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Abstract
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Letter from the Editors

The Gettysburg Historical Journal embodies the History Department's dedication to diverse learning and excellence in academics. Each year, the journal publishes the top student work in a range of topics across the spectrum of academic disciplines with different mythological approaches to the study of history. In the word of Marc Bloch, author of The Historian's Craft, "history is neither watchmaking nor cabinet construction. It is an endeavor toward better understanding." In the spirit of this maxim, our authors strive to elucidate the many facets of human societies and cultures. Whether this research is focused on politics, religion, economics, environmental history, or women, gender, and sexuality studies, the editorial staff is consistently proud of the diverse subject matter we select for publication.

With the assistance of the Cupola, Gettysburg College's online research repository, and the distinguished college faculty, our authors' work has received both serious scholarly attention and national accolades. Pas authors have gone on to publish follow-up work in refereed journals, and to present their work at undergraduate and professional conferences. The Gettysburg Historical Journal is primarily a student-run organization, and as such, it provides undergraduate students with a unique opportunity to gain valuable experience reviewing, editing, and organizing academic articles for publication. In all cases, authors and editors have also had the opportunity to apply these skills to their future careers, or their work as graduate students.

This eighteenth edition of the Gettysburg Historical Journal continues the tradition of scholarly rigor of past volumes, while broadening both the diversity of historical perspectives and the five methodologies employed by each author. Each of the following

works selected for this edition exemplifies the varied interests of the History students at Gettysburg College.

Jack Lashendock's paper, "A Race to the Stars and Beyond: How the Soviet Union's Success in the Space Race Helped Serve as a Projection of Communist Power," seeks to examine the Soviet Union's success during the Space Race (and subsequently, the global Arms Race) and its place within the larger East versus West conflict which occurred in the earlier years of the Cold War. It was written for Professor Hartzok's "Imperial Russia and the Soviet Union" class in the Spring of 2018.

Benjamin Pontz's paper, "Destroying the Right Arm of Rebellion: Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation," explores the legal and political arguments Lincoln and his critics proffered and weighs the constitutionality of the Emancipation Proclamation. It was written initially in Professor Allen Guelzo's Civil War survey course.

Lindsay Richwine's paper, "Victoria: The Girl Who Would Become Queen," reviews the early life of Queen Victoria and through analysis of her sequestered childhood and lack of parental figures explains her reliance on mentors and advisors later in life. It was written for Professor Bowman's course, Transformation of 19th Century Europe.

Brandon Katzung Hokanson's paper, "Best of Intentions?: Rinderpest, Containment Practices, and Rebellion in Rhodesia in 1896," reviews how British colonial veterinary practices used to combat a major rinderpest outbreak contributed to a major indigenous rebellion. The paper was written for Professor Bamba's Modern African Environments course.

Abigail Winston's paper "The Role of Music in Assimilation of Students at the Carlisle Indian School" paper discusses the role of music in the assimilation of students at the Carlisle Indian School, drawing from the fields of both history and ethnomusicology to demonstrate that music had a much more profound effect on assimilation than athletics. It was written for her history capstone course "Pennsylvania's Indians" with Dr. Timothy Shannon.

This edition of the Gettysburg Historical Journal also includes a feature piece written by Professor Kathryn Whitcomb that focuses on what has inspired her interest in the history of the Classical period.

The General Editors,

Brandon Katzung Hokanson
Abigail Major

Acknowledgements

The staff of the *Gettysburg Historical Journal* would like to thank all of the professor of the History Department for encouraging our history majors to produce excellent work. In particular, we would like to thank Professor Timothy J. Shannon for providing guidance to the Journal staff as our faculty advisor as well as expressing their gratitude towards Sarah Appedu and Clare Crone, the administrative assistant of the History Department, for helping the staff prepare this year's journal for publication.

Feature Piece

This year's feature piece was written by Professor Kathryn Whitcomb who is new to Gettysburg College's Department of Classics. In addition to Classics courses, she has taught courses that have been cross-listed with the History Department and thus adds to the diversity that make the historical field so great and broadens the horizons of historical scholarship to her students.

Professor Kathryn Whitcomb

When I was a child my life's ambition was to be a super-hero. There was something infinitely appealing about the prospect of helping vulnerable people threatened in dark alleys by vicious predators. By the time I was in high school my dream of helping people in need took on the more realistic goal of becoming a psychologist. I entered college, enrolled in Psych 101 and, on a whim, signed up for Latin. After one semester of Latin, I was hooked on the Classical world; its history, the languages, the facets of the culture that will remain forever somewhat mysterious due to the passage of time and loss of evidence. While being a history professor is a far cry from a caped crusader, I do believe that the study and teaching of history makes a valuable contribution to society. The exploration and better understanding of other peoples and cultures, particularly the treatment and experience of marginalized groups within those cultures, guides us not only towards a better understanding of ourselves and the ways that we interact with each other, but also to a

sense of shared humanity. Many of the problems faced by peoples in the ancient world are ones that we still grapple with today: How do I reconcile love of country with criticism of the government? What qualities does a "good" person possess? What role does religion play in my relationships with individuals and the broader community? Will I ever recover from the heartache I feel now over the loss of a lover? The beauty of studying ancient history, in my opinion, is that it provides us with a distance that allows for a more critical approach, while at the same time demonstrating just how common some problems are to all humans, even humans as far removed from us in space and time as the ancient Romans and Greeks.

A Race to the Stars and Beyond: How the Soviet Union's Success in the Space Race Helped Serve as a Projection of Communist Power

By Jack Lashendock

Introduction

On April 30, 1945, M.V. Yegorov of Russia and M.V. Kantrina of Georgia raised the flag of the Soviet Union over the bombed out Riechstag in Berlin, the seat of the Third Reich's pseudo-Parliament and the symbolic heart of Nazi Germany.[1] Three months later, the Soviet Union held true on its promise to the Allied Powers and declared war on the Japanese Empire, following the American atomic bombing of Hiroshima on August 8, 1945. The next day, as the American military was preparing to drop a second atomic weapon on the Japanese mainland, the Red Army launched offensives against Japanese holdings in Manchuria as well as island positions in the Sea of Okhotsk.[2] Soviet intervention, coupled with a second devastating atomic bomb, forced Emperor Hirohito to surrender to the Allied Powers days later, with the formal capitulation documents signed on September 2, 1945 by representatives of the Japanese Empire.[3]

After nearly six years of intensive fighting, primarily in Europe, the Soviet Union, along with her allies had defeated Hitler's

[1] Gregor Dallas *1945: The War That Never Ended* (S.l.: Yale University Press, 2006), 4.
[2] Jeff Mankoff "The Legacy of the Soviet Offensives of August 1945." Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. August 13, 2015. Accessed January 27, 2019.
[3] "Japan Surrenders." National Archives and Records Administration. Accessed January 27, 2019.

Nazi Germany and stood victorious at the end of the Second World War. To the Soviet Union, fascism had been defeated and the Revolution vindicated, yet victory was achieved at a heavy cost and at the expense of nearly an entire generation. Close to nine million Red Army Soldiers were killed in action or missing[4] and the lives of approximately 13.7 million Soviet civilians were ended as well.[5,6] Additionally, thousands of villages, schools, and factories were destroyed as a result of the German advances and it has been further approximated that six million homes were destroyed. The collapse of industrialism and the turmoils of society and economy led to long-term domestic consequences.

Despite these hardships, the Soviet Union endured. Emboldened by the victory in war, the Soviet Union was quick to exert its power, and would continue to do so throughout the Cold War period. The Stalinist leadership rapidly engaged Soviet expansion into Eastern Europe and by 1949, had established communist puppet governments in Albania, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic (GDR), Romania, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and across the Balkan and Baltic regions. Soon, this sphere of influence strengthened into an extension of the Soviet Union with the establishment of the Warsaw Pact a decade after the end of World War II. While the Soviets were solidifying their power in Eastern Europe, they were also exerting global power. Four years to the month of the United States' detonation of a nuclear weapon in war, the Soviet Union shattered America's monopoly and successfully tested its first atomic bomb on August 29, 1949.

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[5] G. F. Krivosheev, *Soviet Casualties and Combat Losses in the Twentieth Century*. (London: Greenhill Press, 1997), 85-97.

[6] N. A. Aralovec, *Ljudskie Poteri SSSR v Period Vtoroj Mirovoj Vojny: Sbornik Statej = Human Losses of the USSR during the War of 1941-1945* (S.-Peterburg: Izd. BLIC, 1995), 124-131.

While the Soviet Union's expansion of communism into Eastern Europe and acquisition of the atomic bomb all highlight increasing Soviet exertion of power, the most extreme projection of Red power occurred not on Earth, but in space. For nearly thirty years, the Soviet Union and the United States worked tirelessly to out-do one another and were at constant blows to become the first to achieve numerous spacefaring milestones. A facet of the larger Cold War, this specific contest was known as the Space Race and captured the collective imaginations of Soviet and American civilians, scientists, politicians, and national security experts. Throughout the first half of the Cold War, the Soviet Union used the Space Race as an apparatus to contend with the West and sought to further project Soviet power via air and space superiority.

"Poyekhali!"

On April 12, 1961, the Soviet Union's *Vostok* single man spacecraft successfully launched from Baikonur Space Centre[7] with Cosmonaut Yuri A. Gagarin on board. Just shy of two hours later–one hour and forty-eight minutes later to be exact–Gagarin safety parachuted into the Saratov Region of modern day Russia[8] having just made history as the first human in space and the first human to orbit the Earth. This profound milestone in space flight was yet another in a long line of successes for the Soviet Union and its space program that preceded even the the Revolution of 1917.[9]

[7] G. V. Petrovič, *The Soviet Encyclopedia of Space Flight (*Moscow: Mir Publ., 1969), 494-495.
[8] G. V. Petrovič, 494
[9] Asif A. Siddiqi, *The Red Rockets' Glare: Spaceflight and the Soviet Imagination, 1857-1957* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

To many in the Soviet Union, the Bolsheviks included, a man by the name of Konstantin E. Tsiolkovskii was the founder of the *modern* Soviet space program. In 1903, he first published his mathematical findings that with the aid of a liquid propellant, a rocket could be launched into space,[10] and continued to publish his work over the course of the next decade. Tsiolkovskii's work and research was conducted during the Imperial rule of Russia, before the Russian Revolution of 1917 even took place, yet following the Bolshevik assumption of power, he was elevated to the status of a national hero to the Soviet Union.[11] It is with Tsiolkovskii that state involvement in the field of cosmonautics began; the Soviet leadership portrayed Tsiolkovskii as having been failed by the imperial state and lifted into a position of fame by the Bolsheviks, who were extremely supportive of his work and theories. These comments allowed the Soviets to fully own the space program and assert that "…the state [played] a crucial role in both the imperial and Bolshevik eras, either in impeding… or advancing… the cause of cosmonautics."[12] By controlling the narrative, particularly the genesis narrative of the Soviet space program, the government was able to inspire citizens to take interest in rocket science via amateur and professional societies including the state sponsored Reactive Scientific-Research Institute.[13] Undoubtedly, Tsiolkovskii's work and quasi-cult of personality in the 1920s (and to some extent the 1930s) was a direct catalyst for the careers of many scientists in the 1950s when the Space Race with the United States official began.[14]

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[10] Asif A. Siddiqi, *The Red Rockets' Glare: Spaceflight and the Soviet Imagination, 1857-1957* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 17.
[11] Ibid., 17.
[12] Ibid., 17.
[13] Ibid., 3.
[14] Ibid., 45.

Following the death of Lenin, leadership of the Soviet Union fell to a new man, Josef Stalin, and in all aspects of life and economics, much was changed. Even in the beginning of his tenure, Stalin was obsessed with the notion that the Soviet Union must catch up to the West technologically, militarily, and industrially. Beginning in 1928, Stalin announced the first Five Year Plan to rapidly industrialize the Soviet Union (ideally in only four years) and make it a challenger against the Western democratic nations. Coined as Stalinism, the Five Year Plan attempted to reform Soviet heavy industry in the production of materials such as steel and cement and to install Western-trained, yet native, Soviet specialists to oversee the engineering, scientific, and technological advancement of the state. This push to advance Soviet science, industrialize the nation, and produce raw material transformed the Soviet Union from a predominantly agricultural state into a nation capable of contending (and leading) the Space Race.

Yet, as good as Stalinism was for the industrialization—after all, it allowed for the research and design of prototype rockets—the darker aspects of Stalin's policies, such as the Great Terror, were hindrances on the Soviet success in the skies. In both the 'private' sector of science and within the Red Army, top officials were targeted and branded enemies of the state; learned men who had worked for years in service of the state were relabeled as saboteurs. Generally "historians [blame] the Stalinist Terror for interrupting the Soviet rocketry program in its tracks. Had it not been for the Terror… Korolev [a leading Soviet rocket scientist] and his associates might well have achieved the technical capabilities so drastically demonstrated by the German V-2."[15] The final step of Stalin's long term plans was to see to the full transfer of labor from foreign specialists to Red specialists. Because of this, professions in engineering and other specialized labor

[15]Asif A. Siddiqi, *The Red Rockets' Glare: Spaceflight and the Soviet Imagination, 1857-1957* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 193.

became attractive options for those beginning to enter the workforce as they were sure ways to achieve greatness for the Soviet Union. Yet as the 1930s marched on, Stalin appeared to grow more suspicious of the specialists, thinking them Western spies, saboteurs, enemies to the people, or some combination thereof.

Soviet Success in Space

Over the course of the late 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s, the Soviet Union saw unprecedented success in the field of space flight– both from a technological and cultural standpoint. As a collective Soviet Union, it took years to achieve these goals, and to the state politicians and politically minded civilians, each success which triumphed over the West showed the power of the Soviet Union and reaffirmed the principles of Leninism. Each early flight was a message not only to the West, but also to the peoples of the Soviet Union and her communist allies.

Sputnik I (1957)

Throughout the course of history, there have only been a handful of events that highlight the forward drive of humanity. In the modern era, perhaps the singular event which defined the 20th century was the successful launch the Soviet satellite *Sputnik*–the first artificial satellite of the Earth. The small spherical object with four trailing radio antennae was the catalyst for the Space Race and the beginning of the Space Age of Mankind. In addition to proving the might and technical genius of the Soviet Union, *Sputnik*'s mission was to record and gather scientific information on "[atmospheric] temperatures, cosmic rays,

and micrometeoroids."[16] At long last, mankind had successfully proven the ability to master flight both in space and in Earth's atmosphere.

From a scientific and engineering standpoint, there was much cause for celebration with the launch of *Sputnik*, yet for statesmen and politicians in the West, the orbiting Soviet satellite was the cause of great consternation.[17] From Russian to English, *Sputnik* translates to "friendly traveler"[18] and the Soviets intended for the satellite to be received as peaceful; yet the technological advancements raised concerns in the realm of security. Put into the general Cold War context, many believed that the Soviet's artificial moon was an existential threat to national security and worried about what it meant for America.[19] Without going into the complex science, the rocket used to launch *Sputnik* was a modified R-7 Semyorka rocket – the world's first Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM),[20] which the Soviet adapted from captured German designs following the Second World War.[21] By launching *Sputnik* into space, the Soviets demonstrated to the world that they had superiority in offensive technology (should they choose to use it) and as such, were able to project their power on the awe-inspired world. Additionally, tests in the months leading up to the launch of *Sputnik* demonstrated the Soviet capabilities to strike predefined targets with their R-7 ICBM. At the time of launch, both the American and Soviet militaries sought to demonstrate success in their

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[16] Eugene E. Emme, A History of Space Flight *(*New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), 100.
[17] Mark Shanahan, *Eisenhower at the Dawn of the Space Age: Sputnik, Rockets, and Helping Hands* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017), 65.
[18] Eugene E. Emme, 100, 208.
[19] Homer H. Hickman, *Rocket Boys: A Memoir (*New York: Delacorte Press, 1998), 17-18.
[20] James O'berg, "A Tale of Two Rockets ... With a Happy Ending." NBCNews.com. May 14, 2007.
[21] Asif A. Saddiqi 196.

ability to hit civilian and political targets within each other's countries. To achieve these ends, the Americans relied on their Jupiter Medium Range Ballistic Missiles stationed in Turkey and Italy.[22] The United State's ability to strike targets in the Soviet Union from the contiguous mainland did not come until the development of the *Atlas* rocket program in the mid-to-late 50s. Two years following *Sputnik*'s launch, an American *Atlas D* rocket was successfully launched as the United State's first operational long range intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM); the full squadron would not be fully operational until 1960.[23] This rocket, like the Soviet R-7, had a dual purpose; it served as an offense (read: defensive) weapon and when modified, served as the first stage of the US *Mercury* manned space program, as well as a delivery rocket for satellite payloads.[24] Much like the Americans' nuclear superiority following WWII, the Soviets and their R-7 rocket possessed long range missile superiority over the Western democracy— an early victory for Leninism in the Cold War.

Lunik II (1959)

Two years following the launch of *Sputnik*, the Soviet Union achieved yet another milestone in the field of spaceflight with the launch of *Lunik II* in September of 1959. While the mission ended with *Lunik II*'s hard impact on the moon (and most likely it's complete destruction), the Soviet craft became the first man-made object on the lunar surface[25] as well as the first man made object on any celestial

[22] Mike Gruntman, *Blazing the Trail : The Early History of Spacecraft and Rocketry* (Reston: American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, Inc., 2003), 209.
[23] Dennis R. Jenkins and Roger D. Launius, *To Reach the High Frontier: A History of U. S. Launch Vehicles* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002), 80-81.
[24] Ibid., 86.
[25] Eugene E. Emme 143.

body.[26] Moreover, this projection of power was only capitalized further by Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev when he left Moscow for Washington, D.C. There he presented President Eisenhower with a medallion which bore of the coat of arms of the Soviet Union, which, if *Lunik II* had survived landing, would have been placed on the lunar surface.[27] To add insult to injury, the Americans attempted to land on the moon with the *Pioneer IV*, which missed the moon by approximately 37,000 miles.[28]

From a security standpoint, it once again demonstrated the power of the Soviet Union during the Arms Race (which coincided with the Space Race), this time on the moon. There was a general concern that the USSR was closer to (assuming they had the desire) to militarizing the moon.

Vostok I (1961)

Only four years after the first human satellite was launched, the Soviet Union achieved even greater heights. Atop a modified R-7 rocket, the same rocket family which launched the *Sputnik* and *Lunik* program, sat Russian cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin preparing to make history as the first human in space. There was much unknown about the implications of this flight, including whether or not Gagarin would be able to maintain consciousness for the whole flight (or even his sanity).

After liftoff, Gagarin spent less than two hours in space, alive and well, sealed inside his spacesuit and craft. This project produced a plethora of propaganda opportunities for the Soviet Union and gave the country another massive advancement in the Space Race. Gagarin's mission also demonstrated the superiority of Soviet technology and the

[26] G. V. Petrovič, 231.
[27] Eugene E. Emme, 143-144.
[28] Ibid., 142.

ability of a human (with the right protections and training) to venture into space and come back alive.

Before he boarded the *Vostok* craft, Gagarin "dedicated the flight to 'the people of a communist society,'"[29] and upon his return to Earth, he made a Hero of the Soviet Union. The Americans would not achieve manned spaceflight until the following month, once more in the shadows of the Soviet Union.

Vostok VI (1963)

This milestone was more of a cultural advancement than it was one of technological greatness. For nearly six years, the *Vostok* rocket of the Soviet Union had functioned well, and prior to this flight, had taken five cosmonauts into space. On June 16, 1963, Valentina V. Tereshkova became not only the first civilian to fly in space[30], but more importantly the first women in space. Because of this, she "…be[came] the heroine of the Soviet people, the figurehead of women's movements all over the world and the diplomatic representative abroad…"[31] This milestone would not be achieved by the United States until twenty years later when Sally Ride became the first American women in space on board the space shuttle *Challenger*. While in orbit, Tereshkova was not alone; Valery F. Bykovsky of *Vostok V* was also in orbit around the earth. On this mission, the Soviet Space program used the opportunity to study the effects of space travel on both men and women and whether or not these effects differed by gender as well as on untrained cosmonauts (as in, those not in the Soviet Air-force, who would be accustomed to high levels of G-force during their flights).[32]

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[29] Peter Bond, *Heroes in Space: From Gagarin to Challenger* (New York: Basil Blackwell Inc, 1987), 14.

[30] G. V. Petrovič, 496.

[31] Peter Bond, 22.

[32] Peter Bond, 22-23.

Voskhod II (1965)

This mission, once again, highlighted the advanced state of the Soviet Union space program in regards to the American program and the boundless possibilities of human genius. Five days before the launch of *Gemini III* (the United States's second manned flight program), the Soviet Union launched the historic *Voskhod II* mission on March 18, 1965.[33] Each cosmonaut of the two man crew was outfitted in pressure suits in preparation for what would happen on the mission–the First Extravehicular Activity (EVA), more commonly known as the world's first space-walk, conducted by cosmonaut Alexi Leonov. For approximately twelve minutes, Leonov floated (and somersaulted) in space, with nothing but a pressurized suit keeping him safe, tethered to the craft on a five meter cord.[34] Once his spacewalk finished, Leonov attempted to reenter the *Voskhod* II. However, his stiff suit had increased in size due to the pressure changes and the ballooning effect made it difficult. "When asked later how it felt to float in space he [Leonov] replied: 'Its not like floating in water. In water you feel support, the slipping through a medium. In space you don't have that sensation. You're simply flying beside your craft (at 18,000 mph!)…'"[35]

The Americans would not achieve a similar feat until about three months later when Edward White spent nearly twenty-one minutes in space.[36]

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The above highlighted expeditions are the most important milestones in not only the history of the Soviet Union but also of humanity. In addition to these, the Soviet Union conducted many other

[33]Peter Bond, 71.
[34] G. V. Petrovič, 494.
[35] Peter Bond, 78.
[36] Eugene E. Emme, 215.

groundbreaking launches, achieving near impossible milestones for the time and further showing the superiority of Communist ideals and inducts over the capitalist and democratic West. Noteworthy missions include:

- *Sputnik II (1957)*: Launched the first organism into space which was more complex than a microbe. Onboard was Laika, a mutt who unfortunately did not survive the journey.[37]
- *Lunik I/Mechta (1959):* The first "artificial planet" to orbit the sun and the first man-made object to achieve escape velocity (second terminal velocity) from Earth.[38]
- *Lunik III (1959):* Passed the backside of the moon and transmitted the first pictures of its far side humanity had seen.[39]
- *Lunik IX (1966):* First probe to soft land on another surface other than Earth (which was the moon) and transmit pictures back. Additionally, the landing proved that spacecraft would not get stuck in the surface dust, paving the way for future manned lunar landings.[40]
- *Lunik X (1966)*: The first artificial satellite of the moon and recorded a vast amount of data which included information "…on near-Moon space and on the composition of lunar surface rocks…"[41]Additionally, the probe broadcasted the *Internationale* to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party.
- *Venera VII (1970)*: First probe to land on Venus. After approximately an hour, the systems on board failed due to the planet's extreme ground temperatures. However, the probe

[37] Peter Bond, 4.
[38] G. V. Petrovič, 231.
[39] Ibid., 231-232.
[40] Ibid., 233.
[41] Ibid., 237.

was able to transmit information back to Earth that advanced human knowledge of Venus.[42]

- *Salyut I (1971):* A decade after Gagarin's historic spaceflight, the Soviet Union launched the first space station into low-earth orbit, which was successfully visited by the crew of *Soyuz XI* in 1971 for twenty-four days.[43]

"Sons of October—Pioneers of the Universe!"

With each success of the Soviet space program and each cosmic milestone passed by a rocket bearing the hammer and sickle insignia of the Soviet Union, the world took note. Soviet propagandists were quick and mindful to capitalize on the success of their country, as well as their political system. The advances made by the *Sputnik, Vostok, Lunik,* and *Venera* programs were not just limited to the scientific knowledge; just as each mission was designed to advance humanity's knowledge of space, so too were they designed to highlight the superiority of the Soviet Union in the fields of spaceflight, engineering, and politics. From a hunk of metal orbiting the earth, to live animals, to human spaceflight and spacewalks, the Soviet Union achieved what humans had, years ago, only dreamed about in science fiction.

The biggest propaganda moment for the Soviet Union followed the launch of *Sputnik I* (and to a similar extent, *Sputnik II*). Before the launch, the project had been developed with a certain level of secrecy not present in other Soviet ICBM projects.[44] It was unknown how much the launch of *Sputnik* would captivate the public–many who worked on the project thought that it would only intrigue those in the

[42] F. W. Taylor, *The Scientific Exploration of Venus (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 289.
[43] Peter Bond, 298.
[44] Asif A. Saddiqi, 341.

Soviet Union and did not think it would enthrall the Western media and public as it did. Posters within the Soviet Union highlighted the success of the launch and how it emphasized the values of the communist nation. Between 1957 and 1963, posters were created encouraging Soviet citizens to recognize their role in the conquering of space and to continue to work for it in the further. They bore slogans such as: "Soviet man - be proud, you opened the road to stars from Earth!"[45]; "Our triumph in space is the hymn to Soviet country!"[46]; "Conquer space!"[47] and "Glory to the Soviet people—the pioneer of space!"[48]. (See Appendix I for a visual of these propaganda efforts.) A handful of posters even praise the success of the October Revolution, presumably because it allowed for the creation such a successful nation, while others praise Lenin more than quarter century after his death.[49]

Even *Sputnik* itself was a form of propaganda; the satellite was intentionally polished to be as reflective as possible so that those on Earth could and people could listen for its radio signal as it passed overhead. Similarly, during the manned flights of the *Vostok* program, the Soviet Union had ready-made cultural ambassadors in their dedicated cosmonauts, including Gagarin and Tereshkova who traveled the world sharing their experiences in space and promoting the successes (and benefits) of a communist society, workforce, and government. Following the successful launches of *Vostok I and II*, Khrushchev was anxious to achieve more in the field of spaceflight. He "wanted more propaganda victories showing the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist Americans"[50] and before even the launch of Gagarin's *Vostok I*, knew that such a program would not only

[45] Laura Stampler, "These Soviet Space-Race Propaganda Posters Retain Their Delusional Intensity 50 Years Later." Business Insider. April 26, 2012.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Peter Bond, 19-20.

improve his political capital but also "[proclaim] to the world the superiority of Soviet technology, as well as the communist system in general."[51]

The success of the Soviet space program was an awesome accomplishment for those in the Soviet Union–a fact the elite propagandists sold to the public. There were no direct benefits to the Soviet people from the space program. However, as Donald Cox states, it did not trouble the Soviet people; they were satisfied to the success of the communist experiment:

Although the *Sputniks* and *Luniks* did not themselves provide better cars, refrigerators, color TV sets, and homes for the peasants and laborers of the Soviet Union and her satellite states, they did evoke added inspiration for the earthbound followers of the communist way of life helping to take their minds off shortages of consumer goods. The people were spurred on to work just a little harder for the glorious motherland and to outstrip the west in the less dramatic and more basic things of life, like coal and steel production.[52]

The cosmic tensions of the United States and the USSR (borne from the Space Race) had an additional and more threatening aspect on the Earth in the form of nuclear weapons. Certainly in the United States, and no doubt amongst the Soviet populations as well, the fear of nuclear attack was an ever present possibility with which both peoples lived. Throughout the late 1950s, 60s, and early 70s, the Space Race between the two superpowers was jointly tied to the arms race of the same era which saw the United States and the Soviet Union work to outspend, out research, and above all, out gun the other. Framed in the context of global nuclear war, the Space Race's importance was twofold: first, advancements in rocket technology for space travel was

[51]Peter Bond, 64.

[52] Donald W. Cox, *The Space Race: From Sputnik to Apollo… and Beyond* (Philadelphia: Clinton Company, 1962), 118.

intertwined with continuously escalating tensions between the two superpowers; second, as new milestones and horizons were attained, it further extended the potential staging grounds where the nuclear forces of either the US or USSR could be strategically placed. In both situations, the Space Race, and all that went into it, was a part of the much larger mutually assured destruction and détente policies which dominated the period. On both sides of the Iron Curtain, these space powers sought to achieve more than just a foothold in the cosmos, rather communist and democratic leaders strived to a create for their countries and peoples a foothold, or advantage in a new theatre of human existence.

Conclusion– A Winner Determined

Just before 23:00 on the evening of July 20, 1969, in Washington D.C, the *Eagle* landed on the lunar surface. Six hours later, Neil Armstrong made history by taking the first human steps on a celestial body and effectively winning the Space Race for the United States. Over the next three years, ten more humans set foot on the moon–none of whom were Soviet (or for that matter, any other nationality) as the United States is, to date, the only nation to have sent manned expeditions. While this paper sought to examine the use of the Space Race to project Soviet ideals and power, it is appropriate to state that given the numerous successes of the Soviet space program, they should be deemed the true winner of the Space Race. In the annals of history, their lack of a successful manned lunar program has earned them an devastating second place in the global race for the more superior space program, forever trailing the United States.

Six years after the first moon landing by *Apollo 11*, the Soviet Union and the United States ceremonially ended the Space Race during the *Apollo–Soyuz Test Project.* At approximately 15:17 EST (22:17 Moscow time), American astronaut Thomas Stafford and Cosmonaut Aleksey Leonov opened the door connecting the conjoined Soviet and

American spacecraft— a hybrid craft consisting of an Apollo capsule docked with a Soyuz capsule. The two exchanged flags and medallions, and in a moment of Cold War history, the two men, political enemies and scientific rivals, shook one another's hand.[53] For the next forty-seven hours, the two crafts remained secured to each other and paved the way for other Russian-American ventures such as the Mir-Shuttle Space Station and the International Space Station, the latter of which remains in operation today. The flight, not only succeeded in the scientific and technological objectives it set out to achieve, was also a political and diplomatic success. From initial planning to post recovery, the Soviet Union and American adversaries worked closely with each other to ensure the success of the mission for the men of both nationalities

Beyond the external motivation provided by the United States, the Soviet space program was largely encouraged by Khrushchev. He was able to recognize the benefits space could provide for the greater good of humanity and sought to oversee a space program that could constantly advance that greater good. More than that, Khrushchev was motivated by the power each Soviet advancement demonstrated; in his mind, communist ideals, workers, and political system had outpaced the West scientifically and technologically. With the launch of *Sputnik* in 1957, "…the Soviet leadership had [unwittingly] stung the pride of the richest and most technologically advanced nation in the world [the United States]…"[54] and in the ensuing race bested that nation in more milestones and achievement on behalf of the Soviet people, communism, and humanity as a whole.

[53] *Apollo-Soyuz*. (Washington: National Aeronautics and Space Administration, 1977), 8.
[54] Peter Bond, 25.

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Destroying the Right Arm of Rebellion: Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation

By Benjamin Pontz

The Emancipation Proclamation was a gamble. If it were to succeed, it could cripple the economy of the South, decimating its war effort, drive the border states to accept compensated emancipation, ending slavery as an institution in the United States, and accelerate the end of the war, ensuring the endurance of the United States of America. If it were to fail, it could spur the border states to secede, galvanizing the South, render Abraham Lincoln a political pariah with two years remaining in his term, deflating the North, and encourage European states to broker a two-state solution in North America, sending the concept of the American republic to the history books as a failed experiment. Lincoln appreciated these high stakes as he methodically built the case for emancipation during the first two years of his presidency, drawing on his decades of experience in Illinois courthouses to develop what would be the most consequential legal argument he would ever have to make. That Lincoln had long thought slavery was a moral wrong was insufficient justification to decree its demise; he had to build a case that could withstand scrutiny from an adversarial federal court system and avoid a legal challenge until after the war, when he could pursue the permanent recourse available only through a constitutional amendment.

In building that legal case, Lincoln relied upon the notion of military necessity, arguing that the Constitution vested in the president war powers that enabled him to subdue an enemy using means that extend beyond the peacetime confines of Article II's authority. Almost immediately upon issuing the proclamation, Lincoln faced a panoply of criticism from radical Republicans who thought he had not gone far

enough, congressmen who thought he had seized their (or their states') rightful prerogatives, and legal scholars who thought the war powers he cited were totally fabricated and patently unconstitutional. In the years since, Lincoln has drawn criticism that the dense legalese in the proclamation's text demonstrates a reluctance to actually free slaves, that he deliberately obfuscated the proclamation's legal status to dodge legal scrutiny, and that he exercised an extraconstitutional power grab that amounted to the same tyranny Americans once fled in Britain. Each of these critiques has a rational basis, but each fails to appreciate the president's ultimate obligation to preserve, protect, and defend the United States Constitution. The proclamation was Lincoln's final move after his attempts to secure gradual, compensated emancipation failed and the Union's prospects on the battlefield looked bleak. Therefore, having exhausted all other options, Lincoln developed the Emancipation Proclamation with meticulous attention to the Constitution so that he could continue his endeavor to secure slaves' ultimate freedom upon winning the war and saving the Union.

The question of how to handle slaves that reached Union-held territory presented itself almost immediately at the outset of the war. On May 23, 1861, three slaves who were property of Confederate Colonel Charles Mallory presented themselves to Union troops at Fortress Monroe. Major General Benjamin Butler, a lawyer, reasoned that these slaves were effectively Confederate property being used in the war effort, and, according to international law, could be considered "contraband" and seized accordingly. That is exactly what Butler did, and the War Department approved of his action, which simultaneously deprived the enemy of labor and provided that labor to the Union Army. That August, Congress approved of Butler's policy by passing the Confiscation Act of 1861, which Lincoln, fearful of its

constitutional ramifications as well as its potential effect on the border states, reluctantly signed.[1]

Later that month, Maj. Gen. John Fremont declared martial law in St. Louis and then the entire state of Missouri amid Confederate rebel activity that created a "desperate military and political situation." In his declaration, he claimed the right to confiscate all property – including slaves – of anyone who had taken the rebels' side in the war. The proclamation sparked an outcry in both the Unionist and southern rights press from Missouri to Kentucky, and, on September 11, Lincoln ordered Fremont to change the act to comply with the Confiscation Act "in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves." Lincoln later fired Fremont, but, in a letter to Senator Orville Browning, said military emancipation could potentially be authorized by Congress and that Fremont could even have seized slaves temporarily but lacked the power to do so permanently by military proclamation. That was a job for lawmakers, not the military.[2]

Further south, on May 9, 1862, Maj. Gen. David Hunter issued General Order 11, which declared slaves in South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida – states in rebellion who had thus opened themselves to martial law as militarily necessary – forever free. He also sought to enlist black men into the Union Army. Similar to his response in Missouri, Lincoln immediately recognized the political and legal ramifications of such an order, and he rescinded it on May 19. Perhaps

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[1] Benjamin Butler, *Butler's Book* (Boston, 1892), 256-257; Butler to Lt. Gen. Winfield Scott, May 24-27, 1861, *O.R.*, ser. 2, vol. 1, 752-754; Simon Cameron to Butler, May 30, 1861, *O.R.*, ser. 2, vol. 1, 754-755; "An Act Used to Confiscate Property Used for Insurrectionary Purposes," Aug. 6, 1861, 12 Stat. 319 (1863).

[2] William Harris, *Lincoln and the Border States: Preserving the Union* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011), 98-102; Proclamation of Fremont, Aug. 30, 1861, *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 466-467; Lincoln to Fremont, Sep. 11, 1861, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, (Roy Basler, ed. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press), 4: 517-518; Lincoln to Browning, Sep. 22, 1861, *C.W.*, vol. 4, 531-532.

foreshadowing his own actions to come, he added that only the president could determine such an act a military necessity: "[Such power] I reserve to myself, and which I cannot feel justified in leaving to the decision of commanders in the field." Even so, Union generals from Missouri all the way to the Gulf sought to impress upon Lincoln the military necessity of emancipation throughout the early part of 1862. Lincoln recognized, however, that a piecemeal approach to emancipation driven by commanders in the field would neither be politically nor legally feasible and that the Confiscation Act, too, was legally tenuous. As such, he focused on building support in the political arena for a more stable solution.[3]

From the beginning, it was clear that Lincoln would endeavor to act within the bounds of the law in how he managed the war, and his policy towards slaves was no exception. Although Lincoln was personally opposed to slavery, a subject he had discussed at length during the 1858 Lincoln-Douglas debates and would note again in a famous letter to Horace Greeley in August 1862 stating his "oft-expressed personal wish that all men every where [sic] could be free," personal misgivings could not justify a national policy of blanket emancipation. Particularly (though not exclusively) in the border states, Lincoln instead promulgated gradual, compensated emancipation, which, in his estimation, was cheaper than ongoing execution of the war, was clearly constitutional, and would cripple an insurrection predicated on winning the allegiance of border states to protect slavery. While legislators such as John Crittenden of Kentucky, who argued that slavery was a state institution, resented federal meddling in slavery,

[3] Proclamation by Abraham Lincoln, May 19, 1862, Presidential Proclamations, Series 23, Record Group 11, National Archives; Kristopher Teters, *Practical Liberators: Union Officers in the Western Theater during the Civil War* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: North Carolina University Press, 2018), 36-41; David Livingstone, "The Emancipation Proclamation, the Declaration of Independence, and the Presidency: Lincoln's Model of Statesmanship," *Perspectives on Political Science* 28 (1999): 206-207.

many expressed openness to the proposal provided the compensation was sufficient. Lincoln had high hopes throughout late 1861 and early 1862 that his scheme would find supporters. Such hope soon evaporated. With the passage of a bill ending slavery in Washington D.C. in April, Hunter's emancipation endeavor in May, and the passage of the Confiscation Act of 1862, which opened the door to federal emancipation, in July, border state opposition hardened. After Lincoln had convened a delegation of border state congressmen to make a final appeal, they replied in a majority report on July 13, "Our people … will not consider the proposition in its present impalpable form." Disapproval from border state congressmen along with a growing sense of military urgency after Lincoln reviewed the Army of the Potomac at Harrison's Landing spurred him to begin work on a more sweeping solution.[4]

That approach became known as the Emancipation Proclamation. His sense of military exigency heightened after General George McClellan had used the word "capitulate" in connection to the Army of the Potomac's fate absent more reinforcements, Lincoln set to work on a first draft of the proclamation. "I felt that we had reached the end of our rope on the plan of operations we had been pursuing; that we had about played our last card, and must change our tactics, or lose the game," Lincoln later wrote of his decision to begin formulating a new plan for emancipation. In an 1899 *McClure's Magazine* article,

[4] Lincoln, *Letter to Horace Greeley, August 22, 1862,* in *The Emancipation Proclamation: A Brief History with Documents,* Michael Vorenberg, ed. (Boston: St. Martin's Press, 2010), 58; Harris, *Lincoln and the Border States,* 161-162, 179-182; Don Fehrenbacher, *Prelude to Greatness: Lincoln in the 1850s* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), 75-79; Border State Congressmen to Lincoln, Jul. 14, 1862, Lincoln Papers, ser. 1, Library of Congress; Brian Danoff, "Lincoln and the 'Necessity' of Tolerating Slavery Before the Civil War," *Review of Politics* 77 (2015): 69; Speech of John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, on emancipation, Mar. 11, 1862, in Slavery Source Material and Critical Literature (Louisville, Kentucky: Lost Cause Press, 1977), microfiche.

Ida Tarbell observed, "Lincoln never came to a point in his public career where he did not have a card in reserve, and he never lacked the courage to play it if he was forced to." His military on the ropes and talking of surrender, Lincoln had no choice but to move to the final card in his hand. As William Harris wrote,

> The huge and demoralizing losses suffered by General McClellan in the ill-fated June 1862 Peninsula campaign to take Richmond brought intense pressure from Republicans for the president to take more vigorous measures against the rebels. Lincoln's view of southern resistance also hardened, which increased his determination to find legal authority to move against slavery in the insurrectionary states.

On July 13, 1862, he discussed the potential proclamation with Secretary of State William Seward and Navy Secretary Gideon Welles, emphasizing the notion of military necessity as the legal justification for such an edict. Having signed – again with reluctance – the Confiscation Act of 1862 on July 17, Lincoln framed his draft Emancipation Proclamation pursuant to section six of that act, which required the president to issue a proclamation enabling seizure of rebel property. He presented the draft to his cabinet on July 22. It found general, though not unanimous, agreement. Seward advised waiting until a military victory so the proclamation would not look desperate, and Lincoln agreed.[5]

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[5] William Klingman, *Abraham Lincoln and the Road to Emancipation, 1861-1865* (New York: Viking, 2001), 139-140, 157-158; Ida Tarbell, "Lincoln and the Emancipation Proclamation," *McClure's Magazine* 12 (1899): 514; Harris, *Lincoln and the Border States*, 189; Gideon Welles, *Diary of Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy under Lincoln and Johnson*, ed. John Torrey Morse (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), vol. 1, 70; "*An Act to suppress Insurrection, to punish Treason and Rebellion, to seize and confiscate the Property of Rebels, and for other Purposes*," U.S., *Statutes at Large, Treaties, and Proclamations of the United States of America*, vol. 12 (Boston, 1863), 589-592; Preliminary Draft of Emancipation Proclamation, Jul. 22, 1862, Lincoln Papers, ser. 1, Library of Congress.

Lincoln found that victory, such as it was, in the Battle of Antietam on September 17. On September 22, Lincoln issued the preliminary version of the Emancipation Proclamation. Notably, this was just weeks before the midterm elections. Lincoln had long taken what Fehrenbacher has called an "extreme" view that the people – through their voice at the ballot box – are the ultimate arbiters of what is constitutional. If the people's initial utterance was any indication, they had concerns. Republicans lost 31 seats in the House as well as several important governorships in the fall of 1862. Although Lincoln never admitted this was a result of the preliminary proclamation – and, certainly, other factors such as rising inflation, high taxes, imposition of conscription, and the general malaise of a long war likely played a role – the people's initial feedback was hardly resounding support. When Congress reconvened in December, Lincoln made a final attempt to rekindle gradual, compensated emancipation in his annual address, but the proposal was defeated by both radicals on the left and pro-slavery factions on the right. Lincoln, therefore, spent the week after Christmas putting the finishing touches on his proclamation, carefully exempting Union-held territories in the South to ensure his argument of military necessity remained sound despite protest from Secretary of the Treasury Salmon Chase that doing so would create administrative nightmares. Lincoln was careful not to overstep his constitutional bounds, and the exemptions stood. He signed the proclamation on January 1, 1863.[6]

In the constitutional debate that surrounded the issue of emancipation, Lincoln proved to be his own best advocate.

[6] Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, Sep. 22, 1862, Lincoln Papers, ser. 1, Library of Congress; Don Fehrenbacher, "Lincoln and the Constitution," in *The Public and Private Lincoln*, Cullom Davis et al., eds. (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979), 134; Klingman, *Lincoln and the Road to Emancipation*, 205-207, 228-229; Harris, *Lincoln and the Border States*, 204-205; Emancipation Proclamation, Jan. 1, 1862, Lincoln Papers, ser. 1, Library of Congress.

Fundamentally, Lincoln's argument rested on the idea that the president had inherent war powers that he could exercise when militarily necessary on issues beyond the reach of Congress or the peacetime executive power. Emancipation was one such issue. Crucially, however, it was not the only one. As Fehrenbacher noted,

> [Lincoln] responded to the attack on Fort Sumter by enlarging the army, proclaiming a blockade of Southern ports, suspending the writ of habeas corpus in certain areas, authorizing arbitrary arrests and imprisonments on a large scale, and spending public funds without legal warrant. He never yielded the initiative seized at this time.

That emancipation was another area that required executive initiative was not a unanimous legal opinion; while even most Radical Republicans conceded that ending slavery was beyond the scope of the legislative power, Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner, for one, argued in 1864 that Congress had always had the power to regulate slavery by simple statute as "commerce among the states." For Lincoln, however, military necessity put this issue squarely within the sphere of a wartime executive power. Since the outset of the war, many Union officers had gradually come to see the fruits of emancipating slaves within enemy territory as militarily advantageous and had urged Lincoln to consider a broader regime to assist them in the field. That was the aim of this wartime emancipation.[7]

Relying on the notion that Article II's commander-in-chief clause necessarily vested the president with war powers with which to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution, Lincoln felt he had the authority to subdue the rebellion in states that had removed themselves from the civil law regime that had put slavery in the states beyond the reach of the federal government. In a public letter to James Conkling,

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[7] Fehrenbacher, "Lincoln and the Constitution," 127; "Universal Emancipation Without Compensation," Speech by Charles Sumner, Apr. 8, 1864, in Slavery Source Material and Critical Literature (Louisville, Kentucky: Lost Cause Press, 1977), microfiche; Teters, *Practical Liberators*, 41.

Lincoln wrote, "I think the constitution invests its commander-in-chief, with the law of war, in time of war. … Is there--has there ever been--any question that by the law of war, property, both of enemies and friends, may be taken when needed? And is it not needed whenever taking it, helps us, or hurts the enemy?" During wartime, this assertion put the proclamation beyond the reach of the federal courts, but Lincoln acknowledged that war powers end when war ends. As such, he freely admitted that the courts would rule on the proclamation after the war and that such a ruling may not be favorable to the permanence of emancipation particularly given the presence atop the Supreme Court of Roger Taney, author of the *Dred Scott* opinion. In July 1863, Lincoln said in a letter to Stephen Hurlbut, "I think it is valid in law, and will be so held by the courts." Two months later, Congressman-Elect Green Clay Smith of Kentucky asked Lincoln to affirm the right of "repentant rebels" in the border states to redress grievances arising from the Emancipation Proclamation in civil courts. Lincoln replied that he was "perfectly willing" to allow the Courts to have their say at the appropriate time and pledged to "abide by judicial decisions when made." Cognizant that the courts likely would not uphold a proclamation rooted in an argument of military necessity after the war, Lincoln acknowledged the need for a constitutional amendment to permanently end slavery. The 13th Amendment would come to be what Lincoln called a "king's cure for all evils."[8]

In the years since Lincoln made his constitutional case for emancipation, some scholars have concluded either that he was not confident in the case he had made and sought an opportunity to escape the situation or that he deliberately obfuscated the constitutional arguments to sow confusion. Neither argument seems to fully hit the mark. The first, proffered by Barry Schwartz, is predicated on the notion

[8] Lincoln to Conkling, Aug. 26, 1863, *C.W.* vol. 6, 407-409; Lincoln to Hurlbut, Jul. 31, 1863, *C.W.* vol. 6, 359; "An Amnesty Suggested," *New York Times*, Sep. 10, 1863, 5; Response to a Serenade, Feb. 1, 1865, *C.W.* vol. 8, 255.

that, were the Confederacy to agree to rejoin the Union in exchange for rescinding the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln would have readily acquiesced. "Lincoln probably feigned his uncertainty over the postwar status of the proclamation," Schwartz writes. "The prospect for an abolition amendment aside, he knew the restoration of the prewar Constitution was certain when the war ended." Schwartz contends that Lincoln vacillated on the end of emancipation; what appears more likely is that Lincoln vacillated, or, more accurately, evolved, on the means to end slavery. Harold Holzer's thinking is in a similar vein to Schwartz's, though Holzer contends Lincoln was deliberately inconsistent and ambiguous in his framing of emancipation. In Holzer's view, the "microscopic precision" with which the proclamation was crafted to avoid legal challenges had an ulterior motive: to avoid inflaming passions that would cause political problems and give Lincoln an opportunity to "spin" the proclamation in the media. It is certainly the case that Lincoln's legal argument for emancipation evolved from his early plans for compensated gradualism to the ultimate proclamation, but that is more evident of the changing conditions on the ground and an earnest desire to comply with the Constitution than any cold-footed apprehension or nefarious manipulation. In sum, Lincoln's constitutional argument for the proclamation he issued was tightly rooted in his power as commander-in-chief.[9]

Other constitutional arguments in support of the Emancipation Proclamation meandered onto more tenuous legal ground. In a pamphlet responding to charges that Lincoln's assertion of war powers was antithetical to constitutional principles, Grosvenor Lowrey responded that, in subduing "rebellious communities," the president can free slaves, but he conceded that such power is extraconstitutional. "The military

[9] Barry Schwartz, "The Emancipation Proclamation: Lincoln's Many Second Thoughts," *Society* 52 (2015): 594; Harold Holzer, *Emancipating Lincoln: The Proclamation in Text, Context, and Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 93-94.

power suspends, but never destroys the law. Inter arma silent [in the midst of war, the law is silent]," he wrote. Others contended that exacting vengeance justified emancipation. Before a raucous crowd at Boston's Emancipation League in 1861, former Massachusetts Governor and future congressman George Boutwell argued that the president should pursue military emancipation as a matter of military necessity, but that, regardless, the South had ceded its right to constitutional protection. "The rebels have no right to complain," he said, to thunderous applause. Such a punitive argument could, however, have been used to construe the Emancipation Proclamation as a bill of attainder, which the Constitution expressly forbids. While William Whiting, the War Department's solicitor, had issued a pamphlet arguing that nothing in the Emancipation Proclamation could be so construed because bills of attainder had been punishable only by death in Britain, not seizure of property, that argument was certainly weaker than the notion that slaves could be freed since they were helping the Confederacy's war effort.[10]

A handful of arguments did buttress Lincoln's claim that emancipation was a military necessity that the commander-in-chief power justified. Sumner, an ardent abolitionist, had long been motivated by the moral arguments against slavery, but he also trumpeted the practical advantages of emancipation in a speech at Boston's Faneuil Hall in October 1862, arguing that freed slaves could enlist in the Union Army. Perhaps a rhetorical flourish, but one he repeated again in

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[10] Grosvenor Lowrey, *The Commander-in-Chief: A Defence upon Legal Grounds of the Proclamation of Emancipation,* (New York, 1863), quoted in *Union Pamphlets of the Civil War, 1861-1865*, Frank Feidel, ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967); "Emancipation: Its Justice, Expediency and Necessity, As the Means of Securing a Speedy and Permanent Peace," speech by George Boutwell, Dec. 16, 1861, in Slavery Source Material and Critical Literature (Louisville: Lost Cause Press, 1977), microfiche; Henry Chambers, "Lincoln, the Emancipation Proclamation, and Executive Power," *Maryland Law Review* 73 (2013): 125-126; William Whiting, *The War Powers of the President and the Legislative Powers of Congress in Relation to Rebellion, Treason, and Slavery* (Boston: Rand & Avery, 1873), 92.

February 1863 and April 1864, Sumner added, "There is no blow which the President can strike, there is nothing he can do against the rebellion, which is not constitutional. Only inaction can be unconstitutional." Sumner's fellow Bay Stater Edward Everett incorporated international law in his defense of the Emancipation Proclamation, writing, "Who can suppose it is the duty of the United States to continue to recognize [slavery]" when states are in rebellion since the institution finds no basis in the law of nations nor in natural law. The potential for an international intervention in the Civil War was something Lincoln considered as he weighed issuing the proclamation, but he ultimately thought the proclamation would not have a substantial effect either way. Indeed, other events in Europe did more to dissuade a brokered peace settlement than the Emancipation Proclamation. Perhaps the most full-throated defense of the proclamation aside from Lincoln came in Whiting's aforementioned pamphlet. Whiting contended that the Constitution is designed to create a perpetual republic and that, therefore, it must grant the president sufficient war powers to preserve that republic regardless of whether the war has been formally declared (which this one had not so as to avoid legitimizing southern secession). Significantly, Whiting quoted the 1827 court decision *Martin v. Mott*, which concluded that "the authority to decide whether the exigency has arisen belongs exclusively to the President, and that this decision is conclusive upon all other persons." While that case dealt specifically with the president's power to call up militias to suppress rebellion, it lent credence to Lincoln's contention that the Constitution had vested certain war powers in the president to use when militarily necessary. Overall, arguments in support of the proclamation were often more spirited than Lincoln's, but they were less tight, a fact on which the proclamation's opponents seized.[11]

[11] Charles Sumner, *Emancipation! Its Policy and Necessity as a War Measure for Suppression of the Rebellion*, Oct. 6, 1862, (Boston, 1862); "Immediate Emancipation as a War Measure!" Speech by Charles Sumner, Feb. 12, 1863, in Slavery Source Material and Critical Literature (Louisville, Kentucky: Lost

Among the sharpest critics of the Emancipation Proclamation was Harvard Law Professor Joel Parker. At the core of Parker's objection lay the notion of ostensibly unlimited war powers, which the president could use to defend any action in the name of military necessity. Emancipation was not, in Parker's view, a legitimate response to a military exigency, but an executive power grab that threatened the constitutional order. He wrote,

> There is nothing in the colonial or revolutionary history, or in the history of the adoption of the State constitutions, or in the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, which can for a moment sustain the assumption of any such war powers, either by Congress or by the President. And there is nothing material to the suppression of the rebellion, which may not be accomplished without the assumption of such a construction of the Constitution.

After excoriating Whiting for promulgating "bad law, and, if possible, worse logic," Parker concluded that the Constitution granted sufficient power to the executive and legislative branches to suppress a rebellion: laws against conspiracy and sedition, for example, are constitutional; presidential proclamations seizing property without any semblance of due process, however, are not.[12]

Notably, two years earlier, Parker had defended the Lincoln administration's suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and condemned Taney's dictum in *Ex parte Merryman*, which said that the president had no constitutional authority to suspend the writ. Parker acknowledged that, in times of war, "The military law must be held to supersede the

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Cause Press, 1977), microfiche; "Universal Emancipation Without Compensation," Speech by Charles Sumner, Apr. 8, 1864, in Slavery Source Material and Critical Literature (Louisville, Kentucky: Lost Cause Press, 1977), microfiche; "Everett on Emancipation," *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 27, 1864, 2; Don Doyle, *The Cause of All Nations: An International History of the Civil War*, (New York: Basic Books, 2015), 220; Whiting, *War Powers*, 66-67; *Martin v. Mott*, 25 U.S. [12 Wheaton] 19 (1827).

[12] Joel Parker, *The War Powers of Congress, and of the President*, (Cambridge: H.O. Houghton, 1863), 6, 32, 9-10, 57-59.

civil law in that exigency, and this in consistency with, and not in antagonism to, the Constitution." Parker argued that the Constitution provides a paramount right for the federal government to suppress insurrection, but he refused to follow that argument to the logical end that someone had to determine what was legitimate to operationalize that right. Whiting contended that it was the president who could make such a determination, but Parker loathed this argument because, as Phillip Paludan observed, it "expanded power, diminished liberty, and glorified both actions as justified by the Constitution." Although Parker supported the war, he loathed the dramatic expansions of power that came in its wake. In his view, the war's goal should have been simply to save the Union in the name of stability and order. Lincoln's assertion of executive power, though ostensibly towards the same end of saving the Union, threatened that stability and order.[13]

Former Supreme Court Justice Benjamin Curtis, who resigned from the Court after he dissented from the *Dred Scott* decision, was more charitable to Lincoln's attempt to act within the bounds of the Constitution, but, like Parker, Curtis thought the Emancipation Proclamation was executive overreach. While Curtis acknowledged that there may be exceptional cases that threaten public safety in which the president may "justly look for indemnity" beyond the scope of the enumerated powers, public safety was not threatened in this matter. As such, the president was confined to his executive powers, which restrict him to executing – not making, suspending, or altering – the laws. He rejected the notion of implied powers justifying disregard for the limits expressed in the Constitution. He wrote,

> It must be obvious … that if the President of the United States has an implied constitutional right, as commander-in-chief of the army and

[13] *Ex parte Merryman* 17 F. Cas. 144 (C.C.D. Md. 1861); Parker, *Habeas Corpus and Martial Law*, (Cambridge: Welch, Bigelow, and Company, 1861), 22; Phillip Paludan, *A Covenant with Death*: *The Constitution, Law, and Equality in the Civil War Era*, (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 132, 146, 156, 129.

> navy in time of war, to disregard any one positive prohibition of the Constitution … because, in his judgment, he may thereby 'best subdue the enemy,' he has the same right, for the same reason, to disregard each and every provision of the constitution, and to exercise all power, needful, in his opinion, to enable him 'best to subdue the enemy.'

In other words, Lincoln's argument has no limiting principle to constrain the president. The president's commander-in-chief power, Curtis concluded, must be exercised in subordination to the laws of the country, from which alone he derives his authority.[14]

Members of Congress, too, argued that emancipation transcended the president's (or Congress's) constitutional power. Discussing a joint resolution that pledged support for gradual abolition in March 1862, Crittenden argued that the Constitution contained a natural right to self-preservation, but not to use any means in its pursuit. Wholesale abolition, he argued, would go too far in infringing upon the rights of states. In June, Samuel Cox, an Ohio Democrat, contended that emancipation, particularly by executive fiat, violated the Constitution's ban on bills of attainder, its definition of treason (which is confined to "levying war" against the United States), the takings clause, separation of powers, and the right to a trial by jury. Finally, in December 1862, as it was becoming clear Lincoln intended to follow through and issue the proclamation, Unionist Congressman John Crisfield of Maryland argued that allowing such an assertion of war power would be a slippery slope. "Once admitted as a power belonging to this government," he argued, "[necessity] swallows up all other powers, and resolves everything into the mere discretion of the individual who may happen to wield its mighty energies. This is the definition of

[14] Benjamin Curtis, *Executive Power*, (Cambridge, 1862), quoted in *Union Pamphlets of the Civil War, 1861-1865*, Frank Feidel, ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 454-455, 461, 467.

despotism." Avoiding despotism undergirded most of the arguments against the Emancipation Proclamation.[15]

Both Parker and Curtis had argued that the legislative branch had sufficient power to suppress the rebellion at hand, which obviated the need for any exercise of emergency powers anyway. In the years preceding the Emancipation Proclamation, Congress had moved against slavery only incrementally. Ignoring Taney's decision in *Dred Scott* under the premise that, because he had ultimately dismissed the case for lack of standing, he could not make a substantive ruling on its merits, Congress moved a legislative agenda that paved the way for blacks to serve in militias, forbade military participation in recapture of fugitive slaves, and banned slavery in federal territories and Washington D.C. Perhaps most notably, Congress had also passed the Second Confiscation Act. However, those measures largely exhausted its legal authority to counteract slavery except for the possibility of appropriating funds to support compensated emancipation in the border states, something those states had rejected. Parker had argued that Congress could have moved against sedition and conspiracy, but neither would have materially affected the economy or politics of the South. As such, it is not clear what options Congress had that would have been remotely as effectual as the Emancipation Proclamation.[16]

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[15] Speech of John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, on emancipation, Mar. 11, 1862, in Slavery Source Material and Critical Literature (Louisville, Kentucky: Lost Cause Press, 1977), microfiche; "Emancipation and its results--is Ohio to be Africanized?" Speech of Samuel S. Cox, Jun. 6, 1862, in Slavery Source Material and Critical Literature (Louisville, Kentucky: Lost Cause Press, 1977), microfiche; Congressional Globe, 37th Cong., 3d Sess. (Dec. 19, 1862), 146-149, quoted in Harris, *Lincoln and the Border States*, 214.

[16] Curtis, *Executive Power*, 469; Parker, *The War Powers of Congress, and of the President*, 59; Paul Finkelman, "The Summer of '62: Congress, Slavery, and a Revolution in Federal Law," In *Congress and the People's Contest*, Finkelman and Donald Kennon, eds. (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2018), 92, 105-107.

Congress's inability to act further supports to Lincoln's argument of military exigencies compelling the commander-in-chief to act using war powers. During the war, the courts largely yielded to Lincoln's assertions of those war powers. In *United States v. Cashiel* (1863), which dealt with whether a civilian could be court martialed, the District Court of Maryland ruled only on a procedural issue pertaining to double jeopardy rather than weighing in on the extent of the federal government's war powers, which it acknowledged are "a problem of no easy solution, but one which is now engaging the attention and careful consideration of the statesmen and jurists of the land." The court thus constrained itself from ruling on a federal war power assertion. On two occasions, federal courts upheld the Lincoln administration's assertion of war powers. In *United States v. One Hundred and Twenty-Nine Packages* (1862), the Eastern District Court of Missouri cited the Supreme Court's 1849 ruling in *Luther v. Borden* as it acknowledged the right of the political branches – Congress and the president – to determine the nation's state of peace or war and held that citizens and civil courts are bound by that decision. In *Elgee's Adm'r v. Lovell* (1865), the Circuit Court of Missouri denied the right of a Louisianan to reclaim cotton seized under the Confiscation Act of 1862 since, according to the law of nations, "in time of war, an enemy cannot sue in the courts of the country with which his nation is belligerent … all persons, citizens or subjects of the nations thus at war, are themselves enemies each to the other."[17]

The only two unfavorable rulings in federal court pertaining specifically to presidential assertions of war powers came in *Ex parte Merryman* (1861) and *Ex parte Benedict* (1862). In the former, Chief Justice Roger Taney issued a writ of habeas corpus and ordered General

[17] *United States v. Cashiel*, 25 F. Cas. 318, 321 (D. Md. 1863); *United States v. One Hundred & Twenty-Nine Packages*, 27 F. Cas. 284 (E.D. Mo. 1862); *Luther v. Borden*, 48 U.S. 1 (1849); *Elgee's Adm'r v. Lovell*, 8 F. Cas. 449 (C.C.D. Mo. 1865).

George Cadwalader to bring John Merryman, whom the Army had arrested, before the court to hear the charges against him. Cadwalader declined on the grounds that the Army had suspended the writ of habeas corpus. In the ensuing legal opinion, Taney concluded that the Constitution vests the power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus only in Congress and that neither the president nor the military could do so, but the Lincoln administration declined to comply with Taney's order. The circumstances in *Ex parte Benedict*, a case arising from the Northern District of New York, were similar, and the judge cited Taney's ruling to affirm that the president could not suspend the writ of habeas corpus. However, the judge declined to hold the federal marshal in contempt for disobeying the writ, perhaps a tacit acquiescence to the executive branch's prerogatives. Fehrenbacher observed that most legal scholars would have agreed with Taney's analysis, but that, in the intervening years, few have faulted Lincoln for not complying with the writ. "[This] does not mean that Lincoln condemned the institution of judicial review," Fehrenbacher wrote. "He did, however, reject the doctrine of judicial supremacy." In Lincoln's eyes, the court did not have a monopoly on constitutional interpretation, a job that ultimately rested with the people.[18]

Ultimately, the *Prize Cases* (1863) had established that conditions on the ground establish the presence of a war regardless of any formal declaration and that, when those conditions were present, the president "was bound to meet [belligerent force] in the shape it presented itself," using his powers as commander-in-chief to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. In confronting the issue of emancipation, Lincoln was measured and methodical as he sought first to convince the border states to accept gradual, compensated emancipation, then approved General Butler's contraband policy, then,

[18] *Ex parte Merryman*, 17 F. Cas. 144 (C.C.D. Md. 1861); *Ex parte Benedict*, 3 F. Cas. 159 (N.D.N.Y. 1862); Fehrenbacher, "Lincoln and the Constitution," 133.

however grudgingly, signed the Confiscation Acts of 1861 and 1862, and finally concluded that the conditions on the ground presented themselves in such a shape that required the Emancipation Proclamation. He had rejected the idea of emancipation in 1861, saying at the time, "No, we must wait until every other means has been exhausted. This thunderbolt will keep." By July 1862, however, he determined the time had come, and he made a good faith constitutional case that the president had the power as commander-in-chief to subdue his enemy through emancipation, which would, in the words of his John Nicolay, "destroy the right arm of the rebellion."[19]

Whether the courts would have upheld the Emancipation Proclamation after the war is a hypothetical whose realization the 13th Amendment obviated. Lincoln had signaled previously that he was unsure, but, given that he justified the proclamation using war powers, it seems unlikely such powers would endure when the war did not, which explained Lincoln's sense of urgency as he pushed Congress to pass a constitutional amendment outlawing slavery. Nevertheless, Lincoln appeared to have the fate of the proclamation on his mind when he appointed his former Treasury Secretary Chase as the Supreme Court's Chief Justice upon Taney's death in October 1864. "We want a man who will sustain the Legal Tender Act and the Proclamation of Emancipation," Lincoln told George Boutwell. "We cannot ask a candidate what he would do; and if we did and he should answer, we should only despise him for it." Lincoln thus implied that Chase's views on the subject were known and he would likely uphold the proclamation

[19] *Prize Cases*, 67 U.S. (2 Black) 635 (1863); Don Fehrenbacher and Virginia Fehrenbacher, eds., *Recollected Words of Abraham Lincoln* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 295, quoted in Livingstone, "Lincoln's Model of Statesmanship," 206; John Nicolay, *Daily Morning Chronicle*, Jan. 2, 1863, quoted in Allen Guelzo, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), 186.

were it to reach the court prior to a constitutional amendment's ratification.[20]

Even if the court had struck down the proclamation after the war, it seems that Lincoln would not have regretted issuing it because, in his view, even if it was beyond the law's enumerated power, the Union must endure. "Are all the laws, but one, to go unexecuted," he asked, "and the government itself go to pieces, lest that one be violated?" Such a line of thinking has led some contemporary scholars to wonder whether, even if the Emancipation Proclamation was unconstitutional, we should care. Law professor Sanford Levinson delivered an address in 2001 asking that very question. "Who cares," he argued, "reflects an important intellectual reality with regard to assessment of political actions: When all is said and done, we place far greater emphasis on whether we substantively like the outcomes, than on their legal pedigree." Certainly, though, Lincoln cared. His adversaries did too. In fact, Curtis was so offended by a "leading and influential" Republican newspaper's declaration that "nobody cares" whether the proclamation is constitutional that he devoted several pages of his pamphlet to defending the rule of law and defended Lincoln, whom Curtis believed cared "that he and all other public servants should obey the Constitution." It is also striking that Lincoln and Parker, though they vehemently differed on prescription, largely agreed on principle: preservation of the Union must be the paramount goal of not only the Civil War, but of the government at large. The 13th Amendment, of course, ultimately sealed the fate of emancipation. The Emancipation Proclamation, then, represented part of the "slow, firm progress toward a revolutionary goal" that had long been Lincoln's modus operandi.[21]

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[20] Fehrenbacher and Fehrenbacher, *Recollected Words*, 38.

[21] Basler, *Collected Works*, 4: 430, 7:281, quoted in Fehrenbacher, "Lincoln and the Constitution," 129; Sanford Levinson, "The David C. Baum Memorial Lecture: Was the Emancipation Proclamation Constitutional? Do We/Should We Care What the Answer Is?" *University of Illinois Law Review* 2001, no. 5

The Emancipation Proclamation stands as part of America's enduring quest to become a more perfect Union. Certainly, it was a dramatic assertion of executive power, one that may even have transcended the formalist bounds of the Constitution, and it is also true that Lincoln's legal argument defined no concrete limiting principle to constrain future exercises of war powers. The ultimate limiting principle, however, comes through the ongoing work of the people to form that more perfect union. As Lincoln argued, it is citizens who are the ultimate arbiters of what the Constitution means. Only the people can decide – as they did in 1776 – that the existing form of government is unacceptable, only the people can decide – as they did in 1787 – that Union is worth forming, and only the people can decide – as they did in 1861 – that such a Union is worth preserving. In executing that final decision, Lincoln determined that the Emancipation Proclamation was necessary. That such a decision had the consequence of bending America towards the liberty imbued in the Declaration of Independence is simply a testament to American virtue. Each great decision in American history has, to some extent, been a gamble. It is only through such gambles, though, that a nation conceived in and dedicated to liberty, committed to the principle of government of the people, by the people, and for the people, has been able to long endure.

(2001): 1150; Curtis, *Executive Power*, 29; Fehrenbacher, *Prelude to Greatness*, 148.

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Victoria: The Girl Who Would Become Queen

By Lindsay Richwine

"I am very young and perhaps in many, though not in all things, inexperienced, but I am sure that very few have more real good-will and more real desire to do what is fit and right than I have."[1] –Queen Victoria, 1837

Queen Victoria was arguably the most influential person of the 19th century. Ruling in an era that was turning its back on monarchies and the personal rule of the 1700s, Victoria not only survived and adapted to a new way of ruling, she managed to exercise enormous influence on the culture and politics of the time. So influential a figure has been the subject of her share of biographies over the years, and each biographer forms a different opinion on the woman that gave her name to an age. These portrayals differ greatly; some, like the Reverend John Rusk and others writing in the years immediately following her death, sanitize and sanctify her "Beautiful Life and Illustrious Reign" and others like Jerome Blum maintain that Victoria was merely a receptacle for the agendas of the powerful men around her.[2] The truth, as always, lies somewhere in the middle. Over the years,

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[1] Queen Victoria, *Extract from the Queen's Journal,* 20 June 1837, in *Queen Victoria's Early Letters*, ed. John Raymond (New York: The Macmillian Company, 1963), 142.

[2] John Rusk. *The Beautiful Life and Illustrious Reign of Queen Victoria: A Memorial Volume. An Accurate and Authentic Account of the Late Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and Empress of India, Relating the Incidents and Events of Her Public and Private Life, Together with a Summary of the Splendid Achievements of Her Reign, Sketches of Royalty, and the Leading Statesmen of Her Time. Also a Concise History of England and Her Colonies During the Victorian Era*. ([Chicago?]: K.T. Boland, 1901).

scholarship on Victoria has found this middle ground, with the most recent biographers such as Julia Baird giving what appears to be the most holistic portrait of the Queen. Neither a perfect ruler nor a weak figurehead, Victoria ruled during a very significant era in British—and world—history. Her task was not an easy one. At times, she handled her position with grace and at times she made enormous mistakes. Despite her iconic status and fame, the best approach to any study of her life is to understand her humanity. In order to explain her later public persona and political career, it is necessary to examine her early life to find out who she was and how she viewed the world. It is therefore the object of this research to give due credit to the role Victoria's experiences in child and young adulthood had in shaping her legacy. The circumstances of Victoria's upbringing explain her later actions and give the historian a more complete picture of this iconic figure. Though the young Victoria sought out and to some extent relied on mentors as a consequence of her sequestered and controlled upbringing, she was by no means an empty vessel into which her mentors poured their agendas. Navigating a challenging political climate and the end of personal rule, Victoria was able to adapt to these changes without ceding her power or presence.

Born into an England reveling in the defeat of Napoleon yet reeling from the madness of King George III and the sins of his philandering sons, Victoria and the other possible heirs were in a position to change the course of British history. Though relatively quiet and respected during the early years of his reign, as he aged, George III suffered from a variety of ailments that left him deaf, blind, and mentally unstable. He claimed to hear voices and often stripped naked and ran through the palace shouting that his skin was on fire.[3] Victoria's "wicked uncles", George IV and William

[3] Julia Baird, *Victoria the Queen: An Intimate Biography of the Woman Who Ruled and Empire* (New York: Random House, 2016), 7-8.

IV, were adulterous carousers who ruled England irresponsibly, squandering public funds and abusing their power.[4] Victoria's own father, Edward, the Duke of Kent, was somewhat quieter than his brothers about his self-indulgence. However, he had a reputation for extravagancy and lived with a mistress for years until he abandoned her for a legitimate union with Victoria's mother when it became apparent that a child of his could be ruler of England.[5] Though eloquent and progressive and reputedly possessing a kind heart, the Duke had a sadistic streak evident in his military days.[6] Edward was forced into retirement from his command for the excessively brutal punishments he meted out that sparked mutiny in his ranks.[7] In the years of their reigns, the British public lost trust in the monarchy and began to view the whole family as debauched and entitled. Taking this into account, it makes sense that Victoria adopted the attitude to morality that she did in later years in order to dispel some of the conceptions about the monarchy. The task that lay before her was not an easy one, and the circumstances of her childhood both prepared her and provided obstacles to her growth.

The Duke died unexpectedly when Victoria was still an infant, leaving the child and her mother in a mountain of debt from which the Duchess's brother Leopold, later king of Belgium, had to rescue them.[8] Though Victoria never knew her father enough to miss him at his death, his early departure affected her for the rest of her life in two ways. First, growing up without a father meant that Victoria sought a father figure for the rest of her life. This

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[4] Dorothy Thompson, *Queen Victoria: The Woman, the Monarchy, and the People* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990), 15.
[5] Thompson, *Queen Victoria*, 16.
[6] Baird, *Victoria the Queen*, 9.
[7] Thompson, *Queen Victoria*, 16.
[8] Elizabeth Longford, *Victoria: Born to Succeed* (New York and Evanston: Harper and Row, 1964), 25.

partially explains her attachment to various made advisors throughout her life, something for which she would suffer criticism. The other consequence of her father's death is that it left the Duchess in need of a consort. Unfortunately for Victoria, this meant that her mother grew quite close with John Conroy, an Irishman who was the former equerry to the Duke. Charming and manipulative, Conroy became the most trusted advisor of the Duchess.[9] She and Conroy were the same age; both were materialistic and ambitious and soon after the Duke's death a flirtatious relationship developed between the two.[10] Conroy exercised enormous influence on the Duchess and attempted to control Victoria, hoping to become indispensable to a young girl who could be queen. Though Victoria never allowed Conroy to succeed in his attempts to manipulate her, she harbored resentment against him for the rest of her life.[11]

Although Conroy was not able to control Victoria, this was not through lack of trying. In the spring of 1830, it became evident that Victoria would one day inherit the crown. This realization provoked the Duchess to alter Victoria's lifestyle, placing her on a regimented schedule and altering her education to better prepare her for life as Queen.[12] It is in this period that the Duchess and John Conroy began to crack down on Victoria. One of the ways in which they attempted to rule her was through the Kensington System, a plan devised by Conroy and implemented by the Duchess. The Kensington System, so called because they resided in Kensington Palace, was created under the guise of preparing

[9] Baird, *Victoria the Queen*, 33.
[10] Dormer Creston, *The Youthful Queen Victoria* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1952), 97.
[11] Lynne Vallone, *Becoming Victoria* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 8.
[12] Paula Bartley, *Queen Victoria* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2016), 24.

Victoria for life as Queen. In fact, it kept Victoria totally isolated from children other than Conroy's own, and under constant, oppressive surveillance.[13] Per her mother's instructions, Victoria was never to be left alone. Someone always stood watch over her in an otherwise empty room, held her hand while walking down the stairs, looked on as a maid arranged her hair, assisted her in dressing and undressing, and guarded her as she lay in bed until the Duchess came up the stairs.[14] Surely some of the Duchess' control sprang from concern for her daughter's safety—she mandated that every meal Victoria took be tasted first to ensure she had not been poisoned as she was worried about possible threats from Victoria's uncles. However, it is difficult to argue that the overbearing supervision of Victoria was not at all intended to control her behavior. Though Victoria was not aware of her place in the line of succession until she was ten, the Duchess was well aware of the possibility of Victoria becoming queen.[15] The Duchess and Conroy were very conscious of the power they could have if her daughter were to become Queen.

The efforts of the Duchess and Conroy to orchestrate every part of Victoria's young life had a profound effect on her. While she was young, the Duchess and Conroy embarked on what biographer Susan Kingsley Kent called "a campaign of disparagement, belittlement, and emotional abuse of the princess".[16] Insulting her appearance, intelligence, and ability to rule, Conroy attempted to undermine Victoria's confidence and make her dependent on him. However, he underestimated Victoria's pluck and never was able to achieve his goal.

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[13] Susan Kingsley Kent, *Queen Victoria: Gender and Empire* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 17-18.
[14] Creston, *The Youthful Queen Victoria*, 103.
[15] Baird, *Victoria the Queen*, 24.
[16] Kent, *Gender and Empire*, 18.

While she wanted for nothing materially in her childhood, Victoria's upbringing was lonely and strict, governed by her domineering and power-hungry mother who sacrificed her daughter's well-being for her own ambition. Victoria spent the years after her father's death struggling against this environment. She became a stubborn and obstinate ward, often defying her tutors and caretakers, bucking at any ultimatums and instructions. When told by her piano teacher that she must practice, Victoria slammed the lid of the piano and yelled "There! You see there is no *must* about it!".[17] Lehzen, her devoted caretaker, was at first appalled by the child's outbursts of temper.[18] Drawn by some biographers as the stereotypical spoiled only child, Victoria was at times selfish and difficult but was equally tender and lively in turn. This stubborn streak, developed in retaliation to the oppression in her childhood, would become a hallmark of her personality in later years. Instead, Victoria fought back and developed a stubborn streak that would frustrate people she worked with but made her a formidable Queen. Her stubbornness both helped and hurt her as it established her ability to be decisive but also alienated others throughout her life.

Victoria's difficult temperament in her childhood may have had a much greater effect on her later life if it were not for the influence of her governess, Fraulein Louise Lehzen. Lehzen, as she was called by Victoria, was the daughter of a Lutheran pastor. Hailing from German lands just like Victoria's mother, the governess raised Victoria from the age of five. High-strung, prone to headaches, and occasionally tactless, Lezhen did not cut the most graceful figure but was nevertheless kind-hearted and well-

[17] Baird, *Victoria the Queen*, 22.
[18] Lytton Strachey, *Queen Victoria* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1921), 34.

liked by those she worked with.[19] Stern but utterly devoted to her young pupil, Lezhen was Victoria's bulwark. While curbing Victoria's impudence and temper, Lehzen encouraged Victoria's independent spirit and strength of character and gave her the unshaking support she did not receive from the Duchess. In turn, Victoria adored her "Dear Lehzen" and appreciated her immensely for the support she received from her.[20] The governess would be instrumental in both the emotional and academic development of the young queen.

A bright but not necessarily academic child, Victoria nevertheless seemed to do well in her lessons. She was instructed in languages, religion, history, geography, arithmetic, and English. Her tutor, the Revd George Davys, came to Kensington Palace when she was only four years old and began to teach her letters.[21] In her childhood, Victoria developed a penchant for the arts which continued throughout her life. She was a rather accomplished watercolorist and sketch artist—she always kept up these hobbies and sketched man of her friends and family members throughout her life.[22] She frequently attended the opera, theatre, and ballet, and was "very much amused indeed" by many performances, always commenting on them in her diaries.[23] Victoria studied music as well, signing in a "sweet, reliable voice" and playing the piano decently well.[24] Her penchant for artistic expression was most likely related to her controlled childhood. Victoria needed an outlet, and she found it in the arts.

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[19] Longford, *Queen Victoria: Born to Succeed*, 30.
[20] Strachey, *Queen Victoria*, 34.
[21] Christopher Hibbert, *Queen Victoria: A Personal History*, 18.
[22] Monica Charlot, *Victoria: The Young Queen* (Cambridge: B. Blackwell, 1991), 50.
[23] Bartley, *Queen Victoria*, 23.
[24] Charlot, *Victoria: The Young Queen*, 50.

Victoria's reign may have been very different without the influence of Lehzen. She was able to act as a mother when the Duchess failed to do so, and her presence was a stabilizing factor that contributed to the future success of the Queen. Because of the attitude of the Duchess and Conroy, Victoria had to seek out mentors early in her life, a practice she would maintain throughout her life.

Another important mentor and supporter throughout her childhood and later life was her Uncle Leopold, King of the Belgians. Eccentric, elegant, and kind to his niece, Leopold was a colorful individual. He cut an unusually flamboyant figure, frequently adorning himself in feather boas and three-inch heels. He had an obsession with drizzling, the process of melting down gold and silver tassels to make metal, and he inexplicably propped his mouth open with wedges of gold as he slept.[25] Victoria adored her "Dear Beloved Uncle" and often reminisced about visits made to him.[26] She was always happier visiting the King and his wife Louise in Claremont or making trips with them to the sea.[27] They wrote letters to each other through their whole lives wherein Victoria frequently asked for advice and shared details of her life. He lived with the Duchess and Victoria while she was a young child, so Leopold was the closest thing Victoria had to a father figure in her early life. She was nearly devastated when he had to stop living with the family when he became King. He, like Lehzen, was a constant support for the young queen, and helped greatly in her personal development and protection, often supporting her against her mother and Conroy.

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[25] Baird, *Victoria the Queen*, 31.
[26] Queen Victoria to Leopold, King of the Belgians, 2 January 1837, in *Queen Victoria's Early Letters,* ed. John Raymond, 20.
[27] Hibbert, *Queen Victoria: A Personal History*, 47.

Leopold gave Victoria support in what is an early example of her capability to stand up for herself. When Victoria was a teenager, she was struck deathly ill while on a tour of the North. Conroy refused to acknowledge that anything was really wrong with Victoria, maintaining that it was just a cold and saying that it would be bad for the public's view of her if they thought she was ill. Leopold jumped to the young girl's defense and berated Conroy for his carelessness. However, this did not seem to have much impact on the ever-ambitious Conroy as he took the opportunity to approach Victoria about ensuring her mother's position as her regent should the King die before her eighteenth birthday. He also asked Victoria to make him her official private secretary.[28] Even in her weakened state, Victoria mustered the fortitude to refuse. Conroy flew into a rage at her flat refusal and attempted to force a pen into her hand to sign the document that would make him secretary. He berated her too, shouting at her and calling her foolish and incapable of ruling.[29] However, Victoria held firm a display of her stubborn streak that sometimes served to protect her from people like Conroy. This story alone proves Blum's portrayal of a weak Victoria incorrect; no spineless ruler would have behaved as she did, especially not as sick as she was. This fortitude Victoria had to develop growing up under the pressure of her mother and Conroy ensured that she could never be passive.

Historians have characterized Victoria's childhood in a variety of ways over the years. In a 1901 biography written shortly after Victoria's death, Reverend John Rusk, Ph.D. paints her childhood in idyllic pastels, omitting any trials and loneliness she may have faced and mentioning only that from time to time she wished for companions of her own age.[30] For Rusk, the constant

[28] A.N. Wilson, *Victoria: A Life,* (New York: Penguin Press, 2014), 66-67.
[29] Baird, *Victoria the Queen,* 37
[30] Rev. John Rusk, *The Beautiful Life,* 50.

surveillance and controlling behavior of the Duchess is simply "the watchful eye of that wisest of mothers".[31] Later biographers have drawn a better picture of the struggles and joy she faced in her childhood. Along with many other modern authors, Monica Charlot's 1991 biography describes alongside the good times a "much darker side" to the childhood of the Queen. While some more modern authors claim that Victoria's childhood was not as bleak as she described it, the accounts of loneliness and constant surveillance that characterize Victoria's childhood do not just come from her description. Writing to Victoria later in life, Feodora says that her "only happy time was going or driving out with you and Lehzen; then I could speak and look as I liked. I escaped some years of imprisonment, which you, my poor darling sister, had to endure after I was married."[32] In order to fully understand Victoria and her actions in the early days of her reign, it is essential to understand the trauma of her childhood.

When Victoria became queen, her first request was for time alone. She moved her bed out of her mother's room, where it had been since her birth.[33] With these steps Victoria began to assert her independence as the new sovereign. However, though she was determined to gain her independence from her mother and Conroy, she was still a teenager, completely inexperienced and unsure of how to proceed on her own. The interesting paradox created by her upbringing is that, though Victoria longed to assert her independence and had within her a stubborn streak developed in years of fighting Conroy and her mother, she had never been allowed to operate on her own. Consequently, Victoria had not had any practice making her own decisions and began to look for

[31] Rev. John Rusk, *The Beautiful Life*, 65.
[32] Charlot, *Victoria: the Young Queen*, 52.
[33] Baird, *Victoria the Queen*, 60.

mentors to assist her. She found in her prime minister, Lord Melbourne, exactly the advisor she was looking for.

Victoria grew to adore Lord Melbourne. Separated by a forty-year age gap, Melbourne became another father figure for the young queen. Jerome Blum calls the relationship between Victoria and Melbourne "one of the most endearing episodes in the long history of the British crown".[34] For Victoria, Melbourne was a constant companion and mentor. Victoria held him in the highest esteem and always found conversations with him to be immensely enjoyable. Unfortunately, it was because of her devotion to Melbourne that Victoria encountered her first real crisis. In an episode that demonstrated where her stubborn streak could lead her astray, Victoria alienated Sir Robert Peel and the Tory party in her desperation to keep the man who had become her father figure and closest advisor. In May of 1839, Melbourne's Whig government lost a major vote and resigned, turning the seat over to Sir Robert Peel and the Tories. When Victoria heard this news, she burst into tears and excused herself to her bedroom.[35] The turnover of the government would mean that Lord Melbourne would leave her side. This is not something Victoria wished to go through again—she had already suffered enough when her Uncle Leopold had left during her childhood. Her dismay at the departure of Melbourne grew worse when Peel asked that some of the ladies of her bedchamber that had connections with Whig politicians be dismissed and replaced with ladies with Tory connections.[36] This was too much for the young queen, and in retaliation, she stubbornly put her foot down and refused to let any women go, starting a standoff with Peel that ultimately ended in his

[34] Jerome Blum, "Ch. 5—Great Britain: A New Era," in *In the Beginning*, 155-198 (Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1994), 158.
[35] Ibid., 159.
[36] Kent, *Queen Victoria: Gender and Empire*, 43.

resignation and the return of Lord Melbourne. However, this particular display of Victoria's stubbornness ultimately weakened the power of the monarchy as Parliament put restrictions on the power of sovereigns in order to prevent this from happening again.[37] Though ultimately a poor political move on the part of the Queen, it is obvious why a teenager with Victoria's background would act in such a way. She had to work for much of her reign to make up for this early mistake.

Despite her early mistakes, age and lack of experience, Victoria generally made a good impression on those around her who initially underestimated her. Often praised for her "silvery voice" and self-possession, her presence calmed those embittered by the immorality and ineptitude of the kings that came before her.[38] Victoria began to find her identity as a ruler with the help of Melbourne and others. Soon though, Victoria felt the pressure to marry, and she proposed to Albert, a German prince who would become the love of her life.

Victoria first met Albert at the age of sixteen when he visited England with his brother Ernst. Victoria adored having them to keep her company. They were both artistic, musical and entertaining; Victoria found much in common with them and relished their presence to fix the loneliness that was so constant in her youth.[39] Several years later, Albert returned and Victoria fell head over heels in love with him even though she had previously been wary of marriage so soon. She wrote to her Uncle Leopold, "My feelings are a *little* changed, I must say, since last Spring,

[37] Blum, "Great Britain: A New Era", 159-160.
[38]Ibid., 158.
[39] Wilson, *Victoria: A Life*, 68.

when I said I couldn't *think* of marrying for *three or four years*; but seeing Albert has changed all this".[40]

Victoria is criticized by some for blindly falling in line with many of Albert's policies. Undeniably, she was highly influenced by Albert and began to adopt many of his views on morality and governing.[41] However, though she adored him, she also reminded him from time to time that she was the ruler of England, not he. One example of this is in a letter in which she denies him the two-week honeymoon he wished for, writing emphatically, "*You forget, my dearest Love, that I am the Sovereign, and that business can stop and wait for nothing*".[42] It is clear in this passage that Victoria is comfortable reminding Albert of her power. In later years, Albert took on a more central role, as Victoria experienced a string of pregnancies that left her unable to perform her regular duties. Albert took advantage of this opportunity and established himself in a powerful position. However, it was never Victoria's wish that Albert take her place in doing the duties of the sovereign. Both loved power and did everything they could to ensure that their position was not compromised.[43]

Though Blum and others have argued that Victoria exclusively took on the beliefs of whatever man she was attached to at the moment, there are many instances wherein Victoria asserts her own independence. Several of these are detailed in letters to and from Victoria and her male advisors. In one, Victoria explicitly rejects her Uncle Leopold's suggestion that her husband-to-be, Albert, be made a Peer in the House of Lords. Victoria adored Leopold because of his kindness towards her in her

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[40] Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians, 15 October 1839, in *Queen Victoria's Early Letters*, ed. Raymond, 35.
[41] Blum, "Great Britain: A New Era", 165.
[42] Victoria to the Prince Albert, 31 January 1840, in *Queen Victoria's Early Letters*, ed. Raymond, 40.
[43] Baird, *Victoria the Queen*, 135.

childhood and frequently asked his advice on matters. However, this adoration did not prevent her from sharing her opinion on his suggestion; she states in an 1839 letter that she sees "everything against it and *nothing* for it".[44] This is not the statement of an empty vessel. Victoria could and did assert herself in disagreements with her advisors, no matter how much their advice meant to her. This is not to say, though, that she never struggled to voice her opinions. In the minutes of a meeting between Lord Melbourne and Baron Stockmar, one of Prince Albert's most trusted confidants, Melbourne mentions that the Queen admitted to avoiding the discussion of political matters with Albert. He believes that Victoria does this because of a "fear of difference of opinion, and she thinks that domestic harmony is more likely to create difference", and encourages her to begin discussing political matters with Albert, even if they disagree.[45] This is not surprising. It is important to remember that Victoria, strong queen that she may be, was still just a young girl trying to figure out how to sustain a relationship, an area in which she has no experience and very little guidance. The only guidance seems to come from her Uncle who in fact instructed Victoria to do the opposite of what Melbourne told her. Leopold expressed his wish that "there *never* can arise, I hope, an occasion for any disagreement even on trifling subjects" between Victoria and Albert.[46]

One can imagine Victoria's situation. She was young, still only twenty-one years old, surrounded by powerful older men who are all bombarding her with advice. She was capable and finding

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[44] Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians, 26 November 1839, in *Queen Victoria's Early Letters,* ed. Raymond, 38.
[45] Memorandum by Mr. Anson: Minutes of Conversations with Lord Melbourne and Baron Stockmar, 28 May 1840, in *Queen Victoria's Early Letters*, ed. Raymond, 43.
[46] The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria, 4 Februrary 1840, in *Queen Victoria's Early Letters,* ed. Raymond, 41-42.

her place and power as a queen. She was still a bit out of her league simply because of her age and lack of experience. On top of that, throughout her entire life she had to buck against people attempting to influence her decisions. It is easy to sympathize with this woman, who was really still a girl, trying to find her voice amongst all these powerful personalities. Despite all of this, she managed to hold her own and even showed a bit of a sense of humor about it. In a letter to Albert, she pokes some fun at her Uncle Leopold, telling Albert that Leopold wrote her to say that he is upset that she has not been asking him for advice as of late. On this matter, Victoria commented that "dear Uncle is given to believe that he must rule the roast everywhere."[47] Though Victoria was influenced by these men and occasionally was forced to give the reins of power to them, she was by no means an unwilling monarch or a conduit for their agendas.

The study of Victoria's early life is not meant to exonerate her and make her a saint. It is meant only to explain her actions and give her the recognition for her reign that she deserves. To claim that Victoria wielded significant power in her own right is not to say that she never made the mistake of relying excessively on advisors—she did do so, and quite often. However, this examination of the effects of her early life is necessary to understand the position of the Queen. Victoria was remarkable for operating in the era that she did and coming from a background like hers. Though at the time of her coronation a very young and quite inexperienced girl, Victoria came to govern one of the most influential empires in the world and was, at the time of her death, well-loved and revered by her people. Though reliant on advisors as a side effect of her sequestered childhood and family situation, Victoria exercised her own will effectively as a monarch and made

[47] Queen Victoria to the Prince Albert 8 December 1839, in *Queen Victoria's Early Letters*, ed. Raymond, 39.

her mark on British society. Though not always a perfect or completely independent ruler, Victoria is redeemed by her determination to succeed in her position.

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Best of Intentions?: Rinderpest, Containment Practices, and Rebellion in Rhodesia in 1896

By Brandon Katzung Hokanson

Even the most miniscule of organisms on earth are incredibly capable of historical agency. Viruses—invisible to human eyes without the aid of an electron microscope—have proven to be profound agents in human history.[1] It was because of a virus that the African continent, in the final decade of the nineteenth century, witnessed one of the worst agricultural disasters of recent human history. Rinderpest, an extremely fatal bovine virus, left a trail of dead cattle and devastated African pastoralists and farmers in its wake. By the spring of 1896, the virus had reached the northern banks of the Zambezi River, and when word emerged that it had crossed the natural barrier in February, it did not take long for the rumors to prove true: cattle began dying in southern Africa in droves, and the British colonial state struggled to cope with an entity that failed to respect borderlines on a map. The British responded to the rinderpest outbreak by practicing quarantines and mass killings of sick and healthy cattle, which proved to be a gross cultural misunderstanding on the part of the colonial state. I argue that these earliest veterinary practices forced upon locals in southern Africa by the British colonial state to contain rinderpest were a major contributing factor for the Matabele Rebellion of 1896-7.

[1] To better understand just how impactful the historical relationship diseases share with humans, see William McNeil, *Plagues and People* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1977).

Cattle were far more than just a food source to the Matabele, as the British would quickly find out.

Narratives written by Africanist scholars dedicated exclusively to the rinderpest outbreak exist in a substantial number. However, the majority of existing narratives have focused on British-administered southern Africa.[2] Since the 1890's rinderpest outbreak was continent-wide, particularly proving devastating in the northern and eastern regions, the contemporary historiography is unrepresentative of the true magnitude of the disease's outbreak. A handful of authors like Helge Kjekshus do make an effort to shed some light on the devastating impact the virus had on East Africa, however the gap in knowledge about the rinderpest outbreak in southern African versus its outbreak in eastern and northern Africa, and even German South West Africa, is still significant.[3] Reason for such a discrepancy is perhaps due to the large quantities of southern Africa-based and Anglophone sources related to the late nineteenth century outbreak that are available in the historical record. Although this paper ultimately contributes to the Anglo-centric historiography focused on British southern Africa—partially due to the larger availability of sources dealing with that region—it does bring forth an important and under-covered aspect of the outbreak by highlighting the role that the

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[2] A thorough survey of rinderpest works focused on southern Africa include the following: Charles Ballard, "The Repercussions of Rinderpest: Cattle Plague and Peasant Decline in Colonial Natal," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 19. no. 3 (1986); Daniel Gilfoyle, "Veterinary Research and the African Rinderpest Epizootic: The Cape Colony, 18896-1898," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29. no. 1 (March, 2003); C. van Onselen, "Reactions to Rinderpest in Southern Africa 1896-1897," *The Journal of African History* 13, no. 3 (1972); and Pule Phoofolo, "Face to Face with Famine: The BaSotho and the Rinderpest, 1897-1899," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29, no. 2 (June 2003).

[3] Helge Kjeksjus, *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1996), 126-132.

early veterinary practices played in contributing to the Matabele Rebellion. In order to do so, a brief and general history of the outbreak in northern and eastern Africa will be presented, followed by details of how the British colonial state reacted when it first appeared in Rhodesia, which, coupled with a description of the importance of cattle to the Matabele people, will demonstrate how these early practices to stop the spread of the virus in the end contributed to an all-out war.

Rinderpest, also known as "cattle plague," has devasted cattle herds and the psyches of cattle farmers and pastoralists throughout its history.[4] Death by rinderpest for cattle was a brutal experience and at the very least an unsightly one for cattle owners because the rinderpest virus, Morbillivirus, caused a number of painful and visually disturbing symptoms like profuse nasal and eye discharge, bloody fecal discharge, and labored breathing. Upon infection, most cattle would die of the disease in a period of six to twelve days. Most importantly, virgin soil-epidemics of the virus—land with no prior experience with rinderpest—were especially devastating because rinderpest spread easily and rapidly between herds of nonimmune cattle, and in some cases escalated to the level of a panzootic.[5] Prior to the final decade of the nineteenth century, the African continent was virgin soil to rinderpest, but by the end of that decade, the continent was completely devastated.

Precisely when and where rinderpest was introduced to Africa is still a mystery. Clive Spinage, John A. Rowe, and Kjell Hødnebø argue that the 1890's outbreak of rinderpest was not the first outbreak, with several minor, isolated outbreaks occurring in

[4] Clive Spinage has so far completed the most comprehensive history of rinderpest in his book, *Cattle Plague*, where he traces all major outbreaks of the virus and its impact on peoples across the world. Clive Spinage, *Cattle Plague* (New York, NY: Kluwer Academics/Plenum Publishers, 2003).
[5] Rodger W. Blowey and A. David Weaver, *Color Atlas of Diseases and Disorders of Cattle*, 2nd ed. (Maryland Heights, MO: Mosby, 2003), 189-190.

Egypt in the early part of the century. They maintain however that the 1890's outbreak was by far the worst.[6] Several scholars who have written about 1890's outbreak of rinderpest, in addition to Spinage, Rowe, and Hødnebø, assert that it was mostly likely introduced to the continent somewhere between 1887 and 1889 when Italy sent an army to conquer Ethiopia. Traveling with the Italians, in what would prove to be a failed campaign, were cattle from foreign lands used to pull artillery, and it is argued that among these imported cattle, rinderpest had entered the continent.[7]

The virus spread quickly from Northeast Africa, where it killed off great numbers of cattle in Sudan and Ethiopia and moved down the eastern part of the continent, crashing into the cattle herds of pastoral peoples in what is present-day Kenya and Tanzania. One of the ethnic groups that suffered the worst from rinderpest was the Maasai. The Maasai were pastoralists who, in addition to cattle-rearing, had a strong warrior tradition. Helge Kjekshus, in his book focusing on the German colony of Tanganyika (Tanzania), argued that rinderpest was disastrous to peoples like the Maasai. Along with breaking the "economic backbone" of many pastoralist communities, Kjekshus also argued that rinderpest "initiated a breakdown of a long-established ecological balance and placed nature again at an advantage."[8] Kjekshus mentioned that rinderpest contributed to mass famine

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[6] Spinage, *Cattle Plague*, 497; John A. Rowe and Kjell Hødnebø, "Rinderpest in the Sudan 1888-1890: The Mystery of the Missing Panzootic," *Sudanic Africa* 5 (1994): 150.

[7] Spinage, *Cattle Plague*, 498; Rowe and Hødnebø, "Rinderpest in the Sudan 1888-1890," 153-154; Kjeksjus, *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History*, 127; Jose Burman, *Disaster Struck South Africa* (Cape Town, South Africa: C. Struik Ltd., 1971), 63; Nancy J. Jacobs, *African History through Sources: Colonial Contexts and Everyday Experiences, c. 1850-1946* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 77.

[8] Kjeksjus, *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History*, 126.

among the Maasai, and also forced them to rely on ethnic polities that practiced agriculture, like the Wayambo, for food. In terms of numbers of cattle lost, Kjekshus concluded that the region prior to the outbreak held approximately 4.5 million cattle, and after rinderpest had moved through the area, the cattle population dropped to approximately 450,000—a catastrophic loss to the locals.[9]

Prior to 1896, the death and destruction that rinderpest had wrought in the northern and eastern part of Africa had its southward spread halted by the natural barrier of the Zambezi River, and it appeared that the natural barrier would withhold the virus. However, by February 1896, locals who lived along the river began to notice cattle dying from some mysterious illness.[10] An article published in the *Rhodesia Herald* on February 26th mentioned that this "cattle sickness" had, alongside a locust outbreak, become a major issue in Rhodesia.[11] Being generally brushed off as a mere cattle disease, people were overly optimistic that it would run its course. However, by March, it was clear that the mysterious disease was far more serious than previously made out. On the 9th of March, J. A. Stevens, the Acting Secretary for the British South Africa Company, wrote to the Imperial Secretary based in London about the rising outbreak. Stevens noted that the disease "is what is believed to be what is called Zambezi cattle fever," indicating that at this point people living in northern Rhodesia still struggled to accurately identify the disease. In his report of the virus, Stevens also mentioned a long list of symptoms seen in the cattle, such as "running at eyes and nose," "intestines

[9] Kjeksjus, *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History*, 131.
[10] Spinage, *Cattle Plague*, 525.
[11] "Occasional Notes," *Rhodesia Herald* (Harare, Zimbabwe), February 26th, 1896.

full of blood," "mucus bloody," and "slight congestion of the lungs." At the end of his report, Stevens, grimly noted that "when symptoms once appear death follows rapidly," and even grimmer, that there were "no cases of recovery yet recorded."[12]

The governing body of the British South Africa Company realized it needed to act, and throughout the first weeks of March, sent repeated messages to the High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson, in Cape Town of the British Cape Colony. Robinson responded by putting the British South Africa Company in communication with the chief Colonial Veterinary Surgeon of the Cape Colony, Dr. Duncan Hutcheon. Hutcheon, advising Robinson and the company government in Rhodesia, and out of fear that the disease would quickly spread from Rhodesia into the Cape Colony, recommended Robinson to take rapid action.[13] On the same day that J. A. Stevens wrote his report about "Zambezi cattle fever" and its symptoms, Hercules Robinson approved an act that would have dire consequences in the immediate future.

Indeed, on March 9th, Sir Robinson permitted an order that fit into the legislative framework of the Animal Diseases Act of 1881, which was a law, once enacted, that allowed for a ban on movement of cattle, a quarantine of infected regions, and the destruction of infected herds.[14] Most importantly, in the order,

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[12] J. A. Stevens to Imperial Secretary, March 9th, 1896, in *Correspondence Relating to the Outbreak of Rinderpest in South Africa in March 1896* (London, UK: Eyere and Spottiswoode, 1896), 2.

[13] Spinage, *Cattle Plague*, 526.

[14] Daniel Gilfoyle, "Veterinary Research and the African Rinderpest Epizootic: The Cape Colony, 1896-1898," 136; The Animal Diseases Act of 1881 was created as a means to protect cattle and other domestic animals in the British Empire from the spread of disease. The act gave imperial officials in British colonies the right to control the movement, particularly the importation and exportation of livestock, require locals to report signs of disease to law enforcement, and authorize the killings of sick and healthy animals when and where deemed necessary. Hercules Tennant and Edgar Michael Jackson, eds.,

there was opportunity for healthy cattle to get killed as well; "any cattle found trespassing . . . may be destroyed by the owner or occupier of the land trespassed upon."[15] Healthy cattle could be also legally killed by local authorities when they deemed "it desirable to isolate or destroy in order to prevent the spread of infection."[16]

On March 11, the *Rhodesia Herald* noted that the colonial government had taken notice. In the article, there was also an agreement to keep all main roads open, however, "all native cattle" had to be "removed five miles from it."[17] Sir Robinson wrote a message to Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, that the disease afflicting Rhodesia and threatening other British colonies was "rinderpest, or a disease almost identical with Rinderpest." Robinson had mentioned to Chamberlain that the order he signed on the 9th, which entailed "the removal and, where necessary, the destruction, of cattle," would "have the effect of confining the disease." At the end of his missive, he mentioned that he was greatly concerned about the welfare of both native Africans and European settlers, stating "the whole of the wealth of the native population is invested in cattle," and "a large proportion of the European farmers are also dependent on the pastoral industry."[18] Little did Robinson and his veterinary consultant

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Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1895 (Cape Town, South Africa: W. A. Richards and Sons, 1895), 3260-3264.

[15] Hercules Robinson, March 9th, 1896, in *Correspondence Relating to the Outbreak of Rinderpest in South Africa in March 1896* (London, UK: Eyere and Spottiswoode, 1896), 2.

[16] Ibid.

[17] "More Cattle Disease," *Rhodesia Herald* (Harare, Zimbabwe), March 11th, 1896.

[18] Hercules Robinson to Joseph Chamberlain, March 11th, 1896, *Correspondence Relating to the Outbreak of Rinderpest in South Africa in March 1896* (London, UK: Eyere and Spottiswoode, 1896), 1.

Hutcheon know that the order that they approved would be received quite negatively by the Matabele people.

In order to better explain how a series of veterinary containment practices—which scholar Daniel Gilfoyle considers to be, from the veterinary perspective of the time, uncontroversial—became an important factor for the Matabele to rise against the British, it is important to understand both the importance that cattle had in their society as well as the political climate in the region.[19] The political climate prior to the rinderpest outbreak had already been tense. The first mass wave of European settlers moved in land owned by the Matabele in 1890, when the British South Africa Company established a series of settlements in the area. A member of the Matabele, Ndansi Kumalo, recalled that "we were terribly upset and very angry at the coming of the white men."[20] Three year later, in 1893, a fierce war was fought between the Matabele and Shona people against the government of the British South Africa Company over issues of stolen cattle. The war did not last long, with the soldiers serving the British South Africa Company using technology like heavy machine guns to force the Matabele forces to seek peace terms by the beginning of the following year. By the outbreak of rinderpest in Rhodesia in 1896, a great amount of tension still existed between the Matabele and the British South Africa Company because of the war, as well as the increasing influx of white settlers who continued to build settlements on what used to be Matabele land.[21] Kumalo mentioned how after the

[19] Daniel Gilfoyle, "Veterinary Research and the African Rinderpest Epizootic: The Cape Colony, 1896-1898," 136.
[20] Ndansi Kumalo, "The Story of Ndansi Kumalo of the Matabele Tribe, Southern Rhodesia," in *Ten Africans*, ed. Margery Perham (London, UK: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1936), 69.
[21] Enocent Msindo, *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe: Transformations in Kalanga and Ndebele Societies, 1860-1990* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2012), 94.

fighting, "the white men sent police who did abdominal things," such as physical assaults and the thievery of cattle, and that the Matabele were "treated like slaves."[22]

The Matabele were largely a pastoral people who also maintained a strong warrior tradition. When he was growing up, Ndansi Kumalo talked of how he learned to both take careful care of cattle and become a warrior. He mentioned that it was his responsibility as a child to round his family's cattle up, and if he forgot even just one, he would "get a good thrashing."[23] In Matabele society, cattle represented much more than just a basic source of food. Cattle were seen as a form of currency and bride wealth. Cattle were also significant for pastoral peoples in southern Africa because they were commonly used in sacred rituals and in occasional sacrifices.[24] Kumalo recalled when rinderpest first appeared in the herds of the Matabele, stating the cattle began to die off quickly. He also stated that the Matabele "could not help thinking that all these dreadful things" like the outbreak of rinderpest "were brought by the white people."[25] The fact that rinderpest was so deadly by itself, killing off the entirety of the herds it infected, made the government policies of killing both infected and none-infected cattle all the more devastating to pastoral African people like the Matabele.[26] Although the

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[22] Ndansi Kumalo, "The Story of Ndansi Kumalo of the Matabele Tribe, Southern Rhodesia," 72.
[23] Ndansi Kumalo, "The Story of Ndansi Kumalo of the Matabele Tribe, Southern Rhodesia," 66.
[24] Sean Redding, *Sorcery and Sovereignty: Taxation, Power, and Rebellion in South Africa, 1880-1963* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2006), 66.
[25] Ndansi Kumalo, "The Story of Ndansi Kumalo of the Matabele Tribe, Southern Rhodesia," 72.
[26] There is also strong evidence that the white population living in British colonies in southern Africa also reacted negatively to the legal killing of cattle. Daniel Gilfoyle mentions twice in his work, "Veterinary Research and the African Rinderpest Epizootic," that whites showed strong resistance to the killings. On September 12, white farmers exclaimed directly before Hutcheon

following brief song originates with the Sotho—another southern African cattle-rearing people—and not the Matabele, it is still an excellent direct statement of how crippling the loss of cattle from rinderpest—and the treatments forced upon African pastoralists by the government—was:

> No more cattle, no more milk: what will we eat?
> No more cattle, no more fuel: what will we burn?
> No more cattle, no more skins…what will we wear?
> No more cattle, no more weddings: how will we marry?
> No more cattle, no more plowing, except the slow plowing with picks, slow, tiring and insufficient for the vast spaces that the Basotho have set aside for cultivation. Where will we eat? And where will we earn money?[27]

On the final days of March 1896, members of the Matabele chose to make a stand and fight against the British South Africa Company and its European settlers in Rhodesia. The rebellion caught the company government completely by surprise and cause an explosive stirring in the local media. An April 1st article from the *Rhodesia Herald* wrote of the confusion and commotion the colony was suddenly experiencing. Stating that "a rising of some description has undoubtedly taken place among the Matabele," the article also described killings of white settlers and mass movements of settlers into large towns like Bulawayo.[28] Another

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that they would rather be shot before they would allow their cattle to be killed. Later in October, a group of white cattle farmers confronted, and eventually routed, a contingent of police who were in process of rounding up cattle to be killed. Gilfoyle, "Veterinary Research and the African Rinderpest Epizootic: The Cape Colony, 1896-1898," 135, 138.

[27] H. Dieterlen, "La peste bovine au sud de l'Afrique," *Journal des Missions Evangeliques*, (1897): 16-17, in *African History through Sources: Colonial Contexts and Everyday Experiences, c. 1850-1946*, Nancy Jacobs, 79. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

[28] "Native Rising," *Rhodesia Herald* (Harare, Zimbabwe), April 1st, 1896.

article in the same issue of the same newspaper talked of the rebellion, using derogatory words to describe the Matabele like "kaffir," along with talks of both whites and natives being killed.[29]

By looking at the local media in the immediate few days following the rise of the Matabele, alongside reports of progress and setbacks on the frontlines, a clearer picture emerges on what the cause of the rebellion was. The *Rhodesia Herald* argued that, at the moment, "the causes are complex and uncertain."[30] Just a few days later, in an article published by the Rhodesian newspaper, the *Bulawayo Chronicle*, Cecil Rhodes was interviewed, and he thought the causes of the rebellion was "due to the premature arming of the Matabele as policemen." However, the author of the *Chronicle* article had also received the opinion of the "Native Commissioners," and that they were adamant that this was unlikely the reason.[31]

On March 28th, in the very immediate wake of the rebellion, an author for the *Bulawayo Chronicle* pondered the possibility of a link between the legally enforced shooting of cattle and the agitation of the locals. The author specifically stated that "the course of the disease [rinderpest] among the cattle, and the conquest shooting of them," by colonial authorities under the guidance of the colonial veterinarians, "may have aroused bitter feelings." At the same time, however, it appears that the author attempted to justify the shooting of cattle, and therefore failed to understand truly why shooting of cattle by government agents would trigger bitter feelings, because he wrote that "the Chief

[29] "Brushes with the Natives," *Rhodesia Herald* (Harare, Zimbabwe), April 1st, 1896.
[30] "Native Rising," *Rhodesia Herald* (Harare, Zimbabwe), April 1st, 1896.
[31] "Mr. Rhodes at Salisbury," *Bulawayo Chronicle*, April 4th, 1896.

Native Commissioner had explained this very well to them [the Matabele], when the measures were adopted."[32]

The papers occasionally printed articles with a Eurocentric analysis of the Matabele culture when trying to come up with an explanation for the rebellion. An article printed by the *Bulawayo Chronicle* April 22nd, 1896, prioritized Matabele religion as the cause for the rebellion, however, at the same time took great pains to explain the importance that cattle held for the Matabele. The article wrote that "faith in the M'Limo or native god has ranked among the foremost" causes for the rise. However, the article also talks of the fact that "the native has an intense love for his cattle . . . being the zenith of a kafir's happiness," and even states that "he [the Ndebele] treasures his oxen like a miner his gold."[33] Even with the premium placed on religion as a major cause for the rebellion, the article failed to mention the mass killing of Matabele cattle by colonial officials. The fact that the relationship that the Matabele had with cattle was so strong—in the case of this article, from an outsider's understanding Matabele culture—and that it is well known that cattle were forcefully killed, taking the additional step of connecting the two is important. Other local Rhodesian newspapers managed to make this connection, the importance of cattle to the Matabele and the forced killing of them, as a major reason for the Matabele to rise against the British.

On April 22nd, an author for *Rhodesia Herald* wrote that "it has been said that if the Matabeleland and cattle questions had been managed differently," there would have been no rebellion. The author of the article reasoned if it was really due to how the British South Africa Company trying to stop the rinderpest spread by killing and seizing cattle that drove the Matabele to rebellion, "a limited amount of sympathy could be entertained for the natives."

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[32] "Bulawayo's Safety," *Bulawayo Chronicle*, March 28th, 1896.
[33] "A Broken Idol," *Bulawayo Chronicle*, April 22nd, 1896.

However, the article, in an extremely biased and inaccurate way, emphasized that the sympathy "must be very limited" because of "the hideous method the Matabele chose to revenge themselves."[34]

An article printed by the *Bulawayo Chronicle* on the 22nd of June 1896, presented the causes for the rise of the Matabele with less racist view than the *Rhodesian Herald* article of the 22nd of April. The article in the *Chronicle* wrote that religious influences combined with "the recent destruction of cattle owing to the ravages of rinderpest, were responsible for the present rising."[35] This article carefully identified that there was no single great cause for the rise of the Matabele, arguing rather that it was a combination of reasons, in this case religion and the killing of Matabele cattle by colonial authorities, that caused the rise. However, it is still clear that the killing of the cattle was one of the more predominant causes and is extrapolated as such in international media covering the outbreak of rinderpest and the rise of the Matabele.

Consider this: On March 28th, 1896, in the immediate outbreak of the Matabele Rebellion, the *San Francisco Chronicle* published an article that speculated the causes of the rebellion. The article wrote that "possibly one cause of the disturbance is the regulations recently enforced to stamp out rinderpest."[36] Like the *Bulawayo Chronicle* article printed on the 22nd of April, it was mentioned that the "Kaffire" were "greatly attached to their cattle." The exact same report and claim that the killing of the cattle was a major cause for the rebellion was printed in another California newspaper, the *Los Angeles Times*, on the very same day.[37]

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[34] "Late News," *Rhodesia Herald* (Harare, Zimbabwe), April 22nd, 1896.
[35] "The Native Rising," *Bulawayo Chronicle*, June 20th, 1896.
[36] "Revolt in South Africa," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 28th, 1896.
[37] "Matabele Revolt," *Los Angeles Times*, March 28th, 1896

Even in the British metropole, newspapers managed to connect the killing of cattle by colonial authorities as important cause of the Matabele Rebellion. In April, an article printed in the *Manchester Guardian* wrote that "the killing of cattle on the account of renderpest [sic] disturbs the native mind."[38] Another article printed in the *Manchester Guardian* a month later asked the figurative question, "how, then, has the present "rebellion" come about?" Before stating its own answer, the article went into depth describing the rinderpest outbreak in Rhodesia and mentioned that the mass killing of cattle as a containment practice was something "the natives could not be expected to understand." The article continued to belittle the Matabele by stating that while the Matabele were acting "unreasonably from an intelligent white man's point of view," it was understandable that the "natives regarded this [the killings] as a fresh and intolerable outrage." The article concluded with a certain degree of sympathy for the Matabele, albeit using extremely racist language, stating how the Matabele were "goaded to desperation by wholesale cattle seizing and cattle killing," which "encouraged the "rebellion.""[39]

In the end, the Matabele Rebellion only lasted for approximately a year, and even when members of the Shona polity joined their side partway through the conflict, the Matabele were defeated by a massive force of British soldiers.[40] Rinderpest certainly played a role in their defeat because more and more Matabele cattle continued to die of the virus during the campaign

[38] "Special Morning Express: The Matabele Rising," *Manchester Guardian,* April 13th, 1896.
[39] "Matabeleland and the Charter Company," *Manchester Guardian,* May 27th, 1896.
[40] For more information on the Second Matabele War, see T. O. Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-97: A Study in African Resistance* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1967) and Robin H. Palmer, "War and Land in Rhodesia," *Transafrican Journal of History* 1, no. 2 (July 1971).

which contributed to considerable starvation amongst the population.[41] Despite the defeat of the Matabele by the British colonial state, the Matabele Rebellion—along with a another local rebellion that took place in December 1896—managed to achieve at least one positive and unrealized consequence, which was that the fear of additional rebellions by natives in southern Africa led to the British colonial authorities to minimize and eventually stop the legalized mass killing of cattle as a preventative measure to contain rinderpest.[42] The fear of future rebellions caused by the killing of cattle can be seen in an article printed in the *Manchester Guardian* on November 23rd, 1896. The article warned that if cattle belonging to "warlike tribes Swazis, Basutos, and Zulus are to be shot," a massive and immediate rebellion amongst these African polities would have been likely.[43] By the end of 1896, under the leadership of the Chief Veterinarian of the Cape Colony, Duncan Hutcheon, the killing of native cattle was minimized, and a new line of defense had to be drawn at the Orange River, with hopes that rigorous quarantining and the establishment of a fence line along the river, would be the best hope of preventing the disease from spreading any further.[44]

Despite all of the money that the British colonial state had invested in its colonies in southern Africa to stop the spread of rinderpest, Hutcheon's last-ditch defense made at the Orange River

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[41] Burman, *Disaster Struck South Africa*, 65.

[42] In November 1896, the killing of cattle by colonial police sparked another rebellion—this time among Africans belonging to the Tswana ethnic group—in the British colony of Bechuanaland. The rebellion was short-lived, ending in August of the next year, but it, along with the Matabele Rebellion, caused the British colonial governments in southern Africa to reconsider the legal mass killings as a preventative measure for rinderpest. Harry Saker and J. Aldridge, "The Origins of the Langeberg Rebellion," *The Journal of African History* 12, no. 2 (1971): 299.

[43] "Interview with Mr. Selous," *Manchester Guardian*, November 23, 1896.

[44] Gilfoyle, "Veterinary Research and the African Rinderpest Epizootic," 139.

even proved a failure. On March 24th, 1897, rinderpest was discovered for the first time in the Cape Colony. The failure of Hutcheon's method proved that the previous European idea of disease containment would not work in the African environment, and something else had to be attempted.[45] The second round of attempts to stop rinderpest, while maintaining element of quarantining, the mass shootings of sick and healthy cattle were minimized. This time inoculation, under the leadership of the German bacteriologist, Robert Koch, was attempted. However, it was in fact local scientists who came up with a preventative treatment that witnessed some success. Blood-serum injections, where the blood and serum (plasma) of an infected cow was strategically injected into a healthy cow, provided immunity for many herds. However, not all cattle herds—more specifically the owners of these herds—were treated equally. White farmers were granted more access to the blood serum more so than their African pastoralist and farmer counterparts. By 1899, rinderpest presence had significantly declined and in 1905 it was eliminated from South Africa.[46]

Regardless of how the rinderpest panzootic ended in southern Africa at the conclusion of the nineteenth century, the outbreak and the first methods employed to contain it had disastrous consequences for African natives who suffered the worst from both. In Rhodesia, it was the cattle herds of the Matabele that had to take the brunt of the virus, and who were forced to endure veterinary practices that required the shooting of even their healthy cattle. The practice of cattle shooting coupled with dissent that had already existed for the British South Africa Company since 1894,

[45] Gilfoyle, "Veterinary Research and the African Rinderpest Epizootic," 139.
[46] Amanda Kay McVety, *The Rinderpest Campaigns: A Virus, Its Vaccines, and Global Development in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 27-30; Spinage, *Cattle Plague*, 567.

was motivation for the Matabele to take agency into their own hands and fight back. Although the rebellion ended in failure, and their cattle continued to die of rinderpest in droves, the Matabele's fight against the British made the colonial government reconsider its practices of shooting cattle. The long and atrocious fight against rinderpest in nineteenth-century Africa is proof that diseases, even those that do not infect people, have an impact on human history. As W. McNeil put it, humans have and will continue to be at mercy of the historical agency of disease, since "we remain caught in a web of life—permanently and irretrievably—no matter how clever we are at altering what we do not like."[47]

[47] McNeil, *Plagues and People*, 16.

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The Role of Music in Assimilation of Students at the Carlisle Indian School

By Abigail Winston

On Thursday, March 11, 1897 at two o'clock in the afternoon, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania held the commencement ceremony for the ninth graduating class. Twenty-six students graduated. The ceremony was comprised of speeches by students and performances by school musical ensembles. The ceremony and the performances in it were a culmination of the students' years of education and ideologies taught at the Carlisle School. Topics of orations included: "*The Conqueror to the Conquered*," "*Are the Indians Better for the Coming of the White Man?*" and "*What the Indians Owe the United States Government*." Musical performances included a piano solo of "*Remembrance of Home,"* and a "*March to Victory"* by the Carlisle School choir.[170] The titles of these songs evoke feelings of nostalgia and pride, values that are associated with the American experience. These performances were an ironic display of patriotism by a place that was designed to strip away the rights and culture of the original inhabitants of the United States. Contradictions such as these scar both the history of the Carlisle School and larger efforts by the United States government to assimilate Native American populations into white society during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The experiences of Carlisle School students were not unique. By 1900, there were 20,000 students in Indian boarding schools across

[170] *1897 Commencement Program, March 11, 1897*, program, Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections, accessed November 1, 2018. http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/1897-commencement-program.

the nation. By 1925, seven years after the Carlisle School closed, this number had tripled, and over 357 boarding schools were being operated in thirty states.[171] Government officials thought that education was the answer to Indian assimilation, believing that, "if it be admitted that education affords the true solution to the Indian problem, then it must be admitted that the boarding school is the very key to the situation…. Only by complete isolation of the Indian child from his savage antecedents can he be satisfactorily educated."[172] Boarding schools were the preferred method of assimilation, as they were effective in isolating students from their families and other members of their nations. School officials intentionally targeted the children of leaders of nations that were recently aggressive, essentially holding these children hostage in order to pacify leaders and prevent future violence.[173] This depiction of Indian boarding schools and their students likens them to juvenile detention centers, which to some, they basically were. Richard Henry Pratt, founder of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, the first Indian boarding school, modeled the school and its curriculum after an Indian prison that he had developed in Fort Marion.[174] The traditions pioneered at the Carlisle School influenced the hundreds of other Indian boarding schools that

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[171] The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition, "U.S. Indian Boarding School History," accessed November 7, 2018, https://boardingschoolhealing.org/education/us-indian-boarding-school-history/.

[172] "Annual report of the commissioner of Indian affairs, for the year 1886," manuscript, University of Wisconsin Digital Collections, accessed October 15, 2018, http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/History-idx?type=turn&entity=History.AnnRep86.p0066&id=History.AnnRep86&isize=M.

[173] National Public Radio, "American Indian Boarding Schools Haunt Many," aired May 12, 2008, https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=16516865.

[174] National Public Radio, "American Indian Boarding Schools Haunt Many."

followed, which is why the Carlisle School is the basis for this paper.

The legacy of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School is one of incongruity and juxtaposition. Though founded on a racist ideology, the positive impact of the Carlisle School on the lives of many Native Americans cannot be disputed. Even today, some nations consider the Carlisle School and other boarding schools like it to be a source of intergenerational trauma, while others view it as a means by which Indians gained recognition and success in American society.[175] Part of what makes the Carlisle School unique among Indian boarding schools is the national recognition of its extracurricular programs, such as the school band and later, the football team. The music program at the Carlisle School is an especially compelling lens through which to critique the school. Music is an important cultural practice, especially in cultures rooted in oral tradition. To many Native American cultures, music is not simply a form of entertainment, but a central part of daily life and ritual. Where Western tradition is focused on music, Native American tradition emphasizes *musicking.* Ethnomusicologist Christopher Small defines *musicking* as "taking part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composition), or by dancing."[176] By applying concepts in ethnomusicology, historians can pose the question, "what does it mean when this performance (of this work) takes place at this time, in this place, with these

[175] Joseph Cress, "Carlisle Indian School legacy presents a conflicted point-of-view," *The Morning Call*, last modified September 9, 2018, https://www.mcall.com/news/nationworld/pennsylvania/mc-nws-carlisle-indian-school-20180904-story.html.

[176] Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press), 9.

participants?"[177] It is important to note that students at the Carlisle School were not playing their own native music. Instead, they were being instructed only in the tradition of Western art music as an intentional attack on Native American artistic traditions. Worst of all, Carlisle students' performances of pieces in the Western art music canon were often used as publicity for the school, further diminishing the value of native practices and traditions.

There are academic foundations for the study of music and the Carlisle School in the fields of both history and musicology, though they are not typically discussed in conjunction with one another. The study of Indian boarding schools has grown since 1979 when historian David Wallace wrote in the *Pacific Historical Review* that "a study of the federal Indian boarding school system does not exist."[178] Since then, the field has evolved with the efforts of scholars like Brenda Child and Michael C. Coleman. Specifically, the book *American Indians, the Irish, and Government Schooling: A Comparative Study*, which Coleman and Child both contributed to, provides unique insight into the Indian boarding school system by comparing and contrasting it to similar efforts to acculturate the Irish and discussing boarding schools as a "weapon of the state."[179] Other remarkably insightful books and articles in the secondary literature include: "American Boarding School Experiences: Recent Studies from Native Perspectives" by Julie Davis, *Away from home: American Indian boarding school experiences, 1879-2000* edited by Margaret L. Archuleta, Brenda J. Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *Indians in Unexpected Places*

[177] Small, *Musicking*, 10.
[178] David Wallace Adams, "Schooling the Hopi: Federal Indian Policy Writ Small, 1887-1917," *Pacific Historical Review* 48, no. 3 (August 1979), doi:10.2307/3638757.
[179] Michael C. Coleman, *American Indians, the Irish, and Government Schooling: A Comparative Study*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

by Philip J. Deloria, and *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930* by Alan Trachtenberg. All of these sources use research through archival searches, oral history interviews, and even, in the case of Child, Deloria, and Lomawaima, personal heritage to explore the complexity of Indian boarding schools and its meaning in both the lives of individuals who attended these schools and in the larger history of the Native American experience. Deloria specifically addresses music in *Indians in Unexpected Places*, discussing the appropriation of Indian melodies and musical qualities by white composers, which provides a fascinating contradiction to the kinds of music being performed at the Carlisle School and other Indian boarding schools. Deloria's work also seamlessly bridges the gap between history and ethnomusicology, as Deloria is a historian writing about musicological ideas, including commenting on specific musical concepts like rhythm, timbre, and pitch.

The role of music in the indoctrination of Native Americans at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School has been underestimated in the study of Indian boarding schools. Through education at the Carlisle School, native music traditions were pushed aside in favor of the Western art music tradition. This Western art music was then used by the school as a means to promote the Carlisle School as the model of Indian education in America, therefore further undermining Native American cultural practices.

II

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School was the brainchild of Richard Henry Pratt. Pratt's background in the military influenced the ways in which he thought about Native Americans and their role in American society. In 1875, he was sent to lead prisoners from the Indian Wars on the Great Plains to detainment

at Fort Marion in St. Augustine, Florida.[180] At Fort Marion, he began to experiment with Indian education in efforts to civilize his prisoners. Pratt's attitudes toward Native Americans were conflicting. Though he claimed to strive toward equality and understanding and did seem to honestly view Indians as more than savages, he believed that this equality could only be achieved through Indian adoption of white culture. Rather than a cultural exchange, Pratt suggested complete assimilation, still elevating white Americans as the superior race. Pratt himself spoke of his own feelings toward Native Americans in his autobiography: "I conceived it my highest duty to correct the unwarranted prejudice promoted among our people against the Indians through race hatred and the false history which tells our side and not theirs, and which has been so successfully nursed by keeping them remote and alleging that they alone have irredeemable qualities."[181]

At Fort Marion, the primary focus of education was the English language, as it not only allowed Indians to communicate with their white captors, but with each other in a common tongue as well. Besides language, one of Pratt's original focuses in Indian education was religion. Realizing that the "Great Spirit" that many Indians believed in was similar to the singular deity "God" in the Christian tradition, Pratt used this commonality to convert Indians to Christianity. Pratt saw his desire to assimilate Native Americans as a religious calling, and viewed assimilation as a form of religious conversion. Christianity figured so prominently in Pratt's

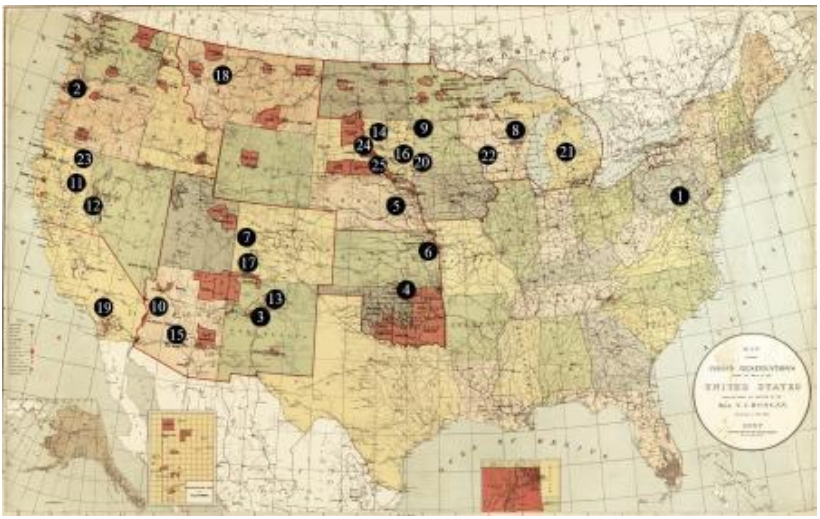
[180] Dickinson College, "Visualizing a Mission: Artifacts and Imagery of the Carlisle Indian School, 1879-1918," accessed October 30, 2018, http://chronicles.dickinson.edu/studentwork/indian/2_pratt.htm.

[181] Richard Henry Pratt. *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904,* ed. Robert M. Utley (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press): 120.

ideology that he earned the nickname the "Red Man's Moses."[182] Christianity-based education gave Pratt the means by which to begin assimilating Native Americans who were being held prisoner at Fort Marion. In 1879, the Department of the Interior and War Department granted him permission to establish a boarding school for the purpose of Indian education in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

The immersive nature of boarding schools like the Carlisle School made them the ideal vehicle for assimilation. Due to the residential nature of boarding schools, students were forced to spend time with one another in both curricular and extracurricular activities. In Indian boarding schools, Indians from across the country were suddenly brought together, all speaking different languages from their respective nations. In order to communicate with one another, they had to learn English, which would become their common language, relatively quickly. At a boarding school, students were more heavily immersed in white American society, and were able to learn more quickly and without interference from their home lives. Indian boarding schools also put a strong emphasis on religious education, which further isolated Indian children from their families. Pratt's vision of isolating Indian children from their families and native cultures by sending them to boarding schools proved successful. By 1892, only thirteen years after the Carlisle School opened, there were twenty-five Indian boarding schools across the United States.

[182] Linda F. Witmer, The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1879-1918, 3rd edition (Carlisle, Pennsylvania: Cumberland County Historical Society, 2002) 50.



United States Office of Indian Affairs, and T.J. Morgan. *Map showing Indian reservations within the limits of the United States.* Washington, D.C.: Office of Indian Affairs, 1892. Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/2009579467/.

Though boarding schools were the most effective way to assimilate young Native Americans into American society, there were other types of schools as well. The U.S. government operated day schools both on and off reservation lands as an effort to work toward their goal of assimilation in a way that would garner less opposition from parents. Off-reservation boarding schools were obviously the most effective, as they required complete isolation from students' native homes. When students first arrived at schools like the Carlisle School, they were immediately given standard haircuts and uniforms in a European military style and given new American names. Students were forbidden from speaking their native languages and were often punished if they did, causing many of them to eventually lose their native languages after years of education at boarding schools. In addition to being a crucial part of the school's academic curriculum, religion also governed the

way of life at Indian boarding schools and aided in preaching the importance of assimilation. Students were taught with an emphasis on sin and guilt, and were instructed to fear retribution by God. They learned that their native religious practices were anti-Christian and were acts of sin.[183]

In addition to Indian boarding schools being a vehicle for the destruction of Native American languages and cultural practices, the schools were often dangerous to the students themselves. The increase in Indian boarding schools at the turn of the century coincided with tuberculosis and influenza epidemics across the country. Doctors and government officials alike did not understand germ theory as physicians do today, and were unaware that the close living quarters in boarding schools only increased the spread of disease. Physicians also believed that, due to their physical inferiority, Indians were more susceptible to disease and were naturally cursed with weak immune systems.[184] Between 1880 and 1918, at least 186 students were buried in the Carlisle Indian School cemetery. In March of 1898, the Carlisle School newspaper, The Indian Helper, reported "one of the saddest funerals that has occurred for a long time at the school."[185] The funeral was for fifteen year old Ida Bennett, a Klamath Indian from California who died suddenly of consumption, or tuberculosis. This newspaper article is significant in that it referred to Bennett's funeral as "one of the saddest," meaning that many other funerals came before hers. The report in the newspaper was also found in a column describing other important events like the baseball schedule, implying that this was a regular column in The Indian

[183] Northern Plains Reservation Aid, "History and Culture."
[184] Archuleta, Child, and Lomawaima, *Away from Home,* 39.
[185] *The Indian Helper,* March 1898, accessed November 14, 2018, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-cemetery/Cemetery_Docs_BENNETT.pdf.

Helper. Disease was accompanied by violence as dangers to students at Indian boarding schools. Since Indian boarding schools were founded on Pratt's military ideologies, corporal punishment was both common and encouraged among the staff. Students were beaten if they answered questions incorrectly or if they disobeyed rules, and their mouths were rinsed out with soap if they dared to speak their native languages instead of English.[186] Less frequently discussed, but equally as important, was the sexual abuse that students, often female, experienced at the hands of male teachers. The abuse in Indian boarding schools like the Carlisle School was the result of the schools' vigorous commitment to erasing Indian identity through assimilation. Abuse was a means by which school staff could establish fear and begin to control the Indian students, therefore expediting the assimilation process.

Indian schools were not met without dissent from Native American communities. The government reacted to this rebellion in a number of ways, but most commonly by withholding rations from nations that were unwilling to send their children to boarding schools. On some occasions, police were actually sent into reservations to forcefully take children from their parents. Families would often offer up orphans or negotiate a family quota in order to avoid sending all of their children away.[187] Indian parents subverted the boarding school system in other ways by encouraging their children to run away and by reintroducing language and cultural practices when students were home for the summer.[188] Students themselves were active agents of resistance as well. They refused to eat, ingested toxic substances, continued speaking native languages, held secret powwows, and even committed arson.

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[186] Archuleta, Child, and Lomawaima, *Away from Home*, 42.
[187] Northern Plains Reservation Aid, "History and Culture."
[188] Northern Plains Reservation Aid, "History and Culture."

III

The purpose of the Carlisle Indian Industrial school in particular was clear. The school, according to a "Description of the Grounds, Buildings, Industries and Aims of the Carlisle Indian Training School" written in 1880, would serve as "an educator of those who are here and second as an educating and controlling influence over the Indians of the West."[189] Pratt himself opened the school knowing that having children of powerful chiefs at the school would guarantee good behavior and cooperation of those tribes.[190] The curriculum at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School was similar to curriculums in other Indian boarding schools across the nation. Instructors used the English language as a basis to teach classes in arithmetic, science, history, and the arts, in addition to industrial skills that would help students secure trade jobs after graduation as to "make them feel self-reliant and incite them to free themselves from the position of government paupers."[191] As demonstrated by this quote from the same "Description of the Grounds, Buildings, Industries and Aims of the Carlisle Indian Training School," Pratt believed that Native Americans, in their existing capacity, were of no real value to society and were simply financial burdens on the government. If they were to be educated in white academia, they would be able to contribute to the

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[189] *Description of the Grounds, Buildings, Industries and Aims of the Carlisle Indian Training School, February 23, 1880,* report, Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections, accessed October 20, 2018, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-documents/NARA_RG75_79_b574_1880_P0269.pdf.

[190] *Description of the Grounds, Buildings, Industries and Aims of the Carlisle Indian Training School,* Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections, accessed October 20, 2018.

[191] *Description of the Grounds, Buildings, Industries and Aims of the Carlisle Indian Training School,* Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections, accessed October 20, 2018.

economy and society as a whole. At the end of the nineteenth century, superintendent of Indian schools, Estelle Reel, standardized the schools' curricula by issuing the *Uniform Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States.* This course of study was distributed to all Indian schools, as well as colonial holdings in Puerto Rico and the Philippines, in August of 1901.[192]

Much of the daily life for students at the Carlisle School was highly structured and almost militaristic in organization, stemming from Pratt's military background. When students first arrived at the school, their hair was cut in standard styles and their native clothes were replaced with uniforms. Though the Carlisle School eventually held students from virtually every Indian nation in the United States, the highest number of students came from the upper Midwest Sioux (Lakota, Nakota, and Dakota) and Chippewa (Ojibwe) nations.[193] According to Cumberland County Historical Society historian Barbara Landis, The Lakota children in particular considered the cutting of their hair to be "a sign that someone had died. Something did die. Their culture was being eradicated."[194] Perhaps most significantly, new arrivals to the school were given a new Anglicized name that would become their new identity at the Carlisle School. In many Native American traditions, names are given very intentionally to reflect certain places, traits, or family relations. Stripping away these names tore away a critical piece of a students' identity, further dissociating them from their past

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[192] Archuleta, Child, and Lomawaima, *Away from Home,* 31.

[193] Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose, "Introduction," in *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations*, edited by Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press): 6.

[194] Joseph Cress, "Indian School: Experts explain how the Carlisle School transformed and traumatized," *The Sentinel,* published September 2, 2018, https://cumberlink.com/news/local/closer_look/indian-school-experts-explain-how-the-carlisle-school-transformed-and/article_cacc2889-5ced-563a-8e97-62ceb0dd29e4.html.

lives.[195] Students were housed in repurposed army barracks. Other school buildings included stables, a gymnasium, a chapel, a hospital, a blacksmith shop, a bakery, and a guard house.[196] Half of the day was spent learning traditional academic disciplines while the other half was spent learning industrial skills. Boys learned carpentry, farming, and blacksmithing, and girls learned cooking, sewing, laundry, and other domestic arts.[197] In an additional attempt to fully immerse students in white society, students were able to participate in Outings over the summer, where they would be sent to live and work with a white family on their farms or as apprentices in their trades. In 1910, there were 205 girls in homes and 400 boys working on farms.[198] These programs were successful in further isolating students from their families and native homes by actually placing them in white society where they could use their new civilized manners in practice.

Students at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School did not just learn academic and industrial skills, but were also allowed to participate in a number of extracurricular activities. Activities included writing for the school newspapers, performing in theatrical productions, drawing and painting, singing in choir or playing in band, or, later, playing sports such as football. Like the

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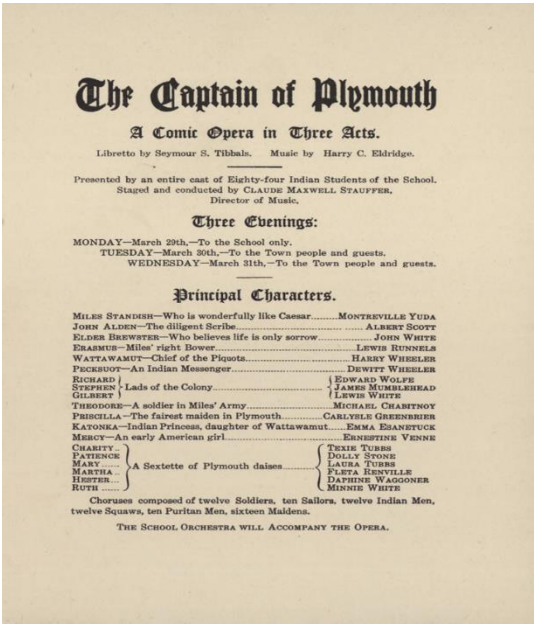
[195] Barbara Landis, "The Names," in *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations*, edited by Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press): 91.
[196] *Description of the Grounds, Buildings, Industries and Aims of the Carlisle Indian Training School,* Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections, accessed October 20, 2018.
[197] Barbara Landis, "About the Carlisle Indian Industrial School," *Modern American Poetry*, accessed November 5, 2018, http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/poets/a_f/erdrich/boarding/carlisle.htm
[198] *Outing Placement Statement for 1910,* letter, Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections, accessed November 3, 2018, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-documents/NARA_RG75_CCF_b032_f21.pdf.

rest of the Carlisle School curriculum, these activities were all centered around promoting American ideals and eliminating any semblance of Native American culture that may still exist in the students. In 1909, for example, 84 students at the Carlisle School performed a comic opera called "The Captain of Plymouth." As evidenced in the program below, this play was intended to promote American ideals and celebrate the arrival of white settlers into America. Important historical figures in the settling of Plymouth, including Miles Standish, were ironically played by Indians. In these plays, Indians took on the role of both the colonized and the colonizers, representing the very people who had worked toward their destruction. In addition to playing white characters, students filled the roles of choruses including "twelve Indian Men" and "twelve Squaws."[199] The school orchestra accompanied the opera, and the performances were open to the public so people who lived nearby could attend and enjoy the performances of the savages who were being civilized in their own neighborhoods.

[199] *Program for "The Captain of Plymouth," 1909,* program, Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections, accessed November 1, 2018, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-documents/CIS-I-0070.pdf.



The Captain of Plymouth

A Comic Opera in Three Acts.

Libretto by Seymour S. Tibbals. Music by Harry C. Eldridge.

Presented by an entire cast of Eighty-four Indian Students of the School.
Staged and conducted by CLAUDE MAXWELL STAUFFER,
Director of Music.

Three Evenings:

MONDAY—March 29th,—To the School only.
TUESDAY—March 30th,—To the Town people and guests.
WEDNESDAY—March 31th,—To the Town people and guests.

Principal Characters.

MILES STANDISH—Who is wonderfully like Caesar.....MONTREVILLE YUDA
JOHN ALDEN—The diligent Scribe.....ALBERT SCOTT
ELDER BREWSTER—Who believes life is only sorrow.....JOHN WHITE
ERASMUS—Miles' right Bower.....LEWIS RUNNELS
WATTAWAMUT—Chief of the Piquots.....HARRY WHEELER
PECKSUOT—An Indian Messenger.....DEWITT WHEELER
RICHARD, STEPHEN, GILBERT } Lads of the Colony..... { EDWARD WOLFE, JAMES MUMBLEHEAD, LEWIS WHITE
THEODORE—A soldier in Miles' Army.....MICHAEL CHABITNOY
PRISCILLA—The fairest maiden in Plymouth.....CARLYRLE GREENBRIER
KATONKA—Indian Princess, daughter of Wattawamut.....EMMA ESANETUCK
MERCY—An early American girl.....ERNESTINE VENNE

CHARITY, PATIENCE, MARY, MARTHA, HESTER, RUTH } A Sextette of Plymouth daises..... { TEXIE TUBBS, DOLLY STONE, LAURA TUBBS, FLETA RENVILLE, DAPHINE WAGGONER, MINNIE WHITE

Choruses composed of twelve Soldiers, ten Sailors, twelve Indian Men, twelve Squaws, ten Puritan Men, sixteen Maidens.

THE SCHOOL ORCHESTRA WILL ACCOMPANY THE OPERA.

Program for "The Captain of Plymouth," 1909, program, Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections, accessed November 1, 2018, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-documents/CIS-I-0070.pdf.

Disturbingly, this irony also occurred in debates held by the school's Debate Society. On February 3, 1887, Pratt held an "Evening with the Carlisle Indian School" to display the work of the students as an exhibition for the public. On this evening, students from the Debate Society publicly debated the question, "Resolved, that the Indians be exterminated."[200] In observing these two events, it is clear that the Carlisle School intentionally used artistic activities to promote assimilation to both their students and to the public. It would be impossible to discuss extracurricular activities at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School without at least

[200] *"An Evening with the Carlisle Indian School, January 15, 1887,"* manuscript, Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections, accessed October 2, 2018, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-documents/CIS-I-0068.pdf.

mentioning athletics. The success of the Carlisle School's football team in particular dominates the popular narrative of the Carlisle School, and has for over a century. However, as historian John Bloom points out, "the inspiring stories of triumph and success associated with the Carlisle football and track teams can easily mask the fundamental pain and destruction created by assimilation policies."[201] Pratt was reluctant to adopt sports at the Carlisle School, in fear that violent, competitive games would simply fuel the nature of the savage. However, he began to recognize that participation in a sport that was such a prevalent part of American culture would serve as a public demonstration of the success of the assimilationist policies of the Carlisle School. According to Bloom, former students and their children almost always mention sports in oral history interviews, and that sports were clearly the main attraction at the Carlisle School.[202] It is for this reason that I chose to focus my research on music at the Carlisle School and its role in the assimilation process.

IV

Before discussing music as a means of assimilation at the Carlisle School, it is important to have a basic understanding of the key differences between Native American and Western art music. Despite the diversity of Native American beliefs and traditions, the following features applied, and continue to apply, to all Indian music in general. Native Americans consider music to be a crucial component of their creation story, as the Creator and other spirits

[201] John Bloom, "The Imperial Gridiron" in *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations*, edited by Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press): 124.
[202] Bloom, "The Imperial Gridiron" in *Carlisle Indian Industrial School*, 132-133.

gifted specific songs and musical instruments to humanity.[203] One of the key features of the Native American musical tradition is that human beings are unable to compose new music, as music must be received. Music can be received in a number of ways, but typically new music is passed down through dreams, or oral traditions from elders in the community. Native Americans also hold different beliefs about the ownership of music. According to the Encyclopedia Britannica, "music has intrinsic value to individuals, ensembles, and communities, and performance rights are granted according to principles established by the group through long practice."[204] Where music in the Western tradition is most strongly associated with its' composer, Native American music is most closely linked with the people or communities that perform it. Indian music is often performed in conjunction with specific rituals, and rarely for the sake of pure entertainment. The music itself is characterized by polyrhythms, syncopation, and a four, five, or six-tone scale. Most vocal music is sung in unison, and rarely utilizes harmony. Sometimes, however, choral singing incorporates polyphony, or the simultaneous performance of separate musical lines.[205] Most importantly, Native Americans view music as a part of living, rather than a specific art form, as is the Western perception of music.

Features of Western art music differ depending on the era, but some common themes can be applied generally. Western art music is interpretive, and can be enjoyed for its own sake, regardless of its original intended purpose.[206] The height of the

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[203] Victoria Lindsay Levine, "Native American Music," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, published November 19, 2015, https://www.britannica.com/art/Native-American-music.
[204] Levine, "Native American Music."
[205] Levine, "Native American Music."
[206] Andrea Boyea, "Native American Music and Curriculum: Controversies and Cultural Issues," *Philosophy of Music Education Review* 7, no. 2 (Fall

Carlisle Indian Industrial School coincides with the end of the Romantic era of music, which lasted from approximately 1780 to 1910. Students at the Carlisle School were instructed in music from this era, as well as the earlier Classical and Baroque periods. The Romantic era in particular saw the rise of nationalist music, especially in Eastern Europe. Composers such as Antonín Dvorák brought their nationalist views of music to the United States, and were interested in discovering a distinctly American sound, and often drew inspiration from Native American music.[207] Western art music typically follows a distinct tonal scheme, based on the tonic scale, and is rooted in traditional concepts of harmony and melody. Piano became increasingly popular during the Romantic era, therefore, much of the music written during in the Romantic era was for piano. Students receiving private music instruction at the Carlisle School were instructed in piano and organ, as well as vocal music in European languages such as Italian and German, and in English.

Music was perhaps the most effective vehicle of assimilation at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. It is important to note that students at the Carlisle School were not being encouraged to "musick," as was the traditional custom in their Indian nations.[208] Instead, they were being intentionally instructed in Western classical music as a means of assimilation. Western classical music was the ideal method by which to assimilate for a number of reasons. First, performance practice of Western classical music emphasized the formality of music and enjoying music

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1999): 106, http://ezpro.cc.gettysburg.edu:2048/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=eue&AN=31763167&site=eds-live.

[207] Ralph Thomas Daniel, "Western Music," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, published July 5, 2017, https://www.britannica.com/art/Western-music/The-tonal-era-and-after-1600-to-the-present.

[208] See Small definition of musicking.

solely as entertainment, where Native American music was used for many different, arguably more important purposes, including religious ceremonies and healing. For many native peoples, music is inseparable from not only culture, but life itself.[209]

Music was a crucial aspect of the Carlisle School curriculum and every student was required to take music classes, where they were taught the basics of Western notation and musical style. Primary sources on the actual curriculum used in Carlisle School music classes are very few, but conclusions about the curriculum can be drawn from photographs of music lessons and programs from concerts based on the difficulty of music that students were performing and the instruments that they were playing. Students who were instructed privately learned to read music, as was expected of trained Western musicians. Private lessons were formal, and they were taught in specifically designed music rooms, decorated with photographs and busts of famous white composers to inspire the students' learning.

[209] Boyea, "Native American Music and Curriculum: Controversies and Cultural Issues," *Philosophy of Music Education Review,* 106.

A Music Room. Photograph. Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections. Accessed October 30, 2018. http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/student-learning-music.

They were taught to play the piano, brass, string, and woodwind instruments, replacing traditional Indian reed or cedar flutes. Instead of playing hand drums or water drums, students were instructed to play bass and snare drums in a military style. In the Native American tradition, music was learned orally and was not notated. Historians can also draw conclusions about the Carlisle School music curriculum based on the music that was not allowed to be performed. In 1893, barely a decade after the opening of the Carlisle School, musicologist Alice C. Fletcher published her "Study of Omaha Indian Music."[210] Assisted by Francis LaFlesche, an Omaha Indian, Fletcher transcribed hundreds of Omaha songs. However, these songs were transcribed using Western notation, completely changing the music itself to fit Western standards. One example of this alteration is seen in how the rhythms were

[210] Alice C. Fletcher,"A Study of Omaha Indian Music," *Archaeological and Ethnological Papers of the Peabody Museum* 1, no. 5 (1893): 79-151, accessed November 15, 2018, https://archive.org/details/AStudyOfOmahaIndianMusic.

recorded when transcribed. Many Indian songs have a drum that moves in units of two, but a melody that moves in units of three. This was much more complicated than the music that white audiences were used to hearing. Through studying Indian music, white musicians were forced to re-examine their perception of what music was, and alter it to include this new tonal language. Though these Indian songs were transcribed using Western notation, these songs were not allowed to be taught or played at the Carlisle School, as they would encourage students to connect to their heritage and explore their native music. It is significant that a marked interest in musical nationalism and the exploration of true American music was taking place among composers at the same time that the Carlisle School was trying to suppress the same kind of music. Composers, as well as musicologists, of the early twentieth century were very interested in the so-called Indian sound, and many tried to replicate it in their music. One of the first successful American operas, *Shanewis: The Robin Woman,* tells the story of a musically talented Indian girl who is sent away from her reservation to study music in New York. The score is comprised of music that sounds Western, but also incorporates traditional Indian melodies arranged to be played by instruments in a white orchestra.[211] Charles Wakefield Cadman, the composer of *Shanewis,* was known in the popular music sphere for his authenticity in his idealizations of Indian songs. Rather than imagining Indian melodies, he took actual Indian songs and modified them to fit harmonies and rhythms that complemented the original, but produced a more Western and classical sound.[212] Even though Western art music inspired by Native American melodies existed, students at the Carlisle School were not allowed

[211] Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in unexpected places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas): 184-185.
[212] Deloria, *Indians in unexpected places,* 186.

to play it. Despite the success of assimilation through music, students still found ways to practice their native traditions. Just as they learned from their teachers, they learned from their peers. Schools like the Carlisle School provided a breeding ground for new customs, including new music, that shared qualities from Native American traditions across the country in what was certainly an unintended consequence of the Indian boarding school system.[213] Teaching a strict curriculum of Western classical music to students at the Carlisle School was the ultimate experiment in assimilation, as Indians "rarely regarded it (music) as something to listen to apart from its social and ceremonial function" and considered it to be "a medium of communication and contact with the supernatural."[214] This clash of ideas would become even more prevalent when the Carlisle School began using music as propaganda for promoting the success of the school.

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School band was the most visible ensemble to the public eye. The school band played in the parade at the opening of the Chicago World Fair in 1893, acting as a display of the success of Indian boarding schools for those attending the fair. It is important to note that during this performance, the band played "The Star-Spangled Banner," "America," and "My Country Tis of Thee," all patriotic and quintessentially American songs.[215] In an edition of The Red Man and the Helper, the Carlisle Indian School newspaper, from 1900, an article discusses the band's eastern tour in which they played at

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[213] Archuleta, Child, and Lomawaima, *Away from Home,* 62-63.
[214]Boyea, "Native American Music and Curriculum: Controversies and Cultural Issues," *Philosophy of Music Education Review,* 107.
[215] St. Olaf College, "Chicago World Fair: Celebrating American Indian Culture or Erasing It?" last modified February 19, 2018, https://pages.stolaf.edu/americanmusic/2018/02/19/chicago-world-fair-celebrating-american-indian-culture-or-erasing-it/.

the Longfellow Memorial Association and at the White House for President McKinley.[216] By performing in very public venues such as the White House, the Carlisle School was able to not only make their assimilation through music known to the world beyond the school walls, but also emphasize its importance and significance to the students performing. In 1914, the band performed at a Belgian Relief Fund Benefit, where they played "Lustspiel," a nineteenth century overture by Hungarian composer Béla Kéler and The Star-Spangled Banner, two pieces of music that were very engrained in the Western musical tradition.[217] The Carlisle Indian School band was even asked to play at President Wilson's inauguration in 1913.[218] Music as a means of assimilation was not restricted to the Carlisle School. The Chemawa Indian School organized the Indian String Quartet, an ensemble that performed both in traditional Western concert attire, and full Indian regalia.[219] Though they performed in both white and native attire, all of the music that they played was of the Western art music tradition. No matter the attire worn, these students were seen as model Indians—either so far assimilated into Western culture that they donned the concert apparel of white musicians, or tamed savages who were capable of learning traditionally white instruments. The Carlisle School attracted successful musicians to teach there, most notably Zitkála-

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[216] "The Indian Band that Did Not Go to Paris," *The Red Man and Helper*, Friday, July 13, 1900, accessed October 26, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/RedManHelper_v01n01.pdf.

[217] *Belgian Relief Fund Benefit Entertainment Program, December 5, 1914*, program, Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections, accessed November 20, 2018, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-documents/NARA_RG75_CCF_b002_f10_130868.pdf.

[218] F.H. Abbott, *F.H., Abbott to Moses Friedman, December 28, 1912*, letter, Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections, accessed November 29, 2018, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-documents/NARA_RG75_CCF_b002_f03_00.pdf.

[219] Deloria, *Indians in unexpected places*, 207.

Šá, a Lakota Indian who had attended boarding school and then studied violin at the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston. Interestingly, Zitkála-Šá eventually dedicated her life to protesting Indian assimilation, and was eventually dismissed from her position at the Carlisle School. The general public was very impressed with the talent of Carlisle School musicians. According to a history of the band written in 1896, the New York *Tribune* distinguished them in a parade as "the one that caught the crowd was the Indian band that headed the delegation from Carlisle. With the smoothest harmony and the most perfect time, this band of forty or fifty pieces played a marching anthem as it swept past the reviewing stand. Both the melody and the spectacle were so unusual that the people rose to their feet and cheered."[220] One of the main reasons why the Carlisle School band garnered such a strong following and reputation is because of the spectacle. The goal of Pratt and the United States government was complete assimilation, and seeing a band of fifty Indian children wearing Western military-style uniforms and playing patriotic tunes on Western instruments is the ultimate achievement. Indian school musical ensembles allowed white assimilationists to see the fruits of their labor end in success.

[220] "A History of the Band," *The Red Man*, February 1896, accessed October 16, 2018, https://home.epix.net/~landis/band.html.

Hensel, Gustave, photographer. *Carlisle Indian School Band seated on steps of a school building.* Photograph. 1915. From National Archives and Records Administration: *American Indian Select List number 155.* Accessed October 25, 2018. https://www.archives.gov/research/native-americans/pictures/select-list-155.html.

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School band also played at the opening of the Brooklyn Bridge in 1883, acting as a living metaphor for the ability of the gap between Western and Native American culture to be bridged. The Carlisle School's close proximity to Washington D.C. enabled Pratt to invite congressmen and other wealthy benefactors to tour the school and showcase the students and their transitions from savage to civilian. On these tours, Pratt highlighted the military band as a particular area of success.[221] The combination of the Carlisle School band being in the public eye so often as well as their intentional programming of patriotic music solidified music as one of the cornerstones and

[221] Fear-Segal and Rose, "Introduction," in *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations*, 8.

certainly one of the most effective means of assimilation for Native American students at the Carlisle School.

V

Though sports have typically overshadowed music in popular narratives of assimilation at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, music clearly played an important role in assimilation for both students and for the public image of the Carlisle School. Not only were Indian students at the Carlisle School forced to abandon their own native languages, but they were forced to abandon their musical traditions as well. Instead of music being fully integrated with every aspect of life, as is typical in most Native American cultures, music was treated as an extracurricular activity, and something to be done solely for the sake of entertainment or art, rather than for native rituals or religious ceremonies. Indian students learned Western notation and Western art music from the Baroque, Classical, and Romantic periods, all while Western composers were actually developing an interest in Native American music as the root of the true American sound, inhibiting further cultural exchange through music. The success of Indian students at the Carlisle School in Western art music was used as propaganda by the school to promote their assimilationist policies both locally and nationally. Through music, Richard Henry Pratt and the United States government were able to prove that not only were Indians capable of assimilating, but that they would contribute to American culture by doing so.

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Author Biographies

Jack Lashendock ’20 is a junior International Affairs and Political Science dual major, with minors in History and Middle East and Islamic Studies. Dedicated to figuring out how the world works, he has spent time studying in Geneva, Switzerland and is deeply involved in Model United Nations. He serves as the Co-Founder and Secretary General of Conference Logistics for the Gettysburg College Model UN (GettMUN) Conference and is a member of the travel team. Additionally, he has been selected as a 2019-2020 Fielding Undergraduate Fellow and is active in the Student Senate where he is a Senator for the Class of 2020. He is also a member of Pi Sigma Alpha, the Political Science honor society.

Benjamin Pontz '20 is a Political Science and Public Policy double major and Music minor who will graduate in the spring of 2020 one course short of a history minor. On campus, he is the editor of *The Gettysburgian*, drum major of the Bullets Marching Band, and news director of WZBT. He also works several jobs including research assistant in the Department of Political Science, communications and program manager for the Fielding Center, and peer research mentor at Musselman Library. Next year, he will write a senior thesis on the effectiveness of civic institutions and local government. Upon graduation, he is considering law school.

Lindsay Richwine ‘21 is a sophomore History and Spanish double major. She has worked in College Archives and Special Collections for the past two years. Recently, she presented her research on Quaker abolitionist Elizabeth Buffum Chace at the 10th Annual Undergraduate Research Workshop at the McNeil Center for Early American Studies in Philadelphia. Last year she assisted in archaeological excavations at the Riggs House in Gettysburg under the direction of Professor Benjamin Luley.

Abigail Winston ’19 is a senior History and Music double major with a minor in Public History. On campus, she is a research assistant for The First World War Letters of H.J.C. Peirs digital history project and is a member of the history honor society Phi Alpha Theta. Abigail studied abroad in Bath, England where she was an intern at the Museum of Bath at Work. She has also been an education intern at the National Archives and Records Administration and will be a Public Programs intern working on projects related to the 50th anniversary of the Apollo 11 mission at the National Air and Space Museum this summer.

Editor Biographies

Brandon Katzung Hokanson ’20 is a junior majoring in Anthropology and History. He is currently president of the historical honors society, Phi Alpha Theta. This is Brandon’s second year serving on the historical journal and is also his second year serving as its co-editor-in-chief. Brandon also serves as a Peer Learning Associate for the History, Anthropology, and Civil War Era Studies Departments. He thoroughly enjoyed working in Lattes, France last summer on an archaeological excavation with his Anthropology advisor, Dr. Benjamin Luley. This summer, he will be doing research as a Kolbe Fellow under the guidance of Professor Abou Bamba and Professor Dina Lowy. Regarding his article published in this year’s journal, he would like to extend his gratitude to all of the History Department faculty and Dr. Luley and Professor Perry of the Anthropology Department for the variety of help they provided him while he was writing the paper.

Alaina Keller '19 is a senior with a double major in Political Science and East Asian Studies: Japan. This year was her first as an editor for the historical journal, but as a member of Phi Beta Kappa and recipient of a Mellon Summer Research grant, she is no stranger to research. Alaina also works in the East Asian Studies department as a language tutor as well as in the Admissions Office and College Life Office. Her academic interests focus on the history of Christianity in Asia, and following graduation, she plans to continue her studies with a Masters of Theological Studies at Emory University.

Keira Koch '19 is a senior studying both History and Indigenous Studies. She has been a part of the historical journal since her sophomore year and is happy to serve as an editor for the 2019 historical journal. Besides being an editor for the journal she is also a student office aid for the History and Classics Department, Musselman Library Digital Scholar, member of Phi Alpha Theta,

and Community Adviser for Musselman Hall. Keira is very grateful to work with such wonderful writers and editors; she would like to thank them for all their hard work.

Emma Kate Lewis ‘20 is a junior and first-time editor for the journal. She is a History major with minors in Anthropology and Public History. Over the past three years she has frequently combined these interests working as a Digital Scholarship Fellow at Musselman Library, creating historical interpretations and supporting others’ projects. Currently, she is conducting research while abroad in Budapest. Her plan is to continue supporting scholarship and creating interpretations this Summer at a NPS Pohanka internship in D.C. and during her final year of college.

Savannah Labbe '19 is a senior History and Religious Studies double major. This is her second year as an editor for the historical journal. Besides being an editor for the historical journal, Savannah has also worked for the Civil War Institute as a fellow and as a Peer Learning Associate for the history department. She is also a member of the honor societies Phi Alpha Theta and Phi Beta Kappa.

Kenneth McCracken '20 is a junior with a major in History. This is his first year as an editor for the Gettysburg Historical Journal. He is a member of the history honors society Phi Alpha Theta and the national leadership honor society Omicron Delta Kappa. Kenneth is an Army ROTC Cadet and will be commissioned as a Second Lieutenant in the United States Army after he graduates from Gettysburg College.

Abigail Major ‘19 is a senior History and Classics double major with an Environmental Studies minor. While this is her second year serving as an editor for the historical journal, this is her first and final year as co-editor-in-chief. Besides being an editor for the journal, she is a tour guide for the Admissions Office, Peer Research Mentor, History Department Peer Learning Associate,

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Benjamin Maurice Roy '21 is a sophomore studying History, Civil War Era Studies and Public History. This is his first year editing for the journal. He works as a Fellow at the Civil War Institute, a Research assistant at Gettysburg College Special Collections, and is a Musselman Library Digital Scholar working on the Jack Peirs project. He is a member of the history honors society Phi Alpha Theta, serves as treasurer for the Civil War Club, and will be doing research through the Kolbe Fellowship program this summer.

Cameron Sauers '21 is a sophomore History major with minors in Public History and Civil War Era Studies. On campus, Cameron is a Fellow at the Civil War Institute and an Oral History Assistant at Musselman Library. Additionally, he is a member of the history honors society Phi Alpha Theta. Previously, he spent the summer of 2018 as a Brian C. Pohanka Intern at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park. Cameron is extremely appreciative of the hard work contributed to the Historical Journal by its writers and editors.

Lillian Shea '21 is a sophomore with a major in History and minor in Public History, and this is her first year working on the Gettysburg Historical Journal. She is founder and president of the Gettysburg College Historical Society, sergeant-at-arms of Eta Sigma Phi, the Classics Honors Society, and co-consul of the Gettysburg Classics Club. Lillian currently works as a student office aid for the History and Classics Departments as well as the Office for Student Scholarly Engagement.

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