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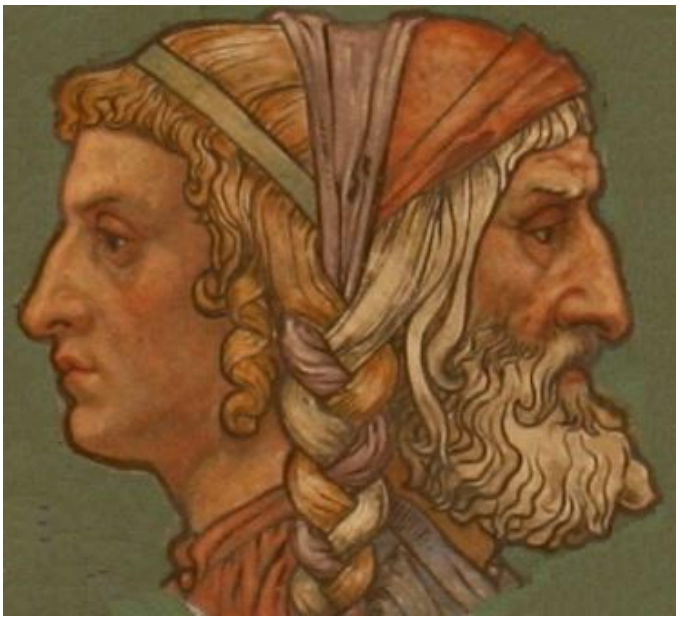

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Continental Empire, Race Laws, and Sterilization

By Justin Hawkins

An important legacy of the Nazi Regime is how selective interpretation of tradition informed ideology, and in turn policy. The Nazi worldview existed without regard for reality or fact. This allowed the Nazis to make authoritative judgements about the world based on what they observed. In *Inside the Third Reich*, Albert Speer claimed that Hitler stated in private, "The Mohammedan religion too would have been much more compatible to us than Christianity. Why did it have to be Christianity with its meekness and flabbiness?"[1] This view says nothing theologically of either Islam or Christianity, there are certainly plenty of peaceful Muslims and violent Christians. What it does illustrate, is how the Nazis employed selective tradition. It speaks broadly to the dangers of a world view which totally dispenses with serious academic thought.

This way of viewing the world was employed by the Nazis when it came to the United States. The Nazi view of the United States is complex. On one hand the Nazis had some sort of admiration for the United States, especially before the war, they viewed the ethnic German populations as a potential race ally, and viewed the country as a whole as one which was taking a lead role in race politics. In some senses the Nazis looked to the United States as a model in the codification of race law, eugenics, and as a model for empire. On the other hand Hitler hated the United States, as he thought the country and Roosevelt administration was being controlled by international Jewry. The Nazi's use of American policies is an illustrative case of how they appropriated ideas and policies from around the world to fit their ends.

In the abstract Hitler compared his ideas about Lebensraum to the United States policy of Westward expansion. Hitler said in private that the Nordic Americans had "shot down millions of redskins to a few hundred thousand" and said that the German goal would be "to Germanize [Eastern Europe] by the immigration of Germans, and to look upon the natives as Redskins."[2] Carroll Kakel compared Nazi eastward expansion and American westward expansion in *The American West and the Nazi East*. He points to the importance of both space and race in the minds of American and Nazi strategists.[3] There are many haunting similarities between the two, forced relocation to camps, denial of human rights, targeted killings, and wars of conquest. The reality of the similarities are quite broad, whereas the actual specifics of the situations show dissimilarity.

The actual events were quite different, while there were ideas of racial supremacy in both cases, a stark difference is in the ferocity and emphasis on total extermination. Another major difference is in the justification. In the Nazi world view there was an international conspiracy in which the Slavs were being controlled by International Jewry. American racial views of Native Americans were certainly deeply racist, but they did not have this conspiratorial underpinning. The invasion of the Soviet Union was supposed to be a war of extermination. While there might have been some radicals in the United States who wished for the extermination of the Native Americans, this was never a sustained intentional program of the United States government. Theodore Roosevelt did hauntingly refer to an "American" race of Anglo-Saxon origin which was westward expansion was meant as a necessary challenge for them to overcome in his book *The Winning of the West*.[4] The actual similarities and differences are not totally important for the purposes of this paper. What is important, is what Nazi engagement was with the "history" of American westward expansion.

The idea of the American West existed in Germany long before Hitler. Born in 1842, Karl May was a popular German writer who wrote nearly 70 Western novels. He was a favorite of Hitler, who called Karl May "essential" reading for boys and claimed that he "used to read him by candle-light, or by moonlight with the help of a huge magnifying-glass." He also cites May has giving him, "my first notions of geography, and the fact that he opened my eyes on the world." Alarmingly in that same passage from *Table Talk* Hitler talks about reading James

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[1] Albert Speer, *Inside the Third Reich* (New York: Macmillan, 1970), 96.

[2] Carroll P. Kakel, *The American West and the Nazi East: A Comparative and Interpretive Perspective* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 1.

[3] Kakel, *The American West and the Nazi East,* 213.

[4] Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West,* (United Kingdom: Dodo Press, 2007).

Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*.[5] It is unclear how cryptically we should look at this quote by Hitler about May. He could just have been a casual fan of his books. However some evidence that May's work actually influenced his ideology comes in Hitler's distribution of copies of May books to soldiers on the Eastern Front.[6] Since the Nazi propaganda campaign on the Eastern Front was concerned with dehumanizing the Soviets, and stressing the war as one of conquest to establish living space for the German people, Hitler's choice to include works of May implies that he saw them as fitting within that context.

Depictions of westward expansion also appeared in German film. In 1936 Luis Trenker directed Der *Kaiser Von Kalifornien* or "The Emperor of California". This film followed the life of Johann Sutter, an immigrant of German origin who goes to California and on whose land gold is discovered. At the end of the film he foresees the eventual industrial power of the United States.[7] This film combines two important elements. The first is the plenty of resources to be found in westward expansion, and the second is those resources connection to industrial power. In March, 1939, Herbert Selpin directed *Water for Canitoga*, in which the ethnically German hero is wrongfully accused of sabotaging a water supply pipe, and then sacrifices himself saving that water pipe, and the remote Canadian outpost it supports.[8] The film can be seen as a metaphor for how the Germans felt they had been wrongly accused of starting World War I. It also romanticizes the struggle of Germans to battle against rugged environments, and celebrates their noble sacrifice which could be seen as a preparation for dealing with war and the invasion of the Soviet Union.

In addition to popular culture, there were also intellectual connections between American westward expansion and Germany. One of the most important American intellectuals in talking about western expansion was Frederick Jackson Turner. His "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" advanced his famous "Frontier Thesis". The central argument of the work is that America had established its unique character of rugged individualism by struggling against and expanding the western frontiers. It stressed the accomplishment of transforming unused Native lands into bountiful and productive farmland. The paper was written in response to a recent census which declared the closing of the American frontier. It looked forward with apprehension about the future of America in a world with no frontier.[9] The paper was first presented at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. That meeting was attended by Friedrich Ratzel, who in 1897 published *Politisch Geographie*, in which he introduced the concept of Lebensraum and connected it with Social Darwinism. Ratzel died in 1904, but one of his disciples, Karl Haushofer carried on his teachings, passing them onto his student Rudolf Hess, who would of course edit Mein Kampf.[10] This is perhaps a very tenuous way to connect these thoughts across continents and over several decades. This is not to say that Turner invented Lebensraum, or that he was the ideological great-great-grandfather of Hitler. What can be gathered from this connection is that there was trans-Atlantic interaction between these thoughts, and that Germany was very interested in the growing American transcontinental empire, which stood in contrast to the European model of overseas empire.

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[5] Adolf Hitler and H. R. Trevor-Roper, *Hitler's Table Talk*, 1941-1944 (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1953), 316-7.

[6] Christopher Frayling, Spaghetti Westerns Cowboys and Europeans from Karl May to Sergio Leone (London: Tauris, 2012), 7.

[7] Jennifer M. Kapczynski and Michael David Richardson, *A New History of German Cinema* (Rochester: Camden House, 2014), 272.

[8] Malte Fiebing, Titanic (1943): Nazi Germany's version of the disaster (Norderset, 2012), 91. Selpin was a director who received patronage from Goebbels. Notably in 1942, Goebbels selected Selpin to direct a movie about the Titanic disaster. The film aimed to paint the owners of the Titanic as greedy capitalists who prioritized profits over safety. A noble German character warns of the impending doom. When drunk German sailors held up production by chasing women, Selpin allegedly said "You and your shit soldiers, your shit lieutenant and your shit Wehrmacht!" to his screenwriter Zerlett-Olfenius who promptly reported him to Goebbels. Selpin was arrested and found dead in his cell the next day from an apparent suicide. The film was eventually completed under new direction, but was hardly ever shown and cost over four million Reichsmarks to make.

[9] Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966).

[10] Woodruff D. Smith, "Friedrich Ratzel and the Origins of Lebensraum," German Studies Review 3 (1980): 51-68.

While these men were academics it is important to keep in mind their standards of evidence and analysis are vastly different from modern historians. Turner's ideas about the American frontier are themselves based on misinterpretations and simplifications. Turner viewed the West as a romantic place, in which western heroes brought civilizing practices to a sublime nature. Turner has been criticized for his over emphasis on western heroes and triumph, as well as defining westward expansion in terms of settlement instead of conquest. Critics have also pointed out that while Native people were certainly persecuted and driven from their lands, many are still there, and they have mixed genetically with eastern immigrants. Turner overstressed the racial purity of the western heroes.[11] Here is an important difference in the Nazi interpretation. Hitler always thought of Lebensraum in terms of a war of conquest. It would not be a gradual expansion in which previously unsettled land would be simply settled. Of course, it would be impossible for Hitler to frame Lebensraum in those terms. As much as Hitler underestimated the Soviet Union, he could not have possibly have thought of them in the terms of the Sioux. He also did not Romanticism his enemies as Americans would do. This underscores how selective tradition functioned. Hitler took the aspects that worked for him and ignored complexity. He took the idea that westward expansion strengthened a nation by allowing it to exploit resources, and he left the specifics of the American project.

Less abstract than the connection between western expansion and lebensraum was the connection between United States anti-miscegenation laws and the Nuremberg Race laws. On this topic, *Hitler's American Model* by James Whitman is quite informative. The title however is a bit misleading, Hitler was likely informed by his subordinates and approved of the final drafts of the race laws, but really this is a story about Hitler's legal subordinates. Lawyers were crucial for the transformation of Nazi ideology into policy. They derived their justifications from diverse sources including the Roman Empire. Troublingly, they also drew inspiration from the United States as detailed in the transcripts of their meetings. Once again this reflects the theme of selective tradition. The German and American legal systems were fundamentally different. The German system was based on Civil Law, while the American system was based in the Common Law. The German analysis of American law was vastly flawed, and American legal intent was vastly different in its goals, nevertheless, the Nazis took from the Americans what they wanted and ignored the rest.

The evidence of the American connection to the Nuremberg Race laws can be found most prominently in the transcripts of a meeting held on June 5th, 1934, about three months before the introduction of the laws at the September, 16th Nuremberg Rally. The meeting was attended by some of Germany's most prominent Nazis legal authorities and was headed by Justice Minister Franz Gürtner. It was also attended by Bernhard Lösener, who would serve as the principal author of the race laws. Whitman often points out in his analysis of this event, that since this meeting took place before the Night of the Long Knives, moderate resistance was still possible, and indeed he shows that there was disagreement between some of the more moderate lawyers there over how radical the measures should be. Much of the resistance mounted by conventional lawyers was to radical attempts to ban sexual meetings between races. They viewed this as being without legal justification in the German legal tradition, and as being impossible to adequately enforce. After the Night of the Long Knives this resistance was flattened.[12]

The meeting itself took place against the backdrop of political lawlessness on the streets. Mobs of anti-Jewish thugs went after alleged race defilers in manners compared to lynchings in the South. This comparison was explicitly made by Heinrich Krieger, who studied American race law and argued that the violence was a response to inadequate laws to protect the German race. The Nazi party leadership was concerned that power would be taken away from the center of the party if laws were not made to reign in the street violence. It was also necessary for showing the global community that German was not devolving into an anarchic state. [13] Now that the Nazis were in power they could not simply rely on street violence anymore, they now had to conduct their racial policies through state apparatuses, and these lawyers were key to taking Hitler's ideology from the gutter to the marble halls of courts.

The central goals of the Nuremberg Laws were twofold: the first was to establish Citizenship for a racially pure German unit; the second was to maintain that racial purity through control of sex and reproduction.[14] Article 2

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[11] Richard White, Patricia Nelson Limerick, and James R. Grossman, *The Frontier in American Culture*, (Chicago: Newberry Library, 1994).

[12] James Whitman, *Hitler's American Model* (Princeton University Press, 2007), 83 and 95.

[13] Whitman, *Hitler's American Model,* 82.

[14] Whitman, *Hitler's American Model,* 12.

of the Reich Citizenship law defined a Reich citizen as one, "who is of German or related blood, and proves by his conduct that he is willing and fit to faithfully serve the German people and Reich" and goes onto say that, "The Reich citizen is the sole bearer of full political rights in accordance with the law."[15] The law created a hierarchical tier of citizenship rights, defining who was allowed to bear rights within the state. This ideal was based on the Nazi ideological notion that "every State has the right to maintain its population pure and unmixed." Whitman argues that the Nazi goal was to create a racially homologous union, whereas the American model was about creating a racially segregated community.[16]

Here Whitman may be missing some continuities of the American project which proceed the Jim Crow era. Figures as far back and as prominent as Thomas Jefferson advocated not for segregation, but for deportation of enslaved people. He stated in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* that, "the blacks, of the injuries they have sustained… will divide us into parties, and produce convulsions which will probably never end but in the extermination of one or the other race."[17] Jefferson was not alone in advocating the impossibility of simple segregation. Many other prominent early American politicians such as John Randolph and Henry Clay were member of the American Colonization Society, which goal was the "resettlement" of former slaves to Africa.[18] The society did not dissolve until 1964. In 1862, when slavery was abolished in Washington DC, the United States Congress approved a $500,000 fund for the colonization of Liberia, a position sometimes supported by Abraham Lincoln.[19] This mainstream and persistent existence of not only segregation, but deportation mirrors in some ways the Madagascar plan. In the Prussian Memorandum, which outlined the German plans for what German race law would look like, cited the historic successes of countries which expelled their Jewish populations, "By contrast Völker that have rid themselves of racially foreign segments of the Volk, in particular of Jews, have blossomed (e.g., France after the expulsion of the Jews in the year 1394, England after their expulsion in the year 1291)."[20] Whitman does not investigate the connection between these two events, therefore more primary source analysis would be necessary. The comparison is not perfect. The justification for sending freed slaves to Liberia was because whites thought of that whole geographical area as the African homeland. Certainly the Nazis did not consider the Madagascar plan because it was a Jewish homeland, but because it was a far away and desolate place.

A clear example of Nazi policy looking explicitly towards American law was in the form of racial categorization. Perhaps one of the most striking and disturbing revelations made by Whitman in his book is that the Nazis thought the American policy in categorizing colored people was too harsh. He cites the "one-drop rule," or the categorization that any amount of African blood categorized someone as black. The Nazi race law categorized a person as Jewish "if he descends from at least three grandparents who are racially full Jews."[21] Whitman does not establish any reason for why the Nazis thought this was too harsh. Perhaps it was an issue of feasibility, maybe deep down the Nazis realized that defining Jewishness by the one-drop rule would prove too restrictive. While Ian Kershaw dismissed any actual proof of rumors that perhaps Hitler had some trace amount of Jewish ancestry, perhaps the rumors themselves were enough to cause Nazi leadership to build in some protection for themselves and Hitler, in the event that someone found some evidence of Jewish ancestry which threatened their legitimacy.[22]

The Prussian Memorandum also made some explicit reference to American race policy, as was the case with what it defined as "Causing Harm to the Honor of the Race" which included "German women shamelessly consort with Negroes" such as "indecent dancing in a pub with a Negro." It went on to mention how it admired the United States for already maintaining a strict separation of the races in public. Although then, it seems to recommends that Germany only follow the public separation, and that Germany not attempt to regulate private

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[15] Whitman, *Hitler's American Model,* 30-31.

[16] Whitman, *Hitler's American Model,* 12.

[17] Thomas Jefferson and David Waldstreicher, *Notes on the State of Virginia: With Related Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2002), 133.

[18] Resettlement is of course a complete misnomer as these slaves were almost always born in the United States, thus they were not "resettling" as they had no real connection to Africa.

[19] Richard Blackett, "Lincoln and Colonization", *OAH Magazine of History*, Volume 21, Issue 4 (October 1, 2007), 19-22.

[20] Whitman, *Hitler's American Model,* 84.

[21] Whitman, *Hitler's American Model,* 130-131.

[22] Kershaw, Ian. *Hitler: 1889 - 1936: Hubris*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999.

liaisons. This was another example of how some German lawyers thought United States policy was too racist.[23] Although that position was advocated by more hardcore Nazi officials, and as previously mentioned, after the Night of the Long Knives, this call for moderation was ignored by the Nazis.

Whitman also draws connection between the United States immigration policy and Nazi immigration policy. The Nazi's looked, with admiration towards United States exclusionary policies against ethnically diverse peoples. They admired the long legacy of immigration laws in the United States, starting with the very first one, the Naturalization Act of 1790, which stated that only "white person[s]" could immigrant to the United States.[24] They also celebrated the immigration Act of 1924, which introduced racial quotas. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler stated,

There is at present one State where at least feeble attempts of a better conception are perceptible. This is of course not our German model republic, but the American Union where one endeavors to consult reason at least partially. The American Union, by principally refusing immigration to elements with poor health, and even simply excluding certain races from naturalization, acknowledges by slow beginnings an attitude which is peculiar to the national State conception.[25]

Here Hitler shows a great deal of admiration for the American program of immigration legislation. Earlier Hitler discussed how North America had come to dominate the New World because of its ability to exclude other races, and to not racially mix as much as people in South America.[26] This is of course utter nonsense, there was extensive sexual exploitation of enslaved peoples in North America, producing massive numbers of mixed race people. Hitler's analysis is far from the actual reality of the situation, and shows how his racist ideology informed his perception of the world and immigration policy.

It bares notice that some of the most prominent connections between Nazi Germany and the United States are not made explicitly. Other than the passing explicit references made in *Mein Kampf*, most mentions of the United States, were either revealed later in private conversations, or were kept mostly to private meetings, like the one which helped to shape the Nuremberg Race laws. Likely this was because the Germans wanted to take credit as originators of these policies, even if the United states were, as Whitman suggests, worldwide leaders in racial policy. Nazi leaders wanted to show themselves as leading the way. Additionally it is important to note that this is not entirely incorrect, a major theme of this paper is that Nazi policy manipulated and appropriated what they felt American policy was. They made it their own. Finally it is possible that the limited mention of the United States was due to foreseeing the United States as an enemy, despite Hitler's analysis of the United States as being a land in which many ethnic Germans resided as possible race allies.

The maintenance of "racial purity" was essential to the larger Nazi policy of eugenics. Eugenics can be divided into two general categories: positive and negative. Francis Galton was gripped by the findings of his cousin Charles Darwin and in his, 1883 book, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development*, he coined the term "eugenics."[27] Positive eugenics is the process of only selectively breeding traits which are deemed fit. This can be seen reflected in Nazi incentives to reproduce, such as the creation of the Cross of Honor of the German Mother, which conferred recognition to mothers who had raised at least four children. Additional benefits could be conferred if the child was raised according to proper Nazi standards of child rearing. Another example of Nazi positive eugenics was the Decree for the Protection of Marriage, Family, and Motherhood. The law, instituted in 1943 after the turn of the war and with German casualties rising, banned abortions, sterilization, and contraceptives. Women could be given the death penalty for undergoing an abortion.[28] Positive eugenics was an attempt to grow the German Volk, it was crucially necessary for the fulfilling of Lebensraum, as the German population needed to grow to fill the newly conquered land.

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[23] Whitman, *Hitler's American Model,* 86-87.

[24] Whitman, *Hitler's American Model,* 36-37.

[25] Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943), 651.

[26] Hitler, *Hitler's American Model,* 392.

[27] Francis Galton, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development*, (Edinburgh: R and R Clark, 1883), 44.

[28] Zoë Waxman, *Women in the Holocaust: A Feminist History,* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017), 9.

The other type of eugenics, the type which Stefan Kühl drew attention to in his book, *The Nazi Connection*, is negative eugenics. Negative eugenics is the breeding out of traits deemed unfit. Negative eugenics are manifest in forced sterilization laws, or in the case of Nazi Germany, the targeted killings of the Holocaust. Anti-miscegenation laws fit into this category because it stops the spread of undesirable traits from "contaminating" the gene pull. The link between Nazi and United States policy, which Kühl draws our attention to is most pronounced in the forced sterilization of those deemed mentally unfit. One of the most prominent public battles over the use of sterilization in the United States was in the 1927 Supreme Court Case, Buck v. Bell. A Virginia statute allowed for the forced sterilization of the mentally unfit. In the case, associate Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes infamously stated that "Three generations of imbeciles are enough." The law was upheld based on the courts 8-1 determination that it was within the state's power to provide "for the protection and health of the state."[29] The decision legitimized the use of forced sterilizations in many states across the United States, until it was severely limited in the 1942 case Skinner v. Oklahoma.[30] The case would also gain fame across the Atlantic.

Kühl highlights the importance of Harry H. Laughlin, who was the head of the Eugenics Record Office in Cold Spring Harbor, New York. Laughlin helped to frame the law which was at the center of the Buck v. Bell case, and meant the case to be a test of its Constitutionality. Many of the subsequent state laws passed the wake of Buck v. Bell were modeled on this one. The law was also used as a model for the Nazi Law for the Prevention of Genetically Diseased Offspring which forced sterilization for people suffering congenital mental deficiency, schizophrenia, manic-depressive insanity, and many others ailments. In 1936, Laughlin would be given an honorary doctorate from Heidelberg University.[31] After the war was over defense attorneys cited the Buck v. Bell decision to defend Nazi doctors.[32] While there is an exchange of ideas here in legal practice, the intellectual connection between the two eugenic movements vastly predated Buck v. Bell and the Law for the Prevention of the Genetically Diseased.

Perhaps far more alarming then any of the other elements of American influence on Nazi ideology and practice, eugenics seems to have had similar ends, and in its early stages consisted of similar applications. Furthermore, while the Nazi study of American racial laws was characterized by a short trip, the Nazi American relationship when it came to eugenics seemed to be much more of a collaboration over decades. This took the form of several international submits between American, British, French, and German eugenicists. One such conference took place in Battle Creek, Michigan in 1915, which subsequently led to $300,000 in funds going to set up further conferences and research.[33] Kühl misses an important connection here. Battle Creek, seems like a strange place to have a major international conference, except it was the site of the world famous Battle Creek Sanitarium. Founded in 1866, is was supervised most notably by the members of the Kellogg family. The Battle Creek Sanatorium gathered lots of mainstream American attention, drawing in people from all over the country for treatment.[34] Their connection highlights eugenics as a mainstream scientific theory and practice. Kühl does illustrate this point by including the support of the Eugenics movement by Alexander Graham Bell, who brought massive amounts of prestige to the movement.[35]

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[29] "Buck v. Bell, 274 U.S. 200 (1927)," Justia Law, accessed May 02, 2018, https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/274/200/case.html.

[30] "Skinner v. Oklahoma Ex Rel. Williamson, 316 U.S. 535 (1942)." Justia Law. Accessed May 02, 2018. https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/316/535/case.html.

[31] Stefan Kühl, *Nazi Connection Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism* (Cary: Oxford University Press, USA, 2014), 24-25.

[32] Paul A. Lombardo, T*hree Generations, No Imbeciles: Eugenics, the Supreme Court, and Buck v. Bell* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 236-238.

[33] Kühl, *Nazi Connection Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism,* 15.

[34] Adam D. Shprintzen, *The Vegetarian Crusade: The Rise of an American Reform Movement, 1817-1921* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 122. While attempting to find their patients a nutritious, and vegetarian food alternative, John Harvey Kellogg and his brother Will Keith Kellogg invented breakfast cereal corn flakes which they subsequently commercialized garnering a family fortune, and building a company which exists to this day. The Kellogg family also practiced a number of outlandish treatments such as circumcision to curtail the male urge to masturbate and the belief that the regular use of yogurt enemas would help to cleanse their patients.

[35] Kühl, *Nazi Connection Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism,* 14-15.

By looking at other international meetings, Kühl also points out the funding lines which stretched across the Atlantic. The Rockefeller foundation made a donation of $325,000 for the expansion of the Institute for Psychiatry in Munich. The goal of the Institute was to track what mental traits led to criminal activity. A new building in Berlin was opened with a dedication delivered by Charles Davenport, the American president of the International Federation of the Eugenics Organization (IFEO), which was an alliance between prominent eugenicist figures from around the world. Rockefeller funding for the Institute continued even after the Nazi seizure of power.[36] Showcasing this funding line showcases the collaborative nature eugenics research. It further shows more mainstream acceptance of the study and practice of eugenics. The IFEO also showcases the collaborative effort of scientists from a multitude of countries.

Nazi ideology was influenced by many different factors, most of them shaped by Germany's own history and as a reaction to rapid modernization. However connections between the United States and Nazi Germany should not be ignored. When interrogated, one can see how ideas contained in America can travel, be interpreted, and morphed into something wholly different, and terrifying. Specifically this analysis highlights the Nazi tradition of selective tradition, which in turn, speaks to how the Nazi ideology itself was informed.

Showcasing the American tradition is not a way of casually showing how the Nazis constructed their world view. Owen Wister writing the first Western novel, *The Virginian* did not cause Operation Barbarossa. What can be taken away from an American perspective is that American history can have frightening connotations when held up in comparative analysis to Nazi Germany. The crimes committed by the United States government against Native American populations becomes even more unsavory to modern audiences when one realizes the admiration Hitler had for them. The value of the comparative study also highlights the importance of one of the most major differences between the two stories. While both Nazi Germany and the United States practiced deeply racist policy, the absence of a global conspiracy kept the United States world view safely away from the horrors of the Holocaust. The crimes committed against the Native populations lasted much longer, but they were never characterized by the fervor carried out by the Nazis in the Holocaust. This realization highlights the centrality of the conspiracy theory to the Holocaust, and it's dire consequences to its victims.

[36] Kühl, *Nazi Connection Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism,* 20-21.

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The Committed Arts in Iran and the Soviet Union

By Leah Silinsky

i. Introduction:

As a free form of self-expression, the arts are usually among the first things to be censored under totalitarian regimes. A seemingly emotional and ambiguous medium, the arts quickly change from an external expression of one's internal world, to a canvas for political propaganda , often sponsored by the government. This paper will compare the committed arts in both post-revolutionary Iran and the early Soviet Union, which are defined as using art as a tool to spread government-sanctioned propaganda. The main focus being visual arts created during the fifteen years following each respective revolution. During the course of my research several interesting patterns emerged. Despite Iran's desire to govern by theocracy and the Soviet Union's suppression of religion altogether, the two revolutions shared a utopian vision for society and created authoritarian regimes to impose this vision. Furthermore, governments from both countries used the arts as a tool to spread their respective ideologies.

This paper will examine the, the stylistic similarities and shared artistic patterns in the visual arts of each country as well how each government disseminated these artistic projects. Specifically, the committed arts in both societies shared similar themes such as nationalism, the ideology of the revolution, and idealized versions of revolutionary leaders. I will also explain the reason behind the comparison between Iran and the Soviet Union.

Overall, I argue that despite very different visions of what would create a perfect society, both the Soviet Union and post-revolutionary Iran used the committed arts as a method with which to spread their propaganda. This fact is seen through stylistic similarities and similarities in dissemination of their art as well as the fact that the committed arts of both societies promoted the ideologies of their revolutions, enforced feelings of nationalism, and idealized their respective revolutionary leaders.

ii. Methodology:

During my research, I used both scholarly secondary sources, as well as primary sources. The secondary sources are scholarly accounts which give context to the various art pieces. While many of the primary sources were photos of Iranian murals, Soviet posters, and paintings from both societies. There are also many exhibition reviews and opinion pieces written about the different art forms. One site proving to be especially useful for finding Russian primary sources was the Russian website, Yandex.

iii. Why Iran and the Soviet Union:

At first glance, comparing the committed arts from these two different societies seems out of place. However, given the history of cultural exchange between the two nations, comparing their political art is simply an extension of the existing scholarship which compares non political art of the Soviet Union and Iran. A specific example of this, is in the journal "Payami-Naw", which was circulated by the Iran-Soviet Friendship Association.[37] This journal featured articles about art, music, and praised the art of the Russian Revolution. It referred to Soviet committed arts as art that focused on "serving the people", and not just a frivolous activity taken up by the aristocracy.[38] For the journal, the art of the 1917 Revolution was revolutionary itself.

Furthermore, there was also a cultural exchange between the two nations' performative art. During the early 19th century, there were many wars between Great Britain, Iran, and Russia.[39] After the wars, many Iranian

[37] Ida Meftahi, *Gender and Dance in Modern Iran: Biopolitics on Stage*, (Routledge, 2016): 59.

[38] *Ibid*.

[39] Saeed Talajooy, "The Impact of Soviet Contact on Iranian Theatre: Abdolhossein Nushin and the Tudeh Party," *Iranian-Russian Encounters: Empires and Revolutions since 1800,* ed. Stephanie Cronin (Hoboken, NK: Taylor and Francis, 2012): 337.

students studied overseas and brought the different cultural elements in their own culture. This diffusion was especially visible in the Soviet influence on Iranian theater.[40]

The above examples illustrate the fact that there was a cultural interaction between Iran and the Soviet Union. Because of this preexisting interaction, I chose to compare the committed arts of both countries. As stated previously, many consider the two countries' revolutions as opposites, primarily because one increased the role of religion in public life, while the other attempted to dismantle it. This separation however, is superficial. Both countries' goal was to create a utopia, and both countries shared a history of cultural interaction.

iv. Dissemination:

The preferred method of dissemination differed by nation. While the Soviet Union preferred to deliver its art through posters, post-revolutionary Iran relied mainly on murals. The idea of dissemination is crucial when studying committed arts. Much of public art includes the relationship between the artist, the viewer, and the work of art itself. Therefore, the method with which the art is delivered, is important, as it facilitates the interaction between the art and the observer,

In the Soviet Union, the main method of art dissemination was through posters. According to an American journalist in 1921, "'The visitor to Russia is struck by the multitude of posters — in factories and barracks, on walls and railway-cars, on telegraph poles — everywhere.'"[41] Stylistically, these posters used bold colors such as red, black, and white, and were designed according to the principles of artistic realism, though more will be said about this later.[42] Specifically, many of these posters were sponsored by the Political Administration of the Military Commissariat of Kiev, which is important as it reinforces the fact that these political posters were not the whimsical creation of random artists, but were strategically sponsored by political agencies with the goal of using art to promote their ideals.

In post-revolutionary Iran, the main dissemination method was the creation of murals.[43] The placement of these murals was key, as they had to be placed in populated areas with lots of people, traffic and space. For this reason, the early post-revolutionary Iranian posters were mostly placed in Tehran.[44] In addition to being an accessible way to spread the message of the government, murals were considered anti-elitist, the art of the people.[45] Specifically, the image below is an example of a strategically placed Iranian mural. It is a depiction of Khomeini surrounded by soldiers during the Iran-Iraq war. There is a clear presence of green which is highly symbolic in Shiite Islam. The placement of this mural is important as well, as it was placed on Enghelab (Revolution) Avenue in Tehran, which was the second longest street in Tehran, meaning many people were able to see this.[46]

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[40] *Ibid.*

[41] Gayle Clemans, "The Revolution Will Be Posted: Soviet Street Art at the Frye Museum," *The Seattle Times*, March 06, 2016, accessed May 18, 2018, https://www.seattletimes.com/entertainment/visual-arts/the-revolution-will-be-posted-soviet-street-art-at-the-frye-museum/.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] Bahamin Azadi, "Art | Painted Politics: The Mural in Modern Iran," PBS. June 02, 2012, Accessed May 18, 2018, https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tehranbureau/2012/06/art-painted-politics-the-mural-in-modern-iran.html

[44] C.E Chehabi and Christia Fotini, "The Art of State Persuasion: Iran's Post-Revolutionary Art Murals," *Persica,* (22), 2008, doi*:* 10.2143/PERS22.0.2034398, 3.

[45] *Ibid*, 2.

[46] Bahamin Azadi, "Art | Painted Politics: The Mural in Modern Iran," PBS. June 02, 2012, accessed May 18, 2018, https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tehranbureau/2012/06/art-painted-politics-the-mural-in-modern-iran.html.

Initially, the theme surrounding these murals was mostly religious, with the focus of idealizing the Ayatollah. However, during the Iran-Iraq war, these murals were mostly created in a nationalist style, to increase patriotic sentiment among the masses during the war. It is interesting to note however, that there was still an obvious presence of Islamic motifs in these patriotic murals, as soldiers were often drawn next to Quranic verses and religious figures.[47]These later works were largely commissioned by the "Artistic and Cultural Bureau of the Qom Seminary's Office of Propaganda."[48]

While many scholars argue that the main form of political art dissemination in Iran was through murals, some beg to differ. Islamic art experts Julia Rooney and Mariam Ekhtiar argue that paintings and murals were mostly created to idealize leaders, but that true Iranian art during this time was communicated through photography and film.[49] One could argue however, that there in lays the difference between committed and authentic arts in Iran. That despite censorship, more authentic artistic expression was to be found in film and photography, while paintings and murals were used more as tools of the government to spread their ideology.

Comparatively speaking, both societies had similar goals in mind when disseminating their art, they simply took different approaches. Both had the goal of spreading the art, (and its political message), to the largest amount of people possible. Their approaches differed in that the Soviet Union simply disseminated posters everywhere-from benches to polls. This meant that the placement of the Soviet art did not have to be as strategic, but it did have to cover more space to compensate. In Iran, the opposite occurred. Instead of many posters which could be spread haphazardly, political art commissioners had the goal of creating one large mural. Unlike in the Soviet Union, placement was key as the murals had to be placed in a space visible to the most amount of people possible. While small details of their dissemination differed, both Iran and the Soviet Union had the same goal through their dissemination.

iv. Stylistic Similarities:

Stylistically, both the committed arts of the Soviet Union and post-Revolutionary Iran were created in an artistically "realist" style.[50] As mentioned previously, much of this was because Soviet art was considered to be "revolutionary" and an "art of the people.". In a translated copy of Leon Trotsky's *Literature and Revolution* the goal of Soviet political art was made clear. Trotsky himself stressed the importance of realism in art, and said, "…realism gave expression to the feelings and needs of different social groups."[51] This idea is highly important, as Trotsky is saying that art is being used to categorize social groups. Instead of simply being a form of self-expression, art, and specifically realist art, has the potential of being a politically mobilizing tool. It therefore becomes apparent why this style was common in the political art of both societies.

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[47] C.E Chehabi and Christia Fotini, "The Art of State Persuasion: Iran's Post-Revolutionary Art Murals," *Persica,* (22), 2008, doi*:* 10.2143/PERS22.0.2034398, 5.

[48] *Ibid*, 6.

[49] Ekhtiar, Maryam, and Julia Rooney, "Years Leading to the Iranian Revolution, 1960–79," The Metropolitan Museum of Art, I.e. The Met Museum, May 2016, Accessed May 18, 2018, https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/irnv/hd_irnv.htm

[50] Bahamin Azadi, "Art | Painted Politics: The Mural in Modern Iran." PBS. June 02, 2012. Accessed May 18, 2018.

[51] Leon Trotsky, "Chapter 8 Revolutionary and Socialist Art," from *Literature and Revolution*, 1924, http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/works/1924/lit_revo/ch08.htm, 2 and 4.

Both societies used this style to mobilize the masses to agree with their ideologies. Though the ideologies in both societies differed, their shared use of realist art is interesting, as it stems from the same desire to use art to mobilize the masses to accept their respective ideologies.

Additionally, the use of realism in artistic design is more applicable in the world of propaganda, than abstract design. In realistic art, there is much less room for interpretation than in abstract art. Because there is less room for individual interpretation, it is easier to create art which resonates with the most amount of people while spreading a clear message.

While the designs themselves differed, the overall artistic style of the committed arts in both Iran and the Soviet Union were very similar. This similarity exists because realistic art was able to most clearly spread the ideological and political messages of both governments in both societies. While some cosmetic differences exist- Soviet art had more red, white and black, and Iranian art featured more Islamic green, the overall artistic style in both societies was more similar than it was different.

v. Art as Enforcing Nationalism:

In addition to sharing similarities in dissemination and artistic style, both societies had common motives when creating their their committed arts. The use of political art to promote feelings of nationalism among the masses, was a key motive of the governments from both societies. In Iran, nowhere was this more visible than in the murals produced during the Iran-Iraq War. In the Soviet Union, this was especially visible in the anti-fascism posters produced during WW2, though this it outside the scope of the 15-year time frame of this research.

One of the most iconic Soviet posters is the "Have you Enlisted" poster created by Russian artist Dmitri Moor, in 1918.[52] This poster was part of a series of Soviet posters idealizing the Bolshevik Revolution from 1917-1921.[53] The stylistic differences mentioned earlier are present in this poster, especially the use of red, white and black as dramatic colors in the poster. Moreover, this poster is highly realistic, as opposed to abstract. This poster is also like the iconic American, "I want you" poster, which was created for the same purpose-to invoke feelings of patriotism among the population. This Soviet picture is also riddled with symbolism promoting the Bolshevik ideology, such as the hat the man on the horse is wearing, features a red star-the unmistakable symbol of communism, the ideology of the Bolshevik Revolution.

As mentioned previously, in Iran the use of political art to spread nationalism was most clearly seen during the Iran-Iraq war. Much of this nationalistic art also included elements and symbols of Shia Islam. Iranian soldiers were drawn next to sites like Karbala, implying that they, like Hussein, are martyrs for the cause.[54] According to art historian Dr. Hamid Keshmirshekan, this religiosity in Iranian art decreased and was later replaced by more modernist styles.[55] Below, is mural enforcing nationalism among Iranians. This is especially visible in the use of a tank, as a symbol of war in the bottom of the mural.[56]

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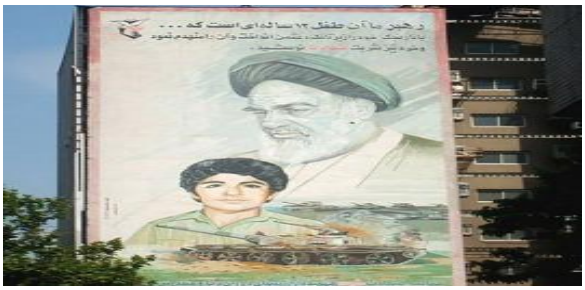
[52] Anurima Sen, "Soviet Posters: From the October Revolution to the Second World War," Critical Perspectives on Photography, accessed May 18, 2018, http://www.artnewsnviews.com/view-article.php?article=soviet-posters-from-the-october-revolution-to-the-second-world-war&iid=31&articleid=907.

[53] *Ibid.*

[54] Chehabi C.E and Christia Fotini, "The Art of State Persuasion: Iran's Post-Revolutionary Art Murals," *Persica,* (22), 2008, doi*:* 10.2143/PERS22.0.2034398, 6.

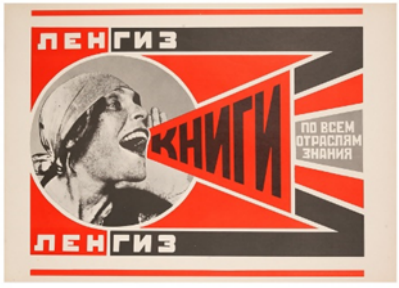
[55] "Art and Revolution," DAWN.COM, November 14, 2008, accessed May 18, 2018, https://www.dawn.com/news/919990.

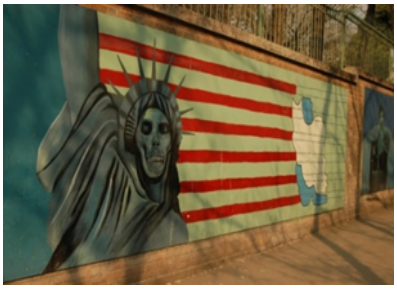
[56] Bahamin Azadi," Art | Painted Politics: The Mural in Modern Iran." PBS. June 02, 2012, accessed May 18, 2018, https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tehranbureau/2012/06/art-painted-politics-the-mural-in-modern-iran.html.



vi. Art as Promoting Revolutionary Ideologies:

In addition to enforcing nationalism, the committed arts also functioned to promote the ideologies of the revolutions. In Iran, Khomeini specifically wanted to keep art and music outside of "western influence."[57] This idea was called, "gharbzadegi," and was coined by Jalal Al-e Ahmad, who argued that it was important for Iran to keep out Western influence from its culture. Ideologically, Khomeini agreed with this idea as well, and it is illustrated by Iranian committed arts. One artist specifically, Hannibal Alkhas, created art in line with this ideology. One of his most famous works was a picture of the American flag with a symbolic skull in the middle of it, painted on the American Embassy.[58] This anti-Western painting fell in line with the ideology of the Iranian Revolution, much of which was highly anti-imperialist, and associated the United States with imperialism. Additionally, this was seen in the increased role of religious symbolism in Iranian art, which was also a part of the new ideology being enforced by Iranian revolutionary leaders. What is interesting to note, is that the Soviet Union also accused the United States of imperialism. In the Soviet Union, art was also used to reinforce the ideological convictions of revolutionary leaders. One famous example is the Soviet painting, "Books Please!" by Alexander Rochenko in 1924.[59] Again, the typical colors of red, white and black are present in this poster, and it is done in the socialist-realist style. This poster was created to celebrate Lilya Brik who was a member of Russia's cultural Avant Garde. In the poster, Brik is wearing a scarf around her hair, which was a symbol of the lower class. Writer Gayle Clemans writes, "A commission from the State Publishing House in Leningrad, the poster bolstered the new government's image as committed to education and literacy."[60] This poster served to enforce the revolutionary Soviet ideology-an ideology which praised the lower classes, despised the bourgeoisie, and created a government committed to helping the masses through education.



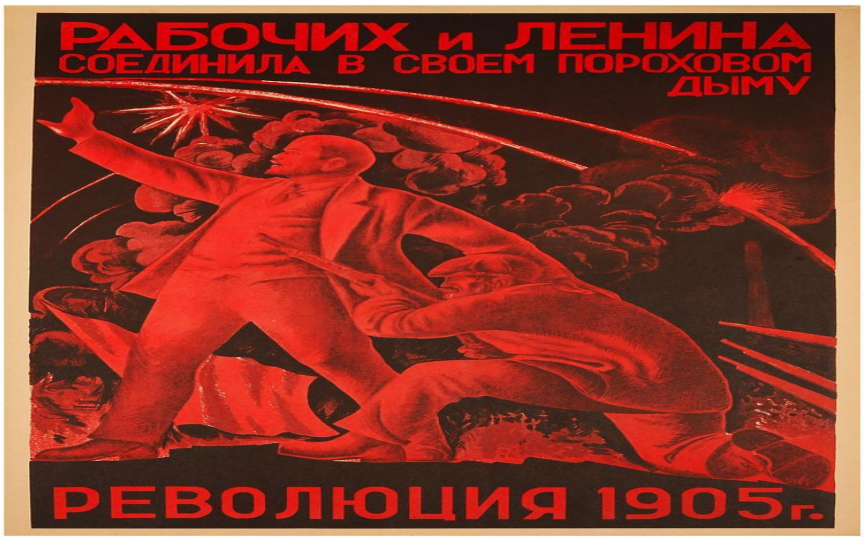


vii. Art Idealizing Revolutionary Leaders

[57] Afsaneh Rigot, "Iran's 1979 Islamic Revolution and the Evolution of Art." IFEX. February 19, 2015, accessed May 18, 2018, https://www.ifex.org/iran/2015/02/19/evolution_of_art_after_revolution/.
[58] Bahamin Azadi, "Art Painted Politics: The Mural in Modern Iran," PBS. June 02, 2012. Accessed May 18, 2018.
[59] Gayle Clemans, "The Revolution Will Be Posted: Soviet Street Art at the Frye Museum," The Seattle Times, March 06, 2016, accessed May 18, 2018, https://www.seattletimes.com/entertainment/visual-arts/the-revolution-will-be-posted-soviet-street-art-at-the-frye-museum/.
[60] *Ibid*.

Despite having different leaders, both art mediums in both societies functioned to idolize the leaders of the respective revolutions-Lenin and Khomeini. As mentioned earlier, early post-Revolutionary Iranian murals mostly idealized Khomeini. They placed him alongside religious figures and sites, surrounded by Quranic verses. The committed arts of the Soviet Union mostly functioned to praise Lenin and Stalin. Below, is an example of such a poster, which was a part of the Fryer's exhibition on Soviet art from 1918-1929. Red and black colors are present here, as well as the style of socialist-realism. Clearly drawn in the Soviet art style, this poster features Lenin as the largest person in the scene, leading the workers. The placement of him in the front and center of the poster is intentional, as it shows Lenin as a leader in this painting. In other words, the author was implying that without Lenin, the Revolution would not have occurred.

Overall, the committed arts in the Soviet Union and post-Revolutionary Iran created art which glorified their leaders. This is because the leaders were the symbolic representatives of the new ideological order in both societies. Murals and posters celebrating these leaders, were simply another way of celebrating the new ideologies brought forth by the new leaders in both societies.



viii. Conclusion:

Despite having different goals and ideologies, the Russian Revolution of 1917 to 1918 and the Islamic Revolution of 1979 shared more similarities than they did differences. Nowhere was this more evident than in the committed arts of both societies. They shared dissemination goals, both used the socialist-realist art style, and both used symbols and colors relevant to their national and ideological histories. Additionally, the political art of both countries shared several themes. Authoritarian societies seek order and control. Despite often branding themselves as representatives of "the people," authorian regimes only care for these people when controlling them. This was most visible in the arts. When valuing the collective, at the expense of the individual, individual expression becomes meaningless to the leaders in authoritarian regimes, which is why such expression becomes highly censored. Both post-revolutionary societies produced art which celebrated their leaders, promoted nationalism, and reinforced the ideological convictions of the revolutions. This was not because Iran and the Soviet Union were void of genuine artists, seeking to share their inner world through their craft. This is because the nature of the authoritarian regime seeks to undermine individuality, and manipulates the arts to serve its agenda.

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Objectivity, Pragmatism, and the Progressive Historians

By Dash Yeatts-Lonske

i. Introduction

The early twentieth century witnessed a dramatic shift in the nature of the study of American history. Historians such as Charles and Mary Beard, W.E.B. du Bois, and Frederick Jameson challenged traditional narratives of the United States by adopting new philosophical frameworks for the purpose of history as a discipline. These new frameworks, although they were not identical to each other were all related to the wider school of Pragmatism. This is contrary to the understanding at the time which believed them to be a result of a strive towards objectivism, fueled by an obsession with science.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, there was a widespread desire in the United States to objectivize academic disciplines. Objectivity, in this context, primarily meant becoming more scientific and quantifiable. Although this was the case for a wide range of fields, "no group was more prone to scientific imagery, and the assumption of the mantle of science, than the historians."[61] For some scholars, conceptualizing history as a scientific endeavor, rather than a literary one, meant striving towards a presentation of the past that minimized subjective interpretation. Many Western historians at the turn of the twentieth century believed that a complete elimination of interpretation was possible, and that they were "progressing toward the ultimate and unitary objective historical truth."[62] Central to this goal was the role—both real and perceived—played by German historian Leopold von Ranke.

Due to the nature of this topic, the line between primary and secondary sources is somewhat blurred. For the purpose of clarity, I am treating William James' *Pragmatism* (1906-07), Charles Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (1913), and W.E.B. du Bois' *Black Reconstruction* (1935), as primary sources. Since they are themselves works of scholarship, analysis of these works will involve both their conclusions and their starting premises about the state of the American historical discipline. In contrast, Richard Hofstadter's *The Progressive Historians* (1968), Peter Novick's *That Noble Dream* (1988), and Saverio Giovacchini's "Did Private Nolan Get His Glory? Movies, Press, and Audience During the Spanish-American War" (1998) are treated exclusively as secondary sources.

The historiography of this topic follows several related but distinct strands. The first strand has examined the role of objectivity in the historical profession, of which one of the most important works is Novick's *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession.* The second strand relates to scholarship focusing on the "New Historians," often including but not limited to: Frederick Jackson Turner, Charles and Mary Beard, Fredric Jameson, and V. L. Parrington. One of the most important works of this topic was Hofstadter's *The Progressive Historians.* While W.E.B. du Bois is not traditionally included in this group I believe that it makes sense to do so, and his exclusion has been an oversight. This oversight was based primarily in the fact that *Black Reconstruction* was mainly overlooked by (white) mainstream American historical discipline until Eric Foner's 1989 work *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877.* The third strand relates to pragmatism as a movement. Pragmatism originated with the work of Charles Sanders Peirce in the 1870s and was expanded upon by John Dewey and William James in the early twentieth century. While it has thus primarily been associated with the turn of the century, it has also been reframed slightly in the context of neopragmatism. Neopragmatism, which was articulated by Richard Rorty in the 1980s, derives inspiration from the original pragmatists but focuses primarily on the meaning of language.

In this work, it is first necessary to discuss the meaning of objectivity for historians working at the turn of the century, in order to provide the framework in which the progressive historians were working. Secondly, the basic principles of pragmatism will be established. These are most clearly articulated in the lectures of William James. Thirdly, Charles Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* and W.E.B. du Bois' *Black Reconstruction* will be analyzed in turn. Fourthly, similar themes in the newspaper industry presented in

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[61] Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 33.

[62] *Ibid*, 4.

Giovacchini's "Did Private Nolan Get His Glory? Movies, Press, and Audience During the Spanish-American War" will be analyzed for relevance. Finally, the conclusions of this analysis will be reviewed and further research will be discussed.

ii. Objectivity

There has never been a universal understanding of what objectivity in history writing actually means; the concept itself is a construction. Historians at the turn of the century who subscribed to objectivity as the central purpose of history, however, shared at least several important tenets. As described by Peter Novick, these tenets include but are not limited to: 1) "a commitment to the reality of the past," 2) "the value of an interpretation is judged by how well it accounts for the facts," 3) "truth is one, not perspectival," 4) "whatever patterns in history are 'found,' not 'made,'" 5) "objectivity is held to be at grave risk when history is written for utilitarian purposes."[63] Novick himself did not delineate these principles of objectivity numerically (nor did he limit his summary to these five), but I find it useful to highlight these concepts specifically for two reasons. The first is that they provide a basic understanding of the core components of the idea of historical objectivity. The second is that, by listing these five components distinctly, it becomes easier to see how progressive historians embraced some of them while rejecting others.

The context around this understanding of objectivity was heavily influenced by the work of German historians, the most notable of which is Leopold von Ranke. In the United States, there was a "myth of Leopold von Ranke as a value-free investigator, interested only in 'the facts.'"[64] Regardless of the accuracy of this perception of von Ranke, it played a role in the larger acceptance of objectivity as the primary (and sole) objective of historical scholarship. Many American historians in the latter part of the nineteenth century visited Germany to study under professors such as von Ranke. With that said, the progressive American historians were primarily immersed in uniquely American schools of history, that focused primarily on the founding of the country and the civil war. These two conflicts—the Revolutionary War and the Civil War—were the anchors of American historicism because they were understood as the country's respective birth and rebirth.

Beard outlines the three major schools of interpretation of American history that precede his work. The first school is encapsulated by the work of Bancroft, and primarily describes American history as "the working out of a higher will than that of man."[65] In essence, the history of the United States is best understood as a divine one, centrally focusing the near-hagiographic biographical accounts of the founders. The conclusions drawn by this school are best understood through the lens of what Bancroft felt the purpose of history to be: "to Bancroft, the historian was akin to the moral philosopher, and his work should dramatize for the people the significance of their past so that they might better understand their destiny."[66] On a historiographical level, it does actually involve a pragmatic view of the role of the historian. However, its view of the motivations of figures and the causes of movements is almost entirely abstract, rather than practical.

The second school identified by Beard, understood then as "Teutonism" and today as pseudoscientific racism, attributes the development of American history to "the peculiar political-genius of the Germanic race."[67] While Beard does not himself subscribe to this "Teutonic germ-theory," he also does not explicitly condemn it.[68] Unlike Beard, Novick holds that this theory was replaced primarily by Turner's frontier thesis.[69] The third school, which Beard describes as "marked rather by an absence of hypotheses," strives for objectivity by eliminating interpretation entirely. Thus, Beard describe Teutonism as being replaced by a desire to eliminate interpretation, rather than the specific interpretation of Turner's frontier thesis. While Beard recognizes the utility of approaching

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[63] Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream,* 2.

[64] Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream,* 4.

[65] Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States,* (New York: The Free Press, 1913), 1.

[66] Richard Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians,* (New York: Vintage Books, 1968), 16.

[67] Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States,* 2.

[68] Beard himself, like most white historians of his time, does not directly confront the racism that pervades American history. This is discussed more in the section on W.E.B. Du Bois' *Black Reconstruction.*

[69] Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream,* 88.

history more scientifically, he holds that interpretation is necessary to *explain* historical phenomena. He never claims that creating objective historical records is impossible or incoherent; simply that it is not *useful* without interpretation to accompany it.

iii. Pragmatism

The movement of Pragmatism was developed primarily by John Dewey, Charles Saunders Pierce, and William James. The pragmatic maxim, articulated by Pierce, is as follows: "consider the practical effects of the objects of your conception. Then, your conception of those effects is the whole of your conception of the object."[70] The principles of pragmatism were elaborated upon in a series of lectures given by William James between the years of 1906 and 1907 at Columbia University. James' descriptions of the pragmatic method lie in direct opposition to the idea that there is—devoid of context—an objective, abstract truth. Instead, he describes all theories as being *instrumental,* instead of "revelations or gnostic answers to some divinely instituted world-engima."[71] This means, as James asserts, that pragmatism is not only a method for action, but also a "genetic theory of what is meant by truth."[72] If the truth value assigned to a metaphysical assertion is entirely dictated by its practical effects, then it is incoherent for objectivity to be the defining goal of the discipline of history. As an epistemological framework, pragmatism rejects objectivity as a defining notion of truth in the first place.

Thus, one of the most relevant facets of pragmatism to the discipline of history was its conception of how to determine truth. As articulated by William James, for pragmatists, *determining* truth was largely empirical: "true ideas are those that we can assimilate, validate, corroborate, and verify."[73] However, pragmatists differed from empiricists in their understanding of what truth actually was. Rather than "truth" being a constant property, inherent and unchanging, "truth *happens* to an idea."[74] The process of verifying a hypothesis makes it true. Thus, pragmatism diverges here sharply from the principles of objectivity—most strikingly, number four: "whatever patterns in history are found, not made." Finally, pragmatism's conception of truth is notable for its different claim to the purpose of possessing truth. Rather than being "an end to itself," understanding truths are "only a preliminary means towards other vital satisfactions."[75] These other "vital satisfactions" can include survival, self-improvement, the improvement of society at large—virtually any positive effect. Thus, pragmatism rejects the idea that "objectivity is held to be at grave risk when history is written for utilitarian purposes." The entire purpose of creating truth is to then use it to accomplish something else.

The premise of pragmatism, thus, would have two major impacts on the way studying history is approached. The first involves the purpose of the historian. The utilitarian impact of the research and presentation itself would have to be weighed when making decisions of scholarship. That's not to say, however, that any historian following pragmatism would find evidence for claims completely irrelevant. The *practical consequences* of an academic field that ignored evidence entirely would likely be an erosion of any sort of public faith in it. However, the central focus would no longer be to eliminate interpretation entirely, but rather to choose an evidence-based interpretation that had positive consequences for the present. A common critique of this approach is that it is a form of "presentism," since historians are interpreting history with the express goal of validating their own political beliefs.

Secondly, however, the ideas of pragmatism, regardless of the purpose of secondary works of scholarship, would fundamentally reshape views of how historical movements occurred. If the practical effects of an entity define that entity, scholars of American history must discard much of its founding mythology. It no longer makes sense for the reasons for the Revolution to be abstract and larger-than-life. In Beard's analysis, the Constitution is not a divine document which was primarily an articulation of universal ideals. Instead, it was an economic document created by a specific economic group with specific concrete economic interests. The two impacts of pragmatic

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[70] Charles Saunders Pierce, "How to Make Our Ideas Clear," *Popular Science Monthly* 12 (Jan 1878): 293.
[71] William James, *Pragmatism,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 94.
[72] *Ibid*, 37.
[73] *Ibid*, 97.
[74] *Ibid*, 97.
[75] William James, *Pragmatism,* 98.

thought on historians are not entirely distinct. The way that historians understand past events is intertwined with the way they view their own role; the two can complement and obscure each other. However, the overall combined effect of these impacts is visible among the progressive historians.

iv. An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States

Charles Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* is important both for the conclusions he drew and the methods he used to draw them. His general thesis is that the Constitution was an economic document that was created by a specific group of people to further their concrete economic interests, rather than the work of "the whole people," or the product of principles divined from God.[76] Beard identifies this economic group as people with investments in personality rather than realty, lenders rather than debtors. He uses the word "personality" primarily to encompass investments in "money, public securities, manufactures, and trade and shipping," while realty is used to refer to land.[77] This overall conclusion essentially takes the pragmatic maxim and uses it to analyze a historical event. Beard presents the *practical effects* of the Constitution on the people who supported it. He claims that these effects are, for the most part, the direct economic impact it will have. Of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention, he claims that at least five-sixths "were immediately, directly, and personally interested in the outcome…and were to a greater or less extent economic beneficiaries from the adoption of the Constitution."[78] These practical effects, thus, were the entirety of the *cause* of the Constitution. It's an unusual application of the pragmatic maxim, because pragmatism is usually used to deal with metaphysical questions. While he focuses primarily on the causes of its adoption, rather than an analysis of its effects, he maintains that the perceived economic effects *were* its cause. Thus, he holds that the essence of the Constitution is situational and lies in its effects on people, rather than some innate quality. He never extends this line of reasoning to the impact the Constitution had on Native Americans or slaves, as other scholars have done.

In drawing these conclusions, Beard directly criticizes the work done by previous historians. In discussing the period of time between 1783 and 1789, during which the Articles of Confederation were in effect, he holds that it was not actually a "critical period" that required a massive change in the political system. Instead, Beard states that "it does not appear that any one has really inquired just what precise facts must be established to prove that 'the bonds of social order were dissolving.'"[79] Thus, Beard uses a more pragmatic framework for analyzing the actions of the founders and the nature of the Constitution.

An Economic Interpretation of the Constitutions of the United States is also important, however, because of Beard's method for coming to these conclusions. While making pragmatic claims about the historical figures he is discussing, he uses language to frame his argument as an objective one. Like many scholars of the period, he makes repeated allusions to his work as a scientific one. He describes how, "happily for science," the secrecy of the Constitutional Convention meant that the economic motivations of the delegates were discussed honestly.[80] He laments how the economic records preserved by the Treasury Department from prior to the Convention are not sufficient "for the scientific study of a single state."[81] In discussing the material interests which fueled the adopting of the Constitution, Beard sets a "mathematically exact conclusion" as an objective, while admitting that only generalizations were possible "for the present."[82] However, he attempts to be as mathematically accurate as possible in the evidence he provides.

To present his case, Beard attempts to be as methodologically precise as possible. Instead of treating the monograph as a fact-based narrative, he cycles through the same time period over and over, examining the different sets of evidence available to him. In the fifth chapter, "The Economic Interests of the Members of the Convention," Beard analyzes the livelihood of every individual member of the Constitutional Convention, in alphabetical order. In

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[76] Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States,* 325.
[77] *Ibid*, 324.
[78] *Ibid*, 149.
[79] Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*, 48.
[80] *Ibid*, 190.
[81] *Ibid*, 22.
[82] Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*., 253.

the seventh chapter, "The Political Doctrines of the Members of the Convention," he analyzes the stated political doctrine of every member of the Convention, once again alphabetically. In the tenth chapter, he breaks down the economic situation of every state geographically that may have affected the vote on ratification. For the Pennsylvania state delegation, he listed every delegate alphabetically and attempts to state their "exact occupation and interests," as well as whether they voted for or against ratification.[83]

Throughout the work, Beard describes the work he is doing as scientific, seemingly fully subscribing to the school of objectivity. He references the absolute truth as if it existed, while lamenting that he does not have the resources or time to fully access it. However, there are a number of factors that make it clear that he not actually fully committed to this idea of objectivity. The first is his title: he calls the work *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* rather than *The Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* or, better still, *The Real Causes Behind the Constitution of the United States.* He presents his work as merely one interpretation, indicating that others would also be valid—and that there is a present-day reason why he chose to write this one. Indeed, according to Hofstadter, Beard was "too much the social activist to shake off his feeling that historical knowledge, however 'scientifically' it was gained, ought to serve the commonwealth by being made to shed light on the origins and the solution of contemporary problems, and that for this purpose it would have to be translated into moral terms."[84]

v. Black Reconstruction

Any discussion of the work done by W.E.B. Du Bois must begin with the context in which he lived. As a black man in a discipline that constantly entertained theories based in both implicit and explicit racism, his perspective on the societal purpose of history would have been markedly different from that of Charles Beard. In part for this reason, *Black Reconstruction: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880* is crucial to understand the issues of both objectivity and pragmatism. The wider historical profession to which Du Bois is responding claims objectivity without understanding that one of the largest impediments to approaching this objective understanding is its own racism, whether overt or not. At the same time, any discussions of American history (especially the Civil War) would have profound pragmatic effects on an American society still in the Jim Crow era.

Like Beard, Du Bois presents a primarily economic interpretation of the events before and after the Civil War. While he does, of course, refer to the morally evil nature of slavery, he focuses on the different economic systems in place to explain behavior. In doing so, du Bois attempts to focus on the systemic causes that allowed the evil institution to last as long as it did. When discussing the slaves that successfully escaped and ran to the northern United States and Canada, he does not focus on the heroism and individual freedoms gained. Instead, he refers to how the potential opportunity to escape functioned as a "Safety Valve of Slavery" which reduced the number of slave revolts.[85] In doing so, Du Bois pragmatically focuses on the overarching practical effects of the system as it was set up, rather than the nature of the system itself.

Du Bois pushes back against other historians' claims that the Civil War was fundamentally about anything other than slavery. In doing so, he outlines the long-term economic effects of slavery on the United States, and the world at large. He describes how "it was the black worker, as founding stone of a new economic system in the nineteenth century and for the modern world, who brought civil war in America."[86] However, while he identifies the institution of slavery as the overarching reason for the Civil War, he claims the spark of the war was not the election of Abraham Lincoln or the behavior of specific actors, but rather the fact that "the cotton crop of 1859 reached the phenomenal height of five million bales as compared with three million in 1850."[87] This economic interpretation strongly differs from typical characterizations of the Civil War, which focus exclusively on the social and political events that preceded it. These socio-political events—such as the violence in Bleeding Kansas, the caning of Charles

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[83] *Ibid*, 275.
[84] Richard Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians,* 178.
[85] W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction,* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1935) 13.
[86] *Ibid*, 15.
[87] *Ibid*, 48.

Sumner, the actions of John Brown, and the election of Abraham Lincoln—are presented by Du Bois as relatively minor causes or left out entirely.

Similarly, Du Bois classifies the outcome of the war as one that primarily depends on economic factors. Rather than discussing the tactical decisions made by generals or the specific battles won, Du Bois focuses on the "general strike against slavery" undertaken by the slaves as soon as it "became clear that the Union armies would not or could not return fugitive slaves."[88] In interpreting the causes and outcome of the Civil War on economic terms, Du Bois does for the second part of American history what Beard did for the first: he provides a specific interpretation that focuses on concrete practical effects on large groups of people to push back against the dominance of abstract social and political ideals in explaining past events. In doing so, Du Bois is able to highlight the racism underpinning the "lost cause" narrative of the Civil War that was peddled by white historians, both in the South and North.

Du Bois simultaneously presents its momentous moral effects of emancipation and the often amoral and economic motivations of white Northerners which helped bring it about. In discussing the immediate causes of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, he identifies two "ulterior objects:" it made "easier the replacement of unwilling Northern white soldiers with black soldiers; and it sought to put behind the war a new push toward Northern victory by the mighty impact of a great moral ideal."[89] This moral ideal helped ensure that no European nation, especially England, would intervene on the side of the Confederacy. Thus, the Northern governmental decision to commit to emancipation is cast as a result of military interests. After the end of the war, Du Bois continues this dissection of Northern interests by demonstrating how Northern industry had an economic stake in the enfranchisement of freedmen. He does not claim that all abolitionists were actually only supportive of civil rights because of the potential for personal economic gain. However, he does classify abolition-democracy as a relatively small part of Northern political power. The movement that "began primarily and sincerely to abolish slavery and insure the Negroes' rights, became coupled with a struggle of capitalism to retain control of the government as against Northern labor and Southern and Western agriculture."[90] Part of the reason for this was that the nominal electoral inclusion of black Americans would greatly increase the South's political power. So, northern industry had to ensure that Southern freedmen could actually exercise their nominal right to vote in order to protect themselves from "Southern opposition to finance and the tariff" and to ensure "sound money…and Federal control of industry."[91] Northern capital felt sure that black labor would vote overwhelmingly Republican because of the political context of emancipation.

Du Bois frames this as the primary reason that the North committed itself to an even partial military defense of civil rights during the Reconstruction period. However, once there was "an understanding between the Southern exploiter of labor and the Northern exploiter, this military support" was withdrawn, and Reconstruction was ended.[92] This analysis is a fundamentally economic one, in a similar vein to Beard's *An Economic Interpretation.* Du Bois does not focus on the political maneuvering of individuals such as Rutherford Hayes and Samuel Tilden during the election of 1876 to understand Reconstruction end. While such individual actions may have affected exactly which year it ended, Du Bois presents a Marxist understanding of the fundamental role that capital played in Reconstruction's essential arc.

Although he identified many Northern motivations for protecting civil rights as being economic, however, Du Bois does not discount the moral progress which occurred in the years following the Civil War. He describes how "to most of the four million black folk emancipated by civil war, God was real. They knew Him."[93] Du Bois knew that no dissection of the pragmatic, military-based reasons for issuing emancipation could eclipse the reality of its effects—nor should it. Similarly, during Reconstruction, "for the first time in history the people of the United States listened not only to the voices of the Negroes' friends, but to the Negro himself."[94] Just as the actions of

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[88] *Ibid*, 15.

[89] W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction,* 84.

[90] *Ibid*, 214.

[91] W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction* 213.

[92] *Ibid*, 240.

[93] *Ibid*, 124.

[94] *Ibid*, 230.

slaves during the "general strike" of the Civil War ensured the South's defeat, the actions of freedmen and freedwomen during Reconstruction ensured greater political opportunities became possible. The fact that Du Bois framed these victories as primarily the work done by the freed slaves themselves, rather than allies, was both extremely unusual and extremely important for the time in which he was writing.

Du Bois, thus, utilizes a pragmatic approach to the study of history in two different ways. He analyzes the motivations of white Northerners during and after the Civil War as results of their perception of how economic power would be affected. Most Northern industrialists viewed emancipation as the sum of its effects—specifically, its effects on Northern industry. At the same time, Du Bois himself highlights the actual effects of emancipation on the people it emancipated. Ulterior motives for ending slavery cannot corrupt the concept of emancipation because the relevance lies in the effects of freedom, not its causes. The reason the ulterior motives of Northern whites are important is because, once they no longer aligned with the objectives of abolition-democracy, they allowed the categorical disenfranchisement of black Americans to be reinstated with Reconstruction's end.

While Du Bois' interpretation is economic, however, it is also psychological. Not all of the relevant effects that people strove to accomplish had to do with their economic situation—especially when it involved white Americans (in both the South and the north) fighting against basic civil liberties for black Americans. This is most clearly apparent with his analysis of Andrew Johnson. President Johnson was initially a staunch ally of labor and the working class, until he realized the chief beneficiary of labor and economic reform in the South would be freedmen…his inability to picture Negroes as men made him oppose efforts to give them land."[95] He evolved from a "rebel against economic privilege" to a man with "conventional ambition of a poor white to be the associate and benefactor of monopolists, planters, and slave drivers."[96] In this regard, Du Bois differs substantially from Beard. While Beard focused exclusively on the economic drivers of politicians' actions, Du Bois confronts directly the way in which racism and white supremacy superseded Johnson's economic ideology. This applied not only to Andrew Johnson, but to most poor white people at the time. For most Southern whites, "the economic loss which came through war was great, but not nearly as influential as the psychological change."[97] Thus, it was prejudice that motivated many white responses to Reconstruction, rather than strictly economic interest.

W.E.B. Du Bois identifies how typical historical narratives of Reconstruction have been based on flawed premises, and thus are both wrong and damaging to the present. He describes how "the whole history of Reconstruction has with few exceptions been written by passionate believers in the inferiority of the Negro. The whole body of facts concerning what the Negro actually said and did, how he worked, how he wanted, for whom he voted, is masked in a cloud of charges, exaggeration, and biased testimony."[98] He names this the "Blindspot of America," which has caused historians to consistently "overlook and misread so clear and encouraging a chapter of human struggle and human rights."[99] In identifying this blindspot, Du Bois is rebuking the idea of an objective historical narrative devoid of any kind of interpretation. Too often, such a narrative, in an attempt to be singular, actually reflects the perspective of the dominant factions of society. As Du Bois demonstrates, historical interpretation from the perspective of the oppressed is necessary for any kind of honest understanding of American history.

vi. Related Media

The era of scholarship in which Beard and Du Bois were working was heavily influenced by two expanding industries: newspapers and motion pictures. At the turn of the century, newspaper culture was beginning to move away from interpretation and become more and more "centered on facts."[100] There was a democratic aspect of this shift, since ostensibly the masses could interpret the facts directly instead of receiving meaning from the elites. The

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[95] W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, 280.

[96] W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction,*, 322.

[97] *Ibid*, 384.

[98] *Ibid*, 381.

[99] *Ibid*, 577.

[100] Saverio Giovacchini, "Did Private Nolan Get His Glory? Movies, Press, and Audience During the Spanish-American War," *Columbia Journal of American Studies* 3(1) (1998): 145.

aura of objectivity cast by correspondents was heavily fueled by the rise of photography. Similarly, early motion pictures "were advertised as a development of photography, directly linked with its epistemology and its quest for the ultimate and fullest grasp of reality."[101] There was an obsession with the mechanical impartiality of cameras—the lens itself called a photographic *objective.* While historians defended the truth of their writings with scientific rhetoric, correspondents and filmmakers used rhetoric relating to machines.

At the same time, however, many reporters were actually making proactive and *pragmatic* decisions which affected the events on which they were reporting. During the Spanish-American War, there were "fits of participation" by correspondents such as James Creelman "suggest[ing] a bayonet charge to capture the fort at El Caney and offer[ing] to lead the way."[102] These individual fits of participation were part of a larger active role played by the press during the war. As described by Giovacchini, "the American consensus against Spain was built through an interactive process in which the media catered to important demands of their audiences in order to involve them in the war."[103] This interactive process demonstrates the pragmatic role the press was beginning to take on: newspapers not only reported the news, they *created* it. This shift, paradoxically, occurred at the same moment they began to claim objectivity.

This two-part shift in the newspaper industry is relevant because it is a clearer version of what was occurring in the American historical profession. Like the correspondents, historians claimed more and more to be "participating in a collaborative effort which was progressing toward the ultimate and unitary objective historical truth."[104] At the same time, however, historians began to adopt both pragmatic interpretations of historical events and pragmatic views of their own role. On a surface level, this pragmatism is reflected in historians' "principle activity" during World War I: the "provision of serviceable propaganda; producing, in the phrase of the time, a 'sound and wholesome public opinion.'"[105] More subtly, however, this tension between objectivity and pragmatism is evident to varying degrees in Charles Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* and W.E.B. du Bois' *Black Reconstruction.*

vii. Conclusions and Further Explorations

In the early twentieth century, the American historical profession embraced both objectivity and pragmatism. The goal of objectivity was espoused widely and openly, with consistent rhetorical overtures to remaking history as a scientific endeavor. Even Beard and Du Bois, who were clear that their works were only one interpretation, made claims that their respective interpretations were better than previous works because of their scientific, methodological nature. At the same time, however, historians embraced the principles of pragmatism without stating so. Both *An Economic Interpretation* and *Black Reconstruction* were based in economic determinism, which interprets the causes of historical events through a pragmatic lens. Beard and Du Bois differ, however, because Du Bois writes openly about the blindspot of American historians in regard to the nation's racist past. Thus, he is more explicit about the pragmatic necessity of his work beyond simply approaching a more objective truth.

This investigation could be expanded in several ways. The first is to incorporate additional works by progressive historians, such as Mary Beard's *America Through Women's Eyes,* Charles and Mary Beard's *The Rise of American Civilization,* and Vernon Parrington's *Main Currents in American Thought.* The second is to delve more deeply into the connections between American historiography and the newspaper and film industries. This would involve a more interdisciplinary approach and would include the early uses of motion pictures to educate audiences about historical events. The third is to further analyze the relationship between claims of objectivity and the historians' relative support of the status quo. This analysis would be centered around the differences in self-described "impartiality" between historians who were and were not members of oppressed groups. Finally, deeper

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[101] *Ibid*, 153.

[102] *Ibid*, 143.

[103] *Ibid*, 154.

[104] Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream,* 4.

[105] *Ibid*, 118.

insight could be found through further analysis of the beginnings of American historians' stated goal of objectivity, especially in regard to the relationship between the historical discipline in Germany and the United States.

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Influencence, Negotiation, and Access: Poetry as a Social Tool Within *Bungaku Nikki* of Medieval Japan

By Elizabeth Patterson

i. Introduction

Communication within a given society often develops alongside technological capabilities of the time. In the modern day, much of our communication occurs online, through messaging services via the internet or from cell phone networks. Though only some people today still communicate with letters written on paper, instead of by email, text message, or phone call, in medieval Japan handwritten letters were the most common form of communication amongst aristocratic women. Specifically, within the *Kagerō nikki* and the *Towazugatari* aristocrats wrote letters accompanied by poems to send messages and information. As both accounts depict the aristocratic society of Heian and Kamakura era Japan, the scope of this paper will be limited to that perspective. As both accounts depict the aristocratic society of Heian and Kamakura era Japan, the scope of this paper will be limited to that perspective. Amongst the imperial court, the exchange of poetry was vital for social participation. When one would send a letter, poems were usually sent along as well. Poetry was an expression of self - one can feel that emotion and record it to preserve that feeling, but also the feeling was further expressed when others see and reply to it. Thus, poems were often written to be exchanged, just as tweets and emails are written today with the hope of receiving a reply. Another important aspect of the communication within these works is their representation of society and relationships. Both accounts offer an individual-centered, social history from the perspective of each writer, combining prose with poetry and fact with emotion to produce intimate recollections of medieval Japan.

The Heian period, dating from 794 to 1185[106], is considered the end of classical Japanese history. The anonymous female diarist of the *Kagerō nikki* lived from 936[107] until sometime after her account ends in 974. During this time period, Japan experienced relative stability, as there were no major military engagements involving the imperial court. The court had ruled to end communication with China, opting for full isolation from foreign nations. Thus, society, especially aristocratic society of which the diarist of the *Kagerō nikki* was a member, developed internally, completely focused on the activity of the capital city[108]. The diarist was the daughter of a provincial governor, Fujiwara no Tomoyasu[109] and was married to Fujiwara no Kaneie, a politician who was considered higher class than her because of her father's lower social standing. Kaneie was also from a branch of the Fujiwara clan that had "monopolized all the high offices at court"[110], thereby giving him a more impressive reputation by association. Before marrying the diarist of the *Kagerō nikki*, Kaneie had married another woman named Tokihime[111]. Within Heian society, spouses did not generally cohabitate. Instead, a husband would marry several different women and engage in a visiting marriage, in which he would support the household financially but physically visit the premises sporadically. The husband generally lived with the principal wife[112], who for Kaneie, was Tokihime, as she established her role definitively by bearing Kaneie three sons and two daughters, giving him children that would later occupy positions in court[113].

Though women within Heian Japan were often writers or readers of Japanese literature, they were often restricted by an assumed social code which required them to censor political views from their works. The diarist of the *Kagerō nikki* balances these social restrictions, even going as far as to test their limits. Within her account, she

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[106] E. Dale Saunders, *Buddhism in Japan: With an Outline of Its Origins in India.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), 134.

[107] Michitsuna No Haha, and Sonja Arntzen. *The Kagerō Diary: A Woman's Autobiographical Text from Tenth-Century Japan*. Michigan Monographs in Japanese Studies, No. 19. (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1997), 1.

[108] *Ibid*, 8.

[109] *Ibid*, 26.

[110] *Ibid*, 28.

[111] *Ibid*, 29.

[112] *Ibid*, 9.

[113] *Ibid*, 29.

recounts the Anna Era incident, "the most shocking political event of the era"[114], in which Minamoto Takaakira was exiled. Though it was socially unacceptable for her to share her thoughts on a political event, especially one in which her husband was involved in, the diarist defends her actions by saying, "this is perhaps something that shouldn't have been included; however, since the deep feelings of sadness about it were my own and not anyone else's, I recorded it"[115]. Thus, the diarist was not afraid to defy societal norms. In writing her account, which presented an unbecoming portrayal of a politician of the Fujiwara clan, she was further testing the limits of societal norms. Her marriage ended soon after the last book of the *Kagerō nikki*, indicating that she no longer hoped to salvage her troubled relationship with Kaneie. Instead, her goals in writing her account appear to involve creating a sincere representation of marriage by using her own relationship as the source material. The creation of the *Kagerō nikki* was rather miraculous for its time, but its enduring influence on later Japanese literature and life can be attributed to the skilled verse and prose within.

The society in which Lady Nijō lived in was similar to that of Michitsuna's mother yet can be distinguished from it by several major differences. Unlike the Heian period, the Kamakura period, dating from 1185 to 1333, began with a shift in power from the Fujiwara clan to the Minamoto clan, as Minamoto no Yoritomo of the latter established a military government in Kamakura in 1185[116]. Thus, the dual government of Japan was formed with the shogunate's creation as a supporting leadership position to the emperor. The duality of the government lead to two major centers of influence - the imperial court located in Kyoto and the military headquarters established in Kamakura. While the court in Kyoto was still at the center of cultural and social development, especially in the aristocracy, the military base in Kamakura carried out much of the actual governing decisions[117]. Within Lady Nijō's lifetime, the imperial court split into two clashing sides over the succession of the throne. The conflict was between GoFukakusa, the lifelong lover of Lady Nijō, and Kameyama, the younger brother of GoFukakusa. Lady Nijō contributes directly to the antipathy between the two brothers by engaging in a relationship with Kameyama while still in the service of GoFukakusa[118].

Like Michitsuna's mother, Lady Nijō was expected as a woman to avoid mentioning topics related to politics or the military. Unlike Michitsuna's mother, Lady Nijō tended to follow these social expectations; she wrote little about politics, though she was engaged in affairs with some of the highest ranked officials in the country. The Kamakura period, from her perspective, reveals "how the aristocracy in the Kamakura period strove to copy the minutest features of Heian culture"[119]. *The Tale of Genji* served as a quintessential text of the Kamakura, guiding their own interpretations of Heian aesthetic through wine, love, music, and poetry[120]. Music and poetry were especially important, because court attendants and officials were expected to compose poetry or play instruments at parties. Poetry was a vital form of communication in a variety of social contexts, such as parties, traditional celebrations, courting, and exchange of letters.

Another aspect of Lady Nijō's life that must be addressed is her relationship with GoFukakusa, and with other lovers. Marriage within medieval Japan was rarely monogamous, with husbands often supporting several different wives simultaneously, and wives commonly engaging in extramarital affairs and flirtations. Lady Nijō was no exception, as she was an important lady in the service of GoFukakusa, but also maintained several significant affairs outside of that relationship. She was treated as a wife of GoFukakusa in some instances, such as when her child with him was formally recognized as a legitimate son[121], yet also avoided some of the responsibilities and expectations of that role. Within the text, GoFukakusa encourages her affairs with Ariake, or Prince-Priest Shōjō, and Kanehira[122]. Lady Nijō's decision to record her life stemmed from her love and appreciation of poetry, and her

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[114] *Ibid*, 15.

[115] *Ibid*, 173.

[116] Jeffrey P. Mass, *Yoritomo and the Founding of the First Bakufu: The origins of dual government in Japan.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 124.

[117] Nakanoin Masatada No Musume, *The Confessions of Lady Nijō*. Translated by Karen Brazell. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1976), xi.

[118] *Ibid*, xii.

[119] *Ibid*, xiv.

[120] *Ibid*, xiv.

[121] *Ibid*, 45.

[122] Ibid. xvii.

desire to continue her family's tradition of literary skill and prestige. In writing her account, she deviated from social norms attributed to one in her position. She simultaneously followed the socially acceptable, by taking Buddhist vows and becoming a nun after her dismissal from court, and pushed beyond them, by opting to travel and write poetry as opposed to retiring to a small cottage in the countryside to worship privately, as many ex-court aristocrats tended to do[123]. As is the case with Michitsuna's mother, some aspects of the account are extraordinary for their occurrence in a period of antagonizing social expectations and etiquette, while others adhere to the social decorum of the time.

ii. Historiography

There is a fair amount of academic scholarship on the accounts of women from medieval Japan, specifically on the genre termed *bungaku nikki*. Literary criticism on different works of this genre can be traced back to Fujiwara Teika - who lived from 1162 to 1241[124](Miller, 67). Works like the *Kagerō nikki* were passed amongst the Heian aristocratic court and were most likely read by the prominent literary figures of the time. For example, some scholars theorized that the *Kagerō nikki* influenced *the Tale of Genji* as it displayed to Murasaki Shikibu the faults of the *furu monogatari* or the old tales of romance[125]. However, the body of work concerning the *Towazugatari* is considerably less than that which focuses on the *Kagerō nikki*, because it was not established in the canon of *bungaku nikki* until six and a half centuries after its initial creation. It was discovered in 1940, by a scholar named Yamagishi Tokuhei, who found it while looking amongst documents in the Imperial Household Library in Tokyo[126]. Thus, the amount of time to garner considerable scholarship on this article is relatively brief, considering it was only unearthed less than a century ago. According to Marilyn Jeanne Miller, "now that critical thought on this form of literature has entered an exciting but painful adolescence, in which some tentative consensus of critical opinion has emerged, be it only that this form of writing is as complex structurally and semiotically as fiction, a comparative study of two very different literary traditions has become...possible," and can be approached directly[127]. The specific type of writing which Miller refers to is that of the *bungaku nikki*, which refers to the poetic diary. Much like *monogatari*, it interposes poetry and prose, and regards emotional connections between different significant figures with a heightened sense of intimacy and apparent sincerity.

In terms of scholarship regarding the *Towazugatari*, Saeko Kimura's article, "Regenerating Narratives: The Confessions of Lady Nijō as a Story for Women's Salvation" applies a modern feminist perspective to the account to gauge the agency Lady Nijō asserts within the work. It focuses specifically on the books which cover her time as a traveling Buddhist nun and poet. The article balances two different interpretations of the *Towazugatari* - that Lady Nijō's actions as a traveling nun were an example of her freedom, and that religion was a source of salvation for her; or, conversely, that she took on Buddhist vows as yet another court official retiring to a life of devotion would do, with very little additional personal freedom. Kimura asserts a third interpretation which expands past the other two - that Lady Nijō journeyed the particular routes that she did in reference to the diaries of traveling women before her, and that, by revisiting these places, she is taking part in the oral and poetic tradition of women's salvation in medieval Japan[128]. This perspective is supported by Lady Nijō's habits in recording her account, as she continually references other poets and writers. Additionally, she decided to write the *Towazugatari* to bring respect and literary accomplishment to her family's name, indicating that she was intending on becoming part of a greater tradition[129].

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[123] Lori Meeks, "Buddhist Renunciation and the Female Life Cycle: Understanding Nunhood in Heian and Kamakura Japan." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 70, no. 1, 2010: 10.

[124] Marilyn Jeanne Miller, *The Poetics of Nikki Bungaku: A Comparison of the Traditions, Conventions, and Structure of Heian Japan's Literary Diaries with Western Autobiographical Writings*, (New York, NY: Garland Pub, 1985), 67.

[125] Barbara Ruch, "A Book of One's Own: The Gossamer Years; The Pillow Book; and The Confessions of Lady Nijō". *Masterworks of Asian Literature in comparative perspective: a guide for teaching.* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe Publishing, 1994), 408.

[126] Nakanoin, *The Confessions of Lady Nijō*, vix.

[127] Miller, *The Poetics of Nikki Bungaku*, 1.

[128] Kimura Saeko, "Regenerating Narratives: The Confessions of Lady Nijō as a Story for Women's Salvation." *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 19, 2007: 98.

[129] Nakanoin, *The Confessions of Lady Nijō*, vii.

Another article which connects these primary sources to the Japanese literary tradition is that of Barbara Ruch. In "A Book of One's Own", Ruch addresses the individual expression asserted by the authors of the *Kagerō nikki*, the *Sarashina nikki*, and the *Towazugatari*. For the both the *Towazugatari* and the *Kagerō nikki*, Ruch observes that the respective authors wrote their own accounts for deeply personal reasons, as is evident in the title and narrative techniques of the works. Much like Kimura, Ruch recognizes the interconnectedness each work has with the canon of which it is a part. Ruch even asserts that the *Kagerō nikki* was most likely read by Murasaki Shikibu, and potentially influenced the *Tale of Genji*[130]. In turn, the *Tale of Genji* was so popular amongst the aristocratic courts that, by the time Lady Nijō lived, it was commonly quoted, taught, and referred to, especially in the setting in which she grew up. This influential story, then, helped her to convey her own experiences, as she refers to the *Tale of Genji* continuously throughout her own account, even to the point of making direct parallels between the relationship of Genji and Murasaki and that of her and the retired emperor, GoFukakusa[131]. In this way, the *Kagerō nikki* and the *Towazugatari* are connected, bridged by the *monogatari* genre and, specifically, the *Tale of Genji*.

When regarding scholarship on the *Kagerō nikki*, Joshua Mostow has written several articles on the subject. In "Self and Landscape in *Kagerō nikki*", Mostow argues that the diarist's sense of identity is inherently shaped by the patriarchal values of the society in which she lives, so much so that she subtly objectifies her own body in some passages of the diary[132]. In "The Amorous Statesman and the Poetess", Mostow asserts that the *Kagerō nikki* was allowed develop as a work because of two conditions within society - that the diarist was most likely originally commissioned to record the poems of Kaneie, and that the established tradition of *monogatari* allowed her to write such an intimate and sincere portrayal of a political figure[133]. Thus, in both articles, Mostow asserts that the *Kagerō nikki* was heavily influenced by the settings and canon in which it developed. In particular, the patriarchal societal values of Heian Japan affected the diarist's perspective on others and herself. Yet, she was able to publish the *Kagerō nikki* without its destruction or damage, indicating that its contribution to the literary canon of medieval autobiography in Japan outweighed the potential detriment of portraying a politician related to the ruling Fujiwara clan as an unsatisfying and untrustworthy husband.

Amongst these varying perspectives, my argument focuses on the use of the poetry socially, in relationships, gatherings and institutions. Within both the *Kagerō nikki* and *Towazugatari*, poetry is used a social tool, which allows the respective diarists to strategically interact with others, and for others to interact strategically with them. Additionally, poetry represented their own participation in certain social settings, such as that of the court, or that of celebration. Social settings such as religious institutions were also attainable through the strategic use of poetry. Finally, poetry was a way for these women to explore their interpersonal relationships, especially their romantic relationships, with a sense of forged power. They can negotiate their own terms in their marriages or affairs because of poetic expression. Thus, poetry functioned as a tool in society which, when in capable hands, allowed them to shape their role in social institutions and the relationships with those around them.

iii. Literary Conventions

Before addressing the source material, it is important to understand the literary conventions of poetry from Heian and Kamakura Japan. The *bungaku nikki*, as a genre, developed out of Japanese literary tradition, which was informed by that of China. The first use of *nikki* originated from the use of the Chinese character for *nikki* by Wang Chong as applied to the *Chunqiu*, or the *Spring and Autumn Annals.* The commentary in this work "contains historical records, interesting stories, reports on natural phenomena, divination, personal experiences, and poetry"[134]. This record contains a variety of different records, allowing for diverse information to be gathered in one volume. As Miller observes, "the combination of chronological order with a mixed subject matter, as well as the mixture of prose and poetry" within the *Chunqiu* inclined Tamai to "note this first use of the two particular Chinese ideograms

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[130] Ruch, "A Book of One's Own," 408.

[131] *Ibid,* 412.

[132] Joshua S. Mostow, "Self and Landscape in Kagerō Nikki," *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 5, 1993: 16.

[133] Joshua S. Mostow, "The Amorous Statesman and the Poetess: The Politics of Autobiography in the Kagerō Diary." *Japan Forum* 4, no. 2:, 1992: 311.

[134] Miller, *The Poetics of Nikki Bungaku*, 71.

or characters used to designate this genre of the *nikki*"[135]. *Bungaku nikki*, then, as a genre involves a mixture of poetry and prose comparable to the fictional genre, the *monogatari*.

Monogatari as a genre was inherently connected to *bungaku nikki*, as both were inseparable from their use of poetry. As Motoori Norinaga addresses in reference to the *Tale of Genji,* "there is no essential difference between poetry and *monogatari*", but in fact a direct connection. The ultimate unity of poetry and *monogatari* is assured by their common basis in *mono no aware*, the central concept in Norinaga's poetics[136]. According to Tomiko, "*Mono no aware* refers to a profound feeling with which one spontaneously responds to a myriad of things and occurrences in the world."[137] Within the context of social relations, *mono no aware*, as a central concept in poetry production, urges the writer to compose as an emotional outlet of the moment, allowing one's feelings further expression as others experience it through their poetry. The inward identity seeks connection and understanding through the exchange of poetry, inherently connecting the practice to social relationships.

iv. Poetry as Social Participation

An important influence of poetry was the social participation that it often encouraged. In both accounts, the writers record those around them writing poetry in response to culturally formalized celebrations, most often at the beginning of a new year. Communal poetry writing and participation was common practice in both Heian and Kamakura society, as poetry was closely connected with collective expression and symbolic exchange. Within the *Towazugatari*, the significance of social participation in the context of celebration is apparent when Lady Nijō returns to the imperial court for the first time since her dismissal for the birthday celebration of Lady Kitayama in 1285[138]. As she is residing in her quarters after the festivities, GoFukakusa, from whom she has been estranged for several years now, sent her a letter and poem asking to meet and "discuss the sorrows of these days"[139]. Though Lady Nijō denied his request initially, GoFukakusa visited her in person, saying "We're going boating, and you must come along"[140]. Though she was unwilling to accompany him, she recognized that she "could hardly refuse" in the social circumstances. During their boating trip with the other court officials, Kameyama began to compose a linked verse, which was a type of poetry "composed by two or more people contributing alternate verses of seventeen and fourteen syllables"[141]. His first lines were:

> Gliding through
> Waves of clouds
> Waves of mist;[142]

After his initial three lines, he turned to Lady Nijō and told her "You refused to play in the concert because of your [Buddhist] vow, but you can certainly complete this" [143]. Within this moment, poetry is used a form of social coercion, in which Lady Nijō is forced into participating because of etiquette. The poem continues with Lady Nijō's verse, as each participant adds lines:

> I complied, adding this verse:
> Into the endless glory,
> Of my lord's reign,
>
> Sanekane:

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[135] *Ibid*, 71.
[136] Yoda (ヨダ) Tomiko (トミコ). *Gender and National Literature: Heian Texts in the Constructions of Japanese Modernity*. Asia-Pacific. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 113.
[137] *Ibid*, 113.
[138] Nakanoin, *The Confessions of Lady Nijō*, 163.
[139] *Ibid,* 175.
[140] *Ibid*.
[141] *Ibid*, 281.
[142] *Ibid,* 176.
[143] *Ibid*.

Which far surpasses
Even reigns of old
In tribute paid.

Tomoaki:
Cloudless radiance
Reflects the gods.

The crown prince:
After ninety years,
Still wave upon wave
Of prosperous age.

Kameyama:
Movement grows painful --
The ways of this world.

I added:
Suppressing sorrow
Deep in my lonely heart.

'How well I understand the feeling she expresses,' GoFukakusa added sympathetically. He then continued the verse:
Ceaseless tears
The dawn moon.[144]

Lady Nijō's first verse is one of begrudged participation. She gives a basic verse of fealty to the regency and hope for the future of the emperor. Based on what she was replying to, she could have taken the content of the group poem to whichever subject she felt most strongly about. By setting the subject of the poem as loyalty and fealty to the crown, she not only makes the it easier for others to participate - as they are all court officials and connected to the aristocracy - but she also handles a precarious social situation with grace. In using her wit to appeal to those in her group, Lady Nijō creates a more agreeable social situation for herself by shifting the focus of the poem from herself. However, as she gives her second verse Lady Nijō allows herself to relax around the others, giving a verse about her own sorrow and solitude. GoFukakusa takes this opportunity to give a verse with double meaning to Lady Nijō, as he mentions crying over the dawn moon. Lady Nijō is the only one in the group who understands this as a reference to GoFukakusa's late half-brother, Prince Priest Shōjō. The Prince Priest was also one of Lady Nijō's most ardent lovers who she nicknamed *Ariake no Tsuki*[145], meaning dawn moon. The relationship between these three individuals is complex, as GoFukakusa encouraged a relationship between Lady Nijō and Shōjō. However, after reconciling the affair between Lady Nijō and Shōjō, he was quick to remind the writer that he "was the first to love" her.[146] With an addition of two lines in this social situation then, GoFukakusa reminds Lady Nijō of her past not just with him, but also with his half-brother. Thus, it is GoFukakusa who shapes the social encounter in his favor by the poem's end, as he successfully communicates his desire for reconciliation with Lady Nijō.

Within the *Kagerō nikki*, a similar situation occurs between the diarist and Tokihime, who was Kaneie's first wife. When the diarist attended the Kamo Festival, a celebration held in April in which a grand procession advanced from the Lower Kamo Shrine to the Upper Kamo Shrine[147], she saw Tokihime's carriage and decided to park beside it. Then, the diarist composed the first three lines of a poem, and sent it to Tokihime as a challenge:

Though I heard we would

[144] *Ibid*, 176-177.
[145] *Ibid,* xxix.
[146] *Ibid,* 124.
[147] Michitsuna No Haha, *The Kagerō Diary,* 128.

Be bound together with heart vine
Over there you stay, this citron's…[148]

Tokihime's response came after "quite some time", as the following:

yellow flesh's sharp tartness
today truly I see in you.[149]

The first half of the poem contains two puns which present dual meanings, a thread which continues in Tokihime's response. Within the diarist's verse, she uses *afuhi* to refer to both the heartvine associated with the Kamo festival, but also to the word's additional meaning of "meeting day". Her other pun stems from the word *tachibana*, which refers to a type of orange, and to the word *tachi*, meaning "to stay". Thus, the diarist's opening lines could mean two different things: "Though I hear this is a heartvine, there is this orange from somewhere else" or "Though I heard this is a day of meeting, you stay over there."[150] Much like Lady Nijō participating in the linked verse, the diarist of the *Kagerō nikki* begins her poetic challenge with an open ended verse. It allows for Tokihime to manipulate the poem down two potential paths, which places more freedom of expression in her hands.

In Tokihime's response, however, she maintains that same double meaning with a pun on the word *kimi*, which can refer to "you" or to "yellow flesh [of a citron]". Thus, her verses can be read to mean: "Today I see the tartness of the citron's yellow flesh" or "Today I see your cruelty"[151]. Tokihime replies with verses just as clever as the diarist's and twists the meaning to contain a biting remark. In this exchange, the use of poetry allows for Tokihime to express her negative emotions towards the diarist as the second wife of her husband with etiquette and grace. Additionally, Tokihime used her own poetic prowess to turn a stressful social challenge into a victory of communication. She is able to regain composure and respect with her response, thereby placing the diarist on equal social ground.

In both examples, a poem shared requires a response. If either Lady Nijō or Tokihime had declined the challenge, they would have lost social grace. Yet, both worked within the framework of verse allowed to them and attempted to improve their situation from the most recent line of poetry. Lady Nijō refocused the conversation away from her and towards the regency, whereas Tokihime redirected the verse's focus on to Michitsuna's mother. Thus, poetry gives power to the poet within social circumstances. Specifically, the individual who has spoken most recently has more of an influence on the overall meaning of the exchange. This is evident in Lady Nijō's situation, as GoFukakusa ends the linked verse with a reference to their mutual grief over Ariake. GoFukakusa longs to rekindle his romance with Lady Nijō, so he ends the poem with a reference to their complex romantic history. Tokihime harbors antipathy for the diarist's relationship with Kaneie and seeks to express this bitterness. From these encounters, it is evident that the poet uses verse to shape their social experiences to their own desires.

v. Poetry within Courtship and Marriage

Specifically in the *Kagerō nikki*, the way in which the diarist negotiates the terms of her relationship directly with Kaneie is significant, as it allows her power which was denied to her at the relationship's beginning. When Kaneie began courting her, he did not send her private poems or visit her, but directly contacts her father about his intentions[152]. Though this may seem more polite it was also decidedly less romantic and left her questioning how much Kaneie cared for her. From the moment that Kaneie took this course of action, and deprived her the opportunity to even exchange poems, the diarist retaliated in a variety of ways. First, she refused to write responses to him in her own handwriting, instead opting to tell a servant what to write and send back to him. In this way, she was able to prolong their period of courtship, and deny him the intimacy of seeing her penmanship. Additionally, she responded slowly to his poems[153]. At one point, he sent several poems to her in quick succession,

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[148] *Ibid,* 129.
[149] *Ibid.*
[150] *Ibid,* 128.
[151] *Ibid*.
[152] *Ibid,* 57.
[153] *Ibid*, 59.

asking for a response repeatedly. Again, she prolongs their courtship period, encouraging the slow development of a relationship, as opposed to a rushed marriage.

In addition, Kaneie and Michitsuna's mother exchange poetry which reflects the power struggle in their union in its content. After they reconciled from a period of estrangement, the author describes them "while still lying down and gazing at the flowers of the front garden"[154]. In doing this, she heavily implies that they had sex, which was an intimate detail to include in a text meant for public reading. Kaneie begins the poem exchange with a poem referencing the white dew of the season, indicating the many connotations attached to that symbol - such as "the season of autumn, tears, sorrow, and a hint of eroticism"[155]. To recite a poem with such a symbol indicates the ambivalence of the moment - that Kaneie himself was feeling a variety of intense emotions in that moment, both positive and negative. The writer replies with a poem of mixed feelings as well, indicating that her feelings about their relationship are just as complex. She ends the exchange on even ground with Kaneie, stating in her account, "Saying such things, it was painful between us as always"[156].

After this moment, Kaneie begins to move as if to leave until he sees the expression on the author's face. Instead of saying directly that she wanted him to stay, she does not want to appear "that desperate"[157]. As Arntzen addresses in the notes, "original[translation] has only *sa*, 'like that', which she interpreted to mean "that desperate", indicating that the diarist does not want to stoop to pleading for his company[158]. Thus, to convey how she feels without losing dignity, the diarist writes:

> What is there to do?
> Since your heart is like the moon
> That does not linger
> at the edge of the mountain
> but would emerge into the sky. [159]

She explains her powerlessness to him by attributing his habits to the cyclical nature of the moon. By comparing him to the moon she indicates a consistency to his absences, which does not match what she recorded in her account. Often, she comments on how long it has been since she saw him last, and the inconsistency of his appearances. Yet, she seems to be accepting his nature, as she recognizes that he "does not linger" but instead "would emerge into the sky". Though this poem implies inaction, when it was spoken to him, she may have said it in such a way that implied the deeper meaning beneath the text - that she did wish for him to stay but wanted him to decide that for himself instead of having to plead for his company. As Arntzen aptly notes, "It is remarkable how well the author conveys the meaning of what was not said in this conversation"[160]. In this exchange, the diarist deftly, though indirectly, communicated her feelings with the social cues of the time, as Kaneie replied with an affirmative poem and stayed the night. Arntzen describes the ending line to this exchange as "her victory in this dance of emotion, poetry, and will"[161].

Soon after this moment within the text, the diarist records a time in which Kaneie visits. However, he had not sent to check on the diarist after a bout of bad weather had passed through her area, to which she remarks "With a wind like the other day...an ordinary person would have inquired after our well-being"[162]. They begin exchanging poems over the issue - Kaneie claiming that his presence speaks to his concern for her, to which she responds that his presence is appreciated, but so is the exchange of letters. Throughout this exchange, they both refer to *kochi*, which is a pun meaning both "the east wind" and "here"[163]. Within their poetry exchanges, the east wind both

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[154] *Ibid*, 82.
[155] *Ibid.*
[156] *Ibid,* 85.
[157] *Ibid*.
[158] *Ibid,* 84.
[159] *Ibid,* 85.
[160] *Ibid*, 84.
[161] *Ibid*.
[162] *Ibid,* 85.
[163] *Ibid*, 86.

represents the environment, but also sometimes refers to Kaneie's travels outside of home. By referring to Kaneie with a pun that places him "here" - that is, with the diarist and Michitsuna - she is stating her true feelings on the matter. She feels that Kaneie should be with her and their son, and if he cannot be there, then the *koto no hana* or the "leaves of words"[164] should at least be sent in his place. To this, Kaneie again allows the diarist a victory, as she writes that "he seemed to acknowledge that what I said was reasonable"[165]. However, the next recorded event in the diary indicates that her accomplishment was short-lived, as Kaneie exhibits his same bad habits soon after. He leaves during the rain storm, despite the author's attempt to persuade him until the weather dies down, leaving without listening to her words of protest. The diarist writes in a poem which describes the moment as *furi idzu*, which is a combination of "to fall (like rain)" and "to shake someone off and leave"[166]. On the very same page that she achieves some sort of victory in her marriage through poetry, the diarist also expresses astonishment at how quick her husband is to shake her off like rain. In this, it is evident that poetry within their marriage allows for negotiations of terms to take place. In some moments, Michitsuna's mother gains more respect and understanding from her husband, whereas in others she is brushed off indifferently. Hence, both individuals use poetry as a medium to struggle for more influence over the other, and to establish their preferred terms of relationship.

Within the *Towazugatari,* Lady Nijō also uses poetry to affect her relationship with GoFukakusa. However, her situation with the former emperor is much different than that in the *Kagerō nikki*. Instead of being considered his wife, she was one of GoFukakusa's concubines from the time that she was fourteen[167]. Regarding social obligations, she was allowed more fluidity because her true role was ambiguous, meaning that she could entertain affairs outside of their relationship. Though GoFukakusa expressed jealousy over her external affairs, he did allow her to pursue them and even encouraged them occasionally. It is not until she began an affair with Kameyama, GoFukakusa's younger brother and rival for the throne, that he reacted particularly negatively to her outside romances. Within this ambiguous relationship, Lady Nijō used poetry to create more freedom and independence for herself.

One instance in which this is evident is soon after Lady Nijō bore GoFukakusa's first child. He sent the infant a sword to recognize him as a legitimate son[168], indicating Lady Nijō's own importance to him as a romantic partner. As end of the year arrived, the former emperor was so busy with religious observance that he did not have time to spend with Lady Nijō. However, one of her other lovers, Akebono, visited her while GoFukakusa was away. While he was with her, a letter arrived from the former emperor which contained a poem:

> Dimly in a dream
> I perceived the sleeves
> Of another's gown on yours
> Could this be but a dream![169]

Lady Nijō replied with a poem that "would imply [she] was brooding":

> Alone I spread my gowns
> For sleep each night,
> Moonbeams sometimes lie
> Upon my lonesome sleeves.[170]

Of this deception, she writes, "Only too aware of my shamelessness, I attempted to mislead him." With this exchange, Lady Nijō deceives GoFukakusa by saying that she is alone and only keeps company with moonbeams. To communicate with poetry in this way allowed Lady Nijō to conceal some of her affair with Akebono from the

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[164] *Ibid*, 84.
[165] *Ibid,* 87.
[166] *Ibid,* 86.
[167] Nakanoin. *The Confessions of Lady Nijō*, vii
[168] *Ibid,* 45.
[169] *Ibid*, 46.
[170] *Ibid.*

former emperor. Hence, she used poetry as tool to create more freedom and agency within her relationship, though she does it at the expense of her trust with GoFukakusa.

Within the context of the marriage of Michitsuna's mother, poetry was a tool which allowed for negotiation or the setting of boundaries. Between the married couple, poetry was often the form of communication used for misunderstandings and arguments. Thus, their poetry exchanges often reflect the struggle of ideas between the two - the diarist often asking for more respect and attention, while Kaneie seeks independence and nonchalance. Conversely, Lady Nijō used poetry to further exploit the ambiguity of her relationship with GoFukakusa, which granted her freedom in pursuing outside affairs. While Lady Nijō used poetry within her relationships to gain more personal agency, Michitsuna's mother utilized it to gain respect and understanding from Kaneie. Though both women used it differently in their romantic relationships, each use of it allows them more influence and personal freedom within these private spaces.

vi. Poetry within Religious Institutions

Poetry also had an express purpose within social institutions, particularly those of Buddhist shrines. After being expelled from court, Lady Nijō took on Buddhist vows and began traveling throughout the countryside. Most court officials at this time took religious vows and retired to a house in the country to compose sutras alone as *shukke* (home-leaver)[171]. Within society, it was considered an act of merit. Many people also took vows in response to developing an illness because it was generally believed that doing so would bring good health or would ensure a "favorable death"[172]. Perhaps the greatest advantage of living as a *shukke* for Lady Nijō was the newfound freedom she attained. She no longer was expected to fulfill rigid social obligations[173], allowing her a significant amount of agency in her life which she never truly had before. Ever since her father had accepted GoFukakusa's proposal, Lady Nijō was under his court and expected to act accordingly. She was allowed some amount of freedom, as she could take lovers outside of GoFukakusa, but growing rumors related to her affairs led to her expulsion from the court. Thus, her individual freedom was tentatively and delicately allowed, and it ultimately led to her dismissal from the aristocracy. As a traveling nun, however, Lady Nijō was free to decide where to travel, what to do, and who to interact with. As Kimura asserts, she was both practicing religious devotion and "seeking and collecting narratives that show salvation as something she and other women can attain" [174]. Within her travels, then, Lady Nijō sought freedom from the social obligations of her past.

During her travels, poetry was an important part of worship and communication between Buddhist communities. Poetry and literature of the Kamakura period were heavily influenced by a "Buddhist epistemological framework"[175]. According to Pandey, "It was within the confines of a Buddhist view of the world that literary activity was conducted, and it was within a Buddhist context that debates regarding the nature and value of writing were conducted."[176] Thus, poetry and Buddhism were deeply connected during Kamakura period Japan. Within her account, Lady Nijō once asked for lodging at the Kannon Hall, which had a community of devout Buddhist nuns. She was immediately rejected. To respond to this cruelty, she wrote a poem:

> Weary of the world like you
> I wear the same black robes
> What means this hue if you reject me so?[177]

She recorded this poem on a prayer slip and "attached it to a branch from the nandin evergreen growing before the gate, and sent it inside"[178]. The nuns did not reply to her poem, but they did allow her to stay the night. By writing a

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[171] Meeks, "Buddhist Renunciation," 5.

[172] *Ibid*, 6.

[173] *Ibid*, 10.

[174] Kimura, "Regenerating Narratives," 98.

[175] Pandey, Rajyashree, and 長明(−1216) 鴨, *Writing and Renunciation in Medieval Japan: The Works of the Poet-Priest Kamo No Chōmei*, Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies, 21. (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1998), 6.

[176] *Ibid*, 6.

[177] Nakanoin, *The Confessions of Lady Nijō*, 213.

poem expressing her disappointment and anger with the nuns, Lady Nijō was able to influence her social situation so that she could have access to lodging. She also allies herself with Buddhist ideology in this poem, as she says, "weary of the world", thereby referring to the suffering of the world. By saying "like you/I wear the same black robes", she questions the community within religious institutions, and criticizes the actions of the nuns. Thus, by using poetry, she was able to certify her participation in Buddhism as a social institution and earn her way into a space exclusively meant for nuns.

Whereas Lady Nijō used her connection to religious devotion to join others, the diarist of the *Kagerō nikki* left for devotional on several occasions to seek solitude and privacy. As Kaneie's devotional period was ending during one of their extended periods of estrangement, Michitsuna's mother sought to leave for her own worship at the Hannya Temple in Kyoto. She writes, "Thinking it very likely that I would be subjected to the same humiliation as before, I decided that I simply must get away for awhile"[179]. The diarist, then, uses her devotional trip to the Hannya Temple as a form of escapism from her obligations to Kaneie. She sent her son, Michitsuna, with a letter and poem for Kaneie explaining her decision. The poem reads:

> Having given up
> waiting under the quilts
> with any sense of hope
> sad now there is no place for
> this nor haven for my heart.[180]

She explains her reasons for leaving as related to Kaneie's extended absence, as he has been gone for too long, and she can longer wait for him "under the quilts/with any sense of hope". She ends the poem with a pun on the word *okamu kata*, meaning both "place where one could put something" and "place where one could confer one's heart"[181]. In using this pun, she implies that outside of her place of worship there is no safe place for her heart or emotional development. Thus, she legitimizes her reasons for leaving Kaneie for worship by connecting herself to Buddhism as a social institution. To align herself with religious devotion in this way allows her to shape her own social situation to match her needs - she wishes to avoid Kaneie, and by using poetry and Buddhist ideology in this way, she accomplishes it.

By using poetry informed by Buddhist ideology, Lady Nijō and Michitsuna's mother were able to gain access to spaces of safety. Within the Hannya Temple, the diarist of the *Kagerō nikki* was able to successfully avoid her husband during a period of discomfort and strain in their marriage. Lady Nijō used poetry as a tool for criticism, which made the nuns sympathetic to her situation. In both cases, the women used Buddhism as a space in which they could avoid social expectations, thereby changing their social circumstances to suit their respective needs. Thus, they used poetry to connect them to a greater social institution, with which they could seek safety, whether that was through privacy or community.

vii. Conclusion

In summation, the use of poetry within these accounts reflects the wills of the poet. In expressing their desires through the conventions of poetry, both Lady Nijō and Michitsuna's mother participate in a greater trend of social decorum. However, poetry also allows them to defy these expectations in a socially acceptable manner. For example, Tokihime replied to Michitsuna's mother rudely during the Kamo festival. Because her insult was hidden within a pun of dual meaning, she could respond bitterly while still maintaining etiquette. As with Tokihime, it is not just the diarists of their respective accounts that triumph with poetic exchanges. Both GoFukakusa and Kaneie experience victories of their own, in which they use poetry to exert more power within their relationships. Because this use of poetry was not limited to the diarists, it illustrates the widespread social use of poetry within the Heian and Kamakura periods of Japan. During celebrations social groups used poetry to encourage, and sometimes force, a social exchange between individuals. However, those forced into social poetry exchange may respond with enough wit to maintain their grace. As a tool in relationships, poetry was often employed to negotiate or manipulate one's

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[178] *Ibid,* 213.
[179] Michitsuna No Haha. *The Kagerō Diary,* 231
[180] *Ibid,* 231.
[181] *Ibid*, 230.

situation with another. Because of its use in courtship and inherent connection to romance, poetry exchanges often reflected the power struggles within romantic relationships, as one side seeks understanding from the other. Finally, the use of poetry to gain access to social institutions, such as Buddhist shrines, illustrates the social value and utility it holds. By using poetry in these different contexts, Lady Nijō and Michitsuna's mother, along with other important figures within their accounts, are able to shape their social encounters to their own advantage, carving out space for personal freedom, influence, and safety.

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By Rachael Edmonston

i. Introduction

"Men for the most part are touched but with one fault, which is drinking too much, it is said of women that they have two faults: that is, they can neither say well nor yet do well," wrote Joseph Swetnam darkly in 1615.[182] Though it is dangerous to assume that the opinions of one man represent the opinions of an entire population, the saying nonetheless exposes an unpleasant reality regarding men and women's relations during early Stuart England. Swetnam's work, a pamphlet entitled *The Arraignment of Lewd Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women*, which was first published in the twelfth year of James I reign, was just one of the many male-authored texts that portrayed women as tyrannical beings who seduced, ruined, and abused otherwise blameless men. During the early Stuart era, print culture was largely dominated by men, meaning that women had little chance or ability to represent their realities, which allowed male perceptions of women to spread, creating a pervasive and largely biased viewpoint of what women were like. Though much of this literature was humorous and created to entertain, some works, like Swetnam's, genuinely portrayed women as wicked vixens who deserved little pity or respect and instead should be "beat… to death."[183] Women's lives, and their relationships to men, however, were likely very different in reality than to what was portrayed in print. In this essay I will compare male-authored literature to the law, court cases, letters, and works of literature by women during the time period in order to analyze how male perceptions of women in print during the Stuart Era created a negative stereotype of them, ignored the reality of their condition, and contributed to a society that condoned male control and violence towards women while suppressing their voices.

Assessing the reality of married women's lives against male-dominated fiction in the Stuart Era is difficult for a number of reasons. Firstly, women rarely left behind written records of their thoughts on marriage or their private lives. Many women could not write, and the ones who could–typically upper-class, well-educated women– often did not trust recording their inner feelings or the darker elements of their personal lives in print. Records that do survive from diaries of upper-class women were often censored by their families before publication so a negative view of a person or family would not be revealed to the public.[184] Private letters between women are similarly difficult to find, because, as private correspondences, these sources were not preserved or were disposed of by the reader.

Secondly, court cases which detail matrimonial disputes are rare, and the ones that do exist represent, "only the most desperate of cases,"according to Mendelson and Crawford.[185] Though it is unwise to assume that the small number of women who did appeal for relief through the courts represent the majority of marriages or even a substantial population, one can begin to grasp at the realities of married women's lives by examining what these cases said, and by questioning why there were so few in number.

Thirdly, much like court cases dealing with matrimonial disputes, any evidence detailing a woman's life and her marriage–whether it be a letter, will, diary, court case, recorded conversation or otherwise– cannot be used to judge the entire body of husband and wife relations throughout the Stuart Era. Instead, we must use context as well as content to determine how married women lived.

The advantage of literature, however, when judged against nonfiction accounts, is that it is a work typically written to engage a large audience, and to do so capitalizes off of popular trends or sentiments. By analyzing how men portrayed women in fiction during this era, one can begin to understand how women were viewed by the male population, and from there can compare the evidence that history leaves us about the realities of married women's lives to the fictitious accounts of marriage that men created.

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[182]Joseph Swetnam, *The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Frovvard, and Vnconstant Women : Or, the Vanitie of Them ; Chuse You Whether. With, a Commendation of the Wife, Vertuous, and Honest Woman. Pleasant for Maried Men, Profitable for Young-Men, & Hurtful to None.* (London: Printed by A. Mathewes for Thomas Archer, and Are to Be Sold at His Shop in Popes-head Pallace, Neere the Royall Exchange, 1628), 8.

[183] Swetnam*, The Arraignment*, 12.

[184] Sara Heller Mendelson and Patricia Crawford. *Women in Early Modern England*, 1550-1720. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 10.

[185] Mendelson and Crawford. *Women in Early Modern England*, 127.

ii. Depictions of Women in Male-Authored Texts

If one were to examine the depictions of wives in male-authored texts from Stuart England, independent of the historical record, one may be led to believe that women commonly abused and oppressed their husbands. Tales of domineering, scolding wives, intent on drinking, gossiping, gambling, and otherwise sullying their husband's good name abound in the literature of the era. Because of the diverse forms of these publications– which were published in ballads, pamphlets, and books– the ideas promulgated within could be disseminated to people from all social backgrounds.

One of the most famous of these works was Joseph Swetnam's aforementioned *The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women*, which was a pamphlet published in 1615. The work was met with great outcry, particularly from women (*Ester hath Hanged Haman* and *A Mouzell for Melastomus* were two pamphlets published in response to Swetnam's remarks, both of which are attributed to women), and the explosive and violent comments found within Swetnam's work express his overt disdain for women.[186] He wrote phrases such as "a woman was made to be a helper unto man" and "women are crooked by nature."[187] What aligns Swetnam's work of nonfiction to ballads and works of fiction is his idea that a man in marriage is enslaved to his wife and that being married to a woman will only oppress and ruin a man: "a married man is like unto one arrested."[188] Reading Swetnam's work, one would undoubtedly get the impression that women held all the power in the relationship, and could get away with abusing their husbands, or otherwise acting as complete tyrants, "to the great hindrance of their poor husbands."[189]

Similar works of literature abounded in this era. Another well-known piece of literature (it was popular enough to be published three different times from 1609 and 1663), was Samuel Rowlands' *A whole crew of kind Gossips, all met to be merry,* published in 1609.[190] This work was addressed "To the Maydes of London," and the dedication in the beginning advises the maids to not wish for marriage– not because of the limitations that married women faced– but because married women abuse their husbands: "consider how their husbands they abuse…when they (good harmless men) offend [them] least."[191] The pamphlet goes on to recount the experiences of the six wives, all whom have gathered in a tavern to explain the problems in their marriages, and how they have corrected them.

Interestingly enough, each of the gossips gives voice to a serious issue that could have plagued married women's lives. The first woman described her husband as a miser, who would not give her any money to spend upon herself, "let me aske him somewhat for to spend/at such a time as this with friend and friend;/ his purse will be a comming out so slow/and such a dogged looke he will bestow."[192] Though this hints at husband's complete financial control over their wives in the Stuart Era, the gossip finds a solution. She resolves to fix her situation by throwing a tantrum, as her sister Sara had done.

The same can be said for the passage regarding the second wife, who, while lamenting that her husband is a "clowne," makes light of domestic violence, stating "if he strike me, ile match him blow for blow," and "for he had given me a blow or twaine."[193] This too marginalizes an issue that married women faced: abuse. The third gossip similarly is a victim of abuse, but unlike the former, cannot bring herself to strike back. Instead she endures the abuse that her husband, a drunkard, doles out ("being my policy to 'scape from blows…art thou a man thus to abuse thy wife?") until one day, when he comes home drunk, she places a stool in his path which trips him: "But in his

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[186]Cristina Malcolmson, and Mihoko Suzuki. *Debating Gender in Early Modern England*, 1500-1700. 1st Ed. ed. Early Modern Cultural Studies.(New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 137.

[187] Swetnam, *The Arraignment*, 2.

[188] *Ibid,* 3.

[189] *Ibid*, 2.

[190] Malcolmson and Suzuki. *Debating Gender*, 103-104.

[191] Samuel Rowlands, Edmund Gosse, and Sidney J. H Herrtage. *The Complete Works of Samuel Rowlands*, 1598-1628, (Glasgow: Printed for the Hunterian Club, 1966), 3.

[192] Rowlands, Gosse, and Herrtage, *Complete Works,* 4-5.

[193] *Ibid*, 8.

way I set a little stoole,/and over that, downe comes my reeling foole."[194]Again, though the wife seems to find a satisfactory solution to her woes, her problems still represent an issue which plagued many women in the early modern period: their drunken husband's abuse.

The fourth and fifth gossip's both face issues regarding their husband's habits. The fourth gossip's husband is a gambler and uses up all their money (which is reminiscent of the first wife, and that actually represented a real issue women faced– their inability to earn money and support themselves in the face of their husband's spending habits and financial control), and the fifth gossip's husband is a drunk, who is "drunke but once a week" and who smokes too much.[195]

The sixth and final gossip's husband frequents the brothel. The wife laments that he had been unfaithful: "there's not a whore in London nor about, / but he hath all the haunts to find her out," and worries that the "whores" "have the gift of pox in their owne pores."[196] Like the gossips before her, the situation she finds herself in was not purely fictional. Husbands who frequented brothels and picked up the "pox" (syphilis) ran the risk of infecting their wives. When left uncured, syphilis can become fatal, and posed yet another risk to married women.[197] Again, this work of male-authored fiction presented a lighthearted take on real issues that married women faced in early modern England.

In response, the husbands generally accuse their wives of lying and maintain that they are the victims. Several of the husbands do, however, make threatening remarks about their wives. The third husband wishes his wife were dead like her previous husband: "wishes in his grave with him she lay." Another threatens to "turn his wife to grass" by summer if she commits adultery. The fifth husband, tiring of his wife's harsh words says that he will teach her a lesson with "a tricke to mortifie her flesh."[198]

Aside from gossip pamphlets, another popular genre of literature that capitalized off of stereotypes of married life were ballads. Ballads, "though produced as a printed object available to be read, [were] sold to an audience by a singer and circulated as much by singing as by reading," meaning that they were accessible to most of the population, regardless of literacy.[199] Thus the ballad was a widely consumed media. Though ballads were diverse and ranged in form from histories to comedies to tragedies, a popular theme in many ballads was married men were miserable creatures who were enslaved to their wife's will. Like in Swetnam and Rowland's works, marriage was viewed as a trap for men, where husbands were the blameless victims.

One example of such is the ballad "My wife will be my Master, or The Married-man's Complaint against his unruly Wife" which was printed as early as 1674 but likely existed earlier in an oral form. In "My wife will be may Master" a man laments about his unhappy marriage. He describes how his wife beats him "She'l fling she'l throw, she'l ſcratch and bit," drinks too much: "In Taverns and in bowling Kens, / o in ſome pimping Ale-houſe/… she comes home drunk at night," and how she scolds him often: "her tongue would ne're leave ſcolding." [200]A similar sentiment is expressed in "The Bachelor's Triumph: Or, the Single-Man's Happiness," which praised the virtues of being without a wife. The opening lines of the ballad read: "a hen pecked husband is like a slave, who wears/ his master's fetters, whom each whisper fears/ his thoughts are all to please his wife."[201] Likewise runs

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[194] *Ibid*, 11.

[195] *Ibid*, 15.

[196] *Ibid*, 18.

[197] Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 141.

[198] *Ibid*, 27-33.

[199] Malcolmson, Cristina, and Mihoko Suzuki*, Debating Gender*, 103-104.

[200] "My VVife will be my master. / OR, The Married-Mans Complaint against his Unruly Wife, being a warning for all / Unmarried persons, to have a special care in choosing their Maite, lest they meet / with such a Myre-shype, as this poor man did," 1690?, British Library Roxburghe, EBBA 31193, 2.576, C.20.f.8.576.

[201] "The Batchelor's Triumph: Or, / The Single-Man's Happiness. / A Hen-peck'd Husband's like a Slave, who wears / His Masters Fetters, whom each whisper scares; / [H]is thoughts are all to please his Wife, nor knows / He other Hell, then what her frowns disclose: / What Mad-men then will be such fools, when they / Without controul, may

"Advise to Batchelors, or The Married Mans Lamentation," which advises unmarried men to "take heed" and be careful when choosing a wife. The ballad opens saying "You batchelors that single are/ may lead a happy life;/ for married men are full of care, / and women ofe breed strife."[202]

"The Merry Gossip's Vindication" is quite similar to Rowland's pamphlet in that it focuses on "gossips" who get drunk at a bar, much to their husband's exasperation. The chorus runs: "there's many a husband that takes pains and does thrive, but he must ask his wife leave if he intends for to thrive." The gossips gloat "our husbands are bound to maintain us truly," while "the ale and the brandy doth work in their heads" causing them to "care not a pin how their children are fed."[203] Other famous ballads dealing with this issue include "The Cuckhold's Complaint," "The New German Doctor, or an Infallible Cure for a Scolding Wife" and "The Scolding Wife." Clearly, there was a rich tradition of literature that dealt with men's misfortunes in their marriages as a result of their intolerable wife.[204]

iii. The Reality of Women's Lives in Stuart England

But does this represent the reality of marriage in Stuart England? One cannot say for sure, as no historian has the power to investigate the inner workings of every marriage between the years 1603 and 1714. It is very possible and quite probable that there were instances in early modern England where women abused their husbands with the frequency and viciousness that is depicted in these works of literature, yet the depictions of married life in these tales likely represented the minority, not the majority of cases. The historical record makes it quite clear that it was not men who were placed at a grave disadvantage in society, but women.

In early Stuart England women were second-class citizens. Informed by biblical traditions, which saw women as the culprit behind the fall of mankind, as well as medical knowledge, which deemed women as biologically different from men (one early modern text described women as being "more moiste and cold of constitution than the man") women were not seen as equal in the eyes of the church or the law.[205] Women were supposed to be subordinate to men and were expected to conform to their roles as maids, then wives, then mothers, then widows with little complaint. A well-known work of the day, *The Lawes Resolutions of Womens Rights* sums it up: "Women have no voyse in Parliament, They make no Lawes, they consent to none, they abrogate none. All of them are understood either married or to bée married and their desires or subject to their husband."[206] Though not all women chose to marry, marriage was considered to be the most appropriate path for women to take in life. Mendelson and Crawford find in their work *Women in Early Modern England* that "marriage elevated women to a loftier rank in villages as well as elite society."[207] Apart from the diverse individual experiences of married women in early modern England, the legal and financial aspects of married life remained the same for every woman, with slight differences in social class and situation.

Love and Freedom sway," 1672-1696?, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, EBBA 35790, 2000 Folio 6 113.

[202] "Advice to Batchelors, / OR, / The Married Mans Lamentation. / Take heed you that unmarried are, / how you do make your choice; / But if a good Wife you do find, / 'twill make your heart rejoice," 1685? EBBA 35731, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 2000 Folio 6 55.

[203] "THE / Merry Gossips Vindication, / To the Groats worth of good Councel Declaration. / Some Women can drink and be drunk / night and day, / For all the fault is laid most on the Men, / they do say. / For if a Man do intend for to thrive. / Then he must be sure to ask leave of his Wife."1672-1696? EBBA ID: 35754, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 2000 Folio 6 71.

[204] Patricia Fumerton, ed., English Broadside Ballad Archive (http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu).

[205] William Whately, *A bride-bush, or A vvedding sermon compendiously describing the duties of married persons: by performing whereof, marriage shall be to them a great helpe, which now finde it a little hell,* (Printed at London: By William Iaggard, for Nicholas Bourne, and are to be sold at his shop at the entrance into the Royall Exchange, 1617), 12.

[206] Thomas Edgar, John Doddridge, Sir, and I. L. *The Lavves Resolutions of Womens Rights* (London: Printed by Miles Flesher for the Assignes of Iohn More Esq. and Are to Be Sold by Iohn Groue, at His Shop Neere the Rowles in Chancery-Lane, over against the Sixe-Clerkes-Office, 1632), 6.

[207] Mendelson and Crawford. *Women in Early Modern England,* 131.

Once a woman entered into matrimony, she was immediately subservient to her husband. A man was legally responsible for his wife, he could beat her, and once married, she forfeited her personal property to her husband. To be a married woman in early modern England was to give up all legal rights and become a dependent upon one's husband. As a legal dependent to her husband, a wife could not sue, and because of the inherent difference in the eyes of the law between men and women, was not likely to find support in cases of marital rape or domestic abuse. If women wished to make a will, she must do so only with her husband's permission.[208] Likewise, any wages a woman earned must go to her husband. If a husband died before his wife, only half of his property would go to her if they were childless, and only one third if they had offspring.[209]

A husband's control and legal responsibility for his wife was well documented. Many non-fiction texts abounded which detailed the duties of married persons. *A Bride-bush or, A Direction for Married Persons,* was written in 1617 by the minister William Whately, as a guidebook for how married persons should behave. Whately acknowledges that the institution of marriage gives a husband control over his wife by quoting from the scripture in his introduction saying: "The Husband is the Wives Head."[210] Though Whately details the duties of both man and wife in marriage, he urges wives to remember that "Mine husband is my superiour, my better; he hath authority and rule ouer mee."[211] While Whately demonstrates that husbands should act fairly towards their wives, he does maintain that the power is within their hands, and instructs that "the husband must deale iustly with his wife."[212] In addressing a wife's duty Whately states:

> The whole duty of the wife is referred to two heads. The first is, to acknowledge her inferiority: the next, to carry her selfe as inferiour. First then the wiues iudgement must be conuinced, that she is not her husbands equall, yea that her husband is her better by farre; else there can bee no contentment, either in her heart, or in her house. If shee stand vpon termes of equality, much more of being better than he is, the very root of good carriage is withered, and the fountaine thereof dryed vp.[213]

Similar sentiments are echoed in Robert Snawsel's *A looking glasse for maried folks.* On the cover page of the pamphlet*,* which was another guidebook for married people written in 1610, the author included Proverbs 12.4, "a virtuous woman is the crowne of her husband; but she that maketh him ashamed is as corruption to his bones." Snawsel claims that "women be ignorant as most are" and "should aske her husbande iudgement" in the "waies of the Lord."[214] Like Gouge, Snawsel maintains that a man must have authority over his wife saying: "what a horrible sinne is it, that the woman should vsurpe the mans authority."[215]

Another book in the same genre was William Gouge's *Of Domesticall Duties.* In "Treat III" Gouge outlines the "Particular Duties of Wives" which includes her "subjection," her "acknowledgement of an husbands superiorite," "reuerend speech to, and of her husband," "obedience" and a "ready yielding to what her husband would haue done," among other things. Among the list of a husband's duties was that he was required to maintain his "authoritie" over his wife. Most significant is that Gouge acknowledges women's disadvantage in the eyes of the law, saying "wiues can not haue so good remedy by helpe of the law against cruell husbands."[216] Therefore, it was widely acknowledged that women had no legal representation and instead were at the mercy of their husbands.

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[208] *Ibid*, 35-38.

[209] *Ibid*, 40-42.

[210] Whately, *A Bride Bush,* 1.

[211] *Ibid*, 36.

[212] *Ibid*, 32.

[213] *Ibid*, 36.

[214] Robert Snawsel*, A Looking-Glasse for Married Folkes : Wherein They May Plainly See Their Deformities ; and Also How to Behaue Themselues One to Another, and Both of Them Towards God,* (London: Printed by Iohn Hauiland for Henry Bell, and Are to Be Sold at His House in Eliots Court, in the Little Old-Bayley, 1631), 17.

[215] Snawsel, *A Looking-Glasse,* 50.

[216] William Gouge, *Of Domesticall Duties*, The English Experience, Its Record in Early Printed Books (Published in Facsimile, No. 803. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum 1976).

Clearly, it was also expected that a wife be fully subservient to her husband. The system of marriage was set up so that a man would have complete legal and financial control over his wife.

In happy marriages, which no doubt existed, love or mutual respect between men and women may have made this fact bearable for women. As Bernard Capp states "affectionate husbands were unlikely to exploit their legal rights to the full," indicating that while men did have virtually complete control over their wives, that did not necessarily mean that every marriage was a struggle between a controlling husband and meek, abused wife.[217] Mendelson and Crawford give two examples of wives who were overwhelmed with love of their spouses, a Mary Clark, who wrote to her husband saying that she could not "possibly live any longer without the sight of him that is most dear to me," and Lady Apollina Hall, who wrote that "her heart was 'immoderately let out' upon her husband."[218] Instances of happy marriages cannot be taken to be the norm. The likelihood that the majority of most marriages rested somewhere between extreme happiness and extreme misery is high. However, the case with abusive marriages is that the force that a man could wield to control his wife was supported by the laws and the patriarchal power structure in England. Women had no such power against their husbands.

Examples of this include men's ability to beat their wives using "lawful and reasonable" correction.[219] Though men were discouraged from beating their wives, Retha M. Warnicke remarked that "it remained so common in London that because of its noise a civic regulation forbade it after nine in the evening," however, "it was apparently impossible to enforce a rule suspending this barbaric habit altogether."[220] A practice that was so common it created a noise disturbance in a city as crowded as London indicates that there was an overwhelming number of men who beat their wives in the early modern period. The city's inability or unwillingness to formally criminalize the offense also indicates that there was some acceptance of the practice, no matter how grudging. Above all, it indicates how normal the occurrence was, and how unconcerned officials truly were in stopping it.

The frequency of domestic violence (particularly cases where husbands beat their wives) is highlighted by the fact that the topic was often addressed in the nonfiction works of the era. In *Of Domesticall Duties* Gouge devotes a section in "Treat 4: Duties of Husbands" to the phenomenon, entitled "Section 44: Of husbands beating their wives." He discourages the practice, writing "no fault should be so great, as to compell an husband to beat his wife." Instead of providing the modern argument that beating one's wife is morally wrong, Gouge insists that husbands should not beat their wives because it would cause the servants to disrespect her authority, and that because husband and wife "are one flesh," it would make no sense that a husband would beat himself. Gouge also remarks that the practice is not condoned by the Church.[221] In *A Looking glasse for married folke,* which is written as a dialogue, Snawsel describes an occasion in which "a neighbor of ours, a very honest man… beate[s] his wife, a woman, by common report, of singular good carriage and excellent behauiour." Snawsel, rather like Gouge, does not condemn the man's actions for being morally wrong but instead writes that the man, by hearing the "wise and gentle speech of his wife, the stout heart of her husband was broken: hee gaue her his right hand, and promised that hee would neuer touch her againe in any euill manner; neither did he."[222] This anecdote seems to imply that it is up to the woman to redeem her husband, and then from there, forgive him for his actions and trust that he will not harm her again. Both of these two texts acknowledge the frequency of domestic violence as an issue in society, yet neither provide a real solution for the issue of domestic violence. Instead, a woman must hope that her husband is not violent, or if he is, that he will soon see the error of his ways. It is evident that there was very little protection for women from domestic violence.

Worse still were books that condoned wife-beating. One such text was Moses á Vauts *The Husband's authority unvail'd'; wherein it is moderately discussed whether it be fit or lawfull for a good man, to beat his bad wife,* which was published in London in 1650. The text concludes that it is indeed lawful for a "good" man to beat

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[217] Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England*. Oxford Studies in Social History. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 30.

[218] Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England,* 132.

[219] Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England,* 37.

[220] Retha M. Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance and Reformation*. Contributions in Women's Studies, No. 38. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983), 156.

[221] Gouge, *Of Domesticall Duties,* 389-393.

[222] Snawsel, *A Looking Glasse,* 60-61.

his wife. Vauts states that one must be a good Christian in order to beat one's wife, stating: "a knowing, spiritual, godly man., and he onely, may correct his bad wife." He frames domestic abuse as necessary and good for a woman as well, writing "it were well, and better, the wife could not deserve blows, but, if they be due, or needful, or best for her, why should they be denied her?"[223] Again, the frequency of domestic abuse is revealed. The mere fact that this work was deemed suitable for publication also indicates that this opinion was accepted and, once published, spread.

Court cases tell much of the same story. In one case, a woman by the name of Elizabeth Samways allegedly poisoned her husband because of his abuse. Neighbors recounted how "he beat his wife and [did] give her many blows with a cudgell." Elizabeth's mother described the abuse as such, he beat "her often with ropes and cudgells… and lodginge her in the lower part of his house adjoyninge to his barne, upon straw with a bolster of dust under her head."[224] Another such case was that of Elizabeth Kynaston, who tried to appeal to the courts after her husband deprived her of a midwife, and then servants, until he locked her out of the house for good and threatened her with a whipping. He also forced her to give up her property rights.[225] The power men had over their wives, both physically and legally, is well documented.

Another indicator of the systematic power which men enjoyed over their wives in the bounds of wedlock was the fact that punishments for spousal murder differed drastically between men and women. A woman found guilty of murdering her husband was found guilty of 'petit treason' and could be burned at the stake. A man, on the other hand, would be found guilty of the much more fitting sentence of murder, which, Mendelson and Crawford find, could be reduced to a charge of manslaughter. Therefore, not only could men beat their wives, they could beat them to death, and be found guilty only of manslaughter.[226] Furthermore, the control that men exhibited over their wife's financials meant that women had very little agency to save or spend their own earnings or inheritances. If women attempted to save money or develop some measure of financial autonomy they risked the wrath of their husbands. This was immortalized in the ballad "The Bloody Butcher" which recounts the story of Nathaniel Smith:

> a butcher, who lived in Maypole-Alley near the Strand; his wife having been all day in the market selling of meat, in the evening went with her husband to an alehouse, where they stay'd till ten of the clock. And then went home together, and being in their lodging, demanded of her the money she had taken that day, but she (being great with child and peevish) refused to give it him, he taking his butchers-knife in his hand stabb'd her in the back, whereof she instantly dyed. [227]

Furthermore, if a man squandered all of his money on drink or gambling, a woman could do very little to stop him.

Another danger that a woman faced when entering into matrimony was that if her husband abandoned her, she would be left to provide for their children, and could not remarry. One of the only ways to ensure a separation was for the two parties to agree and for them to participate in a "wife selling"; an inherently misogynistic practice where a man paraded his wife around with a rope attached to her arm or neck, in the hopes to auction her off to the

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[223] Moses à Vauts, *The Husband's Authority Unvail'd: Wherein It Is Moderately Discussed Whether It Be Fit or Lawfull for a Good Man to Beat His Bad Wife* (London: Printed by T. N. For R. Bostock, 1650), 54-60.

[224] *The Casebook of Sir Francis Ashley J.P. Recorder of Dorchester, 1614-135,* as cited in Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England,* 143.

[225] Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England,* 140.

[226] Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England,* 132.

[227] *The Bloody Butcher, and the Two Wicked and Cruel Bawds : Exprest in a Woful Narrative of One Nathaniel Smith a Butcher, Who Lived in Maypole-Alley near the Strand; His Wife Having Been All Day in the Market Selling of Meat, in the Evening Went with Her Husband to an Alehouse, Where They Stay'd Till Ten of the Clock. and Then Went Home Together, and Being in Their Lodging, Demanded of Her the Money She Had Taken That Day, but She (being Great with Child and Peevish) Refused to Give It Him, He Taking His Butchers-Knife in His Hand Stabb'd Her in the Back, Whereof She Instantly Dyed, for Which He Was Apprehended, Condemned, and Executed at Tyburn, April the 24th. 1667. : As Also Another Relation of a Ravisher, Who in a Bawdy-House (assisted by Two Women) Ravished a Girle. : The Tune, the Bleeding Heart*. London,: Printed by E. Crowch, for F. Coles, T. Vere, and J. Wright, 1667.

highest bidder.[228] Kenny Courtney finds that this tradition dated as far back as the reign of Edward I.[229] If only a woman wished to separate–as with in cases where she feared for her life from her husband's violent actions, she was often told to remain, and what sympathy she got did little to help her desperate situation**.** One example from the 1680's is in the case of an Elizabeth Palmer, who, after being threatened by her husband, fled to an acquaintance, Dr. Owen for help but was instead met with this sentiment: "Submit to God's almighty pleasure…take it patiently."[230]

Women, it seems, were aware of the position they occupied in society. Though they often had less of a chance to express their opinions on their status, and though the evidence which remains cannot be taken to represent the entirety of the female population, female-authored texts do indicate that women often considered their subordinate position. One such text is Mary, Lady Chudleigh's poem "To the Ladies." The first line of the poem reads "wife and servant are the same/ but differ only in name." It goes on to describe how a woman must give up her freedom during marriage and instead must "fear her husband as her God."[231] Chudleigh, an early challenger of traditional gender norms, also wrote *The Female Advocate; Or, A Plea for the just Liberty of the Tender Sex, and particularly of Married Women*, which advocated for women in the face of a male-dominated society.[232]

Another woman who wrote about the conditions of married women, this time in regards to her own experiences, was Anne Dormer. In letters to her sister, Dormer expresses her frustrations about her marriage which she felt was like a cage or a prison. Her willingness to confide in her sister revealed what married women's lives could be like in Stuart England. Dormer describes her husband's jealousy and the various ways he sought to control her: by controlling their household servants, by keeping her within the confines of the house and garden, and by keeping her from confiding in others, meaning she sometimes did "not see another face for two months."[233] Clearly, women understood that they were at the mercy of their husbands. Even if women were spared the misfortune of a violent husband, they were still required by law to do as he said, and had very little agency to do as they wished.

iv. Assessing the Effects of Male-Authored Literature Against Women's Realities:

Because of the power structure of marriage at the time, and the patriarchal nature of English society, when respect and love did not exist between a man and his wife, there was very little to stop the marriage from devolving into an abusive affair. It is abundantly clear, given the historical record, that many of the details in male-authored literature do not take into account the reality of women's situations, or perhaps more accurately, the authors simply did not care. Worse still, authors like Swetnam and Vauts may have written to encourage violence against women, knowing full well that inciting this sort of hate would face no repercussions, but instead would successfully encourage violence towards women.

For example, Joseph Swetnam's work maintains that women oppress and ruin men, yet the historical record shows that women's violence towards their husbands was not systematically supported. Women were assumed to be the gentler sex, and no law had to expressly forbid "husband beating" after a specific hour because of its regularity. A man was not accused of petty treason when he killed his wife, and no woman had legal power over her husband. Conditions were set up by law to ensure that men had complete control over their wives, yet Swetnam's work, which on the one hand, encourages men twice to "beat her [their wives] to death" and on the other portrays men as "poor

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[228] Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England,* 141.

[229] Courtney Kenny, "Wife-Selling in England," Law Quarterly Review 45, no. 4 (October 1929): 494.

[230] Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England,* 143.

[231] Lady Mary Lee Chudleigh and Brown University, Women Writers Project, *Poems on Several Occasions: Together with the Song of the Three Children Paraphras'd*, 1st Electronic Ed,(London: Printed by W.B. for Bernard Lintott, 1703).

[232] Lady Mary Lee Chudleigh, *The Female Advocate; Or, a Plea for the Just Liberty of the Tender Sex, and Particularly of Married Women: Being Reflections on a Late Rude and Disingenuous Discourse, Delivered by Mr. John Sprint, in a Sermon at a Wedding, May 11th, at Sherburn in Dorsetshire, 1699*, (London: Printed for Andrew Bell at the Cross-Keys and Bible in Cornhil, near Stockmarket, 1700).

[233] Anne Dormer to Lady Elizabeth Trumbull, 1689, as recorded in Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England,* 138-139.

married men," seems to suggest the opposite.[234] The misogynistic nature of this work, which places men as the victim of vicious women, could have served to vindicate already violent husbands. The truth of women's lives in Stuart England are not reflected in this pamphlet, and instead, it justified violence against them.

The same can be said of *A Whole Crew.* The problem of the first wife, which is that her husband would not give her money similarly, downplays a real problem that married women faced in early modern England. The jaunty pace of the text, and her confidence that she will soon find a solution to her problem offset the reality of the situation. In early modern England wives had no financial independence, and for the most part, could not survive off of their own labor if necessary, for all of their wages went to their husbands. In effect, they relied entirely upon their husband's will. Instead of making fun of a simple marital issue, the male author is either unaware of the implications of his text, or else is mocking women's attempts to achieve some manner of autonomy for themselves. Whatever his intentions, the passage marginalizes a real issue that often proved to be life or death (as indicated plainly in the case of Nathaniel Smith's wife) in married women's lives.

Similarly problematic is the portrayal of the second and third wives, who are both victims of domestic abuse. Though the second gossip then recounts how her solution was to beat her husband even harder than he had beat her, saying "the blood ran downe his eares apace/ I brake his head and all bescratch't his face," it nevertheless trivializes marital abuse, which, as the historical record shows, was often aimed at married women who could do little to help their situation.[235] The fourth, fifth, and sixth wives all face similar dire situations– whether it be because of their husbands drinking habits or their sexual health– each situation makes light of women finding creative ways to endure the problems in their marriages. As indicated by the historical record and texts such as *Of Domesticall Duties* and *The Lawes Resolutions,* women who were faced with serious issues in their marriages had very little choice but to try and do what they could to survive. Women had no agency to rid themselves of abusive or otherwise wasteful husbands.

Furthermore, by presenting the women as their husband's abusers' as he does in the dedication "To the Maydes of London," the author implies that all of the misfortunes that befall the wives are indeed their fault, whereas, if the wives are to believed, their actions are merely responses to their husband's unsavory and often abusive behavior. Furthermore, in allowing the husbands to have the final say, he turns the text into a sort of "he said, she said" rhetoric where the audience is not sure whom to believe. The problem with this sort of literature is that women were rarely listened to in the cases of marital abuse, and instead were encouraged to stay with their husbands.

Rowlands, in spite of the wives' woes and the husband's threats, says that the husband's only fault was loving their wives too much: "for if with any fault you can them touch, / it onely is, their loving you too much."[236] This implies that when wives complain of their husbands, no matter how serious the complaint is, it is not the husbands fault. This work of literature explained away a husband's abuses and tyrannies, and trivialized wives' grave misfortunes–going so far as to place the blame on them and accusing them of lying. No matter the author's intentions, it made light of wives' complaints (which in reality often were valid) and contributed to a culture which ignored women's pleas for help.

The same can be said of the ballads. Evidence shows that it was more likely women who were subject to the sort of oppression that the ballad singers speak of, and yet the existence of several of these works indicates a popular demand for the genre. These ballads, which reversed the role of husbands and wives contributed to the trivialization of women's problems. Furthermore, it vilified women who already faced the possibility of domestic abuse and the reality of being a legal nonperson.

v. Conclusion

Literature has a profound effect on those who internalize it. It is important then to consider the impacts that literature has had on the people of the past, and how it still shapes our perceptions of others to this day. Male

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[234] Swetnam, "The Arraignment," 6.

[235] Rowlands, Gosse, and Herrtage, *Complete Works,* 9.

[236] *Ibid*, 2.

dominated literature of the Stuart Era represented the voices of the writers, but corrupted and in some cases erased the voices of the subjects. While literature is entertaining and can be used as a tool to analyze a time and place, it is not always representative of fact.

The genre of male-authored texts devoted to depicting marriage as a prison, where men were subject to their evil wives' whims, simply does not reflect the laws and realities of what life was like in the Stuart Era. In fact, the historical evidence suggests that it was largely the opposite. This genre of literature, when considered against women's status in early modern England provides insight into the male perspective towards women and finds that for the most part men were interested in upholding their superior positions above women. Trivializing women's problems, advocating for abuse, and accusing women of being drunkards (among other things) in literature did just that, and in effect contributed to a society that condoned male control and violence towards women while inhibiting their voices.

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The Foundations of Europe: The Affect of the Crusades on Concepts of Self

By: Clay Capra

i. Introduction

A crowd stands before a platform in the city of Clermont, France in 1095, as Pope Urban exhorts knights to take the sign of the cross and go east to free the Eastern Church from encroaching enemies. He promises indulgence to any that do, and reminds them that, by turning their swords against Saracens, they will not incur the penalties they would for attacking other Christians. As his speech comes to a close, the crowd erupts with a cheer: "Deus Vult," or "God Wills It!" By the end of the next year, armies are marching to the holy land, and four years later, Jerusalem falls to Latin European invaders. Over the next few centuries, these wars, which became known as the Crusades, transformed Latin European culture forever. This paper will, hopefully, begin to explain at least part of how they did so.

I truly only have one question that I wish to answer in this paper: How did the Crusades and Crusade ideology change how those it affected viewed themselves? I intend to answer this question through a twofold method. First, by looking at sources that speak about European cultural values before or just at the beginning of the Crusading period, I hope to paint a picture of how people viewed themselves before Crusade ideology completely took shape. Secondly, I plan to look at sources from within or after the Crusading period, in order to compare the two and thus show how culture and concepts of self changed due to the prevalence of this ideology. Firstly, Latin Europeans changed how they thought of themselves in relation to "others" within and outside of their society. Through the Crusades, chivalry also developed as a lens through which the elite viewed masculinity, honor, and faith. Finally, these wars also impacted non-Christians living within Europe, Muslims in the Levant, and Byzantines in drastically different ways as well. European Jews suddenly found themselves living within an incredibly hostile environment and were forced to adapt to it. In the Muslim Levant, scholars and rulers revived the concept of jihad to legitimize their rule and as a call to expel the invaders they referred to as Franj. Lastly, the Byzantines, ever wary of the huge Crusade armies marching through their territory, felt a growing sense of anxiety over the unpredictable barbarians once again wreaking havoc on the remains of their empire.

The Crusades have long been a source of discussion and debate amongst the historical community and works on them stretch back for centuries. Richard Knaeuper's 1999 book *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* deeply examines how religion and Crusade ideology influenced chivalric thought, and it has deeply informed me while writing on this topic. Similarly, Karen Armstrong's *Holy War*, written in 1991, despite its occasionally ham-fisted comparisons between the Crusades and the current Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, provides significant context on how the wars influenced European thought about themselves, especially in relation to social others. When attempting to understand Latin European manners of thought on the eve of the Crusading era, Jay Rubenstein's 2002 book *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Man* has informed me in ways unlike any other text. It provides significant insight into how medieval Europeans thought of themselves and those living around them at the turn of the 12th Century.

As for primary sources, I plan to draw heavily from Bernard of Clairvoux's (1090-1153) *A New Knighthood*, in which he speaks at length about the Knights Templar, their organization, and their way of life. He provides this commentary as a sort of model for other knights wishing to live a holy and chivalrous life, and thus provides insight in the developing view in Europe of knights as possible defenders of the Church and poor, rather than just horseback warriors. Similarly, Crusade chronicles written by Fulcher of Chartres (1059-1127), Jean de Joinville (1225-1317), Geoffrey de Villehardouin (1160-1212), and others all provide both context to the Crusades and an insight into how Latin Europeans of the time viewed them overall. Finally, Anna Comnena's (1083-1153) *Alexiad* and Usama ibn Mundqidh's (1095-1188) *Book of Contemplation* both provide insight both into how others viewed Latin European Crusades from the outside, and their judgements of how these Crusaders carried and saw themselves, as well as insights into how these other cultures were shaped by the Crusades as well.

I will examine how these formative wars shaped how Europeans saw themselves, especially those of them within the knightly class, and how they saw the others—be they Jews, Muslims, "heretics," or polytheists—in their society with relation to themselves. I will also look at how involvement in the Crusades, either as allies of the Crusaders, their enemies, simply as victims of the war, or any combination of these roles, shaped the other cultures

that interacted with them inside and outside of Latin Europe. For this part of my paper, I will attempt to briefly cover Byzantines, Jews, and Muslims.

From the late 11th century onwards, interactions with Crusade ideology drastically changed how Latin Europeans interacted with religion, the world, and their own identities. Placed in direct conflict and contact with the wider, non-Christian world in a way they had never been before, European culture grew less tolerant of "others" both inside and outside of their own societies. At the same time, however, the concept of holy war crystallized into concepts of chivalry and knighthood, forever altering then lens through which the European nobility saw themselves. As wars in the Middle East continued and settlement continued in the Crusader States, pieces of Islamic culture, science, and technology found their way back to Europe, influencing chivalric and court culture.

ii. On the Eve of Crusade

In the centuries leading up to the Crusades, knighthood existed more as a political and social dimension in Latin Europe than as a cultural one. At this time, only being at least wealthy enough to own a horse and, therefore, fight on horseback united all knights. These knights were divided into three groups: vassals, service-knights, and mercenary knights. Vassal knights represent the most traditional of three groups, they were soldiers who owed their lord fealty, and thus responded to a call for warriors when it came. They often lived on land ruled by their lord, and were expected to provide their own equipment, and owned small fiefs themselves. Service-knights served in the court of the lord, and, if they came from the "knightly class," their lord provided them with equipment.[237] Finally, mercenary knights, or knights-errant, did not owe fealty to a lord but instead responded to a call that pledged money to those that arrived. Medieval writers often described them as poor, and many required that the lord they came to serve provided them with equipment. Thus, at this point in history, even the vassal-lord relationship did not define knighthood socially or culturally as it would come to.

Similarly, the clergy of this period also viewed knights poorly, and generally regarded their actions as sinful. Guibert of Nogent and Suger of Saint-Denis both viewed Thomas de Marle, a noble and member of the knightly class, as an example of the, "basest instincts run amok."[238] They were not alone in their condemnation of the knightly class, and the Church as a whole spent a large portion of the period preceding the Crusades attempting to curb knightly violence through a program called the Peace of God, with only limited success. Despite the Church's many condemnations of the violence of the knightly class during this period, it remained fairly comment, and the only thing that seems to truly have set Thomas de Marle apart from his contemporaries was that, "Guibert and Sager see him through twelfth-century eyes," rather than 11th century ones, which would not have seen this level of violence as being so far out-of-place.[239]

Even with Latin Europe's constant violence, however, relations between its Christian minority and its religious minorities, namely Jews throughout all of Europe and Muslims in Spain and Southern Italy, remained fairly cordial in the pre-Crusade period.[240] Carolingian courts even treated Jews and Christians as equals when giving testimony, and this practiced continued into the 11th century according to various charters.[241] In fact, during the late 11th and early 12th century many Christian scholars wrote in a literary genre of a Christian scholar disputing with a Jewish one, displaying a rationality and general capability for communication without the necessity of violence or mockery.[242] Because of this attitude, "the active persecution of Jews in medieval Europe was sporadic," within Latin Europe, and instead occurred more often within the Byzantine Empire.[243] In fact, Jews living in the Rhineland, which would be devastated by pogroms during the First Crusade and subsequent ones, "behaved with a

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[237] Joachim Bumke, *The Concept of Knighthood in the Middle Ages*, trans. W. T. H. and Erika Jackson (New York: AMC Press Inc, 1982), 31.

[238] Jay Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Man*, (London: Routledge, 2002), 105.

[239] *Ibid*.

[240] Karen Armstrong, *Holy War* (Doubleday: New York, 1991), 374.

[241] Gotthard Deutsch, "Oath More Judaico," Jewish Encyclopedia, http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/11640-oath-more-judaico

[242] Jay Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Man*, (London: Routledge, 2002), 117.

[243] Will Durant, *The Age of Faith* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950), 389.

restraint and piety that had won the respect of the Christian laity and clergy alike."[244] For the first part of the actual crusading period, the church vocally opposed pogroms, and though this opposition did little to stop them from occurring, it shows that in earlier centuries such actions were both rare and frowned upon by the general European populace. This tolerance towards European Jews—Europe's largest religious minority at the time—would not survive the Crusades.

iii. In the Midst of Crusade

The influence of Crusade ideology caused chivalry to develop as a method for self-identification amongst Latin Europeans. The first pieces of chivalric literature, handbooks on chivalry that existed to educate other knights on how to act, were often written by former crusaders or members of the various military orders and therefore made it clear they believed that God was, "the fountainhead of all chivalric honor."[245] Godfrey of Bouillon, one of the nobles that led armies in the First Crusade, took a place amongst the Nine Worthies, seen as the perfect examples of chivalry, further stressing the connection of Crusade ideology to chivalry as a method for viewing the self.[246] The Church itself heavily involved itself in developing chivalry into a real cultural force in Latin Europe, as it had long tried to find a way to control the raucous and warlike knightly class through initiatives such as the Peace of God and Truce of God movements.[247] Instead, however, the Crusades and the development of chivalry eventually led to clerical valorization of knightly violence, at least when used against supposed heretics, and over time the knightly class became one of the medieval divisions of society approved and developed by God according to most clerical sources.[248] This concept started to develop around the First Crusade, when members of the clergy began to reference holy war as a pious alternative to secular infighting—as Guibert of Nogent put it: "God in our time has introduced the holy war so that the knighthood and the unstable people, who shed each other's blood in the way of pagans, might have a new way to win salvation."[249] Fulcher, when chronicling the First Crusade, saw God as taking an active part in the furthering of this violence, as he convinced a Turkish guard in the city of Antioch to conspire with the Crusade army to let them into the city.[250] Bernard of Clairvaux, one of the most important clerical figures for the development of a distinct Crusade ideology, wrote a text titled *In Praise of the New Knighthood*, in which he lauded the Knights Templar for their piety. In this text, he claimed that, "the knight of Christ, I say, may strike with confidence and die yet more confidently, for he serves Christ when he strikes, and he serves himself when he dies. Neither does he bear the sword in vain, for he is God's minister, for the punishment of evildoers and for the praise of the good."[251] For the warring knight, the ability to continue the knightly lifestyle without fear of damnation represented an irresistible pull, and from this text many later medieval conceptions of chivalry developed.

As knighthood and piety became more and more intertwined, a religious process through which one officially became a knight developed. Squires, when about to become knights, bathed to represent spiritual purity, wore symbolic clothing, fasted for a day, spend a night of prayer in a church, confessed to a priest, attended Mass, received communion, heard a sermon on the duties of knighthood, and pledged to fulfill those duties, after which his sword would be blessed and he would officially be dubbed as a knight.[252] To knights in the early middle ages, whose status was determined by little more than their ownership of a horse, this complicated ceremony would seem strange and nonsensical, but as chivalry developed into a concrete concept, it became an integral part of knighthood. Over time, Christianity became so irrevocably tied to knighthood that without it, one could not truly be considered fully chivalrous. In *The Song of Roland*, the poet describes one of Roland's many Muslim adversaries by saying, "if he

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[244] *Ibid*.

[245] Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 47.

[246] Frederick B Artz, *The Mind of the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 348.

[247] *Ibid*, 344.

[248] Joachim Bumke, *The Concept of Knighthood in the Middle Ages*, trans. W. T. H. and Erika Jackson (New York: AMC Press Inc, 1982), 114-115.

[249] Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 69.

[250] Fulcher of Chartes, *The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartes*, trans. Martha E. McGinty, ed. Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998, 75.

[251] *Ibid*, 70.

[252] Will Durant, *The Age of Faith* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950), 573.

were Christian, he'd be a noble knight."[253] The two lifestyles—that of the non-Christian and knighthood—are here shown as mutually exclusive, one cannot be both at the same time. By the time of the Seventh Crusade, chivalry had so effectively combined the concepts of knightly violence and faith that King Louis IX's crusading army hoped to convert the "Tartars" they also planned to fight by bringing along, "a series of little figures carved in stone, representing the Annunciation of our Lady, and all other subjects relation to the Christian faith. The men to whom he entrusted these things were two members of the Order of the Predicants, who knew the language of the Tartars, and would consequently be able to teach them the principles of our religion and show them what they ought to believe."[254] The concept that they might be able to convert Muslims while also fighting them represents a perfect example of how Crusade ideology weaved concepts of faith and violence together.

Parallel to the fusion of violence and faith, chivalry developed a concept that knights ought to act as defenders of the church and defenders of the weak, both of which took shape due to the influence of Crusade ideology. The knightly orders especially developed these concepts, and through them, "the concept [of knighthood] acquired a new Christian sense."[255] The Knights Hospitaller of St. John, for instance, practiced poverty, charity to the poor, and operated hospitals throughout Europe and the Crusader States, and their influence led to incorporation of simple acts of charity into the chivalric code, as well as defense of the poor.[256] Similarly, Bernard of Clairvoux cast the Knights Templar as defenders of the church by saying, "if he [a 'knight of Christ'] kills an evildoer, he is not a mankiller, but, if I may put it so, a killer of evil. He is evidently an avenger of Christ towards evildoers and he is rightly considered a defender of Christians."[257] These various ideals coalesced into an oath knights swore to, "speak the truth, defend the Church, protect the poor, make peace in [their provinces], and pursue the infidels."[258] All these ideals can further be broken down into two courtly laws: *triuwe*, or loyalty to one's lord, understandable with both a lowercase or a capital "l," and *êre*, or honor, which generally represented the rest of a knight's duties.[259] In fact, this connection of paying homage to one's lord and the devotion a Christian ought to show to God became so inseparable during the middle ages that, during the post-Crusade period, the symbol for paying homage—kneeling in front of a lord with hands placed palms together—eventually also became the symbol for praying.[260] By 1200, the concept of the chivalric order, originating from the military orders in the Crusader States, "embraced the totality of Christianity in arms…[and by] about 1200, [when] we find constituted communities of knights outside the actual crusading movement, we may guess that they are a reflection of the idea of order formulated by the church."[261] In copying the ideal of the church set in its military orders, knights developed the more general concept of chivalry that defined how knights and Latin European aristocrats viewed themselves for centuries to come.

Courtly poetry, which eventually became central to chivalric thought, also dealt extensively with the Crusades, and many troubadours wrote songs about them as well as those they wrote about love. Betran de Born, for instance, wrote many songs specifically dealing with the Crusades, and he often attacked those who delayed their departure for the holy land in his poetry. Even in songs and poems that did not specifically involve the Crusades, the influence of Crusade ideology often appeared in the texts. The French Chansons de Geste specifically deal with heroes that combine chivalry, bravely, martial prowess, and faith in a way which "throbs with crusading ardor."[262] *The Song of Roland* represents one of the best examples of how Crusade ideology appeared in these texts. When preparing for battle, the knights gather around Archbishop Turpin, himself a living embodiment of the combination

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[253] *The Song of Roland*, trans. Patricia Terry (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992), 36.

[254] Jean de Joinville, *The Life of Saint Louis*, trans. Margaret Shaw (London: Penguin Books, 1963), 198.

[255] Joachim Bumke, *The Concept of Knighthood in the Middle Ages*, trans. W. T. H. and Erika Jackson (New York: AMC Press Inc, 1982), 111.

[256] Karen Armstrong, *Holy War* (Doubleday: New York, 1991), 184-185.

[257] Bernard of Clairvoux, *In Praise of the New Knighthood*, Trans. M. Conrad Greenia (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1977), 134.

[258] Will Durant, *The Age of Faith* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950), 574.

[259] Joachim Bumke, *The Concept of Knighthood in the Middle Ages*, trans. W. T. H. and Erika Jackson (New York: AMC Press Inc, 1982), 108.

[260] Urban T. Holmes Jr., *Medieval Man* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 133.

[261] Joachim Bumke, *The Concept of Knighthood in the Middle Ages*, trans. W. T. H. and Erika Jackson (New York: AMC Press Inc, 1982), 111-112.

[262] Frederick B Artz, *The Mind of the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 328.

of religion and violence, as he wields a sword throughout the poem and fights like a knight, who gives a sermon in which he declares:

> And may our deaths do honor to the King!
> Now you must help to defend our holy Faith!
> War is upon us—I need not tell you that—
> Before your eyes you see the Saracens
> Confess your sins, ask God to pardon you
> I'll grant you absolution to save your souls
> If you should die, that will be in martyrdom
> And you'll have places in highest Paradise."
> The French dismount; they kneel upon the ground.
> Then the Archbishop, blessing them in God's name,
> Told them, for penance, to strike when the battle came.[263]

The position of "King" and "Faith" at the end of the first two lines of this quote, directly next to each other in the text, convey a similar, if not equal, importance. It also conveys a sort of interrelatedness, in which the bonds of fealty and the bonds of faith are united in requiring the same obligations. Similarly, the idea that these knights, all of whom were seen as exemplars of chivalry, owe an obligation to defend their faith further supports the concept that by the time of this poem, the concept of knights as defenders of faith had entered Latin European canon. As Turpin's sermon continues, his promise that those who die in the coming battle will become martyrs echoes a popular medieval belief about the Crusades: that those who died on them would become martyrs. Though this belief was not actually true, none of the calls for Crusade promised martyrdom as a reward for Crusade, it still shows how Crusade ideology, or at least the perception of it, conflated violence and faith. Finally, Turpin's promise that he will absolve the knights of their sins and that their penance can be won through combat represents an exact copy of the Crusade indulgence. Once again, Crusade ideology appears in the text, further showing its influence on chivalry. All pretense that these most chivalrous knights are not meant to be interpreted as crusaders ends when the poet declares, "Archbishop Turpin has signed them with the cross." The phrase "signed with the cross" was almost exclusively used to refer to crusaders.

Another chivalric epic, *The Poem of the Cid*, portrays the fusion of faith and knightly violence as central to the concept of chivalry. After his exile from the Kingdom of Castile, the Cid is visited by the Angel Gabriel in a dream, who tells him, "Ride, O Cid, my good Campeador, for never did a knight ride so luckily! Things will go well with you so long as you shall live!"[264] In response to the vision, he, "awoke and cross himself. Which done, he commended himself to God."[265] This decision leads him to attack the town of Castejon, held by the Moors. Throughout the passage, religious language is intermingled with promises of spoils to be looted from the city. Alvar Fanez, one of the Cid's retainers, says, "with God's help and your [the Cid's] good luck we shall take much booty."[266] The martial culture of knighthood, represented here by the taking of spoils from defeated enemies, is once again approved by God in this epic.

Just as Crusade ideology developed chivalry amongst the aristocracy, it caused Latin Europeans to exhibit a growing distaste, fear, and hatred of cultural and religious "others." This shift towards hatred and violence began in the First Crusade, when the crusaders under Peter the Hermit began their journey with the first major pogroms in medieval European history, and ended it with a massacre of both Jews and Muslims in Jerusalem. These two crimes, punctuating Europe's first and most successful Crusade, ensured that, "Western Christians would never again regard Jews and Muslims as normal human beings. They saw them as inhuman monsters and developed fantasies about them which bore no relation to the trust but which actually reflected the insecurities of the people of Europe."[267] The pattern that began in the First Crusade would continue: every Crusade summons was accompanied by pogroms

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[263] *The Song of Roland*, trans. Patricia Terry (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992), 45.
[264] *The Poem of the Cid*, trans. Lesly Byrd Simpson (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 2006), 21.
[265] *Ibid*.
[266] *Ibid*, 22.
[267] Karen Armstrong, *Holy War* (Doubleday: New York, 1991), 374.

against Jews. Thus, as Crusade ideology developed and became more widespread in Europe, this hatred of Jews and other religious minorities seeped into the consciousness of all Europeans. Important figures in the development of this ideology either personally involved themselves in these persecutions or wrote texts that could easily be used to support them. Godfrey of Bouillon, for instance, mentioned earlier in this paper as one of chivalry's Nine Worthies, began his journey to the holy land by threatening to attack Jewish communities in the Rhineland, which only turned him away with bribes.[268] Bernard of Clairvoux, though he opposed pogroms against European Jews, wrote, "The Christian glories in the death of the pagan, because Christ is glorified," and, "it seems to better to destroy them [pagans] than that the rod of sinners be lifted over the lot of the just, and the righteous perhaps put forth their hands into iniquity."[269] These statements reflected general European fears that Jews or Muslims might attempt to convert Christians or otherwise turn them to evil ways.

Though most chronicles of the First Crusade, even those written by Christians, condemn pogroms, Ekkehard of Aura's chronicle places the pogroms in a positive light, a sign of the changing views of Jews within Latin European society as early as 1101. His chronicle states:

> Just at that time, there appeared a certain soldier, Emico, Count of the lands around the Rhine, a man long of very ill repute on account of his tyrannical mode of life. Called by divine revelation, like another Saul, as he maintained, to the practice of religion of this kind, he usurped to himself the command of almost twelve thousand cross bearers. As they were led through the cities of the Rhine and the Main and also the Danube, they either utterly destroyed the execrable race of the Jews wherever they found them (being even in this matter zealously devoted to the Christian religion) or forced them into the bosom of the Church.[270]

Ekkehard describes how divine revelation transforms Emico from a tyrant to a pious man in the same way as Saul. His use of Saul here is interesting; Saul was a Jew who once persecuted Christians before converting to Christianity, whereas Emico's supposed revelation leads him to persecute the Jews. Whereas other chroniclers view the pogroms against the Jews as a negative side effect of the Crusade, Ekkehard here conflates Emico's attacks on the Jews as stemming from devotion to Christianity. In his eyes, these attacks benefit the entirety of the Christian community, and that view will become more common as the 12th century continues.

Throughout that century and the following one, intolerance of Muslims, Jews, and anyone else they viewed as falling outside orthodox Latin Christianity. Throughout this period, Christian scholars wrote texts that denounced Islam and painted it as a complete fallacy.[271] From these texts, the west was introduced to the concept that Islam is, somehow, a uniquely and inherently violent religion, an idea that continues to plague relations between the west and the middle east even to this day.[272] In 1205, Pope Innocent III declared that Jews were, "doomed to perpetual servitude," to the Church and to Latin Christians in general.[273] Not long after, in 1227, Pope Gregory IX instituted a series of decrees that forced Muslims and Jews living in Christian territory to wear distinctive clothing so they could be easily recognized, from these decrees the symbol of the gold star, used throughout history to identify the Jews as others, originated.[274] Louis IX of France presents a living embodiment of the deep resentment Latin Europeans felt about religious minorities. Both during his life and after it, most saw him as an ideal Christian king, in part because he was, "an anti-Semite and a cruel persecutor of heretics, and he was so consumed with loathing of Muslims that he led not one Crusade but two."[275] Most in Europe lauded his strict anti-Jewish policies and his violence towards Muslims, even to the extent that he was sainted after his death. With the support of the church, he established the first inquisition in southern France to hunt out Cathars, a heretical sect, during and after the Albigensian Crusade.

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[268] Shlomo Eidelberg, *The Jews and the Crusaders* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 4.
[269] Bernard of Clairvoux, *In Praise of the New Knighthood*, Trans. M. Conrad Greenia (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1977), 134-135.
[270] Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicle*, trans. A.C. Krey, ed. Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 112.
[271] Karen Armstrong, *Holy War* (Doubleday: New York, 1991), 432.
[272] *Ibid*, 229.
[273] Barbara W Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror* (Toronto, Canada: The Random House Publishing Group, 1978) ,110.
[274] Karen Armstrong, *Holy War* (Doubleday: New York, 1991), 417.
[275] *Ibid*, 436.

This inquisition served as the model for all future ones, both those used against other heresies and the Spanish Inquisition and further supports the idea that Crusade ideology caused hatred of religious minorities.

By the 14th Century, Latin Christians labeled both Muslims and Jews not only as unsavory agents who might attempt to convert Christians, but as active enemies of the entire Christian faith that needed to be completely eradicated or otherwise removed from Christian society. In 1301, Charles of Anjou purged the Muslims of Lucera, finally destroying the vibrant Sicilian Muslim community.[276] During epidemics that occurred in Spain between 1320 and 1321, many believed that lepers, another societal outcast within Europe, "acted at instigation of the Jews and the Moslem King of Grenada, in a great conspiracy of outcasts to destroy Christians."[277] Pogroms occurred throughout the Iberian peninsula, targeting both Jews and Muslims living within Christian lands. Finally, when the Black Death swept across Europe, the blame once again fell on the heads of Europe's Jewish community, and many of them were, "dragged from their homes and thrown onto bonfires."[278] Throughout the whole period, as well, at the same rate the resentment against Jews fostered by Crusade ideology increased, the economics of the Crusades made lords more dependent on their services, as many often borrowed money from Jewish moneylenders in order to equip themselves to go on campaign to the holy land. Medieval peasants, distrustful of Jews before the Crusades and even more so as the centuries passed due to the ever-present pressure of Crusade ideology, resented the idea that their labor might finance Jews.[279]

This hatred did not apply just to Jews and Muslims, over the course of the Crusades Latin Christians became less accepting both of pagans and of Greek Christians living to the east. In lands held by the Teutonic Order, a military order established by the Church that controlled parts of Lithuania, knights made, "annual forays against the unconverted natives of Lithuania [in which they] conducted manhunts for sport."[280] Though pagans never enjoyed the same protections within Christian society as Jews and Muslims did before the Crusades, the atrocities committed by the Teutonic Order against them showed that Latin Europe acquired a complete lack of restraint when dealing with what it saw as its greatest and oldest enemy. Since before the First Crusade, many Latin Europeans also saw Greeks as haughty and, on occasion, even treacherous. This attitude towards those that Pope Urban II once called the First Crusade to support grew more and more hostile throughout 13th Century, culminating in the sack of Constantinople. Villehardouin, when writing his chronicle of the Fourth Crusade, portrays the Byzantine Emperor Alexius, who the crusaders supported in his bid for the throne, in these stereotypical terms saying that he, "became filled with pride. He adopted a haughty attitude with the barons and those who had done him a great service, and no longer came to visit them in camp, as he had done before."[281] These concepts of the Byzantines held by the Latins, coupled with the fact that the Byzantines often viewed the Latins as barbarians, increasingly strained the relationship between Latin Western Europe and Greek Eastern Europe.

Despite the fact that the Crusades caused greater intolerance in Europe, it also allowed Latin Europeans to come into contact with and understand Muslim and Byzantine culture, which influenced how they viewed themselves and others. This cultural interaction occurred because, unlike the increasingly intolerant European states, the Crusader States practiced general religious tolerance. Many Latin Christians living within the Crusader States had Muslim friends, and some even intermarried with Muslims.[282] Muslims living around the Crusader States felt the same way, and Usama ibn Mundqidh says that a Latin Christian, "grew to like my company and he became my constant companion, calling me 'my brother.' Between us there were ties of amity and sociability."[283] The influence of this cultural exchange can be found in the fact that John of Ibelin, a Latin Christian who came from a family that lived in the Crusader States for over a hundred years, gave Frederick II typical Arab presents after concluding a

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[276] *Ibid*, 455.

[277] Barbara W Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror* (Toronto, Canada: The Random House Publishing Group, 1978), 109.

[278] *Ibid*.

[279] Will Durant, *The Age of Faith* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950), 392

[280] Barbara W Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror* (Toronto, Canada: The Random House Publishing Group, 1978), 69.

[281] Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, trans. by Margaret Shaw (London: Penguin Books, 1963), 81.

[282] Karen Armstrong, *Holy War* (Doubleday: New York, 1991), 220.

[283] Usama ibn Mundqidh, *The Book of Contemplation*, trans. Paul M. Cobb (London: Penguin Books, 2008), 144.

peace negotiation with the emperor on Cyprus.[284] Records show that Latin Europeans and Muslims even favored certain weapons made by the other side; crusaders preferred Arab bows and Arabs thought highly of Latin spears.[285] Both sides profited from this exchange of weapons, as weaponsmiths at the renowned forges in Damascus sold arms to both Christian and Muslim warriors, and Italian merchants often supplied arms and supplies to both sides as well.[286] Trade between the two groups fostered a greater cultural exchange. As the two groups traded, they also fought together. Muslim archers arrived in the Kingdom of Jerusalem with Countess Adelaide of Sicily as she planned to marry King Baldwin I, and al-Mansur led an army from Damascus that included a troop of Latin Christians.[287] Similarly, scholars from Europe went to Muslim centers of learning in Sicily and Spain and translated texts from Arabic into Latin, introducing a wide berth of Islamic scholarship into the largely ignorant Latin West.[288] Through all these connections, the Crusader States eventually became a sort of melting pot of cultures, exemplified by the shrine at Saidanya, which was venerated by Christians, Muslims, Jews, and various other religious groups according to both Arab and Latin chroniclers.[289] The cultural values that were exchanged there eventually found their way into European society as a whole.

Courtly love, which deeply influenced how members of the aristocracy viewed themselves, drew heavily from Muslim poetry, and soon found itself intertwined with concepts of chivalry, knighthood, and nobility. The romances that came to define the genre were filled with Arabic loan words, and some of them were even direct copies of Arabic works.[290] Many of these works included descriptions of, "tapestries, jewels, fine raiment, and elegant buildings with many details from Byzantine and Saracenic sources."[291] These works involved, "the Platonic idea of seeing in an earthly love the reflection of an eternal beauty and love [which may have] come to Southern France [where the courtly love originated] from [Muslim] culture," which developed into one of the most important aspects of courtly love.[292] Some of Europe's more erotic poetry most likely drew influences from similar Arabic love poetry and Muslim mystical poetry, which described both physical and religious love in blatantly erotic terms.[293] All of these connections through the arts eventually led to the development of a new Latin European, "view of life and love."[294]

Similarly, the capture of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade opened Europe up to Greco-Roman cultural influences that remained accessible in the Byzantine Empire long after they faded from the Latin west, though they were acquired under far less scrupulous means. European philosophers had access to translations of Aristotle copied directly from the original documents, which were looted from Constantinople.[295] We can easily assume other documents of that sort may have also been transported to Europe. However, the Byzantine More Judaico Oath, meant to humiliate Jews in court, may have also spread to Latin Europe due to contact with the Byzantines. The often violent nature of the method in which ideas were exchanged—mostly on a one-sided basis, from Byzantium to Latin Europe—as well as the possibility of Byzantine influence leading to great anti-Semitism paint this exchange as, at best questionable and possibly negative.

iv. The Sorrow of the Jews

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[284] Anthony Cutler, "Everywhere and Nowhere: The Invisible Muslim and Christian Self-Fashioning in the Culture of Outremer," in *France and the Holy Land*, ed. Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 255

[285] *Ibid*, 258.

[286] *Ibid*, 259.

[287] *Ibid*, 260.

[288] *Ibid*, 255.

[289] *Ibid*, 261.

[290] Will Durant, *The Age of Faith* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950), 611.

[291] Frederick B Artz, *The Mind of the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 345.

[292] *Ibid*, 335.

[293] Karen Armstrong, *Holy War* (Doubleday: New York, 1991), 230.

[294] Frederick B Artz, *The Mind of the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 117.

[295] Will Durant, *The Age of Faith* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950), 611.

As anti-Semitism became a cultural habit in Latin Europe, the Jews living within Christian communities started to believe that the many pogroms that occurred throughout this period were Biblically-foretold suffering and led to the growth of a general climate of fear. Jewish tradition and chronicles recorded the memory of many pogroms, leading to an ever-present anxiety that violence might flare up again. Rabbi Eliezer bar Nathan, in his chronicle, says that the pogroms surrounding the First Crusade included, "all misfortunes related in the twenty-four books, those enumerated in Scripture as well as those unwritten."[296] Jewish chronicles report a feeling of incredible desperation, and pleadings to God that the violence might end: "Why did not the sun and the moon turn dark, when one thousand three hundred holy souls were slain on a single day—among them babes and sucklings who had not sinned or transgressed—the souls of innocent poor people? Wilt Thou restrain Thyself from these things, O Lord?"[297] Bar Nathan, writing his chronicle after the First Crusade, could not have known that the wave of anti-Semitism that started with those pogroms would consume Europe for centuries to come.

Jewish thought in the Middle Ages viewed the Crusades as the biblically-prophesized war between Gog and Magog that would usher in the Messianic Era, and thus believed the appropriate response to persecution was to show obedience to God through self-sacrifice. Specifically, they saw the story of Abraham and Isaac as a model for how they must act when threatened, "by the sword of conversion…medieval Jews felt that they were called upon to surpass their Biblical forebears by consummating the sacrifice [of Abraham.]"[298] Chroniclers glorified the act of suicide or death at the hands of crusaders, as those who died were seen as martyrs giving themselves up to God. Bar Nathan says, "those who were slain sanctified the Name for all the world to see, and expose their throats for their heads to be severed for the glory of the Creator, also slaughtering one another—man, his friend, his kin, his wife, his children, even his sons-in-law and daughters-in-law; and compassionate women slaying their only children—all wholeheartedly accepting the judgement of Heaven upon themselves."[299] Jews often believed that this self-sacrifice would appease God and cause him to end the killing, and that they were occurring because of sins committed by the Jewish community.[300]

Will Durant explains the effects of these centuries of persecution more succinctly and effectively than I ever could: "Every Jew had to learn by heart the prayer to be recited in the moment of martyrdom. The pursuit of wealth was made more feverish by the harassed insecurity of its gains; the gibes of gamins in the street were ever ready to greet the wears of the yellow badge; the ignominy of a helpless and secluded minority burned into the soul, broke down individual pride and interracial amity, and left in the eyes of the Northern Jew that somber *Judenschmerz*—the sorrow of the Jews—which recalls a thousand insults and injuries."[301]

v. The Return of Jihad

In Islamic regions directly affected by the Crusades, Muslim culture responded to the invaders by slowly reviving the concept of military jihad. The First Crusade did not produce a general call for jihad from scholars and rulers, rather, most found the wars they were fighting against other Muslim leaders to be of significantly greater important than the capture of Jerusalem.[302] There were, however, some isolated calls for jihad amongst some groups, especially refugees from territories conquered by Latin Christians, which served as foreshadowing for the more general call that would sound as time progressed.[303] Imad ad-Din Zangi, a ruler not known for his piety, conquered the city of Edessa from the Crusader States, more or less accidentally becoming an Islamic hero and popularizing the concept of jihad.[304] His son, Nur ad-Din, a far more pious man, actively worked to revive the concept by presenting himself as the ideal Muslim ruler and by commissioning many scholars to develop the theology and law of jihad.[305]

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[296] Shlomo Eidelberg, *The Jews and the Crusaders* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 79.
[297] *Ibid*, 83.
[298] Shlomo Eidelberg, *The Jews and the Crusaders* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 13.
[299] *Ibid*, 81.
[300] *Ibid*, 84.
[301] Will Durant, *The Age of Faith* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950), 393.
[302] Karen Armstrong, *Holy War* (Doubleday: New York, 1991), 189.
[303] Amin Maalouf, *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes*, trans. Jon Rothschild (New York: Schocken Books, 1983), 83.
[304] Karen Armstrong, *Holy War* (Doubleday: New York, 1991), 192.
[305] *Ibid*, 195.

Thus, by the time of Saladin, the concept of jihad was once again firmly lodged into the consciousness of the Muslim Near East, and Muslim chroniclers recorded Saladin as having an immense, "zeal for the jihad."[306]

Despite Saladin's zeal, however, he remained religiously tolerant: "He was always affable with visitors, insisting that they stay to eat, treating them with full honours, even if they were infidels, and satisfying all their requests."[307] After he reconquered Jerusalem, he refused to sack it or massacre its inhabitants, and allowed Christians to continue to make pilgrimages to their holy sites.[308] This attitude, much like its counterpart in Europe, would not survive the period. Along with the insecurity caused by the Crusades, the Mongol invasion would shake the Islamic world to its core, creating a "new harshness in the Muslim spirit," and by the 1260s, the merciless ruler Baibars ruled Mamluk Egypt. He drove the Crusader States out of the Near East with a vengeance that Saladin never had.[309] After invading the Christian Armenian kingdom, which supported and was supported by the Crusader States, he killed most of the population of its capital at Sis and carried off 40,000 others as captives.[310] Similarly, when he conquered Antioch, his soldiers massacred or enslaved everyone they could find in the city, reducing it from a metropolis to a desolate village.[311] Though his death led to a less zealous successor, the damage had already been done, and the concept of jihad returned to the Islamic lexicon.

vi. The Barbarian Invasion

The Byzantine Empire, where Emperor Alexius Comnenus first penned his letter to Pope Urban which would begin the Crusading Era, soon came to see their supposed western allies as a possible threat, adding a further level of uncertainty to the already politically unstable empire. Anna Comnena says that her father Alexius, "dreaded their [the crusader's] arrival, knowing as he did their uncontrollable passion, their erratic character and their irresolution, not to mention the other peculiar traits of the Kelt, with their inevitable consequences."[312] She also reports that, "more villainous characters (in particular Bohemond and his like) had an ulterior purpose, for they hoped on the journey to seize the capitol itself."[313] These statements depict the incredible anxiety the Byzantines felt about the size of the Latin intervention into their politics and their general sphere of influence, as well as the eventually-confirmed fears that the crusaders might directly attack them. This anxiety was compounded by the fact that the Byzantines did not accept or understand Latin European concepts of holy war, making it seem unlikely to them that these crusaders would have traveled as far as they did for simply religious reasons.[314]

These fears, combined with the concept that the Byzantines generally saw Latin Europeans as barbarians, meant they, "came to hate the Latins as much or even more than the Muslims."[315] By the Second Crusade, these crusaders were referred to by Byzantine sources as "wild beasts."[316] Rather than their original intent, to gain soldiers to help protect their empire, the Byzantines ended up with people they saw as, "dangerous representatives and

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[306] Amin Maalouf, *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes*, trans. Jon Rothschild (New York: Schocken Books, 1983), 178.
[307] *Ibid*, 179.
[308] *Ibid*, 199.
[309] Karen Armstrong, *Holy War* (Doubleday: New York, 1991), 448.
[310] Amin Maalouf, *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes*, trans. Jon Rothschild (New York: Schocken Books, 1983), 249.
[311] *Ibid*.
[312] Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1969), 308.
[313] *Ibid*, 311.
[314] George T Dennis, "Defenders of the Christian People: Holy War in Byzantium," in *The Crusades From the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parvix Mottahedeh (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 33.
[315] *Ibid*.
[316] Elizabeth Jeffreys and Michael Jeffreys, "The 'Wild Beast of the West': Immediate Literary Reactions in Byzantium to the Second Crusade," in *The Crusades From the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parvix Mottahedeh (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 105.

carriers of chaos."[317] The constant fears the Byzantines faced because of the crusaders, as well as the Fourth Crusade's sack of Constantinople, weakened the empire in a way that it could never fully recover from.[318] Even after the Byzantine Empire reconstituted itself, certain principalities that split off during the rule of Latin Christians in Constantinople never fully returned to the main empire.[319]

vii. Conclusion

As the Crusading Era came to an end, Latin Europe was left forever changed. Its aristocracy practiced chivalry and heard troubadours tell tales of courtly love and questing knights and its people never again saw the many minorities living around them with the same respect they had before. Perhaps this was a product of a new form of identification. Throughout this paper I have referred to those living in Western and Central Europe as Latin Europeans, but to those living during the middle ages, the concept that they were in any way uniquely "European" would seem strange. By the end of the Crusading period, however, disparate groups of people, no matter if they lived in Spain, England, Italy, or Poland, began to see themselves as something that united them all: they saw themselves as Christian. Those that were not Christian, or simply not the right sort of Christian, did not get to participate in this new, overarching society that began to coalesce, pulling Latin Europeans together but pushing apart those others that living within their societies. The rift caused by this new, exclusive identity remained open for centuries to come, and may not yet have fully closed even to this day.

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[317] Tia M Kolbaba, "FIGHTING FOR CHRISTIANITY HOLY WAR IN THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE," *Byzantion* 68, no. 1 (1998): 213.

[318] Will Durant, *The Age of Faith* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950), 610.

[319] Warren Treadgold, "The Persistence of Byzantium," *The Wilson Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (1998): 77.

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