 243; Lazin, *The Struggle for Soviet Jewry in American Politics*, 64.

50 Lazin, *The Struggle for Soviet Jewry in American Politics*, 64.

51 Wiesel did not compare the suffering of Soviet Jews to that of Holocaust victims, but stated "from a subjective and emotional point of view it is impossible to escape the impression that the two communities have something in common—a sense of total isolation." Elie Wiesel, *The Jews of Silence*: *A Personal Report on Soviet Jewry* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), 41.

52 Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, 273.

53 Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, 201, 274.

54 Wiesel, *The Jews of Silence*, 127.

55 Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992). See also Idith Zertal, *Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 23-24; Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider, "Memory Unbound: The Holocaust and the Formation of Cosmopolitan Memory," *European Journal of Social Theory* 5, no. 1 (2002): 95.

Jewish Holocaust collective memory.

Following World War II, nearly 100,000 survivors of the Holocaust arrived in the US.[56] Most survivors prioritized assimilation into American society, and public Jewish organizational reference to Nazi crimes against Jews was thought to only further delineate differences between Jews and the rest of the American population. Instead, the universal "lessons" of Nazi crimes—the importance of civil and human rights—were expressed through American Jewish involvement in the civil rights movement, rather than a particularistic concern with "Jewish issues."[57] Moreover, Cold War rhetoric complicated any potential commemoration of the Holocaust; Germany, the old enemy, became an ally, and the Soviet Union, the old ally, became the new enemy.[58]

An Israeli trial in 1961 brought the Holocaust to American minds. Israeli agents in Argentina arrested Adolf Eichmann, one of Hitler's high-ranking officers, and placed him on trial in the District Court of Jerusalem for his role in the "final solution of the Jewish question."[59] The trial, the first session of which was broadcast live on national radio, solidified the Holocaust as an essential part of the national Israeli narrative, an inheritance of all Israelis.[60] However, the view from New York differed. American Jewish organizations were hesitant to alter their established universalist rhetoric concerning the Nazi holocaust. Instead, the AJC questioned the legality of Eichmann's capture, challenged the assumption of Israel's jurisdiction, and raised moral questions about the trial itself.[61] The AJC, along with the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), presented the Eichmann case to the American public as a universalist event.[62] AJC leader John Slawson, in a meeting with radio and television executives, asserted that the object of the trial was to confront "hatred and totalitarianism [...] and their continued presence in the world today."[63] A 1961 ADL Bulletin claimed that the Israeli government's intention with the trial was "to alert the conscience of the world to the fearful consequences of totalitarianism."[64] Instead of a case of particularistic concern for Jews, th the Bulletin asserted that the Eichmann trial served as a reminder that "[w]hat happened to the Jews of Europe [...] can very well happen to other peoples oppressed by totalitarianism."[65]

The Eichmann trial was *not* a turning point for Holocaust consciousness in the US as it was in Israel, perhaps on account of the fact that American audiences understood the trial as "not only [concerning] German genocide, but also [...] questions of morality and politics—obedience to unjust laws and superior orders."[66] In *Commentary*'s April 1961 symposium on "Jewishness" featuring thirty-one Jewish intellectuals—published at the beginning of the Eichmann trial—few contributors mentioned the Holocaust, and only two regarded the Holocaust as significant to their Jewish identities.[67] Similarly, the August 1966 issue of *Commentary* included a one-hundred-page symposium on the "State of Jewish Belief," surveying American Jewish religious, secular, and political leaders on their connection to Judaism.[68] The respondents did not mention any significant connection to Israel or the Holocaust when discussing their Jewish identities, and the Holocaust was referenced mainly through brief, vague invocations of "Auschwitz" and "the crematoria."[69]

Instead, American Jewish Holocaust consciousness was mobilized later, in response to the Six Day War in Israel in June 1967. Lucy Dawidowicz summarized the opinion of American Jews during the Six Day War, asserting that "American Jews, like Jews elsewhere in the world outside Israel, experienced a trauma, perhaps best diagnosed as a reliving of the Holocaust."[70] Perceiving Israel's existence as

56 Levy and Sznaider, "Memory Unbound," 95.
57 Levy and Sznaider, "Memory Unbound," 95.
58 Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life,* 64; Levy and Sznaider, "Memory Unbound," 95.
59 Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York: Viking Press, 1963), 2.
60 Zertal, *Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood*, 92. According to Israeli historian Orna Kenan, the Eichmann trial was a turning point in the formation of Israeli Holocaust collective memory on account of the fact that the "trial had a 'deeply cathartic effect' and served as a first opportunity for many Israelis to face the past." Orna Kenan, *Between Memory and History: The Evolution of Israeli Historiography of the Holocaust, 1945-1961* (New York: Peter Lang, 2003), 78.
61 "The Eichmann Case: Moral Questions and Legal Arguments" (New York: American Jewish Committee, April 1961), AJC Digital Archive. See also "The Eichmann Case in the American Press" (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1962), AJC Digital Archive.
62 Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life,* 132.
63 "AJC Radio & TV On and Off the Air," (New York: American Jewish Committee, September 12, 1962), 1, AJC Digital Archive.
64 Arnold Forster, "The Eichmann Case," ADL Bulletin, March 1961, 1-2, quoted in Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life,* 132.
65 Forster, "The Eichmann Case," 1-2, quoted in Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life,* 132.
66 Lucy S. Dawidowicz, "American Public Opinion," *American Jewish Year Book* 69 (1968): 204. For more on how the Eichmann trial served as a critical moment in the formation of Israeli Holocaust collective memory, see Hanna Yablonka, *The State of Israel vs. Adolf Eichmann* (New York: Schocken Books, 2004).
67 "Jewishness and Younger Intellectuals," *Commentary* 31, no. 4 (1961): 306–59; Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life,* 106.
68 "The State of Jewish Belief: A Symposium" 42 *Commentary* no. 2 (August 1966): 71–160.
69 "The State of Jewish Belief."
70 Dawidowicz, "American Public Opinion," 203.

threatened, "[i]mages of a second Holocaust electrified the American Jewish public."[71] Fear motivated American Jews to act. One measure of American Jewish reaction, reported by Dawidowicz, was the $100 million raised in the month after the war.[72]

Furthermore, the recurring reminder of American and American Jewish inaction during World War II contributed to the rise of particularistic Holocaust consciousness in the US. Accounting for the different reactions to the Six Day War of "American Jews [and] Jews elsewhere in the world outside Israel" as compared to Israelis, Dawidowicz explained a vital divergence in American Jewish and Israeli Holocaust collective memory.[73] American Jews, in contrast to Israelis, **"**have been afflicted with a deep sense of guilt," "tormented" by "their failure to rescue more than a miniscule number of European Jews."[74] HHHolocaust memory for American Jews is inextricable from guilt. "[E]lectrified" by Holocaust consciousness after the Six Day War, American Jews now stood in solidarity with Israel.[75] Referring to American Jewish fear for Israel's survival in 1967, Dawidowicz prophesized future Jewish action on behalf of Soviet Jews, stating that "[f]or the second time in a quarter of a century, the Jewish people was [sic] facing annihilation. But this time, somehow, things would be different. There would be no passivity, no timidity."[76]

The rise of American Jewish Holocaust consciousness was thus essential for the efficacy of the Liaison Bureau's tactic of linking the Soviet Jewish issue to Holocaust memory. The Bureau, and by extension the Israeli government, succeeded in energizing the American Jewish movement on behalf of Soviet Jewry by connecting the American Jewish sense of guilt or regret about US failures during the Holocaust, solidarity with the threat to Jewish survival in Israel, and the opportunity to aid Soviet Jews.[77] This time, American Jews would not be the "Jews of Silence." Paul Appelbaum's 1976 article "Soviet Jewry: Growth of a Movement," explained the sense that the Soviet Jewry movement was redemptive:

> With that moral burden, the guilt of their parents, on their shoulders, the Soviet Jewry issue was something from which [American Jews] could not turn away. The haunting metaphor was always before them: it is happening again. Once more millions of Jews will be lost, though most through forced assimilation rather than incineration. [...] It was and is inconceivable that those who scourge themselves with the guilt of the last generation of American Jewry will not continue to fight.[78]

With Wiesel as spokesman, the Liaison Bureau encouraged American Jews to conceptualize the Soviet Jewish movement as redeeming past inaction. For instance, supporters of Soviet Jews were united by the rallying cry, "Let My People Go," a reference to the Jewish holiday of Passover and the freeing of Israelite slaves from Egypt.[79] After the rise of Holocaust consciousness, anti-establishment and grassroots activists had a second slogan, "Never Again," which they wielded against American Jewish organizations and the US government as a reminder of the abandonment of Jews during the Holocaust, in order to provoke governmental action on behalf of Soviet Jews.[80]

However, the Liaison Bureau's strategy to link Soviet Jewry to feelings of guilt may have worked *too well* and perhaps counterproductively for Israeli objectives. Israelis did not and could not share in American Jews' collective guilt. Israel was a state-in-the-making during World War II; saving a substantial number of Jews was implausible. Rather, Israel's response to the Holocaust was the willingness to fight and die to preserve a Jewish state. Israel's survival functioned as the national realization of the same slogan used by activists in the US: "Never Again!"[81] For this reason, ruptures in American Jewish and Israeli cooperation were linked to this distinction in Holocaust memory; American Jewish motivation to redeem previous inaction motivated the American Soviet Jewry movement's independent policy orientation, diverging from Israeli priorities.

Paradoxically, Holocaust consciousness post-1967 coincided with increased Jewish comfort in American society. Jews were rapidly entering the middle and upper middle classes in American society, accompanied by the increasing sense that Jews were becoming white, rather than a non-white

71 Hasia R. Diner, *We Remember with Reverence and Love: American Jews and the Myth of Silence after the Holocaust, 1945-1962* (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 370.

72 Dawidowicz, "American Public Opinion," 206. $432 million was raised from the American Jewish community in 1967, compared to $140 million in 1966. Nathan Glazer, *American Judaism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 178.

73 Dawidowicz, "American Public Opinion," 203.

74 Dawidowicz, "American Public Opinion," 203

75 Diner, *We Remember with Reverence and Love,* 370.

76 Dawidowicz, "American Public Opinion," 204.

77 Michael L. Morgan, *Beyond Auschwitz: Post-Holocaust Jewish Thought in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 81.

78 Paul S. Appelbaum, "Soviet Jewry: Growth of a Movement," *Response: A Contemporary Jewish Review* 10, no. 23 (January 1, 1976): 124.

79 M.H. Naftalin, "The Activist Movement," in *A Second Exodus*, 225.

80 M.H. Naftalin, "The Activist Movement," in *A Second Exodus*, 225.

81 Peter Golden, *O Powerful Western Star!: American Jews, Russian Jews, and the Final Battle of the Cold War* (Jerusalem: Gefen Publishing House Ltd, 2012), 246.

ethnic minority.[82] Moreover, the dwindling solidarity between Jewish activism and black activism showcased the growing particularism of American Jewish political involvement. An important implication of this process is that American Jews gained self-confidence; it was no longer "disloyal" to advocate for Jewish-specific interests.[83] For this reason, Holocaust consciousness facilitated a new interpretation of the "lessons" of Nazi crimes: rather than focus on the universalist civil and human rights, the late-1960s memory of the Holocaust reminded American Jews of the need for advocacy and action on particularistic Jewish issues. Holocaust consciousness served to stimulate firm American Jewish opposition to all domestic instances of anti-Semitism. For instance, the recitation over local New York city radio of a poem by a black fifteen-year old, decrying Jewish "suffering in Germany [… and] the Jews' hatred for black Arabs," not only sparked American Jewish condemnation, but also further entrenched acrimony between the Jewish and black communities.[84] In this way, the Six Day War solidified Jewish-black divisions on the basis of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, including denigration of Israel as colonialist, and Jews collectively as oppressors. In terms of American Jewish activism and policy, the Six Day War and resultant rise of particularistic Holocaust consciousness was a watershed event. Before 1967, universalism served Jewish interests in assimilation as American Jewish organizations "tried to persuade themselves, as well as Gentiles, that they were just like everybody else, only more so."[85] After 1967, particularistic Holocaust collective memory heralded an era in which American Jews "acknowledged, even celebrated, their distinctiveness."[86]

In addition to the social and political influences on Holocaust memory, the AJC experienced structural institutional change in the aftermath of the Six Day War. Bertram Gold assumed office as the AJC's Executive Vice President on August 1, 1967. To orient Gold and prepare him to fulfill this mandate to bring the AJC into the American Jewish mainstream, a "Scope Committee"—including Jacob Neusner, Daniel J. Elazar, and Rabbi Ben Zion Gold—was established to determine the priorities of the AJC for the coming years.[87] This committee designed background papers and memoranda describing specific ways to increase the "Jewish identity" of the organization. Significantly, before Gold's tenure, members of the AJC staff considered changing the organization's name to the "Institute for Human Rights," a trend that Gold immediately put to rest.[88] Indeed, as one staffer described, under Gold, "the AJC began to remember that its middle name was 'Jewish.'"[89] Accordingly, the August 1967 issue of *Commentary* reflected this increased "Jewish identity" and sense of belonging to a global Jewish nation, opening with four articles on Israel.[90]

One year following the Six Day War, *Commentary* published "Jewish Faith and the Holocaust" by theologian Emil Fackenheim, which connected the Six Day War to the Holocaust to produce a new, quasi-religious Holocaust consciousness.[91] Fackenheim argued that Jews now have a duty to observe a "614th Commandment:" "Jews are forbidden to grant posthumous victories to Hitler."[92] This meant that Jews "are commanded to survive as Jews, lest the Jewish people perish."[93] Until 1967, Israel and the Holocaust possessed no special significance for American Jewish thought, whether religious or secular. After the Six Day War and the rise of particularistic Holocaust consciousness—epitomized by Fackenheim's response in *Commentary*—the Holocaust and Israel became central Jewish identity and immeasurably influenced American Jewish politics.[94]

Independent Foreign Policy and Particularism
The End of Quiet Diplomacy

From the perspective of the AJC's *American Jewish Year Book*, the American campaign for Soviet Jewry was the most significant Jewish movement of the 1970s.[95] The movement

82 Karen Brodkin, *How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says about Race in America* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1998) 25-52.
83 William W. Orbach, *The American Movement to Aid Soviet Jews* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1979), 125.
84 Deborah Dash Moore, Howard B. Rock, Annie Polland, and Jeffrey S. Gurock, *Jews in Gotham: New York Jews in a Changing City, 1920-2010* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 139.
85 Charles E. Silberman, *A Certain People: American Jews and Their Lives Today* (New York: Summit Books, 1985), 201.
86 Silberman, *A Certain People,* 201.
87 Sanua, *Let Us Prove Strong*, 151.
88 Sanua, *Let Us Prove Strong*, 148-9.
89 Sanua, *Let Us Prove Strong*, 148.
90 Abrams, *Norman Podhoretz and Commentary Magazine,* 72.
91 Emil Fackenheim, "Jewish Faith and the Holocaust: A Fragment," *Commentary* 46, no. 2 (1968): 30-36.
92 Jewish law and tradition dictates that there are 613 commandments divinely given to the Jewish people. Fackenheim, "Jewish Faith and the Holocaust," 32.
93 Abrams credits Fackenheim's article for making the Holocaust a basic element of Jewish theological reflection. Nathan Abrams, *Norman Podhoretz and Commentary Magazine,* 73.
94 Abrams, *Norman Podhoretz and Commentary Magazine,* 73.
95 Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the AJC's *American Jewish Year Book* series largely ignored anti-establishment contributions to the Soviet Jewish cause, portraying the movement as entirely one driven by elite Jewish organizations, "directed by recognized leaders who operated through regular organizational channels (closely linked, we now know, to the *Lishka* […]) in order to bring diplomatic pressure to bear on

was the only one allotted full-length coverage every year of the decade, and the only one the AJC actively participated in.[96] At the same time that the AJC was becoming comfortable in a leadership role in the Soviet Jewry movement, Israel's *modus operandi* changed from back-door quiet diplomacy through the Liaison Bureau to broadcasting objectives at the Israeli Knesset and the UN.

In August 1969, eighteen Jewish families in Soviet Georgia addressed a letter to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and sent it to the Dutch embassy with a note addressed to "A friend of Anna Frank," requesting that the letter be forwarded to Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir.[97] The letter was eventually transported to Jerusalem.[98] Over a year later, Meir's attempts at quietly pleading for emigration for Georgian Jews proved unsuccessful. Meir decided to alter her strategy, opting for a public and formal display of support for Georgian Jews; she read the Georgian letter in the Knesset on November 19, 1969, and later had the letter circulated to all members of the United Nations.[99] In April 1971, those who signed the Georgian letter, as well as many other Georgian Jews, received exit visas.[100] In accordance with Meir's change of strategy, Bureau agents "were given explicit orders to make as much noise as possible."[101]

Soviet Jews were also taking public action. Although Elie Wiesel described Soviet Jewry as "the Jews of silence," Jerry Goodman, the European Affairs Specialist for the AJC, noted in 1971 that "[t]he term no longer pertains […as] thousands of Soviet Jews have joined a campaign of defiance."[102] After decades of Soviet forced assimilation policies, Abraham J. Bayer—the National Community Relations Advisory Council's international affairs specialist who led the AJCSJ in the mid-1960—described waves of demonstrations and protests throughout the USSR, representative of Soviet Jewry's "awakening."[103] Soviet anti-Zionist policies and propaganda increased after the Six Day War, inadvertently convincing many Soviet Jews that emigration was the only option for Jews to live a Jewish life. In 1970, sixteen Soviet *refuseniks*[104] attempted to hijack an airplane at Leningrad's Smolny airport.[105] The failed attempt led to the arrests and trials of 34 persons in December 1971, resulting in death sentences for two of the hijackers, Mark Dymshits and Eduard Kuznetsov.[106] In the 1973 *American Jewish Year Book*, Bayer detailed how the upsurge of public action by Soviet Jews inspired American Jews, who responded with an "outpouring of concern and support not seen since the six day war."[107] The newly-inspired movement in the US was, however, still tied closely to the Liaison Bureau, which developed its own list of priorities.

The Brussels Conference and Israeli-American Jewish Tensions

In 1971, the Liaison Bureau orchestrated a three-day World Conference on Soviet Jewry in Brussels with over 400 Jewish leaders from over 50 countries.[108] The establishment of a World Presidium for Soviet Jewry at the Conference was a major success for the Bureau, as Nehamiah Levanon touted: "I'm not ashamed to say we managed to maneuver the international Jewish organizations into going along with what became a new coordinating body to deal with the campaign on a worldwide basis."[109] Stark disagreements among delegates at the Conference were eventually resolved by the adoption of the Liaison Bureau's demands in the final Brussels Declaration. For this reason, observers criticized the Conference's inability to reach a compromise that incorporated non-Israeli perspectives. According to the Editorial Staff of the Cambridge, Massachusetts-based Jewish newspaper, *genesis 2,* the Conference "stank of opportunism, organizational self-aggrandizement, bureaucratic buck-

the problem. Jonathan D. Sarna and Jonathan J. Golden, "The Twentieth Century Through American Jewish Eyes: A History of the 'American Jewish Year Book', 1899-1999," *American Jewish Year Book* 100 (2000): 89.

96 Sarna and Golden, "The Twentieth Century Through American Jewish Eyes," 88.

97 Buwalda, *They Did Not Dwell Alone*, 31.

98 Buwalda, *They Did Not Dwell Alone*, 36.

99 Buwalda, *They Did Not Dwell Alone*, 37.

100 Buwalda, *They Did Not Dwell Alone*, 37.

101 Buwalda, *They Did Not Dwell Alone*, 37.

102 Jerry Goodman, foreward to *Jews in the Soviet Union: An Annotated Bibliography 1967-1971* by Louise Renée Rosenberg (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1971), 3.

103 Soviet assimilation policies forced Jews to become culturally Russian but remain Jewish legally and socially. See Lazin, *The Struggle for Soviet Jewry in American Politics*, 32. Bayer discussed Soviet Jewish protest as "a long-delayed reaction to Soviet antisemitism and systematic strangulation of Jewish institutions, spurred by Israel's victory in the six-day war of June 1967." Abraham J. Bayer, "American Response to Soviet Anti-Jewish Policies," *American Jewish Year Book* 74 (1973): 210; J.J. Goldberg, *Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1996), 166.

104 *Refuseniks* are those who were denied permission to emigrate from the Soviet Union.

Bayer, "American Response to Soviet Anti-Jewish Policies," 222.

105 Albert D. Chernin, "Making Soviet Jews an Issue: A History," in *A Second Exodus,* 57.

Bayer, "American Response to Soviet Anti-Jewish Policies," 222.

106 Albert D. Chernin, "Making Soviet Jews an Issue: A History," in *A Second Exodus,* 57.

Bayer, "American Response to Soviet Anti-Jewish Policies," 222.

107 Bayer, "American Response to Soviet Anti-Jewish Policies," 211.

108 "News from the Committee" (New York: American Jewish Committee, February 23, 1971), 1, AJC Digital Archives.

109 Levanon, "Israel's Role in the Campaign," 81.

passing, cowardice and cynicism," demonstrating "that same penchant for disunity that paralyzed world Jewry while six million died."[110] Similarly, Micah H. Naftalin, National Director of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, described the Conference as "the most telling evidence of the moral bankruptcy of world Jewish leadership since the Holocaust."[111] Differences between the AJC's priorities and the Israeli government's objectives were highlighted by the AJC's Press Release on the Conference, "News from the Committee," which subtly and importantly diverged from the Brussels Declaration.[112]

Emigration was the initial point of contention. The prime Israeli objective in the Soviet Jewry movement was to force Soviet policy change such that Soviet Jews could emigrate to Israel, and *only* to Israel. Israeli interest in Soviet emigration can be traced to the early 1950s with the founding of the Liaison Bureau, which aimed to foster Soviet Jewish identity and encourage connection to Israel as the homeland for potential Soviet émigrés. The stance of restricting the final destination for emigrants also reflected Israeli Holocaust collective memory, highlighting the tragic results of an arduous Jewish diaspora and presenting Israel as both the solution and "the antithesis of the Holocaust catastrophe."[113] Therefore, "Jewish immigrant absorption" was "a central premise of Israeli statehood itself" and a moral imperative of Israeli Holocaust memory.[114] American Jews, in contrast, could not help but remember how the US closed its doors to European Jews during the Holocaust. Thus, the American delegates at the Conference advocated for Soviet Jews to be given a choice of destinations for emigration, including the US. The Israelis argued with the American delegates that advocating emigration to a homeland would be more ideologically digestible to the Soviets than proposing open exits.[115] American Jews ultimately accepted the Brussels Declaration, asserting Soviet Jewry's "inalienable right to return to their historic homeland, the land of Israel," and only to Israel. However, the AJC's 1971 Press Release of the Conference revealed the true American Jewish position, affirming the rights of Soviet Jews "to be given the opportunity to choose between several alternatives […] to emigrate to Israel or other countries."[116]

The second point of conflict in Israel-American Jewish coordination was the relative indifference of the Israeli government to the conditions of life for Soviet Jews who remained in the USSR. The only solution to the Soviet Jewry problem, the Liaison Bureau reasoned, was emigration to Israel.[117] Israeli Holocaust memory connoted pride in Jewish suffering if undergone "for the sake of the nation" as the "sublime act of humanity," which justified the selective focus on those who fought for the right to preserve Jewish traditions and to emigrate.[118] Israeli Holocaust consciousness identified resistance during the Holocaust—such as the Warsaw Uprising—as the precursor for Israeli independence and ignored accounts of "passive" Jewish suffering.[119] For this reason, Israelis were proud of those who defied the Soviet government and attempted to emigrate, while seeing those uninterested in emigrating as passively accepting Soviet forced assimilation, like Jews in the Holocaust who went to their deaths "like sheep to the slaughter."[120] Additionally, the Bureau was concerned with the perception that the Brussels Conference was anti-Soviet, not wishing to complicate Israeli-USSR relations. Ironically, this translated into the Liaison Bureau—which had spent most of the previous decade disseminating information in the US confirming the existence of Soviet anti-Semitism—carefully avoiding characterizing Soviet treatment of Jews as anti-Semitic. Instead, the treatment of Soviet Jews was described as "defamation of the Jewish people and of Zionism, reminiscent of the evil anti-Semitism which has caused so much suffering."[121] In contrast, American Jewish organizations recognized the implausibility that all Soviet Jews emigrate to Israel. As long as some Jews remained in the Soviet Union, Soviet anti-Semitism concerned American Jews. Accordingly, the AJC's Press Release broke from the Brussels Declaration by advocating for "a Soviet campaign against internal anti-Semitism," to end the "besmirch[ing of] the Jews everywhere."[122]

110 "Editorial: Leadership Bankrupt at Brussels," *genesis 2* 2, no. 8 (March 25, 1971): 2; Naftalin, "The Activist Movement," 231.
111 Naftalin, "The Activist Movement," 231.
112 "News from the Committee" (New York: American Jewish Committee, February 23, 1971), 1-2, AJC Digital Archives.
113 Ro'i, *The Struggle for Soviet Jewish Emigration,* 339.
114 Eli Lederhendler, *American Jewry: A New History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016) 303.
115 Lazin, *The Struggle for Soviet Jewry in American Politics*, 35.
116 "Brussels Declaration by the World Conference of Jewish Communities on Soviet Jewry," *American Jewish Year Book* 74 (1973): 224; "News from the Committee," 2.
117 "Brussels Declaration by the World Conference of Jewish Communities on Soviet Jewry," 224.
118 Ilan Pappe, *The Idea of Israel: A History of Power and Knowledge* (New York: Verso, 2014), 166.
119 Israeli Holocaust memory includes ranking of types of suffering during the Holocaust, such that "death without resistance was questionable" and "[d]eath in rebellion [...] was commendable." Pappe, *The Idea of Israel*, 166. The Warsaw Uprising and similar events of Jewish resistance underwent a process of "Zionization" to firmly establish the link between the fate of European Jewry and the need for the Jewish State. Zertal, *Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood*, 27-28, 32.
120 Zertal, *Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood*, 30.
121 "Brussels Declaration by the World Conference of Jewish Communities on Soviet Jewry," 224.
122 "News from the Committee," 2.

Cleavages in the Israeli-American Jewish relationship formed around these two issues—destinations for emigration and anti-Semitism—spurring American Jewish organizations to consider independent paths for action. At the AJC's Annual Meeting in May 1972, Bertram Gold spoke frankly about "strains in Israel-Diaspora relationships."[123] Though recognizing that "Israel is such a significant symbol for American Jews," Gold clarified that Israel's "special authoritative role in Jewish life" was perhaps unfounded.[124] In the Israeli government's perspective, Gold claimed, "what Israel wants becomes what the American Jewish community *should* want."[125] For this reason, Gold boldly accused the Israelis of muffling dissent on matters of policy. In his speech titled, "Who Speaks for the Jews," Gold challenged Israel's ability to "speak for" American and Soviet Jews. Answering his own question, "Who Speaks for the Jews," Gold cited Wiesel's *Souls on Fire*—implicitly invoking American Jewish Holocaust consciousness—to stress that the AJC aimed to represent Jews in a world which has, in Wiesel's words, "[n] ever before [...] known such anguish."[126]

This reserved critique from the AJC did not translate, however, into lack of support for Israel. Following the 1973 Yom Kippur War—a surprise attack on Israel by a coalition of Arab states—and the United Nations General Assembly's 1975 resolution characterizing Zionism as racism, Israel appeared isolated and in need of support by the Diaspora community. In this context, it is all the more surprising that American Jewish organizations diverged from Israeli leadership during this period.

American Jewish independence also extended to US presidential foreign policy objectives. On August 3, 1972, the Soviets imposed a diploma tax on Soviet Jews, requiring every emigrant to repay the expenses for his or her education.[127] On August 15, Jewish Soviet activists held a press conference, warning that the diploma tax created "a new category of human beings—the slaves of the 20th century."[128] American Jews, as expressed by Bayer's article in *American Jewish Year Book*, interpreted the tax as an attempt to place "'a price tag on human beings,' an act reminiscent of the Nazi holocaust."[129] After the tax was announced, American Jews partnered with Senator Henry M. Jackson to link trade privileges sought by the Soviet Union with an easing of emigration restrictions through the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.[130] The Amendment, passed by the Senate with a vote of 77 to 4 in December 1974, jeopardized US President Nixon and Secretary Kissinger's carefully balanced policy of détente with the Soviet Union. Detailed by Liaison Bureau recruit William Korey in the *American Jewish Year Book* in 1975 and 1976, the American Jewish community faced significant opposition in the Nixon administration.[131] Undoubtedly, the comparison American Jews drew between the diploma tax and the Holocaust contributed to the American Jewish establishment's willingness to challenge President Nixon's foreign policy.[132]

123 Bertram Gold, "Who Speaks for the Jews," Speech at the American Jewish Committee's Annual Meeting (New York: American Jewish Committee, May 4, 1972), 4, AJC Digital Archives.

124 Gold, "Who Speaks for the Jews," 12-13.

125 Gold, "Who Speaks for the Jews," 13. Gold supported Nahum Goldmann after Israel uninvited him to address the World Zionist Congress after he dared suggest that Jews who intended to stay in the USSR deserved as much concern as those who wished to emigrate.

126 Elie Wiesel, *Souls on Fire: Portraits and Legends of Hasidic Masters* (New York: Random House, 1972), 256, quoted in Gold, "Who Speaks for the Jews," 17.

127 Increases in emigration were viewed by Arab countries as the Soviet Union supplying Israel with educated manpower, to be used offensively against Arab countries. The diploma tax, therefore, served to dissuade Arab leaders that the USSR was not aiding Israel's war power, by discouraging educated Soviet Jews from emigrating. Further, the hard currency earned from the tax was then be used to pay for wheat imports from the US.

128 William Korey, "Jackson-Vanik: A "Policy of Principle," in *A Second Exodus*, 98. See also "Soviet Exit Fees – The Ransom of Jews," Correspondence to Participants in the National Interreligious Consultation on Soviet Jewry, (New York: National Conference on Soviet Jewry, October 20, 1972), 1-2, AJC Digital Archives.

129 Bayer, "American Response to Soviet Anti-Jewish Policies," 222.

130 The Amendment established that "no country would be eligible for [Most Favored Nation status] [...] unless that country permits its citizens the opportunity to emigrate to the country of their choice." Henry M. Jackson, "Speech on the Senate Floor, September 27, 1972: The Jackson Amendment on Freedom and Emigration," in *Henry M. Jackson and the Struggle for Human Rights*, ed. Lara Iglitzin (Seattle: Henry M. Jackson Foundation, 1995), 45.

131 William D. Korey, "The Struggle Over Jackson-Mills-Vanik," *American Jewish Year Book* 75 (1974): 199–234; William Korey, "The Struggle Over the Jackson Amendment," *American Jewish Year Book* 76 (1976): 160–70.

132 In the early 1970s, American Jewish opinion was not unified regarding Jackson-Vanik. Hoping to strengthen American Jewish support for the Amendment, Soviet Jewish activists sent American Jewish leaders an appeal, using language "designed to remind American Jewry of the Holocaust," urging American Jews to consider the "irreparable tragic results" of their "smallest hesitation." Korey, "Jackson-Vanik: A 'Policy of Principle,'" 103. By 1976, the American Jewish community "fully backed the Jackson amendment's rationale." Bayer, "American Response to Soviet Anti-Jewish Policies," 222.

Dropouts and the Freedom of Choice

As a consequence of the lack of direct flights between the Soviet Union and Israel, most Jews leaving the USSR on Israeli visas first stopped in Vienna. Upon arriving in Vienna, the emigrants were met by Jewish Agency representatives, who arranged their temporary accommodations before placing them on planes to Israel. By 1973, many Soviet Jews, on their stop-over in Vienna, requested continuing to other destination, including the US, rather than to Israel. These emigrants were referred to as "dropouts" or *noshrim*. The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) and American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) provided lodging for the *noshrim* as well as transportation to Rome where they would apply for visas to their desired destination.[133] In September 1973, a Palestinian terrorist attack on a passenger train carrying Jews from the USSR to a transit camp in Austria—from which the Jews were supposed to be transported to Israel—complicated the dropout issue from the Israeli perspective.[134] The attack reaffirmed the link in Israeli public consciousness between Nazi atrocities and the necessity to bring Soviet Jews to Israel to fulfill the Zionist mission, whether they wanted to go to Israel or not.[135]

In the mid-1970s, the Liaison Bureau proposed ending aid for *noshrim* in order to encourage Soviet Jews resettlement exclusively in Israel. In the American Jewish perspective, Israel attempted to deny Soviet Jews "freedom of choice" as to where to resettle, as well as forcing American Jews to relive the mistake of closing their doors to persecuted Jews, a choice that haunted American Jewish collective memory. While favoring the idea that Soviet Jews should emigrate to Israel, the AJC and other American Jewish organizations took a stand to support those who chose to live in the US by funding initiatives to aid emigrants obtain visas, travel to the destination of choice, and resettle. Nehemiah Levanon, head of the Bureau, recalled the conflict between American Jews and the Bureau as "one of the saddest periods in the struggle for Soviet Jews."[136] The Israeli government worried that *noshrim* would "undermine the validity of Israeli visas issued in Moscow, weaken political support for the public campaign on behalf of Soviet Jews [...and] erode the morale of the activists within the Soviet Union."[137] Moreover, in Levanon's view, Soviet Jews became dropouts because the Soviet press "ceaselessly painted Israel as a poor, terrible country whose very existence was endangered," and American Jewish organizations legitimized this portrayal by supporting immigration to the US on Israeli visas.[138]

When the dropout rate reached over fifty percent in March 1976, the Israeli government established a Committee of Eight—composed of four Israelis and four American Jewish officials, headed by Levanon—to deal with the issue. The Committee declared that American Jewish organizations should *only* aid Soviet émigrés who intend to resettle in the destination specified on their visas.[139] The AJC opposed the decision of the Committee of Eight, advocating for the principle of freedom of choice and the continuation of aid to *noshrim*.[140] Even Moshe Decter—by then no longer working for the Liaison Bureau—expressed his discontent at the Committee for bending to Israeli political pressure, suggesting that if the Israeli government were so concerned with Jews emigrating to Israel, they could "run after the 250,000 Israeli citizens who are living in the U.S." rather than "a few wretched refugees" in the USSR.[141] The prolonged delay tactics by the HIAS and JDC functioned as a *de facto* rejection of the Committee of Eight's policy and "an American Jewish Declaration of Independence" from Israel.[142] Moreover, not only were American Jewish organizations transparent in their disregard for the Israeli preference for Soviet émigrés' destination, but also—as affirmed by AJC President Elmer L. Winter—they advocated for issues broader than just emigration, such as promoting Jewish "cultural and religious rights" in the USSR for Jews "who cannot leave or do not want to."[143]

133 Steven F. Windmueller, "The 'Noshrim' War: Dropping Out," in *A Second Exodus,* 164; Lazin, *The Struggle for Soviet Jewry in American Politics*, 10.

134 Tom Segev, *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993) 393.

135 Segev, *The Seventh Million,* 393.

136 Levanon, "Israel's Role in the Campaign," 81.

137 "Soviet Jewish Emigration: Questions and Answers" (New York: American Jewish Committee, December 1976), 3, AJC Digital Archives.

138 A dropout "who believes his choice is between going to a paradise [the US] or to a country where his son will be shot in the Israeli army does not really have a choice." Levanon, "Israel's Role in the Campaign," 82.

139 Lazin, *The Struggle for Soviet Jewry in American Politics*, 108.

140 Windmueller, "The 'Noshrim' War," 170-171.

141 "Soviet Jews: Israel Wants Them All," *Time* 108, no. 21 (November 22, 1976): 49; Gal Beckerman, *When They Come for Us, We'll Be Gone: The Epic Struggle to Save Soviet Jewry* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2010), 361.

142 Lazin, *The Struggle for Soviet Jewry in American Politics*, 108. In December 1976, the AJC reported that the "HIAS and JDC are continuing their services as heretofore." See "Soviet Jewish Emigration: Questions and Answers," 5; Orbach, *The American Movement to Aid Soviet Jews*, 76; Lazin, *The Struggle for Soviet Jewry in American Politics*, 108.

143 Elmer L. Winter, "Report of the Year's Activities, May 1974-May 1975" (New York: American Jewish Committee, May 1975), 14, AJC Digital Archives. Although American Jewish leaders were not entirely unified in their support for freedom of choice, those who invoked the memory of the Holocaust—

Conclusion

The direct contravention of the Committee of Eight's directions by American Jewish organizations—motivated by the need to aid Soviet Jews, including *noshrim*—was unthinkable in the early 1960s when the Soviet Jewish movement was a relatively low priority for American Jews. The shift from advocacy for universalistic causes, such as the civil rights movement, to Jewish-centric causes can be explained by the rise of Holocaust consciousness in the late 1960s. As a result of a confluence of political, social, and structural changes in the late 1960s, including the American responses to the Six Day War in 1967, American Jewish organizations reoriented their policy to firmly support Israel and advocate for Soviet Jewish emigration. Though originally used as a tactic by the Liaison Bureau to mobilize American Jews, emphasis on the comparison between the Holocaust and the plight of Soviet Jews ultimately resulted in a divergence of the strategic goals of American Jewish organizations and the Israeli government by the early 1970s. In this way, Israeli control over the American Soviet Jewry movement waned as the strength of American Jewish Holocaust memory increased. The contrasts between American Jewish and Israeli objectives regarding Soviet Jewry delineates the differences in these populations' respective Holocaust collective memories. For American Jews, the Soviet Jewry movement was redemptive of past guilt for inaction to save persecuted European Jews. The moment that compliance with Israeli directives conflicted with the American Jewish fulfillment of the command of "Never Again," the American Jewish establishment's choice was clear.

and guilt associated with US refusal of entry to Jewish refugees fleeing persecution and genocide—were successful in consolidating support.

A Long, Hot Summer: The 1964 Columbia Avenue Race Riot and the Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia

By Hannah Fagin, University of Pennsylvania

On Friday, August 28, 1964 at approximately 9:20 PM, Black police officer Robert Wells made a routine stop when he discovered a stalled car parked diagonally on the intersection of Twenty-second Street and Columbia Avenue in North Philadelphia, blocking both lanes of traffic.[1] When Wells approached the vehicle, married couple Odessa and Rush Bradford, both Black, age thirty-four, and intoxicated, were involved in a domestic dispute.[2] According to the Official Police Report, when Wells intervened, "She [Odessa] cursed, punched, and kicked at him and her husband."[3] John Hoff, a white police officer, soon provided backup and the two officers attempted forcibly to remove Odessa from the vehicle. While the interaction escalated, a crowd formed on the busy street during peak nightlife hours. By 9:28 PM, the violence intensified when a man from the crowd, James Mettles, charged the police officers.[4] Officer Wells reported that at the time of the initial incident, there were already seventy-five to eighty onlookers at the scene, all witnessing the attacker who "fought like a madman."[5]

By the time that Mettles and Bradford were arrested, a large crowd had gathered. The heavy concentration of bars and nightclubs that came alive on Friday nights on Columbia Avenue served as a breeding ground for rumors to spread and for angry onlookers to rush to the scene.[6] A resident, later identified as the local Black Nationalist organizer Shaykh Muhammad, spread a false rumor proclaiming that a white police officer had beaten a pregnant Black woman, instigating the crowd.[7] The rumor further exacerbated preexisting tensions about police brutality against Black individuals in the neighborhood, which Philadelphia newspapers had been regularly reporting in preceding years.[8] The disproportionate incarceration rates of Black individuals in Philadelphia and the tensions between North Philadelphia residents and the police merited the conclusion (although not unanimously so) that the riot was a spontaneous reaction to decades of systematic oppression.[9]

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The Columbia Avenue riot followed a wave of race riots that occurred throughout the United States in the summer of 1964, a pattern that would continue throughout the 1960s, where racial tensions exploded into violent confrontations.[10]

1 "Official Police Report on Riot," Summary and Chronological Order of Events Concerning the Riotous Incident at 22nd & Columbia Ave., on Friday, August 28, 1964. Box 16 Police Department A-4421, Folder: Police-North Philadelphia Report on Riot. Mayor's Correspondences and Files Records, Administration of James H.J. Tate, Record No. 60.2.5. City Archives, Philadelphia.

2 Lenora E. Berson, *Case Study of a Riot: The Philadelphia Story* (New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, American Jewish Committee, 1966), 15.

3 "Official Police Report on Riot."

4 Martin J. Herman & John F. Morrison, "Looting Gangs Disregard Mayor's Curfew Orders, Policemen, Windows Are Pelted," *Sunday Bulletin*, August 30, 1964. Box 47, Folder 15: Riots in North Philadelphia 1964-65. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

5 Robert Wells, "Attacker Fought Madly, Says 1st Officer at Scene," *Sunday Bulletin*, August 30, 1964. Box 47, Folder 15: Riots in North Philadelphia 1964-65. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

6 Courtney Ann Lyons, "Burning Columbia Avenue: Black Christianity, Black Nationalism, and 'Riot Liturgy' in the 1964 Philadelphia Race Riot," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 77, no. 3 (Summer 2010): 330.

7 "Official Police Report on Riot."

8 Wil Mara, *Civil Unrest in the 1960s: Riots and Their Aftermath* (Tarrytown, New York: Marshall Cavendish Corporation, 2010), 54.

9 Karl E. Johnson, "Police-Black Community Relations in Postwar Philadelphia: Race and Criminalization in Urban Social Spaces, 1945-1960," *The Journal of African American History* 89, no. 2, "African Americans and the Urban Landscape" (Spring, 2004): 120.

10 This essay will use the term "race riot" to define the incident on Columbia Avenue. There is no single explanation for the Columbia Avenue riot, but the rioters were motivated by a combination of unemployment, poor housing conditions, and decades of exploitation and discrimination. However, the Columbia Avenue race riot was above all an act of rebellion against the oppression of the white power structure. As in most race riots of the decade, the violence in Philadelphia involved black rioters targeting white-owned businesses. Although riots have a clear start and end date, the ongoing racial conflict that

The majority of race riots in the 1960s significantly affected the Jewish community, since almost all businesses targeted by looting, violence, and vandalism were Jewish-owned. The Columbia Avenue Riot was no exception. The role of the organized Jewish community in the riot can be specifically examined through the work of the Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia (JCRC), an organization established in 1939 that still exists today.[11] The JCRC was principally conceived as a means for establishing local dialogue and programming among interfaith and interreligious communities.[12] While it concerned itself with issues like Israel and Holocaust remembrance, in the 1960s, its efforts focused particularly on Black-Jewish relations.[13]

Historically, the Columbia Avenue neighborhood in North Central Philadelphia had a large Jewish population, but following national demographic trends of white flight, Jews increasingly moved out of lower-income neighborhoods in the postwar era just as the Black population began to rise.[14] This created an unequal balance of power in the Black-Jewish relationship along both class and racial lines, since Jews were often the landlords and business owners in Black neighborhoods, yet lived elsewhere in emerging middle class areas of the city. Although the Columbia Avenue riot was a spontaneous and unorganized uprising, many Jews felt victimized by the events and suggested anti-Semitism as a potential motivating factor.[15] Likewise, Black leaders held Jewish merchants and landlords partly accountable, with claims of exploitative business and housing practices as one of the greatest causes of racial tensions in the neighborhood.[16]

While contemporary observers and historians have viewed the riot as the nadir in the fallout between Blacks and Jews, Black and Jewish leaders, along with some elected officials, did rally together for a common cause in the midst of the riot. The storeowners affected by the looting were predominantly Jewish, motivating the Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia to assume a particularly large role in the riot's aftermath.[17] As the violence settled, collaboration deteriorated between Black and Jewish groups as deep-seated tensions between the two communities surfaced more visibly. Blacks and Jews differed in their assessments of what had predicated violence, expressed divergent perceptions of the police response, and disagreed about the best strategies to employ going forward. The effects of the riot on either group differed as well. Jews were the obvious and visible victims of the riot's property damage. However, it was the Black community who actually resided on Columbia Avenue that suffered the more long-term consequences of the neighborhood's subsequent deterioration, a factor that often went unnoticed by the city administration and the media. The riot altered the JCRC's approach to Black-Jewish relations in two key respects. First, the riot intensified long-existing hostilities between the Black and Jewish communities in neighborhoods like Columbia Avenue on both an organizational and interpersonal level. Second, the violence radicalized Jewish public opinion. As Black residents grew increasingly distrustful of Jewish business owners and organizations, some Jewish Philadelphians expressed waning support for the JCRC's civil rights efforts, complicating the organization's mandate to improve the relationship between Blacks and Jews.

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The traffic stop on August 28, 1964, was minor, but the dissemination of the rumor and the swelling vengeful energy of the angry crowd precipitated an escalation of violence. Around 9:45 PM, rioters started raining bricks and debris down from rooftops.[18] By 11:15 that night, the crowd had grown in size to about five hundred, and rioters enacted more overt violence as they threw bricks and objects directly at police and police cars; they also began to smash store windows and vandalize shops.[19] By approximately 11:45, outright looting commenced, resulting in police officers making their first arrests around 2:00 AM on Saturday morning.[20] Looting continued until dawn, and the riot's epicenter expanded from Twenty-second Street and Columbia Avenue to the surrounding blocks. By the

fueled the escalation of violence extended long before and after this temporal confine.

11 Paul Lyons, "Philadelphia Jews and Radicalism: The American Jewish Congress Cleans House," in *Philadelphia Jewish Life, 1940-2000* ed. Murray Friedman (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), 61.

12 "Statement on the Primary Function and Activities of the JCRC," May 5, 1950. Box 58, Folder 1: Jewish Community Relations Council—1944-1958. Fellowship Commission (Philadelphia, Pa.) Records, Acc. 626. Temple University, Urban Archives.

13 "Summary Report for 1960-1961." Box 1, Folder: Annual & Summary Reports/Program Plans 1960-1965. Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia Collection, 1955-1970, Acc. I-372, American Jewish Historical Society, Center for Jewish History.

14 Berson, *Case Study of a Riot*, 23.

15 Jules Cohen, Memorandum, August 31, 1964, Subject: The Role of the JCRC in the North Philadelphia Rioting. Box 18, Folder 2: JCRC Race Relations. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives, 3.

16 G.A. Wilson, "Cecil Moore takes a look at 'His City,'" *Pennsylvania Guardian,* vo. 2, no. 23, June 7, 1963. Microfilm Collection, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania.

17 Stanly Keith Arnold, *Building the Beloved Community: Philadelphia's Interracial Civil Rights Organizations and Race Relations, 1930-1970* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2014), 64.

18 "Official Police Report on Riot."

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

riot's conclusion, "there was hardly a store with glass intact on Columbia from 15th to 24th Street, or on Ridge from Columbia to Jefferson."[21]

Black civil rights and community leaders tried almost immediately to prevent the riot from escalating, although to little success. Participating leaders included Congressman Robert Nix, Reverend Leon Sullivan, Stanley Branche, head of CORE, and Georgie Woods, a popular disc jockey and radio personality.[22] Cecil B. Moore, the militant NAACP branch president and a resident of North Central Philadelphia, was in Atlantic City, New Jersey, attending the Democratic National Convention at the time of the riot, but arrived by 3:45 AM on Saturday.[23] The city administration specifically requested his assistance to quell the violence.[24] Despite his prominence in the neighborhood, he tried with little avail to stop rioters and a *Sunday Bulletin* headline read, "Crowd Jeers Cecil Moore, Ignored Pleas to Disperse."[25] Florence Mobley, later identified as a major perpetrator of the riot, reportedly yelled at Moore, "we don't need the NAACP; we don't need civil rights; and we don't need Cecil Moore. There are enough of you out here to kill all the...cops."[26] The crowd's resistance to Black leadership demonstrated the pervasive mob mentality, although only a minority of the Black community participated in the riot. Rioters were motivated in part by incontrollable rage and a quest to gain material possessions from looted bounty. They also considered the riot a symbolic rebellion against the oppression of Black people. While Black organizational leaders promoted a vision of racial equality that many rioters likely shared, they condemned the senselessly violent tactics. Black leaders' inability to halt the rioters indicates the limitations of institutional actors, and suggests that within the Black community (just as within the Jewish community), a disparity existed between organizations and public sentiments.

On August 29 at 11:00 AM, the Municipal Commission on Human Relations called for a meeting of community leaders to help assess the situation.[27] They concluded, "The principle recommendation to which the group unanimously agreed was that the Mayor and the police use whatever force necessary to restore law and order to the community."[28] At noon, Democratic Mayor James H. J. Tate held a press conference where he declared an Emergency Proclamation.[29] He defined the riot area from Poplar Street to Lehigh Avenue and from Tenth to Thirty-third Streets (Figures 1 & 2), and commanded everyone in the area "to immediately disperse themselves and peaceably depart to their habitation or to their lawful businesses."[30] This emergency provision lasted until September 8 and established a curfew, shutting down all establishments that sold liquor and requiring all citizens to return home upon the discretionary request of police officers.[31] Many residents ignored the curfew, leading to more arrests.[32] Leaders such as Cecil B. Moore sharply criticized the Mayor's proclamation, particularly in the middle of the hot summer, and declared it "unenforceable," warning, "If these people stayed in their homes, they'd roast to death."[33] The proclamation also restricted the right of residents to assemble publicly, with the sole exception of Sunday, August 30th. Mayor Tate recognized the importance of church in the Black community and permitted attendance for worship, although he strongly encouraged congregants to stay home[34] and many

21 Berson, *Case Study of a Riot,* 16.
22 "The Philadelphia Story," Editorial, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 31, 1964. Box 61, Folder 44: Race Relations-Riots-Columbia Ave (2). Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.
23 Berson, *Case Study of a Riot,* 17.
24 "Cecil Moore Criticizes Mayor Tate For 'Ignoring" NAACP in N. Phila.," *Philadelphia Independent*, September 12, 1964. Box 61, Folder 44: Race Relations-Riots-Columbia Ave (2). Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.
25 "Crowd Jeers Cecil Moore, Ignores Pleas to Disperse," *Sunday Bulletin*, August 30, 1964. Box 47, Folder 15: Riots in Northern Philadelphia 1964-65. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.
26 Sara A. Borden, "Civil Rights in a Northern City: Black Militants," Library.Temple.edu, http://northerncity.library.temple.edu/exhibits/show/civil-rights-in-a-northern-cit/people-and-places/black-militants.
27 Berson, *Case Study of a Riot,* 18.
28 Lary Groth, Memorandum to Community Leaders and Intergroup Health and Welfare Agencies, Subject: Disturbances in North Philadelphia, September 3, 1964. Box 22, Folder 24: North Phila Riots August 1964. Fellowship Commission (Philadelphia, Pa.) Records, Acc. 626. Temple University, Urban Archives.
29 Berson, *Case Study of a Riot,* 19.
30 "Mayor's Order for Riot Area," *Philadelphia Bulletin*, August 30, 1964. Box 47, Folder 15: Riots in Northern Philadelphia 1964-65. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.
31 Matthew J. Countryman, *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 159.
32 "Arrests from Rioting," Undated Document. Box 15 Police Department A-4420, Folder: Police-North Philadelphia (1). Mayor's Correspondences and Files Records, Administration of James H.J. Tate, Record No. 60.2.5. City Archives, Philadelphia.
33 "Columbia av. Open to pedestrians from 6 AM to 6PM," *Evening Bulletin*, August 31, 1964. Box 47, Folder 15: Riots in Northern Philadelphia 1964-65. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.
34 Joseph R, Daughen, "Don't Go To Church, Tate Says," Unknown Paper, August 30, 1964. Box 47, Folder 15: Riots in Northern Philadelphia 1964-65. Jewish Community Relation

ministers canceled services.[35] Tate forced the NAACP to cancel its previously scheduled voter registration and education rally in Fairmount Park over Labor Day weekend, even though he had already issued a permit.[36] Angry members of the community interpreted Tate's actions as a sign that he distrusted Black people and considered them incapable of assembling peacefully.[37]

On Saturday, August 29, during the daylight hours following the riot, the scene remained relatively quiet, but by 9:00 PM, another wave of rioting swept through the neighborhood. The same pattern of peace during the day followed by evening looting occurred on Sunday, although more sporadically and without major incident. By Monday, August 31, Columbia Avenue remained calm and the city administration declared the riot over. The police presence peaked at 3,500 officers over the ten-day period from August 28 to September 8, referred to by the Police Department as "Operation Columbia."[38] Mayor Tate insisted that he would call in state police or the National Guard if it became necessary, but maintained that the Philadelphia Police Department had the situation under control with over 1,500 officers on the scene by August 30.[39] State police were invited to Philadelphia and one hundred officers remained on standby if immediate back up became necessary, although they were never called to the scene.[40] In retrospect, observers credited these police decisions for bringing the Philadelphia riot to a relatively quick conclusion, and for limiting the damage compared to the hundreds of riots that erupted during America's "long, hot summers" from 1964 to 1968.

Nevertheless, the total damage in the Columbia Avenue race riot was staggering. Although the final counts differed, the riot led to approximately 300 arrests, 339 injuries, including to 100 police officers, along with three million dollars in property damage, not to mention overtime payment for police officers who worked upwards of twelve hour shifts during the incident.[41] There were two deaths, both civilians "who were shot while assaulting police officers."[42] One of the victims was identified as twenty-one year old Robert Green, [43] who reportedly charged an officer with a knife.[44] Curiously, the two fatalities garnered little media attention. In fact, many journalists appeared unaware of their occurrence and failed to report them at all. Historical accounts of the riot also fail to identify the two victims or offer explanations for what altercations occurred. For all the injuries, property damage and even two deaths, the Columbia Avenue riot paled in comparison to the destruction witnessed in other American cities during the 1960s, most notably the Watts Riot in Los Angeles in August of 1965. Watts was also sparked by a traffic incident, yet by comparison, it would claim thirty-four lives, four thousand arrests, and thirty-five million dollars' worth of property damage.[45]

The Riot and Anti-Semitism

Although most Philadelphians reacted in horror to the pure destruction and violence of the riot, the Jewish community responded with a particular and distinct set of concerns. The JCRC issued a quick public response and its leaders felt compelled to act, since so many Jews were affected.[46] The JCRC explicitly focused on the riot's immediate effects on the Jewish community and provided suggestions for dealing with the ongoing situation. In a memorandum released on August 31st, Executive Director Jules Cohen specifically addressed constituents' anxiety over anti-Semitism as a potential motivating factor for the riot.[47]

Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

35 Lyons, "Burning Columbia Avenue," 334.

36 William O. Miller, Second Baptist Church, Letter to Mayor Tate, Undated. Box 15 Police Department A-4420, Folder: Police-North Philadelphia (1). Mayor's Correspondences and Files Records, Administration of James H.J. Tate, Record No. 60.2.5. City Archives, Philadelphia.

37 Ibid.

38 Unlabeled Document, Undated. Box 16 Police Department A-4421, Folder: Police-North Philadelphia Statement & Proclamation. Mayor's Correspondences and Files Records, Administration of James H.J. Tate, Record No. 60.2.5. City Archives, Philadelphia.

39 Joseph R, Daughen, "Don't Go To Church, Tate Says," Unknown Paper, August 30, 1964.

40 "Over 250 arrests," *Evening Bulletin*, August 31, 1964. Box 47, Folder 15: Riots in Northern Philadelphia 1964-65. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

41 Countryman, *Up South*, 159.

42 "Official Police Report on Riot."

43 William B. Jones, "Eye Witness Staffman Tells Story of Riots," *Philadelphia Independent*, September 5, 1964. Box 18, Folder 1: North Philadelphia Riots File # 1—Beginning August 26, 1964. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

44 Jeff Gammage,"The riot that forever changed a neighborhood, and Philadelphia," *Philly.com*, August 25, 2014, http://articles.philly.com/2014-08-25/news/53171374_1_riot-columbia-avenue-north-philadelphia.

45 Michael W. Flamm, *Law and Order: Street Crime, Civil Unrest, and the Crisis of Liberalism in the 1960s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 58.

46 Jules Cohen, Memorandum, Subject: The Role of the JCRC in the North Philadelphia Rioting, August 31, 1964. Box 18, Folder 2: JCRC Race Relations. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

47 Jules Cohen, Memorandum, August 31, 1964, The Role of the JCRC in the North Philadelphia Rioting.

The JCRC's two chief concerns were the damage to Jewish-owned businesses and the negative implications that the riot might have on Black-Jewish relations. According to Cohen, the riots threatened to undermine relations between Blacks and Jews, particularly because so many Jewish Philadelphians believed that anti-Semitism had been a root cause of the violence. During the weekend of rioting, the JCRC hesitated to proclaim unequivocally that anti-Semitism played absolutely no role in the riot, although JCRC leadership clearly maintained an opinion that the riot was not caused by anti-Semitism.[48] Leaders suggested that a thorough study would be necessary for more conclusive answers.[49] This tactic allowed the JCRC to downplay the notion that hatred for Jews had sparked the riot while still validating anxious constituents with lived experiences of anti-Semitism. [50] The JCRC's leadership was eager to resume work on establishing interracial dialogue and providing direct aid to the riot's victims; yet, its responsibility to address the needs of uneasy constituents demanded a response to pervasive concerns about anti-Semitism in subsequent public statements.

Because anti-Semitism provoked such widespread attention and panic within the Jewish community in the wake of the riot, the JCRC felt compelled to respond. For individual Jews, especially ones directly affected by the looting, anti-Semitism was not a theoretical concern, but a lived fear and a perceived threat to their safety. Jewish storeowner Morris Gerson, President of the North Central Retail Drug Association, wrote to Jules Cohen explaining how deeply he was unsettled by the riot.[51] He compared the experience of having his store vandalized to the virulent anti-Semitism that Jews had experienced in Eastern Europe. For Gerson, "the Horrible nightmare" resembled "the Old Russian Pogroms."[52] In her 1971 book, *The Negro and the Jew*, Lenora Berson also perpetuated this image, titling her chapter on the race riot, "Riots and Pogroms."[53] The very notion of a pogrom carries particular meaning within the Jewish community, invoking feelings of vulnerability and fear. While in hindsight, it is clear that the Columbia Avenue riot does not meet such definition, during the weekend of rioting, some Jews truly believed that they had been victimized because of their ethnic identity.

Mayor Tate also addressed the issue of anti-Semitism, likely because of pressure from the JCRC and other Jewish agencies. By 10:30 PM on Sunday, August 30, Tate issued a press release that rejected anti-Semitism as a cause of the riot and concluded, "even the suggestion of such [anti-Semitism] can do serious damage to good intergroup relations which are essential to the welfare of the city."[54] He underscored the citywide concerns about targeting Jewish merchants—anxieties that extended beyond the bounds of Columbia Avenue. Mayor Tate and the JCRC shared the same pragmatic desire to reduce the emphasis on anti-Semitism as a cause of the riot. The very idea of an anti-Semitic motivation for rioting posed a direct threat to Black-Jewish relations and to Philadelphia's community relations more generally. Tate and the JCRC perceived that severing ties between the Black and Jewish communities might endanger the city's long-term stability and open the floodgates for further violence.

While anti-Semitism did not provoke the riot, looters did target white-owned businesses, and on Columbia Avenue, most of those were owned by Jews. Historian Matthew Countryman explains that of the 170 stores in a five-block radius of the Bradford incident, only fifty-four stores had been spared, fifty-two of which were Black-owned.[55] Of the two remaining stores, one was owned by a Chinese family and the other was a clandestine abortion provider who served the neighborhood. Countryman explains that, "The only Black owned stores to be damaged over the course of the weekend were those that failed to identify themselves as such."[56] A few weeks after the incident, *Time Magazine* reported, "The only Negro store that got wrecked was owned by a man named Richberg. They thought he was a Jew. A Chinaman up there put a sign on his store saying, 'I'm colored too!'"[57] To many Jews, the pattern of looting provided evidence of anti-Semitism. However, the violence was more of a rebellion against "the economics of ghetto business rather than interpersonal relationships with merchants."[58] Rioting occurred around color lines, not based

48 Ibid.
49 Ibid.
50 "Summary Report for 1963-1964." Box 1, Folder: "Action Program on Soviet Jewry for Jewish Organizations" 1968-1970. Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia Collection, 1955-1970, Acc. I-372, American Jewish Historical Society, Center for Jewish History.
51 Morris Gerson, Letter to Jules Cohen, September 2, 1964. Box 61, Folder 44: Race Relations - Riots-Columbia Ave (2) 1964. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.
52 Ibid.
53 Lenora E. Berson, *The Negroes And The Jews* (New York: Random House, 1971), 331.
54 "Mayor announces City Efforts to Aid merchants in North Philadelphia," August 30, 1964, attached to Memorandum, August 31, 1964, Subject: The Role of the JCRC in the North Philadelphia Rioting. Box 18, Folder 2: JCRC Race Relations. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.
55 Countryman, *Up South*, 159.
56 Ibid.
57 "The Goddam Boss," TIME MAGAZINE, September 11, 1964. Box 18, Folder 1: North Philadelphia Riots File # 1—Beginning August 26, 1964. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.
58 Jonathan J. Bean, "'Burn, Baby, Burn': Small Business in the Urban Riots of the 1960s," *Independent Review: A Journal of*

primarily on the reputations of merchants or their ethnic affiliations.

While JCRC leaders ruled out anti-Semitism as a proximate cause, the organization wanted to procure more decisive evidence to bolster its claim. At the end of September, Jules Cohen suggested "the possibility of having a study done in an effort to determine to what extent, if any, anti-Semitism may have been a factor."[59] The American Jewish Committee (AJC), a JCRC member organization, independently launched an investigation[60] that resulted in the 1966 publication of *Case Study of A Riot: The Philadelphia Story*, authored by Lenora Berson.[61] Murray Friedman, director of the AJC, explained that the purpose of the publication was to identify potential causes of the riot and offer solutions to avoid racial violence in the future. He specified, "The results of this study are very gratifying because they clearly show that the riot was not anti-Semitic [sic] in character in spite of considerable anti-Jewish feelings in North Philadelphia which must be faced as an element in community tensions."[62] This report, conducted by the well-respected American Jewish Committee, firmly discounted anti-Semitism as a motivating factor in the riots, but it also revealed the racially charged tensions simmering in the neighborhood.

The JCRC's interest in anti-Semitism speaks to its focus on Jewish communal concerns throughout the handling of the riot. It would have been impossible for the JCRC to continue its efforts to maintain Black-Jewish dialogue and collaboration if the Jewish community was paralyzed by fear, and JCRC leaders recognized the need to address Jewish uneasiness in the wake of the riot. Combatting anti-Semitism was also something explicitly contained in the JCRC's mandate along with a broader program of social justice. The JCRC faced increasing challenges in addressing larger issues of poverty, housing, and unemployment after the riot. While these conditions motivated rioters, they affected the Black community far more acutely than they touched the JCRC's Jewish constituents. The JCRC was self-conscious of its limitations as a white organization, and its leaders understood that Black organizations needed to speak on behalf of their own community. Jules Cohen contemplated producing a joint statement together with the Board of Rabbis and the Council of Churches, such as in the Susquehanna riot,[63] but he decided against it, writing, "there was a question as to whether the involvement of whites would help or exacerbate the feelings."[64] Cohen understood that during the riot, the JCRC could best serve the Philadelphia community by focusing on its Jewish constituents to avoid overstepping racial boundaries.

Reactions to Police Response

The riot exposed one of the key points of differentiation between the Black and Jewish communities, namely the radically divergent experience of each group with police. Many Jewish merchants who fell victim to frequent acts of vandalism and shoplifting expressed dissatisfaction with what they perceived as lenient police presence in the Columbia Avenue neighborhood. By contrast, many Black residents considered the neighborhood overly policed and believed that officers committed acts of brutality that overtly targeted Black individuals. The varied reactions to the police response in the riot underscored this distinction. It also revealed the disparity between organizational stances and public sentiments. Although the JCRC and virtually every other Jewish organization approved of the police's response during the weekend of rioting, many Jews who watched their stores destroyed with little police intervention disapproved of the police department's tactics.

As the JCRC was quick to point out, most of the violence during the riot targeted businesses rather than individuals.[65] As a result of police experience in the Susquehanna Avenue riot, Police Commissioner Howard Leary indicated that his officers would favor protecting human lives over the potential destruction of property if future racial conflicts occurred.[66] The JCRC commended police restraint for preventing an escalation of violence, especially in comparison to the militarized police responses to sit-ins and protests in the South. Cohen supported

Political Economy 5, no. 2 (Fall 2000): 170.

59 Jules Cohen, Memorandum to Nat Agran, Subject: Two Matters for Follow-Up, September 25, 1964. Box 18, Folder 1: North Philadelphia Riots File # 1—Beginning August 26, 1964. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

60 Jules Cohen, Letter to Rabbi Samuel H. Dresner, January 6, 1965. Box 61, Folder 43: Race Relations-Riots-Columbia Ave (1) 1965. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

61 Berson, *Case Study of a Riot*.

62 Meeting Minutes, Fellowship Commission Committee on Community Tensions, Subject: Case Study of A Riot, March 4, 1966. Box 55, Folder 13: Riots 1966. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

63 Rev. Henry H. Nichols, President Greater Philadelphia Council of Churches & Rabbi Morris Pickholz, President Board of Rabbis of Greater Philadelphia, Public Statement on the Susquehanna Avenue Rioting, October 28, 1963. Box 45, Folder 61: Susquehanna Ave Riot. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

64 Cohen, "The Role of the JCRC in the North Philadelphia Rioting," August 31, 1964.

65 Ibid.

66 Berson, *Case Study of a Riot*, 17.

the city administration, insisting, "I believe the police acted very wisely in the circumstances. Had the police used the fire hoses, dogs, horses and other extreme measures which unthinking people called for, I am convinced Philadelphia would have been visited with a real blood bath."[67] Police actions were also dictated by logistical constraints. Officers were instructed to focus on the de-escalation of violence while minimizing arrests in order to keep officers on the scene, partially due to understaffing during the initial hours of the riot.[68]

Not all members of the Jewish community shared the JCRC's support of police tactics. Although the city administration insisted that the police had not been prevented from making arrests or banned from using violent measures when necessary, many merchants watched as their businesses were destroyed without police intervention. In the wake of the riot, some Jews, particularly those who lived or owned property near Columbia Avenue, criticized the police for their failure to control the looting and chaos. Police Commissioner Leary defended the department, explaining, "The Philadelphia Police Force does not use violent methods except when required to avoid imminent injury or death to either police officers or civilians."[69]

Jewish merchants' dissatisfaction with the police was not just restricted to the weekend of the riot. Many Jewish business owners in North Philadelphia felt that the police had failed to protect them adequately for several years, and some concluded that with greater police intervention before the riot, the escalating violence might have been avoided. A merchant wrote to Mayor Tate on September 1, "Had the police apprehended the gang of vandals that ruined my store four times, perhaps this big one would not have happened."[70] For him, the persistent targeting of his store and the passivity of prior police responses provided a gateway for larger tensions. The fear of future eruptions of violence also lingered after the riot. Storeowners expressed particular concern that while they attended Jewish High Holidays services in September, their businesses would be at risk. Mayor Tate received letters from constituents, specifically asking for extra police presence during the Jewish holidays.[71]

The disappointment with the police's response transcended the concern of the Jewish community. The media mocked the police's inaction and perceived weakness. A cartoon in a South Philadelphia newsletter depicted two police officers looking on as a hooded man with a gun in his pocket and nightstick in hand violently robs a store, and a merchant begs for help as his business is being looted (Figure 3).[72] The officers are comically illustrated as caricatures, incompetent to provide any help. This depiction reflected the extreme outrage that many citizens felt, particularly those in the Jewish community. However, not everyone disagreed with the police response. Progressive minded Jews and other individuals recognized the police's success in avoiding causalities, and commended them for such restraint.

While the Jewish community focused on the police response in terms of protection of property, the Black community expressed great concern about police brutality. Despite his militancy and general distrust of the police, during the riot Cecil B. Moore initially supported police behavior and collaborated with the city administration. On August 30, Moore emphasized that the "NAACP does not intend to charge the police with brutality" and that only a few cases of violent police action had occurred during the riot (Figure 4).[73] While Moore commended the police efforts in the three days of the riots from August 28 to 30, he claimed that the policing of the area from August 31 to September 7 demonstrated "vindictive racial bigotry."[74] According to Moore, the Black residents of Columbia Avenue were "as much victims of the riots as the merchants" due to their abuse by the police.[75] The African-American *Philadelphia Tribune* reported that white

67 Jules Cohen, Letter to Charlotte C. Meacham, November 10, 1964. Box 61, Folder 44: Race Relations-Riots-Columbia Ave (2) 1964. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

68 Jules Cohen, Letter to Charlotte C. Meacham, November 10, 1964.

69 Howard R. Leary, "Statement by Police Commissioner Howard R. Leary," August 31, 1964. Box 16 Police Department A-4421, Folder: Police-North Philadelphia Statement & Proclamation. Mayor's Correspondences and Files Records, Administration of James H.J. Tate, Record No. 60.2.5. City Archives, Philadelphia.

70 Morris Gordin, Letter to Mayor Tate, September 1, 1964. Box 15 Police Department A-4420, Folder: Police-North Philadelphia Letters. Mayor's Correspondences and Files Records, Administration of James H.J. Tate, Record No. 60.2.5. City Archives, Philadelphia.

71 Max L. Cohen, Letter to Mayor Tate, September 3, 1964. Box 15 Police Department A-4420, Folder: Police-North Philadelphia (1). Mayor's Correspondences and Files Records, Administration of James H.J. Tate, Record No. 60.2.5. City Archives, Philadelphia.

72 Cartoon, *South Philadelphia West Review*, vo. 7, no. 14, September 3, 1964. Box 16 Police Department A-4421, Folder: Police-North Philadelphia Newspaper Articles. Mayor's Correspondences and Files Records, Administration of James H.J. Tate, Record No. 60.2.5. City Archives, Philadelphia.

73 "Crowd Jeers Cecil Moore, Ignores Pleas to Disperse," *Sunday Bulletin,* August 30, 1964.

74 Cecil B. Moore, Letter to Mayor Tate, September 8, 1965. Box 15 Police Department A-4420, Folder: Police-North Philadelphia (2). Mayor's Correspondences and Files Records, Administration of James H.J. Tate, Record No. 60.2.5. City Archives, Philadelphia.

75 Ibid.

police officers beat three different families inside of their homes on the Monday and Tuesday after the riot for disobeying the curfew.[76] The Police Advisory Board received one complaint on August 31, alleging that the police beat a man inside of his home and threw his sixteen-month-old baby across the room.[77] The complaint described the police violence "as a result of the rioting."[78]

Long before the riot occurred, police brutality preoccupied the Black community in North Central Philadelphia. While Jews often complained about lack of police protection, many Black individuals remembered being targeted and brutalized by police. Cecil B. Moore also compared the victimization of merchants during the riot with the long history of Black individuals being brutalized by the police. Moore went so far as to write to Mayor Tate demanding reparations for "Negroes and Whites who were victims of your police license to impose every form of brutal, humiliating and embarrassingly unlawful conduct."[79] Moore claimed that if his request for monetary reparations were refused, the NAACP would boycott "subsidized merchants" who received citywide aid, and in his opinion, preferential treatment by the city's administration. There is no evidence to prove that Moore's demands were ever acknowledged or that the NAACP carried out its threat. Yet, the proposed boycott underscores that leaders understood almost immediately the long-term effects of the riot within the Black community of Columbia Avenue. While Jewish merchants who lost their stores were the most obvious and visible targets of the riot, the Black community, the majority of which did not participate in rioting, suffered the longstanding consequences of the neighborhood's economic and physical deterioration. Like Jewish merchants, many Black residents also feared for their physical safety because of neighborhood crime, but also faced violence at the hands of the police.

Explanations of the Riot

When searching for an explanation for the riots, many groups attempted to interpret the violent rebellion in the context of the Civil Rights Movement. While the organized Jewish community acknowledged the systematic oppression that fueled the violence and its political implications, Jewish leaders generally rejected the notion that riots had a legitimate place in the struggle for civil rights. [80] For example, Jewish groups such as the Anti-Defamation League, a JCRC constituent, denied any permissible connection between the riots and the civil rights campaign, citing as evidence the support Black civil rights leaders gave to the de-escalation of violence.[81] Other contemporary sources argued that in fact, the riot made sense only within the context of the larger movement for equality. An article in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* concluded that the Columbia Avenue riot should be contextualized as a reaction to the failures of legislative solutions like the Civil Rights Act, passed barely two months before the riot, which "hardly touches on the hopes for jobs and housing of Negro slum-dwellers in the North."[82]

The Black community often differed from Jews in interpreting the causes and meanings of the riots. In retrospect, several Black residents of North Philadelphia perceived the riot as an understandable response to the poor standard of living on Columbia Avenue. In an interview, local civil rights activist Kenneth Salaam remarked that fifty years after the riot, he "did feel that some way it was justified, because you know, a lot of them stores would be cheating us, you know, would be cheating the people!...And now's the chance to get some things from them. Then again, a lot of people didn't have a lot of things that those stores offered, you know, so it gave people the opportunity to get some things."[83] For many underserved Philadelphians, the riot presented an opportunity to procure material possessions they could not otherwise afford. As Salaam explained, his perception of thieving Jewish merchants with exploitative credit practices, which he may have very well experienced during his lifetime, served as a justification for looting. Photographs of grinning rioters walking away with heavy and expensive items perpetuated this image (Figure 5). However, this photograph also depicts women standing amidst the rubble with arms crossed and stern facial expressions,

76 Jim Magee, "Brutality Charges Fly in Wake of Riot, 3 North Phila. Families Tell of Police Assaults Claim All-White 'Task Force' Ran Wild Inside Homes," *Philadelphia Tribune*, September 8, 1964. Box 61, Folder 44: Race Relations - Riots-Columbia Ave (2) 1964. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

77 Doris Boldin, City of Philadelphia Police Advisory Board Complaint Record, 2000 N. 11th Street, Complaint Received September 1, 1964. Box 22, Folder 24: North Phila Riots August 1964. Fellowship Commission (Philadelphia, Pa.) Records, Acc. 626. Temple University, Urban Archives.

78 Ibid.

79 Cecil B. Moore, Letter to Mayor Tate, September 8, 1965.

80 Fellowship Commission Committee on Community Tensions, Special Meeting on North Philadelphia Looting and Rioting, Agenda, September 3, 1964.

81 Brant Coopersmith, Anti-Defamation League, Letter to Philadelphia ADL Regional Board, B'nai B'rith Lodge and Chapter Presidents and ADL Chairmen, Subject: North Philadelphia Riot—August 28, 1964, September 2, 1964. Box 22, Folder 24: North Phila Riots August 1964. Fellowship Commission (Philadelphia, Pa.) Records, Acc. 626. Temple University, Urban Archives.

82 "The Philadelphia Story," Editorial, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 31, 1964.

83 Kenneth Salaam, interviewed by Diane Turner for the Charles L. Blockson Afro-American Collection, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, May 9, 2011.

seemingly disproving of the looters' actions. Another former resident interviewed, Mel Dorn, also gave his opinion on a possible justification for rioting. He recalled, "I think we may have got a little respect after that riot…I think the police officers realized one thing, if nothing else: that we can rebel. We can fight back…We can see you a mile away, before you see us…You [referring to a police officer] could be shot, too."[84] Within the Black community, no singular explanation for rioting emerged, and opinions ranged from unequivocal condemnation to partial or even complete justification.

The city administration's initial reaction to the unrest perpetuated conspiracy theories about who incited the riot, perhaps to undermine the systemic issues that truly provoked the violence. One unproven theory alleged that a New York based radical group known as the "Blood Brothers" supposedly planned to stir trouble in Philadelphia, a group defined by the *Sunday Bulletin* as an "extremist faction of the Black Nationalists."[85] The Commission on Human Relations received a report of this threat three weeks before the riot, although it proved to be only a rumor.[86] Another set of rumors included the charge that communists were at fault.[87] Cecil B. Moore argued that attempts to blame outside agitators subverted the fact that the riot was a spontaneous reaction to deep-seated tensions related to police brutality, merchant relations, and issues of poverty and racial oppression that had been brewing for decades.[88] By accusing outsiders, the city administration attempted to understate problems its residents faced and the destructive capacity of these ongoing tensions. Ultimately, in its final report, the FBI determined that the riot was not premeditated or instigated by outsiders.[89]

The city administration would soon uncover the major perpetrators of the riot. After two weeks, police arrested Shaykh Muhammad Hassan, known as Abyssinia Hayes, along with Raymond Hall, known as Yussef Abdullah, and Florence Mobley, all charged with inciting the riot.[90] Muhammad was the leader of the African-Asian Culture Center on Twenty-third Street and Columbia Avenue[91] as well as the National Muslim Improvement Association of America.[92] The police detained Muhammad when they discovered Molotov cocktails, flammable liquids, pistols, knives, and clubs in the Center.[93] The Official Police Report scapegoated Muhammad as the main perpetrator, but his influence over the crowd had, in fact, been fortuitous, since he had not premeditated inciting a riot, but had opportunistically reacted to the incident of perceived police brutality.[94] He was not viewed as a community leader before or after the riot, also reinforcing that his position of influence over the crowds was solely coincidental.[95]

The media continuously painted an exoticized portrait of Muhammad as an eccentric radical. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported, "Muhammad appeared in court wearing a red fez and carrying a box he said contained his personal possessions. A pearl earring pierced his left ear."[96] The newspaper also claimed that, "Muhammad has been thrown out of the Black Muslims because he was 'too militant,' and later formed his own Black Nationalist supremacy group."[97] In an opinion piece for the *Philadelphia Independent,* the author condemned the media's scrutiny of Muhammad, asserting that his original following consisted of only twenty-five people but, "In arresting him, the power structure has succeeded in doing for Muhammad what he couldn't do for himself: they made a big man out of a little

84 Mel Dorn, interviewed by Diane Turner for the Charles L. Blockson Afro-American Collection, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, May 11, 2011.

85 Adolph Katz, 'Rumor of "Blood Brothers' coming on Sept 1," *Sunday Bulletin*, August 30, 1964. Box 47, Folder 15: Riots in Northern Philadelphia 1964-65. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

86 Berson, *Case Study of a Riot,* 21.

87 "FBI Absolves Reds and Racial Issue in Northern Riots," *Philadelphia Bulletin*, September 27, 1964. Box 61, Folder 44: Race Relations - Riots-Columbia Ave (2) 1964. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

88 Adolph Katz, 'Rumor of "Blood Brothers' coming on Sept 1," *Sunday Bulletin,* August 30, 1964.

89 United States Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation REPORT, September 18, 1985. Box 61, Folder 44: Race Relations - Riots-Columbia Ave (2) 1964. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

90 Lyons, "Burning Columbia Avenue," 330.

91 Ibid.

92 "Hassan Denied Bail in Riot Conviction," *Philadelphia Bulletin*, January 13, 1965. Box 61, Folder 43: Race Relations - Riots-Columbia Ave (1) 1965. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

93 Joesph F. Doyle, Captain, Asst. Fire Martial, Letter to William J. Connolly, Fire Marshal, Subject: Arrest for Violation of Fire Code Re: Mohammed Ali Hassan, Colored 34 yrs. AKA Shayak Mohammed 2336-38-40 W. Columbia Ave. Box 15 Police Department A-4420, Folder: Police-North Philadelphia (2). Mayor's Correspondences and Files Records, Administration of James H.J. Tate, Record No. 60.2.5. City Archives, Philadelphia.

94 "Official Police Report on Riot."

95 Ibid.

96 Ibid.

97 Charles J. Gilbert & James S. Lintz, "Tight Security Retained; 'Culture Center' Raided," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 1, 1964. Box 47, Folder 15: Riots in Northern Philadelphia 1964-65. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

one."[98] Muhammad received an eighteen-month jail sentence[99] while Raymond Hall was given a ninety-day sentence,[100] and Florence Mobley was freed without conviction.[101] Cecil B. Moore served as Muhammad's defense attorney during the trial (Figure 6), and claimed that Muhammad had actually attempted to calm down the crowd[102] and that his trial was discriminatory, citing his exorbitant $10,000 bail as evidence of racist treatment.[103] As the city began prosecuting arrested looters by October, officials used the trial process as an opportunity to reestablish a sense of law and order after the riot's lawlessness and to take a harsher stance on the rioters than they had when events were unfolding.[104]

The Jewish community did not have a unified response in reacting to the role of these Black Muslims in the riot. Overall, there is little evidence that the JCRC expressed explicit discomfort about the religious identity of the perpetrators. One *Jewish Exponent* reporter wrote in grossly exaggerated terms about "the currently inherent hatred of 'Muslims' towards Jews," but asserted unequivocally that this "had little to do with the explosion."[105] Maurice Fagan, head of the Fellowship Commission and former JCRC Director, argued, "Seeking external causes, such as the activities of Black Muslims, for example, is only seeking relief from responsibility for such social ills."[106] Jews did not explain the riot simply by scapegoating Black Muslims or targeting Black Nationalist philosophy. Instead, organizations like the JCRC recognized the complexity of deep-rooted issues that sparked the escalation of violence.

The JCRC's Programing in the Riot's Aftermath

In the wake of the riot, the JCRC focused much of its efforts on preserving the Jewish community's commitment to civil rights. It admitted that the riot was a "serious set back to the civil rights movement," presumably in fear that the riot would perpetuate white backlash. The JCRC adopted a rhetorical strategy that consistently distinguished between the small minority of rioters and the larger Black community.[107] Jules Cohen commended the support of Black organizational leaders, as juxtaposed to his labeling the individuals responsible for the riot, as "hoodlums and a disgrace to the community."[108] He specifically emphasized that the efforts of Black organizations to quell the riot successfully prevented it from becoming as explosive and destructive as other riots that occurred in the summer of 1964.[109] The JCRC maintained its commitment to improving Black-Jewish relations even as many members of the Jewish community grew disillusioned and struggled to sympathize with the Black community, although they too suffered from riot. As historian Cheryl Lynn Greenberg explains, "the JCRC continued to engage in civil rights efforts after the riots had chased more fainthearted sympathizers away."[110] A 1967 report conducted by the National Community Relations Advisory Council concluded, "every city experiencing one or more riots reported some Jewish backlash. This varied in intensity from 'indifference' (presumably replacing a more active concern) about civil rights

98 L. P. Real,"Muhammad, Hall and Mobley…Masterminds or Judas Goats?" *Philadelphia Independent*, September 26, 1964. Box 61, Folder 44: Race Relations - Riots-Columbia Ave (2) 1964. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

99 Paul Levy, "Hassan Jailed 18 Months for N. Phila. Riots," *Philadelphia Bulletin*, January 11, 1965. Box 61, Folder 43: Race Relations - Riots-Columbia Ave (1) 1965. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

100 "Rioters Given Term of 99 Days to 9 Mos.," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 9, 1965. Box 61, Folder 43: Race Relations - Riots-Columbia Ave (1) 1965. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

101 "Riot Leader is Sentenced to 18 Months," *Philadelphia Inquirer,* January 18, 1965. Box 61, Folder 43: Race Relations - Riots-Columbia Ave (1) 1965. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

102 "Black Nationalist Held in Raid on Cult Temple," *Evening Bulletin*, September 1, 1964. Box 47, Folder 15: Riots in Northern Philadelphia 1964-65. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

103 "Accused Sect Leader Posts $10,000 Bail," *Philadelphia Independent*, September 5, 1964. Box 18, Folder 1: North Philadelphia Riots File # 1—Beginning August 26, 1964. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

104 "Rioters Jailed in First Trials," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 1, 1964. Box 61, Folder 44: Race Relations-Riots-Columbia Ave (2). Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

105 David G. Wittels, "Jewish Businessmen Suffer As N. Phila. Mobs Run Riot," *Jewish Exponent*, September 4, 1964. Box 18, Folder 2: JCRC Race Relations. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

106 Meeting Minutes, Fellowship Commission Committee on Community Tensions, Subject: Case Study of A Riot, March 4, 1966.

107 "Jewish Council Calls Rioting Rights Setback," *Philadelphia Daily News*, August 31, 1964. Box 61, Folder 44: Race Relations - Riots-Columbia Ave (2) 1964. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

108 Cohen, Memorandum, August 31, 1964, The Role of the JCRC in the North Philadelphia Rioting.

109 Ibid.

110 Cheryl Lynn Greenberg, *Troubling the Waters*: *Black-Jewish Relations in the American Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 224.

and related issues to resentment and hostility towards Negro demands."[111]

"Jewish backlash" was not only aimed against the Black community, but many also blamed Jewish organizations. In an article in the *Jewish Times,* one reader proclaimed,

> We now see our 'escape artists'—JCRC I mean—write articles in the 'Exponent' to explain the Negro frustrations that cause them to do this. We see the JCRC call upon the Jews to 'understand' the Negro—and maybe the police and the police commissioner too—and maybe Mayor Tate needs to be understood. This much some of us understand, that so long as our Jewish leadership and our spokesmen hold Jewish rights so cheap, we must expect Negroes, police and Mayor Tate to treat us as they do and spit in our eye. We get what we ask for![112]

While there was always a gap between the organizational and individual commitment to the Black-Jewish relationship, the riot exposed many attitudes and frustrations that Jews had long harbored. Despite its best efforts, the JCRC was unable to keep organizational actions and Jewish public sentiments aligned, an issue that would influence all of its programming in relation to the riot.

One of the JCRC's first organized responses was a meeting of the Citizens Emergency Committee of North Philadelphia on September 3, a group formed by Black leaders during the Commission on Human Relations' meeting convened in the midst of the riot on August 29.[113] Historian Matthew Countryman explains that the Emergency Committee strove to form a coalition between Black residents and Jewish storeowners.[114] The moderate Black leaders who formed the committee chose to reach out to white moderates like those who participated in the JCRC rather than more influential, radical Back leaders like Cecil B. Moore. Countryman writes, "By choosing to work with the white storeowners rather than with militant activists who could be said to be more closely attuned to the rioters' anger, the black leaders of the citizens' committee were clearly revealing the depth of their commitment to the colorblind ideal."[115] The JCRC participated as a representative of the business community.[116] During the meeting, Jules Cohen reported that upon his suggestion, Mayor Tate agreed to form a committee to study the effect of the riots on civil rights. Cohen also added, "the demonstrations had definite civil rights implications, and that all our agencies should have exerted more pressure on the power structure in Philadelphia to create better housing, job and educational opportunities for Negroes."[117] While the JCRC earned praise from colleagues in the liberal-minded environment of the Emergency Committee Meetings, much of the discussion excluded the increasingly prevalent radical voice in Philadelphia's Civil Rights Movement. It also ignored those Jews who were disillusion with these liberal campaigns in the wake of the riot.

The JCRC spearheaded the planning of a Unity Rally scheduled for September 14 to be held at Emanuel Institutional Baptist Church in North Philadelphia. The flyer for the event read that its purpose was "To demonstrate that North Philadelphia is a community in which Negro and white residents have been friendly neighbors for years and that the unfortunate disorders of the week-end of August 28th will not be permitted to spoil the good name and record of North Philadelphia for good interracial and interreligious relations."[118] The program included remarks the church's reverend, Jules Cohen of the JCRC, and William H. Guben, president of the Columbia Avenue Businessmen's Association.[119] Notable civil rights leaders were again not present and the event followed the JCRC's rhetoric of emphasizing dialogue by bringing together people from different backgrounds in a collective space to talk and socialize.

By mid-September, Jules Cohen wrote to other Community Relations Councils across the country, updating them on the JCRC's reaction to the riot.[120] He commented on several patterns in the Columbia Avenue incident that might be relevant to other northern cities. He remarked that

111 "Impact of Riots and Other Disorders on Jewish Attitudes Towards Civil Rights Issues," National Community Relations Advisory Council, New York, NY, September 1967. Box 23, Folder 15: Riots—Handling and Prevention 1967-1968. Fellowship Commission (Philadelphia, Pa.) Records, Acc. 626. Temple University, Urban Archives.

112 A. Cohen, What do YOU Say?, A Jewish Voice, *Jewish Times,* September 4, 1964. Box 18, Folder 2: JCRC Race Relations. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

113 Countryman, *Up South*, 161.

114 Ibid.

115 Ibid., 162.

116 Fellowship Commission Committee on Community Tensions, Special Meeting on North Philadelphia Looting and Rioting, Agenda, September 3, 1964. Box 22, Folder 24: North Phila Riots August 1964. Fellowship Commission (Philadelphia, Pa.) Records, Acc. 626. Temple University, Urban Archives.

117 Ibid.

118 Unity Rally, Flyer, September 14, 1964. Box 18, Folder 2: JCRC Race Relations. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

119 Ibid.

120 Jules Cohen, Memorandum to CRC's, Subject: The Riots – Some Helpful Hints Along Positive Lines, September 15, 1964. Box 18, Folder 2: JCRC Race Relations. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

despite the existence of Businessmen's Associations, most of which had disproportionately Jewish membership, many merchants and residents lacked substantive interaction with one another and that that there was "poor or non-existent public relations of the merchants."[121] He suggested concrete steps that other community relations organizations could take to prevent riots, including programming to "bring about a joint committee of the businessmen and Negro community leader that will meet on a regular, on-going basis." [122] This essentially proposed an expansion of dialogue-based programs like the Dinner Meetings between Black and Jewish community leaders that the JCRC had already developed. He admitted that his suggestions were "no substitution for grappling with the root causes of the racial crisis, but who knows—establishing such relationships may help to prevent violence and disorder."[123] While the JCRC's rhetoric of dialogue continued after the riot, it lowered the threshold for what it considered successful programming. Cohen was more concerned with avoiding violent confrontation than establishing genuine friendships between Blacks and Jews.

For the Philadelphia business community, the need to rebuild stores was the primary concern in the wake of the riot. While many looked to the JCRC and Jewish organizations for help, the city administration ultimately had the most impact on this front. On August 29 before the looting had even ended, Allen F. Peters, President of the United Businessman's Association, wrote a letter to Mayor Tate explaining that, "The businessmen in the damaged areas have requested that the matter of reimbursement for damage, vandalism, looting and theft be referred to City Counsel, or the appropriate bureau, for immediate action."[124] In the aftermath, many merchants had difficulties with insurance companies and asked both Mayor Tate and the JCRC for aid in investigating and supporting restitution claims.[125] On September 1, JCRC President Robert K. Greenfield and Jules Cohen mailed a letter to the Mayor, commending his work on behalf of Jews, writing, "We appreciate particularly, your program of city assistance in securing prompt financial aid for those stricken businessmen who require it..." [126] While the JCRC pushed for victims to receive compensation, the city did not begin to pay the merchants' claims until January of the following year, and only fifty percent of those merchants were insured for property damage.[127] Given the long delay in payments and issues of physical safety, many business owners could not or chose not to reopen their stores. While the JCRC made significant efforts to aid merchants, the city administration's delay stifled its efforts.

The Long-Term Effects on Philadelphia

While the riot may have offered a symbolic protest against the white power structure, it also wreaked havoc on the wellbeing of its Black residents. North Philadelphia became a food desert after the riot, with few options for places to shop besides neighborhood stores. Many of the stores attacked during the riot boarded up and never returned, which caused immediate and long-term hardship for the community. The Black community that suffered the consequences of the absence of shopping options and resources also developed bitterness toward the Jewish community at large, complicating the imagining of a Black-Jewish alliance.

Despite initiatives undertaken by the JCRC and the Philadelphia community in the wake of the riot, the situation begs the question, what, really, had been done? Although the JCRC and other organizations, both Jewish and non-Jewish, garnered much media attention for their engagement in substantive programming after the riot, it remains doubtful that significant change actually occurred.[128] In February of 1965, Mayor Tate expressed disappointed at the lack of progress, specifically in improving communication between merchants and residents. He wrote, "At a meeting of the officers of the Columbia Avenue Businessmen's Association…I noticed with much dismay that the proposed 'joining of hands' among the merchants and the local community groups in the Columbia Avenue area has not been accomplished during these past months."[129] While many committees were formed and meetings

121 Jules Cohen, Memorandum to CRC's, The Riots–Some Helpful Hints Along Positive Lines, September 15, 1964.
122 Ibid.
123 Ibid.
124 Allen F. Peters, President of the United Business Men's Association, Letter to Mayor Tate, August 29, 1964. Box 61, Folder 44: Race Relations - Riots-Columbia Ave (2) 1964. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.
125 Irving S. Feldman, Letter to Mayor Tate, September 7, 1964. Box 15 Police Department A-4420, Folder: Police-North Philadelphia (1). Mayor's Correspondences and Files Records, Administration of James H.J. Tate, Record No. 60.2.5. City Archives, Philadelphia.
126 Robert K. Greenfield & Jules Cohen, Letter to James H. J. Tate, September 1, 1964. Box 18, Folder 2: JCRC Race Relations. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.
127 "City to Start Paying Claims of Riot Victims," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 8, 1965. Box 61, Folder 43: Race Relations-Riots-Columbia Ave (1). Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.
128 Fred Powledge, "Fire Still Smolders: Negroes Say 'Nothing Has Been Done' To End Causes of Last Summer's Riots," *New York Times*, November 7, 1964.
129 James H. J. Tate, Letter to Tina V. Weintraub, Deputy Managing Director of Mayor Tate, February 5, 1965. Box 16 Police Department A-4421, Folder: Columbia Avenue Riot. Mayor's Correspondences and Files Records, Administration

conducted, Tate remarked that these all ended "without decision or conclusion."[130] Mayor Tate recommended that the Commission on Human Relations and the JCRC meet to establish more effective long-term programming. About a month later, a JCRC officer concluded that while programs existed to remedy the social and economic conditions of the neighborhood, he pessimistically predicted, "resentment and potential for overt hostility will remain."[131]

As passionately as the JCRC worked for change, the organization represented part of the white establishment that the rioters rebelled against. The same JCRC officer quipped, "There was agreement that government and agencies such as JCRC are viewed with suspicion by the local population, and therefore, the Commission and JCRC will have to remain in the background."[132] This realization pushed the JCRC to retreat toward programming that more directly benefited its own Jewish constituents, not out of abandonment for the civil rights cause, but because of a genuine belief that this would be the most effective method to initiate change and promote Black-Jewish relations.

In subsequent summers, the Philadelphia community lived in fear of more riots and enacted preventative measures. In the summer of 1965, a few JCRC leaders including President Sydney C. Orlofsky toured "neighborhoods in which riots were likely to take place," spoke to merchants and residents in the area, and continued to support the Columbia Avenue Businessmen's Association.[133] Rumors of riots recurred throughout the 1960s, especially during the summer months. After more severe riots erupted across the United States, Mayor Tate enacted laws strengthening riot control measures by making destroying property and disobeying city curfews felonies.[134] Riots in Philadelphia seemed so imminent that in the summer of 1967, Tate declared a State of Limited Emergency that restricted the right of public assembly, a measure that received significant backlash for its threat to civil liberties. [135] Critics of the mayor charged that such measures had the potential for a self-fulfilling prophecy, possibly setting the stage for another riot, although one never occurred.[136] The JCRC supported Tate's efforts, even the controversial declaration, and JCRC representatives served in an advisory position with then Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo.[137]

While the JCRC continued its attempts to improve Black-Jewish relations, its agenda often differed from the priorities outlined by Philadelphia's civil rights coalition. In 1965, the NAACP began a massive protest of Girard College, a boarding school for orphaned boys located in North Philadelphia that excluded Black students.[138] The Girard College protests became a symbol of Black resistance and even garnered a visit from Martin Luther King Jr.[139] The successful protests, which ultimately forced the school to integrate, represented one of the most pivotal events in Philadelphia's civil rights history. Yet, the JCRC was involved only as a minor player in the demonstrations. JCRC members participated in an interreligious march sponsored by the NAACP, yet its limited involvement suggests the weakening of its relations with the organized Black community.[140] Tensions between the JCRC and the NAACP came to a fore in 1967 when Cecil B. Moore made overtly anti-Semitic slurs in a court proceeding, earning him widespread condemnation from the Jewish community and further distancing the two organizations.[141]

However, collaboration with the Black community remained a part of the JCRC agenda, even if it became less

of James H.J. Tate, Record No. 60.2.5. City Archives, Philadelphia.

130 Ibid.

131 Terry C. Chisholm, Letter to Mayor Tate, Subject: North Philadelphia Merchant-Community Program, March 1. 1965. Box 16 Police Department A-4421, Folder: Columbia Avenue Riot. Mayor's Correspondences and Files Records, Administration of James H.J. Tate, Record No. 60.2.5. City Archives, Philadelphia.

132 Ibid.

133 "Summary Report for 1965-1966," section: "The Long Hot Summer." Box 1, Folder: Action Program on Soviet Jewry for Jewish Organizations 1968-1970. Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia Collection, 1955-1970, Acc. I-372, American Jewish Historical Society, Center for Jewish History.

134 "Stiffer Laws on Riots," *Evening Bulletin*, May 6, 1965. Box 61, Folder 43: Race Relations-Riots-Columbia Ave (1) 1965. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

135 James H. J. Tate, Office of the Mayor, News Release, July 27, 1967. Box 23, Folder 9: Ad Hoc Committee on Riot Control 1967-1969, 1971. Fellowship Commission (Philadelphia, Pa.) Records, Acc. 626. Temple University, Urban Archives.

136 Fellowship Commission Ad Hoc Committee on Riot Prevention and Control, July 28, 1967. Box 23, Folder 9: Ad Hoc Committee on Riot Control 1967-1969, 1971. Fellowship Commission (Philadelphia, Pa.) Records, Acc. 626. Temple University, Urban Archives.

137 JCRC of Greater Philadelphia Minutes of Joint Meeting of Committee on Interracial Relationships and Committee on Civil Liberties, September 12, 1967. Box 23, Folder 9: Ad Hoc Committee on Riot Control 1967-1969, 1971. Fellowship Commission (Philadelphia, Pa.) Records, Acc. 626. Temple University, Urban Archives.

138 Countryman, *Up South*, 170.

139 Arnold, *Building the Beloved Community,* 65.

140 "Summary Report for 1965-1966," section: "The Long Hot Summer."

141 "JCRC Reactions of Negro Community to Recent Anti-Semitic Statements As Reported in the Press." Box 94, Folder 45: Negro-Jewish Relations 1966-67. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

prominent than in previous years. For example, in 1966, Jules Cohen and Cecil B. Moore participated in a public discussion on Black-Jewish relations.[142] During the meeting, Moore warned that the failure to improve living conditions for Blacks would likely lead to further violence, ominously predicting that "if the needs of the Negro are not filled…the next riot will not be in the Negro ghettoes or in North Philadelphia. They will be everywhere."[143] For its part, the JCRC internally considered offering to help the Black community establish a "Negro Community Relations Council" following the JCRC's model. Ultimately, Cohen decided not to suggest it formally, perhaps because he recognized the potential for such intervention to be perceived as intrusive and presumptuous of the needs of the Black community.[144]

The riot did not mark the point of deterioration between the JCRC and Black community; rather, it suggested the inherit weakness in this relationship that had existed all along. As North Philadelphia, and other struggling neighborhoods in Philadelphia increasingly deteriorated, the JCRC once again found it necessary to recalibrate its work to meet the needs of its constituents. The perceived threat against Jewish merchants and the sense that Jewish safety was insecure in North Philadelphia grew stronger in the years following the riot, as "law and order" increasingly became a hot-button political issue. Merchant safety emerged as one of the JCRC's chief concerns in the aftermath of the Columbia Avenue race riot and led to a shift in its approach to Black-Jewish relations in the 1970s.

The JCRC programming in the 1970s was conceived of in three parts. First, it developed a survey to assess the attitudes and demographic information of Jewish merchants operating in the inner city. The survey's most significant finding was that half of Jewish business owners desired to sell their stores.[145] Merchants offered a variety of explanations for why they wanted to leave, ranging from fears of personal safety, loss of profits, or simply hopes of retiring. Yet, it was difficult for merchants to find prospective buyers, and many felt conflicted in abandoning their old neighborhoods. The survey's findings suggested the JCRC's next step of programming, the Merchant Program, consciously framed under the realm of Black-Jewish relations. This paired Jewish business owners looking to sell their shops with potential Black buyers. To ensure the viability of the Black owned businesses, the JCRC facilitated legal work, applied for bank loans on the buyer's behalf, and supplemented job training. The last phase of the JCRC's efforts occurred simultaneously. It sought to assist the fifty percent of Jewish merchants who wanted to stay in their neighborhoods through safety training and advocating for an increase of merchant security.

The JCRC's Merchant Program ultimately failed. Transacted businesses increasingly began to flounder as soon as the JCRC was no longer actively involved. By 1974, only twenty-two out of forty-four exchanges businesses were still in operation, and those that remained were largely the most recent transactions.[146] Negative feedback from the outcome of the project and deteriorating economic conditions of the mid-1970s forced the extinction of the Merchant Program. [147]

Years after the Columbia Avenue race riot, little had effectively aided the community that lived there. While Jews had the upward mobility to leave their places of business, many Black Americans did not have the ability or the desire to simply leave their neighborhood behind. Few Jewish merchants remained in the district. Not all demonized the Jews for leaving. In a 1974 article "Businessmen Survey Scene Ten Years Later," sixty-seven year old Black resident Aaron Shannon recalled, "All of storekeepers were my friends. They were white people but they were friends to me. I hate to see it (the riot) but it was done, and I couldn't blame them for leaving. Columbia Ave. was a beautiful place to have business. Now everybody's afraid to walk the streets."[148] The Jews' abandonment of inner city neighborhoods revealed a picture of Blacks and Jews both spatially separated and figuratively living worlds apart. The complicated interplay between race, violence, class, and identity politics is one that still marks the relationship between the two communities. While black-Jewish relations changed due to the

142 "Synagogue to Hear Negro-Jewish Program," *Jewish Times*, January 7, 1966. Box 55, Folder 23: Negro-Jewish Relations. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

143 "More Rights Are Needed, Moore, Jewish Leaders Say," *Philadelphia Bulletin*, January 15, 1966. Box 10, Folder 31: JCRC Interracial Committee. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

144 Jules Cohen, Letter to Theodore Walden, Indiana JCRC, May 24, 1966. Box 52, Folder 8: Interracial Negro Jewish Discussion Group. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

145 Temple University Center for Community Studies & Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia, *Survey of Jewish Businessmen Operating in Selected Inner City Areas of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Center for Community Studies, 1970), 17.

146 Burt Siegel, Letter to Al Chernin, Subject: Jewish Merchants Survey, March 20, 1974. Box 14, Folder 8: Jewish Merchant's Project 1973. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

147 Burt Siegel, Letter to Al Chernin, March 12, 1975. Box 14, Folder 8: Jewish Merchant's Project 1973. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

148 Peter H. Binzen, "Businessmen Survey Scene Ten Years Later," *Evening Bulletin*, August 26, 1974. Box 14, Folder 8: Jewish Merchant's Project 1973. Jewish Community Relation Council Records, Acc. 1884-344. Temple University, Urban Archives.

race riot and shifting local and national contexts, this was not an abrupt retreat from the so-called "Golden Age" of black-Jewish relations, but rather a culmination of long-simmering tensions.[149] By relinquishing the trope of a bygone, imagined era of harmonious alliance between blacks and Jews, and searching instead for the partnerships and problems that have long existed, it is possible to focus on moving forward toward a future of collaboration.

Figure 1. Map of the riot zone area in North Central Philadelphia.[150]

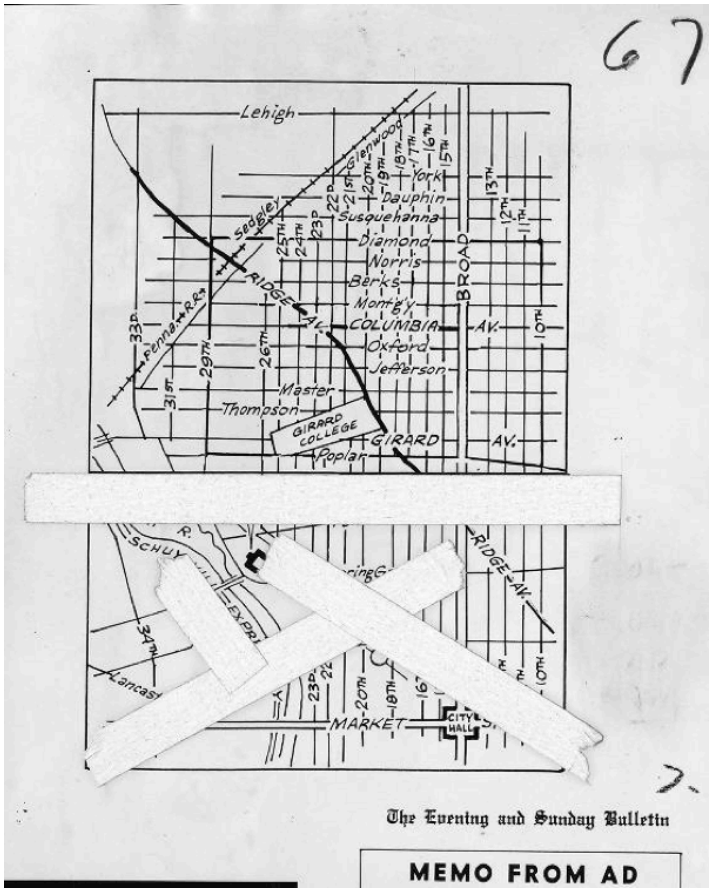

Figure 2. Contemporary rendering of the riot area.[151]

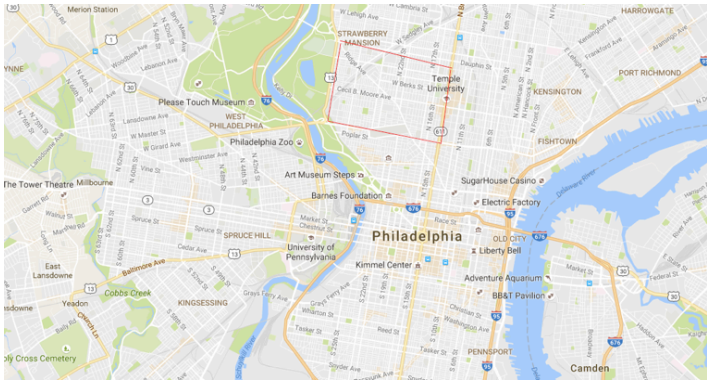

Figure 3. Cartoon in *South Philadelphia West Review*.[152]

149 Cornel West, "On Black-Jewish Relations (1993)," in *Blacks and Jews: Alliances and Arguments*, ed. Paul Berman (New York: Delacorte Press, 1994), 145.

150 "Map of the 1964 Columbia Avenue riot area," August 24, 1972. Digital Collection: George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, Civil Rights in a Northern City, Columbia Avenue Riots. Temple University Libraries, Urban Archives.

151 Hannah Fagin, created using Google Maps, October 4, 2016.

152 Cartoon, *South Philadelphia West Review*, vo. 7, no. 14, September 3, 1964. Box 16 Police Department A-4421, Folder: Police-North Philadelphia Newspaper Articles. Mayor's Correspondences and Files Records, Administration of James H.J. Tate, Record No. 60.2.5. City Archives, Philadelphia.

Figure 4. Photograph of violent police interaction during the riot.[153]

Figure 5. Photograph of man looting an appliance while two concerned women interact on the leftmost side of the image.[154]

153 "Rioter is subdued by club-wielding policemen," August 28, 1964. Digital Collection: George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, Civil Rights in a Northern City, Columbia Avenue Riots. Temple University Libraries, Urban Archives.

154 "Carrying a box on his shoulder, a man leaves a store on Columbia Avenue between 15th and 16th streets," August 1964. Digital Collection: George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, Civil Rights in a Northern City, Columbia Avenue Riots. Temple University Libraries, Urban Archives.

Figure 6. Photograph of Cecil B. Moore (left) with Shaykh Muhammad (right) in court.[155]

155 August 31, 1964. Digital Collection: George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, Civil Rights in a Northern City, Columbia Avenue Riots. Temple University Libraries, Urban Archives.

Prisons and Floods in the United States

Interrogating Notions of Social and Spatial Control

By Hannah Hauptman, Yale University

On August 29, 2005, Hurricane Katrina ripped across Southern Louisiana, rupturing New Orleans' levees and scouring a place for itself among the costliest and most poorly managed disasters in contemporary history. On that fateful August morning, an inmate at the Orleans Parish Prison recalled, "we awake to find water up to our knees and no security."[1] The water would eventually rise to the inmates' necks. As another inmate recounted, "it was like we were left to die. No water, no air, no food."[2] As the wealthy and the free fled the city, inmates in local prisons—whose impregnable walls held firm while the once-impregnable levees crumbled—were left locked in their cells. Hurricane Katrina brutally illustrated the conflict between the apparent order of prisons and the chaos of floods, revealing the differentiated value of life placed on incarcerated individuals and troubling notions of maximum security or absolute protection. Yet while Hurricane Katrina provided a particularly stark example of the violent convergence of criminal and flood controls, Katrina was not a unique event. These two structures of social and spatial control cooperated and clashed throughout the 20th century, leaving behind an obscured, complex historical record that demands greater scholarly attention.

At first glance, systems of levees and systems of prisons appear unrelated. The former focuses on rivers and flood control. The latter focuses on social norms and controlling illicit human behavior. Yet the vocabularies used to debate flood prevention and criminal justice techniques closely parallel one another. Furthermore, the two systems have physically intersected with a perverse frequency, as the state consistently builds prisons on vulnerable floodplains. Though the state has always been and continues to be willing to place incarcerated bodies in areas with a high risk of flooding and thus physical danger, the design and function of a prison's architecture conceals the potential chaos implied—and historically speaking, frequently realized—by a prison's proximity to floodwaters.

Much like imposing, federally-backed levee systems, prisons project an "architecture of control" that reflects the state dream of full social order, both inside and outside of the prison. Strict protocols, concrete beds, steel-barred windows and pacing guards imply that this dream has, in fact, been realized. Yet floods, amongst other natural disasters, provide an avenue for chaos to move through the seemingly indestructible barriers of the prison. Throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, floods have threatened or necessitated emergency evacuations of prisons, as well as the movement of inmates out of prisons to work on flood protection and rescue. Only by examining both the theoretical parallels and the historical convergences between these two systems of control can we uncover their surprisingly intimate relationship. Recovered narratives from flooded prisons, wherein the uncontrollable met the impenetrable, thus provide a historical nexus for the critical deconstruction of state ambitions for complete social and spatial control.

Theories of social and environmental control envision total mastery over subversion and lawlessness, over crime and catastrophe. When put into practice, these hubristic theories carry racist implications and often reinforce the other's oppressive effects. The first section of this paper briefly analyzes the discursive parallels between these two forms of control and the lived effects of these similarities. The second section of this paper spatially situates these consequences through a discussion of the historical geography of prisons in the United States. Many of the U.S.'s largest prisons lie alongside rivers, tucked riskily into the vast floodplains of the Mississippi River or coastal waterways. For many of these prisons, their locations are a vestigial remnant of the prisons' former days as farms and plantations. For a shrinking but significant number, such as Louisiana's Angola Penitentiary or Mississippi's Parchman Farms, this history lives in the day-to-day motions of inmates' involuntary agricultural labor. Even for prisons with no history of agricultural production, the state still undervalued incarcerated bodies and correspondingly deemphasized flood risks when selecting prison locations. Conditions of environmental catastrophe like flooding exposed the way American social structures value lives on a differentiated scale, with incarcerated lives situated at the lowest point both literally and figuratively. The third and longest section of this paper further historicizes the relationship between prisons, prisoners and floods, putting a diverse array of historical voices into conversation. This

1 Inmate #13, "Testimonials from Inmates Incarcerated at Orleans Parish Prison during Hurricane Katrina," American Civil Liberties Union, ACLU.org, n.d..

2 Inmate #19, Ibid.

historical discussion, combined with broader theoretical and linguistic juxtapositions, reveals the fragility concealed and even created by the projected stability of these twin systems and their quests for perfect control.

Theory and Praxis of State Control: Parallel Discourses on Prisons and Floods

Social theorists and scholars who study social and environmental control ponder interchangeable questions: they ask how a state bends unruly forces to its will and the costs of attaining these ambitions. Social control critics must address spatial control through their discussions of architecture, landscape and the built environment, while scholars of environmental control invariably highlight the social goals of any environmental improvement or management scheme. In turn, public policymakers and practitioners—the engineers of these state systems of control—approach prison and flood engineering with the same mindsets and techniques. But these two nodes of organization, whether discussed in the theoretical or the imminent, do not simply run in fascinating parallel, but rather intersect via instances of flooded or almost-flooded prisons. This section seeks to properly situate these historical intersections by exploring the illustrative parallels between social and environmental control theory and practice.

Social theorists studying prisons may not explicitly incorporate theories of environmental control into their work, but their language reflects the inherent spatiality of incarceration. Angela Davis historicizes the American prison system by emphasizing the transition from "the prison of slavery to the slavery of prison."[3] Whether this historicism is correct is a question that engages many other contemporary scholars, including Michelle Alexander and James Forman Jr.[4] Despite their debates, these academics recognize that this historical transformation has not been solely legal or cultural but also spatial and environmental; incarceration molds the geography of black communities (and often renders them more vulnerable to flooding) while the power relations of slavery are re-inscribed into the cell blocks and guard towers of American prisons.

French social theorist Michel Foucault's work complicates the American history of racial injustice that engages many contemporary scholars. Alexander and Davis focus on the prison's spatial relationship to the outside world—to the landscape, to the alluvial plantation-quality soils, to broader racial geographies of education and housing—and thus they conclude that the prison is a uniquely American historical product. Foucault, on the other hand, emphasizes the self-contained spatial relationships within the prison—that of the guard to the inmate or the inmates to each other. In doing so, he concludes that the prison is philosophical, rather than only historical, born of Jeremy Bentham and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. His spatial analysis of criminal control is more abstract, and it focuses on the prison's interior structure.[5] He writes that "he who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power […] he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles."[6] This renders the incarcerated subject able to be "subjected, used, transformed and improved."[7] In *The Prison and the American Imagination*, Caleb Smith summarizes the fundamental tension that results from an inward or outward conception of prisons, asking "does the contemporary prison descend from the plantation, or from the [Enlightenment's] penitentiary?"[8] Yet in spite of these etiological conflicts, theorists all emphasize the spatiality of the architecture of control. In deconstructing the form of social control expressed in prisons, scholars reckon with, either indirectly or directly, questions of environmental control through their confrontation of physicality and spatiality.

Conversely, scholars who focus on historical and contemporary schemes of environmental control take care to highlight the subtler motives of social control that undergird these state projects. Edward Abbey's bold claim that "the

3 Angela Y. Davis Reader, ed. by Joy James (Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 74. See also: Angela Y. Davis, Are Prisons Obsolete? (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2003), 27.

4 Alexander argues that harsh contemporary drug sentencing policy has disproportionally targeted Black men and has recreated a de facto system of ostracization, cyclical poverty and imprisonment that early to mid 20th century Jim Crow laws once aimed to achieve. James Forman pushes back against what he sees as Alexander's simplistic one-to-one connection between Jim Crow laws and modern mass incarceration, highlighting the complexities of violent offenders, class distinctions, white victims of mass incarceration and opinions towards law enforcement within the African American community. See Michelle Alexander, The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness, (New York: New Press, 2012).; James Forman, Jr., "Racial Critiques of Mass Incarceration: Beyond the New Jim Crow," (2012), Faculty Scholarship Series. Paper 3599.

5 As Roger Pol-Droit aptly summarized in an interview with Foucault, in Foucault's analysis, the "prison means a rigorous regulation of space, because the guard can and must see everything." See Roger-Pol Droit, "Michel Foucault, on the Role of Prisons," New York Times, August 5, 1975.

6 Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Random House, 1995), 201-202.

7 Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 136.

8 Smith, Caleb, The Prison and the American Imagination. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009, 143.

domination of nature leads to the domination of human nature" proves itself to be true in state-sanctioned flood control projects overlaid onto inhabited, messy landscapes.[9] Usually, this "domination of human nature" consists of the subordination of one people's worldview to another's. In his work on the Nazi obsession with German race and German land that motivated the draining of Eastern swamps and the Holocaust, David Blackbourn cautions that "what we call landscapes are neither natural nor innocent; they are human constructs."[10] In interwar Germany, visions of improving land could not be separated from improving people. Similarly, quests to drain swamps in the United States came with rhetorical hints of a civilizing mission, as well as explicit ambitions of making swamps productive and profitable.[11] In his book *Rising Tide,* John Barry details how political and cultural hegemon LeRoy Percy fought to have levees built throughout the Mississippi Delta, containing the river and rendering its floodplains immensely profitable.[12] Percy, like others who acquired incredible wealth and political clout, did so both through the mechanisms of environmental control and on the backs of human labor. Projects of environmental and criminal control share a common worldview that has "subjected, used, transformed and improved" individual bodies and common landscapes, or at least has aimed to do so.

These ideological similarities continue to manifest themselves in theory and practice. Civil engineers and prison architects mull over many of the same concerns as they design their parallel structures of control: how to keep ostensibly unruly forces restrained within their assigned boundaries; how to monitor these forces; how to safeguard against the unexpected. Civil engineers have spent decades debating the merits of various flood control techniques, most notably along the Mississippi River: would outlets and reservoirs provide a necessary release for the chaos of the Mississippi's flood stage? Or would levees-only containment force the river to scour its own bed, digging itself deeper into the course that men had set for it?[13] Engineers bet their reputations on which method would prove most effective to "control [a river] in space and arrest it in time."[14] Prison designers ask similar questions: how can one render inmates constantly visible and traceable? How can one incentivize inmates to keep order amongst themselves? Akin to flood planning theory that rests on self-scouring, the answer to the latter question sets inmates against themselves: threats of solitary confinement or transfers to Supermax facilities combined with opportunities for parole incentivize docility and self-discipline.[15] Just as the 1927 Mississippi flood proved the self-scouring theory disastrously misguided, spiking mental health crises and recidivism rates illustrate the dangers of control tactics that manipulate the psychology of the incarcerated subject.[16] To balance this rigidity—analogous to the environmental engineer's outlets-based flood control planning—prisons provide circumscribed avenues for frustration and desire: artistic expression, Bible study, exercise. Outlet-based approaches carry illusions of freedom, while self-scouring and carrot-stick policies abandon such pretensions. Both philosophies of governance rely on making the subject of the policy, whether defiantly human or inexorably inanimate, less powerful and more predictable. These rhetorical and practical commonalities, as well as the rich history of lived intersections between floods and prisons, compel these parallel subjects to be brought into an explicit theoretical and historical conversation.

Locations: The Geography of American Prisons

Why are so many American prisons and jails placed in locations vulnerable to flooding? One tempting theory, more historical than contemporary, is that water creates isolation more effectively than any manmade structure or invention. This hypothesis posits that a desire to secure prison borders against escape would induce designers to place inmates on islands, locations at greater risk of floods.[17] Yet these island prisons have

9 Edward Abbey, Beyond the Wall: Essays from the Outside, (New York: Henry, Holt & Co, 1984), 44.

10 David Blackbourne, The Conquest of Nature: Water, Landscape and the Making of Modern Germany, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2006), 15.

11 Richard Grant, "Deep in the Swamps, Archaeologists Are Finding How Fugitive Slaves Kept Their Freedom," Smithsonian Magazine, September 2016.; Anthony Wilson, Shadow and Shelter: The Swamp in Southern Culture, (U. Press of Mississippi, 2005).

12 Barry, Rising Tide, 93-169.

13 John Barry, Rising Tide: The Great Mississippi Flood of 1927 and How It Changed America, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997).

14 John McPhee, "Atchafalaya," The New Yorker, Feb. 23, 1987.

15 Mark Binelli, "Inside America's Toughest Federal Prison, The New York Times, March 26, 2015.

16 Ibid.

17 Indeed, island prisons were some of the most secure. Prisoners at Puget Sound's McNeill Island, the "prison without walls," played baseball with the guards' kids and mowed their lawns. In the prison's 130 years of operation, less than two dozen prisoners successfully escaped. Despite this relative impregnability, the impracticality of staffing and supplying such an isolated prison led to the facility's closure in 2011. Rob Carson, "Some McNeil Islanders Tried to Escape; Most Didn't Succeed," The Bellingham Herald, March 28, 2011.; Patrick Oppman, "Last Island Prison in U.S. Closes," CNN.com, April 1, 2011.) High costs also shuttered Alcatraz, the infamous prison in the San Francisco Bay that housed Al Capone, back in 1963. (Mark Binelli, "Inside America's Toughest Federal Prison.") Rikers Island is one of the last U.S. island prisons still

rarely, if ever, experienced dangerously high flooding.[18] On the other hand, the placement of prisons along volatile riverbanks has caused dozens of prisons to almost or actually flood. I contend that the state approves of and constructs prisons significantly closer to dangerous floodplains than it does for other forms of settlement because the calculus of risk and profit shifts dramatically to privilege profit in regard to incarcerated bodies. However, most of my analysis of prisons' proximity to rivers is based solely on photography and personal explorations of satellite imagery: neither academic nor popular literature systematically addresses prison locations. Regardless of this lack of precise quantification, a discussion of the two interrelated considerations—risk and profit—that push prisons recklessly close to riverbanks provides a crucial framework for further historical claims.

The first of these twin factors—increased disaster risk due to riparian proximity—reveals the different values placed on incarcerated versus free persons. While many people build houses and businesses on dangerous flood plains, they do so willingly and usually with knowledge about the risks to property and body that they are assuming. Not so with incarcerated individuals, who have no say in the matter. In his article "Geography and Justice: Why Prison Location Matters," Steven Arrigg Koh corrects the "prison location omission" in legal literature. However, he fails to analyze the breakdown of prison geography. While Koh correctly emphasizes that "where a prisoner serves time often crucially determines how much of a deprivation he or she will suffer" and that "[punishment] inexorably occurs within the confines of a physical space located in a city, state and country," he never addresses the history and geography of prison locations in the United States.[19] Similarly, the many scholars who have detailed the historical-geographical links between antebellum plantations and modern prisons have yet to quantify this common geographic factor amongst U.S. prisons through either statistical regressions or visual analysis.[20] Questions of proximity and risk require more than haphazard or solely speculative analysis, but a systematic quantitative study is beyond the scope of this paper.

Scholars have devoted much more time to the second factor—profit—and the evolving economic incentives and legal schemes that have pushed prisons close to rivers. Over the last century, prisons in the U.S. have followed the same patterns of concentration as the general population (Figure 1).

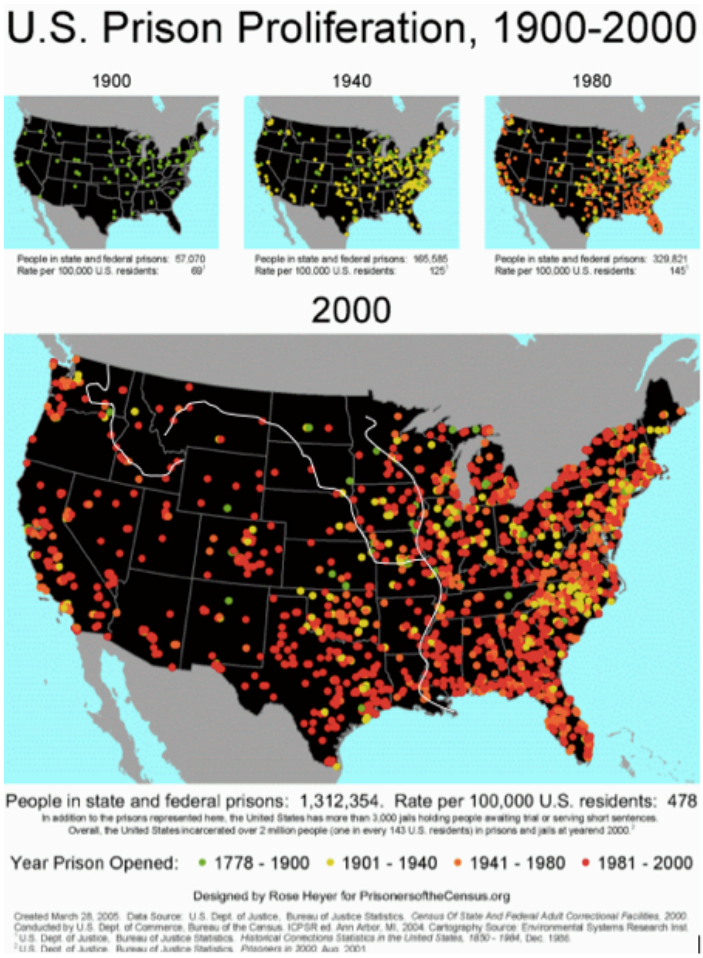

Figure 1. U.S. Prison Proliferation, with added overlays of the Snake, Missouri and Mississippi River.
Source: Prisonpolicy.org.

Reflecting the broader patterns of population density, many federal and state prisons are located near rivers.[21] Supply chain

in operation.

18 Though they appear to be the most environmentally vulnerable form of captivity, with their threats of exposure to storms, winds and floods, island prisons have rarely flooded. Even Rikers Island, discussed later for its role as a cultural touchstone during Hurricane Sandy, did not actually flood during Sandy or other major hurricanes. (Ed Morales, "How NYC Got Rikers Island and Why It Doesn't Work," Citylimits.org, Nov. 24, 2015.)

19 Steven Arrigg Koh, "Geography and Justice: Why Prison Location Matters in U.S. and International Theories of Criminal Punishment," Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law 46, no. 1 (2013): 1267.

20 Eduardo Mendieta, "Plantation, Prison, Ghetto: U.S. Racial Geographies, Philosophy & Geography 7, no. 1 (2004): 43-59.; Charles M. Blow, "Plantations, Prisons and Profits," New York Times, May 26, 2012.; Katherine McKitrick, "On Plantations, Prisons, and a Black Sense of Place," Social & Cultural Geography 12, no. 8, (2011): 947.; Historical Geographies of Prisons: Unlocking the Usable Carceral Past, ed. By Karen M. Morin and Dominique Moran, (New York: Routledge, 2009).; Dennis Ray Childs, "Formations of Neoslavery: The Cultures and Politics of the American Carceral State," Order No. 3210537, University of California, Berkeley, 2005.

21 Three of the most visually striking correlations, the Mississippi,

concerns comprise part of this profit motive; low costs and ease of planning incentivize the placement of prisons close to civilian populations. Proximity to general populations also smoothens the logistics of transporting inmates to mandated labor and community service roles.

Going beyond mundane logistical concerns, many prisons' profit considerations took root generations ago, before the modern prison mediated the relationship between slavery and agriculture. When Congress outlawed slavery "except as a punishment for crime" after the Civil War, many plantations turned into prison farms, wherein "duly convicted" persons worked agricultural or manufacturing jobs for extremely little or no pay.[22] As Jessica Adams writes in *Wounds of Returning: Race, Memory and Property on the Post-Slavery Plantation,* "the effects of the plantation system on society reemerge as enforced divisions between prisoner and citizen, which reiterate the divisions between free and unfree, master and slave."[23] Revealingly, Mississippi Governor James Vardaman established the Parchman Farm prison only after institutionalized mass convict leasing became socially unacceptable.[24] Indeed, throughout the early 20th century, Southern governors built prisons specifically to harness labor, turning convict leasing into an in-house business where the fields lay within the prison's fences.[25] While the majority of U.S. state and federal prisons no longer contain an agricultural component, those that do can recoup many of their operating costs—an unusual form of profit, but certainly profit nonetheless. Prison farms have fallen out of favor in the last few decades, due in part to increased farm mechanization, but many still remain, particularly in the South.[26] Even for prisons with no surviving agricultural component, their current locations on rich, low-lying, and thus flood-prone soils often date back to their former purposes.

History: What Happened When Prisons Flooded?

The historical record of the twentieth century confirms that floods frequently affected prisons, especially those located along the Mississippi River and its tributaries. The rest of this paper will chronicle a diverse range of historical situations in which floods jeopardized the safety of prisons and prisoners, looking at different narratives from journalists, prison administrators and prisoners themselves. Combating the danger of floods required emergency planning, cessation of everyday procedure, lockdowns and occasionally evacuations. These differing responses to flood threats all aimed to maintain state authority as full spatial control—over cell block order, utilities, entrances—threatened to slip. Most floods did not ultimately produce a loss of state control over the prison or prisoners, but many sparked episodes of violence and chaos that exposed the state's hidden fragility. Flood situations even revealed long-standing weaknesses in the state's "architecture of control," bringing into question whether the state had ever fully known or ordered the carceral space.

As floods barreled closer to the walls of major prisons, many prison administrators fought desperately to avoid evacuations. Evacuations were expensive. They required extensive planning in order to avoid riots or escapes. Any unrest scared the public, and officials privileged the public's safety concerns over prisoners' wellbeing. In 1940, prison officials at a North Carolina prison farm sent prisoners out to reinforce levees along the Roanoke River even as they acknowledged that "if the flood is as bad as expected, the dyke won't have a chance," leaving the prisoners vulnerable to the oncoming floodwaters.[27] In 1993, workers at Illinois' Menard Correctional Center cut a hole through multiple layers of walls and fences, building a new rock road through the excavation just to reach to the inmates.[28] As water streamed into the Center's cells, cutting off supplies of drinking water and electricity, Warden George Wellborne initiated a lock-down rather than risk the chaos of evacuation. But despite administrators' best efforts, evacuations sometimes became unavoidable. In 2007, the sheriff at the Clark County Jail evacuated 45 of the jail's inmates only when flood damage caused "three inches of sewage to float on the floor." (The remaining inmates slept in the chapel while they scrubbed down the jail's floors.)[29] While administrators often successfully avoided evacuations, these occasional last-ditch emergency situations created particularly robust opportunities

Missouri and Snake Rivers, have been traced onto Figure 1.

22 Transcript of 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Abolition of Slavery (1865)," Ourdocuments.gov.

23 Jessica Adams, Wounds of Returning: Race, Memory and Property on the Post-Slavery Plantation, (Chapel Hill: UNC Press Books, 2007), 146.

24 Caleb Smith, The Prison and the American Imagination, (New Haven: Yale UP, 2009), 151.

25 Matthew J. Mancini, One Dies, Get Another: Convict Leasing in the American South, 1866-1928, (U. of South Carolina, 1996), 1.

26 Robert Winters, "Evaluating the Effectiveness of Prison Farm Programs," Corrections.com, Sept. 23, 2013.

27 Associated Press, "25 Persons Dead in Flood's Wake," Augusta Chronicle (Augusta, Georgia), Aug 16, 1940.

28 "Floods Threaten Illinois Prison," All Things Considered, National Public Radio, NPR.org, July 24, 1993.

29 John E. Dannenberg, "Prison Drinking Water and Wastewater Pollution Threaten Environmental Safety Nationwide," Prison Legal News, Nov. 15, 2007.; In 1983 at the Arizona State Prison at Florence, evacuation occurred only after the Gila River completely flooded the Quonset huts that housed the inmates. See: Arthur H. Rotstein, "Nine Dead or Missing as Floods Devastate Arizona," The Oregonian (Portland, Oregon), Oct 3, 1983.

for chaos.

Fearing the confusion of a rushed evacuation, other officials preemptively evacuated prisons to maintain order in flood emergencies. In 2015 the Alabama Department of Corrections evacuated 300 inmates as a "safety precaution," taking a much more preventative approach to risk management.[30] A National Sheriffs' Association report held up the 2008 Iowa jail evacuations as a shining example of how long-term flood-evacuation planning enabled an incident-free implementation.[31] The differences in timing and intent of these various evacuations—preventative versus reactionary—demonstrate two state strategies for containing the lack of control implied by impending floods. In some situations, state officials decided to contain prisoners for far too long because they did not have an adequate plan or destination for evacuation. They figured that evacuation would be unnecessary (and they were often right). In other situations, state officials evacuated preemptively, in order to avoid a situation in which evacuation became impossible, dangerous or uncontrollable. The two options were simply different means of reaching the ultimate goal: the maintenance of a situation in which state control was never threatened, even as the physical space of imprisonment very much was.

In these flood emergencies and evacuations, favorable media coverage that focused on officials over inmates concealed instances of state fragility from the public. When the Neuse Correctional Institution evacuated 800 prisoners in October 2016, the majority of news outlets gave the incident only a line or two, with no mention of the conditions inside the prison that spurred the evacuation.[32] Yet two weeks later, conditions at Neuse forced themselves back into the news; inmates started fires and shattered windows, reportedly protesting their poor treatment during the evacuation and transfer. Again journalists emphasized the administration's response over prisoners' reasons for rioting. One article ended with the simple reassurance, "all inmates are contained and the public is safe."[33] During Hurricane Sandy in 2012, Mayor Michael Bloomberg responded to the public's concern for Rikers Island inmates, who received no evacuation zone designation, with a gruff reassurance that "the land is up where they are and jails are secured. Don't worry about anybody getting out." According to inmates at Rikers during Hurricane Irene, staff put inmates under lock-down to prevent riots and panic over potential flooding, but this treatment did not make it into traditional news coverage.[34] In situations where state control faltered, reactionary lockdowns actually demonstrated the state's vulnerability and thus the power of individual inmates; hints at this individuality even made it through into some news reports.[35] Generally

30 Carol Robinson, "336 State Inmates Evacuated After Heavy Rains Threaten Flooding," AL.com, Dec 26, 2015. In 1964, an Alabama prison camp evacuated 300 prisoners without reported incident. (See United Press International, "1000 Homeless in Flooded South," The Washington Post, Times Herald, April 9, 1964.)

31 James A. Murphy, "Two Case Studies on Jail Evacuations During a Natural Disaster: Iowa's 2008 Flooding: Part 2," Corrections.com, Oct 1, 2012.

32 Indeed, the marginalization of inmates' concerns often manifests itself as much by what is not said as what is; stories about how floods threaten the safety of incarcerated people are underreported and glossed over. For instance, in Jefferson City in 1993, only the officers travelling in to the prison on boats were mentioned as actors in a brief story on the flooded Algoa Prison. The interior space of the prison remained conceptually empty. (See: Ronald Smothers, "Jefferson City Watches River Defy Forecasts," New York Times, July 1, 1993.) Similarly, when flooding along the Brazos River in 2016 forced the evacuation of over 2,500 people in Texan prisons, administrators refused to provide information about conditions. One of these Brazos River floods caused a power outage, during which "a massive brawl between inmates and correctional officers" erupted. Yet when asked about the reason for mass evacuation, Major Richard Babcock replied that "we're just trying to get ahead of [the flood]." (See "Texas Floods Cause Blackout, Mass Evacuations in Prisons," RT.com, May 29, 2016; Lauren Caruba, "Inmates Riot During Texas flooding that Forces Evacuation," Houston Chronicle, May 29, 2016.) For Neuse story, see Jon Bacon and Doyle Rice, "Flooded N.C. City: 'Please Pray for Our Community,'" USA Today, Oct 11, 2016.; "Rising Floodwaters Forces Evacuation of Nearly 800 Inmates from Goldsboro Prison," Winston-Salem Journal (Winston-Salem, NC), Oct 10, 2016.; Ethan Smith, "Neuse Correctional Institution Evacuated," The Goldsboro News-Argus (Wayne County, NC), Oct 11, 2016.

33 "2 Injured, 2 Fires Set During 4-Hour Riot at Goldsboro Prison," CBS North Carolina, WNCN.com, Oct 24, 2016.; Web Staff, "Part of NC Correctional Facility Evacuated After Riot; About 500 Inmates Transferred," Fox 8 News, MyFox8.com, Oct 24, 2016.; Amy Roux, "Correction and Law Enforcement Officers Bring Disturbance at Neuse Correctional Institution Under Control," Goldsborodailynews.com, Oct 23, 2016.; Carol Bowden, Situation Developing at Neuse Correctional," Goldsborodailynews.com, Oct 23, 2016.

34 Jean Casella and James Ridgeway, "Prisoners to Remain on Rikers Island As Hurricane Sandy Heads for New York," SolitaryWatch.org, Oct 28, 2012.; "New York City Hurricane Evacuation Zones," New York Times, Oct. 28, 2012.

35 For instance, in the 1993 Menard Correctional Center floods, Warden Wellborne broadcast a thank-you message across the Center, saying that "when we locked it up, I appreciate the way that you went to your cells and locked up." Wellborne acknowledged inmates' powerful capacity for choice; delaying evacuation relied in part on their acquiescence. See "Floods Threaten Illinois Prison," All Things Considered, National Public Radio, NPR.org, July 24, 1993. In a more exceptional situation, in 1985 the Associated Press reported on a set of Nashville prisoners who intentionally flooded their prison

though, administrators' outward-looking reasons for avoiding evacuations reflected themselves in journalists' narrative emphases on threats to outside populations rather than to inmates.

When journalists did report on individual inmates' actions, most notably during the Kentucky state reformatory flood in 1937, a picture of the chaotic situation on the ground emerged through the details. The state reformatory in Frankfort sat just 3,500 feet from the Kentucky River, and a record-breaking flood crest meant that by late January, "more than 6 feet of water stood in the prison yard and reached into the cell blocks."[36] The three thousand inmates were without heat, drinking water or electricity for days, "[manning] pumps as the inundation invaded the prison."[37] Riots erupted. Reports that a dozen prisoners had been killed in the chaos spread across the country. Two dozen inmates reportedly tried to swim to dry land, re-encountering the arm of the state in the icy water. A warden reflected on these swimmers ruefully, boasting that "we could have shot them all down like rats in the water if we had wanted to […] but that was not necessary. The water had them cut off and we caught them as soon as they tried to crawl out of it."[38] The flood both created and circumscribed the chaos of the prison. And as long as the flood could contain the prisoners, even if it prohibited the delivery of basic humane treatment, state administrators delayed evacuation.

Though the eventual evacuation several days later reportedly went smoothly, post-flood ambiguities forced readers to ask whether control over the prison had ever been absolute.[39] During the first days of the flood, Governor Albert Benjamin "Happy" Chandler had cautioned that "We don't know how many, if any are dead. We will have no idea what the real situation is until the water goes down."[40] While Chandler intended to calm a hysterical national audience, his warning instead revealed the extent to which the state had lost its tight control over the prison. As the flood receded, the state's control and knowledge of the "real situation" before the flood appeared dubious as well. The rumors of a dozen dead appeared to be false. However, while one report stated that only one man remained unaccounted for, others pegged the number at seven. (Some maintained a much higher estimate of fifty.)[41] Revealingly, while the number of prisoners rescued was reported to be 3,111, the number of prisoners officially housed in the prison was only 2,906.[42] These discrepancies, uncovered but not produced by the flood, called into question whether or not the prisoners had ever truly been under a complete state surveillance.

After the flood, Governor "Happy" seemed to learn his lesson about the prison's placement, if not the prison's vulnerable administration, proclaiming that "we will never use this prison again."[43] Most public planners, however, ignored historical lessons about placing prisoners in risky locations. No situation demonstrated this state hubris and devaluation of incarcerated lives more clearly than the case of New Orleans' jails after Hurricane Katrina in August 2005.[44] Ironically, the Louisiana Department of Public Safety

before a full riot to demand better treatment. See: Associated Press, "Angry Inmates Set Fires, Flood Cells in Tennessee Prison," AP News Archive, APNewsArchive.com, July 12, 1985.

36 Associated Press, "Dozen Convicts Reported Dead In Watery Cells: 2,900 Inmates Evacuated at Frankfort, Ky., After Rioting," Washington Post, Jan. 26, 1937. N. b.: The State Reformatory at Frankfort is erroneously referred to in most articles as the state penitentiary in Frankfort, which was the prison's name up until 1912. see "Kentucky State Penitentiary History," at http://www.angelfire.com/ky/ksp/KSPhistory.htm.

37 "140,000 Homeless, 16 Dead When Floods Smash All Records," Springfield Republican (Springfield, MA), Jan. 23, 1937.

38 Associated Press, "Icy Waters Balk Break by Convicts," New York Times, Jan. 24 1937. Other prisoners reportedly yelled out to Governor Chandler as he came by the prison in a motorboat to offer words of encouragement. "Hello, Happy!" the prisoners shouted. "Get us out of here – we're going to drown if you don't." Newspapers reported smiles on the prisoners' faces, a rather unbelievably cheerful image which reassured readers that calmness and order still prevailed. Governor "Happy" responded in kind: "Just sit tight and keep your chins up."

39 Governor "Happy" reportedly comforted every boatload of prisoners himself, the very portrait of state benevolence during crisis. (See: Associated Press, "All Life in Paducah Will Be Evacuated," New York Times, Jan 30, 1937.)

40 Associated Press, "100 Perish as Flooded Rivers Continue to Rise; 500,000 Flee Homes; 65,000 in City Homeless," Washington Post, Jan. 26, 1937. Associated Press, "Floods at a Glance," Dallas Morning News (Dallas, TX), Jan. 26, 1937; Associated Press, "Flooded Prison Safely Cleared; Seven Missing," Washington Post, Jan. 29, 1937; Associated Press, "U.S. Troops Are Sent to Kentucky to Fight Panic and Pestilence" Springfield Republican (Springfield, MA), Jan. 26, 1937.

41 Associated Press, "Flooded Prison Safely Cleared; Seven Missing," Washington Post, Jan. 29, 1937.

42 Associated Press, "40 Convicts Gone in Flood Exodus," New York Times, Jan 26, 1937.

43 Associated Press, "No Dead Are Discovered As Prison Flood Ebbs: 12 Had Been Reported Killed in Kentucky Rioting," New York Herald Tribune, Jan 26, 1937. The Kentucky State Reformatory now sits near Louisville, a full ten miles from the Ohio River. In an ironic twist, the Kentucky State Office Building occupies the prison's former Frankfort site (determined via Google Maps.)

44 It is worth noting that in the case of New Orleans and Hurricane Katrina, the location of the Orleans Parish Prison was not significantly closer to weak levees than many

& Corrections intended to meet with the administrators at the Orleans and Jefferson parish prisons early in the summer to discuss risk management, but these meetings never materialized. Several days before the hurricane, Orleans Parish Prison's sheriff refused to evacuate his prison, choosing to "defend in place" rather than deal with the daunting logistics of a potentially superfluous transfer.[45] Administrators at Jefferson Parish Prison also negligently delayed their decision to evacuate. However, the eventual, relatively early evacuation of Jefferson went smoothly, despite a lack of planning, fuel and emergency generators. This more orderly situation did not force corrections offers or journalists to grapple with and reflect on the humanness of the jails' inmates in a way that the Orleans Parish Prison's evacuation did.

The Orleans Parish Prison evacuation was an unnatural disaster, one that resulted not just from enormous flooding but from administrators' decisions to not prioritize inmate safety or treatment. Once the levees broke, the city flooded fast; five to six feet of water quickly surrounded the prison, immediately flooding the basement where the backup generators were located.[46] As the floods threatened to leave the prison entirely inaccessible, many deputies abandoned the prison. Once the prison was inundated, administrators feared losing control of prisoners during an under-planned and under-anticipated evacuation, so they left many prisoners in their cells as they filled with up to six feet of sewage-contaminated water. In their testimony to the American Civil Liberties Union, inmates #38 and #52, amongst dozens of others, reported that some inmates smashed windows to let in air and that escaping prisoners were shot at.[47] The remaining guards focused on maintaining a semblance of control rather than saving and protecting inmates' lives. As Inmate #34 summarized, "there was nothing but more confusion accompanied with pepper spray." Guards at both the parish prison and at the eventual evacuation sites physically and verbally abused inmates, with little to no oversight. The absence of an adequate evacuation plan and a lack of political will from politicians to mandate an evacuation of the parish prison demonstrated that prisoners' lives were worth less to the city than its non-incarcerated residents.

The legal and extralegal violence perpetrated against inmates in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, while exceptional in its intensity and brutality, fit into a larger pattern of environmental racism in Louisiana that was exposed but not produced by the broken levees. When state control over the prison system broke down during Katrina, inmates were rendered more vulnerable, not more empowered.[48] Yet state-sanctioned violence often contributed to inmates' disempowerment and their initial placement in the prison. Discriminatory housing policy in the 19th and 20th century pushed Black freedmen towards the least valuable, lowest-lying homes in the city. Underfunded schools and employment discrimination kept Black families poor.[49] These patterns stretched from well before the flood of 1927 to after the hurricane in 2005, and everyone from musicians and artists to policymakers recognized that Katrina was not an isolated incident. At a benefit concert for hurricane relief, Marcia Bell covered "Louisiana, 1927," an apt song for the moment.[50] Jalil A. Muntaqim's poem "Katrina!!!" in *We Are Our Own Liberators: Selected Prison Writings* reads:

> "Hurricane Carter did 25 years for a crime he
> did not commit, a prime example of
> American justice personified. Hurricanes in America
> always screw poor folks." [51]

other neighborhoods of the city. Thus, the "devaluation of incarcerated lives," specifically referring to effects of floods, occurred during and after the flood. With regard to New Orleans, the "state hubris" of building in "risky locations" must be interpreted more broadly, encompass wider politics of levees, construction and risk management in New Orleans as a whole. See John Barry, Rising Tide for a further discussion.

45 Jeffrey A. Schwartz and David Webb, "Hurricanes Katrina and Rita and the Louisiana Dept. of Public Safety and Corrections," NIC Technical Assistance Report Technical Assistance No. 06P1035, AmericanBar.org, May 2006, 15.

46 Schwartz and Webb, "Hurricanes Katrina and Rita," 18.

47 "Testimonials from Inmates Incarcerated at Orleans Parish Prison during Hurricane Katrina," American Civil Liberties Union, ACLU.org.

48 David Rohde and Christopher Drew "The Inmates: Prisoners Evacuated After Hurricane Allege Abuse," New York Times, Oct 2, 2005.; Barry Gerharz and Seung Hong, "Down By Law," Dollars & Sense 264 (Mar/Apr 2006): 39.

49 Daphne Spain, "Race Relations and Residential Segregation in New Orleans: Two Centuries of Paradox," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 441, Race and Residence in American Cities (Jan., 1979), pp. 82-96.

50 The song's lyric of "someone people got lost in the flood/ some people got away all right" begs the question of who received which fate and why, while the mournful line of "Oh Louisiana. They're tryin' to wash us away" makes plain the connection between the social and environmental roots of disaster. Interestingly, this song was originally written by Randy Newman, and the original lyric of "poor cracker's land" makes clear that the song was originally about the plight of the poor white man in the wake of the flood. I have interpreted it here as it was relevant to the plight of poor, primarily Black people in the wake of Katrina. My careful re-characterization of "Louisiana, 1927" is further supported by its performance by Aaron Neville, one of New Orleans' most famous residents, at the NAACP Image Awards in 2011. See "Hurricane Katrina Benefit Concert - Louisiana 1927," PHubb, Youtube.com.

51 Jalil A. Muntaqim, We Are Our Own Liberators: Selected Prison Writings, (Arissa Media Group, 2010), 245.

The racist structures which kept the vulnerable and incarcerated perpetually vulnerable and incarcerated were most obvious in disaster, but they were always at work. Katrina did not rupture this pattern of violence in the long or the short term. Less than two weeks after the hurricane, though standing water still covered much of the city, rescuers worked long shifts, and stores and hospitals remained closed, a makeshift jail had been set up at the Greyhound bus station. The city had its priorities. The converted station held people accused of looting the flooded city until they could be processed and sent upriver, to St. Gabriel prison, or to Angola.[52]

Few prisons so precisely embody the historical-geographical relationship between plantation and prison in the United States as the Louisiana State Penitentiary commonly known as Angola. Unsurprisingly, no other American prison has also been so consistently threatened by floods. The 18,000-acre property that now constitutes the largest maximum-security prison in the country was pieced together from a collection of antebellum sugarcane and cotton plantations.[53] The largest was named Angola, after the country of origin of the plantation's slaves. The name stuck, even after the State of Louisiana converted the plantation-turned-private-prison into a publicly-run prison farm in 1901.[54] Angola sits nestled into an oxbow on the east bank of the Lower Mississippi (see Figure 2).Across the river, slightly to the North, now lies the Old River Control Structure, opened in 1963 to "be in charge of what might happen" there.[55] Similarly, Angola prison seeks to exercise a flawless authority over its population, made up mostly of Black men. Yet just like the Old River Control Structure, which almost collapsed during the Mississippi flood of 1973, Angola prison has never been able to keep out the physical forces that invade and overwhelm this state-sanctioned space of containment, control and forced labor.

The recurring instances of flooding at Angola rarely led to riots or evacuation, but they nonetheless revealed much about the structure and perceived value of a life lived there. In the 1912 flood, one of the main levees protecting the prison broke, inundating "the convict plantation" and the surrounding lands.

Figure 2. Map of Angola.
Source: AngolaMuseum.org.

Whether and how an evacuation occurred is unknown; the *Indianapolis Star* found this detail less important than the endangerment of a $500,000 sugar refinery recently built on the prison plantation.[56] Running counter to the Army Corps of Engineers' narrative of ever-improving levees and flood control, flooding threats in recent years at Angola have been even more severe. Over the next century, floods consistently threatened Angola's acres; fears of evacuation surfaced in 1927, 1973, 1983, 1997 and 2011.[57] Reflecting on the '73 floods as the river rose again in '83, the State Police Commander Grover Garrison remembered his fear that "there was no place to put the prisoners if we had had to move them." In his reflection, Garrison revealed a negligent lack of

52 Alex Berenson, "With Jails Flooded, Bus Station Fills the Void," New York Times, Sep 7, 2005.
53 David Oshinsky, "The View From Inside," New York Times, June 11, 2010.
54 Thomas Beller, "Angola Prison and the Shadow of Slavery," The New Yorker, August 19, 2015.
55 John McPhee, The Control of Nature, (New York: Farrar, Strous and Giroux, 1989), 12.
56 "Dike Break Releases Flood on Prison Land," *Indianapolis Star,* May 3, 1912.
57 In 1997, over half of Angola prison's approximately 6,000 inmates were moved to a similar tent city on higher ground within the plantation. (See: "Flooding Forces Evacuation of Prison," Los Angeles Times, March 26, 1997; Adam Nossiter, "New Orleans Rests, Assured of Protection from Floods," New York Times, Mar 29, 1997.) In 2011, the ever-present threat of flooding finally forced a partial evacuation. (See: Katja Pumm, "Louisiana State Prison "Angola" Evacuated for First Time in History," Vincentsimmons.iippi.org, 2011; International Wire, "Flood Forces Evacuations," May 17, 2011.) See also: "The Unique Burial Practices at the Louisiana State Penitentiary," *Historichouston1836.com;* Associated Press, "Flood Stricken Valley Hit With More Rain," *Mobile Register* (Mobile, AL), April 7, 1973; United Press International, "Flood Danger At Peak; 10,000 Threatened; Mississippi Delta Region Threatened," *Los Angeles Times,* April 7, 1973; Associated Press, "Levees May Avert Prison Evacuation," *Dallas Morning News* (Dallas, TX), May 30, 1983.

planning for inmates' wellbeing. By the 1983 flood, Angola staff had learned their lesson. They had procedure: "we've practiced this in training drills—timed the routes, checked for highway construction and obstructions." They also had priorities; Garrison reassured the public that "protecting people in the area where inmates are taken has been the first consideration in planning."[58]

In their efforts to mitigate flood risks, Angola administrators often relied not only on individual inmates' acquiescence and patience, but also on their continued forced labor. In the 2011 partial evacuation, Angola Warden Burl Cain only sent away weak and elderly inmates, proclaiming stubbornly that:

> "We're not going to panic and run away and give away this farm. We're the same people who fought the '97 flood. I was there then. We're very experienced flood fighters, and I have more resources than the Corps has, because I have all these inmates."[59]

Even as Warden Cain fought to keep inmates within Angola's fences, he relied on their labor. And like all labor at Angola, sandbagging paid pennies per hour—if it paid anything at all. In "The Farm," a documentary film on Angola, Warden Cain commented that "It's like a big plantation in days gone by. We hate to call it that in a way, but it kinda is."[60] While Angola prison always relied (and continues to rely) on inmates' labor, floods rendered this acute dependence particularly obvious.

Indeed all across the American South, when floods threatened the safety of non-incarcerated communities and people, inmates often shouldered the burdens of rescue and reinforcement. In 1937, 1939 and 1972, amongst other instances, wardens sent inmates to rescue children and families trapped on their flooded lands.[61] While the historical record contains only sparse evidence of prisoners being sent on rescue missions, the tradition of convict leasing to build, repair and reinforce levees is robustly documented.[62] In Mississippi in 1912, an engineer ordered hundreds of convicts to lie on top of a shaky levee to physically reinforce it, while Parchman Farm sent crews across the state during the 1927 floods.[63] In 1930, one prisoner recollected from his time at a levee camp that unlike a slave, who was "a rather valuable piece of property," a convict "could be replaced at any time at the state's expense" and was treated accordingly.[64]

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58 Jua Nyla Hutcheson, "Floods Threaten Angola," *The Times-Picayune The States-Item* (New Orleans, LA), May 27, 1983.

59 Sandra Gonzalez, "Angola Prison Prepares as Mississippi Rises," *McClatchy- Tribune Business News* (Washington), May 5, 2011.

60 n.b. Warden Cain was not known for his cruelty; rather, inmates and outsiders alike remembered him for his reformist streak and how he "opened up the door of opportunity" to intra-prison achievements. As one prisoner during Cain's tenure recounted, "you can still have a life inside. Inmates and administrators agreed; Angola was a much better place under Warden Cain, even as he sanctioned convict labor and verbally tripped around defining the modern-day plantation slavery that he oversaw. (See Eric Eckholm, "Bible College Helps Some at Louisiana Prison Find Peace," *New York Times,* Oct. 5, 2013.; Whitney Benns, "American Slavery, Reinvented," *The Atlantic (Online)*, Sep 21, 2015.; Liz Garbus and Wilbert Rideau, "The Farm: Angola, USA," Documentary, 1998, via *Youtube.com.*)

61 The printed record of prisoners' acting as rescuers is quite sparse, and most evidence survives in grey literature, cultural memory and fictionalized accounts. (For historical evidence, see: Associated Press, "No Dead Are Discovered As Prison Flood Ebbs," *New York Herald Tribune*; "Flood Traps 500 Children in Mountains," *Los Angeles Times,* Aug, 4, 1939.; Arthur Everett, "Floods in East Major Disaster," *Times-Picayune* (New Orleans, LA), June 24, 1972.) For a contemporaneous fictional account, see William Faulkner's "Old Man." In "Old Man," the state sends two convicts from "The Farm"—probably a fictionalized Parchman Farm—to rescue refugees. The story opens with a scene of the unnamed convicts listening to rain, hoping it will continue until the Mississippi's levees break and the floods forcefully upend convicts' usual schedules of fieldwork. Faulkner writes in the opening lines, "there is no walled penitentiary in Mississippi; it is a cotton plantation." While Faulkner only intends to describe the structure of the prison, his line forecasts the fluidity of the prison which he addresses in "Old Man." See: William Faulkner, *Three Famous Short Novels: Spotted Horses, Old Man, The Bear,* (Vintage, 2011).

62 While many states outlawed convict leasing early in the 20th century, the practice continued. For example, though Mississippi banned convict leasing in 1906, the state leased out convict laborers throughout the first half of the century. These convicts were sent to farms and factories as well as levee camps. Much of the documentation of these practices has been folkloric. For instance, the early 20th-century song, "Joe Turner Blues," warns of a man named Joe Turner, infamous in Tennessee for leasing convicted Black men to farms along the Mississippi. (See: "'They Tell Me Joe Turner's Come and Gone:' Music, Prison, & the Convict Lease System," *USPrisonCulture,* Nov 28, 2010.). Additionally, even when convict leasing had ceased in normal, everyday conditions, it often resumed during floods and other environmental emergencies. In "Shack Bullies and Levee Contractors: Bluesmen as Ethnographers," John Cowley describes how the Army Corps of Engineers' subcontractors "held their Black employees as peons. The employers were, in consequence, not squeamish about who worked for them and, sometimes, prisoners continued to be used, particularly in times of flood." (See: John Cowley, "Shack Bullies and Levee Contractors: Bluesmen as Ethnographers," *Journal of Folklore Research, Vol. 28, No. 2/3 (1991),* 138.)

63 John Barry, *Rising Tide*, pages 131 and 195

64 James L. King, "A Convict's View of Prison Life," *The Hartford Courant,* Sep 7, 1930. This perception of the lack of value of convicted individuals' lives receives a broader, more academic treatment in Mancini's *One Dies, Get Another: Convict Leasing*

The state pushed prisoners' bodies and their labor to the most dangerous and vulnerable pressure points in their flood control regime, exposing prisoners to the greatest risks of the fragile system.

Yet not everyone at levee camps was convicted and then leased out for these backbreaking undertakings—many ended up on riverbanks via other coercive means. Often in levee camps, especially the frenetic ones that cropped up to reinforce levees before an impending flood, directors minimized the distinction between prisoner and laborer, creating "virtual prisons and slave labor markets."[65] They subordinated categories of "free" and "unfree" to the more visible "black" and "white," forcing non-incarcerated men to do unpaid work that the U.S. Constitution (and certainly no broader moral authority) only permitted convicts to do. Revealing again the striking codependence between social and spatial control, John Barry chronicled how politicians in Greenville, Mississippi left Black Mississippians trapped on the levees in 1927 to ensure the Black labor supply would return to the white-owned plantations after the floodwaters subsided.[66] Black men across the South wrote and sang about the difficulty and monotony of working at levee camps.[67] Alice Pearson's "Greenville Levee Blues" lamented this abusive system, wherein Black men maintained levees, connected supply chains and rescued trapped, mostly white residents from surrounding areas in exchange for food. [68] The blurred definitions of freedom brought on by flood emergencies referenced historically fluid forms of racialized imprisonment, of which, as Michelle Alexander and Angela Davis discuss, the modern prison is only one.[69] Though workers were not always convicts, levee camps housed a labor structure indistinguishable, except perhaps in its increased illegality, from convict leasing.

While the abuses of the system have been curbed, stories of convict labor on the banks of flooding rivers still surface in the 21st century. Much of this labor happens within prison fences, as incarcerated individuals stack sandbags on the levees that protect their involuntary residences.[70] Some of these reinforcement efforts occur outside the spaces of the prison, and inmates usually receive decent pay for their work.[71] Yet the facetious rhetoric that hides the involuntary nature of the work persists. In 1993, *The New York Times* reported an uplifting story about a collaborative effort in which community members, National Guardsmen and inmates worked together to reinforce levees. While the *Times* cheerfully proclaimed, "everyone but the National Guard is a volunteer in the battle against the Mississippi River," the inmates were only volunteers under the word's most deceitful, specific definition of "unpaid." Similarly, the *Times'* closing scene, wherein "a gang of prison inmates were singing in the rain, throwing sandbags" conveyed an image of joy and collaboration that masked the state-sanctioned arrogance which had placed those prisoners on the levee, so similar to the hubris of the engineers who had placed the levees there in the first place.[72]

Floods highlighted the fluidity and permeability of the prison borders most visibly, but they also demonstrated the extent to which the state maintained its power over prisoners' bodies. However, other subtler flows further undermined notions of complete control: from pop culture, inmate artwork and blues songs to tourists for the Angola Rodeo.[73] These expressions "allow inmates to sustain a social integrity that, to some degree, neutralizes a status tied solely to incarceration." [74] Though wardens and guards dutifully tried to keep prisoners laboring within fields like Angola's, they could not keep out the physical and cultural forces of the outside world. State-sanctioned power still guided the movement of the convict, but voices like those of (anti)prison bluesmen find space to create "certain promising strategies of endurance and hopes of liberation."[75] These forms of creative production by prisoners, as well as news narratives that highlighted inmates' individuality, illustrated and even created fragility in the austere system. As floods both demonstrated and undermined the control of the state over the spatiality of

in the American South.

65 *Nobody Knows Where the Blues Come From: Lyrics and History,* ed. by Robert Springer, (U. Press of Mississippi, 2006), 6.

66 Barry, *Rising Tide.*

67 *Songs About Work: Essays in Occupational Culture,* ed. by Archie Green, (Bloomington, IN: Special Publication of the Folklore Institute No. 3, 1993), 144.

68 *Nobody Knows Where the Blues Come From,* 43.

69 See Alexander, *The New Jim Crow,* "Introduction" and Davis, "Slavery, Civil Rights and Abolitionist Perspectives Toward Prison," *Are Prisons Obsolete?* 26-27.

70 "ADC Inmate Crews Busy in East Arkansas," *Arkansas Department of Correction,* May 13, 2011.

71 Michael P. Buffer, "Prison Approves Payments to Inmates for Flood Cleanup," *McClatchy – Tribune Business News* (Washington), Oct 19, 2011.

72 Sarah Rimer, "Along the Levee As People Fight A Tireless River: Fighting the River Manning the Battle Line Against the Mississippi," *New York Times,* July 14, 1993.

73 No prison blues song discovered in this historical analysis directly described prison floods. However, their descriptions of inmates' emotions and desires—as well as the transport of these songs into non-incarcerated spaces—subverted structures of institutionalization and control.

74 Hal Cannon, "The Music of Louisiana's Angola State Penitentiary," *National Public Radio,* August 5, 2011; Melissa Schrift, "Angola Prison Art: Captivity, Creativity, and Consumerism," *Journal of American Folklore* 119, No. 473 (2006): 257-274.

75 Smith, *The Prison,* 144.

the prison and the physicality of the prisoner, other, revealed forms of creative resistance further subverted full state authority.

Conclusion

While riparian floods rarely sparked a total breakdown in state control over either prisoners' bodies or a prison's spatiality, flood events threatened the hubristic, oppressive notions of complete social and environmental control expressed in maximum security prisons and massive levees. Floods showcased the weaknesses of these apparatuses of control, even if when the waters receded the state managed to reassert and reclaim its dominant position, repairing levees and drying-out cell blocks. When situated within parallel theories of social and environmental control, the historical intersections between floods and prisons take on a much broader significance, with consequences that deeply affect both the work of state-builders and the arguments of their critics.

Just as with systematic flood control, the rigidity and complexity of the American prison system makes it appear impregnable and unyielding, yet, albeit in subtler ways than a crevassed levee, its inflexibility is also its fragility. Scientifically-minded critiques of levees-only policies—and comprehensive flood control projects more generally—create enormous potential for an apt, parallel critique of the American criminal justice system. Critics of flood control claim that these political projects eliminate frequent small floods but increase the risks of rare, disastrous ones; similarly, the prison system curbs smaller societal transgressions but creates systematic inequality with much broader and more dangerous effects. Flood control projects also require ever-increasing resources to sustain themselves and to protect from the larger and larger disasters that these projects enable. In the same vein, mass incarceration in the United States demands greater and greater resources as it undermines inmates mental health and job prospects, thus contributing to poverty, racial segregation and increasing American inequality.

Finally, floods reveal much about the differentiated value of life in the United States as the state places incarcerated individuals in situations of elevated physical risk and emotional discomfort during emergency events. Yet inadequately few aspects of this power relationship has been addressed from the perspective of inmates themselves. Save for the testimonials of inmates in New Orleans during Katrina, most of the livid experiences of the prisoners who helped bolster levees and who were trapped in flooded prisons have been lost to history. Journalistic angles and institutional policies that privilege concerns about safety *from* inmates over concerns *for* inmates' well-being during socio-natural disasters contribute to a cultural and legal system that devalues the lives and experiences of incarcerated individuals. The lack of popular and scholarly interest in elevating, recording and analyzing incarcerated voices during these moments of uncertainty also contributes to the erasure of the intersections between floods and prisons from historical records and popular memory. Without these messy counter-narratives of evacuation and lived emotion, the threat that floods embody to hegemonic state control over spaces of incarceration obscures itself and eventually disappears entirely.

Fairways, Greens, and Green Space in the "American Riviera"

Constructing the Promise of the Cuban Revolution in the Capital's Golf Courses

By Nicholas Stewart, Yale University

In 2011, Cuba publicized its plans to partner with foreign developers and construct a series of eighteen-hole golf courses. These courses were to mark "a fundamental development in having a more eclectic tourist sector," as one British financier of the undertaking noted—and they would include spas, shopping malls, villas, and apartments at a total cost of $1.5 billion.[1] Another developer explained that "Cuba saw the normal sun and salsa beach offerings and knew it was not going to be sustainable."[2] On its front page that May, the *New York Times* summarized: "[The] Cuban government has giv[en] preliminary approval in recent weeks for four large luxury golf resorts on the island, the first in an expected wave of more than a dozen."[3]

But these greens were not, in fact, Cuba's first-ever fairways. Golf arrived on the island in 1911—exactly one hundred years earlier—with the repurposing of a derelict farm on the capital's periphery as the elite Country Club of Havana. Soon, the course boasted a thousand-name membership roster and a years-long waitlist. Over the decades that followed, a suite of local alternatives satisfied this demand: the Biltmore Yacht & Country Club, built on "an incomparable site overlooking the Gulf of Mexico," according to one visitor; the *Almendares* Country Club, attached to a five-star resort; and the Rovers Athletic Club, with its exclusively-British membership.[4] These greens sculpted thousands of acres of Havana and its suburbs into a realm of manicured Bermuda grass and raked white sand, where tropical fantasies of tourists became the backdrop for holes-in-one. They also affirmed the growing U.S.-American mandate in Cuba, which the explosive growth of tourism had incited in the early-twentieth century.

From farmland to fairways to parkland, these golf courses underwent yet another transformation upon the Cuban Revolution of 1959. Fidel Castro's regime immediately nationalized them as a testament to Cuba's egalitarian future under socialism.[5] And yet, authorities neither razed the Biltmore nor let nature reclaim the *Almendares*; instead, they converted Havana's golf courses into a web of parks, government officials' homes, and the *Escuelas Nacionales de Arte*. The Revolution therefore had the effect of intentionally preserving these landscapes while making them widely accessible to a Cuban audience. It had the effect, too, of ending the widespread practice of golf on the island for over fifty years, until the completion of those under-construction courses, announced in 2011.

With these successive spatial reconfigurations in mind, Havana's golf courses appear as palimpsests where the political and socioeconomic forces that shaped Cuba between turn-of-the-twentieth-century independence from Spain and the rise of socialism are manifest in the built environment. To this end, the latter reconfiguration of the golf courses—as preserved, nationalized landscapes where the U.S.-American fantasy of Havana took root—reveals the initial promise of Castro's socialism: that everyone (and not only the wealthy and foreign) could indulge in a paradisiacal, leisurely vision of the island. By extension, then, the Revolution proves *not* a radical rejection of Cuba's past, but instead a response to this history that claimed the United States' fantasy of the capital for Cubans themselves.

1 Archibold, Randal, "Revolutionary Cuba Now Lays Sand Traps for the Bourgeoisie," *New York Times* (May 24, 2011), A1.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Woon, Basil, "The Golfer Discovers Cuba," *Golf Illustrated* (December 1928), 25-56.
5 Nahmias, Alysa and Murray, Benjamin, "Unfinished Spaces" (New York: PBS), 2013, 0:4:45.

A "Matchless Southern Climate": the United States, Cuba, and Tourism's Rise

Years before Bermuda grass and putting greens reached Havana, Cuba broke with its past, pivoting away from its Spanish colonial heritage and towards a new trajectory of U.S.-American touristic intervention. In great part, this break was predicated on the very foundation of an independent Cuba, typified by its new constitution, written in 1901.

The adoption of a new constitution was quite explicitly a directive of the United States in the wake of its victory in the Spanish-American War. Soon after this victory, the *New York Times* stated: "The convention that is to assemble in the city of Havana... 'to frame and adopt' a Constitution for the people of Cuba is called and appointed to meet, not by the people of Cuba... but by an order issued by the War Department of the United States."[6] In particular, the United States consolidated its hegemony through the Platt Amendment to the Cuban Constitution, which held that "all acts of the United States in Cuba... are ratified and validated."[7] U.S. Americans thereby laid the groundwork to "leave the Cubans in vassalage to the United States," as the *Times* continued, in the construction of the state itself.[8]

The reframing of Cuba in relation to the United States manifested in the explosive growth of tourism during the first half of the twentieth century. This growth both attested to Cuba's "vassalage to the United States" and also reified it. In 1914, 33,000 tourists visited Cuba. One year later, in 1915, there were 44,000. In 1920, 56,000 tourists flooded the island; and in 1930, that number had increased to 100,000.[9] And although the administration of President Franklin Roosevelt abrogated the Platt Amendment in 1934 to pursue instead its Good Neighbor Policy, the groundwork for tourism's exponential growth already lay in place: in the years immediately before the Cuban Revolution, over 350,000 tourists arrived annually.[10]

These visitors travelled between Key West and Havana by way of ferries, ocean liners cruising the Eastern Seaboard, and—beginning in 1921 with Aeromarine Airways' daily flights from Florida to Cuba—planes. By the end of the decade, flights between Havana's Camp Columbia Aviation Field and New York or Chicago had made the once-distant markets of the United States accessible within one day of travel.[11] Writing in 1928 for the *New York Times*, one journalist synopsized: "A new Cuba is being built as the result of its discovery by the American tourist. He has in increasing numbers found that Cuba is only two days from New York, and that it offers as many attractions in the winter as any other spot outside of Southern France. An American Riviera is growing in the island republic."[12] Cuba thus came to offer to U.S.-Americans the promise of a new world only hours away only hours from the North American mainland.

Cruise companies, airlines, and guidebooks sold these hundreds of thousands of tourists the hyperbolic fantasy of this "American Riviera." One Pan American Airways brochure from 1934 claimed that Cuba "conjure[d]" the names of "Cap'n Kidd and Bluebeard," and that it was a place "whose name[...] we have lived since childhood yet only dreamed of ever seeing."[13] Similarly, a junket for the Ward Line touted "an entrancing trip of fascinating interest to a gay and scintillating foreign capital. All the bubbling zest of Latin life and laughter in a matchless Southern climate."[14] Here, the Ward Line presented Havana as a "matchless" experience to be had—rendered unique by virtue of its "gay and scintillating" built environment in *conjunction* with the "bubbling zest" of Latin America. These characterizations also imagined Cuba's capital with regard to leisure: Havana was "a winsome and sunlit land of singular and abiding charm where travel is cheap, easy and safe; ...and where the expected pleasures await the traveler," as one 1926 travel guide claimed.[15] The city accordingly existed to many of its visitors exclusively in terms of touristic value.[16]

This fantasy became a reality as Havana's developers made good on the assurances of Pan American and the Ward Line. Downtown, old homes made way for casinos, theaters, and luxury resorts, which rapidly rose along the *Malecón* and *Paseo del Prado*. Of this phenomenon, architectural historian James Lynch notes that the city was "inundated by a flood of luxury hotels, gambling casinos, and brothels," thus making it "the Caribbean terminus of a Las Vegas-Miami-Havana

6 "The Constitution of Cuba," *New York Times* (August 6, 1900).
7 "Accept Platt Amendment," *New York Times* (May 28, 1901).
8 "The Constitution of Cuba."
9 Pérez Jr., Louis, On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality, and Culture (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2008), 167.
10 Pérez Jr., 167. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy sought to move the United States away from interventionism in Latin America.
11 Ibid.
12 Owen, Russell, "Cuba Rebuilds Itself for Winter Tourists," *New York Times* (February 26, 1928).
13 Pan American Airways Brochure, "The Air-Way to Havana, Nassau, West Indies, Mexico, Central and South America," 1934, Folder 12, Box 1, Aviation Ephemera Collection, WSU; from Van Vleck, Jenifer, No Distant Places: Aviation and the Global American Century (Ann Arbor: ProQuest Publishing, 2010), 83.
14 Ward Line Advertisement, "Havana: "The Loveliest Land That Human Eyes Have Every Seen," http://cruiselinehistory.com/wp-content/uploads/2008/06/wardline.jpg.
15 Terry, Thomas Philip, Terry's Guide to Cuba: A Handbook for Travelers (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1926), iii
16 Schwartz, Rosalie, Pleasure Island: Tourism and Temptation in Cuba (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 7.

axis."[17] As Lynch observes, this axis proved transnational—a realm bound by entertainment and vice (and *not* by geographic borders). The wealth of nineteenth-century sugar production under Spanish rule had remade the Cuban capital in limestone and marble; this time, rum and roulette underlay the emergence of towering resorts and neon-clad dance halls.

Across Havana, too, civic and private undertakings aestheticized buildings and boulevards, which increasingly appeared as neoclassical objects for touristic consumption. In the city's more aristocratic pockets, for instance, refined racetracks and palatial, neoclassical beach clubs replaced the remnants of sugar plantations.[18] In fact, it was during this period of upheaval and redevelopment that tourists began to draw comparisons between Havana and Haussmann's Paris, as historian Louis Pérez Jr. explains: "[The city] was described variously as 'a little Paris,' the 'Paris of the West Indies,' and the 'Paris of America.'"[19]

That "Paris" emerged from U.S.-American influence in Havana attests to the effect that this touristic fantasy achieved in practice: the production of streetscapes intentionally defined in contrast to those of cities in the United States. Ironically, the hegemony that the Cuban Constitution and Platt Amendment assured therefore worked to make Havana, with its expansive beaches, glowing casinos, and Francophilic architecture, appear *unlike* the United States' cityscapes. Pérez Jr. summarizes: "It was precisely the juxtaposition of the foreign with the familiar, the old with the new, to be abroad without being away, that was at the heart of the Cuban appeal to North American sensibilities."[20] And so Cuba's capital emerged to embody the promised leisure of Pan American Airways and the Ward Line—a promise of a break from the real world.

17 Lynch, James, "Cuban Architecture since the Revolution," *Art Journal*, vol. 39 no. 2 (Winter 1979-1980), 100.
18 Schwartz, 2; and Lynch, 100.
19 Pérez Jr., 180.
20 Ibid, 173.

"Any One with... Two Eyes Can Play Golf": Eighteen Holes Come to Cuba

An afternoon on the green at the Country Club of Havana embodied this promise. According to the *Cuba Review* in 1912, the club offered a landscape of "great[...] variety," "attractive features," and "distinctive characteristics conducive to skill and pleasure in the game."[21] Havana's golf courses quite literally treated the built environment as something non-real: the setting for a game. They consequently served as microcosms of the city's larger transformation, which tourism had wrought. But even as microcosms, these courses were mammoth—for example, the Country Club's green alone accounted for 125 acres and an additional 425 acres of clubhouses, beaches, and on-site homes lay nearby).[22] They subsequently bounded much of western Havana with a wall of privatized green space, segregating the city from its rural surroundings.

Enthusiasts had transposed golf from Scotland's sheep pastures to the Western Hemisphere several decades earlier, when the Saint Andrews Club opened in Yonkers, New York in 1888.[23] The sport spread quickly across the suburbs of the American Northeast: in 1905, there were one million golfers in the United States, and a decade later, in 1915, there were three million. That latter year, the *New York Times* reported that the United States Golf Association included in its membership about 600 courses, and that there was at least one golf club in every state.[24]

Golf attracted U.S. Americans for the same reason that Havana did: it was leisurely and increasingly accessible. The sport, the *Times* claimed in 1891, did not have the "vivid excitement, violent exercise, and breathless hurry and rush of baseball," but it was "suited equally to fat or middle-aged men and to lithe, active youths. Any one with two arms, two legs, and two eyes can play golf."[25] That golf was less physically taxing than other popular pastimes made it particularly popular among older U.S. Americans "who are no longer able to indulge in those forms of sport which require more violent exertion," according to one early-twentieth-century player.[26] The sport therefore attracted an audience that corresponded to that of the growing tourism sector in Cuba—of upwardly mobile U.S.-American adults looking to relax.

The completion of the Country Club of Havana in 1912 underscored this intersection of the touristic agenda,

21 "Golf Links in Havana," *Cuba Review*, vol. 10 no. 12 (November 1912), 13.
22 Schwartz, 49.
23 Kirsch, George, The Rise of Golf in America (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 4.
24 Ibid, 6.
25 *New York Times* (October 5, 1891); from Kirsch, 13.
26 Kirsch, 13.

the physical reinvention of Cuba's capital, and golf. The club emerged at the behest of a prominent developer from Englewood, New Jersey: Frederick Snare, who partnered with seventeen colleagues from the Northeast to finance the reconstruction of hundreds of acres of farmland on Havana's western fringe as the island's first golf course. To complete the project, Snare and his partners armed renowned Scottish golf course designer Donald Ross and scores of artisans with $150,000—today, nearly $4 million.[27] From the former *Finca Lola* tobacco farm, the team produced a larger-than-life tropical mirage. Writing of a river on the property, historian Rosalie Schwartz makes note of the artificial reality that Ross constructed: "Landscape architects, trained to see the dormant promise in a muddy pool, converted the stagnant pocket of sluggish stream into an inviting lagoon where ducks paddled on the water and attractive tropical plants crowded the banks."[28] Havana thus became the fantasy that U.S.-Americans envisioned—even if this fantasy ultimately proved a manufactured one.

The result of these efforts was, as one travel guide lauded, a "superb golf course (idyllic in its tropical beauty and one of the finest in the Americas)." Country Club Park, which Snare developed as an adjacent residential enclave, was "flecked with palms and flowers, and by a charming lake and many attractive homes."[29] Soon, the Country Club of Havana and its adjacent enclave welcomed the most high brow and well-to-do of U.S. Americans to its membership rolls: there were Astors, Hersheys, Vanderbilts, and Whitneys.[30] The course, in Schwartz' words, "evolved into an institution, a place where businessmen developed or improved critical contacts with important sources of investment capital."[31]

On a stretch of coastline near the Country Club of Havana, the Biltmore Yacht & Country Club opened in 1928 to capitalize on its neighbor's great success. Other than an interprovincial highway, the Biltmore was the most expensive construction project in Cuba at the time: it was built at an estimated cost of $35,000,000 (nearly $500 million in today's dollars).[32] The club rose from the ruins of a former sugar plantation over the course of twenty months and sat "on an incomparable site overlooking the Gulf of Mexico," according to one golfer, who added: "This course is really the nucleus of the future 'Cuban Monte Carlo.'"[33] The trappings of this Monte Carlo-to-be included a lavish oceanfront clubhouse in limestone, gardens, swimming pools, and elegant homes perched along the fairways. Unlike its nearby competitor, though, the Biltmore primarily attracted wealthy *habaneros* who lived in nearby suburbs and filled its membership rolls.[34] The U.S.-American vision of Havana accordingly held sway beyond the realm of tourists.

Havana's remaining two courses—the *Almendares* and Rovers—sat next to each other to the south of the Country Club and Biltmore, in the elite suburb of Marianao. The *Almendares*, for one, was "an uphill course that commands attention," in the words of a visitor.[35] It was attached to the luxurious Hotel Almendares, which opened in 1925, had an English-speaking wait staff, and offered "efficient American style-service," as an advert in the *Havana Post* touted.[36] The Rovers Athletic Club, on the other hand, limited its membership to British citizens, as golfer Basil Woon observed in 1928: "Many members of this club are dyed-in-the-wool Scots who have memories of their native heaths. The Rovers Club course... is popularly supposed to be the coolest in Havana."[37]

Collectively, these golf courses extended the U.S.-American fantasy of Cuba to Havana's furthest reaches—and yet, they also constituted a counterpoint to the brass-and-neon nightlife of downtown Havana. If the *centro* served as a "Paris of the West Indies," then the Country Club of Havana, Biltmore, *Almendares*, and Rovers offered tourists from the United States a more familiar and expected landscape (albeit an exoticized, tropical one): that of the promised "American Riviera."

27 "Golf Links in Cuba," 13.
28 Schwartz, 49.
29 Terry, 311-12.
30 Schwartz, 49.
31 Ibid.
32 Russell.
33 Woon, 25.
34 Schwartz, 58.
35 Woon, 26.
36 *Havana Post* 1922-1925; and Pérez Jr., 171.
37 Woon, 26.

"Riviera" for Whom?: Golf's Affirmation of Inequality in Havana

Although this fantasy took root in the concrete terms of fairways, greens, and royal palms, it ultimately remained just that—a series of make-believe stage sets that worked to confirm the United States' hegemony in Cuba by validating North American notions of what Havana should look like and whom it should serve. It therefore comes as no surprise that, in the spring of 1926, poet Hart Crane wrote to his father of the city: "It's a funny little metropolis, more like a toy city than a real one."[38] As Crane noted, Havana seemed closer to a playground for games like golf than it did a place for real-life.

For its Cuban residents, however, Havana was experienced in very different terms. Between 1920 and 1958, the capital's population swelled from 600,000 to 1,360,000 as rural-dwelling migrants moved to the city to claim the service-sector jobs that tourism had produced.[39] These inhabitants encountered another Havana altogether—where nearly half of all homes stood in poor condition and where one-third of neighborhoods experienced frequent water shortages.[40] Even the construction of lavish resorts reserved for foreigners took on a different appearance from the vantage point of many *habaneros*, as one local remarked in the pages of a midcentury Cuban magazine: "Is this objective [of promoting tourism] worth staining the national panorama even more...?"[41] And unlike their U.S.-American counterparts, the vast majority of urbanites could afford neither the Ward Line's cabins nor Pan American's airfare. They were, in other words, stranded in landscapes that were no longer theirs.

Nor could these *habaneros* access the Country Club of Havana, Biltmore, *Almendares*, and Rovers, whose eternally green Bermuda grass never suffered from the water shortages that plagued other swaths of the city.[42] For one, membership was prohibitively costly: in the mid-1920s, for instance, annual dues at the Country Club totaled $120 (today, $1,630).[43] Additional costs targeted locals, thereby ensuring that the fairways remained primarily white, U.S.-American spaces. Also at the Country Club, non-Cuban new members paid $100 in initiation fees whereas Cuban residents paid $250 (respectively, $1,350 as opposed to $3,400).[44] Golf in Havana was thus expensive to begin with—and it was even more expensive for locals, whom these charges disproportionately affected. This is to say that the construction of a fantastical touristic environment exerted particularly deleterious material effects upon Havana's low-income denizens.

In this way, *habaneros* found huge wedges of open space in their city entirely closed to them. Moreover, the siting of the capital's golf courses on the urban periphery disconnected residents from the world that lay beyond these courses. There, as historian Dennis Merrill observes, the "indigenous Caribbean cultural rhythms" that Havana's gilded cityscapes "muted," continued to exist.[45] In the words of James Lynch, the greens therefore presented "old pre-Revolution barriers—physical, economic, psychological—between urban and rural."[46] They consequently not only reflected a U.S.-American vision of Cuba, but also perpetuated the social inequalities upon which this vision depended, inequalities confirmed by the physical and symbolic separation between urban wealth and rural poverty.

"Four Kilometers of Beach and all of it, Privately Owned": Land Reform and Tourism

The Revolution ruptured these dynamics of inequality and reimagined the ways in which the island's residents interacted with their built environment. In the minds of Cubans, Havana's landscapes—including those of its four golf courses—quickly presented new possibilities for constructing more egalitarian landscapes as Castro came to power.

On New Years Day in 1959, Cuba's president, Fulgencio Batista, succumbed to the insurgency of Castro's guerilla army and fled into exile; one week later, on January 8, the army's forces descended upon the capital as *habaneros* celebrated in the streets.[47] The new regime quickly assured Cubans that the kinds of disparities Havana's golf courses confirmed would cease to exist, as the state-sponsored *Revolución* magazine proclaimed in July of that year: "The revolutionary government... has initiated a transformation that will tend to equalize the standards of living between the city and *campo*... and destroy all political differences between the peasant and the man of the city, fusing all into one sole reality: *the total Cuban in the new Cuba*."[48] The pages of *Revolución* accordingly offered

38 Crane, Hart to Clarence Arthur Crane (May 20, 1926), in Lewis, Thomas, Letters of Hart Crane and His Family (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 493; from Pérez Jr., 493.

39 Merrill, Denis, Negotiating Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Twentieth-Century Latin America (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 136.

40 Ibid.

41 Pérez Jr., 469.

42 Snare, Frederick, "Grasses at the Country Club of Havana," *United States Golf Association* publication (March 16, 1925), 63.

43 Terry, 311.

44 Terry, 311.

45 Dennis, 136.

46 Lynch, 100.

47 Beals, Carleton, "Revolution Without Generals," *The Nation* (January 9, 1959), 43-44.

48 "Los Campesinos en La Habana," *Revolución* (July 22, 1959), 18; from Guerra, Lillian, Visions of Power in Cuba:

an explicit response to the divisions that the Country Club, Biltmore *Almendares*, and Rovers propagated—of "city and *campo"* and "peasant and the man of the city."

To actualize this transformation, the Castro regime undertook massive land reform efforts, which its *Instituto Nacional de Reforma Agraria* (INRA) led. To this end, political and socioeconomic revolutions became extensions of a spatial one—and, in fact, by mid-1960, INRA had title to over half of Cuba's land area.[49] Importantly, these nationalized properties were often manifestations of the U.S.-American hegemony in Cuba. A then-classified briefing from the United States' alarmed Central Intelligence Agency in 1960 elaborated: "The [Cuban] government... has... assumed control over a wide range of business enterprises, ranging from sugar plantations and cattle ranches to mines, factories, airlines and hotels, in many of which U.S. investors have had a considerable stake."[50]

With these re-possessed plantations and hotels, INRA reconceived of the ways in which Cubans might engage with the landscapes that their island possessed: the agency transferred a vast number of these holdings to the *Instituto Nacional de Industrias del Tourismo* (INIT), which opened the sites to the general public as touristic destinations for locals. In its inaugural issue in 1960, *INRA* magazine visited these sites: the "'*Hacienda Cortina*,' a huge fief with more than 30,000 acres and a beautiful landscape"; and "*la finca* '*La Coronela*,'" with its "1,500 acres planted by farmers of the Revolution with pangola, corn, and beans."[51]

As the magazine's language demonstrated, INIT advocated for an alternative kind of tourism from that which had long existed in Cuba—one that advanced the Revolution's project of "equaliz[ing]... standards of living" by sharing the fruits of the United States' imperialism on the island with its inhabitants. With regard to this more-explicitly political tourism, Castro told reporters of the beaches on the eastern shores of Havana in 1959: "Four kilometers of beach and all of it, privately owned. Yet the people of Havana have so few places to go."[52] His response, in Merrill's words, was to produce "public space" in the form of a "beach equipped with a low-cost hotel, bathhouses, sports fields, and restaurants.... with Cuba's working-class specifically in mind."[53] Castro and INRA therefore colluded to bring the U.S.-American dream of Cuba to *all* Cubans.

"Build[ing] for the People" at the Country Club: from Greens to Green Space

The Country Club of Havana, Biltmore, *Almendares*, and Rovers were obvious and highly visible targets for this new mode of tourism. After all, Castro had dismissed golf as a "bourgeois sport" in 1959.[54] In the months after the Revolution, INRA nationalized Havana's golf courses with the intent of substituting more accessible programming for the elite game on the thousands of acres of open space that it had procured in the city and around its edges. On these sites, architects and government officials took up a new initiative: "build[ing] *for* the people," according to one local designer.[55]

Castro himself led the redevelopment efforts of these golf courses. Upon a visit to the fairways of the Country Club for a lighthearted round of golf with Che Guevara in 1959, he dreamt of "put[ting] hundreds of students of art in this beautiful landscape."[56] Therein lay insight into Castro's vision for the remaking of Havana under socialism: that the "beautiful landscapes" U.S.-American imperialism had produced *should* continue to exist, but with Cuban audiences in mind. That is, this vision sought to remake the built environment without erasing the architectural legacy of the United States' hegemony in Havana.

Within weeks, Castro commissioned Cuban socialist architects Ricardo Porro, Roberto Gottardi, and Vittorio Garatti to design on the site of the former Country Club five different arts schools for the *Escuelas Nacionales de Arte*—for modern dance, fine arts, dramatic arts, music, and ballet.[57] These architects, with their "profound respect for the extraordinary landscape of the country club," in the words of architectural historian John Loomis, produced a series of sweeping brick-and-concrete structures to sit amidst royal palms and rolling hills. Loomis describes:

"Each school was a one-of-a-kind achievement, conceived within a common material and structural language. Porro's School of Modern Dance... is an angular, kinetic com-

Revolution, Redemption, and Resistance, 1959-1971 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 72.

49 Fitzgibbon, Russell, "The Revolution Next Door," *The Annals of the American Academy*, vol. 334 no. 1 (1961), 115.

50 Director of Central Intelligence, "Communist Influence in Cuba," *Special National Intelligence Estimate*, no. 85-60 (March 22, 1960), 1.

51 Nuñez Jimenez, Antonio, "El Rostro del latifundio," *INRA* magazine, no. 1 (1960), 2; translated from Spanish.

52 Castro, Fidel, Interview, Rancho Alto, Sierra de Cojimar (February 15-19, 1959, Box 2, Folder Cuba Reports 1952-1960, HMP.

53 Merrill, 158.

54 Watterson, John Sayle, The Games Presidents Play: Sports and the Presidency (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 211.

55 Segre, Roberto, "Unfinished Spaces," 0:8:15.

56 Ibid, 0:4:55; and Morley, Gary, "Why did Communist Heroes Castro and Guevara Play the Bourgeois Game?" *CNN* (March 9, 2010).

57 Loomis, John, Revolution of Forms: Cuba's Forgotten Art Schools (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999), 26.

position.... His School of Plastic Arts celebrated the country's Afro-Cuban heritage.... Gottardi's School of Dramatic Arts, like the social construct of a theater company, looks inward."[58]

These buildings thus placed the Country Club's landscape in dialogue with Cuban contexts that U.S.-American fantasies had long romanticized or ignored altogether—of Afro-Cuban identity, for example.

Havana's other golf courses met similar fates. The Biltmore, on the one hand, became cooperative farms and parkland. Possessed by INRA, its oceanfront clubhouse came to serve as a civic conference center, and the picturesque homes that overlooked its fairways went to government officials.[59] (In fact, Castro's own home, *Punto Cero*, sits near the Biltmore's fourteenth hole.[60]) The *Almendares*, too, opened to the public as a vast park on the city's southern fringe.[61] Only the Rovers Athletic Club—that "coolest" golf course—continued to function as a golf course; INRA preserved nine of its holes, to which it welcomed locals and tourists alike, free of charge.[62]

And so in the wake of the Cuban Revolution, these spatial manifestations of the U.S.-American fantasy of Havana metamorphosed once again. But this was not the sort of fundamental reconstruction of space that the original realization of the capital's four golf courses prompted in molding farms and plantations as Edens for North Americans; instead, it was an effort intended to share these paradises with *all* Cubans. At its start, then, the Revolution marked neither a break with the island's past nor an erasure of the legacies of tourism—instead, it served to make available to the masses a U.S.-styled leisurely way of life that golf and the courses on which foreigners played it epitomized. The rise of the Castro regime was therefore an acknowledgement and even acceptance of the Ward Line's vision of the "bubbling zest of Latin life and laughter in a matchless Southern climate."

Golf and Historiography: Visions for a "New Cuba" in Context

Although the Cuban Revolution effectively championed the U.S.-American dream of Havana, a very different picture of the Revolution's promise presented itself just ninety miles north, on the shores of the United States. Embroiled in the Cold War, officials in Key West and Washington, D.C. alike understood these political and spatial transformations in hyperbolic—and often cataclysmic—ways. They insisted in 1960: "[We] believe that the Cuban regime is in practice following the line set for... Communist Parties... and that it will continue to... give increasing appearances of becoming a Communist society."[63]

Two years later, the Cuban Missile Crisis confirmed these fears—in particular, that the island had fallen to the Soviet Union. And in fact, as the U.S.S.R. came to exercise a hegemonic control over Cuba analogous to that of the United States in earlier decades, the nature of Castro's socialism changed. To this end, construction on the *Escuelas Nacionales de Arte* stooped as bureaucrats deemed them excessively "deviationist" and "monumentalist."[64] Given the United States' staunch opposition to the Revolution from its start and the influence that the Soviet Union quickly came to wield over the Castro regime, historiography has obscured the promise of Cuban socialism in its first months, as those guerilla forces arrived in Havana to cheers and celebrations: to make the visions of Pan American Airways and the Ward Line a reality for every *habanero*.

Ironically, the Cuban government cached its 2011 announcement of the construction of new golf courses for foreign tourists in this same promise. As one developer noted, "People [on the island] are desperate to buy," so officials have pursued alternative streams of revenue (like those that the greens might generate).[65] Tourism in Cuba, too, was up by fifteen percent in the first quarter of 2015 from the same period a year before.[66] History may very well be poised to repeat itself, and whether Cubans will benefit this time from the reemergence of rum and roulette remains uncertain. But for now, at least, Havana's former golf courses—the Country Club, Biltmore, *Almendares*, and Rovers—are still theirs.

58 Ibid, 27.
59 "Facilities: Club Habana," *USA Cuba Travel* website (accessed on June 8, 2005); courtesy of Meister, Christoph, "History of Golf in Cuba."
60 Meister.
61 Loomis, 32.
62 Morley.
63 Director of Central Intelligence, 3.
64 Loomis, 27.
65 Frank, Marc, "As Cuba Opens, Developers Tee up to Build Golf Courses," *Reuters* (July 3, 2015).
66 Ibid.

Remembering the Reconstruction: An Interview with Kate Masur

By Sarah Manhardt, University of Chicago

Kate Masur is an American historian interested in race and equality in the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. She is an associate professor of American history and an affiliate of the Department of African American Studies at Northwestern University. Her 2010 book, An Example for All the Land: Emancipation and the Struggle for Equality in Washington, D.C. examines the history of public policy and black politics during Reconstruction. Together with Gregory Downs (University of California, Davis), she has been involved in the National Park Service's interpretation of the Reconstruction era, helping to create Reconstruction: The Official National Park Service Handbook and to write a National Historic Landmark Theme Study on Reconstruction. The Park Service's new focus on Reconstruction resulted, in part, in the establishment of the nation's first National Monument dedicated to the history of Reconstruction, which President Obama created under the 1907 Antiquities Act on January 20th, 2017.

This interview was conducted by Sarah Manhardt at the University of Chicago.

Chicago Journal of History **(CJH):** To start, could you talk about what has drawn you to becoming a historian and what the practice of history means to you?

Kate Masur (KM): Unlike most people who are history professors, I do not have a Ph.D. in history—mine is in American Studies. I always wanted to understand the United States better, but when I was in college I was most interested in cultural studies and critical theory. The history department where I was an undergraduate was not friendly to interdisciplinary approaches; it was very old school, especially among the Americanist historians. So although I was interested in history and how it can help us understand the present, I did not think I would ever fit into the discipline of history because of the institution where I happened to be.

In fact, when I decided to apply to graduate schools I didn't apply to any history departments. Luckily I didn't get into any of the more literary graduate programs that I applied to, but I did get accepted to University of Michigan's American Culture program, and that was where I found out that the practice of American history can be very creative, open-ended, and heterogeneous.

I like the eclectic methodologies permitted by the field of history. History research and writing can encompass many different kinds of questions and many different points of view, and I like that quite a bit. I continue to be motivated in part by a desire to understand the world we live in now. We can't fully understand things like poverty or foreign policy or presidential elections if we don't also go back to ascertain how we got here.

CJH: More specifically to your work, your book is about the black community in Washington, D.C., and I was wondering what interested you in that topic?

KM: I got interested in the Reconstruction period when I was in graduate school, thinking about a lot of different questions in American history and, in particular, questions about race and inequality and social movements. I was also interested in this very fundamental question of why, after slavery ended during the American Civil War, it wasn't possible to bring into existence the relatively democratic and egalitarian world that so many people already envisioned at that time. Why didn't it happen? That big and old question really drew me to Reconstruction.

I ended up studying Washington D.C. in part because, although I'm from Chicago, I had grown going to Washington somewhat frequently to visit a relative. I had always seen Washington as a place where real people lived, not just as place where you might go on your eighth-grade fieldtrip when you visit monuments like the Capitol and the White House. I saw it as a city where people lived and worked, a place of significance for African American history and urban history.

I guessed that Washington would be an interesting place to study Reconstruction because of its special relationship to the federal government and because it was of its regional location in the Upper South. I thought, wouldn't it stand to reason that in a moment of dramatic experimentation in federal policy, Congress would partly be experimenting on the District of Columbia? Also, isn't it interesting that the capital is kind of Northern and kind

of Southern? Slavery was legal until 1862, but at the same time, during the Civil War and Reconstruction many Northerners were there.

CJH: I've thought of Washington in terms of the monumental city and the residential city. I was wondering from your research what were some of the most interesting things you've found about the residential part of the city in the Reconstruction period?

KM: There were tons of interesting things. I also wouldn't draw such a sharp distinction between the monumental city and the residential city. One thing I was really interested in, for example, were the everyday people who worked in those monuments.

You can't have a Capitol building and a White House and a Treasury building without tons and tons of people who work there every day, who go home to their houses in Washington D.C. or the surrounding area. Many tourists see only the glistening and pristine monuments, but those landmarks may be part of everyday life and work if you live in Washington.

I was particularly interested in all the people, but especially the African Americans, who worked for the federal government during the Civil War and Reconstruction. That was a period in which African Americans increasingly were able to get jobs with the government, at first in menial labor jobs, but later (starting in about 1869) in white-collar jobs.

CJH: Could you also speak about the idea, as we often say, that winners write history, but for such a long period of time, a lot of the history of the Civil War and of Reconstruction has been told from a Southern perspective? Do you think that's true and why or why not?

KM: I don't think that's strictly true. I think the perspective on the Civil War and Reconstruction that emerged as the mainstream view may have originated in the South, but it was quickly adopted by white Americans across regional lines. As David Blight and others have written, part of the way the United Sates came back together after the Civil War was by generating a broad-based consensus about what the war and Reconstruction had meant. That consensus tended to diminish the significance of slavery in causing the war and the significance of abolition as an outcome; to exclude the service of African American men as U.S. soldiers during the war; and also to narrate Reconstruction as a story of unfair federal domination and "Negro misrule" over white South. That consensus about the meanings of the Civil War and Reconstruction was generally accepted in universities, in the film industry, and in popular and literary culture.

CJH: Are there lasting misunderstandings about Reconstruction and if so, what role do they play in American society today?

KM: I think there are two main strands in popular misunderstanding of Reconstruction. One is that a lot of people simply don't know anything at all about Reconstruction. They don't have a wrong idea—they just have no idea. I also think some of the old, Jim Crow story of Reconstruction is still around, even though people aren't necessarily aware that's what it is when they're articulating it. I recently gave two examples of that phenomenon in my class on the Civil War and Reconstruction.

One is a scene in Stephen Spielberg's 2012 movie, *Lincoln*. Most of the movie is not about Reconstruction, it's about Lincoln. However, there are a few scenes that preview Reconstruction. In one of them, Lincoln and Thaddeus Stevens are talking in the basement of the White House, and Lincoln says in measured tones that Congress will have to work with him to pass the 13th Amendment. Stevens, by contrast, calls for a total revolution and redistribution of property in the South. When Lincoln tells Stevens that Stevens's own constituents won't support that, Stevens says, "I shit on the people." He says he doesn't care what his constituents think and implies that he has no respect for them. Lincoln is represented as pragmatic and reasonable, and Stevens is represented as essentially undemocratic and un-American: he doesn't care about his constituents, he's very autocratic and not interested in popular governance. I think the scene exemplifies the continuing ripple effects of a vision of the Radical Republicans as horrible, arrogant, tyrannical people who were driven by visions of revenge on the white South. That interpretation, of course, runs contrary to what scholars since the 1960s have found in their research.

The film *Lincoln* suggests that if Lincoln had lived, everything would have been different. Hillary Clinton last spring said something very similar. She was asked to name her favorite American president, and she named Abraham Lincoln. She said he was a great president and then she said something like, "I think if he had lived, white southerners would not have felt so disrespected and the country would now be a lot less divided." Here the idea is that Lincoln would have somehow magically persuaded everyone to get along, and the challenges of Reconstruction would have been avoided.

The kinds of narratives about Reconstruction that are repeated in the film and that Hillary Clinton repeated are really sunk very deeply into our culture. I think part of the problem is that even if people are ready to disavow an overtly racist version of that history, a compelling new *public* story of Reconstruction has not necessarily emerged to

replace the old one, even though historians have long since overturned the early 20th-century "Dunning School."

CJH: To shift into your work with the National Park Service (NPS), can you start with why you think that is a good vehicle to tell history?

KM: The NPS not only oversees natural landmarks like the Grand Canyon and Yellowstone National Park, but a huge number of historic sites visited by millions of people each year. Surveys show that the NPS is widely trusted and respected among Americans. The Park Service manages more than 70 sites related to the Civil War, so it has been in the business of interpreting that era for a long time. Because of its reach, because of its connection to the Civil War, and because its mandate is to interpret and preserve American history for the American people and visitors from abroad, it seems very appropriate that the Park Service recognize the significance of Reconstruction. Yet it hasn't until now.

CJH: What first spurred that movement to create a national monument for Reconstruction or to start interpreting Reconstruction?

KM: The conversation about the NPS's lack of a Reconstruction site began long before I was involved. I can't necessarily pinpoint the origin of that conversation, but certainly by the end of the Clinton administration around the year 2000, there was a conversation going on within the Park Service and among some university-based historians, particularly Eric Foner, about creating an NPS site dedicated to interpreting Reconstruction. At that time, people were talking about a National Monument or National Park in Beaufort, South Carolina. That effort, which got to the point of legislation introduced in Congress, ended up failing for political reasons.

I came in with my collaborator, historian Gregory Downs (University of California, Davis) around 2013, in the middle of the sesquicentennial commemoration of the Civil War. As a result of the sesquicentennial, there were a lot of fun and interesting opportunities to speak publicly about the history of the American Civil War and its meaning in the present.

At that time, Greg and I and some other historians who work on Reconstruction talked about how when we arrived at spring 2015—the 150th anniversary of things like Lee's surrender at Appomattox—the commemorations would suddenly cease. We knew that 150 years ago, the action had certainly not ended; in some ways it had barely begun. Yet Reconstruction has totally different valences in American culture and memory from the Civil War. We would sort of joke about how predictable it was that no one would commemorate Reconstruction. But then we decided to try to make an effort of our own.

We asked ourselves, "What can we do to get people talking about Reconstruction and the upcoming anniversaries of things like the passage of the 13th Amendment or the Reconstruction Acts of 1867 or the ratification of the 14th and 15th Amendments?" We wondered if the NPS had any plans to revive its Reconstruction project. Eventually, with the help of Jim Grossman, executive director of the American Historical Association, we met with Robert Sutton, who was then the chief historian of the NPS, and we learned that people at NPS were already talking among themselves about this question, and so from there we became involved.

CJH: What did that collaboration between historians and the Park Service look like? What did you get out of it?

KM: One thing that became clear was that we historians who teach in colleges and universities, and people in the Park Service—whether they are historians or people with other titles—have a lot to offer each other and a lot in common, but we aren't always able to connect with each other. To somebody like me in a university, the Park Service might seem like an impenetrable organization. If I wanted to offer my services or explore whether I could collaborate with a local site, who could I talk to or how could I be useful?

On the other side, many times people in the Park Service are working incredibly hard (it's a perpetually underfunded agency), and although they might like to collaborate with a professor or with a classroom of students, they don't necessary know whom to turn to in a university. I think it would be great to have more collaboration between people working in the NPS and people working in colleges and universities, and two questions on my mind have been, how do we make sure this happens and what are the barriers to collaboration?

CJH: That leads into the next question, what is the significance of the Beaufort site?

KM: Many things make the Beaufort area extraordinarily significant for the Reconstruction era. It was one of the first places in the Confederacy that was occupied by U.S. forces, and so it was one of the first places where wholesale emancipation began. When the northerners arrived, most plantation owners in the area fled inland and most of the slaves—left behind or refusing to accompany their owners—became tacitly if not officially free. They began to work for wages. Northern missionaries soon came and established schools, and freedpeople developed their own

independent communities and churches. Meanwhile a man named Robert Smalls, a skilled slave from Charleston, commandeered a Confederate ship and sailed it into Union lines, becoming a war hero of national renown. He later returned to the coastal South Carolina and entered a long career in Republican politics. He ended up serving in the state legislature and in the United States House of Representatives and remained in politics into the 1890s. Smalls' career was unusual for its duration, but in many ways, he represents the emergence of African Americans in local and national politics in that period. The Beaufort area was a stronghold for black politics even after Democrats retook control of the state government—often through violent means—in 1876-77.

Another thing to keep in mind is that the Beaufort area has a lot of well-preserved buildings. When designating a national historic landmark or a national monument, you usually have to have relatively intact buildings that are located on their original sites. So, Beaufort emerged as the top site both because of the significance of what happened there and because of the integrity of its buildings.

CJH: Can you talk about what the site looks like physically and what you expect to see in the monument?

KM: The monument designation includes four different sites: Brick Baptist Church; Darrah Hall at the Penn Center; the site of Camp Saxton, a military camp where the Emancipation Proclamation was read on January 1st, 1863; and an old firehouse in the town of Beaufort. People in NPS and in the Beaufort area are currently in the process of envisioning how these sites will work together, and there are plans to develop Reconstruction walking tours of the town or to use the sites as jumping-off points for exploring Reconstruction history in other parts of the region and the state. However it shapes up, the monument will be a place where the NPS interprets the history of Reconstruction for the general public.

CJH: How did you feel when President Obama created the monument after all your work to build that up?

KM: It felt amazing and gratifying. It was also surprising, because it came together quite quickly at the very end of Obama's administration. I personally was not sure whether all of the paperwork would be finished in time. I also wasn't sure whether President Obama would sign it. He was doing a lot of things in his last several days in office, and we didn't know whether this would be something he considered important or whether it would even be brought to his attention.

It was particularly gratifying that he announced this monument—together with two monuments to the 20th-century Civil Rights Movement—in honor of the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday. It felt so appropriate to view the Reconstruction monument as part of a long history of civil rights struggles in the United States and to connect it to the memory of Dr. King.

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