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HERODOTUS

Herodotus is a student-run publication founded in 1990 by the Stanford University Department of History. It bears the name of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, the 5th century BCE historian of the Greco-Persian Wars, credited as "the Father of History." His *Histories*, which preserve the memory of the battles of Marathon and Thermopylae, were written so that "human achievements may not become forgotten in time, and great and marvelous deeds... may not be without their glory." Likewise, this journal is dedicated to preserving and showcasing the best undergraduate work of Stanford University's Department of History, chosen with a blind peer review selection process. For more information about the journal, please visit us online at herodotus.stanford.edu.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

When landscape architect Frederick Law Olmstead produced his earliest sketches of the Stanford University Main Quad in 1888, the History Corner figured prominently into the plan. Rounding the Oval by carriage, the first students to arrive at the university would have met with a monumental Memorial Arch that was itself the keystone of the rhythmic array of sandstone buildings. At the Quad's smoothed northeast corner stood the Department of History. Today students pass through the same wooden double doors and ascend the grand staircase to attend a broad offering of over 200 history courses. Under the tutelage of 51 History Department professors, undergraduates of many majors study the history of myriad times and places, from ancient Rome to modern Afghanistan.

Herodotus' mission is to publish and disseminate the best work of undergraduate students of history at Stanford University. Today, more resources are available to history students than ever before. Not only do we have some six million books through our extraordinary Stanford University Libraries, but also millions more available online through initiatives like the Google Books Library Project. The mass of books and articles is both a blessing and a curse. Amidst the tempest of information, the covers of *Herodotus* bound a sanctuary of young academic work. The essays in this journal are selected for their persuasive analysis, precision, prose, and appeal. This year's volume brings together a wide range of academic interests: the United States, Europe, Middle East, and South America; music, poetry, memory, science, and religion. We hope our readers will enjoy this volume and continue to delight in reading history.

HERODOTUS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FROM *POETAE NOVI* TO *VATES*: THE TRANSFORMATION OF POETIC POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS WITH THE ADVENT OF EMPIRE

Introduction by Professor Walter Scheidel

Jacob Kovacs-Goodman's paper deals with one of the core topics of my course on "The Romans," the transition from the largest and most successful Republic of the premodern era to a monarchy and military dictatorship. In exploring the impact of this momentous transformation on the nascent movement of the "new poets" of the first century BCE, he highlights the extent to which shifts in political power shaped literary production. This is an issue of surprising relevance up to the present day, more familiar perhaps to students of the much more recent past than to those looking far back in time. Carefully making his case by judiciously drawing on recent scholarship, Kovacs-Goodman distills decades of critical engagement with these famous literary figures into a lucidly concise and forcefully argued sketch that goes straight to the heart of the matter. This clarity of exposition is a remarkable achievement and will help readers grasp just how much was at stake when the Roman Republic failed.

From *Poetae Novi* to *Vates*: The Transformation of Poetic Political Consciousness with the Advent of Empire

Jacob Kovacs-Goodman

Roman authors remain widely read by scholars throughout the Western world. Though Rome dissolved many centuries ago, the enduring impacts of Cicero's rhetoric, Livy's histories, and Virgil's epic have withstood the millennia intact. Still in wide circulation to this day, Roman authors preserve the foundations of modern western society. Latin poetry in particular is prized for its elegant language and incredible rhetorical devices. While poetry may be a creative vehicle – one in which the loves and losses of the poet are most easily accessible – the poet himself does not live in a bubble, free from worldly influence. In the first century BCE, Roman poets underwent a hellenization process which formed the *novi poetae* (new poets). The emerging avant-garde movement was characterized by an abandoning of old, traditional Roman values in favor of more radical ones and met with strong resistance as Rome began her descent into empire. As Rome transitioned out of republicanism, the *novi poetae* played a pivotal role in her intellectual growth. Thus, ironically, a movement of creative freedom occurred simultaneously with one of political suppression; the two were incommensurable and neither emerged unscathed. While political commentary was rampant in neoteric writing, the rise of empire smothered free speech until it was twisted into propaganda. While the *novi poetae* – epitomized by their champion, Catullus – founded an artistic renaissance, the Augustan poets, though desperately clinging to their roots, could not resist the newfound powers of the Roman emperors. The end result is a progressive intellectual movement which comes into direct conflict with a political power struggle: Roman poetry, though attaining the pinnacle of enlightenment at the twilight of the republic, became weighted down by political intrigue with the establishment of the Caesars.

In order to properly discuss the relationship between poets and politicians in ancient Rome, it is first necessary to properly analyze the cultural context of the 1st century BCE. In the largely oral tradition of Rome, "short poems seem to have had an impact on public discourse similar to that of our electronic media."[1] Without the modern convenience of electricity, ancient graffiti and slogans were the talk of the town and spread like wildfire. Famous poets, largely from the upper-classes of society, created a means of conveying terse yet pithy remarks about current events.

The end of the second and the beginning of the first centuries BCE

saw the Roman poets inherit what some have dubbed "Alexandrian sensibilities" and others "Hellenism." Regardless, it is indisputable that Roman poetry was always Hellenistic in nature. The wealthy of Rome, borrowing most of their culture from Greek roots, were educated in all the Greek classics. It is difficult then to pinpoint the exact nature of the neoteric movement and what Cicero called the "novi poetae." While meter and diction are certainly methods of excluding certain poets from the group, scholars have trouble characterizing the exact nature of the movement. In general, Catullus is considered the standard by which the neoterics are judged, given that his poetry survived in the greatest quantity from that time period. The style in question is inherited from Callimachus, a Greek poet and scholar from the previous century, who "often state[d] his preferences in poetry and among poets."[2] Thus, what the neoterics truly discovered was "the poet's place in poetry" – namely, "the individuality of the poet in his own poems, and his place in the poetry of the past."[3] This is important in that it marks a stark departure from prior Roman cultural practices. In the hierarchy of social strata, men always strove for military and political greatness. Catullus was novel – a "full-time poet of independent means… [he] never argued a case in a court of law, never ran for office, and only half-heartedly joined the retinue of a provincial governor."[4] Essentially, poetry could now realistically be considered a career. This single change in social standing is not the fundamental reason underlying the emergence of the *novi poetae*, but rather the results of their work. Callimachus is considered the progenitor of this movement precisely because he changed poetry in such a way that these new social norms could evolve. "What had led Callimachus to formulate poetic principles describing and governing the work of a small group of Alexandrian poets was precisely what appealed to Catullus" in that "alexandrian poetry rediscovered human scale: Hesiod replaced Homer as a model, shorter forms of verse replace epic."[5] This innovation served as a model to Catullus and others, allowing them to craft a unique style and voice. Latin became trimmed down and molded to fit a new Greek style of writing and consequently the Latin parallel of this form of poetry emerged in Rome.

Thus, the stage was set for a showdown: the witty, urbane humor of the *novi poetae*, combined with poetry's power as mass media, made it a perfect form of political criticism. Enter Catullus, Cicero, and Caesar – three men whose machinations mark the curtailing of poetry's expansion. Catullus' relationship with Cicero is very hard to categorize. The famous orator was at least twenty years older than the young poet and therefore high-minded in his conservative ideals. Nevertheless, Cicero himself was of a similar vein poetically. Plutarch describes Cicero in his younger days as "not only the best orator, but also the best poet of Rome."[6] His poetry in question descends from the very stream of thought from which Catullus draws influence; "when Cicero wrote a 'Callimachean' epic… he inevitably

bequeathed a certain legacy here also to Callimachean Catullus."[7] Despite sharing a common persuasion, Catullus' *Carmina 49* offers an ambiguous "compliment" to the orator:

> Most fluent of all of the children of Romulus,/ all existing presently/ or that lived in the past or the future will see,/ accept the greatest of thanks from me,/ worst of all of the poets, Catullus –/ of poets the worst to the same degree/ that you are patrons' apogee.[8]

Not only is this the sole epistle between these two men, but it also presents an enigma. "Catullus expresses to Cicero 'profoundest thanks' and calls him 'the best patron of all' by as much as he himself is 'the worst poet of all.'"[9] Whether this is a genuine compliment or snarky sarcasm is widely debated. Nevertheless, regardless of whether it was praise or attack, Catullus was able to make a bold political statement with this piece. This reveals that politicians were, after a fashion, held accountable by the outspoken neoterics. Catullus criticizes many other politicians in his writings, thereby calling the populace's attention to the actions of these individuals. As evidenced in *Carmina 49*, such influence could be positive, negative, or ambiguous.

It is with the advent of Caesar that poetry begins to shift its powers of political persuasion. Catullus, unabashed in his brazen boldness, refers to Julius as "imperator unice," or "the one and only general" in both poems 29 and 54. However, the context is a denunciation of Caesar's cohorts and is doubtless ironic.[10] In *Carmina 93*, Catullus addresses Caesar directly, stating that "nil nimium studeo, Caesar, tibi uelle placere" – "I'm not eager to please you, Caesar."[11] Catullus' witticisms are sharp, his sarcasm biting. As the voice of an avant-garde poetic movement, it is unsurprising that he tackles the broader political questions, fighting for his ideals. As a member of the *equites* class, Catullus was of fairly prominent social stature. This fact, coupled with his prime location in the city of Rome itself, afforded him the opportunity to wield political clout through his association with "the circles of the *jeunesse dorée* (the *delicata iuventus* as Cicero called them) who had turned away from the ideals of early Rome and embraced Hellenistic Greek culture."[12] There is something to be said for the political culture itself shaping Catullus' diction, honing his meter, affecting "not only [his] outlook and views but also his language, which acquired a facility previously unknown in Roman literature."[13] Aligning himself with the likes of the famed Licinius Calvus,[14] Catullus used his widespread renown as a poet to spread his political agenda.

This free-spirited mode of information transfer did not make him many friends in the political arena. Suetonius relates that with regards to "Valerius Catullus, whose verses about Mamurra had done lasting damage

to his reputation as Caesar did not deny, when he apologized, Caesar invited him to dinner that very day."[15] This act marks the beginning of the end of the neoteric tradition. Caesar had grown so powerful to the point that so much authority had scarcely ever been consolidated in a single individual. When he proffered Catullus a social olive branch of sorts, it would have been extremely foolish not to comply with Caesar's wish. Thus, a censorship dynasty began with the silencing of Catullus – an age in which the new poets, widely read and lauded for political banter, averted their verses from contemporary politics. Indeed, some posit that Catullus met an ill-fated end at such a young age because Caesar, while ostensibly offering a means of reconciliation, proceeded to have Catullus murdered behind closed doors. The reign of the neoterics – the outspoken voice of a new republic – was stifled soon after it came to power. With the likes of Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus, Roman *fama* became the centerpiece of all of Rome's political plans. To have a reputation riddled with the accusations of a few uppity poets was not to be tolerated.

During Octavian's rise to power, the role of poetry in Roman life undertook a drastic change. While some claim that the new writings represent a kind of post-modernism, in reality the legacy of the neoterics lived on in their Augustan counterparts. The style itself remained Hellenistic – what changed were certain key words and phrases. Poetry devolved from silence into outright propaganda.

Once the *poetae novi* had been established, it was no easy task to supplant their style. Although the Augustan poets were constricted by the pressures of a new regime, "it is clear that in an extraordinary way the first period of Augustan poetry begins and ends with Callimachus" since "his was the challenge, the basic premise from which the Augustans had to start, and to which, sometimes by devious routes, they returned."[16] Try as they might, the Augustan poets could only find their voices in the new Alexandrian style. The condensed form and lyrical presentation could not be shrugged off and left by the wayside. Some argue that the Augustans were looking to return to Rome's traditional roots. While extolling the virtues of Ennius, Cicero burst forth: "*O poetam egregium! quamquam ab his cantoribus Euphorionis nunc contemnitur.*"[17] In his praise, Cicero divides poetry into two starkly different categories – the old, traditional Roman poetry of Ennius and the new (what he sees as butchered) form of the late neoterics.[18] It is this ancient and elusive form which the Augustan poets covet, for the new liberal tradition of the *novi poetae* was not suited to the new authoritarianism that pervaded the empire.

Although the Augustan poets emerged from a different background than that of their predecessors, they did not abandon the older forms but simply built upon them, developing a proper voice for a new age. One way in which this was accomplished was the mutation of the very name they

gave themselves. A new word for "poet" was introduced to the lexicon: *vates*. Literally meaning "priest" or "soothsayer," the *vates* were tasked with bearing "witness to the unity of things divine and human which was the mark of society in its time of primeval innocence."[19] The neoterics, on the other hand, would never have tolerated such a name. The Muse inspired in Catullus not the acute senses of a passive witness but rather the brilliant genius of active partisan. The self-adoption of this term reveals the change in the Augustan poets' views of their own identities. Truly, "the equation of *poeta* and *vates* as joint examples of all that is worst and most intolerable on the Roman literary scene betrays the end of a poetical revolution, and its failure."[20] The transition from late-republican literature to that of the early empire was anything but smooth; despite a struggle for a new identity, the Augustan poets were trapped in a liberal media – one that, in spite of its eloquence, offered little escape from the new pressures facing poets.

But what were these harsh demands made on poets? Surely emperors enjoyed a pristine slate of *fama* due to their deifications? Of course, now that power was centralized, it was easier to silence dissidents like Catullus. The peculiarity then, is not in the blatant censorship or oppressive silencing that did indeed occur. That result is more than expected from someone like Augustus. What is truly interesting is that poetry becomes a vehicle not for political criticism, but political praise. This laudatory writing was not enough, however, as Octavian was ever wary of the political prominence of any famous *poeta*. Through the works of Ovid, one may see the thin line poets struggled to balance upon in order to maintain a proper social standing. Then, through Virgil, it becomes evident that once such a tightrope was mastered and flattery was at its most expressive, dissent may have been portrayed subtly. Nevertheless, the role of poetry as propaganda is an undeniable yet triste occurrence in Roman history.

Publius Ovidius Naso, famed for his *Metamorphoses* and *Ars Amatoria*, showcases both the new political consciousness of the Augustan age and the repercussions a poet faced if he failed to adequately cater to the wishes of the Caesars. Although very outspoken, Ovid reveals the limitations of neoteric writing under Augustus as well as the emergence of poetic promotion of the empire. In the *Fasti*, Ovid describes Augustus as "*templorum positor, templore sancta repostor*,"[21] thereby referencing Augustus' "zeal for chastity" and "gesture against luxury."[22] Such praise was duly owed to this "second founder" of Rome.

Yet despite Ovid's perhaps genuine compliments, Augustus was tightening control on every aspect of Roman life. Paradoxically, Augustus' "attempt to promote traditional Roman values clashed head-on with traditional Roman values, by obtruding the government into the *pater-familias*' area of responsibility, and turning matters traditionally considered private into the subject of public purview."[23] A main component of this campaign

was the increasing restrictions on freedom of speech. Although Augustus, in a letter to Tiberius, encourages the young man to "not give way to [his] youthful impulses or get too angry at anyone who speaks ill of me [Augustus]," in truth, actions speak louder than words and the claims of Augustus do not quite measure up with his ordinances.[24] As he grew older, his tenants became more and more repressive. In a marked divergence from the *novi poetae*, Ovid's "flattery of Augustus and of the Imperial family knows no bounds" and he is "careful to mention that he has a shrine dedicated to them in his house."[25] Nevertheless, his strategic hints did not save him from his banishment.

In his plea to Augustus from exile, Ovid declares that "two charges, *carmen et error*, a poem and an error, ruined [him]."[26] The "error" he is forbidden to speak of, as it has already distressed Caesar a great deal. Scholars speculate that Ovid was involved in some political intrigue surrounding the Imperial family and was privy to some tasteless act. While the latter is a source of speculation, the former is a well-known poem to this very day. Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* is a handbook on love, providing both advice and stories to guide any star-crossed lovers in their endeavors. Although the poem is defended as harmless by the poet, he courted disfavor with his lines which were "fatally out of step with official tastes, themselves shaped by the programme of moral reform undertaken by Augustus (including legislation in c. 18 BC promoting marriage and curbing adultery)."[27] Although Ovid pleas with Augustus, praises his divinity, and criticizes his own poetry, his requests fall neglected at the foot of Caesar's throne. In an age following the erotic poetry of Catullus, Ovid is banished for his promiscuous verses, despite his role as propagandist. This reveals the greater undercurrent of Augustus' rule – namely that anyone who subverts or derides the new status quo is an enemy of the state. Such tyranny overrides the Alexandrian influence on Rome as the poets struggle for a new voice.

The emblematic poet of this new generation arrives in the form of Publius Vergilius Maro. His epic masterpiece, *The Aeneid*, is an astounding culmination of the Hellenistic inheritance being held under the sway of a dominant master. The common trope of praising Augustus manages to coincide well with neoteric thought. Although the form of the poem and certain key words mirror the transition of republic to empire, Hellenism lives on in Virgil. Unfortunately, his magnus opus is weighted down by the baggage of Augustan symbolism which marks the deterioration of the neoteric legacy. Virgil, although writing in the tradition of ancient works – especially those of Homer – could not return to purely Roman and Greek roots. In reality, "the Aeneid represents not an abandonment but an extension of Callimachean poetics" as viewed in its style.[28] The connection between Virgil and Catullus is startling, as both are equipped with the voice of Alexandrian influence, the Callimachean authority that opened poetry up to the more

rebellious part of the poet. The two are inextricably connected "*dulci voce*," "with sweet voice."[29] Since "sound gesture is inevitably dialogic" (because it takes someone else to hear), "it is this dialogic dimension that forms one of the most important links between the two poets."[30] While the format of the poetry has vast differences, Catullus' influence is indisputable. According to Newman, Catullus himself could not have written the *Aeneid*, as "he needed for that the vatic leap of faith, the new hopes of a new regime that made it tolerable to face the shadows of the past, and to warn against what would too easily become the realities of the future."[31] This could not be less true. If anything, Catullus could not write the *Aeneid* because it wasn't his style as he was entrenched in the neoteric mindset and made only brief forays into the area of small epics. It is impossible to guess what a Homeric epic by Catullus would look like but it was certainly not the "new hopes of a new regime" that lent Virgil inspiration. As evidenced by Ovid, the new reign of Augustus left little wiggle-room for poetic politics, even if the poet in question professed deep faith to the Imperial family. The "realities of the future" were Virgil's present: his plea to destroy the *Aeneid* on his deathbed was vetoed by an Augustus eager to bolster fame with propaganda. Such horrors were not to come but rather had arrived with the establishment of the Caesars.

Now at last one can approach the manner in which Augustus warped poetry. The *Aeneid*, considered the greatest epic in the Latin language, was cajoled out of Virgil to some extent. While this fact impresses some, it should rather disgust anyone who values artistic license. How much more impressive would the piece be if it were given the true voice of its author? Unfortunately, Servius, in his commentary on the *Aeneid*, describes the "inspiration" for the work: "intentio Vergilii haec est, Homerum imitari et Augustum laudare a parentibus."[32] When analyzed, the sheer volume of praise for Octavian is staggering. Anton Powell claims that the *Aeneid* is not merely an "Augustus-epic" as "there is no thorough-going parallelism of Aeneas and Augustus."[33] However, to make the claim that Aeneas is the only foil for Augustus is fallacious in the extreme. Virgil "presents Augustus as outdoing Hercules," portrays him as a second founder of Rome, and describes his rule as "universal."[34] When taken holistically, the Aeneid is effusive in its praise, simply gushing with flattery for Augustus. How could one man, so influenced by the Hellenistic tradition of the prior decades, so easily cave in to the pressures of Augustus? The answer certainly lies in the enormous influence Augustus wielded. But what caused the transformation of a culture of literary silence into one of political praise? How did circumstances evolve such that Catullus was pardoned at a dinner and told to keep quiet while Virgil was painting Augustus as a veritable Jupiter?

To some extent, the answer lies in the system of patronage which always characterized Roman poetry. Since copyright laws were nonexistent

in Rome, the literary tradition was more fluid. Something like the *Aeneid* could never have been written if Virgil had been barred from appropriating parts of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Consequently, famous authors relied on patrons to sponsor their writing. Receiving no income in compensation, poets often entertained guests at their patrons' parties and brought their sponsors fame by publishing exquisite masterpieces. Into this culture of the patron-client system stepped the Caesars. When Augustus became Princeps, he "involved himself in several individual patron-client relationships, assuming the role of patron to many of the budding young writers of Rome in order to enhance his status and popularity."[35] Since individuals like Virgil and Horace were directly under the say of the emperor, it is easy to see how they were forced to incorporate motifs involving the imperial cult. Although some scholarship points to subtle barbs criticizing Augustus throughout the *Aeneid*, the research is scant and the hypotheses always dismissed as the modern mind reading too much into the past. For instance, Powell claims that the Gates of Ivory reveal that "prophecy is fallible."[36] He is referencing Book VI of the *Aeneid* where Aeneas and the Sybil visit the underworld – "sunt geminae somni portae."[37] Since Aeneas passes through the gate of ivory, many scholars presume that the Sybil's prophecy is false. However, a more plausible explanation is that the gates deal not just with dreams but with shades: "in other words, not just with *falsa somnia*, but with *falsa umbrae*."[38] Aeneas and the Sybil, by going through the ivory gate, "are regarded not as 'false dreams' but as 'false shades,' and as they are real people passing through Hades, 'false shades' is precisely what they are."[39] Despite such claims as those of Powell, the overwhelming majority of the text is overflowing with portrayals of Augustan superiority.

If there is anything in the *Aeneid* of underhanded political commentary – of the social neoteric tradition, not just the literary – it is in Virgil's favorite theme, *pietas*. In the course of the twelve books of the *Aeneid*, "Vergil applies to Aeneas the epithet *pius* fifteen times" and has Aeneas' companions refer to him similarly eight times.[40] This concept of "dutiful" Aeneas is supposed to appeal to traditional Roman roots as well as characterize the new regime. However, the ending of the epic has always led to much consternation among critics. When Aeneas kills Turnus, helpless at his feet, he seems to be shirking the *pietas* he built up throughout the novel. Within the act "there is no sense of high moral purpose attained, or of personal triumph; there is only the grim reality… which the poet, for reasons sufficient to his imagination, will not mitigate, will not explain away."[41]

In this way, Virgil leaves the audience hanging. This final murder, this work of vengeance, is what characterizes the new regime. Augustus did rebuild the temples as Ovid praises. He did establish the *Pax Romana*. He did patronize poets and caused the arts to flourish. Nevertheless, all that build-up, all that struggle, was for naught. In the end, Augustus' despotism

and oppressive rule choked off the vitality not only of literary genius, but also of many facets of Roman life. The Empire swallowed the Republic and made a mockery of its former ideals. The poets were state-sponsored propagandists; the senate was a sort of figurehead, a reminder of glory past; and Cicero, that embodiment of republican ideals, lay dead at the hands of the second triumvirate. Thus, despite the Hellenistic literary revolution and the emergence of the Alexandrian sensibility, the neoteric movement was doomed in the throes of its infancy. Although its style and manner of writing was carried on by the likes of Ovid and Virgil, the essence of the *novi poetae* – their spunk, their disregard for rules, and their socially-conscious humor– was lost to the tyrannical oppression of Julius and then Octavian. While Ovid did praise the emperor, his willingness to upset the social program of Augustus led to his ruin. Although Virgil may have tried to continue in the manner of the neoterics, his poetry is overwhelmingly pro-Augustan. The results of this development are troubling in the extreme. For, through Augustus' long life, the Republic was completely lulled to the tune of Empire. With no outspoken contemporary critics, no individuals denouncing Augustus' rule, the empire began to seem like an optimal form of government. The *poetae novi*, speaking out against oppression in the preceding century, transformed into the *vates* and helped usher in the *novus ordo seclorum*.

ENDNOTES:

[1] Catullus and David Mulroy. The Complete Poetry of Catullus. USA: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002. Print. Pps. xvii-xviii.
[2] Oxford Classical Dictionary, third edition. Electronic edition. Callimachus.
[3] Ross, David, Jr. Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry: Gallus Elegy and Rome. London: Cambridge University Press, 1975. Print. P. 4.
[4] *Ibid.*, 5.
[5] *Ibid.*, 6.
[6] Plutarch. "Cicero." Bartleby. N.p., n.d. Web. 20 May 2010. <http://www.bartleby.com/12/8.html>.
[7] Newman, John Kevin. Roman Catullus and the Modification of the Alexandrian Sensibility. Germany: Weidmann, 1990. Print. P. 374.
[8] Catullus and David Mulroy, 38.
[9] Fredricksmeyer, Ernest. "Catullus 49, Cicero, and Caesar." Classical Philology 68.4 (1973): n. pag. Web. 17 May 2010. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/268870>.
[10] http://www.vroma.org/~hwalker/VRomaCatullus/Caesar.html
[11] Catullus and David Mulroy, 98.
[12] Oxford Classical Dictionary, third edition. Electronic edition. Cattulus.
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] Politician, orator, and poet, son of the annalist C. Licinius Macer. In oratory he practised a severe Atticism in opposition to Cicero. He also wrote satirical poems condemning Caesar. Oxford Classical Dictionary, third edition. Electronic edition.
[15] Suetonius, Suetonius, and Catharine Edwards. Lives of the Caesars. Oxford University Press,

USA, 2000. Print. 33.

[16] Newman, J.K. Augustus and the New Poetry. LXXXVIII. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1967. Print. 60.

[17] 'What an outstanding poet! Although he is despised by these choristers of Euphorion.' Who were these poets, cantores Euphorionis? Not Catullus certainly, who had been dead for nearly a decade. Probably his friend Cinna, a sedulous imitator of Euphorion, and contemporary poetasters who imitated Cinna; possibly Cornelius Gallus, now in his mid twenties, who ' translated' Euphorion. From:
Clausen, W. V. "The New Direction in Poetry." Cambridge Histories Online. N.p., n.d. Web. 20 May 2010. <http://histories.cambridge.org/uid=1878/extract?id=chol9780521210430_CHOL9780521210430A010>.

[18] Newman.

[19] *Ibid.*, 102.

[20] *Ibid.*, 206.

[21] "Founder of temples, holy restorer of temples."

[22] Wilkinson, L.P. Ovid Recalled. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1955. Print. 261.

[23] Powell, Anton. Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus. London: Bristol Classical Press, 1992. Print. 3.

[24] Suetonius, 71.

[25] Wilkinson, 337.

[26] Ovid. "Ovid: Tristia." Poetry in Translation. N.p., n.d. Web. 20 May 2010. <http://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/OvidTristiaBkTwo.htm#_Toc35314584>.

[27] Williams, Gareth. "The Cambridge Companion to Ovid." Cambridge Collections Online. N.p., n.d. Web. 20 May 2010. <http://cco.cambridge.org/uid=1878/extract?id=ccol0521772818_CCOL0521772818A018>.

[28] Clausen, Wendell. *Virgil's Aeneid and the Tradition of Hellenistic Poetry*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987. Print. 14.

[29] Newman, 393.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Ibid*, 420.

[32] "The intention of Virgil is this, to imitate Homer and to praise Augustus with ancestors." in Servius Honoratus, Maurus. "Maurus Servius Honoratus, Commentary on the Aeneid of Vergil." Perseus. N.p., n.d. Web. 20 May 2010. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text;jsessionid=1F7A617779A93AE8190DD939DB322532?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0053>.

[33] Powell, 141-142.

[34] Hardie, Philip. Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. Print. 214, 351, 76.

[35] Steinbrenner, Sondra. "Patron Augustus -- Client Rome." Roman Empire. N.p., n.d. Web. 20 May 2010. <http://www.roman-empire.net/articles/article-010.html>.

[36] Powell, 164.

[37] Vergil. "There are two gates of Sleep." One is of ivory, which false dreams go through. The other is of horn, through which true dreams pass.

[38] Reed, Nicholas. "The Gates of Sleep in Aeneid 6." Classical Quarterly 23.2 (1973): 311-315. Web. 20 May 2010. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/638188?seq=4>.

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] Moseley, Nicholas. "Pius Aeneas." Classical Journal 20.7 (1925): n. pag. Web. 20 May 2010. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3288939>.

[41] Clausen, 100.

FREEDOM THROUGH COMPROMISE: WILLIAM PENN'S EXPERIMENT IN REALIZING RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Introduction by Professor Jack Rakove

The issue of how the American colonists developed the most religiously tolerant society in the 18th century remains one of the outstanding questions that historians still ask about American history. In the case of Europe, as we know from Heretics to Headscarves (the course for which Alex's essay was written), scholars have recently argued that the gradual emergence of tolerationist practices owed as much to practices worked out at the community level as it does to the philosophical writings of figures like Locke, Bayle, and Spinoza. Toleration in Europe still meant something like "charitable hatred" (to borrow a title from one of the books from our course), meaning having to accept the existence of neighbors whose religious beliefs and practices one still detested. Some of that attitude survived in America, but in much weaker form. Massachusetts executed a few bothersome Quakers who refused to stay away in the 17th century, and on the eve of the Revolution Baptist preachers were still being harassed in Virginia.

But by the 18th century, the active practice of toleration was probably far more advanced in America than it was anywhere in Europe. The most dramatic example of this came not in Rhode Island, under the leadership of the radical Baptist, Roger Williams, but in Pennsylvania, a settlement founded under the visionary leadership of the aristocratic Quaker, William Penn. In this essay, Alex Holtzman takes a careful and probing look at the ideas and policies which made Penn's colony such a noteworthy success in building the prototype of a modern religiously tolerant society. Alex ably illustrates not only how radical Penn's vision of religious freedom was, but also how his policies for the settlement of the colony enabled Pennsylvania to become a virtual model of what an American state should look like, by

combining an appeal to religious freedom with opportunities for genuine social mobility.

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Alex Holtzman

Introduction

The biblical Golden Rule, "For whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, that do you unto them,"[1] guided early Quaker and founder of Pennsylvania colony William Penn on the issue of religious freedom in a way it had guided few others before him. The verse from Matthew served as the introductory quotation to Penn's seminal "Great Case of Liberty of Conscience," where he laid out his beliefs on freedom of conscience.[2] For him, founding Pennsylvania was a "holy experiment." While other philosophers at the time espoused doctrines of religious freedom, Penn was unique for turning his doctrine into a concrete home for that freedom. Both in European philosophy of religious freedom and in New World practice, many members of minority faiths wanted free practice for their group while denying it to other religions. In contrast, Penn framed a colony where individuals of different faiths could live and govern together, using this heterogeneity to turn Pennsylvania into one of the fastest growing and most economically successful colonies. Key to this success was an enduring belief by Penn that pragmatic solutions, though they might compromise ideals, could lead to real world freedom of religion welcomed by colonists and accepted by the English Crown. The compromises pursued by Penn remained influential as the American Founders drafted the Constitution. In translating a personal conviction in religious freedom into a governing principle for a colony and ultimately for the nation, William Penn showed that religious pluralism could further rather than hinder, faiths, colonies, and countries.

The Origins of Penn's Beliefs

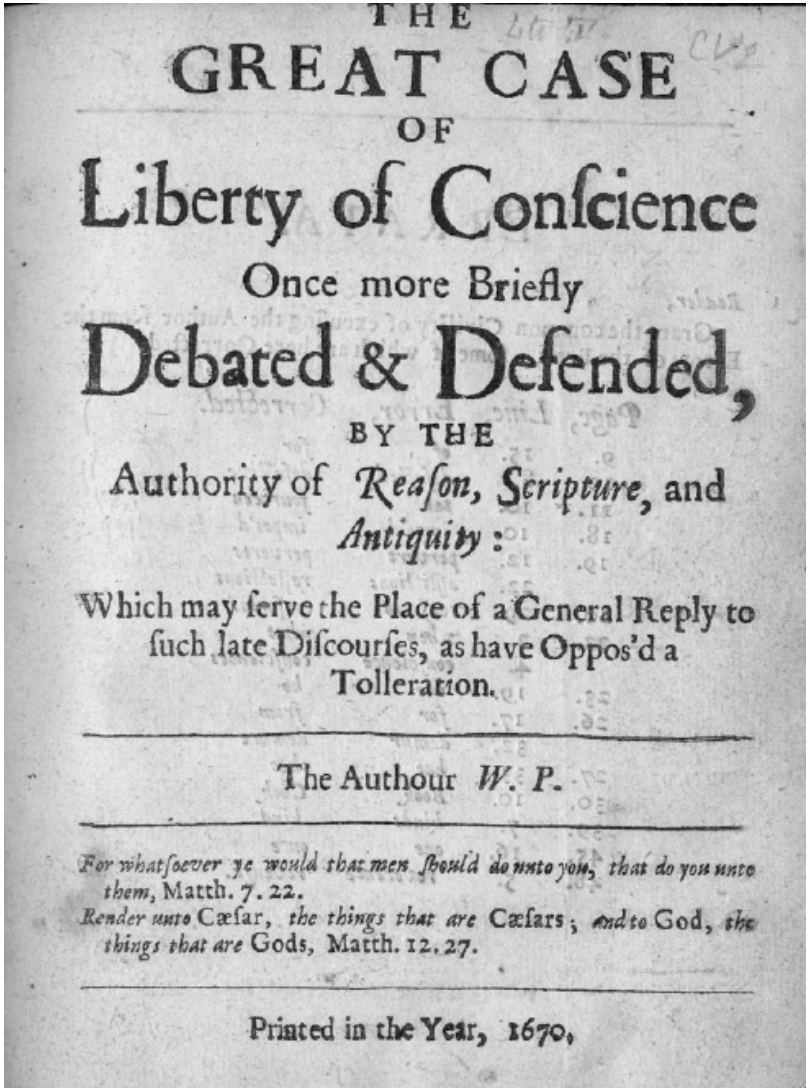
Penn's conversion from Anglicanism to Quakerism in England gave him an experience in being both a member of majority and repressed religious groups and inspired a broad belief in freedom of conscience and the impossibility of using coercion to inspire true religious belief. Penn converted to Quakerism at age 22, so he was a voluntary convert to a repressed confession in England.[3] As the son of a wealthy and decorated English Admiral, Penn left behind significant social standing to become a Quaker and was put in jail several times for his beliefs including some time in 1668 im-

prisoned in the Tower of London. Particularly during time in prison, Penn wrote extensively on the need for religious freedom. Determining the exact contours of Penn's commitment to religious freedom is challenging as his writing did not "make adequate distinctions in his definition of such terms as liberty of conscience, comprehension and toleration," but his writings indicate a deep conviction in free religious belief and practice.[4] He challenged Erastians and Latitudinarians who separated acts of conscience and worship from beliefs because he felt that practice and belief were inextricably linked and one could not have religious freedom without being able to practice one's faith.[5]

Penn linked the argument for religious freedom to a belief in the impossibility of compelling someone's conscience. "The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience," which Penn wrote while in Ireland in 1670, argued that humans should not be "so ignorant, as to think it is within the reach of human Power to fetter Conscience, or to restrain its Liberty."[6] In his "Address to Protestants," Penn revealed an early theoretical argument about the impossibility of restraining true belief, claiming, "It is not in the Power of any Man or Men in the World, to sway or compel the Mind in Matters of Worship to God."[7]

Penn's view of the futility of compelling belief caused him to oppose any use of coercion to create religious homogeneity. Criticized in England for challenging the use of repressive force against Catholics, Penn responded, "I abhor two principles in religion… the first is obedience upon authority without conviction; and the other, destroying them that differ from me for God's sake."[8] He argued that coercion of belief was sinful because it "Debauch'd by Force," voluntarily held religious belief.[9] In 1908, theologians from 16 faith traditions gathered in Pennsylvania to talk about Penn's contribution to religious liberty. At that meeting, Reverend Edward Wilbur Rice of the Congregational Church remarked that in prison at Newgate, Penn wrote "that whoever fettered the conscience, defeated God's work of grace."[10] At that same meeting, the Presbyterian representative, Reverend W. H. Roberts declared that "Penn's greatest contribution to religious liberty was the direct outcome of his personal faith in the divine sovereignty."[11] Each of these statements highlights the underlying Quaker obligation to individual quest and inner light of each person. Quakers were "committed to a belief in the free individual quest for Truth," and Penn strongly opposed claims that coercion could assist in salvation.[12] Penn's conception of religious freedom was "based on unity of spirit and purpose rather than on uniformity of doctrine and conformity of creed."[13]

Penn's vocal personal opposition to Catholics paired with his assurance that he supported a freedom of conscience for them shows a support for toleration was not tied to a belief in inherent truth in all confessions. In "A Seasonable Caveat against Popery," an early tract opposing Catholicism,



THE
GREAT CASE
OF
Liberty of Conſcience
Once more Briefly
Debated & Defended,
BY THE
Authority of *Reaſon, Scripture,* and *Antiquity*:

Which may ſerve the Place of a General Reply to ſuch late Diſcourſes, as have Oppos'd a Tolleration.

The Authour *W. P.*

For whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto you, that do you unto them, Matth. 7. 22.
Render unto Cæſar, *the things that are* Cæſars; *and to* God, *the things that are* Gods, Matth. 12. 27.

Printed in the Year, 1670.

Cover Page of William Penn's "Great Case of Liberty of Conscience" (1670)

Penn wrote, "We hope it may not be too late to militate for truth against the dark suggestions of papal superstition."[14] A Catholic acquaintance wrote to Penn upset about the characterization of Catholics in "Seasonable Caveat." Penn responded that he fully supported toleration for Catholics, writing, "Believe, that I am by my Principle to write as well for Toleration for the Romanists, as for thy true Friend."[15] Indeed, Penn claimed that the primary purpose of "Seasonable Caveat" was to "present the People with such Information, as many prevent them [Catholics] from ever having power to persecute others."[16] Finally, even in "Seasonable Caveat" as he argued against Catholicism, Penn opposed repression against Catholics, writing, "I Design nothing less then incensing of the Civil Magistrate against them… for I profess myself a Friend to an universal Tolleration of Faith and Worship."[17]

Penn's religious conviction in freedom of conscience even for faiths he thought did not contain the truth meant that his perspective did not go the way of other repressed religions claiming to want religious freedom only when they repressed by governing authorities. The French Protestant leader Pierre Jurieu wanted free practice for Calvinists but simultaneously condemned the Catholic Church.[18] Jurieu wrote in a 1686 tract *Accomplissement des propheties* that the overthrow of the Antichrist who he personified as the Pope would take place in 1689.[19] In contrast, when charged in 1678 with being a papist, Penn used the opportunity to call for general religious freedom. He told the British Parliament, "We must give the liberty we ask and cannot be false to our principles though it were to relieve ourselves."[20]

Penn's commitment to religious freedom had specific limits, though, and although he strongly opposed repression, he seems not to have understood that it was possible for someone in good conscience not to believe in the Christian God.[21] Although Penn knew non-Christian societies could be stable, he remained committed to maintaining Christian governance in Pennsylvania.[22] In part, argues Sally Schwartz, Penn may have limited his rhetoric to answer doubts held by some in Europe about whether Quakers were Christian.[23]

Penn's related concern for civil affairs also limited his conception of religious freedom, presaging pragmatism he later exhibited in running his colony in Pennsylvania. He was consistently concerned with the barrier between civil and religious issues. In writing to the Lord President of Munster in an attempt to get released from a Cork jail where he had been imprisoned for attending a Quaker meeting, Penn wrote that "'diversitie of faith, and worships contribute not to ye Disturbance of any place.'"[24] Implied in his claim that Quakerism did not disturb civil peace is a belief that governments had a right to limit faiths that did cause unrest. This concern for civil affairs and pragmatic compromise played a prominent role in Penn's arguments for religious freedom as he founded and framed a colony in the New World.

Impact of Penn's religious freedom on life in Pennsylvania colony

Recognizing the importance of religion and potential challenge of religious diversity, Penn applied his doctrine of religious freedom in establishing the colony of Pennsylvania. In describing the potential of the community he would found on the land given to him by King Charles II in payment for a debt to Penn's father, Penn wrote that "an example might be set up to the nations… an Holy Experiment."[25] Penn focused on guaranteeing the fundamental right to worship God in whatever manner each individual felt most appropriate.[26] The Pennsylvania Frame of Government held that everyone who believed in God and did not disturb the public peace would "in no ways, be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion, or practice, in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled, at any time, to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatever."[27] At the 1908 gathering, the Mennonite minister Reverend N. B. Grubb argued strongly for Penn's contributions to the existence of the Mennonites "in free America unencumbered by the harassing persecutions with which the European governments hindered the developments of dissenting faiths."[28] In short, "Penn's ideas on the role of religious toleration in government undergirded" Pennsylvania.[29]

Despite many of his own words, the paradigm of Pennsylvania religious freedom was one of tolerance rather than toleration.[30] While toleration points to a grant of privileges held by a majority or dominant group to a minority group, tolerance describes liberal attitudes towards members of other religious groups and an acceptance of an inherent right to hold differing beliefs.[31] As above, Penn and others often described the form of freedom of conscience in the colony as "toleration" because it was the only word available at the time to describe religious freedom.[32] In using that word, however, they were describing "tolerance" – the inherent rights of minority religious groups in Pennsylvania. The Catholic representative at the 1908 symposium, Monsignor Kiernan, said that Penn "made tolerance in religion the fundamental principle of the new colony."[33] Religious pluralism was not an obstacle to overcome but an essential facet of society. Like in England, religion was an important issue in colonial Pennsylvania. It rooted many of the important distinctions made by provincial Pennsylvanians among themselves.[34] People tended to identify both themselves and their neighbors in religious terms, and religious categorization remained dominant throughout the colonial era. [35]

The acceptance of religious difference largely functioned in practice. By 1718 when William Penn died, Pennsylvania had taken strong first steps toward recognizing a right of each person to individual conscience. Penn's refusal to compromise religious liberty in establishing the colony, his sharing of political power among people of multiple faiths, and a Brit-

ish failure to seriously obstruct the colony's tolerant policies despite brief attempts to require all officeholders to adhere to the Church of England, fostered liberal attitudes among the colonists.[36] Many of the members of the Provincial Council and Philadelphia Corporation were Anglican or Presbyterian.[37] Having both Quaker and non-Quaker officeholders encouraged a social life not bifurcated by faith.[38] Living in a religiously diverse society encouraged the colonists to understand the needs and rights of others. Historian Sally Schwartz writes, "Anglicans were forced to accept the permanence of religious toleration, while Quakers came to understand that not all challenges to their ideas were precursors to persecution." [39]

The success of religious freedom in Pennsylvania had strong implications, particularly for Quakers. Penn freed Quakers "from being driven into a sectarian pattern of isolated group life, like the separatism of the Amish."[40] By affirming "the universally human elements in faith and reason," Penn allowed Quakers to have the freedom to practice their religion while being able to share governing with people of many faiths and backgrounds.[41]

Pragmatism rather than doctrine guided Penn's work in building a framework for religious freedom in the colony. In writings throughout his life, Penn "shifted his emphasis from the theocratic and inward towards the pragmatic and economic."[42] Moving from a young pursuit of opposing persecution against Quakers to designing and running a colony transformed Penn. Penn scholar Hugh Barbour writes, "From a prophet, he had become a reformer, even a politician."[43] Penn's methods in establishing religious freedom were primarily pragmatic rather than theoretical.[44] He compromised often-inconsistent ideals to achieve pragmatic goals in developing the framework for the colony.[45] In particular, Penn's promotional materials and public writing about Pennsylvania Colony emphasized practical, economic aspects of colonization, rather than more idealistic ones evident in his defenses of freedom of belief and practice.[46] Perhaps as a result, "Penn was better known as a man of action than as a writer on religion and ethics."[47] The Baptist preacher Dr. Conwell summed up Penn's approach at the 1908 gathering, claiming, "He, who could have been the orator in cathedrals and universities, became the sweet teacher of a sweeter gospel of love to the common people."[48]

Out of Penn's pragmatism, some of the most successful reforms relied on legal and demographic differences between Pennsylvania and other colonies, rather than depending on the colonists to embrace the concept of freedom of religion. The first naturalization laws for the colony emphasized nationality and land ownership and did not mention religious beliefs, underlying a shift in priorities away from any faith test.[49] Unlike European countries dominated by one confession, all groups were minority groups in colonial Pennsylvania and "there was no majority; nor was there a domi-

nant cultural group or strong institutions that could imposed conformity."[50] As a result, most Pennsylvanians were not dogmatic and religious bigotry was rare.[51] To ensure continued equality, Penn "appointed men of diverse backgrounds and persuasions to fill official positions, and also encouraged diversity in elective positions."[52] He aimed to "Ballance factions," to prevent domination of the government by any one religion that might decide to limit the freedoms of others.[53]

The growth of Pennsylvania because of religious freedom contributed to Penn's argument that pluralism made sense for economic, social, and cultural reasons. Different people came for different reasons, causing the province to grow rapidly and add diversity to the settlers who lived on the land prior to the land grant to Penn.[54] The Dutch colonist Joris Wertmuller, writing about the advantages of colony life, emphasized that the lack of an established religion meant that farmers did not have to pay religious tithes.[55] By eliminating the "maze of local or regional strictures and customs" present in Europe, "the rules of the marketplace in Pennsylvania were relatively simple."[56] This simpler and more open market was a result of the particular Pennsylvania approach to tolerance. Louis Michel, a Swiss man visiting Philadelphia, pointed to religious liberty as a cause of the rapid growth and prosperity on the city.[57] Throughout the colonial era, Pennsylvania was the favored destination for thousands of emigrants from northern Ireland and the German-speaking states bordering the Rhine and extending into Switzerland.[58] The large magnitude of immigration from these and other areas increased the colony's population and prosperity, while the large number of sources significantly added to the province's cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity.[59]

Pennsylvania had a uniquely enduring freedom of religion in the American colonies. Maryland was briefly open to free practice but the majority there soon deprived Catholics of the ability to freely worship.[60] In contrast, Monsignor Kiernan wrote that "tolerance was so well guaranteed during the lifetime of Penn and after, that Pennsylvania was the only land under the British flag where Catholics could publicly in the sight of all men worship God according to their conscience."[61] The Reformed Reverend C. J. Musser agreed, pointing out that "in New England on the North and in Maryland and Virginia on the South, the colonists who enjoyed free thought and religious liberty themselves, denied it to others."[62] In 1908, Rabbi Krauskopf, summed up the importance of Pennsylvanian religious freedom, saying that as Penn and the Quaker founders of Pennsylvania established "for themselves home and liberty, they felt that they were at the same time the instrument chosen by God to secure the same privileges for the homeless and oppressed of other nations."[63] Based on this religious freedom, author Jim Powell argues that "William Penn might, with reason, boast of having brought down upon earth the Golden Age, which in all probability, never

had any real existence but in his dominions."[64]

One reason for the endurance of religious freedom in Pennsylvania, argue some scholars, may have been a focus on particular limits on that freedom with the goal of maintaining civility and the permissions of the British government. The Episcopal theologian Dr. Tomkins, said at the 1908 symposium, "Liberty must have a shape, a skeleton, a backbone; it cannot be all flesh, else its flabbiness should make it useless."[65] He continued that Penn "must have had strong principles to govern, for without strong principles to shape it there can be no such thing as religious liberty."[66] For Penn, freedom of belief and practice did not preclude the enforcement of standards of morality necessary for an effective society.[67] Importantly, everyone was required to observe the "laws of righteousness."[68] Penn emphasized a duty to public service.[69] Only individuals who believed in a single, almighty, and eternal God and who held themselves obliged "to live peaceably and justly in civil society" would be protected in their religious observances.[70]

Despite these limitations, Penn's decision to roll back enhanced legal limitations on pluralism when he regained control of colonial policy reaffirmed his commitment to religious freedom. Governor Benjamin Fletcher diminished religious freedom when the English Crown appointed him to run Pennsylvania from 1692 through 1694. Although Fletcher allowed Penn's laws on religious freedom to continue, he insisted that the colony follow the English Toleration Act of 1689 by requiring that officeholders profess Trinitarian Protestant beliefs.[71] Upon restoration of the colony to Penn's proprietorship, the first new statute defined and guaranteed the freedom of conscience.[72] Once again, the only requirements were a belief in God and commitment to peaceful living under civil government. Although the final laws on freedom of conscience required officeholders to comply with the 1689 Toleration Act, thereby effectively barring Catholics from office, legal constraints only applied to men who hoped to attain positions of profit or honor. Ordinary citizens or potential immigrants faced no enforced restrictions on either belief or practice.[73]

While Penn remained deeply committed to religious freedom, he rarely described how he thought people of different faiths could live together peacefully. He appears to have placed great faith in the concept that good people would make good laws. He lectured the provincial council, "Though you are not of one Judgment in Religion, you are of one ffamily in Civilis, and should Aime at ye publick good."[74]

Perhaps because of this uncertainty, there was significant disagreement, particularly between Quakers and Anglicans in Pennsylvania, about Penn's grant of equal civil and religious privileges to all settlers. Some Quaker leaders argued that early Quaker settlers had endured the harshest conditions and therefore deserved a guaranteed control of government policy.[75] Others feared a loss of freedom of conscience if Anglicans came to

dominate the government. On the other side, Anglicans objected to Quaker access to public office because it violated English law, resenting a loss of exclusive political privileges.[76]

Some groups attempted to establish ethic enclaves, embodying the furthest extent of this fear of other groups. Penn initially allowed settlers to create ethnic and religious enclaves, apparently out of a desire to settle Pennsylvania quickly and in large tracts, though he later refused to make grants that would sever groups from a unified society. Early Welsh purchasers wanted to establish a settlement separate from non-Welsh neighbors and did not want to "intangle [themselves] wth Lawes in an unknown Tongue."[77] Penn seems, at least initially, to have agreed to the Welsh demands, on multiple occasions directing surveyors to designate land for Welsh settlement continuously.[78] Penn also promised the Frankfort Company, representing German settlers, that 18,000 of its 25,000 purchased acres would be contiguous and established as "New Franconia."[79] Nevertheless, he was in practice reluctant to lay out land in separate blocks and within a decade, the Welsh and German settlers had lost both isolation and control over their own affairs.[80]

The Quaker conception of capability for human perfection in part explains Penn's hands-off approach in allowing religious diversity to play itself out naturally. Unlike reformed Calvinist puritans who believed humans were depraved and remained that way, Quakers believed in an optimistic, hopeful vision that if one strove to be holy, God would help, not hinder the process.[81]

This faith paid off in the form of slow movement towards greater perceptions of common interests among faiths. The weakness of organized churches created cooperation among people of different faiths, and the general similarities among confessions became more important than minor doctrinal disagreements.[82] Sectarians were largely able to control the depiction of religious difference.[83] They mostly shared Penn's commitment to liberty of conscience or had fled to Pennsylvania because of religious persecution and therefore insisted on Penn's guarantees, decreasing friction between adherents of different tenets.[84]

The resolution of the inevitable disputes about freedom of religion reveals that the colonists largely shared Penn's pragmatism. The extreme antagonism in Anglican-Quaker relations diminished not because of any formal accord or comprehension between the confessions but rather because of crosscutting allegiances that caused both sides to accept the right of the other to participate in public life. The democratic framework in Pennsylvania created several issues other than religion along which coalitions could form, most importantly the movements for and against proprietary ownership of the colony.[85] Ironically, the movement to sever ownership of Pennsylvania from Penn's heirs created incentives for Anglicans and Quakers

to cooperate. Accepting the permanence of pluralism, both sides began to work alongside others holding similar political and secular beliefs despite religious differences.[86] The common pursuit of wealth and status, as well as shared political opinions all fostered interaction among members of different religious groups.[87] Political debates inspired a "perception that separate religious groups might have common interests to protect or to advance."[88] The relative absence of direct control of colony life by Penn would have allowed colonists to circumvent his wishes.[89] That they rarely responded unfavorably to newcomers of diverse faiths suggests that many settlers shared Penn's principles.[90]

Penn's Contributions to National Religious Freedom

Penn's approach to religious freedom in Pennsylvania was influential in the approach to the issue by the Founders expressed in the Constitution. Penn, himself, seems to have had national aims when he said that he thought God would bless the colony and make it "the seed of a nation."[91] Barton, speaking at the 1908 symposium about Penn's impact on America, argued, "the example of Penn was followed by the Framers of the National Constitution."[92] The Methodist Bishop Frank Bristol agreed, saying, "The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States have in them more of the life, character and spirit of William Penn than of any other one man, or of any other six men of the Colonial times."[93] This impact endures, and colonial Pennsylvania in many ways prefigured the pluralistic American experience.[94]

Penn had particular national influence on the debate at the Constitutional Convention about requiring oaths versus affirmations of officeholders. The oath of office requires officeholders to "solemnly swear," but Quakers cannot "swear" to something, believing oaths to be the sole providence of God. The ability, inscribed in the Constitution, to opt to "solemnly affirm" derives from Penn's efforts to create religious freedom in Pennsylvania. Quakers believed that oaths originated in man's fall from righteousness, basing their claim on a passage from the Gospel of Matthew.[95] The dilemma emerged in Pennsylvania when Quakers, who could neither tender nor subscribe oaths, became involved in the political and judicial systems. Requiring oaths would have excluded Quakers from serving as jurors, witnesses to crimes, or elected officials. Early Pennsylvania laws stated that "in all courts all persons of all persuasions may freely appear in their own way," allowing both oaths and affirmations.[96] In both cases, the law provided for strict penalties for perjury that did not differ depending on the choice of oath or affirmation.[97] An English statute in 1696 prohibited affirmations in giving evidence in criminal cases, serving on juries, and qualifying for office.[98] Although the law did not apply to the colonies, Pennsylvanians

quickly held in their 1696 frame of government that people conscientiously opposed to swearing could qualify by affirmation.[99] Pennsylvania continued to offer non-Quakers the option to take an oath in court. The oath was by a non-Quaker but treated as valid as if administered by the full court.[100] Such a compromise was unsatisfactory to both sides, but provided a compromise path. Anglicans believed that affirmations provided insufficient protection and that only oaths could ensure civil society.[101] Quakers countered that, in reality, requiring oaths would threaten justice because in Chester and Bucks Counties it would be hard to find sufficient numbers of non-Quaker jurors given the strong majority of Quakers, and throughout the colony crimes might go unpunished if the only witnesses were not permitted to testify under affirmation.[102]

This compromise solution inspired the option in the Constitution for officeholders to take an "oath or affirmation." The Constitution uses the phrase "oath or affirmation" three times.[103] The pairing represents a conscious choice to permit affirmations by the Founders. In a Constitution with few references to religious freedom, this nod to Quaker belief represents a sign of the significance of the wording.[104] The complex considerations that led to an opposition to taking oaths in Pennsylvania may have helped persuade the Framers to leave God and the requirement of a religious oath out of the Constitution.[105] The eighteenth resolution at the Constitutional Convention in 1787 required oaths in swearing individuals into office. The Convention took up the resolution on July 23. No Quakers were in the gathering at the time, but James Wilson, an influential delegate from Pennsylvania, said he was not in favor of requiring oaths, saying they provided, "a left handed security only."[106] He laid out the philosophy of religious freedom about oaths and affirmations as outlined in Pennsylvania law, arguing in part, "a good Government does not need [oaths], and a bad one could not or ought not be supported."[107] Resolution Eighteen was amended to allow for taking office by "oath or affirmation" and passed unanimously.[108] Although the Quakers were the most obvious beneficiaries of allowing affirmations, the clause broadly allows all who are uncomfortable swearing oaths to opt for an affirmation, including atheists, agnostics, and people of faith uncomfortable with swearing oaths.

Conclusion

Pennsylvania's freedom of religion grew and deepened based on a consensus on the value of a pluralistic and tolerant society.[109] That consensus existed in the colony in large part because of the framework built by William Penn. Penn "trusted that humans and their societies, though they must be changed, could be transformed without coercion, by God ultimately, but immediately by the persuasiveness of the truth."[110] Relations

among faiths were occasionally difficult, but diversity in government and the lack of a strong majority religious group wanting to enforce religious homogeneity provided the setting for the resolution of differences and development of allegiances across religious lines. While many theologians in Europe looked for absolute truths, Penn compromised and bargained to create a space in the New World where religious freedom could become one virtue of an economically and culturally successful society. The endurance of Pennsylvania's religious freedoms relied on those freedoms supplementing rather than defining the colony's richness, a balance the national government replicated in the Constitution's compromise on oaths and affirmations. As a practical manifestation of Penn's vision, the "holy experiment" of Pennsylvania provided empirical evidence that people of different faiths could live and practice openly side by side, and prosper by that pluralism.

ENDNOTES:

[1] Matthew 7:22.
[2] William Penn, *William Penn on Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 2 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), 414.
[3] *The World of William Penn*, eds. Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 15.
[4] Penn, *William Penn on Religion and Ethics*, 395.
[5] William Penn, *William Penn on Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 1 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), 2.
[6] Penn, *William Penn on Religion and Ethics*, 416.
[7] *Ibid.*, 471.
[8] Edwin Chapin Sweetser and Charles Elliott St. John, *Penn and Religious Liberty* (Philadelphia, PA: Ketterlinus, 1908), 60.
[9] Sally Schwartz, "A Mixed Multitude" in *the Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1987), 16.
[10] Sweetser and St. John, *Penn and Religious Liberty*, 23.
[11] *Ibid.*, 51.
[12] Schwartz, 13.
[13] Sweetser and St. John, 40.
[14] William Penn, *The Select Works of William Penn*, Vol. 3 (London: James Phillips, 1782), 53.
[15] William Penn, *Papers of William Penn*, eds. Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, Vol. 1 (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 209-211.
[16] Penn, *William Penn on Religion and Ethics*, 412.
[17] *Ibid.*, 404
[18] Professor Jack Rakove, Heretics to Headscarves Class Discussion, 10/18/10, 2010.
[19] Adam Sutcliffe, *Judaism and Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 80.
[20] Sweetser and St. John, 15.
[21] Schwartz, 33-34.
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Ibid.*, 14.
[25] William Durland, *William Penn, James Madison and the Historical Crisis in American Federalism* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000), 13.
[26] Schwartz, 30.
[27] William Penn, "Frame of Government of Pennsylvania - may 5, 1682," Yale Law School, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/pa04.asp (accessed November 25, 2010).
[28] Sweetser and St. John, 45.
[29] Penn, *William Penn on Religion and Ethics*, 2.
[30] Schwartz, 8.
[31] *Ibid.*, 9.
[32] *Ibid.*, 9.
[33] Sweetser and St. John, 15.
[34] Schwartz, 8.
[35] *Ibid.*, 36-37.
[36] *Ibid.*, 66.
[37] Alan Tully, *William Penn's Legacy: Politics and Social Structure in Provincial Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 80.
[38] *Ibid.*, 81.
[39] Schwartz, 66.
[40] Penn, *William Penn on Religion and Ethics*, 2.
[41] *Ibid.*, 2.
[42] Penn, *William Penn on Religion and Ethics*, 397.
[43] *Ibid.*, 397.
[44] *Ibid.*, 395.
[45] Schwartz, 12.
[46] *Ibid.*, 30.
[47] Penn, *William Penn on Religion and Ethics*, 1.
[48] Sweetser and St. John, 11.
[49] Schwartz, 28.
[50] *Ibid.*, 5.
[51] *Ibid.*, 8.
[52] *Ibid.*, 39.
[53] *Ibid.*
[54] *Ibid.*, 35.
[55] *Ibid.*, 64-65.
[56] Tully, 70.
[57] Schwartz, 65.
[58] *Ibid.*, 81.
[59] *Ibid.*
[60] Sweetser and St. John, 16.
[61] *Ibid.*, 16.
[62] *Ibid.*, 54.
[63] *Ibid.*, 33.
[64] Jim Powell, "William Penn: America's First Great Champion for Liberty and Peace," The Freeman 45, no. 10 (October 1995, 1995), http://www.thefreemanonline.org/featured/william-penn-americas-first-great-champion-for-liberty-and-peace/ (accessed November 26, 2010).
[65] Sweetser and St. John, 28.
[66] *Ibid.*, 28
[67] Schwartz, 17.
[68] Sweetser and St. John, 29.
[69] *Ibid.*, 30
[70] Schwartz, 31.
[71] *Ibid.*, 32
[72] *Ibid.*, 32

[73] *Ibid.*, 33.
[74] *Ibid.*, 35.
[75] *Ibid.*, 40.
[76] *Ibid.*
[77] *Ibid.*, 25.
[78] *Ibid.*
[79] *Ibid.*, 26.
[80] *Ibid.*
[81] Durland, 11.
[82] Schwartz, 64.
[83] *Ibid.*, 64.
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] *Ibid.*, 41.
[86] *Ibid.*
[87] *Ibid.*, 66.
[88] *Ibid.*, 8.
[89] *Ibid.*, 66.
[90] *Ibid.*, 67.
[91] Hans Fantel, *William Penn: Apostle of Dissent* (New York, NY: William Morrow & Co., 1974), 149.
[92] Sweetser and St. John, 36.
[93] *Ibid.*, 49
[94] Schwartz, 5.
[95] The passage from Matthew 5:33-37: "Again, ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths: But I say unto you, swear not at all; neither by heaven; for it is God's throne: Nor by the earth; for it is his footstool: neither by Jerusalem; for it is the city of the great King. Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black. But let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil."
[96] *Ibid.*, 43.
[97] *Ibid.*
[98] *Ibid.*
[99] *Ibid.*
[100] *Ibid.*, 43-44
[101] *Ibid.*, 44
[102] *Ibid.*, 45
[103] "Transcript of the Constitution of the United States - Official," http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution_transcript.html (accessed 12/2/2010, 2010).
[104] Michael W. McConnell, "The Origins and Historical Understanding of Free Exercise of Religion," *Harvard Law Review* 103, no. 7 (May 1990, 1990), 1475, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1341281 (accessed November 15, 2010).
[105] James E. Pfander, "So Help Me God: Religion and Presidential Oath-Taking," Constitutional Commentary 16 (1999), 549-554, 550, http://heinonlinebackup.com/hol-cgi-bin/get_pdf.cgi?handle=hein.journals/ccum16&section=41 (accessed November 28, 2010).
[106] Durland, 102.
[107] *Ibid.*
[108] *Ibid.*
[109] Schwartz, 11.
[110] Penn, *William Penn on Religion and Ethics*, 2.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF TIME IN MUSICAL NATIONALISM: BOSSA NOVA AND TROPICÁLIA

Introduction by Professor Lisa Surwillo

André Zollinger's study of the relationship between Brazilian popular music and national consciousness offers an innovative reading of the concept of a national imaginary. Pressing upon the issues of authenticity, collectives, and a non-essentialist notion of Brazil, Zollinger identifies the artistic movement known as Tropicália as a moment of rupture in Brazil with chronological linearity and Hegelian laws of history. His analysis of the post-Romantic relationship among volk, music, culture, and national identity in the 1960s is read through other contemporary changes. The introduction of electric guitars, the military dictatorship, and Gilberto Freyre's theories of miscegenation, together, created a particular social moment, in Zollinger's reading, that questioned national mythologies. Methodologically, this creative paper is decidedly interdisciplinary, not only drawing together aesthetics and politics but also building upon both textual analysis and a deft use of secondary sources while paying careful attention to the craft of narrative.

The paper grew out of a co-taught course by professors from Iberian and Latin American Cultures and History through the Center for Latin American Studies: "Frontiers in Iberian and Latin American Culture and History." This interdisciplinary course proposed to inquire on the construction and de-construction of communities and their internal and external frontiers in Iberia and Latin America from the early modern period to the nineteenth and early twentieth century. By observing both historical and cultural artifacts, we analyzed different sites, in which such construction and de-construction occur.

The Construction of Time in Musical Nationalism: Bossa Nova and Tropicália

André Zollinger

> *"Imaginary identities, sentimental adventures, a taste of what reality represses: pop songs open the doors to dream, lend a voice to what is left unmentioned by ordinary discourse. But pop is not only a dream machine…it is the unofficial chronicle of its times, a history of desires existing in the margins of official history…"*[1]

On the night of July 17, 1967, musicians took to the streets of São Paulo to protest the invasion of electric guitars in the national scene. Both prominent and common musicians felt threatened by the instrument's overpowering popularity around the world and its increasing pervasiveness in Brazil. More generally, they protested North American imperialism infringing on Brazil's "pure" popular culture. Until then, the acoustic guitar served as the most important instrument in popular Brazilian music and a source of national pride. The acoustic guitar was seen as a vehicle for making *national* Brazilian music: its harmonic range, combined with its potential for a variety of rhythms and strumming patterns presented a versatility found in few instruments, a versatility that one may say reflected the diversity of sounds and cultures in the various regions of Brazil. This protest revealed a concern, even among forward-thinking artists such as Gilberto Gil, that the national character of Brazilian music would be lost by the increasing popularity of the electric guitar threatening the acoustic guitar, and more generally, the international success of rock music adulterating the "Brazilianness" of MPB. Strangely enough, one year later Gilberto Gil would be featured in an experimental new album named *Tropicália*, which took Brazilian music in a wholly new direction and reconfigured conceptions of this parochial nationalism embodied by the 1967 protest.

The choice of using music to describe a wide social change is due to the fact that music has the ability to both construct and deconstruct ideas such as nationalism. The experience of listening to music is private, it is done for amusement, and therefore does not need to fit a particular narrative. Of course, despite this fact music *does* often fit in a particular narrative, and only certain situations bring out its transcendent potential. In order to exist, a nation also needs to know itself, and this is an elusive path especially because the consciousness of a nation is inherently amorphous and

subject to politicization. Implied throughout this discussion is Hegel's notion that history follows certain laws. This relationship of nation and time is nowhere more evident and influential than in his *Phenomenology of Spirit*. In this work Hegel struggles to define how rationality can have any consistent meaning with the passing of time. He posits that history could be deciphered and condensed into regular laws of change that could be explained by dialectical opposition. The Hegelian dialectic became the great justifier of the rationality of nations, and to a great extent, the violence that accompanied the formation and maintenance of national territories and interests.[2] Although no discussion of war is included here, the cultural production of Tropicália directly engaged the collective imaginary of Brazilians with contemporaneous political and cultural conflicts. Analyzed as a symbol for national consciousness, the moment of Tropicália was a time when Brazilian music tried to break with this law of regularity found in Hegel.

Taking this as a point of departure, one may ask – as many in history and musicology have already done – how does a particular sound, a style of music, reveal the nature of citizenship and nationalism at a given time and place? How in turn, does an idea of nation require a particular social construction of time? Popular music in Brazil, perhaps more so than any other cultural product, provided a vehicle for thinking of the nation from an intimate everyday relationship with perceptions of belonging to a national group. At no other time was this truer than from the 1930s to the end of the 1960s, a period of tremendous economic, political, and cultural transformation. More interesting than simply tracing this change would be to relate its synchronicity with wider changes in socially constructed notions of historical time. With the rise of the military dictatorship in 1964 and the ensuing repression in the name of the fatherland, modernist national sentiment eroded and gave space to a postmodern skepticism of national "essence." Through the lens of popular music from the 1930s up to Bossa Nova in the 1950s, Brazilian national identity celebrated the formation of a fixed and singular group formed through a long history of miscegenation. In the late 1960s, this fairly stable notion of national identity gave way to a much more complex relationship with the nation as embodied by the artistic and musical experiment known as Tropicália.

If, as Étienne Balibar says, "the history of nations... is always already presented to us in the form of a narrative which attributes to these entities the continuity of the subject,"[3] by projecting an imagined collective, the lyrics and sounds coming out of these styles of music show the changing popular relationship with the idea of Brazil. This means that a national narrative not only explains a nation, but it explains it in a manner that is steeped in historicism, the dominant social construction of time since the beginning of the nineteenth century. I will begin by relating the idea of a synthesis of cultures as reflected in popular Brazilian music in the post-World War II

years. Implicit was an understanding of continual progress and the notion of time as an absolute agent of change and the future as an open horizon of possibilities.[4] In the second part of my analysis, I explore the cultural effects of sociopolitical change: the rise of the dictatorship together with postmodern forms of cultural resistance. Although not completely outside of historicism, these expressions begin to expose the limits of historicism, calling for a different idea of nation, and with it, time altogether. While seemingly covering a broad period in a subject that has multiple layers, I will focus the discussion by analyzing in depth the relationship between popular music – its sounds and lyrics – with the idea of nation.

Laws of History

The music of the 1930s to the late 1950s reflected a notion of regularity in history and pointed to the rationality of the Brazilian nation by synthesizing its major components. Starting with the lyrics of Ary Barroso in the 1930s up to João Gilberto in 1958, these musicians painted a picture of Brazil that referred to a national essence. During Getúlio Vargas' dictatorship (1937-1945),

> because of its social and regional heterogeneity and its lack of a unifying ideology, [Vargas's] Liberal Alliance needed national organizing principles to undergirdits political strategies. Never had the spirit of national unity been so important to a Brazilian regime... the state's need of, and role in, cultural nationalism for the sake of national distinction, 'modernity' and 'progress.'[5]

This development explained the appearance of songs, such as "Aquarela do Brasil," during this time period, when both "classical" and "popular" composers such as Villa-Lobos and Ary Barroso were commissioned by Vargas to write nationalistic songs and compositions, often drawing from the countryside and less industrialized regions of the country. These songs resonated with the image of the nation that the state wanted to show to its subjects, as well as the image that was transmitted abroad ("Aquarela do Brasil" was a feature song in Walt Disney's *The Three Caballeros*, 1944). This song, which in English translates to "Watercolors of Brazil" though more commonly known as simply "Brazil," perfectly evokes and is still used as a sentimental national anthem of Brazilians and a signifier for Brazilianness to foreigners who are seduced by its exotic allure. In the patriotically poetic "Aquarela do Brasil," among many memorable verses Ary Barroso writes:

Abre a curtina do passado

Tira a mãe preta no serrado
Bota o Rei Congo no congado

(Open the curtain of the past
Take the black mother from the mountains
Put the Rei Congo in the congado)[6]

By looking to the past, "opening the curtain" that gently reveals landscapes distant to urban Brazilians, one sees the images and hears the sounds that make up the "genuine" Brazil. These images predominantly take place in remote areas, such as the inland mountains of the northeast, and describe physical features that highlight miscegenation, such as the *black mother* (in a country dominated by a predominantly white ruling class) and the *Rei Congo*, references to the hybrid religion of candomblé. Another common set of themes was comparing fertility of the land with that of the population, evidenced in the lines *Brasil/terra boa e gostosa/da morena sestrosa; Brazil/a good and tasteful land/of the sensual morena*. Directly describing the qualities of the land and of the people, Barroso goes on to show in this line the fertility of the land together with the sensual dark-skinned *morena*. This was done throughout the canon of Brazilian music and literature of the time, most notably in the very popular novels of Jorge Amado. From the elite's point of view, discovering the beauty of Brazil by looking to the past and its darker-skinned Northeastern region is a reflection of Gilberto Freyre's work that celebrated miscegenation instead of trying to "whiten" the population, a desire previously advocated by elites.

The national narrative in popular Brazilian music would not have been possible without the bringing together of many regional styles. This model of creation of a national music was also used in Europe - the importation of the folkloric music of the countryside as an example of the most authentic part of a nation.[7] In Brazil, this mythologized "untouched" Brazil was found in the Northeast states such as Bahia and Pernambuco. This explains in part the positive reception of Northeastern musicians in the metropolises of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. João Gilberto, one of the founders of Bossa Nova, moved from Bahia to Rio and developed the rhythm that would constitute the core of this new style of music.[8] In his well-known interpretation of the song "Eu Vim da Bahia," João Gilberto[9] exemplifies this mythology of Bahia that is representative of a larger story about the Brazilian nation:

Eu vim da Bahia cantar
Eu vim da Bahia contar
Tanta coisa bonita que tem
na Bahia que é meu lugar

Tem meu chão, tem meu céu, tem meu mar
A Bahia que vive pra dizer
como é que se faz pra viver

Onde a gente não tem pra comer
mas de fome não morre
Por que na Bahia tem mãe Yemanjá
do outro lado o Senhor o Bonfim

(I came from Bahia to sing
I came from Bahia to tell
Many beautiful things,
In Bahia that is my place
It has my ground, my sky, has my sea
Bahia lives to tell,
How it is that one truly lives

Where we don't have enough to eat
But don't die of hunger
Because Bahia has the Yemanjá mother
And on the other side Senhor do Bonfim)

In these two verses,[10] the singer introduces himself as someone who has come to sing (*cantar*) as well as one who is there to tell stories (*contar*). This highlights the role of the *canção* (popular song) as one of showing a particular story or narrative. In this case it is a nostalgic account of Bahia, as the composer's "place," but as a place that has contradictions. Where people do not have enough to eat, yet do not die of hunger with the protection of a blend of African gods and Christian saints. While this description is indeed very particular to Bahia, this is essentially a song talking about roots; after all, the title and first line are "I came from Bahia," a line that marked the identity of some of the most important musicians in the '50s and '60s who arrived in Rio from Bahia and would go on to have a deep influence on the character of what we call "Brazilian music." These migrant Baiano musicians – not only João Gilberto but also Dorival Caymmi, Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, and Gal Costa – spoke essentially of an older Brazil, of a pre-industrial Brazil that in the popular imagination was more authentic than the developed metropolises, such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

A good question to ask at this point then is on the role of the past in forming a national music by positing the "essence" of a nation. For all the nostalgic lyrics seen above, the first Bossa Nova album was *Chega de Saudade* (translated usually as "No More Blues," but "saudade" translates better to *the feeling* of nostalgia), a product of the partnership between João

Gilberto and Tom Jobim. Bossa Nova musicians wanted to be modern yet at the same time true to their Brazilian roots.[11] They were influenced by the American west coast cool jazz of guitarists like Barney Kessel, combining a middle-class sophistication of foreign musical tastes into the mainstream of Brazilian music. The guitar rhythm pattern condensed the samba that had first articulated nationality in popular music. The sounds of percussion were reduced to a minimum, giving the music more space and emptiness. The sound and lyrics of this new style, epitomized by João Gilberto's "Meditação" with "*o amor, o sorriso, e a flor,*" gave a sense of euphoria that was endemic of the historical moment of Brazil in the late '50s.

By almost all accounts, João Gilberto's 1958 momentous release of *Chega de Saudade* was received as something completely new, yet rooted in tradition.[12] For the young musicians who discovered Bossa Nova in Rio de Janeiro at the time, it seemed almost as if they had been waiting for this event, as if the progress that Brazilians had been promised by labels such as "the land of the future" had finally arrived.[13] What accounted for this euphoria, optimism, that reflected a part of the Brazilian national identity during this time? In the world of ideas, sociologist Gilberto Freyre's thesis of miscegenation took root and began to eclipse white supremacist notions of race, leading to a new way of thinking about racial mixture in Brazil as something that makes Brazilian society richer in diversity and less racist. The economy was booming from export-led growth, and elections in 1956 inaugurated a new era of democratic politics. Juscelino Kubitschek ran a successful presidential campaign with the message "fifty years of progress in five."[14] The construction of Brasília, a new modernist capital designed from scratch by Oscar Niemeyer and Lúcio Costa added to the self-confidence of Brazilians in their ability to be modern, civilized peoples.

This moment of optimism about the future was short-lived as the political climate of the Cold War began to exert more influence in Brazil. The coup d'état in 1964 and the internal coup in 1968 that intensified the dictatorship are the events that altered the political landscape. With the rise of the dictatorship and the integration of global markets, the idea of a "pure" Brazilian nationality became problematic. "Two strong currents of nationalism emerged from this early period of the dictatorship. The military's program for economic development was accompanied by an intense nationalist propaganda drive… all over Brazil bumper stickers TV and radio advertisements proclaimed the army's ominous message to dissenters: 'Brazil – love it, or leave it.'[15] The left responded to this authoritarian nationalism by embracing its own nationalist ideology, with cultural production inspired by traditional regional popular culture, the conditions of the urban worker and a rejection of the government's modernizing project."[16] These two nationalisms were also reflected in popular music: "The first emerged in the 1920s and 1930s, and conceptualized "popular" as "folkloric"… The second

Tropicália Album Cover (1968)

school of thought developed around the mid 1950s and was characterized by a concern to politicize popular traditions…"[17] It was this side of the left-wing movement that took to the streets, protesting the electric guitar and more generally the adulteration of Brazilian music. Tropicália, as it became evident later on, embraced neither path.

The protest against electric guitars shows a transition happening in tension in the idea of a stable national identity. Brazil in the '50s and '60s began to reevaluate its identity as North American pop culture became more visible in the increasingly affluent middle class. Tropicália came in to fill that void which neither conventional left-wing nor right-wing positions could resolve. Caetano Veloso recounts in his memoir, *Tropical Truth*, the imitation of American music that both attracted and repelled him.[18] The Tropicália movement, started by Veloso and Gilberto Gil, sought to go beyond mere imitation and adulation of American mass culture. The Tropicália artists, bands, and musicians such as Caetano, Gil, Os Mutantes, and Tom Zé, among others, tried to find a new approach to deal with the increasing North American cultural presence. They sought not to simply imitate Elvis Presley and later on the Beatles, but to incorporate them, and in the process create a distinctively Brazilian form of these foreign objects. Anthropophagy, this idea of cultural transcreation through appropriation had already been described by Oswald de Andrade in 1928, but was largely forgotten by the 1950s. Tropicália at first unknowingly championed anthropophagy and eventually became conscious of the philosophical connections through Caetano's friendship with the concrete poet, Augusto de Campos. In his description of the motivations for Tropicalismo, Veloso cites an article by Augusto de Campos criticizing the "nationaloids" who wanted to follow a linear tradition of "pure" Brazilian music, "the square old samba and the tedious anthem of symphonic-folkishness."[19] Augusto de Campos points out in this article that popular Brazilian music was taking a step forward by incorporating foreign music and turning it Brazilian, saying "rock has undergone a transformation in its Brazilian translation, and is not, at its best, simply an imitation of imported rock."[20]

"Alegria Alegria" was one of Tropicália's most revolutionary songs with its subtle juxtaposition of "well-behaved" lyrics and a rebellious subtext. Chaotically making use of collage in both the lyrics and the arrangement, Caetano creates something that is not easily identifiable as political, yet contains a calm, unconformist energy that defied standard conventions of music and politics:[21]

Em caras de presidentes
Em grandes beijos de amor
Em dentes, pernas, bandeiras
Bomba e Brigitte Bardot!

(In Presidents' faces
In great kisses of love
In teeth, legs, flags,
Bomb and Brigitte Bardot!)

Embracing the internal contradictions of Brazil with the sounds of rock & roll and Portuguese lyrics, unrelated images seen on television like bombs and Brigitte Bardot placed side by side, Caetano articulated this collage of images and sounds with a calm arrangement that added subtle irony to this troubled scenario, which begins with the lyrics, "Walking against the wind/without cover, without a document." Beyond being ironic, Caetano and the rest of the Tropicália movement carved a path that did not conform to any obvious political and aesthetic choices.

Breaking the Laws

At stake in Tropicália is a non-essentialist notion of what it means to be Brazilian. This is truly a break from previous forms of popular music previously discussed here. The communicative aspect of music can be seen not just as original ideas being expressed from separate, atomized individuals, but as a combination of an interconnected web of influences that makes it impossible to locate the site of the "original" idea. Instead what we have is a constant mixing and remixing of styles, ideas, and translations, which the concrete poet Augusto de Campos called *transcreation*. This spirit of hybridism traces its roots to Oswald de Andrade and his idea of anthropophagy, made famous in 1922 during São Paulo's Modern Art Week. It is not necessary to create an original Brazilian style of music, or literature, or philosophy: the highest value is skilled plagiarism or "cultural cannibalism" that has originality on its own arrangement of the colonists' archive of knowledge, effectively critiquing the colonists' knowledge. During the 1960s, a period when Brazilians felt increasing and pervasive foreign influence, Tropicália expressed dissatisfaction with Brazil without disowning it through imitation of another culture, but precisely by reaffirming an idea of a Brazil to-come, a Brazil rooted in cultural values that contrasted sharply with the U.S.-backed dictatorship. In "Alegria Alegria," Brazilian critic Celso Favaretto explains, Tropicália musically deconstructs what is "Brazilian" and what is "foreign," disavowing both the ideology of linear development and that of populist nationalism advocated by the traditional Left.[22] This orientation towards a future radically different from that projected by international political discourse was at the heart of Tropicália's political and aesthetic contributions.

Bossa Nova was never a form of resistance. Protest music in the

'60s was, and very explicitly so, resisting the dictatorship. But Tropicália chose neither the apolitical path nor the conventional political one; instead, it sought to be transgressive in its very form, and for this reason one might say that it sought a different notion of not only aesthetics but also history. While jailed by the dictatorship, Caetano Veloso recounts a conversation he had with a guard during an interrogation, saying, "He [the prison guard] said he understood clearly that what Gil and I were doing was much more dangerous than the work of artists who were engaged in explicit protests and political activity."[23] With this information, we know that Caetano's and Gil's musical manifesto had sparked a type of resistance that was harder to explain, but clearly subversive music since, Caetano relates in his book, a "simple" prison guard could sense the danger in their playful lyrics and arrangements. Frantz Fanon's description of the cathartic break with history in the symbolic violence of the dance circle comes to mind when thinking about the force of Tropicália's applied philosophy. Mixing for the sake of mixing, its non-instrumentality subverts ingrained notions of cause and effect. In bringing contrasting styles and juxtaposing them into one carnavalesque performance, the musicians involved in the Tropicália movement may have achieved, however briefly, a form of expression that subverted ingrained notions of time that supported a static idea of nation.

Musical nationalism in Brazil was first seriously discussed in the 1920s by the modernists' "belief in the prospect of an evolutionary project by which Brazilian popular music would eventually break free from the shackles of international influences."[24] This "evolutionary" way of thinking was both a basis for Tropicália and something they wanted to overcome. As an artistic vanguard, they wanted to make something that went beyond anything done artistically at the time, yet paradoxically, they wanted to change the idea of a stable Brazilian "nation" that had been steadily evolving with history. Benedict Anderson's idea that the nation, especially with the rise of the bourgeoisie,[25] must be something imagined, is assumed throughout. However, in order to discuss how imagination is produced, as I have tried to do here, it is necessary to give less importance to the opposition of reality versus imagination in nationalism, since "*Every social community reproduced by the functioning of institutions is imaginary*, that is to say, it is based on the projection of individual existence into the weft of a collective narrative."[26] I have tried to describe how the idea of Brazilian nationality has had a strong presence in popular music as early as the 1930s. Political and economic factors have a strong influence in cultural production and vice-versa, so it is natural to explain their connection with the changing aesthetics of popular music.

Set against this background, the protest against the electric guitar does not seem like such an anomaly. It is a particularly interesting episode because it shows uncertainty, instability in the identity of individuals

who, in retrospect, made significant contributions to both the construction and deconstruction of the Brazilian identity. Gilberto Gil, marching with the protesters in 1967, would go on to collaborate with Caetano Veloso in the album *Tropicália* (1968), leading a very successful musical career for decades, eventually serving as Minister of Culture from 2003 to 2008. Looking at this individual's contradictions, his initial defense of a folkloric Brazil, followed by a sudden and radical change to the vanguardist camp highlights one of many paradoxes that may be difficult to fully explain as the result of causes and effects in an endless chain of events. Like nations, individuals are divided, perhaps permanently so. If nations once provided a solid basis for identity, the story of Brazilian popular music shows the fragility of national consciousness as a Hegelian world-historical event. The moment of Tropicália, which has nostalgically been brought back via North American independent rock icons, such as David Byrne and Beck, constituted a dissatisfaction with this linear notion of history. It is interesting to think, in closing, about how this more recent revival of Tropicália, accompanied by a wider trend of nostalgia in music, fashion, and in the arts poses questions about our relationship with the past and the future today. As these concepts travel through time, they give new relevance to the role of the past in an ever-expanding present that seems more willing than ever to look nostalgically to the past, though not necessarily for historical guidance.

ENDNOTES:

[1] Hennion, *The Production of Success: An Anti-Musicology of the Pop Song.*
[2] Costa, Fernando Dores. "Interpreting the Portuguese War of Restoration (1641 - 1668) in a European Context" Cambrige: Cambrige University Press.
[3] Balibar and Wallerstein. *Ambiguous Identities: Race, Nation, and Class*, 86.
[4] Zollinger, André. Seminar notes: MTL Seminar, Stanford University, Professor H.U. Gumbrecht. November 2011.
[5] Sean Stroud, *The Defense of Tradition in Brazilian Popular Music*, 40.
[6] The *congado* is a religious manifestation of African influence, the *Rei Congo* its protagonist king.
[7] Stroud, 27.
[8] Castro, Ruy. *Bossa Nova: a música que seduziu o mundo.*
[9] Not to be confused with Gilberto Gil, the composer of this song. Although this was written after the Bossa Nova years per se, its lyrics and interpretation provide a strong example of Bahia's depiction in Bossa Nova.
[10] "Eu Vim da Bahia" <www.cifraclub.com.br>.
[11] Castro, 37.
[12] Interview: Beck and Caetano Veloso. < http://www.beck.com/irrelevant/index.php/caetano-veloso-x-beck-hansen-pt-1#more-43 > Accessed in April 2012.
[13] Castro, 54.
[14] *Ibid.*, 60.
[15] Veloso, Caetano. *Tropical Truth: A story of Revolution in Brazil*, 150.

[16] Leu, Lorraine. *Caetano Veloso and the Reinvention of Tradition*, 3.
[17] *Ibid..*, 2.
[18] Veloso, Caetano, 10.
[19] Veloso, 134.
[20] *Ibid.*, 135.
[21] Favaretto, *Tropicália Alegoria Alegria*, 21-22.
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] Veloso, *Tropical Truth*, 255
[24] Stroud, 12
[25] Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*, 78
[26] Balibar and Wallerstein, 93.

REDOING AFGHAN HISTORY: UNDOING "NATION," REIMAGINING SPACE

Introduction by Professor Robert Crews

Sahar Khan's essay grew out of a course devoted to the history of modern Afghanistan. Her highly original work explores one of the most pressing challenges facing scholars of Afghanistan: how do we make sense of the extraordinarily diverse experiences of Afghans who have lived through more than three decades of civil war? What strategies of representation best allow us to reconstruct lives marked by trauma, struggle, and survival? Khan's essay is a thoughtful critique of narratives that narrowly adopt the lens of the Afghan state or that reduce complex figures to simplified ethnic or national types. But this is more than a work of criticism. She also explores a creative solution: her essay investigates two novellas by the contemporary Afghan writer, Atiq Rahimi, and shows how his fictional work alerts us to alternative conceptions of identity, time, and space that deepen our understanding of the Afghan past by bringing us closer to the experiences of Afghan men and women who so closely resemble Rahimi's protagonists.

Redoing Afghan History: Undoing "Nation," Reimagining Space

Sahar Khan

"Les historiens sont des raconteurs du passé, les romanciers des raconteurs du présent." (Historians are storytellers of the past, novelists are storytellers of the present.) -Edmond de Goncourt (b. 1822 – 1986), French writer and founder of Académie Goncourt

Though the novelist may typically write a story about the present and the historian a story about the past, boundaries between the historian and the novelist's professional terrains are not so rigidly demarcated as the past flows into the present and vice versa. In the following analysis, Atiq Rahimi's novellas, *Earth and Ashes* and *The Patience Stone*, are used to make forays into unfilled gaps in traditional political histories of Afghanistan like Thomas Barfield's *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History*. Whereas Barfield's historical study emphasizes and traces the formation of nation and state, Rahimi's novellas on human experiences of war reveal a conflicting process, the breakdown of a national consciousness. Rahimi's narrative treatment of space and temporality deconstructs Barfield's "nation" to depict the various human constituents of history – Afghan people of different classes and genders, who are simultaneously alienated from the central "nation-state" *and* impacted by its wars. In doing so, Rahimi conveys the distance between the structures and protagonists of political histories and his own characters. If the Afghan malaise has been the marginalization of the majority of Afghan people, then the project to combat marginalization can begin with the historical project bringing the margins to the forefront on their own terms rather than under the shadow of nation and state.

The Place of Space in Hi(story)

The space and scale of a historical narrative decisively determine the emphases in portrayals of historical processes – large-scale national spaces more readily emphasize larger structures of state machinery or abstractions like nationalism rather than the small-scale happenings that often comprise the building blocks of historical incidents. Wali Ahmadi, a Persian literature specialist, focuses mostly on the former space in his discussion of Afghan literature as a receptacle for a "national" past and "national" vision

for the future. He says, "modern literature in Afghanistan can indeed be read as an allegory… that is 'national' – because it imagines and narrates the national community/society of modernity"[1] and that the "purposive aesthetics [the vision for the future]" are "principally engaged with the development of the *nation* and the *state*…."[2] Though this formulation of national literature as a seer of "historical progress" is disputable on several levels, for the historian the most pressing danger of a nation-based narrative is explained by Aijaz Ahmed. Ahmed suggests that if the Third World's most historically formative experience is presumed to be imperialism and colonialism (and the response to that being nationalism), the world is divided into those who make history and those who are mere objects of this making. In telling the latter group's history, the spaces of imperialism and nationalism overshadow the motivating forces of history – the internal multiplicities of interrelations based on class, gender, nation, race, region etc. (see full quotation).[3] Hence, Ahmed's observations raise concern regarding the way in which nation-oriented narratives that grow out of the national-global space of colonialism and responsive nationalism relegate Afghan people to the role of passive objects of history.

In contrast to this national space that potentially objectifies the Afghan people, Rahimi's smaller spaces highlight the "multiplicities of intersecting conflicts based upon class, gender, nation, race, region" that Ahmed emphasizes. More importantly, both of Rahimi's texts defy Ahmadi's national pressure on purpose and teleology because *The Patience Stone* and *Earth and Ashes* end in a very ambiguous and unresolved way. Hence, I raise the question of how effective "nation" is as a framework to study Afghanistan. Given Afghanistan's historical pattern of the alienation of the margins by central national structures, there is a need to de-center the Afghan historical narrative and view peripheral objects rightfully as the main subjects of history. In envisioning this de-centering, Rahimi's local and small-scale lens and emphases are explored as a meta-framework to push the limits of historical thinking about modern Afghanistan. From the outset, it is important to ask if the use of wartime literature as a heuristic for historical writing solely applies to wartime histories. This paper is an experimental starting point for further reconstructions of Afghan history.

Barfield and the National Background

Thomas Barfield's comprehensive history of Afghanistan is entitled *A Cultural and Political History*, however, the cultural component is not as incisively conveyed as the political component. By and large, the cultural history is found in the introductory chapter, which divides up Afghans into ethnic groups, demarcates broad living styles and identifies historical trends. These themes are not traced throughout the book in order to show

change over time. Barfield states the aim of his study:

> Afghanistan itself remains just the vague backdrop in a long-running international drama where others hold the speaking parts. It often appears that the Afghans provide only an unchanging, turbaned chorus in this play – that is, except for their ever-newer weapons. This book takes a different track. It views the Afghans themselves as the main players to understand the country and its political dynamics, examining the question of how rulers in Afghanistan obtained political legitimacy over the centuries and brought order to the land.[4]

Though Afghanistan emerges as a "nation" and "state" shaped by a wide array of factors and internal and external actors in Barfield's narrative, the "Afghans themselves" remain a backdrop in a national drama where others, the various changing rulers and emergent political parties, hold the speaking parts. Even the orientation of Barfield's searching questions reveals that the approach is tilted towards issues of state, its rulers and structures of governance - "How did a ruling dynasty established in 1747 manage to hold power over such a fractious people until 1978, and why has the Afghan state since then experienced such difficulties in reestablishing a legitimate political order?"[5] This is not to say that Barfield's narrative completely ignores the margins but he explores them in a much more allusive and partial rather than a specific way. For instance, he says, "The post-2001 model of government in Afghanistan that attempted to restore a direct-rule model remains at odds with the realities of Afghanistan, and the Kabul government lacks the military and administrative capacity to implement it."[6] After identifying this dissonance between the "realities of Afghanistan" and the project of politics, Barfield does not launch into a discussion of those "realities." A possible reason why Barfield does not discuss this is that the scope and lens of Barfield's study are not appropriate for the very close-level, local and incisive approach that may be required in order to study "realities of Afghanistan."

For instance, differences between portrayals of the Soviet war in Barfield's and Rahimi's narratives significantly elucidate how Barfield's history eclipses a key part of the lived experience that Rahimi's perspectives and emphases suitably capture. In Rahimi's *Earth and Ashes*, the insightful teashop owner, Mirza Qadir, says to the elderly protagonist Dastaguir, "Brother, the logic of war is the logic of sacrifice. There is no 'why' about it. What matters is the act alone, not the cause or the effect."[7] In contrast to this framework for understanding war as a moment in and of itself, Barfield's account of the invasion is organized around what came before and after the

moment – the causes and effects. As American historian Jack H. Hexter writes, this tendency to focus on cause and effect of a moment may lead to negligence of the matrix of intersecting factors that constitute the basis of a moment (see full quotation).[8] Barfield discusses the consequences such as "war-induced urbanization" that "tripled the population of Kabul,"[9] but not *how* this urbanization came about (i.e. those "patterns of human activities which form the basis of the coherence of historical accounts."[10]). Set during the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Rahimi's *Earth and Ashes* is the story of Dastaguir, father of Murad, grandfather of Yassin, husband and father-in-law. His story reveals the micro-level workings of a much wider war and how this war seeps into everyday life and drastically alters social, gender and familial relations. Barfield depicts the politics of war rather than this culture of war and Hexter contextualizes a possible reason for Mirza Qadir's preference for understanding war as an act alone.

In focusing mainly on consequences like "urbanization," the "connections and interrelations of 'times, places, persons and circumstance'" and the people who are actually enduring the procedures are somewhat overshadowed by the "nation." Barfield's narrative cannot realistically accommodate a molecular level configuration of the interactions between different people and the way in which war internally wreaks havoc on human structures and relationships. Importantly, Barfield suggests that, "To prevent Amin's defection and restore order to Afghanistan the Soviets invaded on December 27, 1979, using provisions of the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of 1978 as their justification."[11] He continues to acknowledge the local insurgencies and rural resistance but does not shed light on how the people remain a backdrop to global-historical-national forces. This is not a negation of narratives like Barfield's because such broad narratives are crucial for a holistic understanding; however, shortcomings in such narratives are a point of departure for the current analysis. In Barfield's longitudinal and holistic history, an insider's nuanced experience of the moment of war (or any other moment) falls by the wayside. And, in contrast to Barfield's history, Rahimi's *Earth and Ashes* and *The Patience Stone* reveal an internal breakdown of structures, categories and nation through the disruption of familial relationships and gender norms, effectively bringing the people to the forefront.

Rahimi's Novellas – A Man's History and Her-Story?

Though the protagonist Dastaguir's family's experience is the center-piece of *Earth and Ashes*, Rahimi's configuration of space suggests a broader historical moment in which Afghan lives are indelibly impacted by distant global/national presences. So, their lives are connected to these forces that are disconnected from them in the sense that the novella's characters do not completely know or understand the Russians. This is seen in the first

mention of their invaders which has a very distant and questioning tone: "I hear the Russians reduced the whole village to smoke and ashes last week. Is it true?"[12] In contrast to this broad, questioning conjecture, given this literary format, Rahimi imagines and zooms in on Mirza Qadir's understanding of the Soviet invasion:

> 'My friend, in this country, if you wonder why something happened, you have to start by making the dead talk... Awhile back a group of government troublemakers came to our village to enlist fighters for the Russians. Half the young people fled, the other half hid... Not even a day had passed before the Russians came and surrounded the village. I was at the mill. Suddenly, there was an explosion. I ran out. I saw fire and clouds of dust. I ran in the direction of my house...'[13]

This broad global-national space that concerns "the Russians," "this country" (Afghanistan) and "the government" is superimposed on a smaller space of the "village," "the mill" and Mirza Qadir's "home" which is the space of the lived experience. So, the dissonant connection between these two spaces becomes evident in this narrative.

In addition to space, Rahimi's canvas and historicization are shaped by his treatment of temporality, which elucidates Dastaguir's understanding of a historical narrative that is markedly different from a traditional narrative of modern Afghanistan. Nation and globality are constructed through a linear and orderly trajectory of history, where fixed categories are delineated, causes and effects are identified, boundaries are defined and a "nation" emerges. On the other hand, Dastaguir's narrative is multi-linear and chaotic. When Dastaguir discusses with Mirza Qadir that the roles of Rostam and Sohrab have been reversed, he strays off into his past when he was "a child of about Yassin's [Dastaguir's grandson's] age."[14] This is just one of many junctures at which Dastaguir digresses and moves forward and backward in time with unselfconscious disregard for a structured storytelling pattern. Why is the narrative so disrupted? The experience of destruction has disrupted their lives in as tangible a way as the breakdown of the senses as is depicted in Yassin's experience. The fall of the senses is an internal and very physical experience but, for Yassin, it restructures his experience of the external world: "Yassin's world is now another world, one of silence. He wasn't deaf. He became deaf. He doesn't realize this. He's surprised that nothing makes a sound anymore."[15] Yassin's world is one in which "The bomb was huge. It brought silence. The tanks took away people's voices and left. They even took Grandfather's voice away.…"[16] Yassin's experience as a child is another experience that can not practically and specifically be

incorporated into an orthodox historical narrative. Yet, representation of the child's historical experience and ruptured psyche is where history's most potent claim to the future lies because, as clichéd as it is, like any other nation, Afghan children represent hope for the "nation's" future.

Not only is Yassin's sense of hearing and structure ruptured but his grandfather is deeply disoriented, part of which is evident in his and the novella's distorted temporality and historicization. From Dastaguir's perspective, many categories and differences have collapsed as is represented by Rahimi's choice of second person, which discards the difference between "you" and "me." *Earth and Ashes* begins with "'I'm hungry,'" immediately followed by "You take an apple from the scarf…"[17] Other than this melding of different narrative viewpoints, Dastaguir discusses how the difference between "friend and stranger"[18] no longer exists and that distinctions between "question and answer are in vain."[19] On so many levels, in his view, differences of structure have collapsed, which is also represented in the recurrent motif of how life for a survivor and witness of destruction is death itself, signifying that the line between the living and dead is blurred. This smashed psyche is most provocative in Dastaguir's traumatic dream:

> Yassin calls for his mother. His voice has become high-pitched like hers… You look at his body. It's the body of a young girl. In place of his small penis, there is a girl's vulva. You are overcome with panic. Without thinking, you'll call for Murad. Your voice is stuck in your throat. It reverberates in your chest. Your voice has become Yassin's – weak, confused, questioning: "Murad. Murad! Murad?"[20]

In the excerpt above, the multiple conflations of gender (male-female) and relationships (mother-son, son-father, father-son) indicate how severely fractured Dastaguir's human consciousness is. There is no room for Dastaguir's chaotic, non-linear and ill-defined experience in the structuralist perception of time and space in a political history. Still, how can the abstract category of nation be discussed given the strong likelihood that the most basic and concrete units of category, gender and relationships, have ambivalent meanings in the individuals' psyches? With a broken sensual perception, how can a coherent human consciousness exist? Where the human consciousness is so severely debilitated, how can something as transcendental as a national/collective consciousness be conceived? Hence, in contrast to the emphasis on "purposive aesthetics and poetics" of "nation" and "modernity,"[21] Rahimi's *Earth and Ashes* raises an alternative question: To what degree does "nation" remain a constructive tool for understanding Afghanistan?

Whereas Rahimi's *Earth and Ashes* possesses a relatively strong

and specific historicity that is delimited by the Soviet Union's invasion, Rahimi's unnamed female narrator's story in *The Patience Stone* belongs to an immemorial and non-specific past. Dastaguir conveys greater concern with tropes of the public sphere. Hence, the impact of war is felt in a more societal way than the war's very private effect on the familial life in The Patience Stone. Rahimi's male and female protagonists each have different concerns and voices because of the different spheres they inhabit. The lack of spatial specificity that emerges in the opening line of *The Patience Stone* "Somewhere in Afghanistan or elsewhere"[22] in conjunction with the lack of a historical anchor in a specific moment gives *The Patience Stone* a feeling of an immemorial and mystical past as opposed to that of a historicized nation.

Though "war" (any war) is the mainspring of the female narrator's condition - she has to attend to her injured, paralyzed husband and children alone - she does not have the same concern as Dastaguir does for the war's impact on the "country," its men and its honor. War is a distant event for the female narrator, which necessitates concern only when it disrupts the domestic space: "Far away, somewhere in the city, a bomb explodes. The violence destroys a few houses, perhaps a few dreams… shaking the window panes but not waking the children."[23] Dastaguir and Mirza Qadir have greater concern for the public sphere of country and honor as they often start their contemplation with notions like "My friend, in this country"[24] and Mirza Qadir said, "What are we to do? We're on the eve of destruction. Men have lost all sense of honor… There are no longer any courageous men."[25] Here, it becomes evident that the man's space is a significantly more vast national space than that of a woman's intimate familial space. Though *Earth and Ashes* and *The Patience Stone* are both imaginings of marginal histories, they are on a spectrum – the farther one strays from the national tropes of the public sphere, the more marginalized and untapped possibilities of historical experience are accentuated. Hence, *The Patience Stone* is a gendered narrative, which dares to imagine a marginal world of a numerically non-marginal demographic, that of Afghan women.

Although feminist critics definitely raise valid concerns regarding Rahimi's portrayal of the innermost and most visceral emotions of a woman, the same concern could be raised about any author telling the story of a character of a different race or class. Hence, one could even ask whether or not Rahimi can authentically represent the psychological processes of Dastaguir, a subaltern character of a very different class to Rahimi himself. Authenticity can never be gauged since two people of the same class/gender/race may realistically have different personalities. So, where the historical utility of *The Patience Stone* is concerned, an author's acuity in penetrating a gender power dynamic as a lived experience is more important than authenticity of a character's deepest qualms and desires.

In *The Patience Stone*'s world of the Afghan woman, even the measurement of time is different as the humdrum rhythm of the female narrator's life is contingent on two things, her husband's breaths and her cycle of prayer beads. Hence, two aspects, the man and religion together, are shaping forces in this specific female's story. She even says that "she no longer count[s her] days in hours, or [her] hours by minutes, or [her] minutes in seconds…a day is ninety-nine prayer bead cycles!"[26] Here, temporality is not related to the "nation" or a historically decisive or specific event but the mundane routine of her prayer beads. She reads the external world from the four walls of a domestic space as she continues to say, "I can even tell you that there are five cycles to go before the mullah makes the call to midday prayer and preaches the haddith."[27] As she hopelessly nurses her husband whose ailing position is unchanging, the pace of her life also reflects this stagnation. Consistently through the novella, she is found with "Her shoulders weighed down with troubles, she breathes, as always, to the same rhythm as the man"[28] and when "He is no longer moving. She neither," when "He is breathing heavily. She too."[29] In fact, these two entities that set the pace for her history are psychologically intertwined in her discussion of how she thought of her husband when he was absent from their wedding. She rationalizes,

> 'God is far away, too, and yet I love him, and believe in him…' Anyway, they celebrated our engagement without the fiancé. Your mother said, *Don't worry, victory is coming! It will soon be the end of the war.....and my son will return!...* At the ceremony, you were present in the form of a photo...[30]

Here, the reconciliation of the male presence with the religious presence in her life conflates these two sources of authority: one is felt through her hearing of khutbahs broadcast from an external mosque, which she never frequents and the other was once gone off in war and now is paralyzed. Again, to be reminded of how distant her intimate space is from the public sphere of man and religion, we only ever know her between "the room, the passage, the house."[31]

However, Rahimi's female narrator is far more complex than a mere foil for the pace that man and religion set for her life as she revolts against both driving forces as the the novella unfolds. She criticizes what she perceives to be man's obsession with honor (honor is also a crucial part of "nation" as war is fought for the nation's honor). Her statement, "I have never understood why, for you men, pride is so much linked to blood"[32] is a double innuendo, which relates to her husband's role in a bloody war and his pride when he saw the blood of her chastity on the white sheet. Even though

she does not belong to the man's sphere, she is not ignorant because she tells a story about a war leader who asks his "young soldier, Benam [masculine name signifying honor in Persian], *Do you know what you have on your shoulder?* Benam replies, *Yes, sir, it's my gun!* The officer yells back, *No you moron! It's your mother, your sister, your honor!*"[33] After establishing weapons and war as a man's honor, she goes on to explain how futile the pursuit of honor is from her perspective because her husband's pursuit of honor has left their family in a most destitute condition. She emasculates him by telling his motionless body that he is an "empty presence" and that he was a "clumsy body" in bed because, even though she has two daughters, he is not their father. Through this much smaller space of the woman's world, the reader sees the tangible effects of war on family and a very interesting perspective on the man and nation's elusive pursuit of honor. Furthermore, the cyclical/static temporality expressed through the cycle of prayers and her husband's static condition is, in a way, a statement about Afghanistan's history, which has so thoroughly been punctuated by recurring war. Especially from a domestic female experience of history, the war raging on outside of the home is simultaneously a cyclical and unchanging condition. The specific historical moment is inconsequential because from this woman's perspective, some or the other conflict has always disrupted her marital/familial life. Here, we are able to imagine some (though not all) of the contours of what an Afghan women's history might look like.

By rendering her husband a patience stone (sang-e-saboor), an inanimate object that absorbs her grievances, Rahimi de-centers the historical narrative to make the female the center-piece. Her act of defiance makes her husband's life contingent on her life rather than vice versa as she says, "Look, it's been three weeks now that you've been living with a bullet in your neck. That's totally unheard of! No one can believe it... Your breath hangs on the telling of *my* secrets."[34] This signifies a reversal of gender hierarchy, however her main challenge to religious structures comes *after* her revelation of her daughters' real father:

> Suddenly, she screams, 'I am *Al-Jabbar*!'
> Murmurs, 'I am *Al-Rahim*…'[35]
>
> If all religion is to do with revelations, the revelation of a truth, then, my *sang-e-saboor*, our story is a religion too! Our very own religion!" She starts pacing. "Yes, the body is our revelation."… "Our own bodies, their secrets, their wounds, their pain, their pleasures…[36]

At first, she likens herself to God by using two of the ninety-nine adjectives for Allah in the Quran for herself. Then, she brings into play the notion of a revelation, however her revelation is one that pertains to a very intimate,

familial sphere. It does not have the ground-breaking historical impact in the space of the wider world that Prophet Muhammad's revelation had. Her revelation of the "body" is a very tangible revelation as opposed to the abstract revelations of ideas that concern humanity at large. Throughout the novel she builds a thematic between the soul's alleged "honor" and the suffering that the "body" (/bodies) endures for this honor. Her revelation of the body is the culmination of her lack of physical fulfillments, the fact that she and her daughters are starving or even how her husband always sought his own sexual pleasure, was never soft with her and was unable to give her pleasure. It is important to note that, even in her revolt, she is complex and a product of a conservative Afghan society; she subconsciously harbors inhibitions when she says something irreverent. Even after her final revelation, she expresses qualms such as: "What am I saying? Why am I saying all this? Help me, God! I can't control myself. I don't know what I'm saying…"[37]

Conclusion

Obviously, Rahimi's narratives are fiction and not exact in their portrayal of a marginalized experience. However, Rahimi's narratives are proposed as a heuristic meta-framework that enables us to imagine and push the limitations of our own knowledge of Afghan "nation" and "society." This thought experiment is rooted in an understanding that has emerged after a survey of historical, anthropological and political literature – that the Afghan "people" have more often than not been opposed to the political figures beholden to foreign powers who serve as the main subjects of traditional narratives. Furthermore, the emphasis on Afghanistan's fragments and marginal experiences through Rahimi's novellas has revealed that the "nation" is not a constructive category. This is because in national-global spaces of nationalism and colonialism, Afghan people can only exist as acted-upon objects in the process of history. By emphasizing the internal multiplicities of gender, class, region, etc., I propose a non-national meta-framework, which re-centers Afghan people as subjects of history. We began with the historian making inroads into the present and, because the past flows into the present and the present into the future, we conclude with the historian with a stake in the future. From clarifying the people's narrative of the past arises the possibility of a more just and hopeful prophesy for the future.

ENDNOTES:

[1] Ahmadi, Wali. 2008. *Modern Persian Literature in Afghanistan: anomalous visions of history and form*. London: Routledge.
[2] *Ibid.*, 11.
[3] Ahmad, Aijaz. 2000. *In Theory Classes, Nations, Literatures.* London: [u.a.] : Verso Press, 100: "If this Third World is constituted by the singular 'experience of colonialism and imperialism,' and if the only possible response is a nationalist one, then what else is there that is more urgent to narrate than this 'experience'?... if the motivating force for history here is neither class formation and class struggle nor the multiplicities of intersecting conflicts based upon class, gender, nation, race, region, and so on…(if one is merely the object of history, the Hegelian slave)," then, "this classification divides the world between those who make history and those who are mere objects of it."
[4] Barfield, Thomas J. 2010. *Afghanistan: a Cultural and Political History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2.
[5] *Ibid.*, 3.
[6] *Ibid.*, 338.
[7] Rahimi, Atiq. 2002. *Earth and Ashes*. New York: Harcourt, Inc, 30.
[8] Roberts, Geoffrey. 2001. *The History and Narrative Reader.* London: Routledge,
135: "Telling a story facilitate[s] historical reconstruction of the connectivity of past happenings, those patterns of human activities, which form the basis of the coherence of historical accounts. This view contrasts with so-called 'analytical' history, which with its search for the 'causes' of history often result[s], Hexter believed, in a mere accumulation of causal 'factors,' obfuscating the connections and interrelations of 'times, places, persons and circumstances.'"
[9] Barfield, *Afghanistan*, 242.
[10] Roberts, *The History and Narrative Reader*, 135.
[11] *Ibid.*, 234.
[12] Rahimi, *Earth and Ashes*, 19.
[13] *Ibid.*, 25.
[14] *Ibid.*, 28.
[15] *Ibid.*, 8.
[16] *Ibid.*, 27.
[17] *Ibid.*, 1.
[18] *Ibid.*, 6.
[19] *Ibid.*, 32.
[20] *Ibid.*, 36.
[21] Ahmadi, Wali. 2008. *Modern Persian Literature in Afghanistan*
[22] Rahimi, Atiq. 2008. *The Patience Stone: sang-e saboor*. New York: Other Press, 3.
[23] *Ibid.*, 9.
[24] *Ibid.*, 25.
[25] *Ibid.*, 27.
[26] *Ibid.*, 13.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] *Ibid.*, 39.
[29] *Ibid.*, 94.
[30] *Ibid.*, 59.
[31] *Ibid.*, 79.
[32] *Ibid.*, 34.
[33] *Ibid.*, 61.
[34] *Ibid.*, 75.
[35] *Ibid.*, 135.
[36] *Ibid.*, 139.
[37] *Ibid.*, 57.

REMEMBERING RESCUE: LE CHAMBON-SUR-LIGNON AND THE DYNAMICS OF CREATING LOCAL HISTORICAL NARRATIVES

Introduction by Professor Carolyn Lougee Chappell

Le Chambon-sur-Lignon is the best-known case in which a French population rescued Jews during the Nazi control of France – best-known in significant part because of the work done on it by Gregory Valdespino's grandfather. Gregory set out to examine for himself as a future professional historian what he had been told of in the family, devoting a summer to residing in Le Chambon among inhabitants of the town familiar with the stories told about its past. Gregory's finished work bespeaks his sensitivity to the complex dynamics he found on site and – thanks to his fine ear for the nuances of what his human sources were telling him – his insights into the reasons for that complexity. From the start he adopted an innovation in French studies that approaches past events through the way they are remembered: how memory came to be shaped and why very often the memory of past events can still be contested long after the lifetimes of its participants. The significance of Gregory Valdespino's work – an independent study funded by a Stanford undergraduate research grant – extends far past the classroom. It exemplifies not only the value to students of the experience such grants make possible but also how substantial a contribution to scholarship a dedicated and tenacious undergraduate student can make.

Remembering Rescue: Le Chambon-sur-Lignon and the Dynamics of Creating Local Historical Narratives

Gregory Valdespino

Introduction

Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, a small mountain village in the Haute Loire department of France, regularly holds historical conferences during the popular summer tourist season. At one of these conferences, a heated argument arose over a proposed museum that has remained in the planning phase for almost thirty years. The crowd contained a mix of individuals born and raised in the community, visiting tourists, and new residents. This museum, and the larger argument surrounding this discussion, stem from what has become the most famous aspect of this community's history. Le Chambon has become known as the center for one of the largest rescue efforts of Jews during the Holocaust. Sixty-five years after end of the war, this argument continues to inspire heated debate. Elderly women, who as children played with Jews hiding for their lives, argued with young parents who just moved into the village a few years before and never had any connection to the refugee period. Those connected to the history only recently and those immersed in it for decades all combatted over this memory.

While sitting in the heat of this argument, one fundamental question arose. Why would individuals argue so strongly over remembering peaceful events that occurred decades before? When I thought about it more, and reflected on my own deep personal connections to this community, I found the answer. I had come to this village in large part to understand the impact my grandfather, Philip Hallie, had on this community. He wrote about this village and its altruistic past, and this familial tie connected me to Le Chambon. The individuals at this colloquium also had something at stake in this history that inspired them to attempt to get their voices heard.

The historical conflicts within Le Chambon mirror those throughout France. From the moment Paris fell to the Germans in 1940, narratives have been constructed regarding the role of France in the Second World War. France has oscillated between praise for De Gaulle and the Resistors to shame from Petain and the collaborators. These narratives have entranced the French mind in what has been called "Vichy Syndrome."[1] This syndrome's deepest moral implication comes when examining the French role in the Holocaust, which is an inquiry that has started in France during the last two decades. Different sides attempt to impose their vision of France's

role in facilitating the Holocaust. This same type of historical discussion appears in Le Chambon. Although the Chambonnais do not have the type of guilt associated with Vichy syndrome, their debate over the story of its past contains the same types of shifts and turns seen in the national historical memory.

To examine the nature of the historical narrative of the Le Chambon rescue efforts, one must examine the different stakes individuals or groups have in the community. These interests, whether a national desire for redemption for the crimes of the Holocaust or an individuals' desire for recognition of their actions, shape this history. This paper will look at the events themselves, the narratives that have come to explain them, and the locals and outsiders that shaped, and continue to shape, the telling of this story. By examining these forces, it becomes clear that this struggle continues because individuals feel a connection to this history and want to make the greater narrative fit their perceptions of the past and its place in this community.

To understand the development of this history, I will examine the creative dynamics that defined this narrative struggle. I will start by examining the history of Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, focusing largely on the role that outsiders have played in this region. I will then examine how the narrative itself arose, and the outsiders largely behind it. With this perspective in mind, I will then examine the role that the locals have taken, and continue to take, in trying to define the history they perceive as their own.

Le Chambon-sur-Lignon History

The small village of Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, as well as the surrounding Vivarais Plateau, has been a French Protestantism center for centuries. During the Wars of Religion in the Reformation, this region witnessed attempts by the Catholic majority to quell the growth of Protestantism. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Protestants of the region continued to practice their faith in hidden areas, from farms to the forests decorating the entire area. Even as the official policy of France became kinder towards Protestants after the Revolution, the region continued to identify strongly with its Protestant past. The Protestantism of the region strongly contrasts with the Catholic tradition throughout the Haute-Loire department and the rest of France.

The Protestant imprint on this community and its ethical attitudes have long defined this community. Due to the official French government policy against taking ethnic or religious polls, no data exist on the current number of Protestants, but it is almost certainly less than pre-World War II levels, which were the over 90% in almost every town in the region.[2] Despite this decrease, a diverse and strong Protestant community continues to

thrive on the Plateau. Le Chambon alone has Reformed, Darbyites, Salvation Army, and Evangelical congregations. The memory of their persecution vividly appears in popular summer talks on Le Chambon during the Wars of Religion, as well as the annual sermon in the trees commemorating the Huguenots who practiced their faith hidden in the forests. The mark of Protestantism remains in this region culture and society, despite the growing secularization of France.

For much of its history, the community of Le Chambon has been geographically and politically isolated, but the region has historically welcomed certain outsiders. Many works that discuss the Plateau community describe a "tradition of welcome,"[3] a history of welcoming outsiders rooted both in the Protestant ethic of equality and the collective memory of their group's persecution. This tradition goes as far back as the French Revolution, when the community protected Catholic priests persecuted by the secular government, and continues today with the Centre D'Accueil des Demandeurs d'Asile (CADA), a national agency for refugees with offices in Le Chambon. Near the end of the 19th century, a pastor from the city of Saint Etienne, Louis Comte, opened "L'Oeuvre des Enfants sur la Montagne," a program that brought children from St. Etienne to the farms of Le Chambon to work with families and receive clean mountain air. Within 10 years of its opening, this camp housed 4,000 children with foster families throughout the region.[4] In the twentieth century, Le Chambon has welcomed Spanish refugees during the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s, Chileans fleeing Pinochet in the '60s, and Kosovars fleeing war in the '90s.

An institutional and economic framework grew around this tradition of welcome. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the Vivarais Plateau has been a popular vacation spot for individuals around France. As farming decreased throughout the region, tourism began to take its place as the center for the local economy. The College Cevenol, a private secondary school started in the 1930s by the Pastors of Le Chambon, has aided local tourism. This school has a long history rooted in Protestant pacifism, and although it has faced financial troubles in the last few decades, it continues to be an important center for outsiders in Le Chambon. These outsiders attend classes with local children, blending in line with the tradition of the small village's history.

When World War II broke out in Europe, Le Chambon and the surrounding region continued their "tradition of welcome," ushering in what has been called the "Heroic Period."[5] The first Jewish refugees, from Germany and Austria, arrived in Le Chambon in the late '30s. The flow of refugees increased greatly when the area became a designated shelter for children, with international organizations such as the Red Cross and Quaker Societies providing assistance and financial support. This period became one of centralized purpose and decentralized actions. Each community had

leaders, but the actions of individuals held a crucial role. In Le Chambon, two key leaders brought critical international assistance to the efforts: Pastor Andre Trocmé, who met with Quaker organizations based in Marseille, France; and the mayor and former pastor, Charles Guillon, who came from Geneva and used these connections to build up and support these efforts.

Despite the widespread pacifist effort, the image of a region without violence does not tell the whole story. Many individuals joined the armed resistance in the region, causing ideological conflicts with those like Trocmé and his co-Pastor Edouard Theis, who had deeply felt non-violent convictions.[6] The violence also came from the outside. The community did not completely avoid the Nazi and Vichy round-ups. One of the local boarding schools, La Maison des Roches, became a center for children and university-aged students. On June 29, 1943 the Gestapo seized the students and their director Daniel Trocmé.[7] Most of these individuals died in the death camps. This event stands as a reminder that although this Heroic Period rescued hundreds, even possibly over one thousand children, the violence of Europe permeated this isolated community.

Creation of Historical Narratives

The immediate decades after the war in Le Chambon saw little recognition or discussion of the rescue period. This silence shares some similarities with the narratives of many individuals who lived through the Second World War. This phenomenon has been well-documented within the Jewish community, which wished to move on from the trauma of the Holocaust, as well as other French citizens seeking to maintain the Resistance image developed by De Gaulle.[8] The Chambonnais, in contrast, did not remain silent out of trauma but deemed their actions "normal" and felt no need to celebrate them. Throughout the community, to this day, many residents feel discussion of the past unnecessarily celebrates good deeds, which should be done for their own good and not recognition. This attitude derives from deeply ingrained ideas of Protestant thought that has defined this region for centuries.

The first individuals who spoke often did so with an eye towards the outside world. The Trocmé family moved from Le Chambon a few years after the war and travelled throughout the world promoting pacifism. They often promoted the story of Le Chambon as evidence of the power of organized non-violent resistance. This outreach constituted one of the earliest shapings of the Heroic Period. In addition to the work of the Trocmé, the Parisian doctor Oscar Rosowsky documented the rescue efforts. Rosowsky, a Jew, lived in Le Chambon during the war and created false papers for refugees.[9] Both his work and that of the Trocmé shared critical factors. Their authors, while highly involved in these efforts, were not natives of the region.

This outsider role of the initial recognition grew critical in constructing the narrative.

Initial major recognition came to Le Chambon from those rescued and organizations representing them. In 1971, Yad Vashem recognized several individuals from the Le Chambon area for their efforts to protect Jews during the Holocaust. Yad Vashem, created in 1953 from legislation by the Israeli Knesset, recognizes the action of the "just among the Nation," non-Jewish individuals who risked their lives to protect Jews during the Holocaust.[10] The story of Yad Vashem's presentation of this medal to the Trocmé family has become a large part of the story of this central individual. According to most accounts, Yad Vashem presented the award to Andre Trocmé, who insisted that the entire community of Le Chambon deserved the award and not just him. He eventually agreed to receive the award, but only if the ceremony was held in Le Chambon, as opposed to Geneva where he lived at the time.[11] Unfortunately, Trocmé died before the ceremony took place. At Andre's funeral, in Le Chambon, his wife Magda received the plaque from the Israeli ambassador to France. Over the coming decades, Yad Vashem honored many individuals from the Vivarais Plateau area, especially Le Chambon. In 1990, the entire community, including Le Chambon and the surrounding communities, received the title of "Just Among the Nation," the first of only two communities to receive this title.[12] This formal international recognition began the construction of the historical memory in Le Chambon. Although the Chambonnais avoided the term "hero," outsiders often apply this title. These actions were a preview to the massive attention the community would receive within a decade.

The initial major works discussing Le Chambon came from deeply personal sources, which mixed emotional sentiment in their works and largely and defined the narratives constructed. In 1979 Philip Hallie of Wesleyan University, my grandfather, published the book *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed: The Story of the Village of Le Chambon and How Goodness Happened There*, an ethical analysis of the rescue efforts. Hallie combined personal observations with philosophical analysis to understand how the community of Le Chambon came together to protect Jews during World War II. The work contained certain historical inaccuracies, which Hallie accepted as he intended to understand the ethical and not historic dimensions of the period.[13] The next major work on this subject, the film *Weapons of the Spirit* by Pierre Sauvage, contained the type of personal sentiment found in Hallie's work. Sauvage, a was born to a Jewish family hiding in Le Chambon during World War II. Sauvage largely focused on the Trocmé family, as well as the famous, and most likely false, claim of the 5,000 Jews saved by 5,000 Chambonnais.[14] Like Hallie's work, *Weapons of the Spirit* quickly attained widespread acclaim, especially after being released in a shorter version specifically for classrooms. These two works largely shaped the town's histori-

cal narrative, but also frustrated locals' attempts to craft their own history.

Response of the Locals

As outsiders continued to shape the narrative about Le Chambon and the Vivarais Plateau, many locals responded by throwing their voices into the discussion, exacerbating the disagreement over the narrative. This conflict took shape by conflicting accounts from the more vocal participants in the memorial efforts, such as Trocmé, Oscar Rozowsky, and local historians, but in 1990 this conflict entered a new stage. Contentious arguments in local papers during the 1980s about what to remember, with a special focus on the proposed local museum, heightened this disagreement. Many felt they did not get fair representation in the established narrative, including Catholics, armed resisters, non-Chambonnais, and Jewish resisters.

These feelings of being ignored by history culminated in a the three-day summit in October 1990 at Le Chambon, overseen by the French historian Pierre Bolle.[15] The colloquium presented several first and second hand accounts of the historic events, often conflicting. This colloquium, a project of those frustrated with the presentation of the "Heroic Period" gave representatives of different groups that participated in the rescue to present their accounts of the events. Each day saw historians and witnesses tell their stories about this rescue. This conference provided a watershed moment in the construction of the Le Chambon historical narrative. Through this vehicle, the communities of the Plateau broke out of their tradition of silence, openly discussing their pasts, vying for acknowledgement. This colloquium did not end the contention, but represented the beginning of the communal phase, empowering many locals to attempt to shape the history of the community they shared.

Since the colloquium, the historical narrative of Le Chambon during World War II has become defined by conflict and disagreement. Additional voices entered the discussion, both local and from the outside. These voices each pursued his/her own individual idea of the "truth" of what happened in the region during the occupation of France. The works range from that of the American literary scholar Patrick Henry who attempted to understand the "missing characters" from the narrative,[16] to Roger Debiève's furious attack against Hallie and the perceived Trocmé manipulation of history for their own benefit.[17] Within the Le Chambon community, the Society for the History of the Mountain continues to encourage conferences and colloquiums throughout the Vivarais Plateau. This conversation emphasizes multiple actors involved in the Heroic Period, bringing a diverse group of voices into the construction of this historical narrative.

Outsiders in Chambonnais Historical Narratives

Historically, outsiders have played a large role in how the community of Le Chambon defined itself, whether from their perceived relationship with the foreigner or from the narrative constructed by these others. Hallie and Sauvage represent only a part of the complex relationship this community has with the outside world. The dynamic between the local community and any outsider lies at the heart of the Chambonnais historical narrative, whether that outsider takes the form of a French Catholic in the period of the religious wars, a Jewish refugee during World War II, or an American researcher in the modern era.

For centuries, the residents of the Vivarais Plateau retained an historical memory based around their persecution as Huguenots, which formed a victim relationship with the outside. This narrative speaks of Protestants forced to renounce their faith or die at the hands of the Catholics. In using this story as the foundation for an historical memory, the community of Le Chambon arranged itself as a separate entity from the French majority. The residents of the Vivarais Plateau became foreigners within their own country. However, the common understanding and interpretation of this narrative does not lead to a sense of supremacy over the French, but a victimhood that has allowed the residents of the Plateau to express empathy for victims. By entrenching themselves deep within their local historical persecution, the Plateau residents found similarities with persecuted outsiders that motivated them to act.

As Le Chambon has grown in recognition, the victim narrative has begun to confront a heroic narrative. The memory of Protestant victimhood consistently becomes the primary explanation for the rescue efforts. Despite this pairing, the two have strongly different impacts as historical narratives. By identifying with the persecuted Huguenots of the 17th and 18th century, the Chambonnais place themselves into the passive victim role. The narrative of the war effort, in contrast, puts the Chambonnais into a powerful active position as saviors of the persecuted. The hero narrative does not constitute a story of identification with victims, but provides inspiration to become a hero. This juxtaposition, while by no means mutually exclusive, provides the basis for the current conflict over collective memory.

This tension began with the general attention of outsiders towards the stories that became a fascination with the community itself. Earlier attention, while never ignoring the role of the entire community, focused on particular individuals. Hallie's work largely examined the actions of the Trocmé family and the work of Sauvage examined particular families in the regional efforts, especially the farmers that protected his parents. However, together with the recognition of the excellence of certain individuals, came recognition of the community itself. Many of Hallie's publications empha-

sized the important role communities play in inspiring ethical action.[18] Yad Vashem's recognition of the entire community in 1990 brought increased focus on this communal dimension. Since then, the community itself has acquired massive acclaim from the international community.

Politicians from around the world have called attention to Le Chambon to align their policies with this local history. The Israeli ambassador to France has visited several times to honor individuals and the community. In a speech at the American Holocaust Institute, President Barack Obama specifically celebrated the actions of the Le Chambon community.[19] European politicians, including the President of the European Commission José Manuel Barroso and French President Jacques Chirac, have visited Le Chambon and celebrated its history, as part of French and European culture. Chirac's visit drew massive attention, as part of his effort to recognize the role the French administration played in the Holocaust. His visit drew national attention to the small community, where he delivered a major speech attacking growing intolerance in French society, using Le Chambon as a symbol of France's historical opposition to persecution.[20] Increasingly, the community itself has become a symbol of moral excellence and non-violence. Outsiders view Le Chambon as something incredible that they can relate to. This transformation has accentuated the tension within Le Chambon itself over how it view its history.

In France, the celebration of the community attempts to take a local history and bring it into a national narrative. French politicians and historians seek to turn Le Chambon into an antidote for the "Vichy Syndrome" mentioned in the introduction. By doing so, they can remain proud of their history without ignoring their participation in the Holocaust. The Pantheonization of Le Chambon, with other French Righteous among the Nation, in 2007 exemplifies this adoption of Le Chambon into France. By entering the Pantheon, a physical memorial to the French national memory, the story of Le Chambon became part of the story of France. Le Chambon evolved from a marginal community into an integral part of the national history.

The moral role of the Le Chambon historical narrative allows its story to work in a narrative beyond its local conditions. The altruism and non-violence of the Le Chambon story reverberates with institutions and individuals promoting universal principles of non-violence. By turning the story of Le Chambon into a larger human narrative, the goodness exhibited by these villagers does not exist solely in the realm of French Protestantism. These outsiders place this goodness into what it means to be a Frenchman, a European, or a human.

The Narrative in the Local Community

Within Le Chambon and the surrounding Vivarais Plateau, the his-

torical rescue period has become a point by which many of these communities define themselves. While many do not always join this discussion, especially the growing population of the not natively from the Vivarais region, the memory forms a very significant part of the local culture. As the Vivarais Plateau has developed an increasingly important tourism industry, Le Chambon has become one of the largest attractions in the region, in no small part due to the rescue period

The story of the rescue effort holds a deeply personal dimension for many residents of this community. Some welcome the attention paid to their village, while others perceive it as contrary to the private Protestant tradition of the community. Whether for or against this attention, these locals understand that this story largely defines their small town. These conflicting feelings define a town struggling to handle its legacy that continues to be shaped by outsiders.

The transformation of the Le Chambon tourism industry reflects their integration into mainstream French culture. Although Le Chambon retains an agricultural image, tourism has taken the place of farming as the cornerstone of the local economy. Many of the Plateau communities maintain small populations during most of the year, ranging from 2,000 to 3,000. During the summer, they host as many as 12,000 residents. These "tourist colonies" attract visitors from throughout France during the cool summer months.

When the tourism industry began in Le Chambon, the community's advertised appeal came from its natural beauty and Protestant culture. No advertisement better exemplifies these two aspects of the Chambonnais tourism industry than the image of trees with words above stating, "Protestants spend your vacations in Chambon-sur-Lignon."[21] This image reflects how the community viewed itself, and the type of outsiders it wished to bring within its borders. Calling to Protestants limited their appeal in a majority Catholic country. This Protestantism reached many different facets of this village. Throughout Le Chambon's history, the social and political leaders tended to come from the clergy. The close tie between Protestantism and the cultural, political, and tourism spheres formed a distinct communal spirit for Le Chambon. This tie remains in the community; it has evolved in largely due to the outside forces examined earlier.

Over time cultural homogeneity diminished as those traditionally viewed as outsiders increased within the Le Chambon population and the community's isolation broke down. A network developed that has brought the outside world into Le Chambon. In my interviews, subjects always prefaced their comments by stating whether or not they were born in Le Chambon, and if not, how long they had lived there. This marker creates a strong social label "étranger" observed in other studies of French rural communities.[22] This mixture of locals and "outsiders," tourists and individuals

with familial ties to the area, combines with an increasingly interconnected France. Just as the forces of globalization have brought separate nations together, they have also brought cultures within states together. Increased roads to Le Chambon, internet and television access, and the growth of the tourism industry has brought the rest of France to Le Chambon. This network of non-locals and infrastructural access has forced a new narrative in the community. The Protestant memory retains importance for natives, but in this new Le Chambon, the rescue story also finds relevance with outsiders not steeped within the Huguenot history.

Nowhere does this tension more evidently appear than in the ongoing struggle to construct a local history museum mentioned in the introduction. Ideas for the project have existed since the 1980s. The initial goal sought to commemorate the Protestant history of the region, with a special focus on the World War II rescue efforts. This effort became a lightning rod for controversy. Many felt that situating the rescue efforts within a Protestant context ignored the participation by Catholic and secular groups within the community. Many complaints, however, came from the Protestant community itself. Some felt uncomfortable celebrating their history. Others had more fundamental concerns about the ramifications of creating historical narratives. Alain Arnoux, a pastor in the nearby city of Saint Etienne, wrote against the construction of a historical museum for a community he saw as alive and growing, not a subject of the past.[23] These criticisms forced the museum into a more nuanced narrative.

The proposed museum, as well as any historical projects on the events of the rescue period, now emphasizes the community basis for these efforts. Although the museum has not yet been constructed, a current exhibit exists at the old train station with images and items from the period. It is also acts as the starting point for a walking tour throughout the town of Le Chambon, taking visitors to major sites of the resistance such as the Protestant Temple, former hotels that hid children, and a plaque honoring the actions of the community. This tour exemplifies the way that locals have begun to remember the rescues. The guide constantly gives credit to certain key individuals, while emphasizing the role the greater Vivarais Plateau community.

This dynamic between individual and community forms one of the largest stumbling blocks in the formation of a uniform historical narrative. Almost all interested individuals recognize the role the community played, but some see specific leaders, religious and political, as central to the efforts while others emphasize the role of the entire community. Many of the individuals initially seen as central to the rescue efforts, especially Andre and Magda Trocmé, have come under fire in the past two decades as new voices question their effectiveness without the community. This criticism has also extended to Le Chambon itself. Despite the continued efforts of local historians and writers to emphasize the role the entire Plateau played in the

rescue efforts, most outside attention continues to single out Le Chambon as the center of, if not the sole participant in, the rescue efforts. This one-sided attention frustrates many residents throughout the Plateau. This "Chambon-ization"[24] continues to divide the Plateau.

The source of this tension results from a desire for residents to be able to determine the history that defines their community. While some pin this tension on long standing struggles and rivalries between the Plateau communities, many individuals I interviewed claim this division came from this struggle over historical narratives. As the memory of Protestant history fades, this rescue narrative comes into its former position in the collective memory. As this memory evolves, new participants seek to enter the consciousness of their community and become part of its history.

Conclusion

It is impossible to speak of a unified historical memory of Le Chambon-sur-Lignon. By examining this community's historical narrative, it becomes clear that no one single memory dominates. While communal memory can never truly be completely unified, overall trends can form. In the case of Le Chambon, these trends have not yet solidified. The village resides between memories. A struggle has formed over what story will emerge as dominant. This community once centered itself on Protestant culture and geographic isolation, but the increased presence of outsiders has changed that. Continued outside attention on Le Chambon changes the narrative by which it defined itself. The crafters of narrative all have something at stake in creating a new story. Hallie and Sauvage wished to exemplify and understand the possibility for ethical action, using Le Chambon as a model. Politicians such as Chirac and Obama wished to bring this story and its moral weight to their own political goals. Local residents have perhaps the most at stake. By fighting to create a narrative, they struggle to place their own imprint on what defines the community as a whole. These participants wish to ensure that their vision of the past becomes part of the story of their community.

The story of Le Chambon, both it's rescue efforts and it's memory process, will continue to change as the cauldron of history continues to mix divergent perspectives and ideas. Whatever forms the narrative take, they will play a central role in defining Le Chambon and the Vivarais Plateau.

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YELLOWSTONE: INDIANS AND AMERICAN IDEAS OF PROGRESS AND WILDERNESS

Introduction by Professor James Campbell

Kevin Fischer's essay on the creation of Yellowstone National Park includes a host of memorable images, but two stuck in my mind as I read it. We see Chief Joseph and his band of Nez Perce men, women, and children traversing Yellowstone in the course of their epic thousand-mile fighting retreat before troops of the U.S. Army. We also see images of "wild, untamed Indians" deployed in advertisements designed to lure fare-paying tourists to the park. Tourists who responded to those ads in 1877 got more than they bargained for, finding themselves briefly caught in the middle of an actual Indian war.

The images offer a potent reminder – as if such were needed – of the curious entanglement of reality and myth in the history of the American West. They also remind us of the curious role that Native American people have long played in American cultural and imaginative life. For Fischer, they provide a backdrop for the founding of Yellowstone, the nation's first national park. Like many other national parks it inspired, Yellowstone was (and is) preserved in the name of "wilderness," but as Fischer shows, the meaning of wilderness is not self-evident. Creating the park required more than drawing lines on a map. It also required crafting policies on things like hunting, fire, railroads, and the relative value of different species of animals, as well as of different "races" of human beings.

Fischer researched and wrote his essay in the Fall of 2011, under the auspices of a History 209 "Writing in the Major" seminar.

Yellowstone: Indians and American Ideas of Progress and Wilderness

Kevin Fischer

In 1877, Chief Josef and the Nez Perce Native American tribe tried to flee north to Canada through the newly established Yellowstone National Park. The Park covered over 3,000 square miles in northwestern Wyoming, southern Montana, and eastern Idaho. In the 1870s, the Park was home to North America's largest herd of Buffalo and other mega fauna, including elk and bear. What attracted people to Yellowstone more than other places in the West, however, were its geothermal features. Native Americans made extensive use of the area for thousands of years before it was 'discovered' in the 1860s, and depended on the summer migration of herds to the area for survival. Native Americans were no strangers to the region. In 1877, Yellow Wolf, a member of the renegade Nez Perce tribe, said that when they got there (Yellowstone) "we saw four persons laying close to a fire… these people were not soldiers, but all white people seemed our enemies…"[1] The Nez Perce came into contact with tourists who were there to enjoy Yellowstone's beauty. The tourists' presence marked the transition from a "Wild" West that struck fear into the hearts of settlers to a West that was accepted for its beauty and utilized for its resources. The park was the American cornerstone of wilderness and progress. However, there was no room for Native Americans in Yellowstone National Park.

In 1878, the year after Chief Joseph and his Nez Perce tribe's incursion onto federal land, John Wesley Powell published a report outlining how land should be managed in the Western United States. Powell started exploring and mapping the West in the 1860s, and was the first to map the Grand Canyon. He was an avid explorer, a Civil War veteran, and an advocate of securing land in the West for ecological purposes. In the 1870s and 1880s, the West was becoming more and more populated. It was no longer a region filled with fur trappers, roving bands of Indians, and pioneers. Six years before Powell published his report, congress passed the Yellowstone National Park Act.[2] The goals of the Park in the early 1870's were "dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people; and all persons who shall locate, or settle upon, or occupy the same or any part thereof, except as hereinafter provided, shall be considered trespassers and removed there from..."[3] The people moving west were changing. People like Powell opened the West to a United States that was looking to expand after the close of the Civil War. By the 1860s, the

goal of moving west had shifted. The focus of the federal government was set on conquering and claiming the West, and by 1869 the Transcontinental Railroad forever shaped space and time between the Mississippi River and California. Railroads, cattlemen, farmers, and other settlers were rapidly claiming land, the West's most important resource.

John Powell, along with other people who had influence with the federal government, considered this a huge problem for the well being of the natural resources in the West. In the previous century, natural resources had defined America's power and its ability to produce a successful economy. Therefore, in order to take full advantage of the newly conquered expanse of prairies, mountains, and deserts, Powell proposed that the U.S. had the utmost duty to protect what it had before it disappeared. Central to his argument was that U.S. had to use the resources of the federal government to make sure people were proper stewards of the land. In his 1878 "Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States," Powell concluded that "protection of the forests and water of the entire arid region is reduced to one single problem, fire."[4] The most destructive force in nature, even more than man's encroachment on what was considered pristine wilderness, was fire. Wood was the primary material used in construction, and forest fires were an extreme contaminant of water sources. Fires started for various reasons, but one group was held responsible for the majority of fires that were set: Native Americans.

Fires in Yellowstone were a particular concern because they threatened what had been deemed as a National landmark, a wilderness area that man, both whites and Native Americans, were not supposed to tamper with. The Crow, Bannock, and Shoshone were the three major groups of Native Americans that operated around the Yellowstone area. For the most part, the groups used the park only for seasonal hunting, and most big herds and big hunts took place just outside of the borders of the park. Only a small group of Shoshone actually lived within the borders of the park. That said, all of the groups depended on the animals that made use of the park to survive. At the end of the 1860s, all three groups were slowly being contained on reservations at Fort Hall, Fort Lemhi, and the Crow Reservation.[5] Before Ulysses S. Grant signed the National Park Act creating Yellowstone, the Crow, Bannock, and Shoshone signed a treaty that stipulated the rules and regulations for reservation life. The treaty demanded submission by the groups, and took away many of their rights to the most important resource in the West: land. However, there was an extremely vital condition in that treaty. The 1868 treaty stipulated that:

> They [the Shoshone, Bannock, and Crow] will make said reservations their permanent home, and they will make no permanent settlement elsewhere; but they shall have the

> right to hunt on the unoccupied lands of the United States so long as game may be found there on, and so long as peace subsists among the whites and Indians, and on the borders of the hunting districts.[6]

This was easy enough to implement. Soon, there were no open spaces in and around Yellowstone; everything was occupied. Even land that was not procured by railroads, cattle herders, agriculturalists, Indian reservations, or booming towns, was partitioned off and guarded by the military in a fashion that made it impossible for the Native Americans to hunt effectively. There was no room.

Native American groups that operated within the boundaries of Yellowstone did not have the same rights as white settlers did to the game around the area. The plan was to remove Native Americans from the folds of American history, sweep them under the rug and forget about their existence. America was, and is, a land built on the foundations of progress. When Powell and other explorers started defining the West, they defined it in terms of resources and winning. People did not talk about how the West was viewed, but how the West was won. When Yellowstone was established in 1872, America was in the process of winning the West. In 1881, 100,000 Buffalo hides were shipped out of Yellowstone country.[7] According to the *Sioux City Journal*, "nothing like it has ever been known in the history of the fur trade… there was no sport about it, simply shooting down the famine-tamed animals as cattle might be shot down in a barn yard."[8] Ironically, most of the outcry for keeping Native Americans on reservations was because they did not take care of land. In Powell's essay, he explicitly states that the first step in protecting the lands of the West was:

> prohibiting Indians from resorting thereto for hunting purposes, and then slowly, as the lower country is settled, the grasses and herbage of the highlands, in which fires generally spread, will be kept down by summer pasturage, and the dead and fallen timber will be removed to supply the wants of the people below.[9]

In Powell's words, there was no room for the Native Americans in the West. People needed to properly care for the country to ensure that the West would continue to progress via a booming fur trade that ensured a lasting interest in the "wonderland" of Yellowstone and the surrounding area.

At the start of the 1870's most white Americans people were under the impression that the easiest and most effective way to deal with the "Indian problem" was simply to relocate them to reservations. The federal government wrote treaties explicitly to keep people in a single spot, and if

the Indians refused to comply they were either killed or corralled and forced onto reservations. Indians took up space, needed large swaths of land to hunt on, destroyed viable property with fires, and, importantly, did not fit the growing idea of what 'wilderness' actually was. Wilderness, in the eyes of those who defined America's policy and actions in the West, was land that was untouched by man, pristine, new, and untrodden. Humans were not considered a part of wilderness.

In 1870, a group of men from Montana, the Washburn party, explored the Yellowstone area. Members of the expedition referred to the region as "never trodden by human footsteps" and repeatedly cast the area as unspoiled and devoid of humans.[10] Two ideas dominated people's perceptions of the West during the 1870s. First, Native Americans were disappearing and were not a threat. Second, wilderness was an area that should be completely natural. John Powell, along with tales from the Washburn party and others who had seen the Yellowstone and the West for its beauty instead of just its potential for resources, were able to lobby the government and convince enough rich, white, progressive people that a federal land reserve was the best way to maintain a balance of power, Yellowstone's uniqueness, and American perceptions in the West.

Yellowstone had advantages for both Native Americans and white settlers. It was one of the last remaining large game refuges. Yellowstone possessed herds of buffalo and elk, and was home to many other big game animals like moose and bear. The place was thriving with wildlife that was ripe for the fur trade, and in that same sense the fertile ground was perfect for cows and farming. An 1892 report in *Forest and Stream* illustrated that "it is quite clear that there is, in the National Park, living under entirely natural conditions, and yet to be protected from attacks by man, a breeding stock of Buffalo sufficiently large to keep that reservation fully stocked for all time."[11] Native Americans followed the herds that frequented the park, and depended on the roaming animals for sustenance. Native American tribes made consistent use of the park as a place of trade and meeting, and as a hunting ground. The Crow, Shoshone, Bannock, and other tribes all traveled to Yellowstone. For instance, Yellow Wolf, a member of the renegade Nez Perce who travelled through the park fleeing the U.S. Army, recalled that they "knew that country well before passing through there in 1877. The hot smoking springs and high shooting water were nothing new to us."[12] However, the government did not secure the park to make use of its natural resources, but rather to protect them.

Even though there was no specific plan to strip Yellowstone of its lumber or dam its river, there was still an overarching ecological plan. If anyone was going to use Yellowstone's resources, they had to be managed and used in the 'correct' way. An article written in *Forest and Stream* echoes Powell's sentiments perfectly:

> It is admitted on all hands that the Yellowstone National Park is chiefly valuable to this country as a reservoir, where may be stored the waters which are so essential to all farming operations in the arid West… its use as a reservoir depends on the preservation of its forests. If those are destroyed it cannot hold the water…[13]

Scientific agricultural thinking at the time defined what was most important, and it was essential that Yellowstone be maintained as a wilderness area if civilized settlements were going to thrive in the area. Sedentary and migratory lifestyles used resources in different ways that defined the people and cultures that used them. The federal government had to protect Yellowstone from destruction, and Native Americans were the primary suspects in damaging the new National Park.

There needed to be an efficient way to maintain Yellowstone. For the first years of its existence, the superintendent lived without pay and a staff, and the borders were porous and open to incursion from Native American groups. There was a fairly simple solution. Because America was enthralled with the West, people were willing to see what was happening. Yellowstone was cast as a wonderland, and because it was full of geysers and some of the last remaining herds in the West, it truly was. The Northern Pacific Railroad originally wanted to build their tracks straight through the heart of the Park, but when the federal government said they could not, the railroad helped spur another idea. *Forest and Stream* cast Yellowstone National Park as "the wildest and most interesting domain ever set apart by any government for the enjoyment of its people…" but the park seemed "to be in danger of defacement and defilement by a speculators' railroad project."[14] The railroad compromised. Instead of industrializing the area, the railroad sold tourism. People needed to see the park so it could stay protected.

The band of Nez Perce that tromped through the park in 1877 opened a new realm of trouble for the Native Americans tribes in the region. Until this point, confrontations between whites and Native Americans focused mostly on what they viewed as ecological atrocities: fire and overhunting of game. However, by the middle of the 1870s, tourists began to frequent the park. Chief Joseph's attempt to run the gauntlet to Canada was a highly publicized event in the newspapers of larger cities in the east. Two thousand federal troops chased approximately 750 Nez Perce through Idaho, Wyoming, and Montana. Tourism at the time depended on the myth of the vanishing Indian and pure wilderness. It did not look good when a large band of potentially hostile Native Americans simply walked through a National Park, pasturing horses, and raiding tourist camps. It destroyed the perception that Native Americans were disappearing, interrupted the peacefulness of a pristine wilderness, and caused panic for the tourists that were

Northern Pacific Railway, 1898

already there. The year after the Nez Perce incursion into the park, the U.S. military fought a few skirmishes with the Bannock and Sheepeaters just to the west of the park. The reservation system did not keep Native Americans out of Yellowstone.

In the late 1870's Yellowstone became more than just a demarcated 'wilderness' and started to operate like a small military installation. Park Superintendent Philetus Norris built the first park headquarters in the style of a fort, and called for increased military presence on the western edge of the park specifically to keep Indians out. Yes, increased military presence was also used to keep out poachers and other people who were encroaching on Yellowstone's beauty, but it was mainly used to prevent Native Americans from accosting tourists and setting fire to the natural landscape that Yellowstone encompassed.[15] That said, the military's presence did not make the Indians leave, and there were numerous tense encounters with Native Americans until the 1890s. For instance, in 1886 a group of "Bannock Indians, whose numbers were variously estimated at from fifty to one hundred, approached the Park from the west in such warlike array as to give rise to much anxiety and excitement among the tourists, causing many of them to shorten their stay in the park."[16] Eventually, the Native Americans were induced to leave the park by small military detachments, but not before "they started two forest fires within the Park, and withdrawing into the mountains to the west, continued their hunting operations, secure from interruption by the troops."[17] The Native Americans were a danger not only to conservationists, who measured the environment in terms of game animals and numbers of trees, but they continually scared away tourists and challenged American perceptions of wilderness.

J. Willard Schultz, a member of the new wave of people migrating West, embodied changing perceptions of wilderness and the American West. He wrote for the Sportsman Tourist column in *Forest and Stream; A Journal of Outdoor Life, Travel, Nature Study, Shooting, Fishing, Yachting*, a publication that was marketed specifically to those who had the luxury to experience such things. Most of his work focused on the time he spent living with the Blackfoot Indians in Montana. He was from a well to do family in New York, and spent his childhood growing up in the wilderness of the East, the Adirondacks. In his first exposition about the Blackfeet, he explains that:

> Not so very long ago, these prairies were graced with countless herds of buffalo and antelope; along the wooded valleys of the stream, and on the pine-covered slopes of the mountains, were once numberless bands of elk, deer, sheep, and bears. Some of the game is yet to be found. Bands of the ancient inhabitants are yet to be seen—small remnants of a once mighty nation.[18]

Schultz perpetuated the idea that Native Americans and the beautiful lands of the West were vanishing. Schultz's beliefs were not special, but helped to shift paradigms about what the Wild West was. He, and other writers, defined how people viewed the vast frontier.

Schultz's presence in the area around Yellowstone marked a distinct change in the population of the area. He was not a fur trapper, soldier, Indian, or pioneer. He was a journalist who wrote to tell stories of the American West under the beliefs that he had been exposed to all his life. Schultz was a firm believer that man was a trespasser in wilderness, that Americans had a philanthropic duty to help the Native Americans change their way of life, and that the West was where America had the most room to 'progress' rapidly. Schultz's story differs from other accounts in a particularly important manner that paved the way for the federal government's relationship with Native Americans. At the beginning of the 1870s, it was commonly thought that Native Americans, "or unscientific savages," found little to no interest in the geyser basins and instead supposed that Indians would "give wide birth, believing them sacred to Satan."[19] Not only was this thought process completely false (why would 'pagan' Indians believe in Satan in the first place?), but it illustrated an attitude that Native Americans were somehow sub-human creatures that just happened to walk on two legs. Contrary to the motif of the unscientific savage, Schultz emphasized:

> The weaker organism must give way to the stronger, the lower to the higher intellect. Before the bullets and far deadlier firewater of the whites, these simple men have been swept away like leaves before a wind. 'But they were only Indians,' say some. True; yet they were human beings, they loved their wild, free life as we love our life: they had pleasures and sorrows as well as we.[20]

Native Americans were defined by the people that came into contact with them, and because of a larger necessity to secure land for preservation for the progress of mankind, were never given the chance to thrive in a new society.

In 1865, the U.S. government placed Native Americans on reservations because "wild Indians, like wild horses, must be corralled upon reservations."[21] However, by the time Native Americans had been soundly 'defeated' militarily in the 1880s, tourists and reporters encountered Native Americans that had already been defeated and were largely already removed to their reservations. The myths and thought processes that Native Americans embodied, that they were savage bloodthirsty who "of course, scalped his body and left it for the wolves"[22] were changing. This was partly because Native American populations had significantly decreased over the past de-

cade due to warfare and disease.

However, the people that experienced the West in the 1880s were much different than the soldiers and trappers of the 1860s. In the early 1800s, Thomas Jefferson embodied the idea that it was America's civic duty to civilize the Native American. It was part of the American ideal to help those that were lesser, to enlighten them and allow them to take part in human progress, but only if they bought into American definitions of human progress. Progressive beliefs on Native Americans differed greatly from earlier perceptions of people that were beyond help. Because Native Americans were considered a conquered people (either through treaties, coercion, or warfare), their claims to the land and their way of life were illegitimate. However, that did not mean that the U.S. Cavalry was going to wipe Native Americans off the face of the continent or even let them escape into Canada. It was the duty of more civilized people to teach Native Americans how to properly act as citizens of the United States. They wanted to help the Native Americans. An article in *Forest and Stream* states:

> We are not among those who think that the Indian has no rights which should be respected. On this point we are quite the prepared to stand upon our record. When, however, the Indian does anything antagonistic to the general welfare he must be restrained, and the Indian method of using fire as an aid to hunting has in it an element of danger to agriculture in the West which is most serious. It will not do at this late day to have our only national forest preserve threatened in this way.[23]

Yellowstone was the progressive landmark and represented a new wave of acceptable land acquisition and Indian removal.

Wilderness and progress started to come into conflict in the 1880s. In 1887, Teddy Roosevelt and George Bird Grinnell (editor of *Forest and Stream*) founded the Boone and Crocket club. The club was a reaction to the shifting attitude of American culture. It incorporated rich intellectuals of the East and meshed them with the ideas of the West. The club sought to define nature, set around wilderness, and prove as an etiquette guide for how to act outside. Importantly, it defined rules about hunting and how to enjoy nature in a gentlemanly manner. Especially important was the way it defined hunting. Hunting was solely for sport. It was looked down upon and viewed as 'uncivilized' to hunt for sustenance, and it was pure evil to be a poacher or fur trapper. Sport, however, was legitimate because it was a game played among gentleman. Sport was sustainable, while forcing herds of Buffalo over a cliff to feed family or killing hundreds of them for their fur was not. Importantly, the place where sport hunting was practiced was the East.

The Eastern preserves did not contain any competing Native Americans. The preserves idealized Americans perceptions that nature was a place that man had to step foot in to enjoy, and subsequently leave. So, when reports of Indian fires and mass killing of game animals began to emerge from the West, people, like Roosevelt and Grinnell, were forced to act. The simple creation of Yellowstone National Park was not enough to stem the tide of destruction and immortalize wilderness. Native American tribes frequented the area for a quite a while. Even though there was no sport hunting allowed in Yellowstone, one could still hunt outside its borders. Yellowstone, with all its beauty, gave preservationists the opportunity to secure space for wilderness in the changing atmosphere of the United States.

An article titled "Indian and the Big Game," written in *Forest and Stream* in 1893, illustrates the relationship between Progressives, Native Americans, and Yellowstone. According to the article, "Indians have the right to take game by lawful methods and at lawful times, just as white men have. Both classes are subject to the laws of the state in which they find themselves. Neither has the right to kill game out of season nor to fire the forests. The rights of an Indian should be precisely those of a white man."[24] This article emphasized the frustrations of trying to control the West, but also underscored changing attitudes about Native Americans, wilderness, and how people should operate in the West. For instance, the author states that the Native Americans should be treated the same as the white man, and just needs to abide by state laws. However, whites were rarely prosecuted for overhunting, and it was popular at the time to blame Indians for all atrocities against the game. The attitude quickly moved from keeping people out of places like Yellowstone to keeping them on their reservations all the time.

Countless letters written to *Forest and Stream* express frustration with the number of Indian incursions onto land that used to be 'unoccupied' and fit under the terms of the last treaty that the Native Americans signed with the federal government. Another article from *Forest and Stream*, "A Case for Prompt Action," argues that "it is clear that these Indians ought not to be allowed to leave their reservations except in charge of some responsible white man who can be held accountable for their actions while they are absent, and it is equally clear that under no circumstances should these hunting parties be permitted to approach the borders of the park."[25] Teddy Roosevelt, in a letter that he wrote to Forest and Stream in 1889, fumed:

> The forest fires started by these roving bands have caused such devastation as to become a serious menace to all the settled districts. The water supply is a matter of vital consequence to the settlers on the plains near the Rockies, and nothing interferes with it so seriously as the destruction of the woods. It is urgently necessary that these bands

> be restrained; they should never be allowed off the reservation unless a responsible white man is with them.[26]

Teddy Roosevelt was a "sportsman tourist" that wanted Yellowstone and other areas to stay the way he imagined them: pure and untampered with.

These letters illuminate both a growing interest in preserving the park, and recognition that the West was more than just a figment of paintings and wagon tracks. By 1890, Yellowstone National Park held substantially more national importance than it had twenty years earlier and was a bastion of wilderness that stood contrary to roving bands of Native Americans, against the giant land grab by cattle herders, settlers, and railroad tycoons. In the beginning conservationists were united around a single goal: they needed to stop the rapid depletion of raw materials and natural resources. However, as good land became more and more scarce, a few conservationists thought that the idea behind Yellowstone was to create an area where resources could be effectively managed and maintained. There was still a push to use what Yellowstone had to offer.

The only thing standing in the way of exploiting the Park was American perception of wilderness. John Muir, founder of the Sierra Club and a prominent conservationist, took up the call of the wild and helped define wilderness for the American public. That said, ideas of wilderness as separate from other reasons for making National parks and cordoning off land were not immediately apparent. Yellowstone was originally created to keep corporate hands off of the rare wonders inside the park and to make sure that Native Americans did not destroy the land. In effect, Yellowstone was the federal government's prize for winning the Indian wars and acting as the security force for manifest destiny. However, no one quite realized what they had or what they could do with it. John Muir, who became the face of American Conservationism and the Sierra Club, described the Yellowstone River as follows:

> Think of this mighty stream springing in the first place in vapor from the sea, flying on the wind, alighting on the mountains in hail and snow and rain, lingering in many a fountain feeding the trees and grass; then gathering its scattered waters, gliding from its noble lake, and going back home to the sea, singing all the way! On it sweeps, through the gates of the mountains, across the vast prairies and plains, through many a wild, gloomy forest, canebrake, and sunny savanna; from glaciers and snow banks and pine woods to warm groves of magnolia and palm; geysers dancing at its head keeping time with the seawaves at its mouth; roaring and gray in rapids, booming

> in broad, bossy falls, murmuring, gleaming in long, silvery reaches, swaying now hither, now thither, whirling, bending in huge doubling, eddying folds, serene, majestic, ungovernable, overflowing all its metes and bounds, frightening the dwellers upon its banks; building, wasting, uprooting, planting; engulfing old islands and making new ones, taking away fields and towns as if in sport, carrying canoes and ships of commerce in the midst of its spoils and drift, fertilizing the continent as one vast farm. Then, its work done, it gladly vanishes in its ocean home, welcomed by the waiting waves.[27]

Wilderness needed to be devoid of people, devoid of human inventions, devoid of human sounds, and devoid of humans that were doing more to the landscape than enjoying it. The sole purpose of Yellowstone National Park was to protect the Natural Wonders inside, regardless of the needs of Native Americans. Settlers had already claimed land, and there was plenty of space for railroads. Yellowstone served as a vehicle that defined how progress and wilderness were viewed in the late 19th century.

Originally, some Americans thought of Yellowstone as a place that could serve as the proving ground for American progress. The railroad wanted to highlight scenic tours through the area, and others wanted to take advantage of the unique ecological conditions that the park provided for. However, the perception that began to dominate American ideas about Yellowstone was that it was special, and its beauty was of vital importance. The federal government made it so progress had to adapt to wilderness, and that's exactly what happened. The railroad adapted to this by selling tourism and stopped their line right outside the borders of the park.

Wilderness and progress were defined side by side by people like John Powell, Teddy Roosevelt, Willard Schultz, Muir, and others who interacted with and wrote about the West between 1870 and 1890. There was an extreme juxtaposition that Marsh, the leading conservationist of the 1850s and '60s, explained in his 1865 essay "Man and Nature." Human progress was teetering in a direction that would eventually spoil important natural areas. Like Powell, Marsh defined the problem through the perspective of past and present. Marsh used the 1860's Mediterranean coast as his example. Humans had stripped the coast of what it could produce. In a sense, human progress outpaced nature.[28] The American West was no exception to the freight train of human interaction with nature. Conservationists like Muir saw it for what it was. If humans were allowed to continue to expand and progress in the same manner that they had before, human lifestyles would eventually be completely unsustainable. Therefore, conservationists had to define wilderness in a way that it fit into progress. Conservation made land

into more than a resource, and allowed for an attitude that cast beauty, learning, and protection as vital values. The idea of the West, of the final frontier, was purely American. In the eyes of conservationists, nature and wilderness transcended trees and buffalo and embodied American ideology. In his essay on Yellowstone, Muir brilliantly combines the ideas of progress with the ideas of nature:

> We see Nature working with enthusiasm like a man, blowing her volcanic forges like a blacksmith blowing his smithy fires, shoving glaciers over the landscapes like a carpenter shoving his planes, clearing, ploughing, harrowing, irrigating, planting, and sowing broadcast like a farmer and gardener, doing rough work and fine work, planting sequoias and pines, rosebushes and daisies; working in gems, filling every crack and hollow with them; distilling fine essences; painting plants and shells, clouds, mountains, all the earth and heavens, like an artist,--ever working toward beauty higher and higher.[29]

That Muir, a strict preservationist, could successfully use ideas of progress to describe an immaculate wilderness, illustrates the culmination and shift toward a new era of American thought that re-defined the surrounding environment.

In all of this, Native Americans became frozen on the reservations, lost in the combination of wilderness and progress. They represented a single idea of wilderness and the outdoors. As the reservation system became more and more concrete and as the West became more and more settled, Native Americans lost their way of life. The theory

> on which the U.S. Government has treated the Indians is that they are wards. They are treated like children, given no special voice, even matters that most nearly concern them, controlled and ordered about. Generally they are directed to remain on their reservations… in a hundred ways it is shown that the Government does not consider the Indians capable of self command.[30]

Yellowstone's creation was a direct response to uncivilized acts by Native Americans, and their subsequent imprisonment on reservations illustrated that the federal government, in response to fears from tourists and preservationists, deemed Native Americans unfit for responsibility. The federal government maintained control over the reservations through the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Indian agents. The reservations were partitioned in such

a way that tribal ways of life were destroyed. Native Americans were supposed to live like agrarian farmers on land that was usually not the best for farming. They were not allowed to farm like they had done in the past either, but forced to learn how to use plows. Indian Agents had the specific duty of teaching Native Americans how to live like white people.

One of the main reasons that Native Americans were removed from Yellowstone and placed under strict control on their reservations was because they did not respect the boundaries that the federal government set for them. It was a fairly consistent practice of conquering peoples to simply draw lines on paper that defined boundaries. The lines of Yellowstone National Park were drawn twice (in 1872 and 1891).[31] The first time they had been drawn blindly based on the knowledge and hearsay of explorers. The second time they were drawn, the borders were expanded to include many of the areas that Native Americans needed to hunt, and where park did not exist forest preserves did.[32] Native Americans paid no attention to these lines, and in the end people's wariness about forest fires in Yellowstone caused stricter measures against the interests of Native Americans. As soon as they were stuck on their reservations, they faced an intense regimen of re-education. They had to learn how to live a completely new way of life; theirs was no longer acceptable or considered sustainable within new ideas of American progress and wilderness.

Indian removal and re-education did not stop at the reservation. The Carlisle Indian school in Pennsylvania was set up as a boarding school to indoctrinate Native American children with "American" values. Among these was the newly adopted idea of progress with wilderness. Indians were twice removed, once from their tribal way of life and then again from reservation life, specifically so they could become educated Americans. Physical geography was a central component of the learning curriculum in off (and on) reservation schools. Maps and globes shrank the Rocky Mountains and prairies, and turned Yellowstone from a hunting ground and meeting place into a square on a piece of paper. Charles Eastman, a student at the school, wrote, "when the teacher placed before us a painted globe, and said that our world was like that—that upon such a thing our forefathers had roamed and hunted for untold ages, as it whirled and danced around the sun in space—I felt that my foothold was deserting me."[33] These people were removed from everything that they new and then taught things contrary to what they had thought to be true.

The lessons in physical geography illustrate how different Native American perceptions of 'wilderness' were. Wilderness was not a foreign area that was untrodden by man, nor was it pristine and beautiful and different from what they new. It simply was. Native Americans did not fit American ideas of progress and wilderness because they had completely different beliefs. Native Americans recognized that the wilderness was disappearing,

but they could not accept that it was because of their actions. They were not strangers or invaders, and felt that the new inhabitants had no right to define how the land was used. Unfortunately, Americans had greater weaponry and a firm belief in the unstoppable force of manifest destiny. In their eyes it was an American right to move West, no matter what stood in the way.

Yellowstone's evolution from 1872 to the 'closing' of the frontier in the 1890s personifies merging American thought processes of wilderness and progress. At the beginning of the 1870s, Americans identified a need to preserve important land in the West, to keep it out of the hands of railroads that wanted to build straight through, and out of the hands of Native Americans that could start forest fires that destroyed the entire area. Progress was defined by what could be won, and wilderness was defined by where man had never been. For Yellowstone to survive, the two had to be pushed together. Native Americans took a back seat to the whole process. They were forced to watch from their reservations as Yellowstone became controlled like a military institution and their way of life slowly disappeared. In the eyes of people moving west, forest fires were extremely harmful to the natural environment. As soon as they were forgotten, Native Americans became the hallmark of preservation and conservation in the United States. Places like Yellowstone specifically used Native American imagery in their early advertisements, and even set up expositions that represented the "wild, untamed Indian." Like in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, Native Americans were written into history as the people moving west needed them to be. They represented what was old, what was American, and perfected the myth about how humans could progressively interact with wilderness.

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LAVOISIER'S CHEMISTRY AT WORK: THE REVOLUTIONARY RENOVATION OF FRENCH GUNPOWDER PRODUCTION

Introduction by Professor Jessica Riskin

Maricarmen's essay examines the career of the eighteenth-century French chemist Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier. A major figure in the history of science and French revolutionary politics, Lavoisier has received plenty of attention from historians. It is all the more impressive, therefore, that Maricarmen has found a new angle on his career. She shows the deep, conceptual connections between his landmark work in the chemistry of gases, for which he is considered a principal founder of modern chemistry, and the reforms he enacted as director of the revolutionary government's gunpowder commission, which figured crucially in the military history of the revolution. In the former capacity, Lavoisier decomposed water into two "airs" that he named hydrogen and oxygen, and established the basis for our modern system of chemical names. In the latter, he succeeded in dramatically increasing France's gunpowder production, in large part through an analysis of the chemical processes involved.

Historians, especially following the work of Charles C. Gillispie, have not only treated Lavoisier's scientific and administrative achievements as fundamentally separate, but they have done so on principle. In Gillispie's view, science and democratic government need one another, but they also, by the same token, need one another to be fundamentally independent. That is, science needs funding and support without political or ideological constraints, and democratic government needs the guarantee of independent, non-ideological thinking in the society that an objective, morally neutral science provides. According to Gillispie, the French Revolution was the very moment when science and political administration adopted this arms-length, mutually opportunistic partnership. Accordingly, he has argued that

science and administration were involved only on the level of funding, institutions and administration, and not on any deeper level, certainly not on the level of scientific theory or content. His work has had a defining influence on the historiography, as Maricarmen shows in her essay. She is therefore courageously confronting a fairly well-established consensus by showing conceptual connections between Lavoisier's theoretical and experimental innovations in chemistry and his activities as gunpowder commissioner. Her essay makes a signal contribution to the historiography of natural science, the Revolution and the relations between the two.

Lavoisier's Chemistry At Work: The Revolutionary Renovation Of French Gunpowder Production

María del Carmen Barrios

The year is 1775. Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier, one of the Academy of Science's youngest associates, addresses his fellow members at the Easter reopening of the Academy on April 26. Reading from his "Mémoire sur la nature du principe qui se combine avec les métaux pendant leur calcination et qui en augmente le poids,"[1] he controversially states that "the principle that combines with metals during their calcination, and increases their weight and transforms them into the state of calx, is neither a component part of the air nor a particular acid existing in the atmosphere, it is *air itself, in its entirety, unaltered and not decomposed*."[2] The young chemist is one breath away from defining oxygen, and with it establishing his new chemical order. Meanwhile, Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot, Controller-General of France, is devising a crucial reform to the means of gunpowder production. The same year, on May 28, a mere month after Lavoisier's celebrated presentation to the academy, the Council of State will revoke the license to the privately held *Ferme des Poudres* (Gunpowder Farm), and in its place install a new state organ headed by Lavoisier, the *Régie des Poudres* (Gunpowder Administration) to take over both gunpowder production and saltpeter (the main ingredient in black powder) collection.[3]

The year 1775 will therefore see two of Lavoisier's lifelong ventures launched concurrently, projects that will nurture each other and result in one of the most unexpected military outcomes of the eighteenth century: overwhelming victory for the First French Republic. Through the application of chemical principles, the *Régie* will not only standardize national gunpowder production, but will vastly expand it, filling the nation's stockpiles in time for the insurgent *levée en masse*, as well as instituting the refining methods for the Committee of Public Safety's 1794 program on nationwide saltpeter (otherwise known as niter) collection. Correspondingly, Lavoisier's position at the Gunpowder Administration will play no small part in his chemical research, especially on the detonation of niter. Lavoisier's tenure at the *Régie* and his development of the New Chemistry will complement each other while framing this revolutionary chapter in the history of war technology.

This view about Lavoisier's career has not been very common in recent scholarship. On the contrary, whereas Lavoisier's incredible managerial capacity—portrayed as an indirect ramification of his scientific endeav-

ors—has been depicted as the sole reason why gunpowder production levels improved dramatically under the *Régie*, the possibility that his developing chemical theory may have directly informed his work in the various public positions he held has been rather slighted. Since it is the import of the latter that will inform the argument in this paper, it is necessary to document the reasoning behind the prevalent view I am opposing.

As previously mentioned, many academic publications argue that the increased gunpowder output attained by the *Régie* during Lavoisier's tenure was in fact not directly related to the new chemistry at all. Charles C. Gillispie of Princeton University states:

> The connection between renovation of the French munitions industry and the reformation of chemistry was personal in that both were the work of Lavoisier and both were in his style. It was also circumstantial, for deep theoretical chemistry, Lavoisier's or any other, is unthinkable except as sounding a great body of chemical practice. It was institutional, finally, in the collaboration of the Academy of Science with the Régie des poudres, Lavoisier having gathered into his hands the threads that worked them both.[4]

The connection between Lavoisier's new chemistry and gunpowder production is therefore indirect according to Gillispie, and consequently the success of the *Régie* lay rather in the rationalization of an administration previously plagued by a decaying management than in the application of a chemical theory. He does not acknowledge this modernization—which has been called a "scientific administration,"[5] since it had its roots in the exactitude of measurement and equivalences of the new chemistry—to be a direct effect of the Chemical Revolution on the production of gunpowder. The reasoning for the argument lies in Gillispie's overarching agenda: emphasizing this period as the formalizing era of "proper" relations between modern science and government. These relations were essentially opportunistic, distant and "positivist," in which science offered the polity techniques but never ideologies, and government offered funding but neither ideas nor theory.[6] Throughout the Enlightenment, scientific theory had been elevated to the position of a 'neutral' intellectual subject. For government and science to interact at a level above the logistics of management soiled scientific theory's impartial position. To accept that Lavoisier's chemical theory may have informed his work at the *Régie* and, more shockingly, that the relationship may have persisted vice versa as well, is completely incompatible with the thesis that Gillispie has advanced throughout his scholarship.

Having published his first tome in 1980, Gillispie's stance con-

ceivably influenced subsequent writers on the subject. In fact, the two most prolific writers on Lavoisier's tenure at the *Régie*, Patrice Bret[7] and Seymour H. Mauskopf,[8] echo his argument. Even if direct influence may not be empirically proven, both authors cite Gillispie extensively in their literature. Mauskopf, for example, cites Gillispie in all of his works used herein. Of the six sources used in this paper that Bret either wrote or edited, Gillispie is directly cited in four. Jean-Pierre Poirier, Lavoisier's biographer, also draws heavily on Gillispie. All of these works defend the argument that it was not Lavoisier's chemical theory but rather his administrative skill, perhaps characterized by his scientific endeavors, which led to the robust development of the *Régie*. Articles published before the issuing of Gillispie's first tome in 1980, such as those by Lucien Scheler and Robert P. Multhauf, do not include this persuasion. In fact, Multhauf discredits the idea that science provided the administrative skill by stating that the revolutionary program managed to improve saltpeter production in France "through rational management—which may be credited to the scientist, Lavoisier, if not to the science—and through the application of science to the criticism of existing practices."[9] One of the objects of this paper is to revive this stance and present it as a viable antithesis to Gillispie's notion of 'positivism'.

To achieve this, the paper has been organized into four sections. The first will cover the dismal state of gunpowder production that prompted the implementation of the *Régie*, whereas the following three sections will narrate in chronological fashion the nearly twenty years of service Lavoisier put into gunpowder manufacture, starting in 1775, with his appointment to the *Régie*, and ending in 1794, the year of his execution in the midst of the Terror. The second and third sections include specific contributions Lavoisier made to the fields of chemistry and gunpowder production, presented side-by-side in an effort to demonstrate the way that the two spheres influenced each other during Lavoisier's career. The third section presents only contributions made to gunpowder production, for the exceedingly tumultuous situation France found itself in during the years covered (1790-1794) necessarily jeopardized Lavoisier's position and kept him from publishing much of his chemical research, as is described in that chapter.

From *Ferme* to *Régie*

Before the launch of the *Régie des Poudres et Salpêtres* on July 1st 1775,[10] it became apparent that the French state's sanctioned monopoly on gunpowder was incapable of fulfilling the realm's own demand on the good. The embarrassing conclusion to the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), caused in part by a shortage in this precious commodity, revealed that the traditional method of saltpeter collection, outsourced to the *Ferme des Poudres* (Gunpowder Farm), was inefficient at provisioning the necessary levels of

saltpeter for a bellicose state. The *Ferme des Poudres*, a private company that leased the exclusive right to manufacture and sell gunpowder as well as its principal ingredient, saltpeter, from the Crown in six-year contracts, was plagued by corrupt practice and a scandalously inefficient operation. Under no obligation to the crown to surpass the amount of saltpeter listed in their lease[11] or to protect the kingdom in times of war, the *Ferme* tended both to neglect technological advancement and to come up short of gunpowder during military campaigns that demanded a higher supply of the good. Due to a corrupt saltpeter collection policy, it resorted to imports of saltpeter from the Netherlands and the Indian colonies shortly before the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. At the war's conclusion, with most of its Indian colonies lost, France found itself in a precarious situation in regards to the provisioning of niter.[12]

The *Ferme* came to depend on the foraging corps to maintain saltpeter supply levels. The *salpêtriers*, saltpetermen, collected niter from basements, barns, sheds, and any other areas under humid conditions in which putrefying organic waste might yield the product. The *droit de fouille* (roughly translated as the "right to search") gave them jurisdiction to take over any locale that presented an accumulation of the material, with no legal obligation to provide compensation to the owners. Naturally, the system was rather unpopular; to those that could afford them, bribes became a routine way in which to rid oneself of the scavengers.[13] The *fouille's* viable alternative, importing saltpeter from India or Egypt, however, was not without opponents, as it left the state dependent on foreign imports for a strategic good at steep purchasing costs, prospects to which few administrators were attached.

The decision to establish the *Régie* was therefore a matter of restricting graft, especially in the eyes of Turgot, Controller-General of France. Indeed, it was Lavoisier who alerted the controller-general of the bribery and corruption pervading the old system. In his position as member of the *Ferme Générale* (the tax farm, a privately held corporation in charge of collecting taxes much in the same vein as the *Ferme des poudres* controlled gunpowder), Lavoisier was in charge of collecting the tax on salt.[14] Common salt (sodium chloride) is a side product of saltpeter refining. In an effort to control graft and collect the salt tax, Lavoisier began a thorough inspection of the manufacturing procedures of the *Ferme des poudres*. In a report submitted to Turgot, Lavoisier stated several damaging details about gunpowder production under the *Ferme*.[15] Firstly, saltpetermen cheated on the amounts of salt produced during the first step of the refining process, selling the surplus on the black market. Secondly, the *Ferme*'s seventeen refineries and dozen gunpowder factories were drastically underdeveloped. Their routines were primitive and labor-intense, and reflected the same procedures recommended at the establishment of the *Ferme* in 1686.[16] For ex-

ample, rather than using a stamping mill, "when a prospecting party brought a load into the master's yard, he would set two husky laborers with sledge hammers onto pulverizing the charge of stone and plaster."[17] Furthermore, Lavoisier estimated that the prices at which the saltpetermen and *Ferme* traded were beneath the actual costs of production. Crude saltpeter, bought at seven *sous* per pound by the *Ferme*, in fact cost the state and society eleven to twelve sous to produce. Once refined, saltpeter cost the *Ferme* twelve sous per pound, whereas its real production cost was sixteen. The rationale behind Lavoisier's calculations was two fold. While the salaries of saltpetermen were paid for by the state (not the *Ferme*), and represented an extra cost of production not reflected in the price of saltpeter, their lodging, the transport of their tools, and the transport of crude saltpeter to refineries were expenditures incurred by the communities in which saltpetermen mined. Since the state did not provide spending money for these operating costs, saltpetermen made use of citizens' private property to cover their needs. This represented extra costs to the production of saltpeter, paid for by 'society' in general, that were not included in the price of the good. The budgetary losses for the Crown and the public were the source of handsome profits for the *Fermiers*.[18] The system was corrupt, neglected, and overpriced. Turgot immediately sought reform against the *Ferme*.

The last contract to the gunpowder farmers, the *Bail Demont*, was revoked in May 1775, with five years still in the contract. With it came the establishment of the *Régie*, not a private corporation but a state institution directly accountable to the Treasury, as well as what has been called the "crash program"[19] for saltpeter production.[20] The new *régisseurs* designated to head the task were Louis Claude Marthe Barbault de Gratigny, Jean Baptiste Paul Antoine Clouet, Jean Pierre Le Faucheux and Lavoisier. The first three were former gunpowder farmers, whereas the latter had little experience in its production. Cited as reasons for his nomination in the May 28 decree were Lavoisier's "chemical expertise" and his managerial capacity as a member of the *Ferme générale*.[21]

The decree of May 28 stated three guiding principles for the new institution. First, whatever profit made by the production of saltpeter and the trade of gunpowder within the borders of the realm would remain with the Crown. Second, the *Régie* was obliged to completely reverse the decreasing amount of saltpeter production and gunpowder manufacture, and thereby reinstate France's self-sufficiency in gunpowder. Finally, the *Régie* was forced to abandon its main method of saltpeter collection: the *droit de fouille* was to cease in three years' time to avoid the harassment and encroachment on private property it generated.[22] Besides the new statutes, the *Régie* inherited eleven hundred workers and upwards of forty branches, including powder mills, refineries, warehouses, and vending stations in main cities from the Farm.

Writing to the Academy of Sciences on August 17 of the same year, Turgot entreated its help in setting up a prize competition to study the possibility of increasing saltpeter production by artificial means. It is widely accepted that Lavoisier proposed the idea to the controller-general,[23] given his professional relationship with Turgot and his appointment to the evaluating jury. Unfortunately the quality of the papers received by the final entry date, 1777, was considered rather poor, and the cutoff was extended to 1781. Sixty-six papers were submitted, none of which contained any new knowledge for the production of saltpeter that the *Régie* would desperately need once the *fouille* were suppressed.[24] The low quality of submissions followed the previous first disillusionment over the lack of ingenuity in the submissions to the Besanón prize, an earlier competition on saltpeter production set up in times of the *Ferme*. Shortly after acceding to the *Régie*, Lavoisier collected and edited these older papers, publishing them through the Academy eleven years later, in *Receuil de mémoires et de pièces sur la formation et la fabrication du salpêtre*. This effort was followed by compiling what Lavoisier surely deemed more meritorious writings on saltpeter, mostly from foreign writers in Sweden and Germany, published by the *Régie* (and again, edited by Lavoisier) under the title *Recueil de mémoires et d'observations sur la formation et sur la fabrication de salpêtre* in 1776. However superior these treatises could have been from those submitted to the Besançon prize, it is clear that 'Lavoisier the chemist' found fault in them by his copious editorial notes:

> Il paroit que Glauber ignoroit que les *eaux mères* des saltpêtriers sont pour grande partie le résultat de la combinaison de l'acide nitreux avec une terre calcaire. Le nitre fixé ou l'alkali, qu'il prescrit d'ajouter, précipite la terre et se combine à sa place avec l'acide ; d'où il résulte un véritable salpêtre. Les Chimistes connoissent aujourd'hui l'explication de cette expérience, et les Salpêtriers la font sans le savoir, lorsqu'ils repassent des *eaux mères* sur des cendres, soi-disant pour les dégraisser (see translation).[25]

To Lavoisier, the disappointment after all three episodes must have convinced him that change and reform could come only from within the *Régie*.

Beginnings: The 1770's

In 1776, a year after his appointment as commissioner to the *Régie des Poudres*, Lavoisier moved into the *Petit Arsenal* of Paris, a benefit extended to him in his new post as *régisseur*. There, he would install a state-of-the-art laboratory in which he conducted the majority of his chemical

experiments, including those on the composition of gasses that led to his adoption of a new chemical order. From the Arsenal he also surveyed the production of the vast majority of gunpowder made in France, a medieval process that Lavoisier would aim to completely rebuild. The leaching and manufacturing procedures are herewith described in technical terms in order to fully appreciate the future reforms implemented by the *Régie*.

Gunpowder is a mixture of three ingredients: charcoal, sulfur, and potassium nitrate or saltpeter, its common name deriving from the Latin *sal petrae*, as it was often found crystalized on rock. Of the three, saltpeter is the most abundant in gunpowder, making up usually about 75% of the final mixture. The other two make up a sixth (12.5%) each or, in a more flammable combination, sulphur represents 10% and charcoal 15%.[26] Sulphur was easily imported to Marseilles from Sicily or Naples at cheap prices, while charcoal was produced from *bourdaine*, or *Ramnus frangula*, the wood of choice for the Farm. It was in the trade of saltpeter that the *Régie* most occupied itself.

Once saltpeterrich earth was extracted by the saltpetermen, they were required by contract to leach it only once to obtain the yellow crystals of saltpeter, and hand in the crystals as well as the drained water to the nearest refinery. This liquid received the name of *eau mère*, loosely translated as "mother liquor" as it was the first draining water for the saltpeter. Saltpetermen believed that no more saltpeter could be obtained from this liquid, and would persist leaching it to obtain sea salt,[27] when in fact the *eaux mères* include several other compounds besides common salt. Since nitrates have high solubility, they compound with several other alkalis beside potassium, including calcium and magnesium.[28] If the calcium or magnesium nitrate could be broken up to release the nitric acid, potassium could be added to the brew to form potassium nitrate, or "pure saltpeter." Some trace of this chemical knowledge seems to have been popularly known, since some old *Ferme* refineries added cinders (rich in potassium) to the clay and smashed stone the saltpetermen brought in for refining, but the belief was that saltpeter needed to be drained from greasy residue (this residue was in fact a physical property of the magnesium and calcium nitrates), and less suitable alternatives, such as sifting saltpeter crystals with sand, were equally popular.[29] The reasoning behind the traditional addition of ashes to saltpeter during refining was a hotly contested issue during the day—theories ranged from suggestions that the ashes facilitated proper crystallization, to simple beliefs in their utility during filtration. Yet without both a proper explanation for its value in the refining process, and an official sanctioning by the *Ferme*, the use of ashes continued as a largely uncoordinated measure.

Lavoisier's first, and possibly most important, reform to gunpowder manufacture based on chemical knowledge would stem from this traditional practice. Although he had already implemented important reforms for

saltpeter collection, including a ban on saltpetermen entering cellars, wine storerooms and private quarters of residences in the search of gunpowder salt, as well as a recommendation on the use of mills for pulverizing rubble rather than brute human force, this would be the first technological reform of the *Régie* with a scientific validation. Lavoisier, drawing on his chemical research during 1776 on the makeup of nitric acid, would demonstrate the true composition of saltpeter, and implement the use of potash (potassium carbonate) at the *Régie*'s refineries, jumpstarting a new period for munitions production in France.

Chemistry

It would be difficult to believe that Lavoisier's first experiments upon moving into the Arsenal were not in some way motivated by his new position as *régisseur*. It is even more difficult when one considers that these experiments were in fact concentrated on ascertaining the true chemical composition of nitric acid, the main component in saltpeter. Starting in 1775, the year he was named to the *Régie*, Lavoisier began an earnest investigation into the makeup of nitric acid that underlined the vaguely outlined chemical theory of his discourse to the Academy in April of the same year.[30] In 1776, he presented his *Mémoire sur l'existence de l'air dans l'acide nitreux*[31] to the Academy, in which he stated "L'acide nitreux, l'acide constitutif du salpêtre contient une grande quantité d'air très pur, dans un état de fixité et de combinaison; c'est sans doute à cet air, qui se dégage dans la détonation du nitre, que sont dus en grande partie les terribles effets qui accompagnent l'inflammation de la poudre."[32] The statement verified common knowledge that saltpeter was a neutral acid, made up of nitric acid combined to the point of saturation with a fixed vegetable alkali.[33] He described the detonation of gunpowder as a result of the combustion of charcoal with the "eminently respirable air" (oxygen) that made up niter when combined with the fixed alkali.

After the presentation of *Mémoire sur l'existence de l'air dans l'acide nitreux*, Lavoisier continued his research in the composition of acids. On November 23, 1777, he presented to the Academy his *Considérations générales sur la nature des acides*.[34] The paper was the first direct attack on the standard phlogiston theory, and in it were sowed the first seeds of chemical insurgence: "I shall henceforth refer to dephlogisticated air or eminently respirable air in its state of combination and fixity, by the name of *acidifying principle* or, if one prefers a Greek word with the same meaning, *oxygenic principle*."[35] This was the first recorded appearance of the word "oxygen", a revolt against the convoluted terms conceived for the new gases discovered across Europe. The term "oxygen" would soon break with the traditional chemical labels and instill in Lavoisier an eagerness for a new kind of re-

form besides that which he pursued at the *Régie des poudres*.

Gunpowder

Meanwhile, at his post as *régisseur*, he was preparing a slim volume for publication. Published in 1777, *Instruction sur l'établissement des nitrières, et sur la fabrication du salpêtre*[36] was meant for exclusive distribution among the workers of the *Régie* in an effort to spread sound production methods. The pamphlet was the first of many treatises the *Régie* would disseminate amongst its employees in an effort to increase productivity. A treatise on the exact methods of incorporation of potash into the manufacturing process, as well as one on methods of accountability followed in 1779 and 1785, respectively.[37] The *Instruction* was meant primarily to introduce the new manufacturing reform of using potash, and secondly, as a means of informing the general worker of the advancements in chemistry on the subject of saltpeter. In the opening chapter of the treatise, *De la nature du Nitre ou Salpêtre*, Lavoisier candidly stated that although the composition of the salt was widely known by then, not much else was known on fixed alkalis or nitric acid—except of course for his own paper on detonation, previously published and read at the Academy.[38] The more interesting chemical information it presented related to the makeup of the *eaux mères*, and the salts that could be gathered from it and subsequently turned into saltpeter with the use of potash:

> L'acide nitreux peut, non-seulement, se combiner avec un alkali fixe, et former de véritable salpêtre; il peut encore s'unir avec toutes les terres calcaires et absorbants, telles que la craie, la base de l'alun, celle du sel d'Epsom et beaucoup d'autres, et il forme avec ces terres différents espèces de nitre à base terreuse qui, loin d'avoir la propriété de cristalliser comme le vrai salpêtre, attirent l'humidité de l'air et s'y résolvent en liqueur. Ces sels, que les salpêtriers et les raffineurs de salpêtre confondent sous le nom générique d'eau mère, ne peuvent entrer dans la composition de la poudre.[39]

Lavoisier specifically used chemical composition to explain the reason why *eaux mères* had to be effectively extracted from bona fide saltpeter before the refining process began. By including instances of chemical fact in his treatise, Lavoisier provided a sound scientific founding for the reforms the *Régie* meant to implement to increase gunpowder production, particularly with the introduction of potash into the refining process:

> Les cendres, en raison de l'alcali fixe qu'elles contiennent presque toutes, soit à nu, soit dans un état de combinaison, sont propres a [précipiter la terre calcaire et substituer un alcali fixe]; et, comme on l'a déjà dit, les salpêtriers, en mêlant des cendres avec les terres qu'ils se proposent de lessiver, font, sans s'en douter, une opération de chimie très compliquée ; ils décomposent un sel et en recomposent un autre.[40]

With these two passages Lavoisier abolished the popularly held belief regarding why one should add ashes to the saltpeter brew and instead established that nitric acid, which was meant to be salvaged from the *eaux mères* and bound to the fixed alkali in potash, created the appropriate kind of salt meant for gunpowder production. In the first passage he introduced the chemical composition of the *eaux mères*; in the second, he used the previously mentioned chemical fact to explain the reasoning behind the use of ashes, and subsequently potash, in the refining process. His approach was pioneering in that it used a basic principle of chemical composition as proof for the implementation of new reforms at the *Régie*; these included substituting potash for the traditional ashes when preparing the clay and rock for the refining process, ceasing the sifting of crystals with sand and other materials, and saving all *eaux mères* for treatment with potash.[41] The reforms were meant to maximize the output of pure saltpeter from all earth and stone accumulated for production, and were adopted because of the substantiation chemistry provided for their efficacy.

Revolution and Reform: the 1780's

By the year 1781, the reforms of the *Régie* spelled out success. As best put by Bret, "En cinq ans depuis la creation de la Régie, la production nationale avait augmenté de 41%, malgré un recul provisoire en 1778, dû à la suppression de la fouille contrainte."[42] Lavoisier's novel suggestion for the application of potash to the refining process had led its first adopter, Le Cointre in St. Denis, to increase the refinery's output an estimated 80% in three years,[43] and even the termination of the *fouille* in 1778, in accordance with the stipulations laid out at its inception, did not decrease production to pre-Régie levels. Not only would it cease its dependency on the fouille, but in 1783 the *Régie* stopped purchasing saltpeter from India altogether.[44] Reserves of gunpowder reached five million pounds, enough to last throughout two or three campaigns according to Lavoisier's calculations. The range of gunpowder had increased from seventy or eighty toises (420-480 feet) in the late seventeenth century, to one hundred fifteen to one hundred thirty toises by 1778 (690-780 feet).[45] By 1785, the conditions stipulated by Turgot in his

decree creating the *Régie* had been wholly met.

However optimistic its first years though, the *Régie* soon found itself immediately facing new problems. The suggestion of the use of potash was not being adopted in all branches of the *Régie*. It soon became apparent, by the escalation of quality disparity between the gunpowder produced in potash and non-potash using branches, that the *Régie*'s fixed price of crude saltpeter across the realm was paying for a wide variety in caliber and leading to economic losses. By decree, any amount of saltpeter bought by the *Régie* was supposed to lose no more then thirty per cent of its volume to the refining process,[46] but there was no empirical test to prove that the decree was being held to. No rules existed for testing saltpeter at the *Régie* because the *Ferme* had implemented none, and because during its first years, in which the sanctioning of a test would have made most sense, the *Régie* was rather more occupied reversing the *Ferme*'s poor performance. Once the three main points of its May 28 founding decree had been met by the late 1770s, the *Régie* moved on to administrative improvement and expansion. Devising a suitable test for saltpeter quality would become the primary query behind chemical research at the *Régie* from this point onwards.

Chemistry

While the *Régie* grappled with saltpeter testing, Lavoisier continued to pursue his research on the chemistry of detonation and the chemical composition of nitric acid. Following his presentation at the Academy in November 1777, Lavoisier's thermochemical theory had come under strong attack, and he was bent on proving himself to his critics. His first follow-up treatise was "Mémoire sur la chaleur,"[47] a collaboration with Pierre-Simon Laplace. Dated June 18, 1783, it stated that detonation was a combustion process whose main gaseous product, fixed air (today identified as carbon dioxide), was produced by the reaction of charcoal, or another "carbonaceous base", with the oxygen fixed in the nitric acid component of saltpeter.[48] In detonation, charcoal therefore served merely as a fuel, a provider of flammable matter to combust with oxygen and produce fixed air. The identification of chemical reactions occurring between specific gases necessarily establishes that Lavoisier was past the stage in which he had accepted the existence of chemically distinct species of gases,[49] one of the main divergences from phlogiston theory that his new chemical order would stress. This was not the only conjecture taking shape in his laboratory, though; a second revolutionary premise was evolving.

In his "Expériences sur la decomposition du nitre par le charbon,"[50] published 1786, Lavoisier was able to determine the volumes of fixed air and mephitic air (today identified as nitrogen) produced by detonation. He then multiplied the volume of each compound by its respective specific

gravity to convert it into a weight measure, and proceeded to demonstrate that the summation of these weights with that of the alkali residue perfectly equaled the weight of the saltpeter and charcoal used in the detonation reaction. Additionally, he calculated how much vital air (today identified as oxygen) had been in the fixed air produced in detonation, which he then used to determine the proportion of oxygen to nitrogen in nitric acid.[51] The law of conservation of mass was beginning to take shape from Lavoisier's research into the nature of the chemical reaction of detonation—an inquiry that Lavoisier first began to consider during the same year (1775) that he was appointed to the *Régie*.

The late 1780's were also the years in which Lavoisier's concepts for the new chemistry would reach wider audiences than the *Académie*. The two titles that epitomize the chemical revolution, *Méthode de nomenclature chimique and Traité elementaire de la chimie*, were published in 1787 and 1789, respectively, cementing Lavoisier's chemical principles and the start of a new era in chemistry. In these years, Lavoisier would find his scientific aspirations met on a grand scale. His aspirations for the *Régie* would prove a bit more elusive.

Gunpowder

In 1787, the four *régisseur*s *des poudres* were entreated to collaborate on *l'Encyclopédie Méthodique*, a section of the grander *Encyclopédie Panckoucke*, projected as a successor to Diderot's *Encyclopédie*. They were asked to submit around seventy short articles illustrating the *Régie*'s work. In 1995, the original manuscripts from the *régisseur*s were rediscovered and dated to 1787. The less than thirty completed articles represent the most detailed procedures of the *Régie*.

The article "Epreuve, essai, experience,"[52] details the several tests that the *Régie* had adopted by 1787. They all approach saltpeter testing through chemical manipulation: forced decomposition and reconfiguration of compounds. The language represents complete confidence in the capacity of chemical knowledge to solve the issue of establishing the quality of saltpeter supply to the *Régie*:

> Il ne falloit plus que trouver des moyens chimiques pour analiser une quantité déterminée du salpêtre pris sur l'échantillion, séparer de salpêtre les divers corps et les divers sels qui lui sont étrangers en sorte qu'on pût établir avec une précision exacte de quel déchet étoit susceptible la fourniture de chaque salpêtrier afin de lui faire raison de la plus ou de la moins value en partant du taux fixé par les règlements.[53]

Such a position on the relationship between science and industry should not be overlooked. While the New Chemistry was taking shape, Lavoisier's scientific influence was growing perceptibly stronger at the *Régie*. Rather than let refineries continue to purify saltpeter by their traditional means and continue to pay the same prices for differing qualities of the good, Lavoisier was implementing policies to allow only the highest quality saltpeter to be used in gunpowder manufacture. By means of accurate chemical descriptions obtained from research, he was able to explain the nature of the reforms and therefore justify their enactment. The campaign to purify gunpowder's basic ingredient can only be a reflection of his growing understanding of the process of detonation, and the crucial need for nitric acid to be in uncontaminated form in order for the chemical reaction producing fixed air (CO_2) from the acid and charcoal to take place.

Administrative reforms were equally crucial in his work at the *Régie*. The need for a chemical test assessing the quality of raw saltpeter was after all prompted by an administrative inclination to regularize the balance sheet and an obligation to defend the rights of the Crown, although the process by which the test was conducted derived fundamentally from chemical knowledge. The first test the *Régie* adopted to solve the question is described in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*. Proposed by Guyton de Morveau around 1783 and adopted in 1785, it was a veritable practical application of chemical knowledge, but perhaps rather complex for all refineries within the territory to adopt. The process consisted of firstly filtering out all insoluble material from the raw delivery, and then separating the *eaux mères* from the pure saltpeter through dissolution in "l'esprit de vin," or alcohol. Finally, one separated any salt that could have escaped the alcohol wash by adding "nitre de Saturne," (today identified as lead nitrate or acetate), which decomposed the salt and precipitated in the form of lead chloride. By comparing the weights of the waste and that of the purified saltpeter (as Lavoisier's new chemistry encouraged to determine equalities between reactants and products of chemical reactions), one could determine the caliber of the saltpeter being provisioned by each saltpeterman and adjust the amount due accordingly.[54] However, the test was deficient in that it presumed perfect solubilities: all chloride conforming salt would precipitate with lead, and all nitrates (chiefly calcium and magnesium) from the *eaux mères* would dissolve in the alcohol wash. The test differed from the actual yield of the saltpeter upon refining by about seven per cent.[55]

Once the Morveau test had been tried out for a year, its complexities and deficiencies led the *régisseur*s back to the drawing board. The second test adopted was suggested in 1786 by Riffault des Estres, a chemist at the refinery in Tours. Again the problem was approached as a question of finding the right solvents for the impurities without affecting the saltpeter. Riffault suggested that a saturated solution of saltpeter itself should be used

as a solvent in the test, and that such a trial would be accurate to a centesimal percentage point. However, "it appeared that the introduction of other salts making up the *eaux mères* into a saturated saltpeter solution increased its capacity for saltpeter, and hence removed some of that from the sample as well,"[56] and correction tables had to be drawn up to rectify the loss of the crucial ingredient by members of the Academy in 1789. Even with the use of the correction tables though, refining consistently yielded less saltpeter than the amount designated by the test. It would soon fall on Lavoisier himself to come up with the test that would be used during the revolutionary gunpowder program in 1794, the year saltpeter collection would reach staggering heights, and gunpowder production would be ensured for the rest of the revolutionary years.

Régie under Revolution: the 1790's

In 1789 the National Assembly, recently entreated by the Third Estate to act in the name of the French people, committed the first offense that eventually led to war. Abolishing feudal tenure in France, it violated the rights of several German princes in Alsace, rights that had been guaranteed since the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia. Forced to react to such abuse, the Holy Roman Empire and Prussia issued the Declaration of Pillnitz on August 25, 1791, declaring their willingness to intervene against the new French state were either one attacked by the Revolutionary forces.[57] News of the pact enraged the French public, and ultimately gave rise to the war that pitched Revolutionary France against Prussia, the Holy Roman Empire, Great Britain, Russia, Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, Naples, the Papacy, the Ottoman Empire, the Free Dutch States, and the United States. From it, the French Republic emerged victorious, due mainly to the *levée en masse* and its huge firearm capacity.

The reform that would affect Lavoisier directly would be issued the same year as the Pillnitz Declaration. In April 1791, the National Assembly reformed the status of the *Régie* and placed it under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Public Contributions, thereby nationalizing the munitions monopoly. The number of *régisseur*s decreased from four to three, and Lavoisier was removed from office, on pretext that he had just recently been named commissioner of the Treasury and should not exceed himself.[58] Although he was allowed to continue living at the Arsenal, where, he pointed out to the Assembly in his appeal to the decision, he had installed himself at considerable personal expense by building a state of the art laboratory very possibly unrivalled within France, he was stripped of the post he had held for sixteen years.[59]

Lavoisier's removal was a setback for the *Régie*. The test of the quality of saltpeter was still failing, and the correction tables formulated by

the Academy were not reliable. A new test was urgently needed, since the artificial saltpeter production project had largely failed to produce the amount of saltpeter needed to meet gunpowder demand, and the *Régie* found itself dependent on the *fouille* once more for saltpeter supply.[60] The Revolutionary conflict accorded new stress to the methods of collection, and production decreased slightly each year beginning in 1790.[61] Eventually, in May 1792, with war looming on the horizon, the Minister of Public Contributions, Etienne Clavière, instructed the Academy of Sciences to find an answer to the problem.[62] The Academy formed a commission consisting of the chemists Antoine Baumé, Claude Louis Berthollet, Jean Darcet and Antoine François de Fourcroy, and charged them with assessing the precision of the test and making recommendations on an alternative, should the current prove inadequate.

Gunpowder

In February 1792, Lavoisier was recalled to the *Régie* for a provisional appointment, meant to iron out the difficulties in operation it had run into since his departure, particularly the dispute between saltpetermen and the *Régie* over the quality and price of saltpeter. In May, he was entreated by Clavière to begin serious evaluations on the quality of niter, and set to work on saltpeter refining experiments, the first time any *régisseur* had gone beyond the oversight of administration and had refined saltpeter himself.[63]

Laviosier's experiments yielded positive results, and he set to work drafting a refining plan for the *Régie* based on his observations. Citing Baumé's concurrent research, he stipulated that a cold refining was the suitable process for saltpeter. In his refining experiments, he had ascertained that the saltpetermen's method of salt extraction through boiling caused not only considerable waste in the form of eaux meres, which had to be further refined through a separate process, but a loss of around seven per cent of saltpeter through entrainment in the evaporation process. Alternately, cold refining of a five thousand pound sample of raw saltpeter yielded 128 more pounds of pure saltpeter than the traditional process. He realized that as water changed states, particles of the alkali in niter would bind themselves to water molecules, and be incorporated and swept into the physical process of phase transition. Using evaporation and condensation in the refining process effectively meant incurring a constant net loss. In contract, cold refining did not necessitate phase transitions, and was therefore the superior method Lavoisier advocated for.

In his "Mémoire sur les différentes méthodes proposées pour déterminer le titre ou la qualité du salpêtre brut,"[64] he published his proposal for the method of cold refining that the *Régie* should implement. The set-up consisted of two lead-lined trenches, slightly sloped with drains at the end,

in which a bed of crude saltpeter would be washed with 25 to 30 percent of its weight in water a first time, and after long stirring and soaking, would drain off the *eaux mères*. A second wash with 35 to 45 percent of its weight in water would serve to drain off the salt. The first wash would be treated with potash and left to evaporate to recover whatever nitrates possible, and the second wash would be left to evaporate to recover the salt.[65]

However, the heightened sense of insecurity in the capital, along with Marat's constant provocations, led Lavoisier to quit Paris and the *Régie* in August, and flee to his country estate. It fell to Dufourny, his successor at the *Régie* to draft Lavoisier's proposals into popular instructions for the extraction of saltpeter. On December 4, 1793, the Committee of Public Safety called for a nation-wide, revolutionary obligation of all citizens to extract saltpeter, and Dufourny's instructions, fashioned on Lavoisier's suggestions, found their way straight into the hands of the citizenry. The *Régie* was not so fortunate: after several complaints by the saltpetermen over the repeated failures to improve the quality test, the National Convention decreed in May 1792 that saltpeter would continue to be received by the terms already in place, thereby succeeding in their petition that chemical testing not be compulsory upon the delivery of crude saltpeter. Payments remained as before, and the *Régie* continued using the refining procedure that generated a net loss in saltpeter.

Meanwhile, the *salpêtriers sans culottes* movement gained track throughout 1794. During that year of "revolutionary" production, about twenty million pounds of saltpeter were produced, 15 million by the revolutionary entrepreneurs, and around five million by the *Régie*. The total amount was about seven times what had been produced on average over the preceding eighteen years of the *Régie*.[66] This was completed through the popular instructions of the *Régie*, effectively composed by Lavoisier himself. Throughout February and March of the same year, the "Programme des Cours Révolutionnaires sur la Fabrication des Salpêtres, des poudres, et de Canons"[67] was presented by the *Régie* (now rechristened the *Administration des Poudres*) and the Academy, in which not only was the new method of refining described in terms of Lavoisier's last provisions, but which used the new chemical nomenclature to identify the components of gunpowder as well as describe the chemical process of salt decomposition and creation which occurs during refining. In the same way that the use of the new nomenclature in a Republican publication indicated how effective Lavoisier's system had proven for the chemical field, so the use of his provisions on cold refining reflected his mastery of the technical knowledge needed to improve gunpowder production. While the *Programme* represented the outcome of the partnership between Lavoisier's work at the *Régie* and his scientific pursuits, it would sadly not bear the name of its originator.

Conclusion

> It is true that the technique of refining "revolutionary" saltpeter was indeed [Lavoisier's], but as has already been hinted it derives from the work of the Régie des poudres, from good housekeeping, and not from theory, and specifically from the problem of devising an accurate test for determining the quality of the crude raw material that the saltpetremen of Paris dumped into the receiving yard of the Arsenal.[68]

Gillispie thus concludes on the importance of Lavoisier's chemical theory on the evolution of gunpowder production in the hands of the *Régie*. What he seems to ignore in this approach is that in fact both the work of the *Régie* and Lavoisier's shattering new chemical order emerged in tandem and informed each other as they both matured. The situation in which gunpowder production found itself before the implementation of the *Régie*, in which there was no precise understanding for the reason of its composition, was very different from its position in 1793, during which the main argument relating to gunpowder pertained to the precision of a chemical test. Although the *levee en masse* was the fundamental reason behind military success during the First Coalition (1792-1797),[69] the logistical success of providing enough quality munitions to the revolutionary militants was a result of the rationalization of gunpowder production under Lavoisier. This rationalization in turn is attributable not only to "good housekeeping", but to Lavoisier's inquiries into the chemical makeup of saltpeter and the chemical process of detonation, which would ultimately prop up the fundamental tenets of his New Chemistry. To state otherwise is to look back on Lavoisier's undertakings anachronistically and inorganically, as separate enterprises that did not inform one another or the academic behind them; a historical delusion. It was scientific genius, reinforced by incredible managerial capacity, which proved to be the pillar upon which the success of the gunpowder program was built.

ENDNOTES:

[1] "Dissertation on the nature of the principle that combines with metals during their calcination and that increases the weight." Unless otherwise noted, all translations are this author's own.
[2] Quoted in Poirier, Jean-Pierre. *Lavoisier: Chemist, Biologist, Economist* (1996), 80.
[3] Gillispie, Charles Coulston. *Science and Polity In France At the End of the Old Regime*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980, 57.
[4] *Ibid.*, 66.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Riskin, Jessica. "Charles Coulston Gillispie, Science and Polity in France: The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Years" *The Journal of Modern History* 78, No. 3 (September 2006), 723-724.

[7] "Si dans cette heureuse révolution le bilan général de l'action de Lavoisier et de ses collègues à la Régie des Poudres est largement positif et si leurs succès financiers, administratifs et industriels sont indéniables, la place de la chimie, pour importante qu'elle fût, n'y fut pas primordiale," Bret, Patrice. "Lavoisier et l'apport de la chimie académique à l'industrie des poudres et salpêtres," *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences* 46, no. 436 (1996), 73: Translation: "Although in this happy revolution the general outcome of Lavoisier's actions and those of his colleagues at the Gunpowder Administration is largely positive, and although their financial, administrative and industrial success is undeniable, the place of chemistry, as important as it may have been, was not primordial."

[8] "The question naturally arises as to whether the advance in scientific comprehension of saltpeter's origin and make-up led to comparable advance in the method of saltpeter production. The straightforward answer has to be 'no'. However, Lavoisier did draw a few practical consequences from his chemical insights." Mauskopf, Seymour H. "Lavoisier and the improvement of gunpowder production," *Revue d'histoire des sciences* 48, no.1-2, (1995), 114-115.

[9] Multhauf, Robert P. "The French Crash Program for Saltpeter Production, 1776-94," *Technology and Culture* 12, No. 2 (Apr. 1971), 177.

[10] Date the May 28 decree went into force.

[11] One million pounds, at a price of 6 *sous* per pound, equaling 300,000 *livres*, or approximately 12 million current U.S. dollars, Poirier, *Lavoisier: Chemist, Biologist, Economist*, 90.

[12] Bret, Patrice. "The organization of gunpowder production in France 1775-1830" in *Gunpowder: The History of an International Technology*, edited by Brenda J. Buchanan, 261-274. Claverton Down, Bath: Bath University Press, 1996, 261.

[13] Lavoisier, Antoine Laurent. *Oeuvres De Lavoisier*. Edited by Édouard Grimaux. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1862, 695.

[14] Poirier, *Lavoisier: Chemist, Biologist, Economist*, 91.

[15] Amiable, René. "Lavoisier administrateur et finacier de la Régie des poudres et salpêtres," in *Il y a 200 Ans, Lavoisier: Actes Du Colloque Organisé à L'occasion Du Bicentenaire De La Mort D'antoine Laurent Lavoisier, Le 8 Mai 1794*, edited by Christiane Demeulenaere-Douyère, 134-140. Paris: Technique & documentation Lavoisier, 1995, 80.

[16] Mauskopf, "Improvement," 118.

[17] Gillispie, *Old Regime*, 52.

[18] Lavoisier, *Oeuvres*, 680-689.

[19] By Multhauf. See "French Crash Program."

[20] Multhauf, "French Crash Program," 163-6.

[21] Poirier, *Lavoisier: Chemist, Biologist, Economist*, 92.

[22] Lavoisier, *Oeuvres*, 665.

[23] Multhauf, "French Crash Program," 167.

[24] *Ibid.*, 169.

[25] Lavoisier, Antoine Laurent de, "Note des Editeurs" in *Recueil De Memoires Et D'observations Sur La Formation & Sur La Fabrication Du Salpêtre*. Paris: Lacombe, 1776, 19. "It appears that Glauber ignores that the mother liquors of saltpeter refining are in grand part the result of a combination of nitric acid with a calx. The fixed niter or alkali that he prescribes to add, precipitates the calx and combines in its place with the acid; which results in true saltpeter. Chemists today know the explanation for this experiment, and the saltpetermen carry it out without knowing when they pour the mother liquor over cinders, alleging it cleans of the grease in the liquor."

[26] Howard, Robert A. "Realities and Perceptions in the Evolution of Black Powder Making." In Buchanan, *Gunpowder, Explosives*, 22.

[27] Bret, Patrice, ed. *Lavoisier Et L'Encyclopédie Méthodique: Le Manuscrit Des Régisseurs Des Poudres Et Salpêtres Pour Le Dictionnaire De L'artillerie (1787)*. Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1997, 141.

[28] Kelly, Jack. *Gunpowder: Alchemy, Bombards, and Pyrotechnics: the History of the Explosive That Changed the World*. New York: Basic Books, 2004, 5.
[29] Bret, *L'Encyclopédie Méthodique*, 121.
[30] Mauskopf, Seymour H. "Gunpowder and the Chemical Revolution" in "The Chemical Revolution: Essays in Reinterpretation", special issue *Osiris*, second series 4, (1988), 107-8.
[31] "Dissertation on the existence of the air in nitric acid"
[32] Lavoisier, quoted in Mauskopf, "Improvement," 107. "Nitric acid, the acid which makes up saltpeter, has a large quantity of very pure air, in a state of fixation and combination; it is undoubtedly this air, which is released during the detonation of niter, that the terrible effects which accompany the blaze of gunpowder are in large part due."
[33] *Ibid.*, 107.
[34] "General considerations on the nature of acids"
[35] Lavoisier, quoted in Beretta, Marco. *The Enlightenment of Matter: The Definition of Chemistry From Agricola to Lavoisier.* Nantucket, MA: Science History Publications/USA, 1993, 177.
[36] "Instructions on the establishment of niter works, and on the fabrication of saltpeter."
[37] Scheler, Lucien. "Lavoisier et la régie des poudres," *Revue d'histoire des sciences* 26, no. 3, (1973), 196.
[38] Lavoisier, *Oeuvres*, 392.
[39] *Ibid.* "Nitric acid may not only combine with a fixed alkali and makeup true saltpeter, it can also combine with all chalky and absorbant earths, such as chalk, alum rock, Epsom salts, and many others, and with these earths it may makeup different kinds of niter with an earthy base which, far from having the property of cristalizing like real saltpeter, attract humidity from the air and settle as liquids. These salts, which saltpetermen and refiners confuse under the general label of mother liquor, cannot be a part of the composition of gunpowder."
[40] *Ibid.*, 430. "Due to the fixed alkalis, either bare or in combination, that almost all ashes are made up of, they are propitious for precipitating calces and substituting the fixed alkali, and so, as already stated, saltpetermen, in mixing ashes with the earth they wish to leach produce, without realizing it, a very complicated chemical operation; they decompose one salt and assemble another."
[41] *Ibid.*, 435.
[42] Bret, Patrice. *L'état, L'armée, La Science: L'invention De La Recherche Publique En France, 1763-1830*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2002, 236. "In five years, after the creation of the Gunpowder Administration, national production increased 41%, despite a provisional decline in 1778, due to the suppression of forcible searches."
[43] Bret, "Organization of Gunpowder Production," 264.
[44] Bret, *L'Etat*, 238.
[45] Poirier, *Lavoisier: Chemist, Biologist, Economist*, 118.
[46] Bret, ed., *L'Encyclopedi Méthodique*, 147.
[47] "Dissertation on heat."
[48] Mauskopf, "Chemical Revolution," 113.
[49] *Ibid.*, 107.
[50] "Experiments on the decomposition of niter by charcoal."
[51] Mauskopf, "Chemical Revolution," 115.
[52] "Test, trial, and experiment."
[53] Bret, ed., *L'Encyclopedi Méthodique*, 148-9. All that remained was to find the chemical means to analyze a determined quantity of saltpeter taken as a sample, separate the saltpeter from the diverse bodies and salts which are foreign to it in order that one may establish with exact precision to which waste the supply of each saltpeterman is susceptible, in order to establish its greater or lesser value, working off of the rates fixed by regulation.
[54] *Ibid.*, 149.
[55] Multhauf, "French Crash Program," 179.
[56] *Ibid.*
[57] Weigley, *Age of Battles*, 280-281.
[58] Amiable, "Lavoisier administrateur," 139.

[59] Bell, Madison Smartt. *Lavoisier In the Year One: The Birth of a New Science In an Age of Revolution*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2005, 163.
[60] Gillispie, *Old Régime*, 70.
[61] Figure 3 in Bret, "Organization of Gunpowder Production," 266.
[62] Gillispie, Charles Coulston. *Science and Polity In France: The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Years*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004, 407.
[63] *Ibid.*, 407-408.
[64] Lavoisier, *Oeuvres*, 614-664.
[65] Gillispie, *Napoleonic Years*, 410.
[66] Bret, "Organization of Gunpowder Production," 267.
[67] "Program for the revolutionary lectures on the fabrication of saltpeter, gunpowder, and cannons."
[68] Gillispie, *Old Régime*, 73.
[69] Weigley, *Age of Battles*, 290.

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