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Letter from the Editors

When we, the editors, began the process of publishing this 2014 edition of *Historia,* we knew we would face various challenges, but the toughest challenge of all was, we found, choosing which papers to publish this year. With eighty-four submissions that varied in subject, structure, and style, our task was tremendous not only because of the variance, but because of the caliber. Especially when it comes to writing, there is a certain level of expectation in the Eastern Illinois University History Department, and each submission showcased the ability of our professors and students to meet and exceed those expectations. It was a privilege to see the talent in researching and writing at Eastern over the course of the last few months, but with talents such as these, our selection process proved a difficult one. As we had a ten person editorial board in our Historical Publishing class, these submissions also, at times, happened to spark dynamic dialogue and deliberation within our classroom, which is a testament to the quality of work done. The papers bound in this edition of *Historia* are the exemplar of ability and quality seen in our tenure as editors.

As is custom with *Historia*, we have kept our focus on being student-based in both content and creation, and we hope to continue to do so. Students on both ends of this effort, editors and authors, are given a new experience in academia, which is in many ways both entertaining and instructive.

Without our faculty advisor to guide us, however, our endeavors would be quite blind. To that end, we thank Dr. Michael Shirley for his guiding hand and confidence in our decisions, as well as an enjoyable learning experience. We also owe thanks to the faculty of EIU's History Department, as without their expertise there would be no department to brag about, courses to take, and journal to read. To Dr. Anita Shelton and Ms. Donna Nichols, we extend our humblest thanks and appreciation for brilliant work done in the department and continued support of *Historia*. And finally, to those authors included in this edition of Historia, without whom there would be no journal, we thank you for your submissions and your patience. Without your efforts, what you are about to read could not exist.

We hope you enjoy the 2014 edition of *Historia*.

The Editors.

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Northern Irish Mural Traditions:
Opposing Views of History

Heather Sitkie

By simply looking at the walls when one walks along the streets of such towns as Derry or Belfast, there is a lot that can be inferred of Northern Irish History. Although these walls were set up as political barriers meant to keep peace, the murals painted upon them are used as territorial markers and political propaganda for either side of conflict decades old known as The Troubles. The murals painted upon these walls are representations of the political and social instability within Irish society. There is much that can be discovered about Northern Irish history looking at murals that were painted before, during, and after the conflict of the Troubles. These murals reflect different cultural community's views of their history internally while also aiming externally to express themselves and have their stories shared. This resulted though, in a clash of representations and divided tradition. These murals take into account two different sides to one long-existing struggle; they reveal two different depictions of Northern Irish history. The words and pictures painted on these walls were as essential to the cause as weapons were to the fight. Due to this conflict, there have always been two different depictions of Northern Irish history.

Northern Ireland has long been a region with deeply rooted social divides. These social divides are a result of religious wars that are centuries old. The Catholic and Protestant traditions have repeated been clashed since the seventeenth century.[1] Protestant

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Heather Sitkie is from Woodstock, Illinois. A sophomore majoring in history with teaching licensure, she wrote "Northern Irish Mural Traditions: Opposing Views of History" for Dr. Michael Shirley's Historical Research and Writing course in the fall semester of 2013.

[1] Gregory Goalwin, "The Art of War: Instability, Insecurity, and Ideological Imagery in Northern Ireland's Political Murals, 1979-1998." *International Journal Of Politics, Culture & Society 26, no. 3* (September 2013): 190, Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost.

settlers came into Northern Ireland from Scotland and Britain, slowly overpowering the Irish Catholic inhabitants. From these religious roots, the more modern expressions of conflict would become political. This turn to political issues largely formed with the partition of Northern Ireland in 1921,[2] which was concentrated on the question of Northern Ireland's political status. Unionist organizations desired to maintain the region as a part of the United Kingdom, whereas nationalists were attempting to reunite Northern Ireland with the Republic of Ireland. The overall result of this clash was the Troubles.[3] Although the Troubles are officially considered to be over, the conflict unofficially remains prevalent in Northern Ireland today.

The History of The Troubles

The fight between opposing political ideologies resulted in much instability among the people of Northern Ireland. The instability was especially prevalent in politics and the government's legitimacy was being questioned. Parliamentary organizations began to emerge rapidly. The Irish Republican Army, Irish National Liberation Army, the Ulster Defense Association, and the Ulster Volunteer Force were all organizations that stepped into the spotlight among the turbulence of the conflict. These organizations felt the government was unable to provide the people of Northern Ireland safety and claimed to represent their respective cultural communities, while providing them protection and security. However, there was a struggle of instability within each of those communities themselves. Each organization and cultural group struggled to define its collective ideological aims and create one identity. This struggle started to emerge on the walls in the form of murals, a practice that reached its peak between 1981 and 1998.[4] The organizations on both sides of the conflict turned to murals as

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[2] The partition of Ireland occurred when the British granted Independence to 26 counties of Ireland in 1921; the remaining 6 counties located in north east ulster remained under British rule.

[3] An armed conflict between Loyalists and Republicans in Northern Ireland that lasted from 1968 to 1998.

[4] Goalwin, "The Art of War," 190.

a way of legitimatizing their ideological claims as a use of propaganda to gain support for their cause (see figure 1). Both the Republicans and Loyalists
used these large, and seemingly inescapable, murals all over the walls to not only take a stance on the situation at hand, but also to encourage the neutral parties and communities to align with their organization.

Figure 1: Hunger Strike Mural, Lenadoon Avenue, Belfast, 1998. Source: CAIN

The History of Mural Paintings in Northern Ireland
The use of art as an expressional tool for social movements has long been in practice. Art can be used in many different varieties and mediums to express goals and ideologies. For example, in the United States, the Civil Rights Movement used music, organizations such as the Black Panthers used theatrical drama, and the Women's Movement utilized poetry.[5] The artwork of these social movements allowed activists to depict their image of the world they find themselves in.

The use of this expressional form of art is especially prominent in the social movements that involved a large emphasis on culture and cultural politics. In Northern Ireland, the political conflict arose from two deeply rooted cultural communities. The

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[5] Ibid., 192.

dispersing of artistic and powerful cultural symbols allowed the social movements of the Loyalists and Republicans in Northern Ireland to spread their causes and form larger cultural groups for support.

In July of 1908, Protestants began painting murals each year as a part of an annual celebration of victory in the Battle of the Boyne[6] in 1690.[7] At this time, the Protestant people used the murals as a declaration of their British identity (see figure 2). These mural images also were used as a means to reinforce residential segregation and create "boundaries" of places where Protestants resided into "Protestant areas." Comparably, there were places that were also defined as "Catholic areas." Today, the chief characteristics that are known to define the modern mural paintings are parliamentary images and symbols. Irish history is painted on these walls, and it has always come from two different perspectives because of the Catholic and Protestant cultural split.

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[6] The Twelfth is an Ulster Protestant celebration held annually on the 12th of July; the origins of the celebration come from the 18th century in Ulster, celebrating the Glorious Revolution (1688) and victory of Protestant king William over Catholic king James II at the Battle of the Boyne (1690). The Battle of Boyne was fought in 1690 between the Catholic King James and the Protestant King William across the River Boyne; The battle, won by William, was a turning point in James's unsuccessful attempt to regain the crown and ultimately helped ensure the continuation of Protestant ascendancy in Ireland.

[7] Martin Forker and Jonathan McCormick. "Walls of history: the use of mythomoteurs in Northern Ireland murals." *Irish Studies Review* 17, no. 4 (November 2009): 428, Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost.

Nationalist (Republican) murals developed into propaganda tools as a way of countering the influence of Loyalist, or Unionist, political dominance.[8] The Loyalist murals have recurring images that show masked men with guns as hero-like figures that are devoted to a just and right cause that is not only religiously legitimate, but politically legitimate as well (see figure 3).

Figure 3: UVF volunteers in action with automatic weapons. Ohio Street, Belfast, 1985. Source: CAIN

The murals on both sides are designed to "justify" killing the other side's people, whether they are combatants or not. The images also highlight the sufferings of people, regardless of what side of the conflict they are on. The analysis of these murals can be used as a means of exploring the conflict of the Troubles by way of gaining a deeper understanding of each group's ideology.

The symbolic content depicted within the murals greatly strengthened the division within the society of Northern Ireland. The murals "crafted opposing narratives using cultural and national myths that told the history of Northern Ireland in a way that

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[8]Ibid., 424.

supported their sides own ideologies." [9] The images that both organizations chose to use in their murals were carefully selected to convey the idea that they were fighting for a version of Northern Irish history that was not only right, but innocent. Mural painting was used by both sides of the conflict, despite the differences in Loyalist and Republican histories.

Though they differ in many ways, Loyalist and Republican mural traditions were used as a means by which to create and express the identity of the two sides of the conflict. The Loyalist's

Figure 4: The Petrol Bomber- Bogside, Derry, 1994. Source: CAIN

use of murals as propaganda took an emphasis on the hegemony Britain had over Northern Ireland. It was a further development of the political ideologies of the unionist movement. The Republican murals often expressed a cultural resistance within the idea of Irish Nationalism. Each singular movement wanted to portray their own one-sided version of Northern Ireland's history that would support their own political ideologies and goals. Both Republicans and

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[9] Goalwin, "The Art of War," 192.

Loyalists alike presented their ideas as being the only reasonable way to explain the continuing Northern Irish struggles.[11]

Loyalist Mural Traditions

The majority of Loyalist's murals are largely found in Protestant East Belfast and Protestant streets and areas in Londonderry.[12] The Loyalist murals sought to connect the unionist community of Northern Ireland within itself, as well as with the United Kingdom. Typically, Loyalist mural imagery could fall into three categories according to the historian Gregory Goalwin: depictions of historical events, portraits of armed paramilitary soldiers, and symbolic expressions such as flags or coats of arms to depict identity. [13] The depiction of significant historical events was common practice for the Loyalists; as previously mentioned this was a result of an annual tradition beginning in 1908. Progressively, the murals became more and more explicit and threatening, developing into images that were closer to propaganda than simple depictions. This came about especially in the 1970's and 1980's (see figure 4). By the 1990s, murals represented more of a symbolic identity (see figure 5).

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[11] Ibid, 212.

[12] The names of the city, county, and district of Derry or Londonderry in Northern Ireland are the subject of conflict between Irish nationalists and unionists; Generally, nationalists favor using the name Derry, and unionists using Londonderry (Legally, the city and county are called "Londonderry", while the local government district is called "Derry").

[13] Goalwin, "The Art of War," 199.

Figure 5: Flags. Bond's Street, Derry, 1981. Source: CAIN

The early Loyalist images depicted in the murals sought to legitimize the British hegemony and political status. This was done through significant historical events that supported Protestant ascendancy. The most popular historical Loyalist image portrayed is of "King Billy."[14] King Billy's victory at the Battle of Boyne is considered the defining movement that legitimatizes Protestant ascendancy and cultural dominance.[15] King Billy's continuing appearance in the murals is reinforced by the muralist's paintings of the Twelfth of July celebrations. King Billy is almost always portrayed on a white horse, wearing a spotless uniform with a look of valor (see figure 6). King Billy was depicted as a Protestant hero who defeated Catholic forces and freed Londonderry from Catholic siege. King Billy's portraits and the entire Twelfth of July Celebration are symbols of Unionist victory and dominance. Loyalist's muralists used this message to remind Unionists of their dominant culture while portraying a constant reminder of Nationalist oppression.

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[14] William III (He is informally known in Northern Ireland and Scotland as "King Billy") reigned over England and Ireland from 1689-1702.
[15] Goalwin, "The Art of War," 200.

Figure 6: King Billy. Kilcooley, Bangor, County Down, 1997. Source: CAIN

The more violent murals, that started to appear in the 1970's, portrayed armed men that were either firing their weapon or standing by in a permanently watchful pose (see figure 7). There was a constant threat of violence from Republican organizations.

Figure 7: Military. Snugville Street, Belfast, 1984. Source: CAIN

The murals emanated the powerful message that their soldiers were willing and ready to protect Unionists from any harm. The images of the soldiers protecting Unionist territories connected both Loyalist organizations and Unionist communities. These murals portrayed a sense of protection, but also reminded the community members to remain strong and loyal in times of distress as well as advertising for military and organizational support. These murals were also meant to serve the purpose of sending a warning to Republican organizations, which is why they were specifically designed to be threatening and violent in nature (see figure 8). The images were portrayals of Loyalists who were going to fight until the battle for their cause was won. These soldiers were also painted in place on the walls as a means of marking territory in an extremely threatening manner. The explicit message was that anyone who crossed the boundary would face radical punishment from the Loyalist military. By placing their soldiers in communities, Loyalist organizations could claim to represent that cultural group and give the community protection in exchange for the community's support.

Figure 8: Parlimentary Mural. Shankill Road, Protestant West Belfast, 1995.
Source: Kathryn Conrad

The last Loyalist theme that came to appear in murals of the 1990's was the use of flags, coats of arms, or slogans, anything that displayed a symbolic portrayal of the Loyalist ideology (see figure 9). The display of these symbols was especially powerful at this time due to the passing of the Flags and Emblems (Display) Act.[16] Prominent images that were displayed by Loyalists were the Union Flag, the Red Hand of Ulster (see figure 9), and portrayals of the British crown.[17] The Loyalists felt the passing of the Flags and Emblems (Display) Act was a means of oppressing their culture. The Unionist murals using such symbols sought to strengthen Loyalist and Unionist organizations. The use of these symbols, despite laws against it, is another form of Loyalist's representation of dominance in culture and their desire to maintain loyalty to Great Britain.
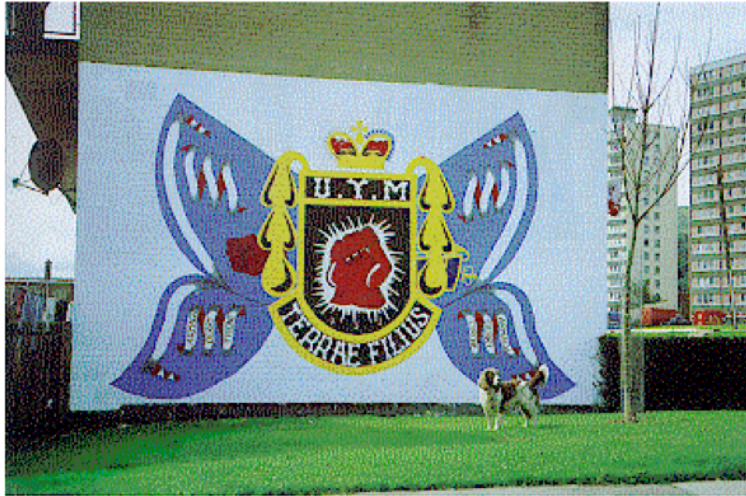
Figure 9: Red Hand of Ulster. East Way, Rathcoole, Newtownabbey, near Belfast, 1993. Source: CAIN

Republican Mural Traditions

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[16] The Flags and Emblems (Display) Act was an Act of the Parliament of Northern Ireland, passed in 1954; The Act gave the Royal Ulster Constabulary a duty to remove any flag or emblem from public or private property that was considered to be likely to cause a breach of the peace.

[17] Goalwin, "The Art of War," 203.

Much like the Loyalist murals, Republican muralists also drew upon themes and powerful images to create a Republican identity. Republican Murals were located mostly in the Catholic Falls Road, Ardoyne, and Upper Springfield areas of Belfast, and the Bogside, Foyle Road, and Creggan Areas of Londonderry.[18] Loyalist mural tradition had been established as a way in which to conserve the existing state of affairs, while Republican murals expressed revolutionary images in support of the Unionist movement to take control of the government and create social change. The challenge, however, Republicans faced was that their organizations were illegal and could not be accepted or recognized openly by any police or government force such as the British military. The Loyalists were able to enjoy that acceptance and recognition, the Republicans had to fight to legitimize their cause. Republican muralists wanted to underline the mistreatment Northern Irish people faced at the hands of British authorities and Loyalist groups. This gave the Republicans the social justification they needed; the Republican organizations were claiming to be protecting the people of Northern Ireland and their civil rights (see figure 10).

Figure 10: Britain oppressing Ireland. Rossville Street, Derry, 1981. Source: CAIN

Republican murals too call upon historical events to represent their cause. Unlike the Loyalists though, Republicans focused more on

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[18] Ibid., 203.

their current struggle both locally and worldwide. Gregory Goalwin states that similarly to the Loyalists, Republicans draw upon five different themes in their murals: martyrs to the Republican cause (mainly the hunger strike), memorials of innocent victims, support of worldwide civil rights acts, symbolic expressions of identity, and representations of the armed struggle. Republican murals, unlike the Loyalist murals, did not develop in themes over time. All five themes have appeared from the beginning.

Figure 21: Bobby Sands. Sevastopol Street & Falls Road, Belfast, 1990.
Source: CAIN

In 1981 there was an explosion of mural painting from the Republican side of the conflict. The trigger of this new Republican interest in murals was a hunger strike undertaken by Republican prisoners demanding to be treated as politically motivated detainees as opposed to just common criminals.[19] This strike resulted in ten dead. The most famous of these hunger strikers was a man named Bobby Sands, who also happened to be a member of British Parliament. Next to King Billy, Bobby Sands is one of the most painted mural figures (see figure 11). His portraits are often

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[19] Bill Rolston, "The Brothers on the Walls": International solidarity and Irish Political Murals." *Journal Of Black Studies* 39, no. 3 (January 2009):, 456 Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost.

accompanied by his own quotes. Sands was seen as a man who was willing to endure any pain or cruelty in order to stand for his beliefs. This is why Sands was portrayed in murals as the ultimate expression of what Republicans stood for; he was their symbol.

Similar images of other hunger strike victims are portrayed in murals as well. The hunger strikers are often portrayed naked, emaciated, and bearded to give them a Christ-like appearance.[20] Both sides of the Troubles claim to represent two different religions and take claim of these religious identities as their culture and underlying differences among Northern Irish people. However,

Figure 12: Hunger Strikers. Belfast, 1981. Source: The Plough And The Stars

historian Gregory Goalwin, in his analysis of the murals, has noted very few religious symbols within the murals themselves. When religious symbols are shown, they are such symbols as the Bible, the rosary, Angels, and people in prayer. The main focus of both Loyalist and Republican murals are on the political issues at hand. The end of the hunger strike in 1981 resulted in the death of ten Republicans. Those ten became the symbol of strength for the Republican movement. It is common that these strikers are shown rising up and breaking out of Long Kesh prison, where they were

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[20] Goalwin, "The Art of War," 206.

detained during the hunger strike. This is a symbol of the Republicans' enduring strength despite the repression of Loyalists and the British (see figure 12).

Figure 13: Cú Chulainn. Lenadoon Avenue, Belfast, 1996. Source: CAIN

People who gave their life for the movement were critical to the Republican community. Much like the mural portraits of overseeing Loyalist volunteer soldiers, these Republican figures were painted to remind the Republican community to find strength in their oppression, to continue to stand for their beliefs in the face of conflict, and of what the "enemy" has done to their friends and family. Among other featured mural martyrs are Cú Chulainn, whose heroic death came with a failed rebellion in Dublin that is known as the Easter Rising and other Easter Rising leaders such as Patrick Pearse and James Connolly (see figure 13). Depictions of these past heroes helped provide legitimacy while also providing a connection from the current struggles of the movement to past Irish revolutionaries. This helps to create a historical narrative that places the Republican's current movement among a long history of Irish Nationalism and resistance to British control. By using propaganda that connects past heroes to those the Republicans were currently glorifying, a collective identity arose. Much like the Loyalist portrayal of historic events, Republican martyrs invented a

narrative tradition that asserted their roots in Northern Irish history.

Figure 14: Memorial Mural. Catholic West Belfast, 2000. Source: Kathryn Conrad

The murals that depict non-politically motivated deaths are similar to those of the aforementioned martyrs. Memorial murals for those who lost their lives to the conflict stemmed from the murals of Bobby Sands and the other martyrs of the hunger strikes. Many Republican murals, unlike Loyalist murals, focused on the human cost of the Troubles. The Republican movement used this as a means of expressing their strength and desire to fight for their cause, no matter the cost. They wanted to portray their unbroken resistance (see figure 14).[21] It is common for Republican murals in Belfast and Londonderry to have a list of the names of those who died in the hunger strike as well as political leaders who have died. Much like Republican martyr murals, memorial murals also list the names of those that fell during armed conflict with British troops and Loyalist paramilitary organizations. Many of these names are those who were volunteer members of the PIRA (see figure 15).[22] Other names and even painted faces belong to people, including

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[21] Goalwin, "The Art of War," 207.

[22] The Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) is an Irish republican paramilitary organization whose aim is to remove Northern Ireland from the United Kingdom and bring about a socialist republic within a united Ireland by force of arms and political persuasion.

children, who died in plastic bullet attacks.[23] Phrases such as "who next?" (see figure 16) appeared because these victims were killed during British efforts to "maintain the peace"   The use of these memorial murals for victims of the conflict were used to not only display remembrance, but also exhortation for those still fighting for the movement. These murals were means of playing the victim to gain support.

Figure 15: PIRA. Springhill Avenue, Belfast, 1987. Source: CAIN

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[23] Plastic bullets were intended to be used as means of crowd control in certain situations as nonlethal weapons. However, when used in riot situations, and aimed at victim's heads the rounds can be lethal.

Republican mural traditions took another, more international plea for support. Murals of Republican international solidarity were used to connect to and draw the support of other

Figure 16: Plastic Bullets. Oakman Street, Belfast, 1994.
Source: CAIN

people around the world involved in similar Civil Rights movements, Socialist movements, and Nationalist movements. The international solidarity from the Republicans of Northern Ireland is based primarily on recognition and opportunity.[24] The very first Irish Republicans at the end of the eighteenth century, the Society of United Irishmen, identified with the French Revolutionaries and their Enlightenment ideals. Irish Republicans saw themselves as a part of an international movement of Republicans that spread from England at the hands of Thomas Paine and rose up in France and America.[25] Historian Bill Rolston took a further look into

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[24] Rolston, "The Brothers on the Walls," 449.
[25] Ibid., 450.

examining the Republican murals and their references to international themes. Rolston has noted three major international conflicts that the Northern Irish Republicans strongly connect to and portray often in their murals. Many of these include various Palestinian, South African, and African American heroes.
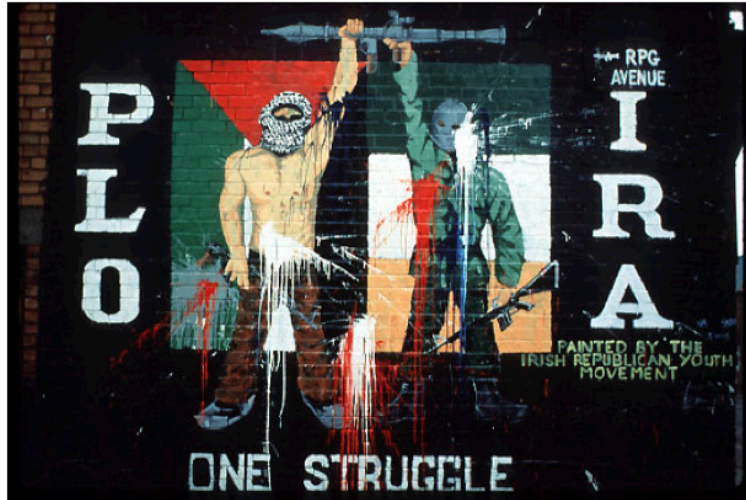
Figure 17: PLO & PIRA. Beechmount Avenue, Belfast, 1982.
Source: Mark Humphry

In 1982 a mural was painted that showed a man of the PLO and the PIRA holding a Russian rocket propelled grenade launcher, a weapon both organizations used.[26] Underneath the slogan painted on read "one struggle" (see figure 17). Palestine was one of the first international subjects painted in Republican murals. The Irish have been in support of Palestine since Israel became established in 1948 and have dedicated many murals to them thereafter to show their solidarity.[27] In the mid 1990's, both South Africa and Northern Ireland were almost simultaneously taking their transitions from violent conflict to a state of peace. Northern Irish Republicans felt a

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[26] The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is an organization created in 1964 with the purpose of creating an independent State of Palestine.
[27] Rolston, "The Brothers on the Walls," 461.

strong connection to the releasing of prisoners in South Africa and their pursuit of reconciliation in the country. The Republicans were facing nearly the same situation. The first South African mural appeared in 1986 (see figure 18).

Figure 18: South African Solidarity. Falls Road, Belfast, 1988. Source: CAIN

The republicans had a strong affinity to African Americans struggling in the United States. African American murals depict such figures as Fredrick Douglas, Martin Luther King, and Malcolm X. Republicans, having felt oppression and suffrage at the hands of the Loyalists, identified heavily with the Civil Rights movement (see figure 19).

Flags, crests, slogans, and any other symbols that could represent national identity not only made an appearance in Loyalist mural tradition, but in Republican mural tradition as well. The Tricoulour national flag of the Republic of Ireland is most notably visible in many murals (see figure 20). The symbol of the phoenix became associated with the Republican movement. The phoenix, known for its mythical ability to rise up and recreate life from its own ashes, is a popular image painted in Republican murals. The use of the phoenix was to signify the Republican's unbreakable commitment to their cause. Because they had less of a formal

organizational structure among them than the Loyalists, the images painted by Republicans depicted cultural identity and symbols. The representation, however, of the Irish Tricoulour was especially risky due to the Flags and Emblems (Display) Act. The representation of these symbols were banned and punished severely. Depictions of crests, flags, shields, and other various representations of Republican cultural identity served a similar purpose to that of the symbols the Loyalist use in their murals. The Republicans used these in efforts of creating cultural unity to draw their community together.

The representation of the armed struggle itself is the last

Figure 19: Civil Rights, Shankill, Belfast, 2008. Source: Drew Tewksbury

theme that is recurring throughout Republican mural tradition, not unlike the Loyalist mural tradition. These murals can range anywhere from specific military conflicts to portrayals of the weapons that the PIRA used. Much like the Loyalists, extremely daunting and intimidating images of armed Republicans can be found in the murals. These painted soldiers are watchful of their territory and often heavily armed upon the walls of the borders, there to stand guard over their communities. Similar to the armed men painted on Loyalist walls, they were not only territorial

markers and warnings, but also a reminder to support the movement and the PIRA (see figure 21).

Figure 20: The Phoenix. Whiterock Road, Belfast, 1991. Source: Bill Rolston.

Both Republican and Loyalist murals differ in many important aspects, but they also show similar themes throughout time. One important conclusion to draw from the analysis of both traditions is that each side used murals to create and express self-identity. Each movement sought to invent their own version of Northern Irish history that legitimized their cause and separate political goals. Each group's use of mural imagery reflects their own reality in the very complex nature of conflict.[28] Even though both organizations share similar symbols and themes, there is no historically shared sense of community among the Northern Irish population.

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[28] Forker and McCormick. "Walls of History," 456.

Figure 21: PIRA. Sevastopol Street, Belfast, 1989. Source: Bill Rolston

Conclusion

Walls in Northern Ireland are set up as political barriers meant to preserve peace and separate two disagreeing sides. But over time, the walls have developed voices. They are the voices of conflict over two different political beliefs, two different struggles, and two different histories. There are competing depictions of Northern Irish history painted on these walls. Not only are the Loyalists and Republicans expressing their sides of history, but they are also externally expressing their cultures' respective stories. Even though peace was made official over twenty years ago, the conflict is still very real and prevalent today, as the Northern Irish keep it alive with fresh coats of paint rather than the spilling of blood.[29]

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[29] Robin Kirk, "City of Walls." *American Scholar* 80, no 4 (September 2011): 2, *Professional Development Collection*, EBSCOhost.

Breaking the Bonds of Ignorance: Democracy and Education in Illinois During the Age of Jackson

Andrew Daily

The Jacksonian Era, which lasted from the 1820's to the late 1840's, witnessed America shift from being an agricultural society to a more industrial one. Factories were built across the United States and the cotton textile workforce tripled. As infrastructure popped up across the countryside, roads and canals helped tie the country together. By 1840 there were over 3,200 miles of railroad tracks. The United States became a continental nation that expanded from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean, largely due to the expansion of American transportation infrastructure. Federalist and Antifederalist ideology became a thing of the past and new political parties, such as the Democratic Party, came into existence.[1] The torch had been passed from the founding fathers to the next generation of Americans. Nothing, however, tells more about this age than the rise of democracy.

During the Jacksonian era, all white men were enfranchised, and in 1824 the popular vote was counted for the first time. While it is estimated that only twenty-seven percent of the population voted in the presidential election of 1824, an estimated eighty percent of voters went to the polls in 1840.[2] That kind of voter turnout is unheard of in the United States today. The cause of the

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Andrew Daily¸ from Mattoon, Illinois, is currently a senior transfer student majoring in History with teacher licensure. "Breaking the Bonds of Ignorance: Democracy and Education in Illinois During the Age of Jackson" was written for Dr. Sace Elder's Historical Research and Writing course in the Spring 2013 semester. He expects to graduate in Spring 2015.

[1] John Meacham, *American Lion: Andrew Jackson in the White House*. (New York: The Random House Trade Publishing Group, 2008), 46-48.

[2] Dave Leip, "Atlas of United States Presidential Elections." http://uselectionatlas.org/

rise in democracy cannot be attributed to one man, but Andrew Jackson personified this new dream for America. In 1828, Jackson wrote, "As long as the government heeds the popular will, the republic is safe."[3] Despite the fact that Jackson keenly understood his populace, one area that he did not fully grasp was the importance of education in a democratic society. Jackson was a self-made man who had no formal education—a fact that was very appealing to voters.[4] But Jackson considered himself a Jeffersonian, which to him meant that the people were sovereign and the government's job was to protect their rights.[5] Thomas Jefferson understood that the only way a democracy could work is if there is an educated citizenry. In a letter to Richard Price, dated January 8th 1789, Jefferson wrote, "wherever the people are well informed they can be trusted with their own government."[6] It was no coincidence that the number of public schools increased substantially during the Jacksonian Era, for the public wanted schools, and were determined to have them. During Jackson's presidency from 1829 to 1837, the number of liberal arts colleges founded was twice that of the previous decade.[7] This was a reflection of the democratic ideals of the times. An educated population is needed in a democratic system. People must be informed and able to construct their own beliefs and opinions in a way that is beneficial for the country as a whole. Nowhere was this belief embraced more than in Illinois during the early 1820's, but as time went on it became a struggle between Jacksonian and Jeffersonian democratic ideology. This can be seen during the early period of Illinois statehood.

Illinois became a state in 1818. There was no mention of education whatsoever in the original state constitution. However, the first Illinois General Assembly, that very same year, declared that Illinois would create a system of public education that would

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[3] Meacham, *American Lion*, 46.

[4] Frederick Mayer. *American Ideas and Education*. (Columbus: C. E. Merrill Books, 1964), 234.

[5] Meacham, *American Lion*, 48.

[6] Julian P. Boyd, et al, ed. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*. Vol. 1. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 420.

[7] Meacham, *American Lion*, 47.

be available to all children pending Illinois's financial stability.[8] It was up to a War of 1812 veteran named Joseph Duncan from Jackson County, named after Andrew Jackson, and Governor Edward Coles to initiate the promise of the first Illinois General Assembly.

Governor Coles was essential in Illinois's early embrace of free public education. Coles was a former neighbor and personal friend of Thomas Jefferson. Although he had owned slaves while living in Virginia, he was a staunch abolitionist. He moved to Illinois in 1819 after serving six years as President James Madison's personal secretary. Coles took his slaves along with him down the Ohio River and emancipated them as soon as they made it to free territory. Furthermore, he gave a farm to the head of each family. The Jeffersonian influence can clearly be seen in this act.[9] In a letter dated August 25th, 1814, Thomas Jefferson wrote to Coles, "the love of justice and the love of country plead equally the cause of these people (slaves), and it is mortal reproach to us that they have they should have pleaded it so long in vain." Jefferson actually wanted Coles to stay in Virginia and fight for the abolishment of slavery in the state, but instead Coles came to Illinois.[10] He was elected governor in 1822 and believed that the best way to end slavery was to educate the masses. Governor Coles said in his first message to the General Assembly that, "there is no recommendation therefore more due from my station than that of a competent provision for the education of the rising and future generations." Also like Jefferson, Coles believed democracy required popular education as well.[11] Both of these ideas were seen in a bill that would be brought to his desk for his signature two years later.

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[8] H.G. Walker, "The Development of the Free Public High School in Illinois During the Nineteenth Century." *History of Education Quarterly* 4, no. 4 (December 1964)

[9] Alta P. Rahn, *A Study of the Forces Affecting School Legislation of Illinois from 1818 to 1838*. (Ann Arbor: Xerox University Microfilms, 1974), 35-37.

[10] Thomas Jefferson, *Thomas Jefferson to Edward Coles, August 25, 1814*. Letter. From Princeton University Library, *The Papers of Edward Coles, 1797 to 1881.*

[11] Francis G. Blaire, *Centennial Celebration of The Enactment of the First Free School Law in Illinois*.(Springfield: Schnepp & Barnes, 1925), 60.

In 1824, Duncan introduced the *Act for the Establishment of Free Schools*.[12] It was the most far-reaching education legislation in the western United States since the Northwest Ordinance of 1789, which declared that, "schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged," in the western territories.[13] Governor Coles enthusiastically signed the "Free School Law," as it quickly became known, on January 15, 1825. Outside of New England, it was the only tax-supported public school system.[14] It was consistent with Jeffersonian democratic philosophy. As seen in the preamble:

> To enjoy our rights and liberties we must understand them; their security and protection ought to be the first object of a free people; and it is a well-established fact no nation has ever continued long in the enjoyment of civil and political freedom, which was not both virtuous and enlightened; and believing that advancement of literature always has been, and ever will be the means of developing more fully the rights of man; and that the mind of every citizen of every republic is the common property of society and constitutes the basis of its strength and happiness; it is considered the peculiar duty of a free government, like ours, to encourage and extend the improvement and cultivation of the intellectual energies of the whole.[15]

These words were written as if Thomas Jefferson had inscribed them himself. It was his belief that the only way democracy could work was if voters were educated enough to understand what they were voting for; the masses cannot enjoy their rights if they do not even understand what rights they have. It is therefore the duty of the government, that allows its people to have these rights, to educate them and help them understand and enjoy the world they live in. The preamble encourages all of these Jeffersonian beliefs.

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[12] Eliphalet W. Blatchford, *Biographical Sketch of Hon. Joseph Duncan, Fifth Governor of Illinois*, (Chicago: 1905), 5-6.

[13] Northwest Ordinance of 1789.

[14] James Herget, "Democracy Revisited: the Law and School Districts in Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 72, no. 2 (1979): 123-138.

[15] Blaire, *Centinnial*, 13.

The Free School Law itself proclaimed that every county in the state would establish at least one school, which allowed all white citizens between the age of five and twenty-one to attend. These schools were to be financed by the citizens of each county. Citizens in each county held meetings in which they elected a clerk, treasurer, collector, and assessor. The clerk's job was to keep track of votes and the proceedings of each meeting. They were required to send their records to the state government. The treasurer's job was to spend the money from their school district in a way that the majority of voters desired and keep track of expenditures made. It was the collector's job to collect the taxes in their district and to give that money to the treasurer. The assessor was to evaluate their schools and create ways to improve them based on majority opinion. The key part of this law was the "two percent clause," which declared that two percent of taxes collected would go to funding the public schools which would be "divided annually between the different counties if this State in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in each county under the age of twenty-one."[16] This was Jefferson's vision of democratic education at work. He had proposed legislation in Virginia that was very similar to the Free School Law. It was called *A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge.* Like the Free School Law, the school systems in each district would allow for the education of the masses and represent the popular will of its citizenry.[17]

However, the Free School Law proved to be too forward thinking for the small frontier communities of Illinois. One citizen of Jacksonville spoke of the law, "I remember well the opposition there was to this school law on the part of the poor people, who founded that their children would be educated and wholly unfitted for work on the farm; the very class which the law was intended to benefit opposed it."[18] A year later, during the next session of the Illinois General Assembly, every effort was made to alter the Free School Act. According to Governor Thomas Ford, the education

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[16] Blaire, *Centinnial*, 13-15.

[17] Boyd, et al, *Papers*, 526-33.

[18] John Pulliam. "Changing Attitudes toward Free Public Schools in Illinois 1825-1860." *History of Education Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (1967), 193.

system that the 1825 law put in place worked extremely well. In his *History of Illinois*, Ford claimed that, "schools flourished in almost every neighborhood."[19] However, the taxes had proved too costly for the people of Illinois. It did not help that the two major proponents of the law were no longer in the state government. Joseph Duncan had been elected to the United States House of Representatives and Edward Coles retired to Philadelphia. In 1827, the General Assembly struck the first blow to the Free Education Act. Districts could only tax their citizens to fund a school if they obtained written consent from every taxpaying citizen. Then in 1829, the law was repealed and the education of Illinois was reduced to "voluntary subscription."[20] This move actually reflected the ideas of Andrew Jackson. He believed that in a democratic system people understood and would pursue their own interests. The voluntary system that was created gave citizens the right to send their children to school wherever they wanted or not at all. In this type of system the rights of citizens would not be infringed upon.

Despite these major setbacks of the public education system, the idea for free schooling proposed by the first General Assembly had not disappeared in the minds of some of the citizens of Illinois. In 1833, the Illinois Institute of Education met in Vandalia, declared its belief that education was essential to a republic, and surveyed the education systems all over the state. These surveys requested information in each district on the type of schoolhouse, number of months the school operated, the cost of operation, and willingness to support teachers in their districts.[21] The new life of the common school idea can be attributed to the many migrants that came to Illinois after the removal of the Indians during the Black Hawk War in 1832. These migrants came from all over New England by way of the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes. New Englanders were accustomed to a system of free public education.[22]

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[19] Thomas Ford. *A History of Illinois: From its Commencement as a State in 1818 to 1847*. (Chicago: S.C. Griggs, 1854), 36.
[20] Herget, *Democracy Revisited*, 131.
[21] Rahn, *A Study*, 110.
[22] Walker, *The Development*, 270.

Ford described northerners as "the most liberal in contributing to whatever is for the public benefit."[23] To them, free education was not a privilege, but a right. When Alexis De Tocqueville visited the United States in the 1830's he was amazed with the democratic system, the likes of which had not been seen in Europe.

He admired the common schools of New England. In a Jeffersonian way, Tocqueville said, "Give democratic nations education and freedom, and leave them alone. They will soon learn to draw from this world all the benefits which it can afford."[24] The New Englanders set out to create their own public schools in Illinois. One example of this was a group called the "Yale Band." They came to Illinois from New England and believed whole-heartedly in the idea of the common school and established Illinois College in Jacksonville, Illinois.[25] Another example occurred in the, then small, town of Chicago. Chicago established its first public school system in 1835, which was two years before it became a city.[26] The system that was established was very similar to the Free School Act that had been passed a decade before. A group of trustees were elected by the people and would levy and collect taxes to fund the school system. Schooling would be free to all of the estimated 300 students.[27] It was just before this that the man who had introduced the Free School act of 1825 happened to be elected Governor of Illinois.

Joseph Duncan had returned to Illinois from serving in the United States House of Representatives and won the gubernatorial election of 1834. The population apparently decided that it was tired of aristocratic governors, so they chose a man who was like them. This was a tradition that started with Andrew Jackson in 1828 and, like Jackson, Duncan was a self-made man with little

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[23] Ford, *A History of Illinois* 195.

[24] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, rev. ed. Vol. 1.(New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 1900), 665.

[25] Charles Backus Barton. *The Founders and Founding of Illinois College*. (Jacksonville, Il: John K. Long, 1902), 7-8.

[26] Walker, *The Development*, 269-270.

[27] John Moses and Joseph Kirkland. *History of Chicago*, Vol. 2. (Chicago: Munsell & Company, 1895), 81.

education.[28] Once elected governor, he pushed for a return to free public education. In a message to the Illinois General Assembly in 1834, Governor Duncan said, "every virtue connected with the virtue, elevation and happiness of man and the character and prosperity of our state and of our common country, calls upon us to establish some permanent system of common schools."[29] However, little attention was paid to creating a free public school system during his administration. Most of Duncan's focus and that of the legislature was on internal improvements like fixing roads and bridges.[30] However, during the 1835 session of the Illinois General Assembly, Senator William Jefferson Gatewood called for the creation of a free public education system, which would model both Chicago's system and the system set up by the Free School Law of 1825.

Gatewood brought his *Report on the Subject of Education* into the state senate chamber on February 5, 1835. Echoing the ideas of Andrew Jackson, Gatewood claimed that both the United States Government and the Illinois Government's "supreme power is in the people, it assumes the bold principle of universal suffrage and gives to every man the power of effecting real influence upon its measures by his vote." As Gatewood's report continued, his ideas reiterated those of Thomas Jefferson. "Public opinion must be enlightened, else we have no security that a wise and liberal course of policy will be pursued."[31] It can clearly be seen in Gatewood's report how large of an impact both Jackson and Jefferson's ideas of democracy had on the Illinois educational system during this time period. Gatewood used these ideas to try to persuade the Illinois Senate to adopt his bill for *An Act to Establish Common Schools and County Seminaries*. In it, each town was to elect trustees, similarly to the Free School Act of 1825. However, the trustees had different duties than those of the law of 1825. Trustees were to evaluate teachers and recommend textbooks and courses for their district to pursue. The trustees also had to keep track of the number of people

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[28] Ford, *A History of Illinois*, 114.

[29] Blair, *Centinnial*, 64.

[30] Blatchford, *Biographical Sketch*, 17.

[31] Rahn, *A Study*, 239.

between five and twenty-one years old in their districts as well as the number of days each one had been taught. The amount of funds proportioned depended on the number of student-aged children in the district, the same standards that were required in the Free School Act of 1825.[32]

The bill was not passed, but it demonstrated that the idea of creating free public schools to enlighten the people in an increasingly democratic society was still fresh in the minds of Illinois legislators. The ideas that Edward Coles brought with him to Illinois still had life. There was concern in the Illinois General Assembly that the people of Illinois weren't ready for a tax-based school system. The editor of *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, James Hall, said it best; "Education is decidedly popular, and all classes are willing to contribute to the introduction and support of schools. But how to obtain the desired object is a question upon which there is no settled opinion."[33] Despite the failure of Gatewood's bill, there was some gain in education policy during the 1835 session.

On February 7, 1835, a law was passed that allowed trustees in each school district to lease public school lands. Furthermore, people or groups of people had the ability to get together and rent school lands. On the same day, a second law passed that allowed for the commissioners of each school district to use the money collected by the sale of public lands to improve the school system and to pay teachers.[34] Unfortunately, the money that was collected from leasing school lands was not sufficient enough to provide public schooling due to the fact that districts were still not able to tax citizens unless everyone in the district allowed it. In 1836, the school fund got a boost when the Second Bank of the United States' federal charter expired. The federal government had more money than it needed to operate, so the excess funds were sent to the states. Illinois set some of the money aside to fund schools.[35] Ford claims that most of it was used to fund internal improvement

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[32] Rahn, *A Study*, 253-256.

[33] James Hall. *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, December 1831, 102.

[34] Rhan, *A Study*, 221-224.

[35] John W. Cook. *Educational History of Illinois*, (Chicago: The Henry O. Shepard Company, 1912) 39-40.

contracts, which ended up putting the state into an enormous amount of debt.[36]

In 1837, a bill was signed that gave the people of any township the power to organize their townships into school districts under the direction of the trustees. The title of all school property was given to the trustees. They also had to collect school statistics and distribute school funds and all other money that was collected for school purposes to the schools in their district. It must be pointed out that even after the laws of 1835 and 1837, there was no express permission for the trustees or the county commissioners to directly sell school lands. A law signed in 1831 allowed lands to be sold only if three-fourths of the white men over the age of twenty-one in the township approved it. No lands could be sold whatsoever if there were less than fifty white citizens in the township. The Illinois General Assembly did not get the power to sell these lands until 1843 when the sales made up to that point were confirmed.[37] The school legislation of the 1830's mostly dealt with land and not the schools themselves. William Jefferson Gatewood's proposed legislation was the only exception. Although a decade was spent on school land legislation in Illinois, it was ridiculed by others outside of the state. The July 8th 1838 issue of *The United States Democratic Review* made the claim that Illinois was selling its lands for about one-fourth of its value. They also said that Michigan was the first western state "to lay the broad and deep foundations of a complete system of public instruction."[38] The latter statement is false. The Free School Act of 1825 had been the first to institute such a system, and although the law was repealed and public education became voluntary, the 1840's would show that Illinois was taking steps to institute a free public education system.

In 1841, the Illinois General assembly passed *An Act Making Provision for Organizing and Maintaining Common Schools*. It was the most comprehensive education law that Illinois had passed

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[36] Ford, *A History of Illinois* 130.

[37] Rhan, *A Study*, 198, 212-213.

[38] J. Langley and H.G. Langley. "Public Instruction in Michigan."*The United States Democratic Review* 2, no. 8 (July 1838), 270.

since 1825. The law was twenty-eight pages long and contained 107 sections. Most of the law dealt with school lands just as the laws did in the 1830's, but there were a lot of administrative improvements. The first division of the law called for the county commissioners to protect and preserve school lands. It was also the job of the commissioner to appoint three trustees, instead of electing them. The trustees were to serve four-year terms. It was their duty to appoint a treasurer who would handle school funds. They were also responsible for maintaining all real estate or property belonging to their townships. All the money that the trustees received was to be paid over to the school commissioners to support schools. A school commissioner was to be elected every two years in each county. His responsibilities were to sell school lands and use any money obtained to support schools. This law also improved organization and encouraged townships to build schoolhouses. People of the school district could get together in groups and could buy land, not exceeding ten acres, to build schools. The number of schools that were built and operated in each district depended on the preferences of the citizens of the district. When it came to managing the schools in operation, the teacher's employers would meet and select three teachers to be in charge of the school. Educators that were hired had to pass an examination and obtain a certificate in order to teach. If employers hired teachers that did not have certification, their school would not receive public funds. The funds were still to be apportioned based on the number of inhabitants that were twenty-one years of age and under. However, there was not a provision for taxation. The law did repeal fifteen other laws, which included the acts of 1831, 1835, and 1837.[39]

While there were several improvements to the education system created by the *Act Making Provision for Organizing and Maintaining Common Schools*, it was not enough for some Illinois citizens. A report was sent to the Illinois General Assembly from the Illinois State School Convention, which was held in Peoria. They asked the legislature to make changes that they believed

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[39] *An Act Making Provision for Organizing and Maintaining Common Schools.* (Springfield: 1841).

would improve the present system. The changes suggested were mostly administrative. The convention asked for the creation of a state superintendent of education that would be appointed by the governor. The state superintendent would meet with county superintendents to decide what improvements could be made. They would take these ideas to the General Assembly every year and suggest amendments to the system. A mandatory local tax was not asked for; however, the convention recommended that if a majority of the voters in a district voted in favor for a tax to fund schools then a taxing mechanism would be put into place.[40] The General Assembly took the advice given in the report and amended the law that was passed in 1841. The office of State Superintendent of Common Schools was created, but according to historian John Cook, the officer was only an *ex officio*, which means that the Secretary of State of Illinois would take on the responsibilities of the office. It gave trustees permission to buy school libraries and property for schoolhouses. The last amendment stated that the voters in each district would vote on whether or not their districts would levy a local tax for the support of the school system.[41] This was the last major education legislation that passed through the General Assembly. Focus had been placed on creating a new Illinois Constitution.

As the Jacksonian period ended, attitudes in Illinois government began to change. The Secretary of State, Horace Cooley, said in a letter to school officials, "the constant changes to which our school laws have heretofore been subjected have been felt as a serious evil." [42] Herein lies the problem with Jackson's democracy: the power belongs to the majority and the majority does not always know what they want without education. Nothing of real value had been accomplished because of the lack of

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[40] Illinois State School Convention. *The Memorial of a Committee of the State School Convention: held at Peoria in October last, upon the Subject of Common School Education, December 7, 1844.* (Springfield: Walters & Weber, public printers, 1845).

[41] Cook, *Educational History*, 45.

[42] Horace Cooley, *A Synopsis of the School Law of 1849 and Suggestions to School Officers and Others.* (Springfield: State Register Power Press, 1849), 3.

education. The situation in Illinois was said best by Ford, "it was a maxim with many politicians just to keep along even with the humor of the people." He goes on to say, "any measure was to be considered right which was popular for the time being."[43] That is why Thomas Jefferson believed so passionately in education in a democratic society. When people are educated, they can better form their own views, which is essential for a democracy to work. In the time since the Free School Act was passed in 1825, nothing of great value had been accomplished. Illinois did not pass legislation for tax-based schools until 1855. Growing sentiment throughout the 1840's and 1850's for tax-based schools increased. One of the main factors was that emigrants from New England, who believed in a Jeffersonian philosophy of education, took control of the Illinois government from the Jackson advocates of voluntarism.[44]

It is beyond a doubt that democracy thrived in Illinois during the period from 1825 to 1848. It was not Thomas Jefferson's democracy, but Andrew Jackson's, which personified this era of history. The constant changes in Illinois education policy during the time period expressed the idea of a majority rule without education. Jackson did not believe that education was essential to a democracy. This was proved false in the Illinois experience and Thomas Jefferson was proven right. The Illinois General Assembly followed majority opinion, but the majority constantly changed their minds so nothing of great importance concerning education could be achieved. If Jefferson's democracy had persisted and the Free School Act of 1825 had not been repealed, the democratic experience could have been a lot different in Illinois. The early government in the state saw how essential education was to a democracy and it could be seen in the preamble of the law, which stated, "To enjoy our rights and liberties we must understand them; their security and protection ought to be the first object of a free people." Coles made a grand attempt to achieve the legacy of Thomas Jefferson in Illinois. The Free School Act did not fail; it was proven that once the idea was introduced, there was no going

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[43] Ford, *A History of Illinois*, 132.
[44] Herget, *Democracy* Revisited, 135.

back. This could be seen in Gatewood's proposed bill and in the Chicago public school system. Even without the Free School Act, the number of public schools increased in Illinois and all over the country during the Jacksonian period. The idea of a tax-based school eventually won out in Illinois in 1855. From then on, every child in the state would have the opportunity to be educated and productive citizens in a democratic society.

Coffeehouse Crime in the Long Eighteenth Century

Kara Batts

On November 6, 1792, John Frost, a London attorney, attended an annual dinner located above the Percy Coffeehouse, at the corner of Rathbone Place and Percy Street, north of Covent Garden.[1] Frost reunited with an old acquaintance, Matthew Yateman, a successful pharmacist listed in London's directories as a gentleman. During their vociferous discussion, several of the coffeehouse patrons stated that Frost adamantly and loudly repeated, "I am for equality and no king," and "No king; there ought to be no king." One patron recorded Frost's words as he spoke them, planning to collect signatures as evidence of this occurrence, while others intervened in Frost's conversation. Several patrons issued formal complaints in regard to Frost's words, and by early December, while in France, Frost received notice of a warrant for his arrest. Upon his return to London in February, Frost surrendered to the authorities in response to an indictment for seditious words. Shortly thereafter, Frost received a trial in which the jurors found him guilty, and sentenced him to six months in prison and time at the pillory.[2]

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[1] Map from "Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and parts Adjacent: viz. Kensington, Chelsea, Islington, Hackney, Walworth, Newington," Map and Plan Collection Online, last modified 1, May 2013, accessed 30 July, 2013, http://mapco.net/cary1795/cary.htm

[2] Story of John Frost found in John Barrell, "Coffeehouse Politicians," *Journal of British Studies* 43, no. 2 (April 2004): 206-210.

The anecdote of John Frost and his charge for sedition demonstrates the contemporary fear as well as historians' assumptions about the seditious nature of coffeehouse conversations in early modern London. After the emergence of the coffeehouse in London during the 1650s, Londoners recognized coffeehouses as centers that sanctioned political and religious debates, news sharing, and communication via broadsides, mercuries, and advertisements. During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, coffeehouse popularity exploded; however, because Londoners frequented coffeehouses for political and religious conversation, the government's agitation concerning the connections between coffeehouses and sedition intensified, as evident in the case of John Frost. The most eminent government-supported coffeehouse intervention occurred in December 1675 when King Charles II issued a Proclamation for the Suppression of Coffeehouses. Although widespread public support for coffeehouses led to the withdrawal of this proclamation, the government continued regulating coffeehouses in order to suppress any perceived threats against the government.[3] Historians have pointed to sedition as the archetypal coffeehouse crime. This paper does not seek to discount cases like that of Frost, but it does seek to evaluate their typicality by examining the range of criminal activity associated with the coffeehouse at the beginning and the end of the 18th century, specifically between 1690 and 1730 and then between 1790 and 1799.

Historians of coffeehouse culture in early modern London have examined a number of different issues; however, most strongly focus their attention on the relationship between coffeehouses, sedition, and monarchial intervention. Lawrence Klein, an eighteenth century British historian at Emmanuel College, states that "in its early decades the coffeehouse had an overwhelmingly bad press," due to its ill-reputed portrayal as a center for sedition.[4] In affirmation, David Cressy, a social historian on early modern

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[3] Robert O. Bucholz and Joseph P. Ward, *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 194-195.
[4] Lawrence E. Klein, "Coffeehouse Civility, 1660-1714: An Aspect of Post-Courtly Culture in England," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (1996): 32.

England at Ohio State University, and Steve Pincus, a seventeenth and eighteenth century British and European history professor at Yale University, link the seventeenth century coffeehouse's reputation to government scrutiny. As early as 1666, the Earl of Clarendon believed coffeehouses allowed, "'the foulest imputations [to be] laid upon the government"; furthermore, the Earl believed that Londoners exploited the coffeehouse as an arena in which to speak freely on all matters, without consequence.[5] Eventually, by 1675, the government enacted measures of reform, as Brian Cowan, associate history professor at McGill University, states:

> As the numbers of coffeehouses in the Stuart kingdoms grew…they began to look suspiciously like centres for the 'spreading of false news, and licentious talking of matters of state and government' and Charles II's Restoration regime began to consider various means for either suppressing the coffeehouses or at least regulating the discussion of political matter within them.[6]

Historians of coffeehouse culture in the latter half of the eighteenth century focus on the effects of government intervention on the coffeehouse and on Londoners. John Barrell, an English professor at the Centre for Eighteenth Century Studies at the University of York, discovered that the suspicious activities authorities associated with London's coffeehouses throughout the eighteenth century compelled the government to plant and conceal spies in coffeehouses, in order to monitor the conversations of patrons.[7] Barrell asserts that government suppression led coffeehouse patrons to seek more private avenues for discussion and debate. "By the third quarter of the century…the coffee house declined…both in numbers and importance."[8]

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[5] David Cressy, *Dangerous Talk: Scandalous, Seditious, and Treasonable Speech in Pre-Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 210.

[6] Brian Cowan, "Publicity and Privacy in the History of the British Coffeehouse," *History Compass* 5, no. 4 (2007): 1185.

[7] Barrell, "Coffee- House Politicians," 228.

[8] Ibid., 212.

1. **John Ewers, Royal Offences > seditious libel, 27th May 1691.**

   ... proved, That he shewed it to one Mr. Sparkes in a Coffee House, which he Testified in Court against the Prisoner; and the Prisoner made no material Defence, and so he was found Guilty, and Fined 200 Marks, to ...... That he shewed it to one Mr. Sparkes in a Coffee House, which he Testified in Court against the Prisoner; and the Prisoner made no material Defence, so he was found Guilty, and Fined 200 Marks, to find ...

2. **Leonard Po-Jenner, Royal Offences > seditious libel; Attbut Remmington, Royal Offences > seditious libel, 31st May 1693.**

   ... nt. The Witness swore, that he being at Clench's Coffee house in Mitre Court, in November last, when the Parliament first sate, comes Mr. Jenner, and pull'd out the Libel, and askt him if he had seen it, ... e Witness swore, that he being at Clench's Coffee house in Mitre Court, in November last, when the Parliament first sate, comes Mr. Jenner, and pull'd out the Libel, and askt him if he had seen it, and ga ...

3. **Thomas Brayne, Royal Offences > seditious libel, 5th April 1769.**

   ... onest man. William Macock. I am a servant at the coffee house in St. Paul's church yard. I was servant to Mr. More the time the prisoner was. Mr. More told me the prisoner's wages were 14 s a week. Mr. Mor ...... an. William Macock. I am a servant at the coffee house in St. Paul's church yard. I was servant to Mr. More the time the prisoner was. Mr. More told me the prisoner's wages were 14 s a week. Mr. More came ...

2. **William Spencely, Royal Offences > seditious words, 26th April 1693.**

   ... words were spoken in the Prisoners House, being a Coffee house near Wild house, on the first of May last, and that the Prisoner had a Commission to Act in carrying on the design, and that there were 36 Batt ...... o England; the words were spoken in the Prisoners House, being a Coffee house near Wild house, on the first of May last, and that the Prisoner had a Commission to Act in carrying on the design, and that th ...

3. **WILLIAM HUDSON, Royal Offences > seditious words, 4th December 1793.**

   ... at Glasgow, in Scotland. Q. Was you in the London coffee house of the evening of the 30th of September last? Yes. Q. Did you see Mr. Hudson and Mr. Pigot there? I did. Q. About what time did you first obser ...... gow, in Scotland. Q. Was you in the London coffee house of the evening of the 30th of September last? Yes. Q. Did you see Mr. Hudson and Mr. Pigot there? I did. Q. About what time did you first observe the ...

An extensive research of the records of Old Bailey online is useful in researching sedition indictments due to libel or spoken word that occurred in seventeenth and eighteenth century London coffeehouses. In my investigation of Old Bailey's online records, I looked for the following: 1.) How often did late seventeenth and early eighteenth century governments indict Londoners for sedition in coffeehouses?, 2.) What other crimes occurred in coffeehouses during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?, 3.) What can the records of coffeehouse crime suggest about London during this time period?, and 4.) Did coffeehouse crime indictments decrease by the 1790s, perhaps verifying Barrell's statement regarding coffeehouse decline by this time?

An Old Bailey search between the years 1675 and 1800 with the keyword "coffee house," and the offenses of "seditious libel" and "seditious words" only produces five sedition cases with six individuals indicted. Furthmore, exactly 50% of these indictments resulted in the verdict "not guilty." The amount of evidence necessary in convicting an indiviual of sedition proved difficult for authories. This perhaps accounted for the lack of actual indictments despite the fact that literature on the subject suggests that coffeehouses posed a serious threat to the government. For example, attestants in the case of William Spencely, indicted for speaking seditious words in the Prisoner's Coffeehouse in 1693, testified that Spencely said "that there were 60000 Armed men that were to come with the Late King James to make a Descent into England;" however, the jurors exonerated Mr. Spencely, believing that "the Evidence was not very positive."[9] In a similar case, that of Leonard Po-Jenner and Attbutt Remington, both Po-Jenner and Remington were indicted for the royal offense of seditious libel at Clench's Coffeehouse in Mitre Court in 1693. The jury again absolved the case due to insufficient evidence.[10]

On the other hand, in the case of William Hudson, indicted for the royal offense of speaking seditious words at the New London Coffeehouse in 1793, four witnesses testified, including the coffeehouse owner. The attestants affirmed that Hudson proposed several toasts in favor of monarchial abrogation and expressed admiration in favor of the French Revolution. The evidence against Hudson led to numerous punishments, including "two years in Newgate [prison], fined 2001...and two sureties in 1001 each, and to be imprisioned til the fine [was] paid."[11] The details of this case demonstrates the harsh penalities imposed on

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[9] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 02 August 2013), April 1693, trial of William Spencely (t16930426-84).

[10] Map 2 : '"Hollar's 'Exact Surveigh' of the City of London, 1667', *Leake's survey of the city after the Great Fire of 1666: Engraved by W. Hollar, 1667,*" British History Online*,* last modified 2013, accessed 2 August, 2013, http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/lmap.aspx?compid=16597&pubid=58&currbuff=2&slice=383&root=30&buffer=2&x=410&y=305

[11] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 02 August 2013), December 1793, trial of William Hudson (t17931204-54).

individuals accused of government insurrection; however, an Old Bailey search actually reveals very little about early modern London coffeehouses and sedition as "sedition" is rarely listed in case records. Therefore, a more extensive search of all crimes in coffeehouses, not just sedition, proves necessary in order to determine whether coffeehouses served as centers of crime, whether the authories had justifiable reasons for monitoring the coffeehouse, and to determine whether or not coffeehouse popularity declined by the late eighteenth century.

In order to examine crime in coffeehouses, I searched Old Bailey online with the keyword "coffee house" with all verdicts and all offenses between 1690 and 1730. This time-frame allows for an appraisal of crime in London's coffeehouses during both the Stuart and Hanovarian regimes, but also during the years of most active government intervention, as indicated by the secondary literature on London coffeehouse culture. Furthermore, this forty year period evaluates what many historians consider the "golden age of the coffeehouse," designated as the years between 1689 and 1713.[12] Historians, such as Barrell, consider it necessary to examine coffeehouse crime during the 1790s, due to the percieved decline of the coffeehouse at this time; therefore, I also searched Old Bailey records with the keyword "coffee house," with all crimes and verdicts between the years 1790 and 1799. As Cressy asserts, an examination of this decade proved beneficial; in 1789 the Hanoverian ruling class became anxious and concerned about sedition in the coffeehouse due to the French Revolution. Hence, the government kept a more watchful eye on coffeehouses and the activities occuring inside during this time, as demonstrated by King George III and his issuance of a 1792 proclamation which targeted "all wicked and seditious writing...printed, published, and industriously dispersed."[13] These time periods, 1690-1730 and 1790-1799, allow for an examination of London's coffeehouses during the same time period as the secondary sources reflected in this paper. Pincus, Klein and Cressy research the coffeehouse

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[12] Bucholz, *London*, 195.
[13] Cressy, *Dangerous Talk*, 244.

during the late Stuart regime (roughly 1660- 1714), and Barrell and Cowan examine London's coffeehouses during the 1790s. Although these two time frames do not allow for an inspection of coffeehouse crime in the mid-eighteenth century, a noticable decline or increase in crime from the first time frame to the second can suggest a number of trends.

An examination of Table 1[14] demonstrates a number of trends pertaining to coffeehouse crime in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. First, four indictments for seditious libel and one for seditious words occurred in the 1690-1730 time period; no indictments for seditious libel and one for seditious words occurred in the 1790- 1799 time period. Therefore, despite the secondary literature's insistence on linking coffeehouses and sedition, indictments for seditious libel and/or words were actually quite rare in early modern London, especially in comparison to other crimes. Also, as previously stated, half of the sedition indictments resulted in "not guilty" verdicts due to a lack of evidence needed for conviction. On the other hand, theft in coffeehouses occurred with more frequency than sedition during both time periods. Table 2 illustrates the different types of theft that occurred during both timeframes, and Table 3 defines these different categories of theft.

As illustrated in Table 2, of the four types of theft that occurred in coffeehouses during the 1690-1730 and 1790-1799 timeframes, grand larceny occurred most frequently, accounting for 60% of thefts between 1690 and 1730 and for 83% of thefts between 1790 and 1799. Theft from a specified place accounted for 30% of thefts during the 1690- 1730 time period, and roughly 6% of thefts during the 1790s. Jurors had difficulty distinguishing between grand larceny and theft from a specified place when deliberating a coffeehouse theft case. Numerous Old Bailey proceedings suggest that coffeehouses in early modern London often furnished a set of rooms, either in the back of the coffeehouse or upstairs, for lodging purposes. Most coffeehouse thefts categorized as "theft from a specified place" involved an individual stealing items from the lodging areas of coffeehouses, as in the

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[14] Tables 1-3 are found at the end of this article.

example of Lionell Lias in 1730. John Shotan testified that, while dining downstairs in Rudd's coffeehouse, "a Jew [Lias] came in," trespassed upon his lodging area, and stole his sword.[15] On the other hand, thefts categorized as "grand larceny" were defined as the stealing of property from patrons, such as a cloak or shawl, while in the dining area of the coffeehouse, or as the theft of property, such as a silver spoon, from the coffeehouse owner. For example, in the trial of Edward Haycock, several patrons inside the Turk's Head Coffeehouse, in addition to the waiter, testified that Haycock stole the silver spoon served with his soup and left a pewter one in its place.[16]

Lesser theft crimes that led to conviction during both time periods, represented in Tables 2 and 3, included pocket-picking and burglary. The courts rarely prosecuted individuals for pocket-picking, as evident in Table 2, most likely due to the difficulty the victim had in discerning which individual in the bustling coffeehouse committed the crime, once the victim even realized the offense. In the trial of Grace Prior, the keeper of the Prisoner's Coffeehouse, a patron, Lewis Clifton, claimed that Prior over-served him, offered him lodging, and stole all the silver from his pocket while in his inebriated state. The court most likely found Clifton's testimony weak, as his inebriated state clouded his memory and judgment, and the jury found Prior "not guilty," deeming her coffeehouse "of no ill Repute."[17] In seventeenth and eighteenth century English courts, an individual's status "of ill repute" or "of no ill repute" weighed heavily in the court's conviction. Courts most likely considered citizens of good reputation as being incapable of committing such illegalities, as illustrated in the trial of Grace Prior. Similar to pocket-picking, burglary, which entails breaking and entering, specifically during the nighttime with the intent to steal, also proved difficult for the

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[15] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 02 August 2013), January 1730, trial of Lionell Lias (t17300116-23).

[16] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 02 August 2013), April 1786, trial of Edward Haycock (t17860426-109).

[17] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 03 August 2013), October 1715, trial of Grace Prior Lewis Clifton (t17151012-47).

courts to convict. In the single coffeehouse burglary case recorded during these two time periods, Peter Hough entered the St. Paul's Coffeehouse in St. Paul's Church Yard around two in the morning.[18] The prosecutor claimed that Hough removed several serving utensils from the establishment, including numerous spoons, ladles, and strainers.[19] Hough's guilty verdict rested on the fact that the prosecutor was adequately able to prove, despite the dark environment, that Hough was in fact the individual who entered the coffeehouse and pocketed the aforementioned items.

While tables 1 and 2 demonstrate the criminal activities that took place inside coffeehouse walls, historians can also use the tables in order to determine whether London's coffeehouses entered a period of decline in the late eighteenth century, a topic of much debate, as demonstrated in the historiography of coffeehouse culture in London. Barrell and Cressy assert that coffeehouse popularity declined throughout the mid-late eighteenth century; Londoners infrequently visited coffeehouses due to the fear of government-subsidized spies and informers consigned to the coffeehouses. Perhaps then, a dramatic decrease in coffeehouse crime throughout the eighteenth century can demonstrate a decrease in coffeehouse patronage. However, according to Tables 1 and 2 more crime occurred in coffeehouses in the ten-year period from 1790-1799 than in the forty year period between 1690 and 1730. Twenty-five cases of coffeehouse crimes were recorded in the decade of the 1790s, whereas roughly five to six cases of crime occurred in coffeehouses per decade between 1690 and 1730. Yet, historians must consider the population of London during both time periods before utilizing these numbers to demonstrate an increase or decrease in crime and patronage. By 1690, Gregory King, a British demographer, estimated London's population at 527,000. By 1801, the first modern census of London estimated its

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[18] Map 3: "Cary's New and Accurate Plan of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and parts Adjacent: viz. Kensington, Chelsea, Islington, Hackney, Walworth, Newington," Map and Plan Collection Online, last modified 1, May 2013, accessed 30 July, 2013, http://mapco.net/cary1795/cary.htm.

[19] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 03 August 2013), September 1795, trial of Peter Hough (t17950916-46).

population at 1,096,784.[20] Hence, the increase in crime does not necessarily demonstrate an increase in coffeehouse patronage, but instead demonstrates the exponential growth of London during the eighteenth century. Using these numbers, historians discovered that the crime rate in coffeehouses circa 1690 rested around 9%. By 1790, the crime rate in coffeehouses, despite an increase in actual crimes, only rested around 2%. Perhaps Barrell and Cressy's assertions that the London coffeehouse entered a period of decline in the late eighteenth century holds true. Instead, historians must take other factors into consideration, such as the policing habits of London's authorities at this time or even any changes in the legal framework regarding crimes.

Figure 3: Hogarth, "A Midnight Modern Conversation," 1732

Historians such as Cowan insist that Londoners did not frequent coffeehouses any less by the 1790s than in previous decades, rather "the age of the coffeehouse had ended," only in the sense that "the coffeehouse as a collective conversational experiment was finished."[21]

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[20] "A Population History of London," The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, London's Central Criminal Court, 1674-1913, last modified April 2013, accessed 16 October, 2013, http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/ Population-history-of-london.jsp.

[21] Cowan, "Publicity and Privacy in the History of the British Coffeehouse," 1182.

During the 1790s, "coffeehouse politics remained controversial," often defraying coffeehouse proprietors from hosting political and religious debates. [22] Evidence of the transformation of the coffeehouse during the eighteenth century can be found in depictions and images from this time. "Whereas the coffeehouses of the previous century [late Stuart and early Hanoverian periods] were more often than not noted for their gregarious company, the...late Georgian coffeehouses were remarkable for their taciturnity."[23] As demonstrated in Illustration 1, late seventeenth and early eighteenth century artists portrayed coffeehouses as places of conversation, public news dissemination, disorder, and misconduct.[24] Yet, the number of patrons frequenting coffeehouses did not decline by the late eighteenth century, but instead, according to Cowan, coffeehouses transformed from a place of sociability and conversation to a place of tranquility and personal reflection, as demonstrated in Figure 2.[25] Perhaps, the crime inside coffeehouses yielded much higher rates in the 1690-1730 time period due to the unrestrained and disorderly nature of the coffeehouse. The more relaxed and placid environment by the 1790s may not have been an ideal atmosphere for criminal activities. In fact, records suggest that by 1739, over 550 coffeehouses lined the streets of London, an increase from 82 coffeehouses in 1663. [26] Cowan notes that by 1840, London featured between 1600 and 1800 coffeehouses, demonstrating their continued popularity, despite a perceived decline.

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[22] Cowan, "Publicity and Privacy in the History of the British Coffeehouse," 1192.

[23] Cowan, "Publicity and Privacy in the History of the British Coffeehouse," 1195.

[24] Figure 1: Hogarth, "A Midnight Modern Conversation," 1732 (London: Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, 1822) copper engraving, from http://www.artoftheprint.com/artistpages/hogarth_william_amidnightmodernco nversation.htm and http://www.michaelfinney.co.uk/catalogue/ category/item/ index.cfm?asset_id=5625.

[25] Figure 2: Cruickshank, "The Silent Meeting," etching and engraving with hand colouring, (London: Laurie and Whittle, 12 May 1794), Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, found in Cowan, "Publicity and Privacy in the History of British Coffeehouses," 1196.

[26] Bucholz, *London*, 194.

Figure 2 Cruickshank, "The Silent Meeting," 1794.

As Henri Misson stated in his memoirs from the late seventeenth century, coffeehouses were "very numerous in London [and were] extreamly (sic) convenient. You have all Manner of News there; You have a good Fire, which you may sit by as long as you please."[27] Misson's statement reveals much about coffeehouse culture in early modern London—its popularity and its notoriety as a center for news and conversation. However, due to its reputation, many secondary sources suggest that the government attempted to shutdown coffeehouses or tried to suppress political and religious communication and debate, seeing such activities as harmful and threatening to the monarchy. Furthermore, historians such as Barrell and Cressy assert that coffeehouse popularity declined by the end of the eighteenth century, as Londoners sought new arenas for public conversation and debate due to the threat of spies and informers sent to monitor coffeehouse activities. On the other hand, Cowan argues that coffeehouses retained their popularity throughout the eighteenth century; however, the environment shifted from boisterous and loud to quieter and more reflective in nature, demonstrating the decrease in coffeehouse crime by the turn of the nineteenth century. As evident in Tables 1 and 2, the

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[27] Henri Misson, *M. Misson's Memoirs and Observations in his Travels over England*, Written originally in French (1698) and translated by Mr. Ozell for D. Browne, etc, (1719), 39-40.

number of coffeehouse crimes increased from the 1690-1720 time period to the 1790-1799 period; yet, when considering the population, the rate of crime in coffeehouses declined from 9% in the 1690-1730 time period to 2% during the last decade of the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, a more extensive survey of Old Bailey and the Newgate proceedings may prove necessary in order to examine London's coffeehouses, crimes occurring within them, and government responses to them. The transformation of the coffeehouse in early modern London will prove a fruitful subject for further research.

Coffeehouse Crime During the Long Eighteenth Century
With an Examination of the Years 1690-1730 and 1790-1799
*Theft> All includes grand larceny, theft from a specified place, pick-pocketing, and burglary
*Numbers reflect "guilty" and "not guilty" verdicts

Table 1	Royal Offense> Seditious Libel	Royal Offense> Seditious Words	Royal Offense> Coining	Deception> Fraud	Deception> Forgery	Misc.> Other	Breaking the Peace> Assault	Theft> All*	TOTAL
1690-1730	4	1	2	1	2	1	1	10	22
1790-1799	0	1	3	0	3	0	0	18	25

Table 2 Coffeehouse Theft During the Long Eighteenth Century With An Examination of the Year 1690-1730 and 1790-1799	Theft> Grand Larceny	Theft> Specified Place	Theft> Pocket- Picking	Theft> Burglary	TOTAL
1690-1730	6	3	1	0	10
1790-1799	15	1	1	1	18

Table 3	Coffeehouse Theft Definitions[28]
Grand Larceny	"This is the most common offense…It involved the theft of goods of the value of 1 shilling or more but without any aggravating circumstances such as assault, breaking and entering, stealing "privately" or taking from a series of specified locations such as a house."
Theft from a Specified Place	"Included in this general category are thefts from warehouses, ships, manufactories, churches, lodging houses, and domestic houses (where no breaking and entering took place…This category…also includes removing fixed material from a building."
Pocket-Picking	"Until 1808, this crime involved "privately" stealing from the person of another, which meant without their knowledge, goods worth more than a shilling…From 1808 the definition of the offense was loosened to include any theft from the person."
Burglary	"Defined as breaking into a dwelling house at night with intent to commit a felony (normally theft) or actually doing so…"House in this context could also include attacked buildings, shops, and warehouses."

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[28] Definitions from "Crimes Tried at the Old Bailey," Old Bailey Proceedings Online, last modified April 2013, accessed 30 July, 2013, http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Crimes.jsp#theft

The Pink Lady and Tricky Dick: Communism's Role in the 1950 Senatorial Election

Michael Bird

The shock had set in and the damage had been done. "I failed to take his attacks seriously enough." That tricky man had struck quite low. What happened to "no name-calling, no smears, no misrepresentations in this campaign?" Is this politics?

California Republican Congressman Richard Nixon needed a stage to stand on if he were to take the next step in politics during the 1950s. World War II left behind a world that was opportune for this next step. In the early days after the war, most Americans hoped for a continuation of cooperation between Americans and Soviets. However, that would change as a handful of individuals took to fighting Communism as one of their political weapons. Author Richard M. Fried suggests Communism "was the focal point of the careers of Wisconsin Senator Joseph R. McCarthy; of Richard Nixon during his tenure as Congressman, Senator" and "of several of Nixon's colleagues on the House Committee on Un-American Activities."[1] The careers of these men,, both successful and unsuccessful, had roots in anticommunism. Characteristic of previous campaigns were the accomplishments and failures of each candidate. What appeared during the 1950 senatorial campaign in California was a politics largely focused on whether a candidate could be called soft on

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[1] Richard M. Fried, *Nightmare in Red: the McCarthy Era in Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 3.

Communism. Unfortunately for Nixon's eventual opponent, Helen Gahagan Douglas, who you were thought to be aligned with politically could be severely damaging to a campaign. As Fried writes, "a new vocabulary entered political discourse" and "in the accusations that rumbled through the late 1940s and early 1950s, reputations were made or ruined..."[2] Nixon deliberately used Communism and hardball tactics during his campaign for the Senate election of 1950 in order to delegitimize Helen Gahagan Douglas and secure his desire for a higher political reputation.

Nixon recalled not being particularly anti-communist until hearing Winston Churchill's Iron Curtain speech in Fulton, Missouri in March of 1946. Until that time he felt rather uninterested in the public fervor surrounding communism. Communism had yet to become a large part of his political actions. Roughly a year later, Nixon recalled his "contempt of Congress citation against Gerhart Eisler, who had been identified as the top Communist agent in America."[3] He noted that the only individual who opposed the citation was Vito Marcantonio, an American Labor Party Republican serving as Representative of New York. Nixon used this case as a base for attack on Helen Douglas in his campaign for a Senate election. Interestingly enough, Douglas then argued that Nixon was more pro-Communist than her and voted in Congress similar to Marcantonio. These back and forth accusations in 1950 began an election campaign that can be remembered as hostile, and in Nixon's case, unsympathetic.

Accusations leveled against Alger Hiss[4] for being a top Communist spy drastically raised American peoples' concern of internal Communism in the United States.[5] In the years following

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[2] Ibid., 3.

[3] Richard Nixon, *the Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1978), 45-46.

[4] Alger Hiss was an American lawyer and government official who has accused of being a member of the Communist Party during a House Committee on Un-American Activities meeting on 3 August 1948. This accusation spurred fear amongst those already convinced that Communism had made its way into the US government.

[5] Nixon, *Memoirs*, 47-48.

World War II, American perceptions of US/Soviet relations were initially disinterested in nature, yet would increase exponentially as events like the Berlin airlift brought Communism into the daily lives of the American people. In 1948, HUAC held hearings during which Whittaker Chambers "named eight individuals, including Alger Hiss, as one-time Communists."[6] In the wake of the Hiss case, Nixon's credibility as a member of HUAC, and his status as a known anti-Communist, would prove useful in his campaign against Douglas. He decided his best strategy to reach the Senate would be to capitalize on his work in the HUAC.[7]

That same year, in light of Republican Governor of New York Thomas Dewey's loss in the presidential election of 1948, Richard Nixon recalled thinking, "For the first time I began to consider the possibility of trying to move up on my own instead of patiently waiting for seniority or party preferment in the House of Representatives."[8] He wanted to do more and wanted to achieve more. He thought that the Republican Party was becoming "complacent" and knew that in order to effect change in a positive direction, he needed to take a step forward.[9] His ambition went against advice, as he was encouraged by his peers and fellow Republicans to play it safe. Frank Jorgensen[10] said, "'You've got a good, safe district.'"[11] Yet Nixon's desire to push forward with his own agenda was paramount; he was adamant on doing things the way he wanted to do them. He ignored chances to achieve seniority as a representative by running for the Senate in 1950.

The 1950 election campaign of Douglas v Nixon was particularly harsh in nature. Hardball tactics and harsh accusations were present throughout the campaign in the form of speeches,

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[6] Freid, *Nightmare in Red*, 19.

[7] Stephen E Ambrose, *Nixon: the Education of a Politician 1913-1962* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 198.

[8] Nixon, *Memoirs*, 72.

[9] Ibid., 72.

[10] Jorgensen was Nixon's chief fundraiser and financial manager during the 1950 Senatorial campaign. He also set up Democrats-for-Nixon committees that grew all throughout the state.

[11] Ambrose, *Nixon: the Education of a Politician,* 198.

advertisements, and even little "pink sheets."[12] It is from these pink sheets that Nixon received his nickname "Tricky Dick" for his attempts to paint Douglas as a Communist. Each of these so-called pink sheets compared Douglas' and Vito Marcantonio's Congressional voting records. While Douglas accused Nixon of being a liar who was in truth aligned with Marcantonio, Nixon's supporters were in the business of ensuring that these sheets got widely distributed.[13] This was a rather harsh attempt by Nixon to show the voters that Douglas was Communist and that her actions were evidence enough. He also figured he could use his track record as an anti-Communist to discredit Douglas. The fact that she initially did not consider the pink sheets to be effective did not help her cause much. Even author Sally Denton, who largely supports Douglas in her writing noted, "That Helen Gahagan Douglas failed to accurately gauge the depth and breadth of the fear and paranoia that gripped the nation during 1950—a crucial year in American history—would have fatal consequences for her."[14] Douglas' lack of concern and Nixon's determined plan to paint her as a Communist only further highlight the nastiness of the 1950 election campaign.

Douglas's failure to respond to Nixon's pink sheets proved naïve. Douglas even acknowledged later, "I failed to take his attacks seriously enough" and "I just thought it was ridiculous, absolutely absurd."[15] It is this failure to recognize the potency of Nixon's hardball tactics that would aid in her loss of the 1950 election. No matter how absurd Douglas thought Nixon's tactics were, their effectiveness became evident. Nixon recalled the importance of Communism during the campaign, noting that there were men like Democrat Manchester Boddy who said Douglas was a "small subversive clique of red hots."[16] Nixon even claimed that members

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[12] Sally Denton, *The Pink Lady: the Many Lives of Helen Gahagan Douglas* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2009), 139.

[13] Greg Mitchell, *Tricky Dick and the Pink Lady: Richard Nixon vs. Helen Gahagan Douglas—Sexual Politics and the Red Scare, 1950* (New York: Random House, 1998), 141-143.

[14] Denton, *The Pink Lady*,142.

[15] Ibid., 140.

[16] Nixon, *Memoirs*, 74.

of Douglas' own party wanted her to lose the election in 1950. Jack Kennedy, claimed Nixon, even came to his office during which time he delivered $1,000 in support of Nixon's campaign on behalf of his father, Joseph Kennedy. [17] Nixon even remembered Douglas' desperation during the 1950 election campaign. He argued that Douglas claimed he was more pro-communist than her and that he was "throwing up a smokescreen of smears, innuendos, and half-truths to try and confuse and mislead the voters."[18] This is but another example of the hardball nature of politics surrounding the election campaign of 1950.

The overuse of hardball tactics that led up to the 1950 Senatorial Election deserve special note. Author Ingrid Scobie pays particular attention to the red-smearing of Douglas by not only Nixon, but also his supporters and leaders of some churches.[19] Nixon went out of his way in creating a campaign with unique attributes. He was able to combine his efforts and indirectly influence the activities of common people into outwardly and directly decrying Douglas' supposed pink nature. Douglas found opposition not only in advertisements and on radio, but also in the streets. Ten days after Douglas opened her campaign, Nixon vowed that in the course of his campaign there would be "no name-calling, no smears, no misrepresentations in this campaign,"[20] It became clear that this would not be the case, and Nixon's campaign would be remembered for his coarse tactics against Helen Douglas. What should have been an extraordinary opportunity for Douglas as the potential first female Senator turned into her destruction at Nixon's hands. Nixon doubled back on his claim that he would keep his campaign courteous and not attack or smear Douglas. Instead, he was brutal, but the means by which he achieved success did not concern him much at the time.

There is no doubt that the politics of the late 1940s leading up to Nixon's election as a California Senator were characteristic of

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[17] Ibid., 75.

[18] Ibid., 74-75.

[19] Ingrid Scobie, "Douglas v Nixon," *History Today* 42, no. 11 (November 1992): 8.

[20] Ibid., 8.

brutal accusations, unrelenting badgering, and constant Communist rhetoric. Both Douglas and Nixon used the increase in Communist fervor as a platform for discrediting each other. Unfortunately for Douglas, Nixon had more weight and momentum behind him. The Alger Hiss case, his other work in HUAC, his success with the pink sheets, and reputation as a real anti-Communist propelled him forward to victory in 1950. Nixon's strong desire to move the Republican Party forward, his desire for political prowess, and even a desire to not be beaten by a woman led to harsh politics resulting in a victory, even if a little rough around the edges.

Communism Amongst the Stars: Anti-Communism in Film during the 1940s-50s

Grant Watts

Following the end of World War II, a new ideological dichotomy engulfed the entire world. The emergence of the Cold War could be seen at every corner of the globe, and also every facet of American life. Anti-communism became a national ideology, and for many, an obsession. In the early years of the Cold War paranoia reigned supreme. Men like Joseph McCarthy initiated witchhunts in order to root out the communist threat that had supposedly embedded themselves in American society. Any semblance of a connection to communism, no matter the circumstances, essentially doomed you in front of the eyes of the House Un-American Activities Committee. The greatest fear was that communists infiltrated American institutions. One institution that drew much attention, especially in the late 1940s and early 1950s, was Hollywood. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI at the time, testified in front of the HUAC in regards to Hollywood's communist problem.

> The Communists have developed one of the greatest propaganda machines the world has ever known. They have been able to penetrate and infiltrate many respectable and reputable public opinion mediums... Communist activity in Hollywood is effective and is furthered by Communists and sympathizers using the prestige of prominent persons to serve, often unwittingly, the Communist cause.[1]

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[1]Tony Shaw, *Hollywood's Cold War*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press,

Oddly, this growing concern came after the most successful year Hollywood had to date. Hollywood and its influence grew, yet so did its worries. The HUAC formed the Blacklist that sought to purge the industry of communists and their sympathizers.

Hollywood's adoption of the anti-communist rhetoric was not wholly due to pressure from Washington. Many of the decision makers in the industry saw the adoption as a necessity in order for Hollywood to survive. (a means of survival for the industry?). Following the Blacklist, anti-communist themes began to appear in films across a multitude of genres. The films varied in the prevalence of their anti-communist rhetoric. Some films were blatant propaganda films. Works like *Walk East on Beacon!* (1952), which J. Edgar Hoover was given a writing credit for, and *Big Jim McClain* (1952) blared their anti-communist sentiments. Other filmmakers, like Cecil B. Demille, sought to present their ideology in a more subtle fashion.

Many different genres incorporated anti-communism into their films. The growing genre of science fiction made the public leery of science experiments. Westerns warn viewers of an encroaching threat that must be stopped. The enormous religious epics, from men like Demille, tapped into the religious aspect of the ideological difference between America and the U.S.S.R. The theme of anti-communism was apparent throughout hundreds of films following the HUAC hearings regarding communism in Hollywood, and was primarily brought about by Hollywood itself.

Leading up to 1947, the HUAC was becoming increasingly concerned with the growing influence of Hollywood and cinema. Films like *Mission to Moscow* (1943) and *Song of Russia* (1944) concerned the HUAC. The two big studios, MGM and Warner, appeared to produce pro-communist propaganda. [2] In 1946 Hollywood saw their highest revenue yet, making around $1.7

2007. (accessed December 3, 2013).

[2]Lawrence Murray, "Monsters, Spies, and Subversives: The Film Industry responds to the Cold War, 1945-1955." *Jump Cut*, 1975. http://www.ejumpcut. org/archive/onlinessays/JC09folder/ColdWarFilms.html (accessed December 3, 2013).

billion with over 4 billion admissions.[3] Seeing the steady increase in revenue, the HUAC knew that such an influential institution was a prime target for communist infiltration. This culminated in a nine-day hearing to assess the communist threat in Hollywood. The Blacklist was created, and the Waldorf Statement was issued by Hollywood declaring that executives would comply with the blacklist. By 1960, the Blacklist contained over two thousand names, and ruined a multitude of careers.[4]

The film industry has tried to avoid external censorship. In 1934 The House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce looked establishing a federal censorship board. Hollywood instituted The Motion Picture Code in the 1930s as an internal form of self-censorship to appease the government and avoid external regulation. Many of the rules denounce showing evil in a positive light. "I. No picture should lower the moral standards of those who see it. This is done: (a) When evil is made to appear *attractive*, and good is made to appear unattractive. In accordance with the general principles laid down: 1) No plot or theme should definitely side with evil and against good."[5] The HUAC would bring many of these rules up years later during their inquiry into Hollywood.

The film industry had other reasons to insert anti-communist themes in their works besides government pressure. Even though 1946 was a record year for Hollywood, they still worried about their future profits. *United States v. Paramount Pictures, Inc.* ended the ownership of theaters and exclusive holding rights by the movie studios.[6] This made studios fearful of drastic cuts in their profits. Other factors made the studios fear for their profits. Television became a mainstay with full-scale commercial broadcasting beginning in 1947, and by 1955 half of all households owned one.[7] Television was also affected by McCarthy's witch-

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[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., 46.

[5] *The Production Code of 1930*. (manuscript., 1930), http://www.und.edu/ instruct/cjacobs/ProductionCode.htm.

[6]*United States v. Paramount Pictures, Inc. - 334 U.S. 131 (1948)*

[7]Mitchell Stephens, *History of Television*. (manuscript., New York University),

hunts, however. Another issue was that many European countries in 1947 began raising taxes on foreign films. England imposed a 75% customs duty on all incoming films, which lost the studios millions.[8] With the pressures from T.V., along with increasing cost of production, increase of foreign taxes, and labor issues, Hollywood feared collapse or significant harm to their industry.

In order to attract more viewers, Hollywood sought to embrace the public's fear of the communist threat. They knew that addressing the Cold War, whether directly or in more subtle fashions, would put more people in the seats. Exposing the public to this sort of confirmation bias would not only increase revenue, but also appease Washington at the same time.

Darryl Zanuck, head of production at Twentieth Century-Fox, said "If you have something worthwhile to say, dress it in glittering robes of entertainment and you will find a ready market... without entertainment no propaganda film is worth a dime."[9] Zanuck knew that the public wanted to be entertained; that is why that is why Hollywood had over four billion admittees three years later. Zanuck knew that these propaganda films would be no where near as effective without Hollywood's touch. The direct propaganda films were the simplest and most blatant forms of anti-communism in the industry. *Walk East on Beacon,* directed by Louis de Rochemont and adapted from a *Reader's Digest* article written by J. Edgar Hoover himself, was a detective film that sought to directly address Soviet subversion.[10] It tells the story of a federal agent tracking down leaked atomic secrets and bringing light to the communist subversion. Of course this film has a very positive view of the FBI, and is trying to convey to the audience that they should trust the FBI to keep them safe from the communist subversion. This movie is about as good as one would assume a movie in which J. Edgar Hoover has a writing credit would be. Only receiving a 33% on Rotten Tomatoes, the film is not great, but it is very apparent in its goal.

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http://www.nyu.edu/classes/stephens/History of Television page.htm.
[8]Murray, "Monsters, Spies, and Subversives."
[9]Shaw, *Hollywood's Cold War*, 9.
[10]Murray, "Monsters, Spies, and Subversives."

Westerns became a great voice for Hollywood's anti-communist sentiments directed at the public. John Ford was one of the most highly regarded western film directors who included his anti-communist views in his work. Ford was a very accomplished director winning seven out of twelve Academy Awards. His name was often associated with the greatest movie cowboy of all time: John Wayne. Wayne, who was brought in by the HUAC during their investigation of Hollywood and was the co-founder of the Anti-Communist Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals, was a cold warrior who did his part by starring in these westerns pregnant with anti-communism. "the growing defeatist attitude in the Cold War imposed on us by the Soviet [Union]', and consequently needed to appreciate the struggle our ancestors made for the precious freedom we enjoy." [11] Wayne starred in *Big Jim McClain; Big Jim McClain,* a simple film that does not try to hide its anti-communist sentiments. In the film, Wayne plays HUAC investigator who saves Hawaii from communist subversion. He worked with John Ford on eighteen films. *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949)*,* being one of the Wayne and Ford collaborations, exudes the ardent anti-communist sentiments in a more nonchalant manner. In the opening scene a group of Indians are shown riding while narration plays over it. The narrator speaks of the threat the unification of red people everywhere poses to America, and how if they are not stopped soon, they will take centuries to defeat.[12] Anti-communism undertones were very apparent in the narration of the opening scene, but it was not wholly spelled out, leaving some connections for the audience to make. More anti-communist westerns would arise in the late 1950s and early 1960s including *The Magnificent Seven* (1960) and John Wayne's directing debut, *The Alamo* (1960).

Science Fiction was a growing genre in the 1950s and was wholly affected by anti-communism. The sci-fi movies being produced in the late 1940s and 1950s were generally B grade films that could be churned out because of low budget costs. Due to the

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[11]Shaw, *Hollywood's Cold War*, 207.
[12]Murray, "Monsters, Spies, and Subversives."

sheer number of sci-fi movies being produced they were the perfect vessel for anti-communism, but in more subtle ways than films like *Walk East on Beacon* or *Big Jim McClain.* Films like *Them!* (1954) taught the public to be weary of atomic power.[13] *Them!* is about ants that became mutated by atomic tests in New Mexico. This radiation exposure makes the ants giant, and they begin to wreak havoc on society; they are eventually stopped by the brave military men. The American public already feared the power of the atomic age, and this only reinforced their fear. Kids hiding under their desks during fallout drills began to fear the threat of giant mutated creatures coming for them more than they feared the actual bomb. *Them!* also shows the public that their military is there to protect them from this new atomic threat. Films like *Them!* successfully play off the fears of the unknown nature of the atomic era.

     Invasion of the Body Snatchers (1956) is a prime example of science fiction making commentary on ideology. It tells the story of a small town doctor who begins to see paranoia running high in his town due to the people of the town being replaced by imposters. Just in the opening scenes one can easily see the similarities to the Red Scare, with paranoia running high and people concerned that their family or friends are communists. The main character, Dr. Miles Bennell, discovers the people of his town are being replaced by imposters that are coming from the pods found all over town. *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* exudes familiar characteristics that are common during the Red Scare of the 1950s, conformity, paranoia, and alienation.[14] Conformity, as shown in the movie as accepting the pod people, was an important ideal during this time. The U.S. spoke of conformity against communism, urging citizens to report anything suspicious and to display Americanism and capitalism. "Excessive conformity, as in the 1950s, was a salve to smooth over obvious conflict and turmoil"[15] Bennell's paranoia

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[13]Ibid.

[14]Samuels. "Hollywood's America: United States History Through its Film, in " *The Age of Conspiracy and Conformity: Invasion of the Body Snatchers (1956),* Edited by Steven Mintz and Randy Roberts, 223. New York: Brandywine Press, 1993.

[15]Ibid, 224.

while telling his story to others captivates the paranoia that drove the McCarthy witch-hunts and is what the government used to keep their citizens ever vigilant against communism. In the closing scene of the film Bennell's psychiatrist, who put his story off as the ramblings of a crazy man, sees one of the aforementioned pods and calls the FBI. Like in *Walk East on Beacon* or *Them!* this affirms the public's dependence on institutions such as the FBI and the military, and the message of if you see something call it in. Just looking at the movie poster for the movie indicates an undertone of communism. The background is washed with red and yellow with a hand coming out as if to snatch Bennell from the foreground of the poster. Something like this is subtle, but still conveys the message.

One of the most ardent anti-communists in Hollywood was Cecil B Demille. He created biblical epics such as *Ben Hurr* (1959) and *The Ten Commandments* (1956). Demille, like many directors such as John Ford, mobilized the past for political use in the present.[16] Biblical tales were often used in not only Demille's films but also in films like *Samson and Deliliah* (1949) and *The Prodigal (1955)* to make political statements. Many saw the Cold War as more than merely a political disagreement; they saw it in terms of religious context also.

> This can hardly be a coincidence. Many people, including some in Hollywood, believe that the Cold War is fundamentally a conflict between Christianity and atheism and that religion is therefore a strong weapon against Communism. Whether the pictures dealing with these three subjects are deliberate propaganda, or not, they belong to the same, easily recognisable, pattern of ideas... The best propaganda, of course, is indirect, hardly noticeable. How many of us, I wonder, have not been taken in by any of it.[17]

Demille, being the son of a Protestant minister, saw the importance of religion in the battle against communism. His

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[16] Shaw. *Hollywood's Cold War*, 113.

[17] Catherine de la Roche, *Films and Filming,* 1955, quoted in Shaw, *British Cinema and the Cold War: the State, Propaganda, and Consensus* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 76.

greatest contribution to this was *The Ten Commandments*, the "historical' account of Moses' exodus from Egypt. The theme of the film being "whether men are to be ruled by God's law, or whether they are to be ruled by the whims of a dictator like Ramses."[18] One could replace Ramses' name with Stalin in that statement and tell someone that this was a quote from Joseph McCarthy, and they would most likely be none the wiser. Demille clearly meant for Charlton Heston's Moses to be an allegory for America leading the rest of the world to freedom from the tyranny of the allegorical Egypt. Demille opens the film by walking on screen and asking, "are men property of the state? Or are they free souls under God? This same battle continues throughout the world today."[19] Demille's biblical epic won six out of the seven Academy Awards it was nominated for and is now seen as a classic. Most versions shown today have edited out Demille's questioning prelude to the film.

Over time, as the Cold War cooled down, films became less subtle about their anti-communist sentiments, especially with the rise of action movies in the 1970s and 1980s. Movies like *Rocky IV* and *Red Dawn* pit America directly against the Soviets in more non-traditional settings unlike the direct propaganda movies of the 1940s and 1950s. This history of anti-communism could possibly be blamed for all of the Russian villains in modern cinema. The popularity of film only continued to rise, and with it came a rise in public influence. Whether it was direct propaganda in frankly poor movies, like in *Walk East on Beacon,* or more subtle themes of the times in highly revered classics, like *The Invasion of the Body Snatchers,* anti-communism was very apparent throughout American film and was consumed by millions of viewers.

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[18]Shaw, *Hollywood's Cold War,* 119.
[19]Ibid., 121.

Veiled Women: Hijab, Religion, and Cultural Practice

Sara Slininger

Women's fashion is a major business that fuels the world economy. Each year women spend thousands of dollars to stay in fashion. In the Middle East and other Islamic countries the veil, or hijab, which covers the head, body, or face, is a predominant feature of women's clothing.[1] It is not, however, a simple fashion accessory, but is a representation of religion and culture. Many people outside of Islam have come to believe that Muslim women are being forced into wearing veils by a predominantly patriarchal society; women who wear the hijab argue that it is their choice to do so. From the origins of veiling, the different styles, and how it is viewed in today's world we can get a better understanding of what the veil means to Islamic societies.

Islam was not the first culture to practice veiling their women. Veiling practices started long before the Islamic prophet Muhammad was born. Societies like the Byzantines, Sassanids, and other cultures in Near and Middle East practiced veiling.[2] There is even some evidence that indicates that two clans in southwestern Arabia practiced veiling in pre-Islamic times, the Banū Ismāʿīl and Banū Qaḥṭān. Veiling was a sign of a women's social status within those societies. In Mesopotamia, the veil was a sign of a woman's high status and respectability. Women wore the veil to distinguish

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[1] "Hijab," In The Oxford Dictionary of Islam , edited by John L. Esposito, Oxford Islamic Studies Online, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e839 (accessed 5-Dec-2013).

[2] Fadwa El Guindi and Sherifa Zuhur, "Ḥijāb," In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*, *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t236/e0306 (accessed 5-Dec-2013).

themselves from slaves and unchaste women.[3] In some ancient legal traditions, such as in Assyrian law, unchaste or unclean women, such as harlots and slaves, were prohibited from veiling themselves. If they were caught illegally veiling, they were liable to severe penalties.[4] The practice of veiling spread throughout the ancient world the same way that many other ideas traveled from place to place during this time: invasion.

When one culture invades another culture there is often some fusion in the cultural practices of the people. As the Greek, Persian, and Mesopotamian empires mixed with the Semitic peoples of the Middle East, there appeared a subsequent effect that these cultures adopted the practice of veiling women.[5] The adoption of veiling by the Semitic people is evidenced in several biblical verses[6]: "When Rebekah looked up and saw Isaac…So Rebekah covered her face with her veil;"[7] Also, "On that day of judgment the Lord will strip away everything that makes her beautiful; ornaments…necklaces, earrings, bracelets and veils."[8] 1 Corinthians 11:3-7 provides the most evidence for the early Christian veiling practice:

But there is one thing I want you to know. The head of every man is Christ, the head of women is man, and the head of Christ is God. A man dishonors Christ if he covers his head while praying or prophesying. But a woman dishonors Christ if she prays or prophesies without a covering on her head, for this is the same as shaving her head. Yes, if she refuses to wear a head covering, she should cut off all her hair! But since it is shameful for a woman to have her hair cut or her head shaved, she should wear a covering. A man should not wear anything on his head when worshiping, for a man is made in God's image and reflects God's glory. And a woman reflects man's glory.

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[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Genesis 24:65
[8] Isaiah 3:18-19

These verses show the importance that early Jews and Christians placed on covering a woman's head. A woman who did not veil herself would dishonor herself and Christ; she would also dishonor her husband or other male relatives, because a woman reflects man's glory and a man reflects God's glory.

During the time of Muhammad, veiling was not widespread; only his wives and upper-class women wore the veil as a symbol of their status.[9] Muhammad had many enemies that were out to harm him or his family. In order to protect them, and other members of Muhammad's household, the women veiled themselves to conceal their identity from others.[10] Verse 33:53 of the Qur'an is known as the hijab verse. It is believed that the revelation for this verse came down "after some wedding guests had overstayed their welcome at the nuptial celebration in Zaynab's house."[11]

> O Ye who believe! Enter not the dwellings of the Prophet for a meal without waiting for the proper time, unless permission be granted you…And when ye ask of them (the wives of the Prophet) anything, ask it of them from behind a curtain. That is purer for your hearts and for their hearts.[12]

Before the hijab verse was taught, Muhammad's wives took part fully in the communal affairs of Medina.[13] Other women of the community were not forced to veil.[14] It was not until a generation later, after Muhammad's death that Islamic women started veiling themselves.[15] It was no longer confined to the upper class.16

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[9] John L. Esposito, "Customs and Culture," In *What Everyone Needs to Know About Islam, Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies. com/article/book/acprof-9780199794133/acprof-9780199794133-div1-58 (accessed 11-Dec-2013).

[10] Barbara Freyer Stowasser, *Women In The Qur'an, Traditions, And Interpretation* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1994.), 132.

[11] Ibid., 90.

[12] Qur'an 33:53

[13] Stowasser, *Women In The Qur'an, Traditions, And Interpretation*, 91.

[14] Ibid, 132.

[15] Guindi and Zuhur, "Ḥijāb."

[16]Esposito, "Customs and Culture."

Veiling became more widespread in Islam because the practice was supported by Qur'anic verse. None of the verses pertain to women's clothing, but instead hijab is referred to in a spatial partition or curtain form. Many of the other verses that talk about veiling, or hijab, do so by stressing the separation aspect of hijab.[17] Veiling or hijab in the beginning of Islam was seen as a way to distinguish between two people or to keep them separated. Some examples are: the separating of God and mortals, "And in no way is it feasible for a mortal that Allah should speak to Him, except by revelation or from beyond a curtain, or that He should send a Messenger;"[18] separating the righteous from wrongdoers, "And between the two there shall be a veil, and on the most elevated places there shall be men who know all by their marks;"[19] separating unbelievers from believers, "And when you read the Qur'an, We make between you and the ones who do not believe in the Hereafter a screened curtain."[20] The practice of hijab also has as aspect of modesty more so than seclusion or separation. There are verses that point to the modesty aspect of hijab for both men and women and ask women to "hide their ornaments:"[21]

Say to the believing men that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts; that is purer for them; surely Allah is Aware of what they do. And say to the believing women that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts and do not display their ornaments except what appears thereof, and let them wear their head-coverings over their bosoms, and not display their ornaments except to their husbands ... or the children who have not attained knowledge of what is hidden of women; and let them not strike their feet so that what they hide of their ornaments may be known; and turn to Allah all of you, O believers! so that you may be successful.[22]

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[17] Guindi and Zuhur, "Ḥijāb."
[18] Guindi and Zuhur, "Ḥijāb," and Qur'an 42:51.
[19] Guindi and Zuhur, "Ḥijāb," and Qur'an 7:46.
[20] Guindi and Zuhur, "Ḥijāb," and Qur'an 17:45
[21] Guindi and Zuhur, "Ḥijāb."
[22] Qur'an 24:30-31.

Another verse that speaks about the modesty is, "O you Prophet, say to your spouses and your daughters and the women of believers, that they draw their outer garments closer to them; that will (make) it likelier that they will be recognized and so will not be hurt."[23]

The desirability of modesty is further stressed by referring to the contrasting concept of tabarruj (illicit display): "O ye wives of the Prophet! Ye are not like any other women. If ye keep your duty, then be not soft of speech, lest he in whose heart is a disease aspire, but utter customary speech. And stay in your houses. Bedizen not yourselves with the bedizenment of the Time of Ignorance." (33:32–33)"[24]

As one can see from these verses, concealing a woman's body is presented as being for modesty or to protect her from harm: it is not to oppress or exclude women from the community, but for safety.

Al-tabbaruj, which means immodest show of a women's body coalesced with teasing characteristics, was used in the pre-Islamic world, or the "days of ignorance," to describe women's public manners. While on the other hand, the term, al-tahhajub, means modesty in the way one dresses and in their manners. In Arabic, words are based on triconsonantal or quadrilateral roots, a set of three or four letters which denote a specific meaning. The words tahhajub and hijab come from the same root, h-j-b.[25] Any word in Arabic that has a root of h-j-b has a meaning that is related to separation, barriers or screens.[26] Today the hijab has become primarily a cultural and religious symbol associated with Islam.

Despite that common association with Islam, the hijab and practices associated with it vary. The examples below (in Figure 1[27]) are illustrations of different veiling styles that are found all over the world. Hijab is not only synonymous with veiling, but is a style of

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[23] Qur'an 33:59
[24] Guindi and Zuhur, "Ḥijāb."
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Taylor Noakes, "The Differences in Muslim Coverings.jpg," web image, *GenderEyes*, http://gendereyes.com/tag/honor/ (assessed 5-Dec-2013).

veiling as well, as seen in Figure 1. The hijab is the most common style, especially in the West. It is a square scarf that covers the head and neck, but leaves the face free.[28] The least common and most concealing is the burqa, which covers the whole face and body down to the feet, leaving just a mesh screen over the eyes.[29] The burqa has become associated with the Taliban rulers of Afghanistan. During their years in power, the Taliban ordered all women to wear the burqa. After the fall of the Taliban in 2001, many Afghan women continued to wear the burqa, even though legal penalties for not wearing it were no longer in effect.[30] Once a custom has started it, it appears, it can often be hard to revert back to how society was before, especially when the practice causes no physical harm. Some Afghan women "believe it gives them freedom from being harassed by men."[31] The only Muslim country today that legally enforces the face veil is Saudi Arabia. The niqab is the style of veil found in Saudi Arabia, covering the face and the whole body like the burqa, but leaves an opening for the eyes.[32] Where these different types of veiling can be found can give some insight to the society.

As stated before, the burqa can be found in Afghanistan; the niqab can be found in Saudi Arabia. The niqab is also worn in other countries, such as Yemen and southern Pakistan. Many women in Turkey and Europe wear the khimar, which is a headscarf and the mildest variety of hijab. The chador is often a light white, blue, or black blank which covers the entire body and head, but leaves the face open.; it is the traditional style for Iranian women. The al-amira is a modern form of the khimar, and is found in many of the same places. The shayla is a long rectangular scarf that is wrapped around the head. The shayla style is found throughout the Gulf

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[28] BBC News. *In graphics: Muslim veils,* http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/ hi/pop_ups/05/europe_muslim_veils/html/1.stm (assessed 10-Dec-2013).

[29] Ibid.

[30] Hadia Mubarak, "Burqa," In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World, Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/ article/ opr/t236/e1100 (accessed 11-Dec-2013).

[31] Ibid.

[32] BBC News, *In graphics: Muslim veils.*

countries.[33] It is important to understand that these styles are not limited to the countries listed above, they can also be found in other countries as well. It is also important to understand that women are not limited to the style of veiling listed with their country. There are a variety of different veiling styles within many different countries (see figure 1). When traveling abroad, the form of veil that a woman is wearing may be indicative of their way of life.
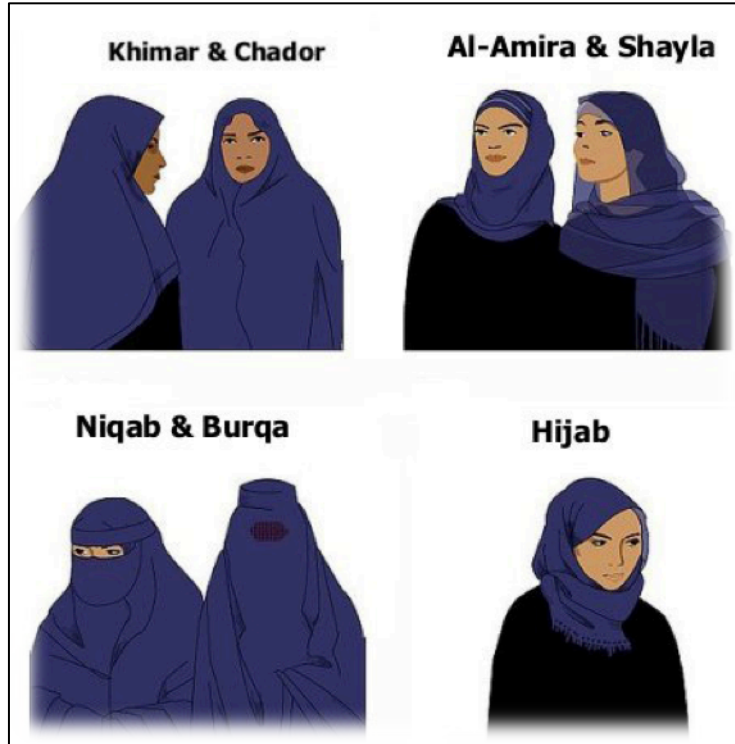

Figure 4

Sharia means "path" in Islam, and it is also a synonym for Islamic law. Islamic law is created by man and is not the law of

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[33] K. Zh. Monkebayeva, N. Zh. Baitenova, and A. A. Mustafayeva, "History of Appearance and Distribution of Hija,." *World Academy of Science, Engineering and Technology*, 2012: 1405-1408.

God.[34] However, man used the Qur'an as a path to seek out what God is saying and create guidelines based on God's words. Thus, sharia law means laws or regulations that guide someone to the path of God. When Muhammad was alive he inferred the divine laws for the Muslim society. After his death, it fell to the educated scholars and jurists to interpret God's law. In the ninth and tenth century, jurists developed a system that became known as Islamic jurisprudence or fiqh.[35] Four schools of Sunni Islamic jurisprudence emerged by the end of the eleventh century: Maliki, Shafi'i, Hanafi Hanbali. The jurists of these four law schools created a moral scale by which to classify all Islamic actions. In Islamic law, each action is assigned one of the five categories of the moral scale: mandatory, recommend but not required, neither recommended nor mandatory, reprehensible and prohibited or sinful. Each school of fiqh developed their own view on what was expected of women with regard to dress. "Muslim women's dress was understood to be part of Islamic etiquette and not of required Islamic behaviors."[36] Within the Maliki and the Hanafi schools, jurists believe that a woman's entire body, except for the face and hands need to be covered. On the other hand, those in the Hanbali and Shafi'i schools, which are more conservative, require Muslim women to cover their entire body, including their face and hands. Muslims are expected to pursue the practices, such as the veiling practice, of the resident Muslim majority where they live. The practices are characterized by the particular school of law that area studies.[37] Based on this information, and the previous information about where certain styles of veiling are found we can infer that Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and southern Pakistan, where many of the women wear the niqab or the burqa, are likely to follow the Hanbali or Shafi'i schools. In Turkey, Iran, and Europe, where women often wear the style of hijab that leave the face open, they

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[34] "Islamic Jurisprudence & Law," *Reorienting the Veil,* http://veil. unc.edu /religions/islam/law/ (accessed 10-Dec-2013). "Fiqh" means "understanding in Arabic.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.

are likely to follow the Maliki or Hanafi schools of law. But this is not always the case. Using the style of veiling as an indicator, in Afghanistan where the burqa is the main style of hijab, it was inferred that they would follow the Hanbali or Shafi'i schools of law. However, in Afghanistan they follow the Hanafi school of law.[38] The way the rest of the world views the veil has also drastically changed over time.
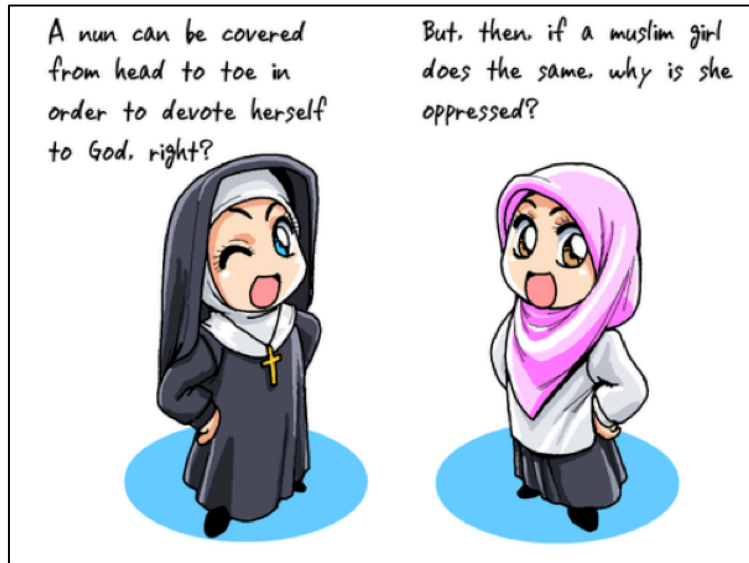

Figure 2

The way Americans and others view Muslims dramatically changed on September 11, 2001. Worldwide, Islam was recast as a terrorist-filled group. After 9/11 Muslim women who wore the hijab became target of religious and racial discrimination. Figure 2 illustrates the question of why veiled women of one religion were not being persecuted while women in Islam were. This is a valid point. Women in the Catholic religion have been wearing veils for centuries and society finds nothing wrong with this, but when a woman is in a hijab, she becomes a terrorist. As an anxious and angry public called for more security:

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[38] Ibid.

The most visible target was the "marked" Muslim woman wearing a headscarf. Suddenly, her headscarf no longer evoked feelings of pity or confusion, but hatred and suspicion. She found herself a target of racial violence in public places and workplace discrimination. She feared for the safety of her school-aged children whose teachers and fellow students harbored anti-Muslim sentiment arising from stereotyping in the media. She questioned whether she should give up her religious right to wear the headscarf to preserve her and her families' safety as well as retain employment needed to financially support her household. And yet she had few organizations she could turn to in defense of her rights at the intersection of four identities: a Muslim, a woman, a racial or ethnic minority, and usually an immigrant.[39]

Muslim women face what is known as "intersectional discrimination" because they face more than one factor when it comes to discrimination. In many countries, including some Islamic countries, there are bans now on all veils or just certain kind of veils. In Turkey, there is a ban on wearing any kind of veil in a university, whether it is private or public, and in government buildings. Turkey, a predominately Muslim community, is fighting back against the ban. About sixty three percent of Turkish women cover their heads in public.[40] A more notable uproar is taking place in France, where about five millions Muslims live. In 2004, France placed a ban on religious symbols and apparel in public schools.[41] In most of the countries where bans have been placed women are pushing back and protesting against these bans.

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[39] Sahar Aziz, "Terrorism and the Muslim "Veil,'" Oxford Islamic Studies online, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/Public/focus/essay1009_terrorism_and_the_muslim_veil.html (Accessed 11-Dec-2013).

[40] Sarah Rainsford, "Headscarf issue challenges Turkey," *BBC News, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6122010.stm* (Accessed 11-Dec-2013).

[41] Guindi and Zuhur, "Ḥijāb."

As such, headscarved [sic] Muslim women have touted their freedom to move about easily in their societies without the harrowing eye of men seeking to sexualize their bodies. They have also boasted feeling self-respect and dignity when wearing the headscarf in accordance with their personal moral beliefs. Indeed, the proliferation of the headscarf in countries like Egypt have transformed it into a fashion item whose color and texture matched young women's trendy clothing and glamorous makeup.[42]

These women are not asking to be freed from the headscarves; they are asking to be freed from the stereotypes placed on them because of the religion they follow.

The hijab's history, then, is a complex one, influenced by the intersection of religion and culture over time. While some women no doubt veil themselves because pressure put on them by society, others do so by choice for many reasons. The veil appears on the surface to be a simple thing. That simplicity is deceiving, as the hijab represents the beliefs and practices of those who wear it or choose not to, and the understandings and misunderstandings of those who observe it being worn. Its complexity lies behind the veil.

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[42] Aziz, "Terrorism and the Muslim "Veil,'"

Sovereign, Subject, or Slave?
Revolutionary Iranian Reactions to Anglo-Russian Imperialism (1890-1907)

Adam Reza Mohebbi

Between 1890 and 1907, reactionaries, revolutionaries, and reformers ravaged the ruling Qajar dynasty of Iran. These advocates of drastic change were not simply inspired by domestic affairs, however. A combination of the incompetence of the Qajar Shahs and the blatant affronts to Iranian sovereignty by European Imperialist powers, not simply one or the other, led to such movements and their eventual legal victories.

For nearly an entire century, following the fall of Napoleon in 1815 to the onset of the First World War in 1914, the British and Russian Empires dueled in Central Asia. Since neither of these "Great Powers" were strong enough to conquer their rival, they played a "Great Game." Through puppet rulers, economic conflict, and the bare minimum of military involvement they struggled to protect their respective interests from the encroachments of their adversary. Britain had to defend its conquered "Crown Jewel," India. Russia found the southern borders of its homeland under possible assault. Consequently an oppressive climate of mutual fear hung over the region like a rank fog and, in the middle of it all, sat Iran.

For their part, the Powers viewed Iran in a relatively positive, if not ignorant, light. Percy Sykes, a British spy, diplomat, and all-around raconteur, recollected

> the peasant in Persia, and especially in the cold part parts of the country, is certainly better housed, better clad and better fed than people of the same class in the Panjab. The household comforts, too, are greater. In the Panjab the peasants are in the hands of the

money-lenders to a considerable extent, wheras [sic]
in Persia this is rarely the case.[1]

Of course Sykes fails to mention a major difference between India
and Iran. The former was under nearly total British control, and he
is obviously (perhaps willfully) ignorant of the fact that the
economic disparity between the two countries' peasants may,
therefore, be caused by himself and his fellow Imperialists.

That minor degree of respect would not prevent both
powers finding occasion to invade Iran under any available
instigation. The Russians engaged in a succession of wars with Iran,
starting in 1722, long before the "Great Game" even began, and
finally ceasing in 1828. The British invaded in 1856 following an
Iranian attempt to squash rebellious intent in the city of Herat,
managing to defeat the Iranian forces relatively quickly, with the
war ending in 1857.

Such overt military action was rarely needed, however. The
Powers had the ability to manipulate Iranian political and
economic concerns practically at will and, more importantly, they
were greatly aided by a relatively accommodating monarchy,
especially in the latter half of the period.

That monarchy, the Qajar dynasty, was an ethnically Turkic
royal house that had assumed power in 1785. Unfortunately, they
are known mostly for the tragic mismanagement of Iran that
occurred under their authority, which lasted until they were
overthrown in 1925. Whether their royal bungling was self-derived
or a result of increasing European intervention is a debate for
another time, but the Qajars failed in almost every aspect of
leadership during their reign. Militarily they experienced nothing
but defeats, not only at the Powers' hands but also, on occasion, to

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[1] Percy Sykes, *History*, vol. II, 392, quoted in Gad G. Gilbar, "The Opening Up of Qajar Iran: Some Economic and Social Aspects," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 49 (1986): 81.

various tribal groups in Iranian frontier regions. Politically, almost all Qajar Shahs were more concerned with their self-image than the well being of the country. Economically, however, they failed most magnificently.

The Qajars' favorite method of raising personal funds was the granting of monopolies or concessions to foreign firms. These concessions were arranged so that the Shah received a large, lump sum of currency as a down payment and a yearly percentage of that industry's future profits. The Qajars rationalized behind granting such overbearing economic rights to alien syndicates with the fact that they actually sped up development of the country in several aspects, especially in technological matters such as laying telegraph lines[2]. In any case, most concessions were rather limited in scope, either by geographical or subjective restrictions. It was when those concessions began to be true, nation-wide monopolies that the Iranian populace was provoked to the point of public protest.

In 1890 such a concession was granted by the reigning Shah, Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar, to a British citizen, Major G.F. Talbot. In return for "an annual rent of 15,000 pounds sterling, and a quarter of the annual profits after the payment of all expenses and a 5 percent dividend on the capital,"[3] Talbot received an absolute monarchy over all the tobacco in Iran for fifty years. Tampering with such an expansive domestic commercial behemoth was not Nasir's smartest decision, as Axworthy explains how it

> drew opposition from a formidable alliance of opponents: landlords and tobacco growers, who found themselves forced to sell at a fixed price; bazaar traders,[4] who saw themselves once more frozen out of a lucrative sector of the economy; the readership of

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[2] Ironically enough, those same telegraph lines produced by concessions would later be used to a rather significant extent to mobilize protestors (who were upset about concessions) during both the Tobacco Revolt and the Constitutional Revolution.

[3] Mansoor Moaddel, "Shi'i Political Discourse and Class Mobilization in the Tobacco Movement of 1890-92," in *A Century of Revolution: Social Movements in Iran*, ed. John Foran (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 11.

[4] Also known as bazaaris.

the new reform- and nationalist-oriented newspapers operating from overseas; and the ulem,[5] who were closely aligned to the bazaar traders and disliked the foreign presence in the country.[6]

Such an extensive collection of oppositional leaders drew immediate, overwhelming support from the general Iranian populace, and after several enormous protests and a widely followed *fatwa*[7] declaring a boycott on tobacco products, the concession was repealed.

The sense of success the Iranian people experienced after their victory in the Tobacco Revolt was tangible, and a profound belief that change was at least possible moved through the Iranian populace. Nikki R. Keddie writes

> the movement was the first successful mass protest in modern Iran…the 'religious-radical alliance' had shown its potential for changing the course of Iranian policy, and the government did not dare grant further economic concessions for several years. The basic alliance of bazaaris (especially merchants), ulama, and secular or modernist reformers continued to be important.[8]

Furthermore, the Revolt had greatly weakened British interests in Iran, and the Shah's power, thought to be unquestionable for centuries, was now challenged.

Simultaneously, in a more tangible fashion, Nasir felt the Revolt's sting in his wallet. The Shah had to pay Talbot's company around half a million British pounds in damages. Obviously, in order to do so without emptying his personal accounts, Nasir attempted to gather those funds in more surreptitious ways. Disgusted with this and other major abuses of power by the Qajars,

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[5] Usually spelled "ulama." The Iranian Shi'i Islamic clergy.

[6] Michael Axworthy, *A History of Iran: Empire of the Mind* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), 196.

[7] A legal decision or declaration expressed by a member of the ulama.

[8] Nikki R. Keddie, *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 62.

Mirza Reza Kermani[9] assassinated the inept Shah on May 1st, 1896. After a brief period of minor chaos, and heavily supported by the Cossack Brigade[10], his son, Mozzafar od-Din Shah Qajar, assumed the throne.

Mozzafar further exacerbated the damage Nasir had done to the Iranian economy. Gad G. Gilbar explains,

> expenditure increased in the period...from *qn* 42.5 million to *qn* 105 million, while revenue increased in the same period from *qn* 48.4 million to only *qn* 75 million. The increase in expenditure was affected by a rapid increase in consumption by both the court and the central administration. Nasir al-Din and Muzaffar al-Din's various trips to Europe, the increase in allowances and pensions both to members of the royal family and the upper echelon of the bureaucracy were, to a great extent, responsible for this development. There was also a considerable increase in the expenditure of the central government on defence, subsequent to the formation of the Persian Cossack Brigade in 1879.[11]

The country could not suffer through such a drastic discrepancy in its balance of payments and the correspondingly high-interest loans the Shah took out from foreign banks. Iranians began, once again, to grumble in their mosques and bazaars.

In December 1905, Mozzafar, in an effort to deflect blame resulting from the deteriorating economy off himself, ordered that

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[9] The follower of a radical Pan-Islamic anti-Imperialist, al-Afghani, Kermani was an ex-con with a relative heart of gold, as he told his interrogators that he had a previous opportunity to kill the Shah in a park, but did not want the death to be blamed on some Jews that were in the park that day, fearing it may have sparked a wave of anti-Semitic attacks across Iran.

[10] A Russian derived and Russian trained sort of Praetorian Guard for the Qajars.

[11] Gad G. Gilbar, "The Opening Up of Qajar Iran: Some Economic and Social Aspects," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 49 (1986): 84.

two bazaaris be publicly *bastinadoed* [12] for price gouging. Unfortunately for the Shah, both men were not only very wealthy and influential in *bazaari* circles but also deeply devout Muslims and generous contributors to the *ulama*, with whom they shared the lion's share of the middle class' population. Outrage amongst the *ulama*, therefore, was high, and motivated them to begin to mobilize their individual communities. When combined with the general economic discontent of the Iranian populace, this public humiliation led to the onset of several large street protests across the nation. After a *sayyed* [13] was killed in one of those protests, a great deal of the influential revolutionary leaders sought sanctuary at the British consulate in Golhak [14].

The British, perhaps seeing a chance to both hurt the Russian Empire's growing influence and avenge their shrinking authority after the Qajar court repealed the Tobacco Concession, decided to grant the protestors refuge. A great *bast* [15] was formed within the British compound, and constitutionalists of all sorts began to flock to Golhak to take part.

Meanwhile, some Russians, afraid of losing the great deal of influence they finally enjoyed in the Qajar court, pushed for armed intervention. *Novoye Vremya*, a heavily conservative Russian newspaper, published an editorial stating,

> "Whether Russia can endlessly tolerate these outrages...Tatar semi-intellectuals in Transcaucasia, forgetting that they are Russian subjects, have displayed warm sympathy for the disturbances in Tabriz and are sending volunteers to that city. ...*What is much more important for us* is that Aderbaijan [sic], which borders on Russia, should be pacified. Deplorable though it may be, circumstances

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[12] An incredibly painful corporal punishment wherein the soles of the victims feet are brutally beaten.

[13] A Muslim who can trace his lineage back to the family of Mohammed.

[14] Axworthy, 201-02.

[15] An austere form of "sit-in," the traditional Iranian expression of protest.

might compel Russia, despite her strong desire not to interfere, to take this task upon herself."[16]

This ultra-Imperialistic approach, however, would not be undertaken, and Russia, at least in any overt capacity, would remain on the sidelines of the Constitutional Revolution, at least until the Shah succumbed and finally signed the new document[17]. Their apprehension was understandable, considering both the great patience Russia had exhibited in slowly wrestling Iranian political and economic influence away from Britain as well as the vast opportunities for wealth that were at stake. Domestic concerns reigned supreme however, and the unrest following Russia's loss to the Japanese kept the Romanovs' focus near their court, especially after Russia's first revolution of the period began in 1905.

In fact, the presence of Russian turbulence during the Constitutional Revolution was not merely a happy coincidence for the Iranian reformers. Nikki R. Keddie argues,

> "revolutionary sentiment was strengthened by the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 and the Russian Revolution of 1905. Iranians knew that Russia would intervene against any attempt to overthrow or undermine the Qajar government, but with the Russian government fully occupied first with war and then with revolution, it was a propitious time to move. Also, the strength shown by the supposedly backward Japanese against the dreaded Russians gave people courage, as did the shaking of such a potent

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[16] Quoted by V.I. Lenin. "Events in the Balkans and in Persia," in Collected Works, vol. 15 (Moscow: Progress, 1978), 226, quoted in Janet Afary, "Social Democracy and the Iranian Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11," in *A Century of Revolution: Social Movements in Iran*, ed. John Foran (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 28.

[17] Thanks to the Cossack Brigade, however, with its Russian officers, Russian equipment, and Russian-trained soldiery, they would not lack a military presence in Iran. Eventually, Reza Khan, the first Iranian commander of the Brigade, would actually take over rule of the entire country in 1925. Obviously this occurred too late to benefit Imperial Russian interests, but the new Bolshevik regime took significant advantage of this old Iranian friend, at least until he became too close to the Nazis and found himself at the displeasure of both the U.S.S.R. and Britain.

autocracy as Russia by revolution. The sight of the only Asian constitutional power defeating the only major European nonconstitutional power not only showed formerly weak Asians overcoming the seemingly omnipotent West, but aroused much new interest in a constitution as a 'secret of strength.'"[18]

Therefore, not only was the opportunity present, but also the inspiration for revolution. When combined with the pre-existing grievances of many Iranians, the kettle boiled over and the relatively weak Qajars could do little to stem the tide.

What had been relatively unorganized street protests re-emerged as a unified reformative movement after the Golhak captivity. Afary explains

"The Constitutional Revolution was made possible through an initial hybrid coalition of forces, which included liberal reformers, members of the ulama, merchants, shopkeepers, students, trade guildspeople, workers, and radical members of secret societies who promoted the formation of an assembly of delegates and a constitution. This coalition was first formed during the tobacco protests of 1891-92, partially overcoming a long history of hostility and animosity between the religious/secular reformers and the orthodox members of the ulama."[19]

Combined with near-mutinous sentiment from the Cossack Brigade,[20] Mozzafar al-Din Shah had to relent and agreed to a meeting of the *Majlis*[21] in October of 1906. They worked at a breakneck pace and, using the Belgian equivalent as a base in order

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[18] Keddie, 66-67.

[19] Janet Afary, "Social Democracy and the Iranian Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11," in *A Century of Revolution: Social Movements in Iran*, ed. John Foran (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 21.

[20] Due to his financial issues, the Shah had been unable to pay them fully, consequently incurring their ire.

[21] This is the Persian name of the Iranian National Assembly, a unicameral legislative body with 156 elected (through a relatively complicated process) representatives from across the country.

to insure a practical, stable document, formulated Iran's first constitution. Mozzafar ratified them on the 30th of December. This was rather good timing, as he died from a heart attack less than a week later. While his death was an interesting coincidence, what was truly remarkable was the rapid cooperation put forth by the *Majlis* in issuing the constitution for ratification in the first place.

> Michael Axworthy writes that the *Majlis*
>
> was elected on the basis of partial suffrage, on a two-stage system, and represented primarily the middle and upper classes that had headed the protests in the first place. The electors were landowners (only above a middling size), ulema [sic] and theological students, and merchants and bazaar-guild members with businesses of average size or above. ...Numerically, the Magles [sic] was dominated by the bazaar merchants and guild elders, and it divided roughly into liberal, moderate, and royalist groupings-of which the moderates were the most numerous by a large margin.[22]

At first glance, this would lead one to assume that the *bazaaris* were exceedingly overrepresented, but at this point, members of the *ulama* were still essentially forbidden[23] from taking any form of actual political authority or office. Therefore, they were enthusiastically represented by their major presence in the electorate. Furthermore, it would appear that the Iranian intelligentsia was completely slighted in the *Majlis*. However, once one considers the fact that they were a vastly insignificant minority numerically and mostly hailed from the *bazaari* class, they are

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[22] Axworthy, 203.

[23] By common theological consensus, if not by actual law. For a more complete and eloquent explanation of the "correct" role of Shi'i clergy in politics, the political ramifications of the occultation of the lost Imam, and the acceptance of constitutional monarchy, consult Hamid Algar, "The Oppositional Role of the Ulama in Twentieth-Century Iran" (paper presentation, Conference on the Structure of Power in Islamic Iran, University of California, Los Angeles, CA, June 1969).

shown to have the appropriate amount of legislative representation befitting a vocally expressive margin of the revolution.

Therefore, these relatively diverse factions, in the briefest of timespans, managed to come to a consensus and produce a constitution. This was only possible because the Iranian people viewed the Shah's mismanagement and foreign dalliances to be so egregious that it was almost universally agreed something had to be done. As Ahmad Seyf writes,

> Iran's commercial policy was manipulated by the interests of these powerful partners via the activities of Russophiles and Anglophiles who enjoyed power within the state apparatus of Iran. ...in view of this power relationship, the price of items exported from or imported into Iran was not determined by the so-called market forces. The powerful partners could create artificial shortages or gluts which would in turn affect prices in the market place.[24]

Such blatant and overwhelmingly complete manipulation of the economy not only affected the *bazaaris* and their businesses, but also the budgets of normal Iranians, and thereby incensed practically the entire populace.

The Constitution of 1906, then, was both a rejection of foreign influence and the Shah's fiscal encroachments. Obviously, such royal financial missteps were only conceived through foreign methods, but the reformers knew that limits were needed on both outsiders and the Shah himself, not simply the sovereign alone. To that extent, they based the constitution primarily on its Belgian primogenitor, with several unique Iranian adaptations. Articles 22-26 fully expressed the primary motivations behind the Revolution, stating

> Art. 22. Any proposal to transfer or sell any portion of the [National] resources, or of the control exercised by the Government or the Throne, or to effect any change in the boundaries and frontiers of the

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[24] Ahmad Seyf, "Foreign Trade and the Economy of Iran in the Nineteenth Century," *Iran* 34 (1996): 125.

Kingdom, shall be subject to the approval of the National Consultative Assembly.

Art. 23. Without the approval of the National Council, no concession for the formation of any public Company of any sort shall, under any plea whatsoever, be granted by the State.

Art. 24. The conclusion of treaties and covenants, the granting of commercial, industrial, agricultural and other concessions, irrespective of whether they be to Persian or foreign subjects, shall be subject to the approval of the National Consultative Assembly, with the exception of treaties which, for reasons of State and the public advantage, must be kept secret.

Art. 25. State loans, under whatever title, whether internal or external, must be contracted only with the cognizance and approval of the National Consultative Assembly.

Art. 26. The construction of railroads or chausses, whether at the expense of the Government, or of any Company, whether Persian or foreign, depends on the approval of the National Consultative Assembly."[25]

These economic restrictions upon both the Shah and foreign companies exposed the pragmatism behind the Constitutional Revolution. Their focus on railroads, natural resources, and especially the detailed mentions of concessions and loans illustrated the Iranian peoples' concerns with the Qajars more perfectly than any intellectual treatise or theological sermon ever could have. The rest of the Constitution is mostly foundational verbiage concerning the policies of the *Majlis*, the Ministry, and other such day-to-day concerns. What is remarkably important to note, as well, is the

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[25] Majlis. *Iranian Constitution of 1906 and The Supplementary Fundamental Laws of October 7, 1907*.

continuing reinforcement of the Shah's authority, with phrases similar to "His Imperial and Most Sacred Majesty" being very common. This validates the fact that the Constitutional Revolution was far more reformative than revolutionary. There was no true rejection of monarchy, but rather an inquisition of its intrusions into personal and national rights.

Interestingly enough, there is little mention of Shi'ism, general Islam, or any other sort of religious structure in the 1906 Constitution. Apart from the initial dedication of "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Forgiving"[26] and the numerous mentions of the Shah's rule being "Most Sacred" there is no further mention of the divine. Most strangely, there is absolutely no mention of the *ulama*. That would change drastically upon the ratification of the Supplementary Fundamental Laws of October 7th, 1907.

The initial constitution of 1906, due to the brevity of its birth and the driving economic concerns it had to address as quickly as possible, was a barebones document. Especially considering the Western, secular, nature of its Belgian inspiration, it did not truly fulfill the beliefs and concerns of the overwhelmingly Shi'i Iranian populace. However, due to different views of theological technicalities by several leading *ayatollahs* amongst the *ulama* it took almost a year to come to a consensus over the new content the supplement would include.

The Supplementary Fundamental Laws they finally agreed upon were just that, supplementary. Rather than modifying the nearly completely secular constitution, it provided a sort of Islamic bandage to the document, along with clarifying several murky points and rectifying a few grave omissions. Its first article proclaimed "The official religion of Persia is Islam, according to the orthodox Ja'fari doctrine of the Ithna 'Ashariyya (Twelve Imams), which faith the Shah of Persia must profess and promote."[27] It continued on in such religious fashion, and established more legal oversight positions for the ulama. This nod to their role in the

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[26] Majlis. *Iranian Constitution of 1906 and The Supplementary Fundamental Laws of October 7, 1907.*
[27] Majlis. *Iranian Constitution of 1906 and The Supplementary Fundamental Laws of October 7, 1907.*

mobilization of the populace during the revolution was expected and, apart from several members of the intelligentsia, went unprotested.

Another addition introduced by the supplement was a clause enforcing the inflexibility of Iran's borders. Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet writes,

> Qajar Iran failed to produce a Turnerian thesis to frame its frontier experience. Still, the preoccupation with land and borders profoundly affected Iranian politics even if this phenomenon did not generate an official doctrine. By delineating the country's frontiers, Iranians attached new connotations to the territorial space to which they belonged and popularized political allegories that encapsulated their frontier drama.[28]

This complete reversal of Turner's frontier thesis[29] is an excellent way to explain both the lack of regicidal rhetoric in the Constitutional Revolution and its overall speedy mobilization. If Turner's thesis were correct, the centralization of the constitutionalists would indicate a lessened degree of individualism, placing them in an ideal mindset for organization. Furthermore, the Turner thesis would state that, due to the frontier's remote presence in their lives, the constitutionalists would be among the least democratically minded individuals in the nation. While that assertion may seem odd, it does help to explain the overall lack of any demands for the removal of the Shah.

Similarly, the supplement introduced many more addendums directly learned from the revolution, such as protecting the privacy of telegraphic correspondence and forbidding the

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[28] Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, *Frontier Fictions: Shaping the Iranian Nation, 1804-1946* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 102.

[29] The idea that the expanding American frontier fostered individualism, and, consequently, those who lived on the frontier were the most democratic of all Americans.

presence of foreign troops in the Shah's service[30]. The only odd spot in the document was the presence of article 6, which declared "The lives and property of foreign subjects residing on Persian soil are guaranteed and protected, save in such contingences as the laws of the land except."[31] This is an understandable addition, however, when one considers the tenuous position the new constitutional government held on the world stage. Any violent actions taken against foreign diplomats could upset the balance and lead to either an invasion or an Imperial financed/supported coup attempt. A clause protecting such foreigners was, therefore, necessary.

That symbolic statement of respect would mean little however, as, British and Russian diplomats signed the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 on August 31st. This new Anglo-Russian Entente was formed for several reasons. Primarily, it was a response to an increasingly powerful German Empire. It was clear that the Germans were becoming a serious threat to both Russian and British interests, and it was even more evident that needing to watch their Central Asian frontiers would prove to be a major hindrance to both powers in the event of a European conflict.

The Iranian Constitutional Revolution troubled Russia and Britain to a far lesser degree. But it was still another catalyst in the push for mutual control over the country. Iran, of course, not only represented a major source of potential wealth, but also, geographically, was the principal buffer between the two empires. The diplomats involved clearly understood that, because the main body of the agreement is wholly concerned with setting up the following zones:

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[30] A direct reference to the Cossack Brigade, which would not take kindly to that vilification, assaulting the Majlis in 1908 (under the Shah's orders) for a short period with artillery.
[31] Majlis. *Iranian Constitution of 1906 and The Supplementary Fundamental Laws of October 7, 1907*.
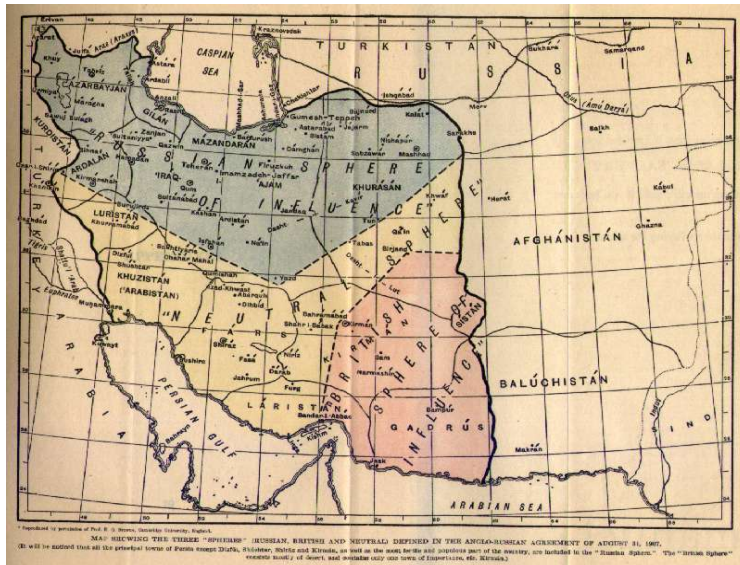
Map of the Russo-British Pact, 1907[32]

The blue belonged to Russia, the red to Britain, and the yellow would remain a neutral sector. These zones represented absolute monopoly. In both political and economic matters only the controlling power could participate. Military matters were a slightly different affair, as the document goes on to affirm

> In the event of irregularities occurring...the British and Russian Governments undertake to enter beforehand into a friendly exchange of ideas with a view to determine, in agreement with each other, the measures of control in question and to avoid all interference which would not be in conformity with the principles governing the present Agreement,[33]

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[32] Wikipedia, "The Russo-British Pact in 1907 (spheres of influence in Persia)," W. Morgan Shuster: The Strangling of Persia. New York 1912, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:The_Russo-British_Pact_in_1907.jpg (accessed December 2, 2013).

[33] Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, London, 1908, Vol. CXXV, Cmd. 3750, under "The Anglo-Russian Entente," http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/ The_Anglo-Russian_Entente (accessed November 21, 2013).

meaning that the powers would discuss any form of martial intervention before undertaking it.

Such blatantly imperialistic actions were rationalized in the agreements introduction, which avowed that it was undertaken by Russia and Britain "to respect the integrity and independence of Persia, and sincerely desiring the preservation of order throughout that country and its peaceful developmnt." [34] Obviously that statement was not indicative of their primary motives, as the simultaneous scramble for Africa and overall European arms race was far more pressing than the concerns of minor Central Asian Imperial subjects. The elimination of mutual tensions over the "Great Game" was a preparatory diplomatic stroke that set up the preliminary alliances of the First World War. Coincidentally, Anglo-Russian forces in Iran would actually undertake several campaigns against Ottoman forces during the war itself, further proving the validity of the Agreement in an overall Imperial sense.

The presence of foreign powers intervening in sovereign Iranian affairs then, was to continue. In an unfortunately bleak reality, such Imperialism would not truly vacate Iran until the Islamic Revolution of 1979, after which foreign Imperialism would be replaced with outright isolationism. That revolution could, perhaps, be viewed as a relative parallel of the Constitutional Revolution. A Shah, heavily influenced by foreign powers, ruined the nation's economy. The people, roused by the ulama and what they viewed to be violations of their individual rights, looked to leaders for radical[35] change. Once that change was achieved, foreign powers again intervened in attempts to revert it. It appears that, in Iran at least, history may indeed be cyclical, and Imperialism in the region, although drastically changed, did not die alongside Anglo-Russian tensions.

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[34] Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*.

[35] In 1906 the idea of removing any of the Shah's authority was, beyond any doubt, a radical notion indeed.

A Historiographical Analysis of Digital History

Tyler Custer

Over the last two decades, the advancement and implementation of computers in academia has transformed the way that scholars record, store, and transfer information. These functions, however, only constitute a small sample of the ways in which various professions have used computers to bolster efficiency. Technology has revolutionized the ways in which traditional methods have been approached, as well as provided a much larger pool of professional interaction. In the historical community the implementation of technology within traditional methods of information gathering and sharing has been met with zeal and, in the same instance, caution. Digital history and the digital humanities are realms in which technology has promoted rapid changes in the way that historians conduct research, and also enables peer interaction. It also provides a medium by which mass audiences can consume academic works, such as textbooks and articles. Although these examples only touch the surface of the ways in which technology is evolving the historical profession, they serve as a strong basis from which we can examine in depth the ways in which such changes have transformed the outlook for the historical profession's future.

Much of the confusion that surrounds digital history is the lack of agreement over what the true definition is. For instance, digital history encompasses elements of the storage of information, methodologies, and frameworks yet it cannot be clearly defined as either one or the other by definition. Digital history can be a means for a historian to find primary sources in an online database, save and record pertinent data to their research goals, and format their project using a multimedia program that implements mediums such as audio and video, enhancing their manuscript or presentation.

One example of this is the creation and construction of digital textbooks. In Roy Rosenzweig's, *Clio Wired: The Future of the Past in the Digital Age*, several authors write about the current models of implementation of digital history mediums, such as digital textbooks, within active learning methods for students of history. Rosenzweig's book touches upon the growing uses for educators, such as implementing digital resources into their lessons in order to enhance the learning experience of their students through active engagement.[1] In addition to detailing the processes in which digital mediums can be applied in a history classroom, Rosenzweig includes articles that also push into other avenues of exploration and concern within digital history. This includes segments detailing the use of hypertext within academic articles, whether or not access to electronic materials should be free, and the collection and consolidation of historical information online. These aspects of digital history have the historical profession debating issues regarding what these outlets and methods could mean for the discipline. For example, in 2005 historians raised questions about the unrestricted access to historical journals in lieu of the of the National Institutes of Health urging NIH funded researchers to make their peer reviewed journals available for free online.[2] Such measures made historians, many of whom receive grants from sources such as the National Endowment for the Humanities, wonder whether or not they would be forced to put their work into free public databases.

In a second article by David Berry, "The Computational Turn: Thinking about the Digital Humanities," readers are encouraged to explore how the digital humanities have revolutionized the way that knowledge is produced and transferred. Berry argues that in the beginning the digital humanities, or

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[1] Roy Rosenzweig. *Clio Wired,* p. 95.
[2] Ibid., p. 117.

"humanities computing," was seen as a largely as technical support for the "real" humanities, and that because of the ascendance from a more technical role to a recognized stratum of intellectual endeavors it began being referred to as the Digital Humanities.[3] It is this transition that sets the framework for Berry's article, which sets out to establish the digital humanities from a ground up approach by examining the technical stages of computational markup and code writing. This technical process is what gives birth to the digital humanities in the way of software loaded with content and media for users to consume the information contained within.[4] Berry argues that this process of creating and consuming information has transformed our abilities to understand information outside of traditional knowledge structures such as universities.[5] It is precisely this point that has caused a stir within the academic community as professionals approach the new technology both through its practicality and also what these mediums mean in terms of changing definition of traditional transfers of knowledge.

A third article that falls into the historiography of digital history and humanities is Lisa Spiro's, "This is Why We Fight: Defining the Values of the Digital Humanities." This article looks at the culture of the digital humanities as a community of active professional and amateur scholars coming together to create, critique, and exchange ideas within an online format. The bulk of Spiro's article concerns the creation of guidelines and core values that protect and legitimize the digital humanities community as an active producer of academia. The idea of collaboration is also a central theme within the digital humanities community. For example, Spiro argues that, rather than focusing on lowering the price of knowledge, we should embrace and recognize the importance that humanities have within a society.[6] Spiro's article provides insight into the digital humanities community as a rapidly growing arena where people can collaborate to create legitimate

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[3] David M. Berry. "The Computational Turn", p. 2.
[4] Ibid., p. 4-5.
[5] Ibid., p.5.
[6] Lisa Spiro. "This is Why We Fight", p. 25.

academic works, supported by databases of information, as well as professional insights. It is for this reason that the ethical codes and principles that govern the digital humanities communities are of the utmost importance. These guidelines will ultimately establish a framework that will catapult such communities into gaining mainstream acceptance within established academia.

The above referenced works share a common theme at the foundational level, which is chipping away at the question of what digital history and humanities mean for the future of professional discipline. Although the angles from which these articles approach the topic of digital history and humanities differ, it is important to understand that, at their core, they attempt to establish the methods and means which historians can produce academic works. Whether it is the implementation of multimedia into a textbook, hypertext links within an online article, or a community where knowledge is shared with a mass of people, it is certain that the traditional methods of attaining knowledge are in a state of change. As our class discussion asserted, this does not mean that there are not reasons for caution, because there are many areas for concern. However, the implementation of technology into the discipline of history is changing the ways in which we record and consume information. As Richard Evans asserts in his book *In Defense of History*, "History is an empirical discipline, and it is concerned with the content of knowledge rather than its nature."[7] Therefore as long as the integrity of the information that is available is critically analyzed to verify its accuracy it is a viable resource to be utilized. Evans also states that, "through the sources we use, and the methods we handle them, we can, if we are careful and thorough, approach a reconstruction of the past reality that may be partial or provisional but nevertheless true."[8] Digital history and humanities serve to make the transference and availability of information easier for a researcher to access data as well as construct their work.

One resounding issue that our discussion of digital history and humanities highlighted was the digitization of archival records

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[7] Richard J. Evans. *In Defense of History*, p. 217.
[8] Ibid., p. 217.

and their storage on electronic databases. From a personal perspective, I have had experience in helping to construct a digital archive, which there are many advantages to. However, these advantages did not offset the question of what will happen to the physical documents after they are preserved online. The high cost to store these items leaves one to wonder whether or not many of them will be kept or discarded. Furthermore, if these items are neglected or discarded, what happens if the digital archive goes out of service or becomes damaged or corrupted? These fears aside, online databases, by their own efficiency, cause researchers to miss a traditional experience that many historians cherish, which is spending time in the archives. Although this can be extremely time consuming and costly, there are rare occasions when a historian finds something new that they most likely would have never found if they had not been using traditional research methods to gather information. Nevertheless, digital history is transforming the ways that historians access information and the efficiency and financial benefits that these outlets offer are difficult to ignore.

It is clear that, in the fresh generations of historians that are formally trained in academic institutions, the implementation of digital history methods will be more widely used and available. It would be difficult to find a college level student that has not used an online database such as JSTOR or the Academic Search Premier. The current historiography of digital history and humanities is concentrated with the definition of these fields of studies, as well as their impact on the academic community as they continue to grow and evolve. Although there are legitimate apprehensions about what this could mean about the traditional methods in which knowledge is transferred, it is important to weigh these concerns against any potential benefits. As the discipline of history moves forward, there is no doubt that digital history will become further entrenched in the traditional establishments of training and information gathering, storage, and presentation.

Scotland's Pirate Havens:
Piracy in the Western Isles and Orkneys, 1590-1724

Mark Stanford

When one thinks of pirate havens, they generally think of the rowdy, chaotic wharves and streets in the maritime peripheries of Tortuga, Port Royal, Barataria Bay, or Madagascar, where pirates caroused and spent their plunder on women and drink, an image that idea. However, these four locales were hardly unique in the early modern Atlantic. Government officials routinely complained about "nests of pirates" and illicit maritime activities in New York, Charles Town and Newport.[1] This included regions without large ports, such as Virginia, where "a nest of [maritime] rogues" could operate.[2] Nevertheless, even with the recent renewal of maritime history and the increasing interest in pirates and their illicit activities, piracy in the Scottish Highlands has received little scholarly attention.[3]

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[1] Mark Hanna, "The pirates' nest: the impact of piracy on Newport, Rhode Island, and Charles Town, South Carolina, 1670-1740," Ph. D. diss., Harvard University (2005), 216; Douglas R. Burgess, Jr., "A Crisis of Charter and Right: Piracy and Colonial Resistance in Seventeenth-Century Rhode Island," *Journal of Social History* (Spring 2012), 610, 612.

[2] George Francis Dow and John Henry Edmonds, *The Pirates of the New England Coast,* (New York: Dover Publications, 1996), 21.

[3] Nathan Perl-Rosenthal, "Generational Turns," *Ameircan Historical Review,* Vol. 117, no. 3 (Jun., 2012), 806.

The Scottish Highlands, especially the Western Isles and the Orkneys, fit the characteristics of a pirate haven perfectly.[4] The Western Isles and the Orkneys were located on the periphery of Scotland that had little or no central governmental control; it was an area difficult to navigate and it was easy to hide from authorities among the hundreds of crowded islands, hidden inlets, and bays. It had a native population that was tolerant of, and directly or indireclty involved with, piracy. This essay will show that the Western Isles and the Orkneys were used as pirate havens for an extended period through use of three examples of piracy in the area: Ruairi an Tartair and the MacNeils of Barra, Neil MacLeod, the MacLeods of Lewis and Captain Peter Love, and Captain John Gow.

By 1550, piracy in the area of the Western Isles and the Orkneys had become so prevalent that it caused problems for several European countries. In a letter written to the Queen Dowager of Hungary and Regent of the Low Countries, Ambassador M. d'Eecke warned that something must be done with the pirates in the area who were attacking Dutch fishing vessels since "our people are unable to fish for herring and larger fish except in Scottish waters."[5] Ambassador d'Eecke claimed that the pirates were "wild Irish" and warned, "that the Scots and Irish will join forces...and the inhabitants of the Hebrides [Western Isles] and Orcades [Orkneys], though subjects of the crown of Scotland, often rebel and prey upon all comers."[6] The MacNeils of Barra were the most celebrated of the "inhabitants of the Hebrides" that d'Eecke warned against.

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[4] The Western Isles are part of the chain of islands off the northwestern coast of mainland Scotland called the Outer Hebrides; The Orkneys are the chain of islands off the northern coast of mainland Scotland.

[5] Royall Tyler (editor), "Spain: July 30, 1550," Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Vol. 10: 1550-1552. *British History Online*, http://www.british-history. ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88408&strquery=Hebrides pirates (accessed Feb. 19, 2014).

[6] Ibid.

The MacNeils of Barra were the most famous of the Isle pirates, renowned as skilled seamen who "subsisted largely on the plunder which they took at sea, and which they carried off on their predatory excursions into the territories of those neighbouring clans on the mainland."[7] The MacNeils turned to piracy out of necessity. With poor agriculture on Barra the MacNeils needed a way to supplement their income, and piracy provided the ideal supplement.[8] This type of "opportunistic piracy" was not unique to the MacNeils of Barra. During the same time period the Irish O'Malleys and O'Flahertys, under the leadership of Grainne O' Malley, were supplementing their own struggling, local economies in a similar way.[9] In the late sixteenth-century, as Grainne O' Malley terrorized shipping along the coast of Connacht, the MacNeils of Barra's most famous Chieftain, Ruairi the Turbulent, came into power. Ruairi the Turbulent was a notorious pirate who attacked any ship that sailed close to Barra, regardless of nationality. He was an extremely successful pirate whose cellars were full of fine wines, "and it is supposed that in his stables he kept three pairs of black steeds, whose shoes were made of the gold which he derived from melting down the precious ornaments captured on the high seas."[10] While golden horseshoes are likely just a legend, the fact that such legends exist is evidence that Ruairi did have a reputation for success. Ruairi's success, especially against English shipping, was so great that complaints reached the ear of Queen Elizabeth in London. Queen Elizabeth offered a reward for the capture of Ruairi and sent official complaints to King James VI of Scotland, who summoned Ruairi to Edinburgh to face charges of piracy.[11] Ruairi, however, ignored the summons and continued his piracy.

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[7] Alasdair Alpin MacGregor, "Hebridean Pirates," in *Behold the Hebrides*, (London: W. & R. Chambers, 1925), http://www.electric scotland.com/books/ hebrides2.htm. (accessed Feb. 19, 2014).

[8] Ibid.

[9] John C. Appleby, "Women and Piracy in Ireland: From Grainne O' Malley to Anne Bonny," in *Bandits at Sea A Pirates Reader*, ed. C.R. Pennel (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 285.

[10] MacGregor, "Hebridean Pirates."

[11] Ibid.

What allowed Ruairi and the MacNeils of Barra to defy the governments of both England and Scotland? The answer lies with the Island of Barra itself. Barra was a perfect pirate haven. The island was located in an area of Scotland that had almost no central governmental control. The government in Edinburgh was content with the local Highland chieftains ruling their Clans as they saw fit. The inhabitants of Barra were all active participants in piracy and loyal to Ruairi, who was their clan's chieftain. The final advantage Ruairi held was his stronghold Kisimul Castle, or "Caisteal Chiosmuil", which is Gaelic for the "castle of the rock of the small bay" (see image below).[12] Martin Martin traveled through the Western Isles in the early eighteenth-century, and provided a description of Kisimul Castle, which had changed little since the time of Ruairi an Tartair: "The little Island of lies about a quarter of a mile from the South of this Isle [Barra]...there is a stone wall round it two stories high, reaching the sea, and within the Wall there is an old Tower and a Hall, with other houses about it."[13]

Kisimul Castle was nearly impenetrable. However, Mackenzie Tutor of Kintail captured Ruari, not through an act of arms, but through trickery. Mackenzie sailed to Kisimul Castle pretending friendship and invited Ruairi onto his ship, while on the ship Mackenzie got Ruairi drunk and captured him.[14] He was taken to Edinburgh and tried on charges of piracy against English shipping. In response to these charges, Ruairi claimed he attacked

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[12] "Kisimul Castle," *Historic Scotland*, http://www.historic-scotland. gov.uk/index/places/propertyresults/propertyabout.htm?PropID=PL_189&Prop Name=Kisimul%20Castle (accessed Apr. __, 2013).

[13] Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (London: 1703), 91. http://archive.org/details/descriptionofwes00mart (accessed April, 2013).

[14] Thomas Maclauchlan, and John Wilson, *A History of the Scottish Highlands, Highland Clans and Highland Regiments* (Edinburgh: Fullarton, 1875), 164. http://books.google.com/books?id= C1gJAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA164&lpg=PA164&dq=Ruari+%E2%80%98the+Turb ulent%E2%80%99&source=bl&ots=cQ6xSR0Nba&sig=Xoei3bPHumhLp4wP QdAxf_unik&hl=en&sa=X&ei=mr99UbzwJKXP2QXXjIGYCA&ved=0CEw Q6AEwBg#v=onepage&q=Ruari%20%E2%80%98the%20Turbulent%E2%80% 99&f=false (accessed Apr. __, 2013).

the English ships because "he thought himself bound by his loyalty to avenge, by every means in his power, the fate of his majesty's mother [Mary Queen of Scots], so cruelly put to death by the queen of England."[15] It is difficult to say if this was the reason why Ruairi attacked English shipping, since he attacked ships of all nationalities, even fellow Scots. Despite the thinness of Ruairi's defense, it convinced James VI, who pardoned Ruairi, but still confiscated his land and gave it to Mackenzie Tutor of Kintail. Despite receiving a royal pardon, Ruairi and the MacNeils of Barra returned to pirating, although never to the scale before Ruairi's capture, as Mackenzie allowed Ruairi to keep his land if he paid a yearly duty.[16] Ruiari's disobedience was a clear indication of the limits of governmental power to control piracy. Similarly to the early eighteenth century when the central government offered pardons to pirates operating off of Rhode Island, the pardons granted Ruiari and the MacNeils of Barra the ability to re-engage in illicit activities.[17]

The MacLeods of Lewis, under their Chieftain Neil MacLeod, also took part in piracy of opportunity, but never on such a grand stage as Ruairi and the MacNeils of Barra. The MacLeods, however, were driven to more extreme forms of piracy by the Scottish government. In the 1590s, with Queens Elizabeth's death imminent and James VI as the top contender for the thrown, James decided to unify his own country, which was split into the Gaelic Highlands and Lowland Scots, before taking the thrown of England. James VI had long thought of his Highland subjects with scorn, describing them in his *Basilikon Doron* (1598):

> As for the Highlands, I shortly comprehend them all
> in two sorts of people: the one that dwelleth in our
> main land, that are barbarous for the most part, and

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[15] Ibid., 164.

[16] Maclauchlan, *A History of the Scottish Highlands*, 164.

[17] Pardons granted by officers of HMS *Phoenix* in 1718, which were received with "a great deal of Joy" by pirates off Rhode Island did not stop some of the men from proceeding to go "in a boat to the westward with a designing to go a pirating again." HMS *Phoenix*, Muster Roll, 1714-1739, The National Archives, Kew, United Kingdom, ADM 51/690.

yet mixed with some show of civility; the other, that dwelleth in the Isles, that are utterly barbarous, without any sort of show of civility.[18]

He decided on a plan to eradicate Highland Gaelic culture through colonizing the Isles with Lowland Scots, and the place that was chosen for a pilot test was the Isle of Lewis.[19]

In 1597, Parliament passed an act that leased the island to a group of Lowland Scots under the Duke of Lennox called the Fife Adventurers. They were given the authority for "'slaughter, mutilation, fire-raising or other inconveniences'—anything necessary to 'root out the barbarous inhabitants.'"[20] However, the "barbarous inhabitants", the MacLeods of Lewis, were not so easily dislodged from their homes. The MacLeods, under the leadership of Neil MacLeod, constantly harassed and attacked the colonists, besieging them in their fortified settlements, forcing them to rely on supply shipments from the mainland.[21] This struggle lasted for several years and in 1609, it ended with failure for the Fife Adventurers. Throughout the struggle for possession, Lewis Neil and the MacLeods turned to a focused piracy from their stronghold of Berisay of the western coast of Lewis, constantly attacking the supply ships attempting to reach the colonists.[22] It was during this time that the English pirate, Captain Peter Love and his crew of "wicked Impes of the Devill", arrived on the island.[23] Love and his ship the *Priam* had recently escaped capture off the coast of Ireland and were carrying a rich cargo "consisting of cinnamon, ginger,

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[18] Magnus Magnusson, *Scotland: The Story of a Nation* (New York: Grove Press, 2000), 406.

[19] Ibid., 406.

[20] Ibid., 407.

[21] Alasdair Alpin MacGregor, "The Fife Adventurers," in *Behold the Hebrides*, (London: W. & R. Chambers, 1925). http://www.electric scotland.com /books/hebrides15.htm (accessed Feb. 19, 2014).

[22] Ibid.

[23] Robert Pitcairn. *Criminal Trials in Scotland, from A.D. M.CCCC.LXXXVIII to A.D. M.DC.XXIV, Embracing the Entire Reigns of James IV. and V., Mary Queen of Scots and James VI* (Edinburgh: 1833), 100. http://archive.org/details/ criminaltrialsin03bann (accessed Feb. 19, 2014).

pepper, cochineal, sugar, 700 Indian hides, and twenty pieces of silver plate...a remarkable box, containing various precious stones of great value," and "a large number of muskets."[24] Neil and the MacLeods were quick to make a mutually beneficial alliance with Love. Neil provided Love and his crew a safe haven, a place for re-provision, and a place to sell their goods, while Love provided the MacLeods a well armed ship to help harass the colonists and goods to buy. The alliance was a weak one based solely on mutual benefit and Neil MacLeod soon believed that Love would benefit him more as a gesture of good faith to the authorities. Neil invited Captain Love and part of his crew to a banquet and while they were feasting, Neil's men captured the *Priam* from the remaining crew. After a brief fight, Love and his remaining crew were captured. [25] Neil sent Love and his captured crew to Edinburgh in hopes of receiving a pardon for himself.[26] Captain Love and nine of his crew were tried and found guilty of piracy and sentenced to be "taken to the Gibbet on the Sands of the Leith...and their be hanged until they be dead."[27] Neil MacLeod failed to get his pardon, and after several years of evading the authorities he was captured, tried, and hanged at the Market Cross in Edinburgh in 1613.[28]

The last major pirate to use the Western Isles and the Orkneys as a haven was Captain John Gow, whose life was described in *A General History of Pirates*. Gow was a native of the Orkneys born in Cariston around 1694 and "had used the Sea many years, Sometimes in Men of War, and Sometimes in Merchant Ships."[29] According to Marcus Rediker, "there were two

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[24] William Cook Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides : (Lewis, Harris, North and South Uist, Benbecula, and Barra)* (London : Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1903), 249. http://archive.org/details/historyof outerhe00mackuoft (accessed Feb. 19, 2014).

[25] Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 250.

[26] Alasdair Alpin MacGregor, "The Pirate's Last Stand," in *Behold the Hebrides*, (London: W. & R. Chambers, 1925). http://www. electricscotland.com/ books/hebrides15.htm (accessed Feb. 19, 2014).

[27] Pitcairn. *Criminal Trials in Scotland*, 101.

[28] Alpin MacGregor, "The Pirate's Last Stand."

[29] Daniel Defoe, *A General History of the Pyrates*, ed. by Manuel Schonhorn (New York: Dover Publications, 1999), 358.

fundamental ways of becoming a pirate;" the most common way was for a man to volunteer after his ship had been captured by pirates, the less common way was by mutiny.[30] John Gow was one of the few that turned to piracy through a mutiny. In 1725, John Gow led his ship's crew in a mutiny against their captain because the crew believed their food allowance was insufficient. The mutineers slit the throats of the "surgeon, chief mate, and supercargo…while they where sleeping;" the captain was then attacked by two crewmembers, who cut his throat and stabbed him in the back. The captain was killed when Gow "fired a brace of balls into the captain's body.[31] Following the mutiny, Gow was declared captain and renamed the ship *Revenge* and turned to piracy. After sailing for several years, it was decided by Gow and his crew to return to the Orkneys. According to Defoe, this was because Gow had been courting "a young Gentlewoman" whose father had promised he could marry her when he "could obtain to be Master of a Ship."[32] However, this appeared as an artistic creation of Defoe's as the account given in the *Newgate Calender* made no mention of a love interest. Instead, it proposed that Gow suggested to his crew that "they might dispose of their effects, and retire, and live on the produce," and that they might plunder "the houses of the gentlemen residing near the sea-coast."[33]

After arriving in Orkney the pirates spent a short time acting as innocent merchants, and according to *A General History of Pirates*, Gow spent his time courting his love interest. The farce was uncovered after several of the crewmen who were forced to join escaped to shore and revealed the pirates to the authorities.[34] The story after the pirates' discovery, told by both in *A General History*

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[30] Marcus Rediker, *Villains of All Nations Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004), 46-47.

[31] William Jackson, *The New and Complete Newgate Calendar…Containing … Narratives …of the Various Executions and Other Exemplary Punishments…in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, from the Year 1700 to the Present Time*, (London: 1795), 182-184.

[32] Defoe, *A General History of the Pyrates*, 363.

[33] Jackson, *The New and Complete Newgate Calendar*, 191-192.

[34] Ibid., 193-194.

of Pirates and the *Newgate Calender,* agree for the most part. Instead of fleeing, Gow decided to plunder the "house of Mr. Honeyman the high sheriff of the county," the pirates looted the house taking "linen, plate, and other valuable articles" and forced a bagpiper to play in front of them as they returned to the ship.[35] Then, the pirates attempted to plunder the house of a Mr. Fea, but Fea was prepared and captured the men sent to shore, destroyed their boat, and raised the island against the pirates. While Gow was waiting on his ship a storm blew in and the ship ran aground. Without an escape boat, he was forced to surrender to Fea.[36] Gow and his crew were taken to Edinburgh, tried and Gow and seven of his crew were found guilty and sentenced to death, while the rest of the crew was acquitted on the terms that they had been forced to become pirates. Gow and his crewmen were hanged on 11 August, 1729.[37]

The Western Isles and the Orkneys fit the characteristics of a pirate haven perfectly. They were located on the periphery in an area of Scotland that had little or no central governmental control. This allowed men such as Ruairi MacNeil and Neil MacLeod to thrive and support their clans through acts of piracy with little threat of government intervention. However, that periphery began to disappear by the 1720s when Captain John Gow arrived. They were in an area difficult to navigate and easy to hide from authorities within the hundreds of crowded islands, hidden inlets, and bays. This was the reason both Captain Love and Gow sought shelter there. Finally, they had a native population that was tolerant of, directly involved with, or indirectly involved with piracy. This native population of the Isles was beneficial to Ruairi MacNeil, Neil MacLeod, and for a short time Captain Love, since they directly benefited from the piracy. However, the local population was no longer as friendly toward piracy when Captain Gow arrived, as the benefits of supporting piracy had diminished.

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[35] Ibid., 194-195.
[36] Ibid., 196-198.
[37] Ibid., 203-204.

Sparing the "Angel of the House": Why Victorian Men Used Prostitutes to Avoid Sin

Megan Kessler

Not many Victorians graced an Anglican pew with their presence on the average Sabbath. The census of 1851 estimated that a mere seventeen percent of the English population regularly attended services conducted by the Church of England.[1] Still, it is evident that the influence of Anglicanism stretched across the population. To Victorians, the teachings of the Church provided a moral compass to follow. In *The English Churches in a Secular Society,* Jeffery Cox states: "Society would fall apart without morality, morality was impossible without religion, and religion would disappear without the churches."[2] Morality, based on the teachings of the Church, was central in Victorian society. The importance of religious morality had effects on the sphere of marriage. The Church of England taught that marital relations were only for reproduction and that recreational and fulfilling sex with one's wife was sinful. For this reason, Victorian men often used prostitutes to fulfill their carnal desires. To understand this phenomenon, I will focus my research on the newly-emerged working class, primarily in London. By looking at expectations of sexual morality, the institution of marriage, and the rise in levels of

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[1] Census of Great Britian, 1851. Quoted in 1851 Religious Census, "General Information," Frances Coakley. http://www.isle-of-man.com/manxnotebook /methdism/rc1851/rc_gb.htm (accessed November 22, 2013).
[2] Jeffery Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society: Lambeth, 1870-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 4.

prostitution in this era, the use of prostitutes by married men can be explained.

The Bible and the Book of Common Prayer were the primary sources of religious literary authority for Anglicans. The Bible contains the Christian principles about sin, salvation, and moral guidance, while the Prayer-Book is a manual containing public devotions, prayers, and creeds. Additionally, the Book of Common Prayer connected daily conduct with spirituality.[3] These works created guidelines by which the Church of England based their views on religious morality.

There are multiple excerpts from the Bible that define sexual morality. For example, chapter four of Thessalonians states: "For this is the will of God, even your sanctification, that ye should abstain from fornication: That every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour; Not in the lust of concupiscence, even as the Gentiles which know not God." [4] Also, in chapter three of Colossians, the Bible reads: "Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth; fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which is idolatry."[5] From these verses, and multiple others, we can see that characteristics like passion, desire, and lust were considered "earthly"—things not from God. In the Book of Common Prayer, vows to be used during a baptism are recorded. One of these vows is to abstain from "sinful lusts" and sins of the flesh. [6] To be moral, God's people should practice self-control and not participate in actions that are rooted in passion. Based on these passages, it is reasonable to assume that prostitution was also considered a sin. Proverbs chapter five says:

> Drink waters out of thine own cistern, and running
> waters out of thine own well. Let thy fountains be
> dispersed abroad, and rivers of waters in the streets.

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[3] Book of Common Prayer, 1854, quoted in Evan Daniel, *The Prayer Book: Its History, Language, and Contents* (Redhill: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., LTD, 1948), xi.

[4] Thes. 4:3-5 (King James Version).

[5] Colo. 3:5 (King James Version).

[6] Book of Common Prayer, 1854, quoted in Daniel, *The Prayer Book*, 416.

> Let them be only thine own, and not strangers' with thee. Let thy fountain be blessed: and rejoice with the wife of thy youth. Let her be as the loving hind and pleasant roe; let her breasts satisfy thee at all times; and be thou ravished always with her love. And why wilt thou, my son, be ravished with a strange woman, and embrace the bosom of a stranger?[7]

It may seem illogical to participate in one sin to avoid another, but to Victorians, using a prostitute to fulfill their less than holy desires was a lesser evil than despoiling one's wife.[8] This can be explained by looking at the institution of Victorian marriage.

Marriage in the Victorian era revolved around religion, proper roles of men and women, and reproduction. Religion caused men to view their wives as "angel[s] in the house" because of their central role in spiritual life and lack of immoral urges.[9] Some Victorians argued that a "virtuous" woman had little or no feelings of desire.[10] In the Prayer-Book, one appeal to the heavens during a marriage ceremony is that a wife will be "amiable to her husband as Rachel, wise as Rebecca, faithful and obedient as Sara."[11] Wives were likened to biblical figures because of their supposed sexual morality. Wedding ceremonies described in the Book of Common Prayer also show how women were placed on a moral pedestal in marriage. When placing the wedding band on the finger of their bride, men would say: "With this rynge I the wed, and this gold and

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[7] Prov. 5:15-20 (King James Version).

[8] Another immorality described in the Bible was masturbation. In Corinthians 6:18, it states: "Flee fornication. Every sin that a man doeth is without the body; but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body." While brazen anonymous poetic statements like "...some in corners could make themselves a heaven" were made, masturbation was seen as religiously immoral and men often considered prostitution a more acceptable choice than masturbation. Cor 6:18 (King James Version).

[9] Erna Olafson Hellerstein, *Victorian Women: A Documentary Account of Women's Lives in Nineteenth Century England, France, and the United States* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981), 288.

[10] Reay Tannahill, *Sex in History* (Briarcliff Manor: Stein and Day Publishers, 1980), 356.

[11] *Book of Common Prayer*, 1854, quoted in Daniel, *The Prayer-Book,* 496.

siluer I the geue, and with my body I the worshipe, and with all my wordely cathel I the endowe.[12] By marrying, a man vows to worship his wife with his body. This can be interpreted as a man respecting his wife while participating in his husbandly duties.

Marriage was an institution of the Church, and Anglicans believed that a holy marriage should follow the teachings of religious morality. Men however, were expected to display feelings of lust and passion, all thanks to original sin. When Adam and Eve ate the fruit from the tree of knowledge, feelings of the flesh entered the world—feelings that a common man could not resist without risk to his health. [13] Still, husbands knew that lust went against religious morality, and to inflict religious immorality on a holy wife was sinful. In a young man's letter to his fiancé, he described how he felt "criminal" when he confessed his love for her, because he could not bear to think of a respectable women in such a lustful way. [14] To fulfill their carnal urges without despoiling their wives, men turned to prostitutes.

Roles of men and women in a Christian marriage also impacted how men viewed their wives. In Ephesians 5:22-23, the biblical role of the man is described: "Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church: and he is the saviour of the body."[15] Religious morality stated that wives were inferior to their husbands. In Alfred Tennyson's *The Princess*, we see how natural this was for society:

> Man for the field and woman for the hearth:
> Man for the sword and for the needle she:
> Man with the head and woman with the heart:
> Man to command and woman to obey:
> All else confusion. [16]

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[12] *Book of Common Prayer*, 1854, quoted in Daniel, *The Prayer Book,494.*

[13] Ibid.

[14] Emilio and Freeman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 127-29, quoted in Coontz, *Marriage, a History*, 189-90.

[15] Eph. 5:22-23 (English Standard Version).

[16] Alfred Tennyson, *The Princess: A Medley* (London, Edward Moxton, 1849), part V, lines 427-31, quoted in Hellerstein, *Victorian Women*, 118.

The understanding that men were to be one way and women another was so engrained in society, that everything else seemed to be confusing when compared to it. In a book titled *Domestic Habits of the Women of England*, published in 1846, author Sarah Stickney Ellis asserts that "In her intercourse with a man, it is impossible but that woman should feel her own inferiority, and it is right that it should be so...she does not meet him on equal terms." [17]

Due to this separation of spheres, married couples found it difficult to share their deepest feelings and aspirations with each other. [18] In fact, the idea of a marriage formed around loving tenderness or equality in conversation was ridiculous. [19] This inequality in marriage would sometimes cause couples to fail to connect. In *When Passion Reigned,* author Patricia Anderson describes how wives would refuse or avoid relations with a husband, "as a way of control in a relationship in which she felt otherwise powerless." [20] Men who were denied by their wives could experience symptoms of sexual frustration: irritability, chronic pain, and depression. [21] Gender roles prescribed by the Church created a failure to bond and a power struggle that could cause men to seek other avenues of pleasurable fulfillment, like prostitution.

Marriage also centered on the purpose of reproduction. For Victorians who adhered to the teaching of the Church of England, reproduction was the only reason to engage in the practice of intercourse. [22] Some more radical Victorians thought that any husband who participated in relations with his wife not for purposes of reproduction was making his wife his own private prostitute.[23] Even some doctors believed that women did not enjoy

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[17] Sarah Stickney Ellis, *Domestic Habits of the Women of England* (London, Fisher, Son and Co., 1846), quoted in Micheal Brander, *The Victorian Gentleman* (London: Gordon Cremonesi Publishers, 1975), 117.

[18] Coontz, *Marriage, a History*, 188.

[19] Dagmar Hertzog, *Sexuality in Europe: A Twentieth-Century History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 53.

[20] Patricia Anderson, *When Passion Reigned: Sex and the Victorians* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), 129.

[21] Anderson, *When Passion Reigned,* 129

[22] Tannahill, *Sex in History*, 355.

[23] Ibid.

being subjected to sex. William Acton, British gynecologist, wrote that a "Victorian woman submits to her husband's embraces, but principally to gratify him, and were it not for the desire of maternity, would far rather be relieved from his attentions." [24] Also, religious authority banned sex during menstruation and also during pregnancy and sometime thereafter. [25] Considering that the average middle class family had six children in 1871, married men had to remain celibate for around six of the first twelve years of marriage.[26] Prostitution offered an outlet to which a sexually frustrated husband could turn. An 1888 issue of *The Times* describes the judicial response to a restaurant acting as an undercover brothel. In the article, relations with a prostitute were repeatedly referred to as "refreshment."[27] Engaging in sexual activity with a fallen woman was seen as a rejuvenating experience. Using prostitutes was seen as a positive practice because it prevented men from indulging in sexual sins with their wives.

Religious morality was the cause of men using "fallen women," which by extension caused an increase in prostitutes as an effect. Levels of prostitution were rising due to the demand of prostitutes, which partially stemmed from men needing a religiously moral way to fulfill their sexual needs.

Due to the nature of the profession, information about the exact number of prostitutes in the Victorian age varies. Two years after the crowning of Queen Victoria, the chief of the London Metropolitan police reported that only 7,000 prostitutes resided

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[24]William Acton, *The Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs in Youth, in Adult Age, and in Advanced Life. Considered in their Physiological, Social, and Psychological Relations* (London: John Churchill, 1857), quoted in Pearson, *The Worm in the Bud*, 358.

[25] Menstruation was seen as a mental condition as well as a physical condition in the Victorian era. In an interesting side note, as late as 1878, the *British Medical Journal* ran a six month correspondence on whether a menstruating woman could turn a ham rancid with a touch.

[26] Tannahill, *Sex in History*, 355.

[27] At Marlborough Street, *The Times [London]*, March 31, 1888. http://infotrac.galegroup.com/itw/infomark/980/568/17983859w16/purl=rc1_TTDA_0_CS52051585&dyn=3!xrn_2_0_CS52051585&hst_2?sw_aep=uiuc_eiu2.

and worked in London. [28] The same year, however, the Society for the Suppression of the Vice claimed that the actual number of prostitutes in London was upwards of 80,000. [29] Historians understand that the different agendas of these two organizations greatly influence their numbers, and estimate the actual number of prostitutes in London somewhere around 50,000.[30] There is no doubt that prostitution was fully engrained in Victorian society.

Although the inexact figures make it unclear whether levels of prostitution were definitely rising or falling, it is evident that citizens thought that there were more prostitutes than ever before. [31] Multiple articles were published in *The Times* that condemned or commented on the rise in prostitution and venereal disease spread by prostitutes. [32] At a 1858 meeting concerning the issue of prostitution in London, the following statement was made:

> That this meeting views with the upmost concern the condition of Haymarket, Coventry-street, Begent-street, and other adjoining streets, in which prostitution is carried on to an extent and with a degree of publicity and shamelessness unparalleled in any capitol of Europe, and, it is believed, of the civilized world. [33]

Additionally, *The Times* published a letter to the editor in 1862, which talked about the ease of participating in prostitution in a garrison town, and how heightened levels of prostitution caused outbreaks of venereal disease among soldiers. [34]

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[28] Ibid., 352

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid., 357

[31] Martha Vinicius, ed., *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), 82.

[32] Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 14.

[33] "Prostitution in the Metropolis" *The Times [London]*, January 4, 1898, http://infotrac.galegroup.com/itw/infomark/207/16/16210622w16/purl=rc1_T TDA_0_CS67932708&dyn=3!xrn_5_0_CS67932708&hst_1?sw_aep=uiuc_eiu 2.

[34] "Vice and Disease in Garrison Town" *The Times [London]*, April 11, 1862, http://infotrac.galegroup.com/itw/infomark/546/7/16236706w16/purl=rc1_T

Today, prostitution has the connotation of an institution of sex slavery. Besides a few anomalies, this was not the case in Victorian London. Most of the time, a woman's transition into prostitution was due to circumstance, rather than coercion. Struggling women knew that there was a demand for prostitutes, and that they could be financially successful in cities like London. In a memoir, a London prostitute called Sal recalls her entry into the business:

> I was a servant gal away in Birmingham. I got tired of workin' and slavin' to make a living, and getting a...bad one at that; what o' five pun' a year and yer grub, I'd sooner starve, I would. After a bit I went to Coventry, cut brummagem, as we calls in in those parts, and took up with soldiers, as was quartered there. I soon got tired of them. Soldiers is good—soldiers is—to walk with and that, but they don't pay; cos why they ain't got no money; so I says to myself, I'll go to Lunnon and I did. I soon found my level there. [35]

Sal displays the mindset of many women in the era. Employment opportunities for disadvantaged women were scarce and paid poorly. Although the rise of industrialism created factory jobs, women found that they could have better pay with fewer hours by offering sex for money. [36]

Women becoming prostitutes can be attributed to the need for better income, but supply does not dictate demand. The demand was created as men sought to follow the religiously moral principles of the Church. Married men, who needed an outlet for their less than holy desires, frequented prostitutes as not to despoil

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eiu2.

[35] "Swindling Sal," quoted in Bracebridge Hemyng, "Prostitution in London," in *London Labour and the London Poor,*ed. Henry Mayhew (rpt., New York, 1968), IV, 223, quoted in *Judith* Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*: *Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 13.
[36] Erna Olafson Hellerstein *Victorian Women: A Documentary Account of Women's Lives in Nineteenth Centruy England, France, and the United States* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981), 288.

their wives. The increasing number of prostitutes in Victorian cities can be attributed to the demand for less sinful relations by men who practiced the guidelines of religious morality.

In a society where the Church of England determined morality, it does not seem logical to use prostitutes in order to remain religiously moral. However, the teachings of Christianity and the institution of marriage created the need for men to use prostitutes in the Victorian era. The Bible and the Book of Common Prayer contain clear scripture prohibiting sexual appetite. Still, men were expected to have carnal desires. Wives were placed on a pedestal of sexual morality. Rather than subjecting a wife to sexual sin, men satisfied their fleshly yearnings by engaging in relations with prostitutes. The religious institution of marriage only exacerbated the use of prostitutes. While women were placed high on the scale of sexual morality, they were below men in all other aspects of society. The Bible placed the man at the head of the household, superior to a wife. This sometimes created marriages where men and women failed to connect. An estranged marriage could further prohibit enjoyable relations with a wife, causing a man to turn to prostitution. Additionally, the Church of England placed chastity requirements around menstruation and pregnancy. For extended periods of time, men had no other sexual outlet except prostitutes. Citizens of Victorian London were in an uproar about the increase of fallen women and the supposed heightening levels of venereal diseases. Many women became prostitutes out of circumstance, but sexual morality based on religious teachings created the demand for illicit sex. By examining sexual expectations of the Church of England, the holy institution of marriage, and the resulting rise in levels of prostitution, we can begin to understand that sexual morality based on religion caused married men to use prostitutes for carnal fulfillment in the Victorian era.

Black Pirates in the Golden Age of Piracy: Men Seeking Escape and Transformation

Taylor Yangas

Black mariners represent a very specific group of individuals among those who sought to board pirate ships. Blacks joined pirate crews for a variety of reasons. Some, like many whites who became pirates, wished to escape the harsh lifestyle they had experienced while serving aboard merchant, naval or slaving ships. Others were slaves trying to escape the harsh realities of slavery on land. But no matter what their motivation each of these blacks sought new, independent lives, and was not choosy about the means by which they accomplished this goal. As a result, pirate ships became places where transgressors, such as former slaves, sought sanctuary from the restrictions of life ashore.

There were a variety of Africans and African-Americans aboard ships in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, all having their own distinct statuses. Runaways comprised one distinct subset of black pirates. Fugitives often fled from their masters without a clear plan other than escaping the life they knew.[1] They did so because they understood that ships offered a way for them to physically distance themselves from their former masters, thus making permanent escape more likely than through most other means of resistance. As far as their status on pirate ships, former colonial slaves most likely made up the majority of African pirates,

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[1] Charles Foy, "Ports of Slavery, Ports of Freedom: How Slaves Used Northern Seaports' Maritime Industry To Escape and Create Trans-Atlantic Identities, 1713-1783" (PhD diss., Graduate School-New Brunswick Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 2008), 286-287.

so it varied more with their status on each boat itself.[2] On other ships, such as ones used for slaving, they could be hired as employees and therefore had a higher status than the African slaves themselves who were on board.[3] Although they likely enjoyed a higher status than the slaves on slaving ships, blacks did not always have the same experiences at sea as whites. For example, whaling ships were ideal to maritime fugitives as whalers' long voyages allowed them to distance themselves greatly from their masters; however, the very reason why blacks were often employed on whalers was they would perform backbreaking labor with the risk of low or no pay that dissuaded many white seamen.[4] The status of black mariners on most ships was likely somewhere between the low status of a slave and the respected status of a white seaman.

Even though they would likely not be seen as equal to any of the pirate captains, black mariners were sometimes seen as having some sort of commonality with the white mariners that they sailed with on pirate ships. If, as Hugh Rankin contends, "a substantial number of the unruly [slaves] 'went off to join those pirates who did not seem too concerned about color differences,'" there must have been some other identifier of status aboard pirate ships if race was not an absolute bar to blacks serving as pirates.[5] It appears that pirate captains were most interested in finding crews that were dedicated to the ship than to finding an all-white crew.[6] Black and white mariners found commonality in "common oppressors" and opposition to "traditional authority," since "[pirates] were far less divided by national, religious and racial differences than were Europeans caught in a web of institutionalized dynastic, national, religious, and racial hatreds."[7] With black, able-bodied seamen

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[2] Kenneth J. Kinkor, "Black Men under the Black Flag," in *Bandits at Sea: A Pirate Reader*, ed. by C. R. Pennell (New York, London: New York University Press, 2001), 199.

[3] Foy, "Ports of Slavery, Ports of Freedom," 287-288

[4] Ibid., 287.

[5] Marcus Rediker, *Villains of all Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004), 55.

[6] Rediker, *Villains of all Nations* 55.

[7] Kinkor, "Black Men under the Black Flag," 196-197.

being seen as especially "valuable pirate recruits" runaways with maritime skills who sought berths would have been valued, regardless of their race. The ability of black mariners to be seen as valued members of a pirate's crew after being viewed as lowly slaves for so long meant that the pirate ship signified a site of metamorphosis for them.

Another way in which the status of black mariners changed aboard pirate ships was their status in relation to their white fellow crewmembers. For one thing, voluntary or involuntary boarding of a pirate ships was not always based on race. White men were forced into impressments on pirate ships the same way that black mariners were.[8] They were also treated in a similar fashion to how the impressed black mariners were treated, meaning that their skin color did not necessarily afford them any privileges while aboard.[9] Black mariners also were not always stinted when it came to benefits and pay. Blacks enjoyed similar rewards to the ones their white counterparts received in some cases, which likely gave them near-equal status aboard the ships.[10] Since they were still able to relate to their white crewmembers, blacks enjoyed a transformation from being a slave to one of being nearly equal to them aboard some pirate ships.

One argument against this idea of upward mobility would be the poor treatment of black mariners by some pirates. There were limits to the status black mariners could achieve; few black pirates appear in the pages of *A General History of the Pyrates*.[11] There was also a division of labor on some pirate ships that leaned unfairly on black mariners; the slaves on board Bartholomew Roberts' ship were "probably forced to do the pumping and other hard labour for their lawless masters."[12] One of Bialuschewski's arguments against

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[8] Ibid., 199.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid., 200.

[11] Daniel Defoe, *A General History of the Pyrates*, ed. Manuel Schonhorn (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, Inc.: 199), 9-24.

[12] Arne Bialuschewski, "Black People under the Black Flag: Piracy and the Slave Trade on the West Coast of Africa, 1718-1723," *Slavery and Abolition*, vol. 29, no. 4 (December 2008), 467.

upward blacks' upward mobility was pirates' treatment of local Africans at Annobon Island. One source described the pirates on the island and how they lived "very wantonly for several Weeks, making free with the Negro Women, and committing such outrageous Acts, that they came to an open Rupture with the Natives, several of who, the kill'd, and one of the Towns they set on Fire.'"[13] In another instance, out of anger, a group of pirates set fire to a slave ships while it was still full of slaves.[14] These examples make clear that one cannot deny pirates committed atrocities against blacks.

A few counterarguments can however be made against the assertions that pirates were unwaveringly racist against black mariners. One would be that pirates valued skilled labor, since life at sea was very difficult, and slaves that were not experienced at sea may have naturally been placed in harder labor that possibly required less experience.[15] It is simply the position that would have benefitted the ship most. Another would be that the pirate ships itself was a site of transformation and that the interactions on land disrupted the change in status. On a ship there obviously cannot be a lot of interaction with the outside world, therefore, pirates are able to construct their own societal rules. Once they reach land, they are thrust into the presence of people with different and possibly opposing ideals and therefore the transformation that took place for men of all sorts on board the ships would be considered null. It is not that the status changes did not occur, it is rather that they may have changed back once the crew reached shore. A third argument would be that the pirates may have seen a difference between slaves they captured at sea and those who ought to enter on board voluntarily. Many pirates came from the "proletariat... accustomed to treating Africans as human cargo."[16] As such, they would have seen slaves as subservient. However, the positive interactions between pirates and the black mariners they sailed with point to the idea that by joining their ships as workers and fellow

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[13] Ibid., 464.

[14] Ibid., 467

[15] Ibid., 468.

[16] Ibid., 469

one ship notes that multiple black crewmembers were aboard; a few listed are, "Richard Squires, an Englishmen...well made, dark complexion, short black curly hair... Stuart, a mullaato, says he was born in Boston... John Boadman... black complexion... They kept on board two negro boys."[19] This example is hardly uncommon. In some cases, blacks were even found to be leaders on board pirate ships. Diego de Los Reyes, Ipseiodawas, John Mapoo, and Diego Grillo are just a few examples of black mariners who were actually in charge of crews who were mostly white.[20] There are at least two instances of black mariners reaching the status of quartermaster, as in the cases of Hendrick van der Heul of Captain Kidd's ship and Abraham Samuel, as well as "Casear," who was a black officer under the tutelage of the infamous pirate Blackbeard.[21] While the numbers of black officers on pirate ships is admittedly not large, they are still an important indicator of how former slaves could increase in rank and status aboard pirate ships.

Kenneth Kinkor also points to one very distinct signifier of status for black mariners aboard pirate ships, the right to bear arms. There are no known instances of pirates ships were blacks were banned from owning and using guns, and they were "frequently recorded as being active combatants."[22] In fact, on some ships, such as Edward Dondent's *Dragon,* black crewmen were "part of the pirate vanguard, the most trusted and fearsome men designated to board prospective prizes."[23] It is highly unlikely that pirates would have unanimously (as far as data has revealed thus far) given black mariners the right to own some of the most powerful personal weapons of the era if they did not respect and trust them a fair amount; that fact amounts to a greater sign of a higher status for blacks aboard pirate ships than almost anything else. Although there were still individual cases of pirates treating the blacks on

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[19] "United States of America. Massachusetts," *Massachusetts Spy, published as THOMAS's Massachusetts SPY: Or, The Worcester GAZETTE,* September 8, 1785. Issue 753, vol. XV, 2-3.
[20] Kinkor, "Black Men under the Black Flag," 200.
[21] Ibid., 200-201.
[22] Ibid., 201.
[23] Rediker *Villains of All Nations*, 54

their ship poorly, overall, Africans and African Americans enjoyed a much higher status on pirate ships than most other places in the Anglo-American world. This ability to achieve greater upward mobility was appealing to slaves who had few opportunities for such elsewhere.

The differences in statuses between pirate ships and other sea vessels point to the pirate ships as a potential site for the metamorphosis of black mariners. As slaves, blacks were valued for their labor as something separate from their individuality. In a poem about the struggles of being a "wandering sailor" starts out with "WOULD you hear of the life that is fuller of woe,/Than Negro Slaves in the tropics e'er know," signifying that people thought of slave work as horrible and woeful.[24] The very definition of "slave" identifies this: "slave: one who is the property of, and entirely subject to, another person, whether by capture, purchase, or birth; a servant completely divested of freedom and personal rights."[25] However, the possibility of upward mobility completely changed this idea for black mariners. They were no longer limited to the status of slave; they could be valued as skilled seamen aboard pirate ships. This effectively transformed them from lowly second-class citizens to esteemed members of the ship; the inclusion of black leaders on board ships is evident of this change of status.[26] The status of black mariners on a ship was just one of the ways in which pirate ships could be viewed as a site of transformation.

Sailors, and particularly pirates, were often looked down on and seen as outside the bounds of acceptable society. As was previously mentioned, a poem about the woes of being a sailor include the phrases, "To the storm and the tempest, the cold and the heat,/He's all expos'd, and they on his head beat;/And if he be ta'en, by pirates or foes,/Him they lash, or perhaps in a prison enclose-/Wretched life of a poor Wand'ring Sailor!/O think of this

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[24] "[No Headline]," *The Philadelphia Repository, published as Philadelphia Repository, and Weekly Register,* September 9, 1803. Issue 36, vol. III, 288.

[25] *Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. 20 vols. Oxford: Oxford Press, 1989. Definition: slavery. Also available at http://www.oed.com/view/ Entry/181477 ?rskey=MDoqrY&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid

[26] Kinkor, "Black Men under the Black Flag," 200-201.

when you would be a Sailor!"[27] There is obvious prejudice against all seafaring activities in this poem, but it paints pirates in a negative light as those who would attack sailors. [28] This comparison exemplifies the commonality that black mariners would have held with pirates. They were both looked down upon and therefore would have had a "shared feelings of marginality,"[29] as they both sought to find a place where they could belong. This place would be aboard a multi-national pirate ship.

Black mariners and their changing statuses aboard pirate ships point to those ships as sites of transformation. Not only did their presence on the ships increase their own status, but also it gave them a value as human beings that had been missing from their lives as slaves. The freedoms that were allowed on pirate ships turned black mariners from people stuck in their lowly status as former slaves into valuable crew members who could gain wealth and higher ranking positions on a ship than almost anywhere else. As Kenneth Kindor concisely states: "It would seem that the deck of a pirate ships was the most empowering place for blacks within the eighteenth-century white man's world."[30] Although their fellow crewmembers were not race-blind, by becoming crewmembers on pirate ships blacks were, despite sometimes hostile, racial attitudes, able to change their identities and find freedom. [31]

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[27] "[No Headline]," 288.

[28] "[No Headline]," 288.

[29] Kinkor, "Black Men under the Black Flag," 202.

[30] Ibid., 201.

[31] Ibid., 202.

Armed with Intelligence: Women Spies of the American Civil War

Rachael Sapp

Prior to the onset of the Civil War, women were molded by traditional ideals. New perceptions of femininity arose during the early 1800's along with the industrial age and the new middle class family. American women dedicated their lives to cultivating the most nurturing family environment as possible, remaining in the home and performing chores such as cooking, cleaning, and childcare rather then venturing into corruptible society. Notions of the female's delicate and fragile constitution resulted in male protection against the unsuitable aspects of life. A woman's virtue was held in high regard and should anything occur that bordered on the inappropriate, her honorable stature would severely suffer. Therefore, women were always conscious of entering into morally compromising situations. When the Civil War began, however, it was clear these now-traditional roles of American females were being challenged. The war would come to test the authority of domesticity that delineated the role of women during the antebellum era. As war waged, hundreds of women left aside ideas of pre-war domesticity and instead donated their lives to support the war effort by gathering supplies, working as leaders in numerous war campaigns, and nursing on battlefields, sufficiently stepping across the threshold between their established roles.[1] For a vast majority, women would come to be accepted into these roles, seeing as the men that would have taken control were engaged in fighting on the battlefield. Though initially women were scorned for their

Rachael Sapp, from Tuscola, Illinois, earned degrees in theater and history in spring 2014. She wrote "Armed with Intelligence: Women Spies of the American Civil War" for Dr. Mark Hubbard's Civil War Era course during the Spring 2013 semester.

[1] Louise Chipley Slavicek, *Women and the Civil War*, ed. Tim McNeese (New York: Chelsea House Publications, 2009), 52, 60.

involvement in rough, masculine affairs, after a short time, it was apparent that women were a momentous and vital part in the war effort.[2] And while nursing sick soldiers and rallying for support was indeed an important task, one in which American women had seldom performed before, their most significant assistance came through their contribution to military intelligence as spies.

Military intelligence was profoundly important to both northern and southern sides of the Civil War. In an era before telephones, cars, or computers, gaining intelligence was difficult. But, no task was more harrowing, dangerous, or more essential. Viewed as a necessary evil, men who engaged in espionage early on were often regarded as disreputable and untrustworthy. Once the war continued and very few men could be trusted, women stepped into the challenge. Although male spies were effective, women had better success due to their unsuspecting nature. No one would expect a woman to enter into such a line of work.[3] As to be predicted, men did not initially trust women to show promise for the art of espionage because of traditional ideas of dainty natures and weak anatomy. However, women spies turned out to be quite indispensable and very masterful at what they did, even directly affecting the war's overall outcome.[4]

Spies could be found on both sides of the conflict. On the side of the Confederacy, Rose O'Neal Greenhow and Belle Boyd were two of many fearless women who faced the perils of the country to fight for the rebel cause.[5] For the North, Elizabeth Van Lew, along with countless others, emerged on the side of the Union.[6] Although these women were vastly successful, there were many instances where their feminine wiles were either futile or had

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[2] Richard H. Hall, *Women On the Civil War Battlefront* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006), 17-18.

[3] Larissa Phillips, *Women Civil War Spies of the Confederacy* (New York: Rosen Publishing Group, 2004), 10.

[4] Slavecik, *Women and the Civil War*, 44-45.

[5] Belle Boyd, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison*. Louisiana. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), 20, 25 .

[6] John Bakeless, *Spies of the Confederacy* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 2011), 10-15.

negative repercussions, resulting in the capture of goods, imprisonment, and commandeering of information. However, without these women's selfless acts, Northern and Southern efforts would have greatly suffered. [7] Using their unsuspecting nature, wit, seduction, and bravery these women, along with untold others, procured sensitive information from the hands of their enemies and delivered vital intelligence to the men on the frontlines.

Perhaps one of the most notable Confederate spies was Rose O'Neal, born in Port Tobacco, Maryland. Rose, regarded as a great beauty and remarkably intelligent, spent her teenaged years keeping company with important political and social figures throughout Washington D.C.[8] Her sister, Ellen, married a nephew of former First Lady Dolley Madison. Ellen's daughter Adele, in turn, married U.S. Representative, and later presidential candidate, Stephen A. Douglas. Rose married and influential Washington physician named Robert Greenhow, giving her connections to many powerful people.[9] As a result, Rose O'Neal Greenhow became a well-known and influential member in Washington society. By the time war broke out, Greenhow's husband and five of their eight children had passed away, leaving her widowed with three children. Though born and raised in the North, Greenhow's sympathies rested with the South. And although her sympathies were rumored throughout social circles, it was mostly speculation. It was that her sympathies were supposed idle gossip, however, that people tended to not believe them as truth. Because of this, Greenhow was able to accomplish some of the most substantial and influential intelligence work of the Civil War.[10]

Greenhow mingled with many social circles throughout her life leading up to the Civil War. In those years, her list of acquaintances grew sizably, encountering men and women from

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[7] Slavecik, *Women and the Civil War*, 48.

[8] William Gilmore Beymer, *On Hazardous Service: Scouts and Spies of the North and South* (New York, New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1912), 179-181.

[9] Ann Blackman, *Wild Rose: the True Story of a Civil War Spy*, Random House Trade. (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2006), 99-101.

[10] Beymer, *On Hazardous Service*, 179, 210.

Northern and Southern states alike. Having become friends with many senators, congressman, and other political figures, her alliances were numerous, varied, and committed.[11] To those with allegiances and sympathies for the Southern cause, Greenhow made sure to make especially strong alliances. It was through these connections and her strong-willed nature that Greenhow was employed as a spy for the confederacy.[12] Under supervision from Captain Thomas Jordan, an officer of the Confederacy, Greenhow took management of the first of three major, and separately operating, Confederate spy rings in 1860. Within in the rings, the mission was simply stated; retrieve Union intelligence. In actuality, however, the tasks where ruthlessly carried out. Armed with her charm and determination, Greenhow began her career as a Confederate secret agent.[13]

Ever the graceful lady, Greenhow continued to do business as usual within her many social spheres. Her beauty and personable attitude attracted many admirers to her, Northern and Southern alike. It was through this advantage that she would gather vital intelligence. Her eyes were fixed upon one ardent admirer in particular, however. His name was Henry Wilson, a senator form Massachusetts.[14] Quite taken by her, Wilson wrote several passionate love letters to Greenhow. Whether this friendship was sexual or not- and the letters written by Senator Wilson suggest the latter to be truth, no one can be for sure- Greenhow's true affections toward the senator are not absolutely clear. But what is undeniable is the closeness that occurred between the two.[15] The senator had close interactions with Union generals as chairman of the Military Affairs Committee. This close connection to the Union military made Greenhow keen on keeping the doting senator around. It was a friendship that Captain Jordan was particularly interested and endorsed as well, advising Greenhow to use this as a means to procure as much information about the

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[11]Slavicek, *Women and the Civil War*, 48-49.

[12] Blackman, *Wild Rose*, 25.

[13] Ibid, 26-27.

[14] Bakeless, *Spies of the Confederacy*, 9.

[15] Ibid, 10-11.

Union's position as possible.[16] Again, there is no clear evidence exactly how Greenhow was able to obtain this information from the senator, but she did so. Fortunately for Greenhow, the senator rather easily offered up information regarding private White House conversation and military positioning of Union Generals Scott and McClellan, causing much trouble for McClellan in particular[17]. This information, not intended for anyone's ears safe War Department staff, was all presented to Greenhow.

Senator Wilson was by far not the only man to succumb to Greenhow's allure. Several senator and political clerks, as well as Union soldiers, were frequent visitors to her residence in Washington.[18] From one of the many admirers that called upon Greenhow, incredibly useful information regarding Union Naval forces was accidentally revealed in her presence. She forwarded this, along with all the intelligence she ever received, to Confederate General P.G.T. Beauregard. Over the months in which she had been working as an intelligence agent, Greenhow was able to provide a significant amount of statistical news to the frontlines. She helped the Confederates defeat the Union army at the Battle of Bull Run, Manassas. [19] But like many secretive undercover operations, discovery was always a possibility. In August of 1861, Greenhow was exposed and arrested for her espionage and aiding of Confederate troops. She was sentenced to house arrest in her home in Washington.[20] Able to remain with her youngest daughter, Greenhow, though imprisoned, continued her message delivery. Eventually, Greenhow was deported to the Confederate capitol where she was regarded as a heroine.

Rose O'Neal Greenhow, though incredibly successful as a spy, was not the only rebel female spy eager for a Southern victory. The Confederacy also celebrated another female scout, Belle Boyd. Isabella Boyd was born in Martinsburg, West Virginia. She was the

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[16] Ibid 11-12.

[17] Beymer, *On Hazardous Service,* 183-184.

[18] Bakeless, *Spies of the Confederacy*, 12.

[19] Slavicek, *Women and the Civil War*, 49.

[20] Bakeless, *Spies of the Confederacy*, 14.

oldest child and grew up as a bit of a tomboy.[21] She, like Greenhow, had a very strong personality, was well educated, and bright. Also like Greenhow, she was quite the charming young debutante. At the time of the firing at Fort Sumter, Boyd was a mere eighteen years old. Shortly thereafter, her father joined the Second Virginia infantry and was stationed at Harpers Ferry Camp, which was not too far a distance from the Boyd's' home. Out of her own boredom and want for excitement, Boyd traveled to Harpers Ferry to join in the "goodly company" of soldiers, husbands, sons, wives, daughters, and lovers who had gathered there for 'encouragement and solace."[22]

Boyd's career of spying occurred rather by chance. On July 4th, 1861, Union soldiers barged into the Boyd residence, destroying valuables and furniture. Their reasoning for behaving thusly was due in part to the "rebel flags" flying from Boyd's windows.[23] Before leaving the Boyd residence, the soldiers attempted to hoist a Union flag over the roof, which angered Boyd to no end. After confronting the soldiers about the flag, one man in particular became rough with Boyd's mother, causing her great distress. Boyd, both wanting to protect her mother and seeking revenge for her damaged home, shot the soldier with her pistol that had been hidden within the folds of her dress.[24] As expected, Boyd became immediately under investigation for the mortal wound she inflicted on a Yankee soldier. Upon a Union general's review of the situation Boyd was not convicted since she had "done perfectly right." [25] In fact, she was given several Union bodyguards to ensure no Union soldiers would harass her or her family again. Instead of the men doing the harassing, however, Belle Boyd would come to do most of the suspicious behavior.

Using her Southern charm and elegance, Boyd beguiled several of the officers stationed near her.[26] Feigning naiveté, partly

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[21] Hall, *Women On the Civil War Battlefront*, 102-103.
[22] Boyd, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison*, 76.
[23] Ibid, 82.
[24] Bakeless, *Spies of the Confederacy*, 144-146.
[25] Boyd, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison*, 83.
[26] Slavecik, *Women and the Civil War*, 50-51.

out of her own frivolous youthful game and partly from curiosity, Boyd preyed upon one Captain Daniel Keily in particular, a young Yankee officer, who became a faithful suitor. As many young men fell pray to the Southern belle's wiles, Keily was no exception. She sensed his openness and gullibility right off and easily sweet-talked him out of numerous military secrets amid avid flirting and poetry reciting.[27] Realizing the significance of Keily's information, Boyd relayed them to Confederate officers through her slave, Eliza, who delivered them safely to Confederate hands. Her spying efforts and incautious behavior did not go on for long. She was soon discovered delivering messages and brought before a Union officer and sentenced to death, though the charge was not carried out.[28] The officers sent her on her way after a harsh scolding, but this did not deter the strong-willed young lady the least bit. After rethinking her spying strategies, Boyd returned to her intelligence work.

Boyd's father moved the family to their relatives' home in near-by Front Royal shortly after Belle's encounter with Union officials. While there she came to realize that while Keily had been an excellent source of Union information and easy to manipulate he was not the only way for her to acquire knowledge. Her aunt's parlor in Front Royal was occasionally used to accommodate classified late-night Union officer meetings.[29] Seeing these meetings as prime opportunities for spying, Boyd would sneak upstairs and peer through a small crack in the floor and listen in on the Union's plans. During one summer night in 1862, nearly a year after she first began spying for the Confederacy, Boyd discovered her most important intelligence during one of the usual officer meetings.[30] Boyd realized the significance of this particular meeting and waited quietly for hours to ensure she had every detail regarding movement of Northern troops. In perhaps her most daring feat, Boyd delivered this intelligence herself under the cover of night and behind enemy lines. She bypassed sleeping soldiers behind Union lines as she crossed into Southern territory to present her discoveries to

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[27] Bakeless, *Spies of the Confederacy*, 155

[28] Ibid,155.

[29] Boyd, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison*, 97.

[30] Bakeless, *Spies of the Confederacy*, 156-157.

Confederate Colonel Turner Ashby.[31] This information was well received by Ashby and for her contributions Boyd was given special honorary positions within the camp.

Her success did not last for long, however, as her behaviors began to acquire unwanted attention. Time and again, Boyd would be stopped and searched for concealed letters- which she never left home without- at Union sentry posts, narrowly avoiding detection every time.[32] Eventually her luck ran out and Boyd was once again arrested in July of 1862, the second time in one year. She was sent to the Old Capital Prison in Washington a few days later and remained in custody for over a month whereupon she gained freedom after the Confederacy released Union prisoners of war in exchange for Boyd. Not surprisingly, Boyd continued her spying career only to be arrested for a third a final time aboard a ship to England carrying Confederate letters.[33] A Union Naval patrolling officer, who was supposed to deliver her to federal officials, but not surprisingly fell in love with her instead, smuggled her to Canada where they later married.[34] It is unclear whether Boyd's affections for him were absolutely true, for she later would marry two other men. After the war, Boyd traveled the nation retelling her daring stories of espionage. [35]

The Confederacy was not the only side of the war to use women as spies. Elizabeth Van Lew, a Northern spy living in the South, would come to dedicate her life and fortune fighting for the Union cause. Van Lew was born in October 1818 and raised in Richmond, Virginia by a wealthy family and like many Southern families, her father owned several slaves.[36] However, following the death of her father in 1843, Van Lew's brother freed their slaves and the family became abolitionists, especially Elizabeth. Over the course of the next several decades, she would come to spend the entirety of her fortune, some ten thousand dollars, to free the

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[31] Boyd, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison*, 96-97.

[32] Ibid, 100-102.

[33] Bakeless, *Spies of the Confederacy*, 170.

[34] Slavicek, *Women and the Civil War*, 50.

[35] Bakeless, *Spies of the Confederacy*, 170-172.

[36] Beymer, *On Hazardous Service,* 64, 65-66.

relatives of former slaves. She and her brother visited slave markets often, buying entire families before they could be sold separately and taking them home, where they issued manumission papers.[37]

At the breakout of the Civil War there was no hesitation about where Van Lew's loyalties rested. Though born a Southern lady, Van Lew was loyal to her country, the North, and supported anti-slavery causes. She came to be employed on the Union's behalf, gathering supplies to bring to Union soldiers imprisoned in Confederate prisons surrounding Richmond.[38] Confederate officers she came into contact with thought her nothing more then a harmless woman providing food and clothing to bedraggled prisoners and at the time she was indeed no threat to the rebel cause. Shortly thereafter, however, Van Lew discovered that this trust would become considerably useful. She educated herself on Northerner safe houses and, while visiting the imprisoned Union soldiers, helped smuggle them from jail and lead them to safety.[39] In exchange for her help the prisoners gave her vital intelligence on Confederate army movements, where she then passed on to Union generals.[40]

Her continual presence in the prisons did eventually stir concern from the Confederate Assistant Secretary of War A. Bledsoe. Although she was able to avoid detection, Van Lew ensured her spying efforts were never discovered by using new techniques to pass notes to the imprisoned men.[41] By splitting the spines of books she was able to insert small slips of paper inside. The most amazing way she hid her intentions was not within concealed compartments, but through her entire demeanor. Van Lew began wearing simple clothing full holes made of homespun material and walking about town mumbling to her self. To any onlookers, Van Lew was nothing more than a slightly loony middle-aged woman,

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[37] David D. Ryan, *A Yankee Spy in Richmond* (Mechanicsburg Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 2001), 5.

[38] Elizabeth R. Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy: the True Story of Elizabeth van Lew, a Union Agent in the Heart of the Confederacy* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2005), 56-58.

[39] Ryan, *A Yankee Spy in Richmond*, 10.

[40] Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 83.

[41] Slavicek, *Women and the Civil War*, 52.

which was all part of her brilliant cover, and gained her the nickname "Crazy Bet."[42]

In the winter of 1863, word reached Union General Benjamin Butler of Van Lew's benevolent assistance and superb spying skills.[43] Impressed by the lady's abilities, Butler immediately contacted Van Lew and made her the head of a Union spy ring. From then on, Van Lew came in command of several Union spies, many of which were male, and her true genius as an intelligence agent became even more apparent. While striving to find more effective ways of gaining Confederate secrets, Van Lew comprised her one of her riskiest yet most powerful plans. Contacting a former slave that worked for the Van Lew's father, a miss Mary Bowser, Van Lew drew up a scheme to have the woman placed into the Confederate White House as a servant.[44] After weeks of training and coaching Bowser as a spy, she convinced Varina Davis, wife of Confederate president Jefferson Davis, to let Bowser enter into service at their residence, claiming the black woman to have the utmost moral standing and work ethics.[45] This plan worked better then could be imagined. Black servants and slaves working in Southern society were taught to seem and act invisible; many went about their business relatively unnoticed. They were also widely believed to be slower and incapable of understanding concepts that their white employers discussed. This, in Bowser's situation, made it easy for her to gain information merely by doing her job, for she, unlike many Southern whites believed, understood and comprehended every word they said and reported what she learned back to Van Lew.[46] Van Lew's contributions to the Northern war effort were so great that many believe her to have been the most influential of all Union spies, even meriting her praise from former Union general turned president, Ulysses S. Grant.[47]

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[42] Hall, *Women On the Civil War Battlefront*, 205-206.

[43] Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*,107-108.

[44] Ryan, *A Yankee Spy in Richmond*, 10-11.

[45] Beymer, *On Hazardous Service,* 75.

[46] Ryan, *A Yankee Spy in Richmond*, 10.

[47] Slavicek, *Women and the Civil War*, 52.

The job of a spy is not easy and, Greenhow, Boyd, and Van Lew prove, not without its risks. Through their courage and commitment, these three women illustrated the capabilities of their gender and helped begin revolutionizing the female's role within American society. During a time when the United States became ripped at its seams, their determination, fearless, and strength helped bring the nation back together. As the inscription that marks the site where Elizabeth Van Lew is laid to rest reads, "She risked everything that is dear to man – friends, fortune, comfort, health and life itself," it tells a brief story not just of Van Lew, but of all women who devoted their lives to the service of their nation, Confederate and Union alike.[48]

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[48] Slavicek, *Women and the Civil War*, 52.

Incarcerated, Transported and Bound: Continued Resistance Amongst the Community of Transported Convicts from London to the Chesapeake, 1770-1775

Michael Bradley

"In England, there was scarcely an amount of order and protection to justify much national boasting. Daring burglaries by armed men, and highway robberies, took place in the capital itself every night; families were publicly cautioned not to go out of town without removing their furniture to upholsterers' warehouses for security; the highwayman in the dark was a City tradesman in the light" Charles Dickens, A Tale of Two Cities

The social historian Marcus Rediker has demonstrated in *The Slave Ship* that slave ships were sites of transformation, floating prisons where all people aboard were compelled to leave lives and roles behind and were transmuted into new roles and different existences. Captains became wardens, sailors became jailers, and the enshackled individuals in the ships' holds were transformed from free members of a particular tribe or kinship group into human chattel referred to as "Africans." Convict transportation parallels these circumstances: the removal from native societies, confinement, transportation, sale, and unfree labor into a foreign world worked to transform convicts as well as form and solidify social ties among them, creating a criminal subculture among a subset of the transported convicts in the Americas. The majority of these criminals shared a common language and socio-

economic condition within the social stratification of London. These convicts, in their incarceration in Newgate jail, during their shipboard passage, and relocation to the colonies of Maryland and Virginia, created and extended bonds in much the same fashion as Rediker demonstrates slaves did during the Middle Passage. Within this criminal class, there was not only solidarity, but also continued resistance to social norms and values that sustained them during the transatlantic voyage. This solidarity and sense of community perpetuated their criminal activities upon arrival in the Americas as they assisted each other in running away from their masters and engaged in continued criminal behavior. Through the stories of several convicts, who all shared passage together on a transportation voyage, this paper attempts to reconstruct the development of the social ties and continued resistance among convicts transported from London to the Chesapeake in the period between 1770 and 1775.

On Friday, 16 February 1770, a moonlit night, near seven, Mr. Bond, Mr. Taylor, and a constable went walking down the turnpike on the opposite end of Buckingham-gate. Their stroll on this evening was not leisurely, but purposeful, as they had been sent on an errand by Sir John Fielding.[1] One suspects that events of the past week must have weighed heavily on their minds, Elizabeth Alderman and her sixteen-year-old companion Elizabeth Higgs had provided authorities with a vivid description of being struck in corporeal fear of their lives on the Sunday a week before. Alderman had been assaulted by a man in a

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[1] Sir John Fielding was the Westminster Justice of the Peace, the Chief Magistrate, serving as replacement from the death of his brother Henry Fielding from 1754, knighted in 1761, and died in 1780.

drab-colored coat, carrying a large stick. The criminal demanded Elizabeth Alderman's money lest he knock her brains out. Stricken with fear Alderman hastily retrieved a nutmeg-grater where she kept some coin, but found that its contents had spilled within her pockets. While she frantically searched her garment the rogue helped himself to Ms. Higgs's cloak, and all her money amounting to only a halfpence. Upon locating her coin, only five and three-pence, Mrs. Alderman was relieved of it, along with her black satin cloak. The robber quickly disappeared over a broken place in the bank by the roadside. The week that followed, two other women had also fallen victim to similar robberies, a Mrs. Baker and another woman that lived in Tottenham-court-road in the same vicinity.[2]

As Buckingham-gate disappeared behind them, Mr. Bond indicated to Mr. Taylor to quicken his pace, and to remain a hundred yards ahead of him so that he might look an innocent victim as they proceeded down the way to the other end of the field, which they had prearranged as a rendezvous point upon the conclusion of their charade. To one side of the road was the notorious hedge and bank of Alderman's description, and as the two continued in observance of Mr. Taylor, they were met by a man who in passing carried a stick beneath his arm. As they parted ways, Mr. Bond turned to his companion beside him and exclaimed his belief that that was the very individual who had gone by them just then. At the far end of the field the three convened and discussed what they had found. When they returned back up the road, they discovered the man peering over the bank. Leaping over the verge Mr. Bond saw him in full body, leaning against the earth and looking out over the hedge five yards away. He confronted him, demanding his purpose, yet the man made no answer. Mr. Bond quickly called for his companions and the three set on the highwayman putting him into irons and

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[2] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 13 October 2013), February 1770, trial of William Warrecker (t17700221-42).

removing a large broomstick from his possession. Realizing his circumstance, the twenty-five-year-old William Warrecker, for that was the fellow's name, exclaimed in protest that he had been easing himself by the hedgerow, but it did him little good as he was carted off in the early evening to the jail.[3]

It had been fifty-two years since the Parliament of Great Britain had created the Piracy Act of 1718, officially titled: *An Act for the further preventing Robbery, Burglary, and other Felonies, and for the more effectual Transportation of Felons, and unlawful Exporters of Wool; and for the declaring the Law upon some Points relating to Pirates*. The act established a seven- year sentence of transportation to the North American colonies for those who were convicted of lesser felonies, those that had received benefit of the clergy, or had their sentences commuted by a royal pardon.[4] Enhanced sentences of 14 years and life were also issued depending on the severity of the crimes. Over the course of British transportation to Colonial America, from its inception to its demise in 1775, the system would be responsible for the transportation of upwards of 50,000 convicts from the various reaches of Great Britain.[5] While this figure is speculative, a more accurate figure can be attained from London courts for Hertford, Essex, Kent, Sussex and Suffolk, which comprise a total of 18,600 records of transportation from 1719 to 1772. Convicts from these areas peaked in the years before American independence with approximately 960 convicts shipped per annum from 1769 to

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[3] Ibid.

[4] Great Britain. *An Act for the Further Preventing Robbery, Burglary, and Other Felonies And for the More Effectual Transportation of Felons, and Unlawful Exporters of Wooll; and for Declaring the Law Upon Some Points Relating to Pirates*. London: Printed by John Baskett, and by the assigns of Thomas Newcomb, and Henry Hills, deceas'd, 1718.; In the eighteenth-century Benefit of the Clergy or Privilegium clericale was a system in which first-time offenders could receive a more lenient sentence for some lesser crimes.

[5] Farley Grub. "The Transatlantic Market for British Convict Labor", *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (Mar., 2000), 94-122, 94; See also Coldham, *Emigrants,* 1, 6; Ekirch, *Bound for America,* p. 27; Fogelman, "From Slaves," 55, 71; and Morgan, "English and American Attitudes," 416.

1776.[6] Narrowing the field even more, it is found that from the years of 1770-75 2992 convicts were shipped on London ships to Virginia and Maryland, of whom, 2,407 came from London and Middlesex. Of this agglomeration of cutpurses, highwaymen (and women), thieves, forgers, and burglars, at least one hundred would flee after reaching the colonies generating runaway advertisements in colonial newspapers; at least 69 had originate in London and Middlesex.[7]

Written in 1859, Charles Dickens' artful description of London in 1775 in *A Tale of Two Cities*, and other works, has been widely regarded by literary critics for its gritty, realistic, portrayal of life in England during the period. The contemporary accounts of James Boswell from 1762 reveal a cosmopolitan London, a city that attracted plantation owners from the colonies like Henry Laurens, bent on mingling with London high society and refined culture in what could be described as the premier city in the world. Little did Laurens know that by 1780 he would be confined to the tower as Britain's only American prisoner from the Revolution. On Fludyer Street, one might find a room that was new, fashionable, and "very expensive" to rent, see the "king and queen pass from the opera," or the nearby spectacle of a pair of silver healed avians tearing themselves to bits at a Royal Cockpit contained within St. James Park.[8]

London in the later part of the eighteenth century held over eleven percent of the English population.[9] It was a population that largely came from afar, so much so that one resident of the metropolis would assert in 1757 that "two-thirds of the grown persons at any time in London come from distant parts." From 1715 until the 1760s the London population grew from 630,000 to

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[6] Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution.* (New York: Knopf 1986) 295-296.

[7] Peter W. Coldham, *The King's Passengers: to Maryland and Virginia.* (Westminster, Maryland: Heritage 1997).

[8] Julie Flavell, *When London was Capital of America* (Newhaven: Yale University Press 2010), 6-17.

[9] Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West*, 105.

740,000. [10] During this period, emigration to London grew so rapidly that plague deaths comprising 15% of the population were absorbed by newcomers in two years.[11] With this growth the city rapidly expanded out of its previous bounds; there was also endemic to this growth, an excess of labor, widespread poverty, an alarming and growing criminal element, and a city that matched the grandeur of Fludyer in depredation.

Benjamin Franklin, familiar with London from his time as Pennsylvania's agent to Parliament, commented that the darkness set in within a few hours of nightfall, despite the use of lamps, as the city grew "dark in a few hours" due to the smoke. He also "observ'd that the Streets when dry were never swept and the light Dust carried away, but it was suffer'd to accumulate till wet Weather reduced it to Mud." The only clearing of the mire, Franklin observed, was done by the city's poor with brooms; "with great Labour" they threw the filth into open carts, for coin from shopkeepers and pedestrians, until it was "suffer'd" to fall back onto the streets to "the Annoyance of Foot-Passengers."[12] It is these impoverished individuals that Londoner J.C. Lettsom encountered one December morning in 1780. Leaving his abode, Lettsom was "accosted by a tall thin man, whose countenance exhibited such a picture of distress and poverty as fixed [his] attention, and induced [him] to inquire into his situation." Lettsom would later seek out the man's "miserable habitation" and locate he and his family "up a dark passage and staircase" where a small apartment revealed the sights of "real misery," as being:

> furnished with one bedstead; an old box was the only article that answered the purpose of a chair; the furniture of the bed consisted of a piece of old ticken and a worn-out blanket, which constituted the only

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[10] Clive Emsley, Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker, "London History - London, 1715-1760", *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 13 October 2013)

[11] Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West*, 105.

[12] Benjamin Franklin, and J. A. Leo Lemay. *Autobiography, Poor Richard, and Later Writings: Letters from London, 1757-1775, Paris, 1776-1785, Philadelphia, 1785-1790, Poor Richard's Almanack, 1733-1758, the Autobiography*. (New York: Library of America, 1997), 686.

couch, except the floor, whereon this afflicted family could recline their head to rest; and what a scene did they present! Near the centre of the bed lay the mother with half a shift, and covered as high as the middle with the blanket. She was incapable of telling her complaints. The spittle, for want of some fluid to moisten her mouth, had dried upon her lips, which were black, as were her gums, the concomitants of a putrid fever, the disorder under which she labored. At another end of the blanket was extended a girl about five years old; it had rolled from under this covering, and was totally naked, except its back, on which a blister plaster was tied by a piece of packthread crossed over its breasts; and, though laboring under this dreadful fever the poor creature was asleep. On the other side of its mother lay a naked boy about two years old this little innocent was likewise sleeping. On the other side of the mother, on the floor, or rather an old box lay a girl about twelve years old, she was in part covered with her gown and petticoat, but she had no shift...Near her stood another girl about four years old, barefooted; her whole covering was a loose piece of petticoat thrown over her shoulders.

Neither Franklin's account of an old woman sweeping the streets for coin or Lettsom's street beggar Foy, with his sickly, poverty stricken family, give any indication of associated criminality. And yet, some convicts would assert, as their lives were about to come to a sharp conclusion at the end of a rope, that it was this very want of sustenance that led them to commit their crimes.[13] England was at the time plagued by an overabundance of available labor and a lack of available land and had been for some time. These conditions were partly responsible for drawing large numbers to English cities and to travel to colonial America. Within these urban centers such as London the working class developed its own norms and values,

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[13] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 13 October 2013), *Ordinary of Newgate's Account*, October 1772 (OA17721014).

articulated through slang, and developed bonds within the socio-economic groups. One prisoner of the London system would write:

> There is so vast a majority of lion-like Men among us possessed with the true English and Heroick Spirit, scorning to bow their Necks to Slavery and Oppression...Let us consider we are a little community among ourselves, a Body Politik, whereof not a single member should suffer but the whole should be concerned.[14]

Others, such as John Grimes, attested that "[he] was brought up to Idleness and thieving, which, instead of being corrected in me, was rather encouraged."[15] It was a typical retort for the explanation of criminal activity. James Revel, a passenger on the *Thornton* wrote, "into wicked company [he] fell," and despite rectification of his behavior by his master, "with them a thieving [he] again did go."[16]

Those unhappy misfortunates who found themselves at odds with the crown's dispersion of justice, and who had, like Grimes had "follow'd courses that were most wild," would await their fate in the gaols. The awful smell of Newgate prison hung in the air throughout its surrounding neighborhood. Despite the use of cleansing measures such as vinegar and ventilation, the odor was

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[14] Peter Linebaugh, *The London Hanged: Crime and Civil Society in the Eigtheenth-Century* (London: Verso 2003), 179.

[15] National Humanities Center, 2009: nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds. In *The Last Speech, Confession, Birth, Parentage and Education, of John Grimes, John Fagan, and John Johnson, alias Johnson Cochran, who were executed at Gallows-Hill, in the City of Burlington, on Wednesday, the 28th of August, 1765, for Burglary and Felony, committed in the County of Burlington*, 1765; in Kerby A. Miller, et al., eds., *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan: Letters and Memoirs from Colonial and Revolutionary America, 1675-1815* (Oxford University Press, 2003), 271-272.

[16] *The Poor Unhappy Transported Felon's Sorrowful Account of His Fourteen Years Transportation at Virginia, in America In Six Parts. Being a Remakable and Succinct History of the Life of James Revel, the Unhappy Sufferer. Who Was Put Apprentice by His Father to a Tinman, Nearl Moor-Ficias, Where He Got into Bad Company, and Before Ong Ran Away, and Went a Robbing with a Gang of Thieves; but His Master Soon Got Him Back: yet Would Not He Be Kept from His Old Companions, but Went a Thieving with Them Again; for Which He Was Transported Fourteen Years. With an Account of the Way the Transports Works, and the Punishment They Receive for Committing Any Fault. Concluding with a Word of Advice to All Young Men*. London?: s.n, 1780.

enough to repel residents from idleness in the prison's vicinity, so much so that they would not stand in their doorways.[17] The prison was an "ornate and sumptuous structure" which was divided into four portions. Of these, the Master's side contained thirteen common wards in 26 feet by 32 feet confines that each accommodated thirty prisoners. Living in tandem with the criminals was a variety of "pets, pigs, pigeons, and poultry," wives who came and went, and children. Despite separation and enshacklement, prisoners could freely mix with visitors and the rest of the population, both male and female. Individuals imprisoned there who were sentenced to transportation lived in Newgate among a sea of hardened criminals comprising rapists, thieves, blackmailers, forgers, thugs and highwaymen. The societal microcosm contained purveyors of goods, strong drinks in gin and ale, and was "a dismal prison...a place of calamity...a habitation of misery, a confused chaos...a bottomless pit of violence."[18]

It was this scene that would have confronted William Warrecker as he was led into the prison in 1770. Upon his arrival, he would have been carted to the "hold," a room measuring 15 by 20 feet, cloaked in darkness, and encased in stone, permeated by only a small hatch. The confines further contained iron rings to shackle the disorderly residents, and a wooden barrack bed. If Warrecker could not pay the fee for removal from these confines until his trial for two shillings and six pence, he would have been confined there in heavy shackles. These shackles could of course be relieved by "easement" for a fee paid to the jailers, who were described as a "merciless race of men."[19] If Warrecker did not come into Newgate with a series of social ties and bonds among those who would be transported, he and others who were soon to be sent

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[17] Anthony Vaver, *Bound with an Iron Chain: The Untold Story of How the British Transported 50,000 Convicts to Colonial America* (Pickpocket Publishing, 2011), 92.

[18] Linebaugh *The London Hanged*, 29.

[19] Peter Wilson Coldham. *Emigrants in Chains: A Social History of Forced Emigration to the Americas of Felons, Destitute Children, Political and Religious Non-Conformists, Vagabonds, Beggars and Other Undesirables, 1607-1776.* Baltimore, Md: Genealogical Pub. Co, 2007. 20, 27.

to the Americas were given opportunities to create such social connections in this facility.

Those convicted and sentenced to transportation typically found themselves occupying the most modest conditions in Newgate.[20] It was in one of these simple cells that Warrecker found himself, and John Creamer most likely sat when William Warrecker was cast into Newgate for holding. Creamer had been wallowing in these conditions since May 1769, when his sentence was commuted from death to transportation.

John Creamer's life began in Western Ireland. While the precise reasoning for the families' relocation is not documented, it is possible that like many other families the Creamers gravitated to London for economic reasons when John was young. Once in London he was made an apprentice to a tailor in Holborn.[21] Creamer's master, however, died before the completion of the contract and Creamer was forced to "shift for himself." Having picked up a portion of his endeavored trade skills, Creamer was initially able to support himself and started a family. Hard times followed with the loss of work, and it was in the wake of this loss that Creamer found himself lodging in the house of William Figg one spring evening, in May 8, 1769.[22]

John Lothian had traveled to London from Cumberland, in the far northwest of England near the Scottish border, and found himself on Vine-Street, by Chandos-street, seeking lodging in The Rising-Sun, whose proprietor was William Figg. The room he found was shared with another and he retired for the evening around ten o'clock, leaving his money in his breeches, which were rolled up under his head. After laying there for some time, sleep finally took him, and he did not awake until five o'clock where he found his breeches laying on the pillow, vacant of the currency he had placed in them. He suspected his chamber-mate immediately.

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[20] Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West*, 105.

[21] Holborn is an area of modern central London and also the name of the area's principal street, known as High Holborn between St. Giles's High Street and Gray's Inn Road.

[22] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 13 October 2013), *Ordinary of Newgate's Account*, October 1772 (OA17721014).

Creamer had left during the night in search of more spirits, being unable to pay the proprietor at his lodging earlier in the evening for a pot of beer. Creamer was suddenly full of coin when he left Figg's establishment for Thomas Easton's at the Bull Head, where he requested a pint of wine, settled for a quartern, and then half a pint of shrub. In his dealings Creamer exchanged a bad coin that was his undoing. Lothian later recognized the coin that had been returned to him the previous day, and Creamer was cast into the hold at Newgate.

The *Thornton* was at anchor away from the dock, moored at a distance from other transports and from the rest of the merchant shipping docked at Blackfriar, as the transports cared to sit solitarily.[23] Provisioning and refitting would have been concluded prior to the arrival of the human cargo, and could have taken some weeks to ready the vessel for the eight-to-ten-week journey across the Atlantic. A detail of the provisioning of a similar ship records the rations of a ship containing one hundred and thirty-eight convicts and a crew of twenty as follows: five bushels of salt, ½ firkin soft soap, 40 pounds ordinary tobacco, five tones small beer for ship's company, four chaldrons of coal, one cwt. cheese, four pounds pepper, four pounds mustard, eight pounds rice, two ounces of nutmeg, 12 pounds brimstone, one cask of vinegar, 30 mess bowls, 13 dozen spoons, four iron bound tubs, one gallon of oil, 480 candles, and 48 pounds of binnacle candles. Food was divvied into weekly rations to accommodate a mess of six, and consisted of 34 pounds of bread, 19 pounds of beef, 11 pounds of pork, seven pounds of flour, two pounds of suet, five gills (of brandy), 134 quarts of water, and four quarts of pease. This amounted to one pound and four ounces of food per convict per day.[24] The water would have amounted to roughly three quarts per day, per convict along with provisions for cooking and other

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[23] Kenneth Morgan, "The Organization of the Convict Trade to Maryland: Stevenson, Randolph and Cheston, 1768-1775," *The William and Mary Quarterly* Third Series, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Apr., 1985): 213.

[24] Coldham, *Emigrants in Chains*, 103; The gill is a unit of volume measurement equal to a quarter of a pint.

activities.[25] This meager diet would have provided a mere twelve hundred calories per day if properly administered by both the transporter and the transported who could have, and did, on occasion embezzle rations or bully others out of equal shares.[26] Survival in such an environment often depended upon social bonds and networks and often would be directly related to what one could acquire along with whatever contraband could be stolen aboard the ship.

In May 1770, William Warrecker, John Creamer, and 187 other convicts departed the cold miserable confines of Newgate. They would have been chained two by two in heavy shackles as they left and were forced to march in bondage to the docks at Blackfriar. Only the very fortunate few who had money enough to procure alternative transportation by horse or carriage were spared this indignity.[27] Crowds of Londoners often greeted such processions of convicts, taunting and mocking the prisoners in the same fashion as the mobs that heckled those condemned to be hanged at Tyburn. An account from two decades earlier describes London's streets as "exceedingly crowded with people" shouting for retribution against one felon who found reprieve in transportation, and was bombarded with cries of "hang the dog," and volleys of dirt and stones.[28] The crowd was not solely a dissatisfied mob, however, and the criminal's loved ones and friends would have been intermingled amongst the procession. One can imagine Creamer's wife in the procession, engaging in final tearful goodbyes. A year later, on a summer's day in July of 1771, James Revel, along with one hundred and twenty-six other felons, embarked on this very journey in the footsteps of Warrecker and Creamer, to be stowed in the depths of the *Thornton,* again under Captain Dougal McDougal. Unlike his predecessors, Revel left an account of the journey, and commented that the departure "vex'd" his parents, who were attending the procession. His father said, "it cuts me to the heart, to think on

[25] Ibid., 106.
[26] Ekirch, 101. Coldham, *Emigrants in Chain,* 106-108.
[27] Vaver, *Bound with an Iron Chain*, 102.
[28] *Maryland Gazette* (Rind) Thursday August 20, 1752.

such a cause as this we part." Revel, his soul "pierced," was filled with "grief and shame," eventually breaking into tears.[29]

The composition of the felons on board the *Thornton* in May of 1770 consisted of one hundred and eighty-nine convicts, 33 of which were female. Of the 189, 21 were sentenced to 14-year terms and 15 to life terms. The conviction of all the felons is unknown as records for every convict do not remain in Old Bailey, and those from the Assize and Quarterly Sessions were unavailable. However, of the bulk of the transported, which we can examine, and which comprised the London and Middlesex convictions and 114 of the 189 convicts, there was: one convicted of receiving stolen goods, two pickpockets, four shoplifters, five petty larcenists, five animal thieves, seven convicted of theft from a specified place, seven burglars, 26 grand larcenists, one defrauder, one forger, and 11 highwaymen and women convicted of armed robbery. Of these 189, 11 would run away once they arrived in Maryland, and of these 11, eight were from the London and Middlesex convictions.[30] Of the ship's 'cargo,' 82.5% were male and 17.4% female, 80.9% received seven-year sentences, those offences granted benefit of the clergy, 11.1% received 14-year sentences, non-clergyable offences that received pardon, and 7.9% received life terms, for serious or violent offences. These figures are comparable to Kenneth Morgan's study of 366 convicts of which he found 85% were male and 15% female. 75% of these individuals received seven-year sentences, 20% were sentenced to 14 years, and 5% life sentences spread evenly across both genders.[31] Given that Morgan's sample is limited, this essay instead undertakes an analysis of London convict ships from 1770 to 1775 for which there were twenty voyages with two thousand nine hundred and ninety-two convicts. Of these almost three thousand convicts, specifically two thousand six hundred and sixty-

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[29] *The Poor Unhappy Transported Felon's Sorrowful Account of His Fourteen Years Transportation at Virginia.*

[30] Taken from a comparison of Old Bailey Online records, a list of ship convicts as provided by Coldham in *The King's Passengers to Maryland and Virginia*, and convict runaway ads in both Coldham's work and individually examined.

[31] Kenneth Morgan, "Convict Runaways in Maryland, 1745–1775". *Journal of American Studies.* 23, no. 02 (1989): 254-55.

five, or 89%, received seven year sentences, two hundred and fifty-two, or 8.4%, received fourteen year sentences, and seventy-five, or 2.5%, received life terms. An examination of runaway advertisements in Virginia and Maryland indicates that of this group, one hundred were known to have been runaways after landing in the colonies.[32] Coldham's statistics are not without their problems however, as in conducting a more thorough examination of the voyage of the *Thornton* under Captain Dougal McDougal in 1770 has revealed omissions and errors that slightly skewed the data. Even with these errors there appears to be a divergence from Morgan's data set from the Bristol firms' transported convicts. It is possible that these are accounted for in the population disparities of metropolitan London versus the outlying, more agrarian communities where certain criminal behavior may have been dealt with in a different manner.

Once onboard, the convicts were likely searched as did the astute captain of the *Justicia* in 1743. Convicts on the *Justicia* were removed of all their "money, knives and razors…for the security of the ship."[33] Since 1718 surgeons were mandated on all transport ships, and it would be supposed that a physical evaluation would have followed in much the same manner as on slave ships to determine quarantining measures for disease that could incapacitate a ship at sea. These convicts were then, like the slaves in a hold left in what Rediker describes as "infamous symbols of control," as they were shipped in irons in the hold.[34] Rediker further discusses these conditions at length in reference to slave transports where the men were manacled in irons that "excoriated the flesh…[so that]…even minimal movement could be painful."[35] One description from 1770 describes the conditions on the convict ships in which one man was "chained to a board, in a hole not above sixteen feet long; more than fifty with him; a collar and padlock about his neck, and chained to

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[32] Taken from a statistical analysis of Peter Coldham's The King's Passengers to Maryland and Virginia from 1770-1775 comprising only those vessels leaving London.

[33] Coldham, *Emigrants in Chains*, 106.

[34] Farley Grubb, "The Transatlantic Market for British Convict Labor" 104.

[35] Rediker, *The Slave Ship,* 267.

five" others.[36] In comparison slave ship captives were typically shackled at the leg and wrists to one another to limit resistance and movement.[37] Both groups would have suffered from the scars of this bondage leaving the flesh about their ankles "seamed and rugged" and penetrated the bonded prisoners' psyches. As one slave described the effect of this enshacklement, "the iron entered into our soul."[38] Some ships were reportedly equipped with port-holed bulkheads, through which "great guns laden with case-shot leveled against" the convicts, or guarded by a "continual watch with blunderbusses and hangers."[39] Similarly slave ships often possessed barricados, barriers that restricted the movements of the slaves on the decks of the slave ships.

In much the same manner that slaves were chosen to work on slave vessels, convicts were pitted against one another for rewards of extra rations and special favors.[40] This was a consistent practice extended from Newgate where prisoners in similar positions "garnished" subordinate prisoners.[41] Revel's account of the voyage notes that the "captain and sailors us'd us well, but kept us under lest we should rebel."[42] The necessity to utilize convict labor does not appear to have had the same level of frequency as upon the slaving vessels. This was, most likely due to the shorter length of voyage, slightly better conditions on board, and the fact that slave ships lost considerable numbers of seamen while on the African coast due to environmental conditions, something not true with convict ships. Notwithstanding the different conditions on convict ships emergency situations did occur on these vessels. In

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[36] Vaver, *Bound with an Iron Chain*, 126-127. Taken from "The Earl of Fife to George Selwyn," George Selwyn and His Conemporaries: With Memoirs and Notes, ed. John Heneage Jesse, Vol. II. (London: Bickers & Son, 1882), 389.

[37] Rediker, *The Slave Ship,* 267.

[38] Ibid.*,* 268.

[39] Coldham, *Emigrants in Chains*, 100-101.

[40] Rediker, 269, Coldham, *Emigrants in Chains*, 107.

[41] Batty Langley. An accurate Description of Newgate, with the Rights, Privilages, Allowances, Fees, Dues, and Customs Thereof. (London: Printed from T. Warner, 1724. ECCO)

[42] *The Poor Unhappy Transported Felon's Sorrowful Account of His Fourteen Years Transportation at Virginia.*

1720 a convict transport ship damaged by a storm, and taking on water, was forced to release several convicts to keep the ship from plummeting into the deep blue depths.[43]

Death did cast its shadow over the wooden hull and canvas-covered heights of the masts like a great fog creeping up. Some ships were more fortunate that others, and the *Thornton* seems to be among the more fortunate. Revel in his account that "five of our number in the passage dy'd."[44] Comparing his figure with the Middlesex England Convict transportation contract and Coldham's list we find one hundred twenty-seven convicts on Revel's voyage aboard the *Thornton;* meaning the ship had a 3.9% mortality rate. Morgan in studying the Bristol firm found a figure of twenty-five deaths among nine hundred and seventy-four convicts transported over twelve voyages from 1768 to 1775. These equate to either 2.5% or 4% depending on if you add in those who died shortly after arrival in the colonies.[45] These figures seem to be relatively consistent when taken together and both either repudiate prior contentions of a fourteen percent mortality rate or represent a vast improvement over mortality in the period 1718-1736 from which the 14% figure had been premised.[46]

That the passengers shared a common language is certain, and in many cases the group, comprised of the common working people of London, would through their "common linguistic culture", possess further, an alternative means of communication, comprising unique jargon and slang terms, commonly referred to as "thieves' cant." Dictionaries of this 'language' of the underground subcultural tongue began to appear in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These dictionaries gave readers a glimpse at a "vigorous, threatening underworld or an outlawed deviant population," but were not solely related to the criminal sub-culture per se.[47] The bonds in language would have provided a further

[43] Vaver, *Bound with an Iron Chain*, 140.
[44] *The Poor Unhappy Transported Felon's Sorrowful Account of His Fourteen Years Transportation at Virginia.*
[45] Morgan, *The Organization of the Convict Trade to Maryland,* 213.
[46] Ibid., Coldham, *Emigrants in Chains*, 99.
[47] Linebaugh, *The London Hanged,* 72, 274-275.

means for those imprisoned onboard the ships to solidify and bond into a singular group.

Although infrequent, this cohesive group was able to engage in insurrections. Unlike slaving vessels they were seldom brought above decks and remained confined to ships hold for the length of the journey. The reason for this practice can be seen from a 1724 insurrection on a vessel that transported convicts to London in which eighteen convicts over powered the crew and escaped on the longboat. An instance that occurred in Nova Scotia revealed the escape of a large quantity of convicts after the murder of the captain and crew. The *Honor,* which was bound for Virginia met with a similar fate when several convicts were able to mutiny and force the captain to set them on shore in Vigo Spain, the leader of which would find infamy in print and immortalization in a Hogarth illustration.[48] Instances of insurrection are not recorded for the vessels sailing from London to the Chesapeake between 1770 and 1775. This does not mean however, that insurrections by convicts were not feared, but leads one to believe that the ships were efficient in subjugating the convicts that they were transporting.

Just as slaves in their disruptive, disorienting ordeal attempted to preserve kin relationships, so must have the convict populations aboard the *Thornton* and other vessels. These bonds either created in England through familial ties or accomplices in criminal behavior for whatever reason, onboard the ship as kin-people in bondage, or in servitude in the colonies were prevalent throughout each ship's and criminal's story. Upon the *Thornton,* after arrival in the colonies, the convict's resistance continued on the night of the 21st of August, when lying in the ferry branch of Patapsco River, in Maryland, a twenty-five year old former barber named William Symonds and a twenty-six year old glassblower named John Hill stole away from the convict ship. Their relationship was most likely formed in transit, as Symonds, or Simmonds as listed in Coldham's research, was convicted in Surrey and Hill in London. They are described as probably attempting to pass for "master and man," a strong indication of them working

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[48] Vaver, *Bound with an Iron Chain*, 140.

together.[49] Thomas Tipping had a partnership with John Yardley in London. The men stole two hens together, and were both cast to Maryland on the *Thornton.* Tipping, a Welshman in his forties would steal away from Benjamin Dorey on the 4th of August, 1770 with John Lawrence who had been in Anne Arundel County since his arrival from Middlesex in 1769 for a 14 year sentence for theft from a specified place. The 3rd of January 1771 would see 24 or 25 year old Abraham Peters, convicted of shoplifting in London, and 26 year old John Brown of Surrey, flee their masters. Both men had been on the *Thornton* during their transport and are likely to have formed bonds while on the convict ship; they fled together from their master, Buckler Bond. They would not be successful in the attempt, but they fled together a second time four years later. In taking flight from Bond a second time the men extended their network, running with five others on the 3rd of May 1775, and taking with them this time a rifle, pistol and several other firearms along with a boat to secure their escape.[50]

At some point during their incarceration, transportation, sale, or bondage in Anne Arundel County, William Warrecker and Anthony Jackson also became entwined in a similar vision of freedom. Anthony Jackson was a nineteen or twenty-year old Englishman from Yorkshire had been convicted and sentenced to transportation at Surrey, and found himself in the confines of the *Thornton* with Warrecker. Together with Warrecker he was sold to John Hood of Maryland. John Hood appears to have been a fairly wealthy man; the 1790 census indicates he possessed 26 slaves, and had a household with four white females, two males over the age of 16, and six under the same age. Whether for yearnings for freedom, continued general resistance to society, abuse or political dissent, William Warrecker and Anthony Jackson likely gathered together on the Sunday evening of September 2, 1770, after what would have been roughly three months in colonial Maryland. After gathering up what clothing and possessions they could they disappeared into the night and the following day Hood advertised

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[49] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* August 30 1770.
[50] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* January 3 1771; *Pennsylvania Gazette,* May 3 1775.

their flight in the *Maryland Gazette*. John Hood must have presumed that they were endeavoring to travel a great distance as he offered a tiered reward at twenty miles, thirrty miles, and one for recovery of the runaways out of the province. He went to extra lengths to list these men in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* as well, and must have assumed that the two might engage in flight by the very same means they arrived in the colonies, by vessels, as he warned captains not to take them aboard.[51]

John Creamer's thoughts were, during his time in the colonies, focused on his family. Since his banishment his wife and children had been placed in a parish workhouse, and he had conceived a plan to return to them in England, where he might be able to work in the country and send for them. His plan came to pass in March of 1772, when he managed to run away and find passage back to England. Once there, and loose in the country, he was able to find work and soon sent for his beloved family who then came to live with him. His fate took a turn for the worse, when he returned to London though; he ventured to London to see a friend, and when the two entered a public house, Creamer was recognized and soon imprisoned for return from transportation. Dragged to Newgate again, he repeated the dismal dance of the gaol, again receiving a death sentence. His fortune had run out for he was not commuted or pardoned and awoke on the morning of October 14th to breathe the prison's choking air for the final time.[52] He had confided in the Orderly of Newgate that his crime, for which he repented, had been the one occurrence of theft and was due to destitution. He and the other five malefactors that shared his fate soon took to melancholy as they were brought from their cells a

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[51] *Maryland Gazette,* 13 Sept 1770; *Pennsylvania Gazette,* Sept 10 1770. It is also likely that this is the same John Hood who in 1778 took the Oath of Fidelity. In his belief that his servants had fled via the sea Hood was far from alone. Maritime flight was common among both slaves and indentured servants in the Chesapeake. Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake & Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill, 1998), 340-41; Charles R. Foy, "Seeking Freedom in the Atlantic World, 1713-1783," *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal,* 4:1 (Spring 2006): 46-77.

[52] Returning convicts were sentenced to death for returning from transportation before the conclusion of their sentences.

quarter before seven in the morning. Creamer being especially glum believed it unjust that he should suffer for his good intentions. Retaining his Irish Catholicism he refused the Protestant service. Two of his five companions were deeply ill with fever and barely able to carry themselves. Creamer lamented, "God forgive them that have taken away my life for returning to my own country!" Standing at the brink of the long sharp drop, he came to terms with his fate, when reminded that he had been condemned before for his crime. "True," said Creamer, "it is so; well God forgive everyone." He died at eleven o'clock on that Wednesday morning.[53]

William Warrecker and his accomplice disappeared into the annals of history after their flight. What became of these rogues? It is possible that Warrecker was able to find the resources to lead a productive life as a wage laborer, artificer, or land owner. It is equally possible that Warrecker and his accomplice re-embraced the water to make their escape, or sought to return to England like Creamer. John Poulter related how convicts that ran away would "lay in the Woods by Day, and travel by Night for Philadelphia, New York, or Boston, in which Place no question was asked of them."[54] A similar trend persisted among colonial slaves who sought freedom to the northern port cities of Philadelphia, Newport, and New York where they, like the convicts, were able to create new identities in the ever moving hustle and bustle of mercantile port business. Common laborers exhibited mobility and represented an ever-shifting periphery of society. Slaves, indentured servants and eloping women all sought refuge in these "ports of freedom." [55]

It is equally possible that Warrecker fell to his old habits as a highwayman. He may have been the unidentified criminal who, in February 1770, robbed a man in Queen Ann county Maryland.[56] Convict servant accounts of continued criminal behavior were

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[53] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 14 October 2013), *Ordinary of Newgate's Account*, October 1772 (OA17721014).

[54] John Polter, *The Discoveries of John Poulter, Alias Baxter* (London: R. Goadby 1754).

[55] Charles R. Foy, "Ports of Slavery, Ports of Freedom: How Slaves used Northern Seaports maritime Industry to Escape and Create Trans-Atlantic Identities, 1713-1783," Rutgers University, New Brunswick, Ph. D. diss., 2008.

[56] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* February 8 1770.

commonplace in colonial newspapers. On the 10th of January 1770 a convict servant "ripped open [the belly of one John Jennings] with a knife."[57] The 5th of April, the same year the runaway convict John Thomas, alias Richard Smith, made his escape from the New Castle gaol, after being apprehended for running away from his master.[58] Continuing forward, the December paper dispatched news relating the practice of coiners counterfeiting in the area.[59] The criminals did not always make good their escapes however and on the November 10, 1773 was an account of how on Friday, 22 November, four convict servants that "barbarously murdered their master…were executed at Fredricktown."[60]

The choice that the convicts made in their continued resistance to authority and the constraints of the social system is one of many options that were available to them. From the time of commission of their crimes in London through incarceration and transportation, to their sale in colonial Maryland and Virginia the convicts were able to create and strengthen social ties and then use these ties for continued resistance. Trial records of those that fled indicate that while in London the majority acted alone in the crimes of their conviction, while instances of accomplices that worked together in the colonies to escape show that this phenomenon inverted and more worked together than alone. For some resistance was escape back to their homeland, for others, it meant freedom to continue a life of liberties otherwise unavailable to them in mainstream society. While this paper reflects the choices of resistance contained in the lives of the convicts additional research is needed to complete the picture of these men and woman and the place they filled in society. What is suggested is a pattern of social ties and in some instances kinship that existed or was built in these individual's lives as they occupied the confines of jail and ship confinement and used these ties to escape their final punishment in the   colonies.

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[57] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* February 1 1770.

[58] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* April 5 1770.

[59] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* December 6 1770.

[60] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* November 10 1773.

London's Female Thieves, 1700-1710

Nichole Garbrough

The comrade she helped me to dealt in three sorts of craft, (viz.) shop-lifting, stealing of shop-books and pocketbooks, and taking off gold watches from the ladies' sides…. Moll Flanders[1]

Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flanders* is a novel of a late seventeenth century woman, who, besides partaking in multiple marriages, child abduction, and prostitution, was well-versed in theft. Defoe based this novel on observations he made of women criminality in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Tim Hitchcock notes in *Down and Out in Eighteenth-Century London* that literary and visual depictions rose during the eighteenth century, giving a stereotypical image of beggars and people in a desperate state.[2] Was Defoe's *Moll Flanders* just another stereotypical literary tale of a woman turned desperate? Hitchcock states, in regards to Defoe's depiction of female theft in *Moll Flanders*, that this printed observation was typical for London, based off of the many records. The farther from London Defoe discussed the more literary and stereotypical his writings on female crime became because of the lack of depiction thereof in newspapers.[3] We can "test" Defoe's depiction of female theft crimes by comparing it with criminal records of the time. *Moll Flanders* was first published in 1722, and the character "Moll," supposedly lived during the late 17th century.

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[1] Daniel Defoe, *Moll Flanders* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1959), 175.
[2] Tim Hitchcock, *Down and Out in Eighteenth-Century London.* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), ch. 9: "A Beggar's Mask," 209-232.
[3] Tim Hitchcock, Interview by author, Skype conversation. Charleston, Il., July 10, 2013.

Thus, I have sampled women accused of crimes of theft between 1700 and 1710.
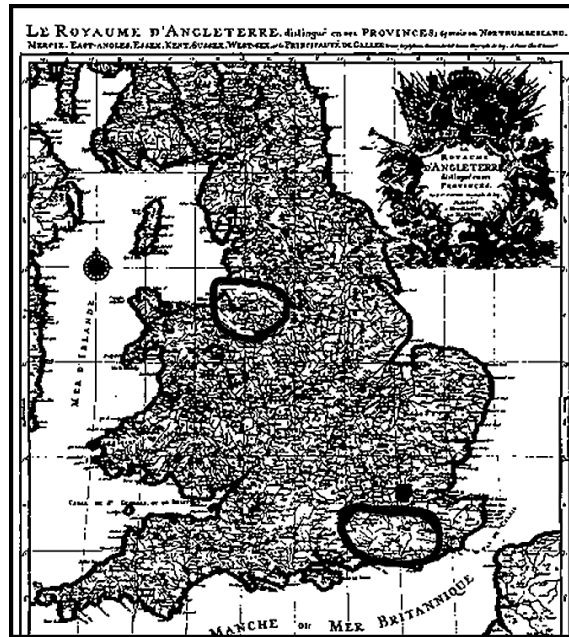
John Beattie's and Garthine Walker's case study regions in comparison with London's location. Sussex and Surrey Counties to the south and Cheshire County to the northwest. The black dot being London with Sussex and Surrey Counties circled in black to the south of London while Cheshire County is circled in black to the northwest of London.
Le Royaume D'Angleterre, distingue en ses Provinces. Par le Sr. Sanson. Geographe du Roy. Presente A Monseigneur Le Dauphin.
Amsterdam, Pierre Mortier 1700.

Property crimes of the early modern period are described as larceny, shoplifting, pick-pocketing, theft from a dwelling house, receiving stolen goods, and uttering counterfeit coins, according to Malcolm M. Feeley and Deborah L. Little's "The Vanishing Female: The Decline of Women in the Criminal Process, 1687-

1912."[4] Few historians have written solely on the topic of female theft in early modern London, rather looking towards prostitution as the typical female crime of the era or taking on more rural regions of England. John Beattie and Garthine Walker focused their research on female theft. As such, property crimes dominated the list of female crime, but their conclusions differ. Beattie's, "The Criminality of Women in Eighteenth-Century England," published in 1975, examines the records of Surrey and Sussex, just south of London. Beattie argued, from his research, that women were weaker, often committing thefts that were less violent and daring than men:

> Women crime tended, that is, to be rather less direct, less open, risking less of a confrontation with the victim. Though some women entered houses to steal, women robbers were much less common. If they engaged in street crime, it was more often as an associate or decoy, or they picked on children.[5]

Additionally, Beattie argued that women were less willing to participate in criminal activity without the coaching of a man, stole items of lesser value, and was granted more leniencies when convicted due to their femininity.[6] Beattie's records showed that from 1663 to 1802 only 24% of the people indicted for crimes against property in Surrey were women.[7] At the time, this was the only record of female theft activity. However, Walker's 1994 look at Cheshire County in the seventeenth century gave a different depiction of property crimes committed by women. Garthine Walker's "Women, Theft and the World of Stolen Goods," notes that women stole items of the same value of those stolen by men, that 50% were more likely to work with other women as only 25% worked with men, and that women received harsher punishments

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[4] Malcolm M. Feeley and Deborah L. Little. "The Vanishing Female: The Decline of Women in the Criminal Process, 1687-1912." *Law & Society Review* Vol. 25, No. 4 (1991): 719-758, 736. To utter counterfeit coins was to put them into circulation.

[5] J.M. Beattie, "The Criminality of Women in Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of Social History* Vol. 8, No. 4. (Summer 1975): 80-116, 95.

[6] Ibid., 80.

[7] Ibid., 91.

than men.[8] Walker's research found that 22% of those accused of property crimes in the seventeenth century of Cheshire County were women.[9] While both Beattie and Walker find that the minority of those convicted of property crimes were women, this is perhaps the only information regarding female theft crimes on which they were able to agree. Which depiction of female thieves might apply best to eighteenth-century London?

This study hypothesizes that the closer one comes to central London the more crimes will be committed by women, which urban crime patterns differ greatly from rural ones in this time period. Paradoxically, despite the fact that Beattie studied an area bordering London, Walker's thesis is more applicable to London crime in the early eighteenth century.[10]

In order to test these two historians, I created a search on Old Bailey Online in which I looked at all theft offences in which the verdict was guilty from January 1700 to December 1710. From here I deciphered which convict was male and which female based on their name and the use of pronouns in their case descriptions when names were misleading, such as Francis, or missing. In this search, I found 525 cases regarding the guilty verdict for theft crimes. However, 1701 and 1705-1706 were missing from the results. I then created a spreadsheet in order to catalog the individual's name, offence they were found guilty of, the date of their trial, the parish they belonged to, and a description of the crime.[11] The description of the crime was of most importance because I could note how many cases had similar aspects such as thefts committed in shops compared to those from one's place of lodging. Analysis of my spreadsheet was needed next in order to decipher the many questions surrounding this topic. Were men

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[8] Garthine Walker, "Women, Theft and the World of Stolen Goods," in *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England*, ed., Jenny Kermode and Garthine Walker, (Chapel Hill: UNC Press Books, 1994), 81-105, 84-85, 87.

[9] Ibid., 82.

[10] Due to time constraints and the amount of information gathered in just these ten years, my research had to be confined to this time period. In order to create a more accurate visual, many more decades should be added to this research.

[11] An image of that spreadsheet can be found at the end of this article.

more often convicted of crimes against property than women? Did women more often work alone, or would they more often work with other women or with men? Where and in what situations thefts were most often committed? What punishment was most often given to women for theft? Lastly, were there any specifics that were most similar in these cases, such as where the women were likely to come from? All these questions made up those that needed to be asked in order to create the most accurate depiction of female thieves in London from 1700-1710 and all these questions were able to be answered by looking at the research compiled from Old Bailey Online in this time frame.

First and foremost, my sample has 525 cases of theft, of which 276 involved women. This is important as both Beattie and Walker found women involved in a minority of thefts. The London evidence barely fits into this model, as about 53% of the charges were against women. Women were equal partners in thieving in early modern London. That said, they seem to be disproportionately charged with lesser theft. Women were more often convicted of theft under one shilling (121 cases out of 276: 43%). However, from reading the cases, these women actually stole items of much more value than that, but were only convicted for one shilling or less. For example, Ellinor Painter was found guilty of theft under one shilling on December 6, 1710 but her crime accounts state, "was Indicted for feloniously stealing a Pair of Flaxen Sheets, 3 suits of Head-cloths, 3 Cambrick Handkerchief, and 20 s. in Money...."[12] This may be because in the eighteenth-century death was very often the punishment and many jurors were reluctant to condemn offenders to such a fate[13] Frank McLynn displays this phenomenon in *Crime and Punishment in Eighteenth Century England* in which he states, "Bloody Code is the name traditionally given to the English system of criminal law during the

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[12] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 03 August 2013), December 1710, trial of Ellinor Painter (t17101206-48).

[13] "The Criminal Trial." *London Lives 1690 to 1800: Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis.* http://www.londonlives.org/static/CriminalTrial .jsp#toc4 Updated: April 2012. Access: 3 August 2013. Jury nullification has long been part of common law.

period 1688-1815. In these years, a huge number of felonies punishable by death were added to the statute book."[14] McLynn notes, however, "The central paradox of the Bloody Code was that a vast increase in capital statutes did not lead to higher levels of execution."[15] Additionally, Beattie notes that far fewer women were indicted for the most serious offences, "a total of 1445 men were charged in Surrey with robbery, burglary, and horsetheft, for example, as against 228 women...."[16] While this may suggest that men were more often the perpetrators of violent offences, this could also display (expose?) leniency towards women and a desire to protect them from the most severe punishments.
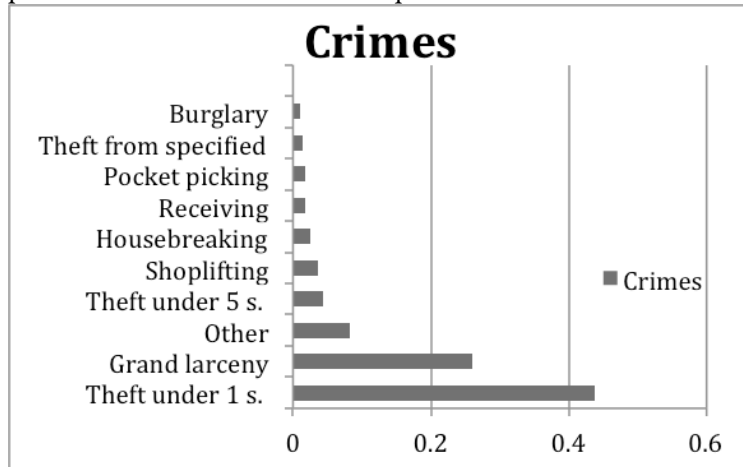
Crimes

Next, grand larceny was most popular (72 cases out of 276: 26%) and after that "other" included "lesser offences" and combined offences in which the convicted was found guilty of more than one crime in their specific case (22 cases out of 276: 7%). Lesser offences were often tried as misdemeanors rather than the crime they were first accused. For example, Ann Hawkins was accused of burglary but found guilty of a lesser offence:

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[14] Frank McLynn, *Crime and Punishment in Eighteenth Century England.* (London: Routledge, 1989), xi.
[15] Ibid., xv.
[16] Beattie, "The Criminality of Women in Eighteenth-Century England," 95.

Ann Hawkins...indicted of Felony and Burglary, for Breaking the House of the Royal African Company...about 7 in the Night, and taking from thence 6 Silver Spoons, 6 Rings, set with Diamonds, a Stone Ring, a 5l. Piece, and 4l. 5s. in Money, the Goods of Samuel Storey: the first Evidence deposed that the Prisoner was a Servant to him formerly, and went away from him, and said, that she us'd to call as she went by that way, to see her Mistress, and came that Evening there, being no body at home but a little Boy, he being out of Town, and convey'd away the Booty. The next Evidence was the Boy, who deposed that he was standing in Leaden-hall street, the Prisoner beckon'd to him, and told him that she was very cold, and desired him to let her go upstairs, and she would go and call Tom; (who was her Husband,) and they would have a Pot of Drink; which he consented to, and being come up, she desir'd him to go and fetch the Drink, which he agreed to, and in the mean time, she took the Trunk out of an Inner Room, that was double lockt, and lockt the same again; but he coming back, she pretended to go and call Tom, and in the mean time carried off the Trunk, and staid some while, and then came again, to prevent Discovery.... The Prisoner did not deny the Fact; only saying that the Door was open; and the Boy upon Tryal, delcar'd that it was Day-light: The Jury found her Guilty of Felony only, and acquitted her of the Burglary.[17]

This shows that while the theft definitely occurred, whether or not she broke into the house is less certain as the boy may have given her permission to enter the house and the door was open. Whether or not the boy had the ability to allow her in the house is unknown, but the fact that the door was open takes away the possibility of

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[17] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 03 August 2013), April 1704, trial of Ann Hawkins (t17040426-13).

Hawkins being able to break into the house. Therefore, from these results, it seems that women very often did steal items of high value but were also often times convicted of crimes that carried a lesser punishment, perhaps in order to spare the guilty of death.[18]

The punishments most often given to these women from 1700 to 1710 do show that death was actually one of the least likely handed down, only 11 of 276 cases or 3%. However, 30% of the cases did not specify what punishment was given at all. Yet, even if we take away the 84 cases that did not specify the punishment, out of 276 cases, death was still only handed down 5% of the time. Most often whipping and branding on the cheek were given for the cases in which punishments were recorded. Of the 276 cases, whipping was ordered for 48 of those cases (17%) and branding on the cheek for 44 cases (15%). Therefore, it seems plausible that McLynn and Beattie are correct in their assertions that death was not handed down as often as one might think when discussing the era of the Bloody Code.

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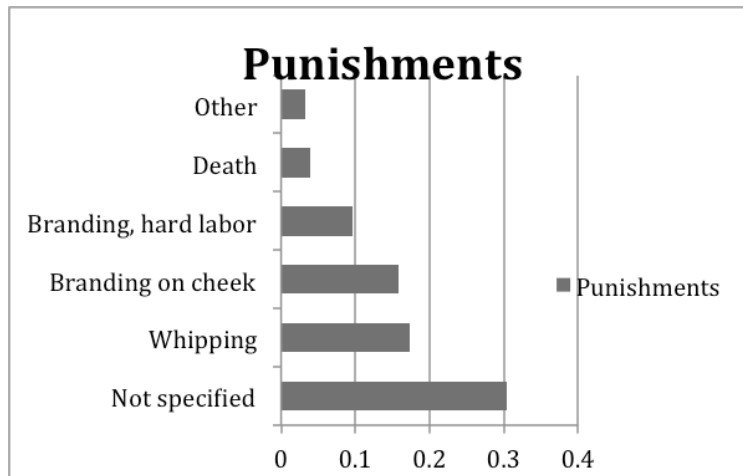
[18] However, in order to show whether this occurred more often or less than males of the same crimes, one needs to analyze the information given in Old Bailey Online for the same time frame for male thefts. This was impossible given the time constraints of this research.

Looking at the punishments handed down for each case, it is hard to determine why one was given the death penalty and another given whipping or branding. For instance, Mary Jones was convicted of housebreaking in 1700 in which nothing of particular interest would make her crime more dangerous or worthy of death than any other. Jones was not a repeat offender nor was her crime particularly violent.[19] However, Mary Ford, a known offender of grand larceny was only given the punishment of branding on the cheek in 1704.[20] The only possible explanation of this is the fact that death was issued more often in the earlier part of the decade than later. In 1700, five cases were punished with death. In 1704, a death sentence was handed out three times, but in all instances was respited for pregnancy, and two of those women were instead branded on the cheek. By 1710, no death sentences were specified. While this research is not conclusive because there are many cases in which the punishment was not recorded, this may show from the beginning of the decade to the end a more humane punishment system in which the Bloody Code declined.

The way in which crimes were committed and the tendency for women to work alone or with others is also questioned. Beattie and Walker give differing accounts on this issue, especially of what is found when using Old Bailey Online from 1700-1710. It is most often contended by historians that domestic servants were the most likely to commit thefts as they have more opportunities to do so. Beattie writes, regarding the crime problem in London that a fear confirmed by depositions was theft by servants, "By 1711 and 1712 a quarter of the surviving depositions in the City of London sessions papers are concerned with an alleged theft by a servant."[21] Additionally, women were more often employed as domestic servants than in other positions and over men. However, the research from 1700 to 1710 in Old Bailey Online shows that most

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[19] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 04 August 2013), August 1700, trial of Mary Jones (t17000828-13).

[20] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 04 August 2013), April 1704, trial of Mary Ford (t17040426-25).

[21] J.M. Beattie, *Policing and Punishment in London, 2660-1750: Urban Crime and the Limits of Terror*. (Oxford University Press, 2001), 37.

often victims of thefts were random shop-owners. Specified in the cases, 50 thefts or 18% occurred where the victim was a random shop-owner and only 35 cases or 12% showed the relationship to the victim as a current or former employee. Moreover, of these female thieves, 27 or 9% of the cases were lodging at the victim's house and stole therein. Whereas a much larger proportion of this part of the research is unknown (164 out of the 276 cases or 59%), what we do have displays that fears regarding whether your servant might steal from the household are not unfounded, but may not be as significant as previously thought.
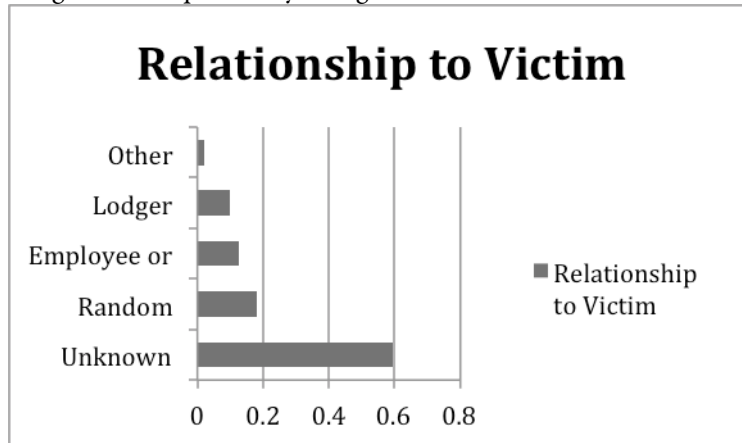
William Hogarth's *Night*, a 1738 depiction of London's streets, combined with Hannah Morgan's shoplifting proceedings from 1710 shed some light on how shoplifting was able to be such a popular crime in the eighteenth century. Morgan:

> was Indicted for feloniously stealing 8 yards of blew and white callicoe, value 10 s. and 18 yards of linen check.... It appear'd that the Prisoner came to the Prosecutor's Shop Window, and cut the String by which the Grate was ty'd put in her Hands, and took the Goods from thence...."[22]

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[22] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 04 August 2013), December 1710, trial of Hannah Morgan (t17101206-61).

William Hogarth, Night. 1738.

Looking at Hogarth's print, on the left hand side a table is set up under a window. This would have acted as a display area during shop hours. This would have been where Morgan would have untied the grate carrying the calico and linen. This print, and all the chaos of the city, shows not only how the shop owners were able to use the window fronts for displays but also how a thief would be able to take items from the window just as easily. However, just as often victims were able to call for help and the perpetrator would be apprehended because of the many people in the streets and the lack of law enforcement. Robert Shoemaker notes in *The London Mob: Violence and Disorder in Eighteenth-Century London*, that "raising one's voice to make an insult or to request help was by itself often sufficient for attracting a crowd."[23] In many cases, raising one's voice was sufficient in capturing a suspected criminal. Such was the

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[23] Robert Shoemaker, *The London Mob: Violence and Disorder in Eighteenth-Century London*. (London: Hambledon, 2004),114.

case for Jane Wilson, in which, "The Prosecutor's Wife deposed that she was sitting below the Stairs in the Kitchen and heard a great noise above, upon which she went into the Street and called some People to her assistance, who coming, found the Prisoner with her Lap full of Goods...."[24] This was the way in which many accused were taken into custody because of the lack of law enforcement in early modern London. Yet this also suggests that one almost needed to take the accused red-handed thereby assuring that these crimes were most definitely underreported as well.

By examining the cases from 1700-1710 in Old Bailey Online, one can gather ways in which women preferred to commit crimes, alone or with others. *Moll Flanders'* title character learned the craft of theft from another woman. One such crime two characters committed together was one in which one woman would fall over next to a wealthy lady causing the victim to fall, and in the mess of apologizing and helping each other get up, the other would pickpocket a watch at the lady's side.[25] In 1702, a crime involving two women was recorded in Old Bailey in which the details seem straight from Defoe. Elizabeth Belcher and Mary Wilkinson:

> came into the shop pretending to buy some silk, was shewed several pieces, and on a sudden, Wilkinson pulled a squirrel out of the pocket, which got loose, and ran into a little closet, upon which, the prentice went to catch it for them, but the prisoners came and catcht it; but he saw Belcher take up some of her Coats, upon which, he mistrusted them, and looking found the piece of Silk [30 yards, valued at 5 l.] missing.[26]

As entertaining and interesting as this case is, how often was it that women worked together? Additionally, how often was it that women worked with men? Beattie argues that when women participated in robberies, most often they were associated with male

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[24] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 04 August 2013), August 1700, trial of Jane Wilson (t17000828-4).

[25] Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, 175.

[26] (*Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 28 July 2013), January 1702, trial of Elizabeth Belcher Mary Wilkinson (t17020114-6).

robbers as decoys or lookouts.[27] Sarah Windall and George Way worked together in a case of theft under five shillings but even in this situation, Windall was not just a look out or decoy. Together, Windall and Way took twenty yards of muslin out of a shop and when apprehended the goods were found upon Windall. [28] However, Walker contends that 50% of women were more likely work exclusively with other women, usually in pairs. While only 25% of women partnered with men or in a group in which men outnumbered women.[29] According to Old Bailey Online from 1700-1710, where it was specified that a woman worked with another or when a female was tried with another, only 30 of the 276 cases or 10% had women working with another woman, only 3 cases showed a woman working with a man, and one case in which the gender of the partner was undistinguishable. An overwhelming 87% of the crimes committed therefore were perpetrated alone. This leaves little doubt that women were just as likely and willing to commit a theft and even more plausible that a woman could do so without the coaching of a man.
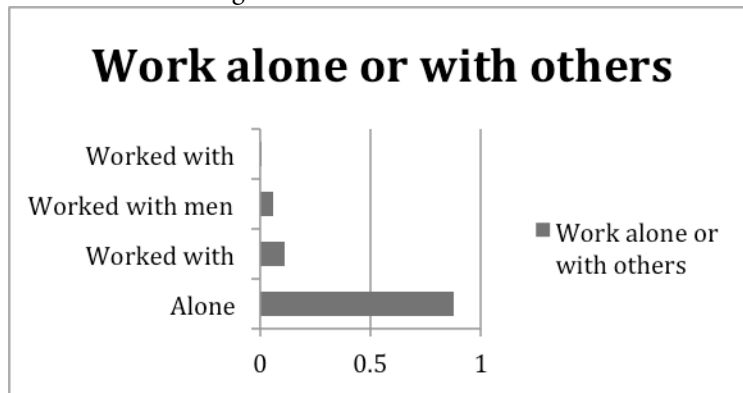
Lastly, with the information given on Old Bailey Online, I desired to know which parishes had the largest proportion of women committing crimes of theft. In the map provided, parishes

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[27] Beattie "The Criminality of Women," 90.

[28] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 04 August 2013), April 1704, trial of Sarah Windall George Way (t17040426-35).

[29] Walker, "Women, Theft and the World of Stolen Goods," 84-85.

were coded according to how often women came from each parish, in cases that the parish was specified.[30]

Parishes that are white did not have a corresponding prisoner associated within. ● signifies parishes that had less than five cases in which women came from within. ◆ (St. Clements Danes and St. Paul's Covent Gardens) had five instances in which a woman came from that parish. ★ (St. Katherine Cree) on the right hand side, had six instances. St. Andrews Holborne is the on the ■ , on left hand side, where it is recorded that ten women came from that parish and did so commit a theft. The last three on the top of the map is St. Giles without Cripplegate (⬣) with eleven instances, St. Giles in the Fields (◤) with eighteen cases, and St. Martin in the Fields (▲) with twenty-two instances in which the woman convicted of a crime against property lived in that parish at the time of the crime. Not plotted on this map are parishes such as St. Ann's Westminster with ten cases in which the prisoner hailed from this parish, St. James Westminster with seven instances, and St.

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[30] "Map of London parishes," *London Consistory Court Depositions, 1586-1611: list and indexes* (1995), pp. 2-3. URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report. aspx?compid=117335 Date accessed: 28 July 2013. Shading provided by the research completed in Old Bailey from 1700-1710.

Margaret's Westminster with six. It can therefore be deduced that women from the north and the west of the city were more likely to commit crimes against property. This may be explained when discussing the social structure of London during the eighteenth century. Robert O. Bucholz and Joseph P. Ward describe London's layout and society in *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550-1750*. In the theme of this work we can find the issue behind the reason so many of the northern parishes of London found their women committing property crimes, "nothing is inevitable about London's increasing prominence, power, wealth, or modernity, nor were the opportunities and benefits of growth distributed evenly in metropolitan society."[31] The further north one ventured outside of the city's walls the fewer opportunities were made available and therefore the poorer and desperate the people were. Of Westminster Hall, Bucholz and Ward describe an area of affluence and depravity in close capacity, "Where the rich congregate, so too does the poor, resulting in more crime and begging."[32] Bucholz and Ward continue:

> The hall also contains shops and stalls to entice or refresh those pleading a case or waiting a verdict. On court days it is thronged with litigants and spectators, especially when the weather is bad, because it is a good place to get in out of the rain: another indoor public square and proto-shopping mall in early modern London. Naturally, it was also a favorite hangout for nippers (cutpurses), foisters (pickpockets), and queans (prostitutes). . . Despite being limited to the best people, early modern household accounts reveal plenty of complaints about stolen cutlery and rowdy behavior...."[33]

In this case, it is very likely that domestic servants were stealing from their employers while the many shop-owners found their wares missing. Women had to come into the city from the outer

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[31] Robert O. Bucholz and Joseph P. Ward, *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550-1750.* (Cambridge, 2012), 32.

[32] Ibid., 63.

[33] Ibid., 61-62.

parishes where they lived, usually in the north and the west, to commit these crimes thereby choosing to venture into the more affluent parishes of London.

Looking at the Old Bailey records from 1700 to 1710, it can be deduced that Garthine Walker's arguments regarding female theft crimes may be more accurate than John Beattie's. Walker noted that women stole items of the same value of those stolen by men and that 50% were more likely to work with other women while only 25% worked with men. While Beattie argued that women were weaker, often committing thefts that were less violent and daring than men, were less willing to participate in criminal activity without the coaching of a man, stole items of lesser value, and were granted more leniencies when convicted due to their femininity. Beattie's article interestingly states:

> that the underreporting of two other offences, shoplifting and picking pockets, might have had relatively more effect on the apparent rate of women's crime than on men's.... In addition many of the women charged with 'stealing from the person' were prostitutes accused of robbing their clients. This clearly must have added to the reluctance of many victims to bring a prosecution, for in addition to trouble and expense, it involved a possibly embarrassing confession. It was also difficult to get evidence against the women involved, and judges, encouraged perhaps by the feeling that these men had brough their troubles on themselves....[34]

Beattie's assertion regarding the leniencies provided to women may in fact be correct, however more research needs to be completed in order for it to be proven conclusively.

While there is much more research that needs to be done in order to definitively prove this argument, there are many findings just in the decade of 1700-1710 that display the ways in which women perpetrated property crimes that distinctly contradict Beattie's findings. This research found that in fact 52% of these?

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[34] Beattie, "The Criminality of Women," 94-95.

women were convicted of property crimes, making them the majority, if only slightly. Women were more likely to be convicted of theft under one shilling, however, in many cases stole items of much greater value. This may show that women were given more leniency than men; however more research must be completed in order to make this determination. Additionally, more research is needed to decipher the value of items stolen by males in order to prove or disprove that women often stole items of lesser value to men. Women more often worked alone than in groups, and when working together would more often work with other women, usually in pairs, than with men, as argued by Walker. Women were more likely to be whipped or branded on the cheek than any other punishment, when specified. However, more information is needed in order to decipher whether women gained more leniency in punishments than men due to their femininity. Women more likely committed crimes against random shop-owners than in households of their employers, as argued by Beattie. Women from parishes further outside the city wall, on the north and west, were more likely to commit an act of thievery either because of lack of opportunities to the north and higher populations of wealth and therefore poor to the west. Lastly, considering the few cases looked at in some detail during the course of this article, it seems Daniel Defoe's literary depictions of female thieves coincide quite well with the historical record.

John Beattie and Garthine Walker had quite differing views from one another, and from the research presented here, regarding the statistics of specific instances revolving around female thieves. Many of this can be explained in the fact that Beattie was performing research in the 1970s when "history from below" was just taking off. Resources were scarce. Walker's research is closer to the findings presented here; however, inconsistences could be explained by the location of her case study. Cheshire County is a much more rural area than London and therefore found fewer crimes because of a more pronounced sense of moral obligation in the countryside. Urban areas found more instances of poverty, desperation, and depravity allowing for higher cases of crime committed by women. Female acts of thievery were given a better

chance to flourish in London's bustling scene in the eighteenth century. This flourishing of female depravity did not go unnoticed by Daniel Defoe and *Moll Flanders* is the perfect example of what women can do when faced with desperate times and the moral degeneracy of eighteenth century London.

Figure 5: *An image from the spreadsheet used to compare the cases of theft committed by women on Old Bailey Online from 1700-1710.*

Railroad Town: The Iron Horse Comes to Mattoon, Illinois, 1855 to 1870

Justin Wardall

Around noon on June 9th, 1855, a crowd of nearly three thousand people gathered to watch as the first train rolled down the tracks across the crossing of the Terre Haute-Alton line and the Illinois Central line. The crowd cheered as the steam billowed and the boilers roared while the train crept its way down the tracks; cheering for the man who stood atop the train's only freight car. Announcing to the crowd that he had brought with him an endless supply of beer and whiskey, the spectators cheered his name, the name of William Mattoon.

It may have been difficult for Mattoon to believe that the town that would eventually bear his name had sprung up in less than a year. The population had already risen to a few hundred settlers by that summer day in June. A host of businesses were providing goods and services for the citizens of this newly established village even before the first train rolled down the tracks.
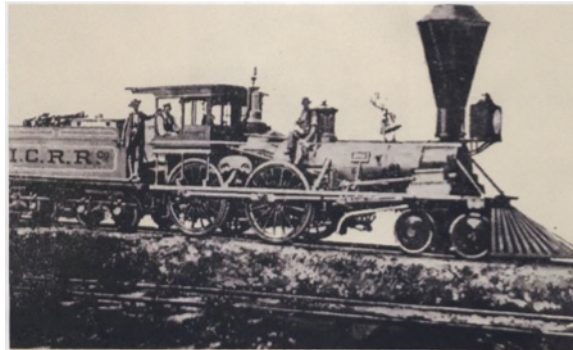

Figure 1: One of the first engines that ran through Mattoon, Illlinois, in late summer, 1855. (Alex Summers. Mr. Mattoon's City: 1855-1955)

But for the town of Mattoon, growth was only just beginning. Within a few short years, the two railroads brought not only tremendous growth in the population, but also dynamic social, economic, and cultural change. The railroad would be at the center of the ebb and flow of the community's fortunes for years to come.

History of the Railroad Crossing and the Founding of Mattoon

The coming of railroads to and across Illinois made a faltering beginning in the 1830s and '40s. That they were equated with prosperity there was no doubt. In the 1830s the state of Illinois clamored to be a part of the new craze: of railroading. In 1837, the Illinois General Assembly passed the Internal Improvements Act, which authorized the issuance of ten million dollars in bonds, with nine million authorized for railroad construction in the state. According to Craig Sanders in *Mattoon and Charleston Area Railroads*, "this included $3.5 million for a central railroad between Cairo, at the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, and Galena in northwestern Illinois."[1]

Shortly after the passage of the act, in the Panic of 1837, those plans collapsed. Only one railroad had been built by 1841 when the program was cancelled. It would be another twelve years before Illinois would approve a charter for the Illinois Central Railroad (IC).[2] Around the same time, the state had chartered the Terre Haute and Alton Railroad (TH&A). Both railroads were to pass through east-central Illinois, with the IC running north-south and the TH&A running east-west. As early as 1852, the point where the two railroads crossed was rumored to be ten miles west of

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Justin Wardall is from Pana, Illinois, and recently completed his MA in history at EIU. "Railroad Town: The Iron Horse Comes to Mattoon, Illinois, 1855 to 1870" was written for Dr. Terry Barnhart's Nineteenth-Century U. S. Cultural History seminar in the summer semester of 2013.

[1] Craig Sanders, *Mattoon and Charleston Area Railroads*, (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 7.

[2] Ibid., 7.

Charleston, Illinois, on empty prairie land. By 1854, it was official: the route would in fact pass through this location.[3]

Almost immediately, a group of six enterprising capitalists realized the opportunity that lay before them. If the railroad meant progress, then a town set up at the crossing would be a very lucrative endeavor. Upon the earliest rumors in 1852, the group, consisting of Elisha Linder, Ebenezer Noyes, James T. Cunningham, Stephen D. Dole, John L. Allison, and John Cunningham purchased the section of land where the crossing was rumored to take place. Paying $2.50 an acre, they immediately decided to place a town on the spot.[4] However, since the fixed location of the crossing was not certain until sometime in 1854, the site was not staked off until 1855.[5]

Figure 2: Crossing of the Illinois Central and Terre Haute & Alton lines (Craig Sanders, Mattoon and Charleston Area Railroads, (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2008)).

Early in 1855, the area developed the name of "Pegtown" since the majority of the area was simply staked off plots of land.[6] By the spring of 1855, houses and buildings were already being set up in the area. Two years later, in 1857, the town would officially be renamed Mattoon, after the man who supervised the building of

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[3] Alexander Summers, *Mattoon , Origin and Growth: A Concise Historical Sketch of Mattoon and Coles County With a Special Chapter on Banking*, (Mattoon: The National Bank of Mattoon, 1946), 3.

[4] William Henry Perrin*, History of Coles County – 1879* (Chicago: Wm. LeBaron, Jr. & Co., 1879), 353.

[5] Summers, *Mattoon*, 6.

[6] Ibid., 6.

the TH&A, although it would come to be called Mattoon as early as late 1855. Coincidentally, as if he knew the way that progress would affect the community, Charles Floyd Jones, a land speculator in the railroad industry, suggested that instead of Mattoon the town should be named "Excelsior," Latin for "ever upward."[7]

Due to the law at the time, whichever railroad company made it to the crossing of the two roads second, had to pay for the upkeep of the crossing. In what historians would later call the "Race to the Crossing," the TH&A arrived at the crossing in the summer of 1855, and shortly after, the IC made it to the crossing.[8] Building the crossing resulted in a dramatic rise in land prices, from only sixty-nine cents an acre before the crossing, to twenty-five dollars per acre afterwards.[9] In one year, from 1855 to 1856, over one hundred buildings were built within the village, and by 1857, voters passed an act to incorporate the village, and Mattoon became an official town.

Mattoon on the Map

Contemporary maps show that railroad literally put Mattoon on the map. The first maps of Coles County make no mention of the area. Obviously, even the railroad itself did not exist in 1836, and a contemporary map of proposed canals and roads only show the nearby cities of Shelbyville and Charleston.[10] An 1856 map of the state of Illinois shows the railroads and their crossings, but still Mattoon is not shown.[11] It is not until 1857 when voters approved incorporation that the village became an official town. The town of Mattoon first appears on "Chapman's Township Map of Illinois" published in 1857.[12]

Population

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[7] Charles Floyd Jones, "Letterbook, 1850-1855".

[8] Perrin, *History of Coles County*, 353.

[9] Summers, *Mattoon*, 6.

[10] "A New Map of Illinois with its Proposed Canals, Roads & Distances from Place to Place Along the Stage & Steamboat Routes," (Philadelphia: H.S. Tanner, 1836).

[11] "A New Map of the State of Illinois," (Philadelphia: Charles DeSilver, 1856).

[12] ""Chapman's Township Map of Illinois," (Milwaukee: Dyer & Pasmore, 1857).

By the time Mattoon became an incorporated town, it already had a population of 500.[13] By 1858-1859, the population had doubled, and by 1860, just three years after the founding of Mattoon, the number nearly tripled, with roughly 1500 citizens in the town, while 1,946 resided in the township.[14][15] By 1870, 4,967 people lived in the township, surpassing the county seat, Charleston, by nearly 500 citizens.[16]

Statistics for the population increase between 1860 and 1870 show that the railroad was bringing a significant amount of people in from other places, effectively creating a more diverse community. By 1870, a little over ten percent of the population of Mattoon Township was foreign born, compared to Charleston's three percent.

In the *1879 History of Coles County*, William Henry Perrin included biographical sketches of prominent members of the community of each township. Included in the sketches are the biographies of M. Alshuler, the owner of a staple and dry goods store, from Bavaria, Germany, William Burgess, a manufacturer and dealer of boots and shoes, from Devonshire, England, J.K. Donnell, a wholesale grocer, from Tyrone County, Ireland, Matthias Everharty, the proprietor of West Broadway Meat Market, who was born in Coblenz, Prussia, G.T. Kilner, the town druggist, from Manchester, England, the Kahn brothers, Mark and Moses, who emigrated from Germany, and J.W. Moore, a lumber merchant, who was born in Kent County, England.[17]

Many foreigners, and perhaps some of the people listed above, were often enticed by the IC to emigrate from their homes in Europe to the state of Illinois. Due to the intense need for labor, the Illinois Central Railroad Office published a pamphlet in 1861 for distribution across Europe. It explained the seemingly endless opportunities available in the state of Illinois. Extolling the virtues of Illinois farmland, the pamphlet made immigrating to Illinois

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[13] Summers, *Mattoon*, 8.
[14] *Illinois State Gazetteer & Directory: 1858-1859*, (G.W. Hawes).
[15] Ibid., 8.
[16] Perrin, *History of Coles County*, 699.
[17] Ibid., 539-553.

sound like a very prosperous endeavor. Acknowledging the current state of agriculture in Europe, and promising immigrants the opportunity to purchase land, the pamphlet claimed that the Illinois Central Railroad Company had over 1,400,000 acres of land for sale of selected prairie and woodlands, for sale at prices ranging from eight to fourteen dollars per acre. The pamphlet also mentioned that in many of the railroad towns, like Mattoon, the railroad had lots that could be bought for a decent price for those interested in entering a mercantile or industrial trade as opposed to agricultural trade.[18]

As well as trying to sell immigrants on the idea of moving to Illinois, the pamphlet also offered advice to immigrants on how to make the best out of this opportunity: mainly, working in a trade or industrial job for three years before buying land for farming. And even then, buying small parcels of land instead of large holdings that would lead to debt. The pamphlet also compared the health conditions in Illinois to those in Europe, showing that Illinois farmers and laborers were much better off than peasants and laborers in Europe. The pamphlet must have lead many Europeans to see Illinois as a land of opportunity, and the pamphlet even offered prospective immigrants the easiest routes to Illinois, with prices for travel included. In this fifty-page pamphlet, Europeans found a handbook for immigration that brought a great many to towns like Mattoon.

The railroads also brought a larger population of African-Americans to the area. In 1860, only nineteen African-Americans resided in Mattoon Township, but by 1870, that number had risen over 800% to 174 African-Americans living in township.[19] While they remained a small percentage of the population, black residents nonetheless found work in both the railroad industry and businesses within the community.[20] The railroads definitely had an effect on the diversity of the Coles County area, especially in Mattoon.

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[18] "A Guide to the Illinois Central Railroad Lands," (Chicago: Illinois Central Railroad Office, 1861).

[19] Perrin, *History of Coles County*, 699.

[20] Sanders, *Mattoon and Charleston Area Railroads*, 11.

Economic Impact

Perhaps the biggest impact that the railroads had on Mattoon and the surrounding area was the economic and cultural changes that occurred in those railroad towns. The 1850s was a decade of tremendous economic growth within the state of Illinois. The railroads, like the coming of canals before them, truly opened the state up to the outside world, allowing for a more rapid transit of agricultural produce to new markets. Local economies were linked to an increasingly integrated national market of railroad born commerce, and Mattoon was no exception.

Situated 172 miles from Chicago and 130 miles from St. Louis, transport of agricultural goods was a burden for farmers during the early years of settlement in Coles County. With no railroads travelling from the area to the large urban markets of Alton, Chicago, and St. Louis, farmers had to take their harvest by the wagonload several hundred miles to reach the larger markets. Then, the sold grain would usually travel down the Mississippi River to New Orleans or down other river and canal systems from Chicago to make it to the East.[21] However, by 1860, shipments of grain were travelling on the railroad to cities like Chicago and St. Louis, allowing farmers to grow more. The *Mattoon Weekly Gazette* listed the grain harvests for October through November of 1860 on Dec. 7th, 1860, showing that Chicago had received 575 bushels of corn; St. Louis had received 1,550 bushels, and New Orleans, directly connected to Mattoon through the IC, had received 12,221 bushels of corn for the month alone.[22] Furthermore, in 1873 the Decatur, Sullivan, and Mattoon line opened between Decatur and Mattoon, giving Mattoon yet another outlet for the transportation of goods.[23]

For the year 1867 to 1868 an agent for the Indianapolis & St. Louis Roads[24] reported that 164,130 bushels of corn had been

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[21] Charles Ward, *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois & the History of Coles County*, (Chicago: Munsell Publishing Company, 1906).

[22] "Oct-Nov Grain Shipments," *Mattoon Weekly Gazette*, Dec. 7, 1860.

[23] Summers, *Mattoon,* 9.

[24] In 1856, the Terre Haute & Alton's name was changed to the Terre Haute, Alton, and St. Louis to emphasize Terre Haute-St. Louis Traffic. The line later

shipped, while the IC reported that they had shipped 324,561 bushels during the period. This was a tremendous growth rate compared to the earlier days of shipping grain by wagonload. Furthermore, grain elevators made loading grain onto trains much more convenient, and Mattoon was set up with an elevator as early as 1855, although it was located too far from the city's center and was soon abandoned and another elevator, closer to the city took its place.[25]

Figure 3: Map of Mattoon Il., circa 1855-1860 (courtesy of The Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield Il.)

In addition to the one hundred plus buildings built in Mattoon between 1855 and 1856, over one-hundred-and-fifty houses were built within the town between 1858 and 1859. According to the *Illinois State Gazetteer & Directory: 1858-1859*, a large brick Methodist Church, a "fine hotel" the Essex, and a very large business house were built between these years. A map of Mattoon, circa 1855-1860 (fig. 3) compared to one circa 1869 (fig. 4) shows that in just ten years the town more than doubled in physical size as more and more people flooded into the area.

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defaulted on its bonds in 1859 and was then reorganized as the St. Louis, Alton and Terre Haute. Later, a Cincinnati group leased the StLA&TH and placed it under the management of the Indianapolis and St. Louis Railroad, accounting for the name change.(Sanders, *Mattoon and Charleston Area Railroads*, 8.)
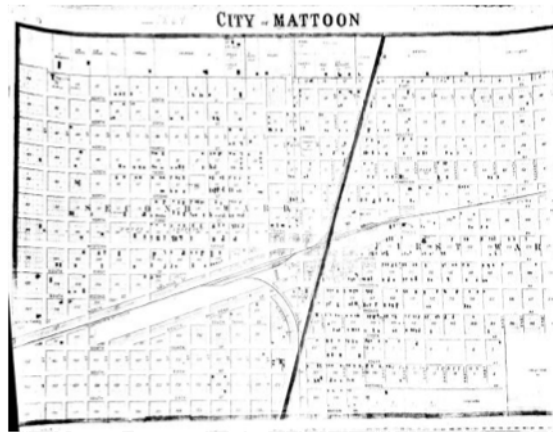[25] Perrin, *History of Coles County*, 367.

Figure 4: Map of Matoon Il., circa 1869 (courtesy of The Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, Il.)

As the economy changed rapidly, businesses had to keep up with changing demands. A pork-house in built 1855 became a hominy-mill in 1861, a plow-factory in 1864, and in 1866-1867 became a corn-meal mill. Businesses, especially warehouses and factories, within the city of Mattoon often lasted only a few years before either becoming some other type of business, offering different products to suit changing needs in the economy of Mattoon, as well as the changing economy of Illinois and the United States.[26]

Professions and businesses within the town also saw tremendous growth as more people moved to the area and the demand for more professional occupations emerged. Between 1858 and 1859 the *Illinois State Gazetteer & Directory*: 1858-1859 lists thirty-four professions or businesses in the town, including grocers, attorneys, real-estate agents, jewelers, and general stores.[27] Eight years later, in 1866-1867, there were 187 professions/businesses, an increase of 450%.

In 1879, a new profession entered the scene in Mattoon when the Indianapolis and St. Louis railway built a machine shop.[28]

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[26] Ibid., 367.

[27] *Illinois State Gazetteer & Directory.*

[28] See footnote 24.

Used to repair and perform maintenance on locomotives and cars on the line, the business employed two hundred workers in Mattoon. Railroad employees, who together earned $23,000 a month, a significant sum in 1879, spent nearly all their earnings in Mattoon.[29] Stores in Mattoon profited tremendously from the boost to the economy brought about by the railroad industry.

Figure 6 Machine-shop workers posing in front of a steam engine in the 1870s (Craig Sanders, Mattoon and Charleston Area Railroads)

According to the ledger of the Ogden Patton General Store, for the months of September-October of 1862, the store averaged nearly sixty transactions a day, with the exception of Sundays. This shows only a small percent of the number of transactions that took place in Mattoon for any given day. Furthermore, by 1866 there were ten dry goods stores in Mattoon, which in itself is only a small portion of the stores that lined Mattoon's streets. Railroad commerce and necessary machine-shop repairs translated into hardware stores, carpenter-shops, harness-makers, and blacksmiths in large numbers. One especially popular business was the saloon, with ten saloons in 1866. Ironically, there were only four less saloons than there were grocers within the city.[30] Economically speaking, Mattoon businesses boomed from 1855-1870. While

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[29] Perrin, *History of Coles County*, 369.
[30] Ibid., 372-373.

building and businesses slowed down during the Civil War, they picked back up immediately after for another five years, before slowly tapering off again.[31]

Cultural Impact

While the economic impact of the railroads was certainly more visible, the railroads also contributed culturally to the area. In 1856, as railroads came into Coles County, and ultimately, Mattoon, telegraph lines came with them. Alliances between railroad companies like the Chicago, Alton, & St. Louis and the Telegraph Company were quite common. While they were helpful in assisting the movement of trains, telegraphs also brought news to the bourgeoning city; no longer was Mattoon, or Coles County for that matter, isolated. While communication used to take days or months, now it only took a few moments.[32] This allowed for better news coverage than was known in the past. Instead of waiting days or weeks for newspaper articles that came from larger cities on the East Coast to be printed locally, the citizens of Coles County could now enjoy news not long after it left the presses in more urban areas.

During the mid to late nineteenth century, Mattoon had four newspapers, *The Mattoon Weekly Gazette, The Mattoon Daily Journal, Mattoon Commercial* (which later would be renamed to *The Radical Republican*) and *The Mattoon Morning Star*. Each presented their own coverage of the news to the citizens of Mattoon. [33] This allowed citizens of Mattoon to be more knowledgeable of life outside their community, whether it was coverage of the war with the South, politics in the East, even the "Bleeding Kansas" fiasco in the West. In fact, the town of Mattoon was one of many that sent relief to Kansas, holding relief drives to support their fellow free-soil advocates in the West.[34]

The Mattoon Weekly Gazette had a large number of advertisements for anything from lumber to watches (so one could

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[31] Summers, *Mattoon*, 9.

[32] Ward, *Encyclopedia*, 659.

[33] Perrin, *History of Coles County*, 382-389.

[34] "Relief Drives for Kansas," *Mattoon Weekly Gazette*, January, 1861.

make sure they made the train on time). In fact, advertisements often took up 2-3 pages of *The Mattoon Weekly Gazette*, which in its entirety only consisted of four-six pages in length each week. While consumer culture is thought to have developed later in the nineteenth century, in railroad towns consumer culture seems to have developed much earlier.

The railroad also brought new experiences to the citizens of Mattoon and communities located on or near rail lines that they would not have experienced otherwise. For instance, during the 1860 St. Louis agricultural fair, the railroad offered half fares to St. Louis to attend the fair. This allowed farmers who could not necessarily afford the fare to travel to St. Louis to see new types of agricultural methods that might prove to be a benefit to their farming. What was good for agriculture was good for the railroads and vice versa. Agricultural fairs make that important connection obvious.

Culture often follows commerce. More than goods and services exchange hands when trade becomes more than a local concern. The railroads transformed communities socially and culturally as well. The constant influx of new people to Mattoon exposed the community to a variety of different cultures and backgrounds. According to Ward, in his 1906 *History of Coles County*, being in touch with the eastern states marked the beginning of a new era for Mattoon. "Very soon," he said, "the 'Yankee School Marm' – that civilizing and polishing influence from "way deown East" – began to take hold of sons and daughters of our Kentucky, Virginia and Tennessee-born pioneers, and turn their faces about, so that they might catch new views of life."[35] Surely, the cultural beliefs and attitudes of the people who had lived in Coles County before the railroad were drastically changed, not only by this influx of migration/immigration, whether it was from other countries, or from other parts of the nation, but also by being connected to a larger world, one from, prior to 1855, they had been isolated.

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[35] Ward, *Encyclopedia*, 658.

Conclusion

The railroad industry had an enormous impact on Mattoon from the mid to late nineteenth century. As railroads swept across Illinois, Mattoon likewise caught railroad fever. By 1889, four rails either went through Mattoon or terminated in Mattoon, and the city would keep growing. By 1900 the city population would be roughly 10,000 people. The railroad industry would continue to be an important part of Mattoon's economic and cultural livelihood until the 1950s, when steam engines were entirely phased out and railroad companies began using the more efficient diesel engines. Mattoon began to experience a decline in its railroad economy as many of the machine shops were simply no longer necessary, and trains could pass straight through a town without stopping for repairs. However, the legacy of the railroad remains with Mattoon today.

If one walks the streets of Mattoon today, one can still see the imprint of the railroads. One can see the different layout on the eastern and western sides of the city as they were parceled out in the 1850s according to the orientation of the community on the rail lines; the bike trail that sits astride the grading of the old Terre Haute & Alton road; even the buildings on Broadway, which today face the street, show that at one time several buildings were oriented toward the depots once located behind hem. The front of many of the buildings on Broadway at one time were actually the back. The coming of the Iron Horse to Mattoon and its ultimate decline over time changed the community physically, economically, socially, and culturally. This essay may best be ended with a quote from the *1879 History of Coles County*: "Its growth has been rapid and wonderful beyond the wildest dreams of the pioneers who first set foot within its borders."[36] Such Whiggish odes to progress and the pioneers were by no means unique to Mattoon. They were a keynote in the history of many railroad towns. The coming of the Iron Horse was Prometheus unbound to those who sang its praises.

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[36] Perrin, *History of Coles County*, 223.

Commemorating the Charleston Riot: Memory, Memorial, and Monetary Modernity*

Alex Scalise

Commemoration is a difficult task for public historians because it is tied to broader American cultural values and beliefs. Yet, with an abundance of so many different races, ethnicities, and ideologies, whose collective history should be remembered and memorialized? Historian David Thelen attempts to make clear the relationship between memory and history in "Memory and American History." In the article, he connects historical study to individual and collective memory. He believes "the social dimensions of memory are more important than the need to verify accuracy." But, whose historical interpretation is accurate? In a survey conducted with historian Roy Rosenzweig, concerning the uneasy link between memory and historical accuracy, Thelen states that, "in each construction of a memory, people…reorganize details from the past in an active and subjective way." Individuals tend to recall their memories as truths, pitting them against the recollections of others. Also, most respondents preferred an interactive and collaborative approach to history. Particularly, the respondents prefer "to see history making as a more

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Alex Scalise, from Mokena, Illinois, earned his BA in history with a minor in anthropology in spring 2014. "Commemoration of the Charleston Riot: Memory, Memorial, and Monetary Modernity" was written for Dr. Debra Reid's Public History: Meaning and Method course in the fall of 2013. His paper was also featured in the Charleston Riot commemorations on campus this year.

*This article contains no footnotes, as it was designed to use an annotated bibliography of the works central to its argument, and to discuss those works within the text, without using citations. The original bibliography, therefore, is included at the end of this article.

democratic activity that allows amateurs and professionals to learn from each other." Instead though, a power struggle over historical interpretation and accuracy persists in memorials, museums, monuments, and reenactments.

Content and Direction

Public historians use an applied methodology intended to garner the interest of civilians and experts. Historian Michael Frisch explains the impact of "shared authority" on public history and commemoration. Frisch believes that an acceptance of non-professional viewpoints by traditional institutions of historical authority during the 1990s became the norm, but he did not believe this was affecting the field. Instead, Frisch asserts that public historians should accept the audience's authority, even if it is grounded in culture and experience because exhibits can become meaningfully engaged with history.

In Charleston and the surrounding communities, twenty-nine people were asked about their knowledge of the 1864 Charleston Riot. Nearly sixty percent of those surveyed had never heard of the Riot. Those that had heard of the Riot did not know substantive information about it. The Riot is a relatively unfamiliar and unstudied incident that occurred near the end of the Civil War. The fighting took place outside of the Charleston Courthouse between Southern sympathizers known as Copperheads and Union soldiers on furlough. By the time gunshots subsided, nine were dead and twelve were injured. Out of this assault, only two Copperheads were killed. The rest fled Charleston, including the Copperhead leader, and Coles County sheriff, John O'Hair who went to Canada. This attack between two partisan groups became known as a "bloody affair," a "Copperhead conspiracy," and even a "riot." Journalists and scholars from the late 19th century through the 20th century were very conscientious of ways to evoke the interest of readers. Prescribing the deadly quarrel between Union soldiers and Copperheads as a "riot" is not so much a misnomer as it is a pro-Union interpretation.

I intend to unpack ways in which the Coles County community remembered the Riot. Specifically, my research

discusses the memory and memorial process of the Charleston Riot in accordance with the rise of public history and local tourism ventures. By reviewing the Riot's commemoration during the second half of the 20th century, one very plain truth became clear: people in the community actively attempted to remember and symbolize the Riot, even though most had never heard of it. Over time, economic planners coupled the Riot with anniversary dates and other commemorative projects. Additionally, the Riot seemingly became a nostalgic memory representative of what people considered to be their "identity." But there are difficulties in understanding the commemorative process of the Civil War era.

Commemorating the Civil War Era

The Charleston Riot has importance beyond a simple scuffle between drunken neighbors; it exemplifies the factional nature of American politics and civil rights during the period. However, attributing an accurate meaning to the incident is difficult because it is a part of the daunting Civil War era of American history. Historian David W. Blight discusses the imprint of the Civil War on America's collective memory in his book *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory.* Blight's work in chapter ten, "Fifty Years of Freedom and Reunion" expresses his personal belief that American culture failed to remember the Civil War "beyond manly valor." Essentially, American culture during the process of reconstruction (post-1865) glossed over racial causes of the war. As a result, following the Civil War, African Americans became "alienated from the national community's remembrance of its most defining event." In fact, by the early 20th century, major media outlets only gave recognition to important battles and the nobleness of soldiers from the North and South. By sweeping over slavery and the freedom African Americans gained from emancipation, white culture altered the collective memory of the Civil War.

The Charleston Riot falls into the complex grey area of Civil War commemoration. Political factionalism lay at the Riot's heart, but it is difficult to separate political issues from racial ones. Although all participants in the Riot were white, the issue of race persisted. Copperheads were outraged by the war and abolitionist

policies of Abraham Lincoln. Also, Republicans and Union soldiers forced Democrats and Copperhead extremists to swear allegiance to the Union cause and "subjected [Copperheads] to various indignities." Republican and Copperhead conflict made it difficult for the commemorative process after the Civil War. Nancy Easter-Shick's *Round the Square: Life in Downtown Charleston, IL 1830-1998* mentions a verbal quarrel between George E. Mason, editor of *The Cumberland Democrat,* and Captain William E. Adams, Civil War soldier and Charleston native, ten years after the Riot. Adams, a Republican, wrote an article detailing his involvement and perspective on the Riot in the *Charleston Plaindealer.* However, his interpretation offended Mason, a Democrat. In return, Mason took to his newspaper, arguing against the validity of Adam's article. As the county and the country continued to deal with post-Civil War disaffection and bitterness, attempts to preserve historic locations and events began to popularize moving into the twentieth century.

In *Lincoln's New Salem: Or, The Trigonometric Theorem of Vernacular Restoration* by Patricia Burlison Mooney, the development of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) is discussed. As a part of a national movement to delineate specific areas as memorial locations and create jobs, the CCC took over site reconstruction of New Salem, Illinois in 1933. Joseph F. Booton, chief draftsmen in the State's Division of Architecture, implemented the CCC's site reconstruction theory: modernity and standardization. Further, "rationalized, efficient output was valued more than historic accuracy" Mooney states. The CCC did memorialize locations, but Illinois' commemorative process was rationalized through the need to attract visitors. Thus, quickly and systematically building sites to entice tourists popularized throughout the 20th century. In the case of New Salem, state funding looked to open the historic site in time for the commemorative 100-year anniversary of President Abraham Lincoln living in the town. As the CCC expanded, many towns, communities, and states began to recognize the value in connecting historical commemorations and anniversaries to tourism plans and economic development programs.

Tourism and Commemoration

Before evaluating the commemoration of the Charleston Riot, inquiry into the development and impact of tourism on culture is useful. Priscilla Boniface, author of *Managing Quality Cultural Tourism,* states that, "culture is very much [a part of] tourism's main attraction." She continues, "without different cultural heritages, places around the world would have little to offer that would attract for purposes of tourism." Tourism is often linked to the preservation and history of specific societies. In the case of Charleston, economic planners intended to capitalize on the interest of those seeking to remember the Riot, historically and symbolically.

While tourism serves as an economic boom, the public history movement also contributes to the commemorative efforts of the Charleston Riot. Public history, according to the National Council on Public History (NCPH), started as a movement during the 1960s and 70s. Essentially, NCPH argues that the movement gained "visibility and influence through the establishment of public and applied history programs at universities." Furthermore, "while public history can promote popular understanding of history, the goal of many projects may not be explicitly educational at all." For instance, towns, such as Charleston, often encourage historic preservation by promoting tourism as a part of their economic development. Public history promotes an increase in living history activities, such as historic sites, historical interpreters, and reenactment groups. In accordance with the public history movement, the first reenactments of the Charleston Riot began in the late 1960s in the Charleston Square. Also, as a part of economic planning and development, Charleston began to denote specific areas, such as the county fairgrounds and Charleston Square, as places of symbolic meaning. Both locations became perfect locations for Riot reenactments. However, the fairgrounds became unanimously popular for Riot reenactments and for town and country anniversary celebrations by the 1980s. Boniface extends an understanding on site locations. Specifically, she states that "if a site is to attract visitors, and therefore, potential sources of income, it must represent a more desirable location for leisure activity." (102)

Thus, the county's fairgrounds offer a valuable location for visitors to watch the reenactments without feeling alienated from the historical accuracy of the Riot.

1950s Memory on the Charleston Riot

In 1951, Charleston native Nancy Funkhouser wrote an article titled "The Charleston Riot." For years following the Riot, newspapers reported a very partisan retelling of the incident. However, Funkhouser's article provides an objective interpretation by mentioning that Nelson Wells, a Copperhead, or Oliver Sallee, a Union soldier, may have started the Riot. Yet, she does not prescribe her entire body of work to finding out the instigator as earlier newspapers reported. Nor does Funkhouser provide an explanation of the Riot beyond the parameters of Coles County. Instead, she defined the Copperheads as southern sympathizers and highlighted the Union's role in making Copperheads "swear to oath for support to the Union." Funkhouser detailed the daily progressions on the day of the Riot, starting with the Democratic rally, the involvement of Union soldiers on furlough from the C and G companies, and the chaos that ensued at 3 p.m. Furthermore, she discussed Dennis Hanks' involvement in freeing the 15 Copperhead prisoners from Fort Delaware.

Funkhouser's article was published in the *Illinois Junior Historian Magazine.* The magazine was established in the mid-20th century as a part of the junior historian movement. In "What About Teaching the History of Illinois in our Public Schools?" Fritiof Ander explains the movement and mission of the *Junior Historian.* Essentially, it started as a history club for high school students in public schools. Therefore, the magazine that published Funkhouser's work consists of contributions from locally interested students. Ander mentioned that the magazine's goal was to "promote special and shared interests of the students" that teachers could then employ in their future curriculum. Ander's article provides insight on the possible roots of Funkhouser's article in the *Junior Historian.*

1960s Remembrance and Reenactments

The 1960s experienced an increase in Riot coverage and commemoration, attributed to the public history movement during the decade. The first reenactment did not occur on the 100th year anniversary of the Riot. Instead, atop *The Charleston Courier-News* on March 28, 1964 read a column titled "This Afternoon a Dreadful Affair Took Place in Our Town." The title paid homage to an article written in 1864 detailing the occurrences following the attack. The opening line states, "this page of Charleston's history for March 28, 1864—100 years ago today—was written in blood." Clearly, it was a highly dramatized retelling of the incident. Although the article did not provide new evidence about the Riot, a definitive stance regarding the instigators was taken. To the point, the column noted, "Wells fired at Sallee but missed. Sallee was shot by someone else, but before he died he pulled a pistol and fatally wounded Wells." After briefly describing the event, the article provides an account from an unmentioned newspaper covering the Riot. In addition, an image of the Coles County Courthouse was given center page attention. No further mention of the Riot occurred throughout the rest of the 100th year anniversary newspaper. Regardless, front-page news and the sensationalized editing left readers interested.

Charleston's first reenactment of the Riot occurred on March 31, 1967. Commemorators, self-aware of the prospects in tourism money, held the event on a weekend seeking to garner as many visitors as possible. *The Charleston Courier News* covered the first Riot reenactment with an article titled "Riot Re-Enactment Set Saturday to Open Tourism Season in City." The retelling involved more than thirty participants. Additionally, Reverend Cliff Rust "who [was] active for several years in tourism in Charleston" served as the narrator of the battle. Referring to the Riot as a battle seems to be an attempt to, again, dramatize the actual occurrence. This is especially true considering the fact that Union soldiers were weaponless during the Copperhead attack in 1864. In hopes of drawing a big crowd, the reenactment was coupled with "the formal opening of the new museum in the basement of the courthouse." Charleston's Tourism Committee set

up both the museum, which includes a manikin of Lincoln and antique furniture, and the reenactment.

The following year, a second annual reenactment of the Riot was held as a part of a Charleston Tourism Committee event. "Reenactment of Charleston Riot Set for March 30th by Volunteer Units" read the title in *The Charleston Courier News*. Instead of celebrating on the actual anniversary date, the committee held the event on Saturday March 29, 1968. Twenty-five men of the 104th Volunteer Infantry Regiment and the 54th Regiment of Decatur, Illinois participated as volunteers for the program. The ceremony was to "include a 45-minute marching drill program." Militarily, the 104th regiment was involved in the Civil War, including the Battle of Chickamauga and General Sherman's "march to the sea." After the war, the regiment was reestablished in 1960 to "help commemorate Illinois's participation in the Civil War." Members of the volunteer unit participated in the reenactment of authentic historic events in Springfield, Lincoln, New Salem, Libertyville, and other cities in Illinois. The reenactment was paired with the state's sesquicentennial celebration. According to the *Chicago Tribune,* a 1968 calendar listing of celebratory events marked the date of 29 March as the "official opening of the Charleston museum." Again, the commemorative process was tied to the opening of other historic locations for economic purposes and visitor enticement.

In the 1960s, the Charleston Chamber Tourism Council published a brochure highlighting the Riot and the individuals involved. Although the date of publication remains unclear, it is likely the brochure was used to promote the story behind the reenactments of the late 1960s. The title read "Civil War Tensions Explode into Riot at Charleston!" Print of the 1864 Copperhead bounty was published on the front page the pamphlet, including an image of Copperheads shooting down fleeing Union soldiers near the courthouse. On the back page an article from the *Charleston Plain Dealer* chronicled the Riot. The editorial mentions culprits involved, the altercation, and Copperhead withdrawal shortly thereafter. Conclusively, the brochure says, "rumors concerning movement of the Copperheads continued for four or five days after the Riot." According to Nancy Funkhouser, the quarrel between

the soldiers and Copperheads led to a volatile outbreak of over 100 bullets being fired in just a couple minutes. An event that lasted only "a couple [of] minutes" garners the interest of re-enactors across the state of Illinois and serves as a launching pad for tourism in Charleston.

1970s Commemoration and Plaque Installment

1976 marked the bicentennial year of America. Nancy Easter-Shick insists that the country's celebration "brought with it a display of hometown pride." Charleston celebrated by installing a replica of the Liberty Bell in Morton Park. Also, *Coles County History, 1876-1976,* by Betty Boyer and Robert Kovac, was released with the intention of presenting the compiled history of the county's past 100 years. The bicentennial celebrations were held in Charleston's Square and included a 4th of July parade. Although Easter-Shick reflects on the bicentennial year as one full of "hometown pride," no mention of the Riot is made by any local newspapers. In fact, many reports express a certain disillusionment felt by many Charleston locals preparing for bicentennial celebrations.

The Charleston Courier News prints an article by Bob Corn titled "Who Will Remember July 4, 1976?" Corn cites a United Press International poll for his inquiry of celebratory plans for the bicentennial year. However, the findings show that not many Americans had any special plans for the day. Also, according to Corn, "a brief sample of the Charleston area residents shows them to be right in line with the nationwide trend." Corn's article mentions discontent with the marketing agenda of community economic planners in Charleston. Lois Kloker, a Charleston local, is quoted as saying that the town and country was becoming "terribly commercialized." Another Charleston local states that he "like everyone is getting sick and tired of the fact that it is becoming virtually a 'buy-centennial.'"

The *Daily Eastern News* covered the 4th of July festivities in Charleston. First, an editorial titled "Bicentennial Feat may be city's biggest parade" anticipated a large turnout for the parade festivities. Bill Browning, executive vice president of the Charleston Area Chamber of Commerce and chairman of the Bicentennial parade committee, said "the parade may be the biggest ever in Charleston."

The July 5ᵗʰ, 1976 *Charleston Courier News* produced another article by Corn entitled "City Celebrates America's 200ᵗʰ." Although there was a large turnout for the parade on the Fourth of July, Charleston Police Detective Sergeant Ed Kallis noted that the rest of the events had "the worst crowd we've ever had." Events for the day included a police and firemen breakfast, country music performances, a community tug of war, running races for children, and a dog show. Even though committee leaders were hoping for large crowds, it appears that many Charleston locals were disinterested in the city's celebrations.

In 1977, the Coles County Historical Society and the Illinois State Historical Society established a plaque commemorating the Charleston Riot. The marker is located in downtown Charleston outside the Coles County Courthouse. The description mentions atrocities experienced by Copperheads during the Civil War, including "a highly controversial trial of Union deserters in March, 1863." Members of the historical societies chose the words for the marker carefully, hoping to retell the Riot in an objective manner.

Historian Jim Weeks writes about memory and commemoration in his book *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine.* Monuments and commemorations of America's past are connected to national marketing strategies and patRiotism, according to Weeks. Specifically, he states, "monuments provided a permanent solution to preserving memory, evoking reminders of a debt the present owed the past." Comparatively, the marker in downtown Charleston seeks to preserve the memory of the Riot. Weeks further suggests, "monuments [stake] out a sacred environment of thoughtful repose." Thus, the installation of the Riot marker symbolizes the county's "Civil War tensions" that exploded into a Riot, as popularly endorsed by the Charleston Chamber Tourism Council. But as Weeks suggests, tension between commercial and historical commemoration persists. Nevertheless, he believes commemoration of "Civil War battlefields boosted the monument industry significantly and stimulated new techniques for manufacturing memorials." Whether Civil War memorials seek historical accuracy or not, they reflect the collective

memory of people from all over the country. In Charleston, city officials and surrounding citizens sought to symbolize the Riot as a Civil War memento.

1980s Sesquicentennial Celebration(s)

Nancy Easter-Shick discussed a sesquicentennial pageant that was performed on July 31st, 1980. The pageant celebrated the 150-year existence of Coles County. Festivities were held on the county fairgrounds in which "more than 400 participants" witnessed or took part in the "reenactments of the Charleston Riot and also, a Civil War battle." The sesquicentennial celebration was a part of a weekend full of attractions, including a Trade Fair and a second annual Fall Festival.

The 1980s experienced an increase in town and county festivities. Heading the marketable direction was the Charleston Chamber Tourism Council, the sesquicentennial committee, and Carl McSparin, chairman of the steering committee that oversaw a number of celebrations and special events. 1985 marked the city of Charleston's sesquicentennial year of celebration. Easter-Shick states that the town was unable to celebrate its 100th year anniversary due to the hardships of the Depression in the 1930s. But in 1985, the town celebrated with a three-day long extravaganza on July 5th through the 7th. In addition to the 4th of July celebrations, Charleston's sesquicentennial festivities commemorated the Riot and the city in several different ways. A *Charleston Courier News* article describes the establishment of a time capsule that will be presented during Charleston's 200th year bicentennial celebration in 2035. The time capsule is said to include yearbooks from various schools around the community, such as Charleston Junior High, Charleston High School, and Eastern Illinois University. Richard Dobkins, president of the sesquicentennial committee, accepted additional suggestions from the community "about items to be placed in the capsule." Festivities were also set to consist of photographs of the event, a sesquicentennial quilt, special T-shirts, stickers, maps, and historic films. Clearly, there was an attempt to market the event's festivities.

July 5th, 1985, started a three-day long celebration and commemoration of Charleston's 150th anniversary. Maureen

Foertsch, staff writer for the *Charleston Courier News,* led coverage on the events. Foertsch noted that a part of the festivities was a living history program in which "participants reenact[ed] the events leading up to the Charleston Riot." Also included in the celebrations were an antique car show, a magic show, artistic paintings, a carnival, and a fireworks display. A reenactment of the Riot was also held on July 6th, 1985. Again, the remembrance covered events leading up to the Riot. The sesquicentennial celebration aimed at honoring the Civil War and endorsing local history.

As a part of the community's collective memory, the Lincoln-Douglas debate and the Riot commemorations were conflated into one weekend. Thus, Charleston's economic planning enabled visitors to buy into two separate pieces of history. The purposes of historic remembrances during the three-day festivities of 1985 was not strictly to promote educational knowledge. In fact, Charleston's historical commemoration over the 4th of July weekend may not have been to promote any sort of additional knowledge regarding the Civil War era. Rather, the sesquicentennial celebration was, more than likely, about promoting the profitable attraction that is collective memory and living history.

By the end of the sesquicentennial celebration, Charleston had attracted 30,000 to 40,000 visitors. Foertsch wrote an editorial that included Dobkins' final remarks on the success. He stated, "I think we convinced Charleston it can have a good time in a big way – and it doesn't have to be bad or conservative." Further, Dobkins mentioned that he and the committee officials "are grinning from ear to ear." Charleston's celebration drew so many people that it actually led to power outages throughout the event due to electrical exhaustion. When asked if the festivities should be held annually, Dobkins stated "I don't think it should be annual. It's like a movie sequel – when you have a success the sequel is never as good." The three-day event increased sales in all facets of Charleston's economy. Commemoration was not only organized to boost the economy, but also to pay homage to the roots of Charleston's identity. Clearly, with the large number of visitors, it was an

identity many people, not just in Charleston, had interest in reliving and remembering.

Final Thoughts

A trend in remembering the Charleston Riot as a part of major town, county, and country anniversaries characterized the commemorative process of the late 20th century. Accordingly, during the 1980s, committee board members established tourism councils to help bolster sales and memories of the anniversary celebrations. Tourism councils were very interested in promoting Riot remembrances during the biggest money making times of the year. Although reenactments represent the collective memory of Charleston inhabitants, it is also the combined interest of the community that placed monetary value on the historical remembrance of the Riot.

The public history movement brought new ways to present history to the general public. The community was not participating in history to learn necessarily, they were visiting reenactments to take a part in a celebration of their identity. Further, they were witnessing the representation of their collective memory. However, the bicentennial celebration of 1976 seems to have lost the interest of many Charleston citizens. Residents seemed disinterested in the event and even more disinterested in the commercialized aspects of the festivities. The plaque installment in 1977 was a low-scale way in promoting living history amongst the community, but residents were at least able to recognize a part of their history on display.

For those living in and near the town, the Charleston Riot has symbolic meaning beyond a "dreadful affair" that took place between two neighboring towns. David Thelen uses the conclusion of Maurice Halbwach, a French scholar, in helping explain the ramifications of collective memory. Halbwach stated that, "individuals require the testimony and evidence of others to validate their interpretations of their own experiences." When Coles County citizens participated in the Riot reenactments and remembrances, a nostalgic reaffirmation of their identity and memory occurred.

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The Charleston Riot Plaque, downtown Charleston. Erected by *Coles County Historical Society   and Illinois State Historical Society,* 1977.

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Secondary

Ander, Fritiof O. "What about Teaching the History of Illinois in our Public Schools?" *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* Vol.39, no. 2 (June 1946): 202.

Ander's article discussed the roots of the *Junior Historian* magazine movement and how it allowed interested history students from high schools in Illinois bring up talking points of interest. His work provides an understanding and explanation for the roots of the magazine and how Nancy Funkhouser's article got published.

Barry, Peter J. *The Charleston, Illinois Riot: March 28, 1864.* Urbana: Peter J. Barry, 2007.
Peter J. Barry's, "The Charleston Riot and Its Aftermath: Civil, Military, and Presidential Responses," discusses events and societal tensions of Coles County immediately before, during, and after the Charleston Riot. Specifically, Barry covers the reasons for the Copperhead movement during the American Civil War. I used Barry to show the different directions the Charleston riot had been studied.

Blight, David W. *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.
Race and Reunion is a history of how the unity of white America was purchased through the increasing segregation of black and white memory of the Civil War. Blight delves deeply into the shifting meanings of death and sacrifice, Reconstruction, the romanticized South of literature, soldiers' reminiscences of battle, the idea of the Lost Cause, and the ritual of Memorial Day. Blight's chapter provided extra knowledge to the difficulties in remembering the Civil War era and presenting those remembrances to the public.

Boniface, Priscilla. *Managing Quality Cultural Tourism.* New York, NY: TJ Press Ltd, 1995.
The book takes a look at how to manage cultural tourist sites to best meet the needs of thevisitors, the presenters, and the site itself. It provides background knowledge on cultural tourism and then focuses on some of the important issues involved with managing a heritage site. Specifically, I used Boniface's book as a means to express the connection between tourism and historical remembrances.

Burlison Mooney, Patricia. "Lincoln's New Salem: Or, The Trigonometric Theorem of Vernacular Restoration," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* Vol. 11 (2004): 19-39.

Mooney focuses on reconstruction of New Salem and how it represents the ideals of the designers and personnel doing the remodeling. She hoped to indentify Joseph Booton's restoration theory and the abstract principles that guided his architectural actions. Further, she hoped to look into how Booton's recreation reflected social and intellectual values, but also how they contradicted them. Eventually, Mooney came to the conclusion that the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) promoted Booton's style of restoration: systematic standardization and modernity. The article reflects upon the nature and quality of how events, like the riot, are remembered.

Coleman, Charles H., and Paul H. Spence. "The Charleston Riot, March 28, 1864." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 37, no. 1 (March 1940): 78-112.

The article begins with an introduction on the creation and belief system of the Copperhead movement. Following the reasoning as to why the Copperheads disapproved of the Civil War, the authors then chronicle information written in Republican and Democrat newspapers. Following the contextual introduction, the article then discusses in very fine detail the elements that contributed to the riot between the 54th Illinois Infantry soldiers and Peace Democrats outside of the Charleston Court House. I used the Coleman and Spence article to delineate yet another example of how historians have covered the riot.

Easter-Schick, Nancy and Bonnie Brooks Clark. *'Round the Square: Life in Downtown Charleston, Illinois 1830-1998.* Charleston, Illinois: Easter-Chick Publishing, 1999.

The book is a 160 year telling of changes of the city landscape, economy, and society of Charleston, Illinois. The authors discuss the altering Charleston culture during the Civil War years, the Gilded Age, the technological revolutions of the early 20th century, and up and down economic times during the mid-to-late century. I

used the book because it provided added insight into the celebrations of the riot and as a means to help locate added primary sources.

Thelen, David. "Memory and American History." *The Journal of American History* Vol.
75, No. 4 (Mar. 1989): 1117-1129.
Thelen discusses the importance of historical study on collective memory. Through research, he deduces that collective memory seems to be more important to historians and influential over individual memory. As support, Thelen uses the conclusion of Maurice Halbwach, stating that individuals require the testimony and evidence of others to validate their interpretations of their own experiences. I used Thelen as a means to showcase the collective knowledge about the riot came in forms of reenactments, plaques, paintings, festival celebrations, and story telling through academic speeches.

Weeks, Jim. "A Memorial of the Whole Struggle," *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine,* 57-83. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
In chapter three of his book, Weeks discussed the memorialized process of Gettysburg, following tumultuous civil relations amongst the races in America. He namely discusses the impact that monuments have on collective memory. As memory of the Civil War gradually changed, so does commemoration.