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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Readers,

Within the classrooms of Weidensall Hall at Gettysburg College, students and professors daily embark on the journey of studying history. History majors and minors often laugh as they reflect on their time spent within the building: from walking through the doors on the way to their first class freshman year, to falling asleep in the lobby innumerable times in the next four years, to walking out its doors—relieved, yet somehow more pensive—after turning in their senior thesis. Weidensall Hall, for them, has become not just an academic home at Gettysburg, but it has become the personification of their passion for undergraduate study.

Author and historian Robert R. Archibald wrote that “in the absence of empathy, emotion, concern, and caring, history becomes an exercise in nostalgia or an academic sidebar of limited use in the real world. If we do not care, we will not be motivated to take action.” The excellence of students’ work in their undergraduate studies reflects the desire of students and professors to meaningfully apply historical inquiry in order to challenge modern viewpoints and preconceived notions.

In this fourth issue of The Gettysburg Historical Journal, authors and editors alike have poured their own passion into the study, and refinement, of history. We strived this year to maintain not only a high standard of prose, but also degree and depth of research, in topics that expand on the geographical, topical, and chronological diversity of our journal: racial perceptions during the Civil War; the origin of freedom songs during the Civil Rights Movement; the formation of internees’ identities in World War II Great Britain; and General Juan Domingo Peron’s failed economic policies as president in Argentina. In each piece of work, the authors have meaningfully addressed historical topics that have practical applications even in our modern world.

These four authors, as well as the editors, of this fourth issue of the journal, invite you to enjoy the work to which they devoted so much of their time and insight. That passion was undoubtedly furthered by one Gettysburg professor who passed away earlier this year. In this issue, we are privileged to begin our journal by honoring Dr. Francis A. Burkle-Young, former Professor of English at Gettysburg College. His influence on Lorelei Westbrook ('05) is undoubtedly indicative of his influence on an entire community of learners. If you have the opportunity to visit Weidensall Hall during the academic year, I suggest visiting a history classroom, and you will, as I did, feel fortunate to be involved in such an inspiring academic community, dedicated to engaging its community in history that has the ability to change the future.

Molly K. Gale
General Editor
An Analysis of Media Perceptions Regarding African Americans in Gettysburg Throughout 1863

Brendan M. Shelley

On Monday, September 28, 1863, the Compiler, Gettysburg Pennsylvania’s Democratic newspaper, published an article taken from the Sussex Messenger about a black man forcing himself onto a white woman. The girl, daughter of Mr. Daniel Messick, was going from her father’s house which was just outside of the town limits to a neighbor’s home when she was suddenly assaulted by a black man. The man jumped out from behind thick brush and grabbed the girl. A struggle ensued and the assailant ripped off the girl’s clothing and put his hand over her mouth in order to keep her from calling for help. Despite the man’s best attempts to silence his victim’s cries, nearby neighbors heard the muffled screams and rushed to the girl’s aid. They arrived just in time to prevent the man from raping the girl. The girl was released from her assailant and the local constabulary took the man into custody. The Adams Sentinel, the Compiler’s Republican counterpart, did not run the story.¹

Although this incident did not take place in Gettysburg, the instance effectively reflects attitudes and perceptions held by two of the area’s largest and most prosperous newspapers: the Adams Sentinel and the Compiler. The year 1863 marked the 63rd year of the Adams Sentinel. Founded in 1800 by Robert Harper, the Centinel, which later became known as the Adams Sentinel, proved to be a significant source of information for thousands of local Gettysburg residents.² In 1816, Harper turned the paper over to his son, Robert G. Harper. By the fall of

¹ The Compiler (Gettysburg), 28 September 1863, p.4, c.A. The Sussex Messenger was likely a newspaper printed in Sussex County, Delaware. The Delaware Public Archives have record of a paper entitled The Messenger that was published for the people of Sussex County. According to the on-line archive, the Messenger was published from 1859 until 1863. Sussex County was largely rural during the 1860s and boasted one of state’s largest slave populations. The Messenger is housed at the Delaware Public Archives under the call number RG 9210 NEWSPAPERS 9210.12.
1863, Harper was just months away from embarking on his 47th year at the helm of Adams County’s most widely read newspaper.3 In the midst of the Sentinel’s optimism for continued prosperity raged a devastating Civil War. Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, the seat of the county government, had felt the effects of war first hand in July when Confederate General Robert E. Lee brought his Army of Northern Virginia through the border state of Maryland and into rural Pennsylvania. Throughout the war, the Adams Sentinel remained true to the northern cause, passionately supporting President Lincoln and the restoration of the Union. The Compiler was less enthusiastic in supporting the North. The Democratic Compiler and the Adams Sentinel clashed on many issues including the role of the federal government and support for the war, but one of the most polarizing issues that distinguished these two papers was their views on African Americans. Each papers’ views on blacks stemmed from powerful party ideologies that were characteristic of mid 19th century American society. The Adams Sentinel, embracing the Republican ideology, was clearly more sympathetic and understanding towards African Americans while the Compiler, a Democratic newspaper, subscribed to the notion that blacks were inferior to whites and the source of society’s ills.

Founded in 1816 by Jacob LeFevre, the Compiler represented the conservative political ideology of mid 19th century America. In 1839, LeFevre turned the paper over to his son Isaac, who subsequently sold the paper to E. W. Stahle in 1843.4 Years later, Stahle left the paper to his son Henry J. Stahle.5 The younger Stahle was an ardent Democrat, having served as a justice of the peace in neighboring York County and as a presidential elector in several national elections.6 He served as editor and proprietor for the Compiler during the war years. As editor,
Stahle vehemently opposed the war between the Union and the Confederacy. Furthermore, the articles published in his paper suggest that Stahle was a fervent racist. The year 1863 brought the Compiler much in the way of change. On May 4, 1863, Stahle announced to his readers that the Compiler office had moved “two doors north of the old location – that is, two doors nearer the Post Office.” Although the new location was larger and housed two printing presses, enabling Stahle to print more newspapers with less effort, the move also caused Stahle to incur higher publication costs.

On June 1, 1863, the Compiler invited Democratic newspaper editors of Pennsylvania to a conference in Harrisburg on Wednesday, June 17th. Stahle often announced such meetings in the Compiler so as to foster solidarity and camaraderie among the Democratic papers in the state.

Weeks later, Gettysburg experienced the scourge of war first hand. The Compiler did not publish an issue on July 7th. On July 13th, only two weeks after the battle of Gettysburg, the Compiler reported the arrest of Stahle by the Union provost marshal. The Compiler claimed that Stahle fell under the “displeasure of a person claiming to be a soldier.” This mysterious soldier then allegedly reported Stahle to the authorities who then removed him to Fort McHenry in Baltimore. The following week, the Compiler featured an article describing the supposed events surrounding Stahle’s arrest. On the bottom of the second page, just one column away from the Compiler’s page long harangue scolding Stahle’s accusers and those who were said to have conspired against him, was a brief three lined postscript that reads as follows: “The editor of the Compiler still lives. He returned home yesterday.”

Two weeks later on August 8th, the Compiler reported that Stahle returned to Fort McHenry after having received a summons from

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7 The Compiler (Gettysburg), 4 May, 1863. p.2 c.A.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid. 1 June 1863. p.2 c.A.
10 Ibid. 13 July, 1863. p.2 c.B.
11 Ibid. 20 July, 1863. p.2 c.A&B.
military authorities. After “another two weeks’ ‘visit’ to Fort McHenry,” Stahle was released.\textsuperscript{12} During Stahle’s imprisonment, the \textit{Compiler} was managed by M. E. Doll,\textsuperscript{13} a relative of Stahle’s wife, Lousie B. Doll, who most likely lived in Frederick, Maryland.\textsuperscript{14} Doll, like Stahle, opposed the war and black rights. Even during the aftermath on the deadliest battle of the Civil War, Doll printed his fair share of articles attacking African Americans. Stahle resumed the mantle of editor immediately upon his return and continued to publish articles that promoted the Democratic ideology.\textsuperscript{15}

Despite differing attitudes and perceptions, both papers published extensive amounts of material on African Americans. In 1863, it was not uncommon to pick up the weekly paper and read an article about the creation of a black regiment or the furtherance of an abolitionist initiative. Both papers also printed letters from prominent members of society discussing individual perspectives on the status of blacks. Although both papers addressed common themes, their fundamental understanding and core beliefs differed to such an extent, that it was not hard to distinguish between those who were more tolerant towards the blacks and those who wanted to leave the institution of slavery intact. In order to combat the proponents of slavery, the \textit{Adams Sentinel} often ran articles about everyday slave life on southern plantations. These articles depicted slavery as depreciating and undignified while praising those men, women and children who endured being subjugated. Cherishing the values of unionism and emancipation, the \textit{Sentinel} routinely featured articles describing the courage and dedication of all black

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid. 3 August, 1863. p.2 c.A
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid. 10 August 1863. p.2 c.A
\textsuperscript{14} History of Adams County Pennsylvania. (Chicago: Warner, Beers and Co., 1886; Reprint, Gettysburg: Adams County Historical Society, 1992) p. 372. According to the 1860 Census Index for Gettysburg, Adams County, Pennsylvania compiled by Joan R. Hankey for the Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, PA. in October of 1995, no M.E. Doll lived in Gettysburg at the time of the 1860 census. Lousie B. Doll, wife of H.J. Stahle, had some family living in Gettysburg at the time of the census, but M.E. Doll was not one of the Dolls recorded in the census. Because the Doll family originates from nearby Frederick, Maryland, it is likely that one of Lousie’s relatives ran the paper while Stahle was held at Fort McHenry.
\textsuperscript{15} The Compiler (Gettysburg), 10 August, 1863. p.2 c.A.
regiments. Some articles even went so far as to urge for full equality between blacks and whites, a truly radical idea for 1863. The *Compiler* worked to promote the status quo, including the institution of slavery. Stahle considered the Union’s desire to abolish slavery as the chief cause of the war. Many articles published in the *Compiler* refer to the Republican Party as the Abolitionist Party. The sharp criticisms printed in the *Compiler* that were directed towards President Lincoln, members of his cabinet, officers of the Union army and other Republican leaders often times contained the label “abolitionist,” even if the attacks had nothing to do with blacks or emancipation. Nevertheless, the attacks made against President Lincoln and the Republicans were relatively mild compared to those attacks made against the nation’s negro population. The pages of the *Compiler* portrayed African Americans as vicious, stupid, and parasitic. Often times, articles would accuse blacks as being the lone source of the war.

In 1862, President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, ordering that slaves in rebelling states be freed. On January 20th, 1863, the *Sentinel* published the findings of the United States Census for the year 1860, specifically the data on slave populations. The census recorded over 3,000,000 slaves in rebelling states that qualified for their freedom under Lincoln’s edict. The states that were allowed to keep their slaves, including Maryland, Kentucky, Delaware and Missouri, had according to the census just shy of a million slaves.\(^\text{16}\)

\(^{\text{16}}\) *The Adams Sentinel* (Gettysburg), 20 January 1863, p.1 c.F. According to the census results published in the paper, a total of 3,001,221 slaves from Arkansas, Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia and Louisiana qualified for freedom. A total of 949,122 slaves from Maryland, Delaware Kentucky, Missouri, and Tennessee were not included in the proclamation. The article goes on to state that 83,010 slaves from Louisiana and 160,887 slaves from Virginia were not subject to the proclamation and were to remain enslaved, even though both states were allied with the Confederacy. In another article published by the *Sentinel* (The Adams Sentinel (Gettysburg), 17 February, 1863, p.2 c.E.) on February 17, 1863, General N. P. Banks promulgated the Emancipation Proclamation in Louisiana by refusing to allow officers of the United States military to assist in returning slaves to their owners, even though there were districts in the state that were allowed to have slaves. Banks is quoted as saying that “The public interest peremptorily demands that all persons without other means of support be required to maintain themselves by labor. Negroes are not exempt from this law.” All unemployed blacks were put to work by Banks’ quartermaster harvesting corn on abandoned estates. The presence of the Union army in the Louisiana and the occupation of New Orleans is probably what prompted Lincoln to make parts of Louisiana exempt from the Emancipation Proclamation. Allowing districts of Louisiana to keep their slaves
Lincoln’s proclamation infuriated the south and the *Compiler*. In an article published on January 5th entitled “Relief of the Contrabands,” the *Compiler* attacked the Emancipation Proclamation, warning readers that the result of such an action would be nothing less than the integration of the former slaves into American society. The *Compiler* also addressed the claim that due to the war, many freed slaves would move north in order to avoid being returned to a state of bondage.

“What may we expect when [Lincoln] set free all the slaves of the South?” the *Compiler* inquired. An excerpt taken from the “St. Louis Republican entitled Destitute Contrabands in St. Louis” asks northerners to consider the effects of black refugees flooding into Union states. According to the article, many of the freed slaves came to the north with nothing but the shirts on their backs. As a result, hundreds of black men, women, and children were starving in the streets. Yet another article published in the same paper entitled “Abolition” collected a series of quotes arguing against the emancipation of the slaves. One quote was from the late Daniel Webster, a prominent congressman and senator from New England, presidential candidate and an abolitionist at heart. The *Compiler* went on to argue that the framers of the Constitution would probably made the occupation easier to conduct. According to an article published in the *Compiler* (Gettysburg), 5 January 1863. p. 2 c. A.), New Orleans and thirteen parishes were not affected by the Emancipation Proclamation. The districts in Virginia that were not required to free their slaves were the counties that eventually became the state of West Virginia. On March 3, 1863, the *Sentinel* reported on the West Virginia Convention (*The Adams Sentinel* (Gettysburg), 3 March 1863. p. 3 c. B). By March of 1863, the seceding counties of Virginia that became West Virginia had drafted a request for statehood. One component of resolution was a request asking Congress to appropriate money to West Virginia so that it could free its slave population.

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17 *The Compiler* (Gettysburg), 5 January 1863. p.1 c.F.
19 *Ibid.* 12 January 1863. p. 1 c. E. Stahle admitted that in writing this article that he wanted to prove that although the Union states spoke highly of the ideals of emancipation, when push came to shove and blacks were pouring into the North, many whites wanted nothing to do with the refugees. A quote from the article reads “Here, then is a chance for the admirers… of the negro, when he is afar off to manifest the strength of their love for him when he is brought to their homes.”
20 *Ibid.* 5 January 1863. p. 1 c. D. Daniel Webster lived from 1782 until 1852. Initially a Federalist, Webster eventually helped found the Whig party. While a senator, Webster supported the Compromise of 1850, earning him the contempt of his northern colleagues. According to many of his fellow senators, Webster’s decision to support the compromise conceded too much ground to the South. The Compromise of 1850 also included provisions for a fugitive slave law. On March 7, 1850, Webster delivered what many consider to be his most famous speech ever while supporting the Compromise. In the summer of 1850, Webster became Secretary of State under then President Millard Fillmore and was charged with the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act, a
never have allowed a provision that would lead to the end of slavery. In an editorial published by the Compiler on January 5, 1863 entitled “The Negro Proclamation,” Stahle attacked Lincoln for putting slavery forward as the central cause of the war. Indeed Stahle did not consider blacks worth fighting for.

Nevertheless, the Emancipation Proclamation went on to receive strong support in the northern states. According to an article reprinted from an unnamed Boston newspaper in the Sentinel on April 7, 1863, the state of Maine’s legislature adopted concurrent resolutions fully endorsing the immediate and enthusiastic application of Lincoln’s proclamation. The article went on to say that the legislature opposed any suggestion of compromise regarding the matter of liberating the Confederates’ slaves. Even residents of Gettysburg offered their support to the ideals of the Emancipation Proclamation, although the newspapers never formally mentioned the peoples’ endorsement. On April 28, the Sentinel printed resolutions that were adopted at the Late Meeting of the Loyal Citizens in Gettysburg. Among the resolutions adopted was a statement concerning culpability for the war. The people of Gettysburg attacked the slave-holding oligarchs for committing the south to war and for attempting to “establish a military or monarchical government, sustained by an organized and cemented aristocracy in which the principals of democracy shall be utterly ignored.”

The border slave state of Maryland even mustered support for Lincoln’s proclamation. On April 20, the city of Baltimore hosted a rally considered by the writers of the Sentinel to have been “one of the most enthusiastic assemblages ever to have gathered within the limits of the

responsibility that made Webster even more unpopular with his party. Although against slavery in general, Webster found himself torn between upholding the law or letting the Union dissolve. (Lodge, Henry Cabot. American Statesmen: Daniel Webster. Boston: Riverside Press, 1884.)

21 Ibid.
22 Ibid. 5 January 1863. p. 2 c. A.
23 The Adams Sentinel (Gettysburg), 7 April 1863. p.1 c.F.
24 Ibid. 28 April 1863. p.2 c.A
monumental city.” At the rally, speakers urged the federal government to support Maryland in eliminating the practice of slavery within the state lines. Two resolutions were adopted at the rally, both of which called for Maryland to end slavery within its borders. The leaders of the rally also asked for the federal government to provide funds to help ease the transition from slave state to a free state. Delaware followed Maryland’s example. On October 20th, the Sentinel reported that the Delaware state convention adopted resolutions issuing support for Lincoln’s policies, the temporary suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and the Emancipation Proclamation.

As the Union army moved deeper into the south, imprisoned blacks were freed from their masters. According to an article that was reprinted from a Cincinnati newspaper, a Union expedition moving along the St. Francis River in Arkansas was implementing Lincoln’s orders for emancipation as it moved further into the southern interior. Adjutant General George H. Thomas addressed General James B. McPherson and his brigade at Lake Providence, charging the troops to aid all “negroes who were to be received in [Union] lines.” General Thomas told McPherson’s men that any soldier who did not act in accordance with the President’s policy would be subject to severe punishments.

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25 Ibid. 28 April 1863. p. 3 c. A.
26 Ibid. p. 3 c. A. Robert J. Brugger’s book, Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634-1980, reflects the struggles of Maryland during the Civil War. Brugger describes Maryland’s predicament during the Civil War with great clarity and explains in Chapter 6, A House Divided, the steps Maryland took from being a likely candidate for succession to an important asset. (Brugger, Robert J. Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634-1980. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.) In an article published in the Sentinel on November 10, 1863, it was said that Maryland declared the state “unconditionally for the union.” The Sentinel welcomed Maryland as a full fledged member of the Union after the border state declared slavery to be morally reprehensible. The November 5th elections decided once and for all that the practice slavery within the state would cease to exist. (The Adams Sentinel (Gettysburg) 10 November 1863. p. 2 c. E.
27 Ibid. 20 October 1863. p. 2 c. C.
28 Ibid. 21 April 1863. p. 3 c. C.
29 Ibid. Adjutant General George H. Thomas went on to receive a great deal of publicity throughout the war. On Saturday, November 14, 1863, Harper’s Weekly ran an article on Thomas and his willingness to employ the help of former slaves in the war effort. Interestingly enough, the article mentions a military engagement in Helena. The expedition moving along the St. Francis River with instructions to emancipate the slaves originated
On January 6th, the *Sentinel* reported on a series of remarks published in the *Nashville Union*, a pro-Republican paper from Tennessee. The article, which was entitled “Drawing Ruin on Their Own Heads,” pointed out that many southern plantation owners were moving their slaves to Alabama for fear of a Union invasion and the application of Lincoln’s proclamation. The unforeseen consequence of such a move was that many of the plantations in the Deep South were being neglected; hence there was not enough work for the blacks. Other plantations were saturated with slaves, but in many of those cases, the blacks were often left without work. With no tobacco or cotton to grow, many of the relocated blacks would be without work, giving the slave owners more mouths to feed. According to the *Nashville Union*, this would weaken the southern economy and result in the deaths of thousands of slaves. The *Union* argued that by refusing to emancipate the slaves on Lincoln’s terms, the south would just be creating a giant powder keg that would explode once the number of starving and neglected blacks reached a critical capacity. Once the south was saturated with black slaves, the *Union* predicted that the blacks would revolt and throw off their bonds, greatly hurting the Confederacy’s chances for victory against the Union.30

This article creates images of valiant negroes who were partners with the Union, willing to fight in a two front war against the oligarchs of the Confederacy. In publishing such pieces from papers like the *Nashville Union*, the *Sentinel* hoped to win over more support for Lincoln’s emancipation project. Lincoln’s top priority was the preservation of the Union. Although an opponent of slavery, it is likely that Lincoln’s decision to write the Emancipation Proclamation

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30 *The Adams Sentinel* (Gettysburg), 6 January 1863. p. 3 c. A.
had more to with a strategic initiative than it did the President’s personal abhorrence for an institution that relegated men, women and children to the status of property. Lincoln took into consideration all of the details of the Emancipation Proclamation, from the wording of the text to the date of the delivery. The content of the proclamation was calibrated to yield the greatest benefit for the Union. Lincoln likely took into account the political, economic, social and military implications of the pronouncement before revealing his plan to the American people.

Lincoln’s goal of emancipation was not easily achieved. On April 27th, the Compiler ran a brief five line editorial highlighting the fact that it did not appear as if blacks were “availing” themselves to the provisions of the proclamation.\(^{31}\) If Lincoln’s goal was freeing enslaved blacks in the rebelling states with the intent of eventually ending slavery as an institution, an incident published originally in the Louisville Journal of Kentucky and later on in the Adams Sentinel would have proved to have been most disheartening for the President. The Sentinel reported on March 10, 1863 that free black persons in living in Kentucky were stolen and sold into slavery. The opening line of the article reads “the Louisville Journal says there are persons in that city who are guilty of the crime of stealing free negroes and selling them into slavery.”\(^ {32}\) Kentucky was one of the boarder states in the Union allowed to keep its slaves. Reference was made to the fact that black soldiers and black laborers for the Union army were among those who were captured and sold into slavery. The Louisville Journal also made note of the fact that the men who were enslaved were just as free as those men who had kidnapped them. Nevertheless, such offenses were not treated as serious. The article went on to report that only in cases where “flagrant violations” occurred would the military authority intervene.\(^ {33}\)

\(^{31}\) The Compiler (Gettysburg), 27 April 1863. p. 4 c. A.  
\(^{32}\) The Adams Sentinel (Gettysburg), 10 March 1863. p.2 c.D.  
\(^{33}\) Ibid. 10 August, 1863. p.2 c.D.
Much can be inferred from the language of the article. Note how the writer used the word “stealing” rather than “kidnapping.” Such language places African Americans at a lower level than ordinary white citizens. The language also introduces the notion that blacks, even freed blacks, were no better than property. Although the general impression one takes from reading this article is that kidnapping free blacks and selling them into slavery is a serious crime, the choice of words and tone of the article suggests that blacks were still perceived by many as property and that little effort was to be spent on protecting black citizens from arbitrary abductions.  

A similar article published weeks later in the Sentinel addressed the abduction of African Americans in a more serious tone. The article was written by Sentinel writers, but was based on a letter from St. Louis, Missouri. According to the letter, white men hired recently freed blacks to do work in the southern interior. The hired “contrabands,” recently freed African Americans who moved north after being liberated by the Union armies, followed their white employers into the south were they were sold back into slavery. Nothing more was said about the incident except that several arrests had been made. The language in this article did not relegate blacks to a second class status. Unlike the previous article, the syntax elevated the victims above the status of stolen property. Although the word “contraband” today connotes images of smuggled goods or property, it was understood to refer to displaced former slaves in the 1860s. An explanation for the change in language is that northern papers, wanting to be more supportive of President Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation, changed their tone to portray blacks in a more positive light. Another difference between the two articles is that the Louisville article only made mention of possible military intervention while the article based off of the letter from St.

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34 The Adams Sentinel (Gettysburg), 10 August 1863. p.2 c.D.
36 Ibid, p.1 c.G.
Louis assured readers that actual arrests had been made. Neither of the articles mentions whether or not the slaves who were sold back into slavery were freed. One reading the Louisville article would likely get the impression that little was done to free the blacks. The St. Louis article offers little hope of restoring the kidnapped persons to their freed status, even though the perpetrators were arrested.\(^{37}\)

Yet another case of kidnapping free blacks was reported by the *Sentinel* on May 26. This time, blacks from the free state of Indiana were lured into the border state of Kentucky and imprisoned. Shortly after their arrest, the captured blacks would be taken before a judge who would then have them committed back to the institution of slavery. Like the St. Louis incident, military and civil authorities intervened and put an end to the operation. There is no mention as to whether or not any of the captured persons who were remanded to slavery were ever set free.\(^{38}\)

As discouraging as the abduction of free blacks was for Lincoln, nothing reported in either the *Sentinel* or the *Compiler* came close to paralleling the alleged atrocity of a group of northern Alabamians. On April 28, 1863, the *Sentinel* ran an article that confirmed the mass murder of nearly one thousand black slaves. The article says that rather than allow the blacks to fall into the hands of the Union army, that slaveholders in northern Alabama ruthlessly killed their slaves.\(^{39}\) Ironically enough, just a day earlier, the *Compiler* published an article entitled “The Sort of Union Men who Compose the Republican Party.” The article described the brutality of white Republicans, charging them with teaching the slaves “to burn their masters’ buildings, to kill their cattle and hogs, to conceal and destroy farming utensils, to abandon labor


\(^{38}\) *The Adams Sentinel* (Gettysburg), 26 May 1863. p. 2 c. C.

\(^{39}\) *Ibid.* p. 2 c. E. The incident of mass murder was confirmed by the Reverend J. B. Rogers, the chaplain of the 14th Wisconsin. Rogers was also designated as the person in charge of the free blacks in Cairo, Alabama.
in seed time and harvest, and let the crops perish.”\textsuperscript{40} The imagery invoked by both papers was designed to polarize Republicans and Democrats. While the Republicans painted a picture of cruel and atrocious crimes that would today be considered genocide, the Democrats created an image laced with barbarism and anarchy. Needless to say, neither the \textit{Sentinel} nor the \textit{Compiler} had any qualms with using scare tactics to excite readers.

With the emancipation of the south taking root, it appeared as if the role of blacks in society was about to radically change. Talk of civil liberties filled the papers, polarizing Republicans and Democrats alike. As the war progressed, Lincoln told his colleagues in Illinois that he would not withdraw the Emancipation Proclamation in exchange for the Confederacy’s surrender.\textsuperscript{41} One of the principal spokesmen for black equality targeted in the \textit{Compiler} was the famous escaped slave turned abolitionist, Frederick Douglas. In a speech given to thousands of blacks in the city of Philadelphia, Douglas spoke of full political and social equality between blacks and whites, claiming that “the nation demands this.”\textsuperscript{42} Douglas denounced far fetched schemes of dealing with the “negro question,” including a plan that would colonize the former slaves in Africa.\textsuperscript{43} The \textit{Compiler} mocked Douglas, not just for his optimism with regards to black prospects in America, but also for what many Democrats perceived as a black man trying to be white. At a speech at the Cooper Institute in New York, Douglas was quoted as saying that “ever since the uttering of [the Emancipation Proclamation, he had] grown taller and felt whiter and combed [his] hair with much less difficulty.”\textsuperscript{44} Some blacks took Douglas’s words to heart.

\textsuperscript{40} \textit{The Compiler} (Gettysburg), 27 April 1863. p. 2 c. E. The quoted passage was taken from a book entitled \textit{The Helper Book}, a text considered by the Democrats to be the quintessential bible of the Republican Party. Democrats found that 67 Republican members of Congress signed their names approving the contents of \textit{The Helper Book}.

\textsuperscript{41} \textit{Ibid.} 14 September 1863. p. 2 c. A and B.

\textsuperscript{42} \textit{Ibid.} 28 May 1863, p. 4 c. A.

\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Ibid.} Douglas made the point that colonizing Africa would be detrimental to the freed slaves because Africa was not their native homeland. This reinforced the notion that all blacks in the United States were American.

\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Ibid.} 2 March 1863. p. 1 c. F.
On September 7th, the Compiler reported that the blacks of Kansas were planning to hold a convention “with a view to securing equality.” In Cincinnati, a group of black citizens started publishing a paper entitled the African Citizen. The Compiler even reported instances where blacks and whites were married. Some northerners were strong advocates of black rights, including Senator Zachary Chandler of Michigan and Daniel Agnew, a candidate for Supreme Court Judge for the state of Pennsylvania. In 1863, blacks exercised what little political influence they had in order to help push Republican Andrew G. Curtin back into office for another term as governor.

Blacks living near Gettysburg also took advantage of their changing social status. The Compiler published a short article on the African Methodist Episcopal Church (A. M. E. Church) located on Washington Street shortly after the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect. The A. M. E. Church, a pillar of the black community in Gettysburg, organized a festival celebrating black culture, religion, and social advancement. In March, the Compiler reported on the festival. Reporters for the Compiler were quick to recognize that large numbers of both “black spirits and white” attended the event. The Compiler attributed the large number of white persons in attendance to the fact that the Union League scheduled a promenade concert shortly after the festival at Shead’s and Buehler’s Hall.

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45 *Ibid.* 7 September 1863, p. 2 c. F.
47 *Ibid.* 9 March 1863, p. 2 c. G. The Compiler reported on a white woman from Fishkill, New York who eloped with a black preacher. The woman allegedly left her husband, took all of his money and left him with three small children. In November, the Compiler reported that a black man with a white wife living in Acquackanonk, New Jersey were forced to move. The community did not approve of their marriage. (*The Compiler* (Gettysburg) 9 November 1863, p. 2 c. B.)
48 *Ibid.* 28 September 1863, p. 2 c. B. Zachary Chandler denounced copperheads before the war, claiming that “a loyal negro was at anytime better than a slimy copperhead.” According to the Compiler, Chandler made these remarks while addressing abolitionists in Ohio and *Ibid.* 5 October 1863, p. 2 c. C.
51 *Ibid.* 2 March 1863, p. 2 c. F.
On December 14th, the Compiler ran an article entitled “Negro Equality.” The article referenced arguments made in the Dayton Empire, specifically the passage “all men are created equal.” Writers from the Compiler argued that the founding fathers did not recognize blacks as equals with whites. The article goes on to suggest that because many of the founders were slaveholders, including Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, it would be ludicrous to suggest that blacks were intended to be the recipients of American freedoms. In accordance with the Enlightenment, the Compiler writers invoked God, the laws of nature, and the intelligence of mankind. The Compiler argued that fighting a war for negro equality was foolish. In concluding, readers of the article were urged to hold the Lincoln administration accountable for making slavery and civil rights for blacks the central cause of the war. In order to convince readers that negro equality would mark the doom of the Union, the Compiler attempted to use logic to explain why slavery was not the source of the war. Using a parallel argument in which a horse represented slavery and a thief represented the Union, Compiler writers explained that if a man owned a horse, and someone threatened to make war on the owner of the horse, it is the act of threatening the horse’s owner and not the horse that is the source of the war. The article goes on to explain that the abolitionists were responsible for the war because they advocated for emancipation. An article published in the Sentinel on June 9th whole heartedly agreed that slavery was not the central focus of the war. Responding to a quote by Clement Vallandingham of Ohio, the Sentinel argued that Lincoln’s desire to grant civil rights and freedom to the slaves was due to “military necessity.”

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53 Ibid. 14 December 1863. p. 1 c. F. The phrase “all men are created equal” is taken from the Declaration of Independence.
54 Ibid.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid. 21 December 1863. p. 4 c. A.
57 The Adams Sentinel (Gettysburg), 9 June 1863. p. 2 c. B.
For the most part, the Republicans supported the idea of abolishing the practice of slavery from all states. Nevertheless, there were many instances in which blacks were treated unfairly by pro-Union forces. A prime example of this can be seen in cases where blacks served in the Union army. By 1863, several segregated black regiments had been created to assist white regiments in building fortifications, burying bodies, and moving supplies. In some cases, blacks were given the opportunity to participate in expeditions. General Rufus Saxton made such an expedition with black regiments in Florida, threatening the Confederacy from the south and drawing more black troops to his ranks. General Ullman, who was serving in the Gulf Department, reported to the War Department that he had raised nearly 4,000 colored troops for his Corps d’Afrique which was largely responsible for providing logistical support to white fighting units. Over time, armed black soldiers and the creation of fighting black regiments became more common. On May 19th, the Sentinel ran an article entitled “General Hooker on Colored Soldiers.” Hooker referred to the black troops as “hardy, brave, patient and obedient.” Hooker’s support for black soldiers was so strong, that he even approved of using black regiments in the most densely populated areas of the south. According to Hooker, the presence of black troops would spur slaves to rise up against their masters and join the Union army. Colonel T. B. Thorpe, who was engaged in the Gulf campaign, reported to his superiors at the War Department that he had monumental success in organizing black troops. In the same article

58 Ibid. 7 April 1863. p. 2 c. B. In a dispatch dated August 25, 1862, General Saxton received permission from the War Department to collect, organize and use black persons as laborers under the Quartermaster’s Department. Saxton was ordered to “muster [the blacks] into the service of the United States for the term of the war, at a rate of compensation not exceeding five dollars per month for common laborers, and eight dollars per month for mechanical or skilled laborers, and assign them to the Quartermaster's Department, to do and perform such laborer's duty as may be required during the present war, and to be subject to the rules and articles of war.” In some cases, Stanton authorized Saxton to use armed blacks to guard seized assets of southern plantation owners. Army Life in a Black Regiment and Other Writings by Thomas Woodworth Higginson and R. D. Madison is a detailed account of the blacks who volunteered for similar work. (Higginson, Thomas Woodworth and R. D. Madison. Army Life in a Black Regiment and Other Writings. New York: Penguin Books, 1997. Appendix C).
59 Ibid. 23 June 1863. p. 1 c. C.
60 Ibid. 19 May 1863. p. 2 c. E.
61 Ibid.
published on May 26th, the *Sentinel* reported that General Banks allegedly found an executive order signed by Governor Moore of Alabama ordering the enrollment of blacks.\textsuperscript{62} In another article from the September 1st edition of the *Sentinel*, Union intelligence reported intercepting a dispatch from the south authored by Confederate President Jefferson Davis. According to the letter, Davis ordered that 500,000 black slaves and field hands be pulled out of the fields and drafted into the Confederate army.\textsuperscript{63}

Conscription was a controversial subject among whites and blacks alike. In 1863, a bill sponsored by renowned education advocate and abolitionist Thaddeus Stevens passed Congress, the final count as being 84 “yeas” and 54 “nays.” Stevens’ bill would allow for the conscription of black troops to fight in the Northern armies. The bill aimed to produce 150 new black regiments.\textsuperscript{64} All but six Republicans voted in favor of the bill. Under the bill, white and black soldiers could possibly be put into integrated units, but a white officer would never have to report to a black officer.\textsuperscript{65} Directly below the article outlining Stevens’ bill was a brief quote taken from a black man living in Gettysburg. When asked if he would now be enlisting with the Union army, the man replied “No. If Stevens any fighting done for the niggers, let him do it hisself.”\textsuperscript{66} In yet another brief article published in the same paper, the *Compiler* reported an incident where a black man was told that the negro soldier bill had passed and that he was now expected to fight in the Union army. The man allegedly paused and after a minute of reflection said “well, if I must fight, I must vote too!”\textsuperscript{67}

\textsuperscript{62} *Ibid.* 26 May 1863. p. 3 c. A.
\textsuperscript{63} *Ibid.* 1 September 1863. p. 2 c. C. At no time did Jefferson Davis conscript 500,000 slaves to fight in the Confederate Army.
\textsuperscript{64} *The Compiler* (Gettysburg) 16 February 1863. p. 2 c. D.
\textsuperscript{65} *Ibid.* 9 February 1863. p. 2 c. A.
\textsuperscript{66} *Ibid.*
\textsuperscript{67} *Ibid.* 9 February 1863. p. 2 c. B.
Stahle and his fellow *Compiler* writers were terrified by the fact that a black person could possibly vote in the near future. Democrats earnestly believed that the next step Republicans would take in advancing the blacks would be giving black soldiers the right to vote. As more legislation was passed concerning black soldiers, the Democrats became increasingly agitated. Stahle and other Democratic editors urged their readers to elect the Democrats back into office so that the legislation passed by the Republicans could be repealed. The *Compiler* spared no foul language in debasing the Republican record, calling the administration’s propositions “disgusting and monstrous.”  

According to an article published on June 16, Governor Curtin issued an order calling all black persons living in Pennsylvania to arms. The governor’s order also precluded blacks from leaving the state to enlist in other state regiments. Shortly after the Battle of Gettysburg, the *Sentinel* published an article entitled *Drafted Colored Men*. The article described the recruitment effort of various states, including Pennsylvania. According to the article, conscripted colored troops were to be segregated from their white counterparts. Black troops in Pennsylvania were ordered to report to a camp in Philadelphia commanded by a Colonel named Louis Wagner. That same week, the *Sentinel* reported that Union forces in the west were successfully able to recruit several thousand blacks. A *Sentinel* article entitled “Recruitment of Colored Soldiers” pertains to the conscription of black troops in the border states of Maryland, Delaware, Missouri, and Tennessee. The article stipulated that in the event that there were not enough black

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68 *Ibid.* 9 February 1863. p. 4 c. A. The *Compiler* reprinted an article originally taken from the *Sunsbury Democrat* that attacked Republican policies. No specific policies were named, but the article does call Lincoln’s administration a “nigger administration,” hence, it is likely that the targets of this editorial were the Emancipation Proclamation and the Negro Soldier Bill sponsored by Thaddeus Stevens.  
69 *The Adams Sentinel* (Gettysburg) 16 June 1863. p. 2 c. F. Curtin issued his order on June 14, 1863 in Harrisburg under the authority of the United States War Department.  
70 *Ibid.* 28 July 1863. p. 2 c. D. According to the website http://www.thehistorynet.com/acw/bibblack_soldiers_in_blue/, Louis Wagner was a promising Union Major in the 88th Pennsylvania who was injured at the Second Battle of Bull Run. Wagner was taken prisoner by the Confederates and later paroled to his Philadelphia home. He was later promoted to Lt. Colonel and ran Camp William Penn for colored conscripts.
volunteers or seized slaves from supporters of the Confederacy, black slaves would be called into service. Loyal masters who lost their slaves would have the option of going to the Bureau of Colored Soldiers to collect a reimbursement of up to $300.00 per slave lost. The article goes on to say that from that point on, the slave is considered “forever free.”

Several accounts of black bravery surfaced in the Sentinel. On June 30th, just before the Battle of Gettysburg, the Honorable Benjamin F. Flanders wrote from New Orleans about the bravery and dedication of a black regiment. Flanders is quoted as saying that “[black troops] conquered the prejudice of the army against them. Never was there before such an extraordinary revolution of sentiment as that of this army in respect to the negroes as soldiers.” Some black troops who saw action in the south fell into Confederate hands. In an article published on September 8th, Dr. Stone, surgeon of the 54th Massachusetts Colored Volunteers, reported that black soldiers fighting for the Union that were captured by the Confederates were treated in the same facilities as the white Union soldiers. Stone asserts that he had no recollection of any “outrage” against a captured black soldier in the South at either the attack on Fort Wagner or on James Island.

Although Dr. Stone’s insistence that torturing and murdering black soldiers was uncommon, other accounts published in the Sentinel suggest that this was not true. The following week, the Sentinel published an article in response to a piece published in an issue of the Richmond Dispatch. According to the Dispatch, the Confederacy stated that it would not yield

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71 Ibid. 3 November 1863. p. 2 c.B. According to the article, the slaves from the states of Kentucky and West Virginia were exempt from the new conscription model. Delaware was to be exempt as well, but Governor Cannon personally requested that his state be allowed to join the other border states in furnishing Black troops for the Union. The $300.00 compensation to slave holders was contingent on that master being able to prove his loyalty to the Union.

72 Ibid. 30 June 1863. p. 2 c. E.

73 Ibid. 8 September 1863. p. 3 c. A.
in its “right” to punish black slaves who ran away to fight for the Union. The Sentinel article goes on to report that the Atlanta Appeal covered an incident during which approximately fifty black soldiers who had fought for the Union were shot and killed by their Confederate captors. On November 17th, the Sentinel published an article in which a Union prisoner of war reflected on his experiences in Confederate jails. One of the most horrible events of the man’s imprisonment concerned a black prisoner of war who was being held at the infamous Libby Prison. The victim was half white, a free man, a resident of Philadelphia, and a soldier in the Union army who was captured by the Confederate navy. While imprisoned at Libby, he received approximately 325 lashes. The man recounting his story remembered the screams as horrific. Later on that evening, he remembered seeing the beaten man wrapped in a blanket that had been soaked with salt water and cast into a dungeon. The man ended his account reflecting on the fact that “those of our number who entered there as advocates for slavery, or at least sympathizers, are such no more.”

The Compiler found the idea of using black troops to be completely unacceptable. Pandering to racists and those afraid of radical change, Stahle published several articles in 1863 that attacked the advancement of black soldiers. An article published on January 19th in the Compiler decries the fact that black troops under the leadership of General Jim Lane were to receive equal monetary compensation for services rendered as white soldiers. In some cases, blacks were being given power over whites, a fact that disturbed the Compiler greatly. On

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74 Ibid. 15 September 1863. p. 1 c. G.
75 Ibid. The correspondent for the Atlanta Appeal states that a Confederate colonel named Logan assumed responsibility for the decision to shoot the black prisoners of war at a place called Centreville. Centreville is twenty miles from Jackson, Louisiana. Upon hearing that Union black prisoners of war were to be executed, General Andrews of the Union army sent a rider under a flag of truce to talk with the Colonel Logan about retaliation if the blacks were killed. The article does not go on to say whether or not General Andrews retaliated against the Confederates in Centreville.
76 Ibid. 17 November 1863. p. 3 c. A.
77 The Compiler (Gettysburg), 19 January 1863. p. 2 c. F. General Jim Lane organized the 1st Kansas Colored Regiment. According to the Compiler article, the standard pay for volunteers was $13.00 a month.
January 26th, the *Compiler* featured an article entitled “Insolence of Negroes.” A private letter sent to the *Compiler* from New Orleans described the Union occupation of the city. Black soldiers were being used to maintain Union control in the captured port. The author of the correspondence expressed his anger at several points throughout the letter. In one incident, a black soldier had ordered the writer to halt. In addition to having legitimate power over some whites, the author expressed his concerns about the behavior of black troops, claiming that the majority were undisciplined and unruly.\(^78\) October 5th featured an article in which the *Compiler* made note of two blacks receiving important promotions in the military. One of the promotions went to Frederick Douglass who was appointed Assistant to the Adjutant General. Robert Purvis, a black man from Philadelphia received a military appointment. The *Compiler* argued that such appointments were not intended for blacks and that both Douglas and Purvis were not qualified for the positions.\(^79\)

On March 9th, the *Compiler* featured an article from the *New Orleans Tribune* on its front page. The article was a correspondence with a *Tribune* writer on the effectiveness of black soldiers in battle. According to the correspondent, the men drilled well and obeyed orders, but General Cuvier Grover allegedly refused to recognize the regiments. As a result, none of the men were clothed or fed, much less paid. White troops tormented the black volunteers with name calling. A combination of threats from the Confederacy and the taunting from their fellow soldiers reduced the regiment to the point that it was no longer operational.\(^80\) Stahle published


\(^{79}\) *Ibid.* 5 October 1863, p. 1 c. F. Frederick Douglass went on to receive numerous other distinctions and appointments at the federal level. He was appointed U.S. Marshal for the District of Columbia by President Rutherford B. Hayes in 1877, the first black to ever hold the title.

\(^{80}\) *Ibid.* 9 March 1863, p. 1 c. F. On April 27, the *Compiler* did a follow up article on the status of the regiment in question. According to the headline of the April 27 article, an attempt to integrate and consolidate the black and white units resulted in the white soldiers refusing to obey blacks. The blacks disarmed and arrested the whites who refused to follow orders. According to the report, the white soldiers were humiliated by the experience.
this article because it was written by a Republican. By having Republicans tell stories about the ineffective nature of black regiments, the Compiler managers hoped to dissuade local Republicans from backing negro enlistment.

Emancipation of the blacks did not necessarily mean a better life for thousands of newly freed slaves. As the Union liberated slaves in the south, some opted to aid the army as laborers and ditch diggers. Others enlisted. The reality is however that the vast majority of blacks did not enlist in the military. Many were left without any means to provide for themselves. The elimination of slavery removed sustenance from thousands of blacks all across the south. Those blacks that moved into the north were rarely welcomed with open arms. The exodus of blacks to the north was a drain to many local economies, led to an increase in poverty, resulted in crime, and inflamed stereotypes that whites typically had of blacks. The Compiler was quick to pronounce the black migration as damaging to the economy. In an article entitled “How the People’s Money Goes,” Stahle quotes the Exchange Paper’s coverage of General Banks and the negro civilian population of Louisiana under his command. Banks reported that it cost approximately $60,000.00 to sustain the “dependent and destitute persons in the month of January.” Because Louisiana has a law ordering all unemployed persons to earn their keep through labor, Stahle called Banks a hypocrite for essentially applying the slavery model to what the north considered to be free people. The only difference between what the slave holders were doing and what Banks was doing was that under the institution of slavery, the National Bank of the United States did not have to spend the government’s revenue on poor blacks.

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This information was originally published in the Springfield Republican, a Massachusetts newspaper, but was later reprinted in the Compiler.

81 Ibid. 6 April 1863. p. 2 c. A.
82 Ibid.
Some free blacks were accused of impersonating runaway slaves or contrabands so that they could collect money from the government. Many slaves moving into the north from the Confederacy passed into Washington D.C. where they would be given a little money to build new lives. According to the Compiler, many free blacks mixed among the contrabands so as to collect money from the government. Stahle wrote, “They cannot see why they have not as good a claim upon Uncle Abe’s charity as their colored brethren from the South.”83 The Compiler attempted to appeal to all tax payers in an article listing reasons to vote the Democratic ticket in the 1863 governor election. One of the many considerations put forth by Stahle was that a Democratic governor would no longer waste money on abolitionism and black equality.84 On January 12th, the Compiler ran an article that estimated the cost for superintending all of the nation’s blacks to be $1.2 million dollars.85 In publishing this astronomical sum, it is likely that the Democrats were trying to achieve a calculated political effect by appealing to social and fiscal conservatives.

In addition to addressing the cost of supporting displaced black persons, the Compiler also discusses the fairness of conscription replacement fees for whites and blacks. An article in the Allentown Democrat, a newspaper published in northern Pennsylvania, argued that whites and blacks were not treated equally in the eyes of the draft. The argument pointed out that whites who owned slaves are expected to lose money for freeing their slaves and then pay an additional $300.00 in order avoid the draft whereas blacks were only required to pay the $300.00

83 Ibid. 27 April 1863. p. 1 c. G.
84 Ibid. 21 September 1863. p. 2 c. F.
85 Ibid. 12 January 1863. p. 1 c. E. These figures are based on the research of Congressman Cox of Ohio. The article was originally published in the Patriot and Union.
exemption fee. Therefore, according to the Democrat, “the value of the white man and the nigger is placed at the same figure, only the former has the privilege of paying for both.”

Escaped slaves greatly impacted the southern economy since plantation owners considered slaves to be very valuable. Slaves were not merely field hands; rather, they were a huge investment. Masters spent great sums of money to feed, house and clothe slaves. The Sentinel published an article on January 13th describing the escape of a group of blacks from Virginia. According to the article, many of the slaves took their masters’ horses with them. Plantations that lost their slaves were devastated. Without a workforce to maintain the fields, crops could not be planted, cared for or harvested. In cases where blacks were left in charge of plantations after their masters fled, the Compiler asserted that blacks were too lazy to accomplish any meaningful work. According to an article entitled “Abolition Cotton Culture,” the Fourrierite experiment, a system by which blacks raised cotton while receiving compensation from the federal government, was adopted in South Carolina. The Compiler called the program a failure because it produced cotton that was four times as expensive as cotton before the outbreak of the war. The Fourrierite experiment gave the Compiler a chance to attack subsidized black work.

In an article entitled “How Abolitionism Benefits the Negro,” the Compiler blamed all of America’s ills on the blacks. According to the article, African Americans were responsible for destroying commerce, causing widespread poverty, promulgating violence, and for pitting the north against the south. Blacks were said to have benefited from all of the resources of the

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86 Ibid. 6 April 1863. p.2 c. A. In border states, slaves could be conscripted into the military. Loyal masters who could prove that they did not support the Confederacy would receive a compensation of $300.00 for each slave that enlisted. Masters aligning themselves with the Confederacy or the copperheads did not receive any financial compensation for their loss.

87 The Adams Sentinel (Gettysburg), 15 April 1863. p. 3 c. B.

88 The Compiler (Gettysburg), 2 March 1863. p. 1 c. F. The article was originally printed in the Sunbury Democrat. Other articles attacking subsidized black labor were featured in the Compiler for weeks to follow.
nation as well as the United States military. The author of the article quoted the *Metropolitan Record*, asserting that “a tree should be judged by its fruit.” Using this parallel symbolism, the *Compiler* argued that even with all of the resources of the United States at the blacks’ disposal, they have still managed to accomplish anything save dying and ruining America. Stahle was quick to point out an instance when blacks interacting with the Union Army of the West were in such poor health that they had to be taken out into the middle of the woods to die. In the end, the *Compiler* asked the rhetorical question “how does the abolitionist press like the fiend which it has evoked by its foul orgies?”

In some cases, the *Compiler* viewed blacks as more than just an economic drain. Several articles were published in 1863 concerning an alleged rise in crime after Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. The Compiler asserted that blacks were responsible for the supposed increase in crime. As a result, a number of articles condemning blacks for breaking the law were published. These articles were not limited to incidents that happened in Gettysburg. Instances of crimes committed from all over the north, including the attempted rape of Daniel Messick’s daughter in Sussex County mentioned earlier, were reported. For example, on March 9th, an article was printed about a gang of blacks terrorizing and beating a white man named Lynch. Lynch was saved when a friend grabbed an ax and scared the attackers. The article goes on to say that three of Lynch’s assailants fled to Canada. Warrants were issued for two other men involved in the incident. Rather than ending the report, the *Compiler* felt it necessary to attack Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation as the source of the blacks’ “insolence.”

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citizens were encouraged to take justice into their own hands if Lynch’s attackers were not held accountable for their actions.\textsuperscript{92}

Coverage of crimes committed by whites in the \textit{Compiler} received far less attention and editorializing. On April 27th, an article was published about the execution of a murderer in Frederick, Maryland. The executed man was convicted of killing a woman who rejected his affection; upon being rejected, the man pulled out a gun and shot the woman in the head, rendering her dead. He then turned himself over to the police. Whereas the attack perpetrated against Lynch was described as “a brutal negro outrage,”\textsuperscript{93} the murder committed in Frederick was referred to as “sad.”\textsuperscript{94} Nothing more was said about the killing in the \textit{Compiler}.

The following week, the \textit{Compiler} ran an article about a black man who had raped a fourteen year old girl in Detroit, Michigan. As the rapist was being taken from the courthouse to the jail under military guard, a large body of angry protesters wanting to kill the man on the spot attacked the escort and tried to wrest control of the prisoner from the guards. The mob’s attack failed and one citizen was killed. Many others were wounded. Shortly thereafter, having been unsuccessful in getting a hold of the rapist, the mob turned its attention towards the black quarter of the city. The \textit{Compiler} reported that over thirty homes belonging to blacks were burned down. Additionally, several black bystanders were injured. The state military was called up to put the mob down. In the end, the \textit{Compiler} blamed the affair on “negro agitation,” completely ignoring the fact that many blacks were victims of the circumstance. Another consideration that was not taken into account by the \textit{Compiler} was that the initial attacks were caused by a white mob that wanted to circumvent the criminal justice system by taking justice into its own hands.\textsuperscript{95}

\textsuperscript{92} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{93} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{94} Ibid. 27 April 1863. p. 2 c. E.
\textsuperscript{95} Ibid. 16 March 1863. p. 2 c. G.
Blacks were commonly stereotyped by the Compiler. Casting blacks as mischievous and lazy, the Compiler never missed the opportunity to print articles about blacks robbing whites. On June 1st, the Compiler reported on a robbery that took place in nearby Abbotstown. A dozen dresses were reported stolen from the private residence of Catharine and Maria Riegle. Several weeks later, two black girls were arrested after several townspeople gave sworn testimony claiming to have seen the two young women commit the crime. The girls were arrested and their bail was set at $500.00.96

Jokes were used in the Compiler to create the impression that blacks were stupid and therefore prone to thievery. In one such joke, a black man noticed that his friend Pomp was wearing a brand new hat. When asked where he got the hat from, Pomp replied “Why, at de shop, ob course.”97 Pomp’s friend was really impressed. When he asked Pomp how much the hat cost, Pomp said that he didn’t know because the shopkeeper was not in the store.98 The Sentinel countered such rampant stereotypes by publishing articles in which blacks were the victims. In addition to publishing stories about blacks being kidnapped, taken south, and enslaved, the Sentinel reported on more traditional crimes perpetrated against African Americans. On June 2nd, the Sentinel published an article originally taken from the Philadelphia Ledger. In the article, reporters described mobs of Union soldiers attacking defenseless blacks in Harrisburg. Black homes were leveled by the troops. The provost marshal and the police had the rowdy troops arrested and sent to the jail. Upon arriving at the jail with the rioting troops,

96 Ibid. 1 June 1863. p. 2 c. F. The article was originally reported in the Hanover Citizen.
97 Ibid. 21 December 1863. p. 1 c. F.
98 Ibid. 21 December 1863. p. 1 c. F.
the mayor demanded the release of the prisoners, much to the surprise of the provost marshal and the police.99

Blacks were reported to have committed crimes against other blacks. On June 16th, the Sentinel reported that the home of Mr. Owen Robinson of Gettysburg, a black man, had been burglarized. Mr. Robinson’s $235.00 savings had been stolen. Three black men were arrested in connection with the crime.100 The Sentinel gave Mr. Robinson the distinction of being a hard working and well respected man. Such consideration was often times not provided to blacks.101

In a rare turn of events, both the Sentinel and the Compiler reported an incident that took place in November. On November 24th, the Sentinel ran an article about an African American man who had been run over by a train on the tracks of the Cumberland Valley Railroad near the borough of Newville. The Compiler ran a similar article on November 30th. Both articles mentioned that the train engineer saw the black man on the tracks and that the conductor was unable to stop the train. The black man was instantly killed, his body cut to pieces. The Sentinel and the Compiler both went on to report that authorities suspected that the man had been drinking and fell across the track. A broken bottle found lying next to the dead man’s body is mentioned in both articles and gives credence to the hypothesis. Nothing else was said in either the Sentinel or the Compiler.102

The Compiler asserted that the language used to describe African Americans in the media differed between Republican and Democratic newspapers. According to Stahle, Republicans

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99 The Adams Sentinel (Gettysburg), 2 June 1863. p. 2 c. G. The article was taken from the Philadelphia Ledger but the events of this incident were originally reported in the Harrisburg Telegraph.
100 Ibid. 9 June 1863. p. 2 c. B.
101 1860 Census Index for Gettysburg, Adams County, Pennsylvania. Compiled by Joan R. Hankey for the Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, PA. October 1995. Gettysburg College Special Collections. According to the census, Robert Owens was a resident of Gettysburg at the time of the 1860 census. He was 48 years old in 1860. Mary Owens (46 years old in 1860) and Julia Owens (20 years old in 1860) were also listed as living with Robert Owens at the time of the 1860 census.
102 The Adams Sentinel (Gettysburg), 24 November 1863. p. 2 c. G. and The Compiler (Gettysburg), 30 November 1863, p. 4 c. A.
elevated the blacks using more politically correct language as the war progressed. In an article entitled *Uncle Abe’s Scale* published on January 19th, Stahle presented evidence of what he felt to be a general shift in word choices used to describe blacks. According to Stahle, in 1859, African Americans were commonly referred to as “negroes.” In 1860, the term “negroes” gave way to “colored men” which gave way to “intelligent contrabands” in 1861. With the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1862, Stahle charged Lincoln with elevating blacks to the status of “free Americans of African descent.”

An analysis of articles published in the *Adams Sentinel* for the calendar year of 1863 did not support Stahle’s hypothesis. All of the labels used on Stahle’s continuum appear in *Sentinel* articles. The distribution of these terms is relatively equal. Although all of the terms appeared in the *Sentinel*, this is not to say that the *Sentinel* did not change its tone towards African Americans. Very rarely did the *Sentinel* ever publish the words “nigger” or “darkie,” both of which were deemed derogatory. Such words appeared in quotes if at all.

Jokes abounded about the politically correct way of addressing African Americans. In one issue of the *Compiler*, blacks were referred to as “unbleached Americans.” A brief selection published on the front page of the *Compiler* suggested that according to President Lincoln, it is no longer appropriate to say “nigger in the wood pile.” The new politically correct way of describing a similar situation would be to call the black a “free American of African descent; come from under the accumulated fuel.” Such political correctness was not intended as a nicety, but rather as a means for mocking black people and Republicans. Words are powerful in the sense that they create mental pictures and connote both good and bad feelings.

In getting Americans to approach race with a great sense of open-mindedness, the *Sentinel*

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103 The Compiler (Gettysburg), 19 January 1863. p. 1 c. D.
104 Ibid. 17 August 1863. p. 1 c. D.
105 Ibid. 5 January 1863. p. 1 c. C.
attempted to use more inclusive and politically correct language whereas the *Compiler* used divisive and disparaging language to describe blacks.

African Americans were not solely addressed through conventional journalistic means. Although traditionally portrayed through news articles that outlined real life events, both the *Sentinel* and the *Compiler* engaged their subscribers with a section devoted to popular culture. These selections were usually printed on the front page of the paper and included songs, poems, short stories, tips for around the house and jokes. African Americans were often the butt of racist jokes in the *Compiler*. The *Sentinel* usually reserved its harshest criticisms and parodies for slave owners and southern elitists. For example, one such anecdote published in the *Sentinel* made fun of a rich southern aristocrat for being completely dependent on his negro waiter. The story relates an incident during which the aristocrat had his waiter bring him a handkerchief. Not wanting to exert himself, the aristocrat had the waiter hold the handkerchief to his nose. Minutes passed when finally the aristocrat jumped from his chair and kicked the black man, remarking “You knew what I wanted – why didn’t you blow?”

Even though the *Sentinel* was for the most part tolerant of blacks, it too occasionally poked fun at African Americans. On April 14, 1863, the *Sentinel* published a joke taken from the *Louisville Democrat*. The joke featured two black men and a soldier. One of the black men was following the soldier into a fort while the second black man watched. As the first black man and the soldier approached the fort, the second black man asked what his friend was doing with the soldier. The black man following the soldier replied “I’se gwine to reinforce the army.” The second black man was astonished with his friend’s response. The man following the soldier then elaborated, saying “Yes, I gwine to de mortifications to dig trenches.”

\[106\] The Adams Sentinel (Gettysburg), 7 April 1863. p.1 c.E.
\[107\] Ibid. 14 April 1863. p.1 c.C.
of blacks in the Sentinel was not always done with the intention of degrading the African American community, nor was it done to elicit cheap laughs from newspaper readers. Such stories served to illustrate the changing role of blacks in society. By 1863, black soldiers were being enlisted to aid in the Union cause. Although few ever saw the front lines of battle, these troops were instrumental to the well being of the army. Enlisted negroes dug fortification ditches, moved supplies, excavated latrines and buried the bodies of the dead. Such tasks, although not glamorous, were necessary. Satirical writers of the day emphasized that by doing these jobs, black troops were important to the war effort.

Another instance during which the Sentinel had made fun of African Americans’ intelligence can be found in an article that was published on June 16, 1863. An ill black man on his death bed was asked by the local minister to forgive all of his enemies before he passed away. The dying man had only one enemy and that was one of his fellow negro brethren. After a couple of minutes, the minister elicited forgiveness from the ill man. The sick black man compromised, offering his forgiveness on the condition that “If I dies, I forgive dat nigga; but if I gits well, that nigga must take car?”108

On August 11th, the Sentinel published an article based on an incident that was originally printed in the Petersburg Express.109 The article told the story of two black women who served cooked dog meat in a stew to soldiers at the rate of $1.00 per bowl. It was not until the soldiers had completed most of the meal that one of the men realized that the meat in his stew was dog. The soldiers immediately stopped eating the stew, checked the bones to see if they were canine in nature, and then gave each of the women 39 lashes. The Sentinel urged the troops to be on the

108 Ibid. 16 June 1863. p.1 c.F.
109 Ibid. 11 August 1863. p. 1 c. G. The Petersburg Express is published in Virginia.
lookout for schemers and frauds. It also congratulated the soldiers for punishing the women.\textsuperscript{110} Such stories were popular among readers, even though the events described actually transpired.

Songs were equally popular in Civil War era newspapers. Like jokes and stories, songs and poetry could usually be found on the front page of both the \textit{Sentinel} and the \textit{Compiler}. In 1863, several songs and poems were published featuring African Americans in the \textit{Compiler}. African Americans did not garner much attention in the way of songs and poems in the \textit{Sentinel}. The \textit{Sentinel} did not feature African Americans in any of their poems in 1863. Poems and songs reflected not just the news, but also society’s values and perceptions. The \textit{Sentinel} featured mostly poems under the heading \textit{Choice Poetry} whereas the \textit{Compiler} specialized in songs under the heading of \textit{The Muse}. Both \textit{Choice Poetry} and \textit{The Muse} were printed in the top left hand quadrant of the front page. Many American poems written in the 1860s had composed melodies, giving the performer the option of reading the stanzas or reading with accompaniment. Common themes for published works included love, marriage, sickness, loss of a loved one, religion, family and farming. In the aftermath of the war, many poets and song writers tried making sense of the battles through music, though initially, only a select few pieces were published in newspapers. \textit{The Civil War in Song and Story}, an anthology of songs, stories, poems and anecdotes, was compiled by Frank Moore in 1865 and republished in 1889. Moore drew much of his material from Union and Confederate newspapers. In his preface, Moore asserted that the primary function of his work was to “preserve the most notable . . . pieces of versification as are worthy of perpetuation.\textsuperscript{111}

\textit{The Contrabands} was a piece initially published in the \textit{Cincinnati Enquirer}. The song is about poor blacks coming into the north after being freed from their masters by the Union army

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{110} Ibid.}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{111} Frank Moore, ed., \textit{The Civil War in Song and Story, 1860-1865} (New York: P. F. Collier Publisher, 1889), p. ii.}
and their quest for work. Without work, they would die of starvation. There are several allusions in the song, including references to Abraham Lincoln as “Father Abraham.” The imagery created in the *Contrabands* lead readers to consider the negative impact of emancipation on northern life. The lyricist described hoards of poor, starving, dirty and diseased recently freed slaves moving north in search of a better life. Stahle knew that many Pennsylvanians living in Adams County would be affected by such a song since Adams County borders the slave state of Maryland. This song was written to instill fear in the white public. By playing to people’s fears, the *Compiler* hoped to diminish the support for abolitionism.

On March 9th, the *Compiler* ran another song entitled *Weitzel’s Four Thousand*. It addressed some of the same themes present in *The Contrabands*. Weitzel was a General who was entrusted with approximately 4,000 recently freed slaves. His responsibilities included feeding, clothing, and housing the blacks. Unfortunately for General Weitzel, he did not have the necessary resources to fulfill his responsibilities. To make matters worse, none of the blacks wanted to do any work. This song talks about Weitzel’s dilemma. This song approached the mass exodus of slaves with more humor than *The Contrabands*, but the goals of the song were very much the same. Weitzel’s problems were intended to represent the problems of the northerners who would be taking thousands of blacks into their states as the Union pressed deeper into the south.

*Kingdom Coming* was a popular song by Henry C. Work. It retells the tale of a slave master running away from the advancing Union army. Painting the blacks as mischievous children, Work describes the slaves moving into the master’s home and rifling through his cellar.

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112 *The Compiler* (Gettysburg), 26 January 1863, p. 1 c. B.
113 Ibid.
114 Ibid.
115 Ibid. 9 March 1863, p. 1 c. B.
and drawers. The song ends with the plantation overseer getting locked up in the smoke house and the blacks occupying the house and having fun at the master’s expense. This song makes fun of the slave oligarchs and the plantation overseers, painting them as cowards, but it also degrades blacks by portraying them as childish and immature. The implication one gets is that blacks are unfit to govern themselves and that slavery is the only way to keep them out of trouble. Paternalistic tones are prevalent throughout the song.

Songs, poems, anecdotes and jokes were not the only pieces of popular culture published in newspapers. Satirical writing was characteristic of 19th century American news, not just as a form of entertainment, but for news and editorial reporting as well. The Sentinel printed many satirical and whimsical stories about blacks, copperheads, and confederates alike. In 1863, two stories featuring bloodhounds were published on the Sentinel’s front page. The first story, entitled The New Use of Bloodhounds, was printed on March 10th. The article starts out by initially describing a riverbank scene. Along the riverbank, there was a tall tree with two or three blacks hiding in the branches. There were several bloodhounds jumping at the base of the tree trying to catch the negroes. Despite their best efforts, the dogs were not able to catch the blacks. Such occurrences were common in the south, but what makes this article satirical is the way in which a similar situation was described using southern draft dodgers in the place of fugitive slaves. According to the Sentinel, many persons residing in the Confederacy were avoiding the draft. Some southerners claimed that they did not want to fight the Union because they felt a sense of allegiance to the United States. Others refused to fight because they were afraid of

116 Ibid. 17 August 1863, p. 1 c. C. Henry C. Work was a famous 19th century composer who has many of his works catalogued at the Library of Congress. In addition to writing lyrics, Work collaborated with pianists and guitarists to provide an accompaniment.
117 The Adams Sentinel (Gettysburg), 10 March 1863, p. 1 c. E.
battle. This did not stop many southern aristocrats who fell into the later category from contributing vast amounts of money and supplies to the rebel army.118

The second article concerning bloodhounds was published in the Sentinel on October 6th. In the piece, a black man described his experiences hiding from bloodhounds. According to the man, the best way to avoid the hounds was by traveling as much as possible in the water. In the deep south, slaves were taught to believe that negro eating crocodiles inhabited the river. The black man never believed the stories, though his former master thought he did. As a result, the master never thought to look in the waterways for his slave. Another piece of information disseminated in the article was how to use pepper to prevent bloodhounds from being able to sniff out a fugitive slave’s scent. The black man recommended that in the event of a close pursuit, pepper powder applied to one’s feet would leave a trail of pepper dust that when inhaled by the dogs would cause them to sneeze violently, effectively ending the chase. 119

Under the Fugitive Slave Act, such an article would have been seen as inappropriate because it encouraged slaves to run away and taught blacks how to disable bloodhounds. However, in light of Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation and the Civil War, staunch Republicans encouraged the escape of slaves provided that it weakened the Confederacy. Whenever reading a newspaper article, it is important to consider the audience for whom the piece was written. Although many parts of the United States did not have largely literate black populations it is possible that Adams County was an exemption. In 1833, an up and coming lawmaker by the name of Thaddeus Stevens secured money from the state legislature to fund

118 Ibid.
119 Ibid. 6 October 1863. p. 1 c. D.
public schools in Adams County.\textsuperscript{120} Stevens intended for whites and blacks, to take advantage of the public schools.\textsuperscript{121} If this be the case, then it is possible that some blacks read the \textit{Sentinel}.

On December 28th, the last issue of the \textit{Compiler} for the 1863 calendar year, reference was made to President Lincoln’s latest joke. By the end of 1863, both the \textit{Sentinel} and the \textit{Compiler} knew of Lincoln’s fame in telling anecdotes and jokes in order to make a point. The President’s latest joke concerned the daunting task of bringing the states of the Confederacy back into the Union. According to the article, Lincoln was more than willing to let the Confederacy rejoin the Union with all of their rights and privileges as states on the condition that they take an oath that they will ignore all parts of their state constitutions that deal with slavery, follow the laws of Congress, and support the proclamations of the President.\textsuperscript{122} While persons in the north would be hard pressed to find such conditions laughable, Stahle and the Democrats found it to be hilarious. Ideologically speaking, Lincoln’s conditions essentially reversed over a hundred years of southern traditions. Nevertheless, the \textit{Compiler}’s stance does provide an insider’s perspective on the Democratic philosophy and party ideology. Such an article also reveals a great deal about the people that read the \textit{Compiler}. Democrats and \textit{Compiler} subscribers held cohesive views with regards to African Americans. They were consistently against emancipation, black rights and the war, which they perceived as a means to abolishing slavery and the rights enumerated in the Constitution.

\textsuperscript{120} \textit{Adams County U.S.A.} prod. and dir. by Jake Boritt. 2002.
\textsuperscript{121} \textit{Ibid.} When a petition of 30,000 signatories was presented to the state legislature asking for the repeal of the Free School Law due to the fact that many perceived that funding law forced the government to raise taxes, Stevens defended the idea of free education. In an eloquent speech before the state legislature he said “I trust that when we come to act on this question we shall take lofty ground and so cast our votes that the blessings of education shall be carried home to the poorest child of the poorest inhabitant of the meanest hut of your mountains.” According to an article by historian Peter C. Vermilyea, a larger number of blacks were enrolled at schools before the war than after the war, despite the construction of a new school for African American children and the hiring of a new school teacher for the blacks, Lloyd F. A. Watts. (Peter C. Vermilyea, “The Effect of the Confederate Invasion of Pennsylvania on Gettysburg’s African American Community,” \textit{The Gettysburg Magazine} 24 (January 2001) : p. 124 and 125.)
\textsuperscript{122} \textit{The Compiler} (Gettysburg) 28 December 1863, p. 4 c. A. This article was originally published in the \textit{Patriot and Union}. 
Unlike the Compiler, the Sentinel drew its readers from a more diverse cross section of society. Despite the Compilers best attempts to label the Sentinel as a radical or abolitionist paper, such characterizations simply do not apply. Compared to the Compiler, the Sentinel held a broader range of perspectives on African Americans. The Compiler was consistent in portraying African Americans in a negative tone whereas the Sentinel represented different views on the matter. For example, the Sentinel ran an article commending the bravery of black troops on June 30th. Less than two months later, an article was published calling blacks greedy and “irresponsible.” Like the Republican Party, many of the Sentinel’s readers had mixed feelings towards blacks. It would be unrealistic to assume that all northern whites supported emancipation and black rights. The fact of the matter is that many northern whites, including Republicans, were distrustful of blacks. If the issue of blacks divided the Republican Party, then the question at hand became “what do Republicans stand for?”

As a rule of thumb, both the Republicans and the Sentinel supported President Lincoln and the preservation of the Union. Restoring the republic was, according to the Republicans, the chief purpose of the war. Not an article was published in the Sentinel that said anything against the effort to save the United States. Emancipation was not Lincoln’s chief objective, but rather a means to an end. In that respect, the Sentinel supported the freeing of the slaves. Over time, it is likely that sympathies for the blacks arose. As the Compiler points out, the language and tone used to describe blacks changed dramatically after the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation. Such changes were evident throughout 1863.

Like any analysis of the media, it is important to consider the historical context. The year 1863 was not just another year in the war. January marked the start of the Emancipation

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123 The Adams Sentinel (Gettysburg) 30 June 1863, p. 2 c. E.
124 Ibid. 11 August 1863, p. 1 c. G.
Proclamation, forever altering the social and cultural framework of America. Less revolutionary than the Emancipation Proclamation was the fact that elections for various state offices, including the governorship, would take place by the year’s end. Media played a big role in the elections by endorsing candidates and by getting people excited about voting. The Compiler found itself supporting Democrat Geoffrey Woodward for governor. Democrats worked hard to chip away as many Republican votes as possible before the election. By pulling the issue of slavery into the spotlight, the Compiler was able to successfully solidify Democratic support while attempting to split the Republicans. Needless to say, such tactics did not work and the Republican candidate Andrew Curtin went on to win reelection.

Another factor to consider is the famous battle of Gettysburg. Gettysburg changed the course of the Civil War. At Gettysburg, the Union delivered a fatal blow to the South, one that would eventually result in the demise of the Confederacy. As the south ebbed, it became clear that a tidal wave of change would soon crash on the United States, the effects of which are felt even today. With the end of the war came the introduction of three new constitutional amendments that completely changed the status of African Americans. Although the majority of blacks living in the United States would continue to struggle, the groundwork had been laid for civil liberties.

Clearly, both the Compiler and the Sentinel were more interested in printing articles about blacks that would yield political capital than they were in providing fair and unbiased accounts of newsworthy events. A survey of the articles printed in both papers for the year 1863 shows that the bulk of material concerning African Americans does not actually reflect Gettysburg’s black population. Most of the articles dealt with the federal government’s policies

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125 The 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments of the Constitution abolished slavery, gave all Americans equal protection under the law and granted all black men, both slaves and non-slaves, the right to vote.
concerning blacks such as the Emancipation Proclamation and blacks serving in the military. In his article entitled “The Effect of the Confederate Invasion of Pennsylvania on Gettysburg’s African American Community,” historian Peter C. Vermilyea describes the exodus of blacks from Gettysburg right after the Confederate invasion. There is no mention of blacks fleeing Gettysburg in the Sentinel or the Compiler.

The year 1863 proved to be a tumultuous year of significant change for the whole nation, especially for African Americans. Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation, the political fervor that engulfed Pennsylvania and one of the most crucial battles of the war greatly impacted the way in which the Gettysburg media portrayed blacks. The Sentinel and the Compiler could never be used to give an accurate account of Gettysburg’s black history. Still, they both provide an interesting insight to how the media, whites, and political parties manipulated views on blacks to achieve political gain.

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The Albany Movement and the Origin of Freedom Songs

Nicole Lenart

“We became visible.”¹ This is how Bernice Johnson Reagon, a Civil Rights Movement worker, a member of the Freedom Singers, and the founder of Sweet Honey In The Rock explained how songs uplifted and inspired those blacks and whites who worked tirelessly for freedom throughout the 1950’s and 1960’s. Indeed, freedom songs in the movement gave participants the ability to stand up against their fears, express their hopes and desires, and unite the diverse range of people who participated in the movement. Reagon, now a history professor and music legend, grew up right outside of Albany, Georgia, where freedom songs first became an integral part of the Civil Rights Movement. Nestled in a land entrenched with racial segregation, the Albany campaign was notable because almost every single black member of the community became visible through his or her work. Whether it was by going to jail, marching, or attending a mass meeting, most citizens actively participated. Albany was and is still considered today to be one of the birthplaces of the mass movement for racial equality. Albany, therefore, came to symbolize for the larger struggle for black freedom not only the birthplace of a true grassroots campaign, but also the birthplace of freedom songs that would spread throughout the country and become a familiar and helpful tool for many freedom fighters.

Albany, Georgia, is the seat of Dougherty County, and at the time of the movement, was home to roughly 56,000 individuals.² Located four hours south from Atlanta, the town was noted for its slave-holding plantations in antebellum days, and at the turn of the twentieth century...

century, the black population outnumbered the white population by a margin of five to one. However, after World War Two, the black population decreased significantly, and by 1960, blacks made up forty-two percent of the population. By 1960, most black residents were poor, worked on the cotton and peanut farms surrounding the town, and only went into the town itself to do shopping. However, despite the poverty of most Albany blacks, they kept their traditional culture alive. The town was always noted for its strong sense of community and African-American folkways flourished, especially in music, among its blacks. Singer Ray Charles was even a native of the town. Before 1961 there were few problems between blacks and whites, and the city was generally peaceful. Although Albany was extremely segregated, the whites in the town used to pride themselves on good race relations and were proud that their blacks did not appear to be unhappy in their positions.

However, despite the seeming tranquility of the town and the assurances of the white community, the blacks became very receptive to ending segregation in 1961 when representatives of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, also known as SNCC, came to organize the community and register voters. Cordell Reagon and Charles Sherrod were the first to enter Albany, and together they set up an office. Although young, both had already been involved in sit-ins and Freedom Rides. Initially, the Albany blacks were afraid of Reagon and Sherrod and were reluctant to even speak to them. However, the two worked their way into the community and spoke at churches, restaurants, pool halls, and club meetings in order to get to know and organize the population. In preparation for the sit-ins and demonstrations that SNCC planned, they held meetings and workshops to instruct the citizens on how to remain non-violent even in the face of hostility.

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4 Hampton and Fayer, 98.
5 Zinn, 3.
The first demonstration in Albany took place on November 1, 1961, when students from SNCC tested the Interstate Commerce Ruling that banned segregation in bus and train travel facilities. The students sat down in a white waiting room at a train station, but were ordered to leave by police. Since the town was obviously not complying with this federal ICC order, SNCC prepared for an extended campaign against desegregation. In order to unify various black organizations in the town, the Albany Movement, led by local activist William Anderson, was created in mid-November. This umbrella organization was composed of SNCC, the local NAACP, the Federation of Women’s Clubs, and the Negro Voter League. On November 22, five students from Albany College, a black school in the town, were arrested for sitting in a white waiting room and ordering in the white dining room in the train station on their way home for Thanksgiving break. Albany’s Chief of Police, Laurie Pritchett, argued that the arrests did not violate the ICC ruling because he arrested students on a local ordinance for causing a disruption in the station and obstructing the traffic of people. This event prompted the first mass meeting in Albany. It took place on November 25, 1961 at Mount Zion Baptist Church after activists walked in protest around City Hall. At the church, the citizens rallied, voiced their opinions, and while holding hands, sung “We Shall Overcome” together. The highlight of the evening was when some of the students who had been in jail from the sit-in spoke to the crowd.

On December 10, eight Freedom Riders were arrested in the Albany bus station. The following day, in protest, members of the Albany movement marched to the courthouse and

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7 Hampton and Fayer, 98.
8 Clayborne, 58.
9 Laurie Pritchett in Hampton and Fayer, 101
10 Clayborne, 59.
then had another mass meeting during which they decided that they wanted the famed Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference or SCLC to come and help them. They felt that King would bring with him publicity that could be used to draw attention to the plight of blacks in the community. The next day, on December 12, 267 students were arrested at the trial of one of the students from the train station sit-in for praying outside on the courthouse steps. By December 13, when the number of arrests grew to over 500 after continuing marches and demonstrations, 150 men from the National Guard were sent into Albany. Amidst this chaos, on December 15, King and his associate, Ralph Abernathy, arrived in Albany.

According to Andrew Young of SCLC, King was only supposed to come to Albany to speak, but in a public meeting, Anderson asked him to march with Albany citizens. King would not back down once the request was made in front of others, and the next day, King led a march to City Hall where he and others were arrested. With over 700 demonstrators in jail, leaders of the Albany Movement tried desperately to negotiate with city officials, and a temporary truce was arranged on December 18. This verbal agreement was reached between C.B. King, the town’s only black lawyer and a member of the movement, and city leaders to comply with the ICC ruling regarding train and bus facilities desegregation. The town also promised to release demonstrators and reduce the bail for the jailed Freedom Riders. Indeed, the city at first seemed to comply and immediately released the protestors, including King. Because the demands of the Movement appeared to have been met, King, satisfied with the

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11 William Anderson in Hampton and Fayer, 103.
12 Clayborne, 60.
13 Andrew Young in Hampton and Fayer, 104.
14 Zinn, 17.
16 Zinn, 18.
outcome, left Albany along with the press coverage. However, as soon as national attention was no longer focused on Albany, it became clear that in reality the city had no intention of desegregating at all and nothing changed.

In retaliation, in early 1962, a boycott began of white stores and of the bus line after a black woman refused to give up her seat on a bus. This continued through the winter and spring. However, while the boycott did cause the bus station to close, it was not very effective against white businesses simply because the blacks did not have much buying power. On July 10, 1962, King and Abernathy returned to Albany for sentencing from their December arrests. They were ordered to be jailed for forty-five days or to pay a $178 fine. Both chose jail. King’s imprisonment revitalized the Albany Movement, prompting a mass rally the following night, during which violence broke out between blacks and the police stationed outside of the church. However, on July 13, King and Abernathy were released from jail when Chief Pritchett arranged to have their bail paid so that media attention was directed away from Albany. On July 20, Albany requested and received a court order prohibiting King from demonstrating, but this was lifted after King personally appealed to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. On July 27, King was again arrested for demonstrating in a pray-in, and that night, at a mass meeting when the crowd was asked who would go to jail with him, only fifteen volunteered. The movement had clearly lost its original spark. People

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19 Clayborne, 61.
20 Ibid., 62.
21 Hampton and Fayer, 111.
22 Coretta Scott King in Hampton and Fayer, 111.
were tired, and many of the ardent activists were already in jail. King then left Albany on August 10 with a suspended sentence.\textsuperscript{23} The Albany movement never regained momentum.

There were mixed reactions to the Albany movement. SNCC considered the campaign to be a success. It gave the formally scared black population of Albany hope that change could come and represented the first time since the Montgomery Bus Boycott that a whole community was involved in a civil rights effort.\textsuperscript{24} However, other groups argued that Albany was a failure. Young argued that SNCC failed in Albany because nothing really changed as a result of SNCC not having a concrete strategy.\textsuperscript{25} This lack of purpose plus the infighting among the various civil rights groups bred tense relations among leaders and hampered coordinated efforts. For example, although SNCC felt as though it was doing most of the work, the media only focused on Albany when King came to visit.\textsuperscript{26} In addition, the local chapter of the NAACP felt slighted; when the movement was beginning in October of 1961, Sherrod and Reagon called a meeting without notifying the NAACP, and consequently the organization felt as if it was not being included.\textsuperscript{27} And although SNCC continued to speak highly about Albany, Slater King, the Vice-President of the Movement, felt that the campaign failed because almost a quarter of black domestics lost their jobs as a result of participating, and because by the end of 1963 Chief Pritchett happily reported that Albany was “As segregated as ever.”\textsuperscript{28}

One person who prevented Albany from achieving its goals was that Chief Pritchett, a practitioner of non-violent arrests. Only violence in civil rights protests had served to enrage the nation and demand change. Pritchett himself admitted to studying King before he arrived to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{23} Tuck, 149.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Anne Braden., “The Southern Freedom Movement in Perspective,” in Garrow, 100.
\item \textsuperscript{25} Hampton and Fayer 112.
\item \textsuperscript{26} Emily Stoper, \textit{The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee: The Growth of Radicalism In A Civil Rights Organization}, with a preface by David J. Garrow (New York: Carlson, 1989), 65.
\item \textsuperscript{27} Tuck, 150.
\item \textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 147
\end{itemize}
get a feeling for King’s strategy. After he discovered that King worked by filling up the town jail, Pritchett contacted all jails within a fifteen-mile radius and received permission to fill them with Albany protestors.²⁹ But Charles Sherrod pointed out that although the country was not aware of violence, it did occur, thus making Albany not different than many other campaigns. For example, people were often beaten at the satellite jails and jam-packed into cells without any beds or blankets.³⁰ Yet, despite its problems, the movement did help to register many voters, and the movement caused blacks to respect themselves more. C.B. King even ended up running for Congress from Albany’s district.³¹ Accordingly, even though awareness was raised in Albany, the movement was saddled with a great deal of problems that may have limited the scope of its success.

Regardless of whether the Albany movement is considered to be a success or a failure, one of the most important legacies of the campaign was the emergence of freedom songs from the town. Indeed, many famous songs that were sung throughout the 1960’s were first used effectively in Albany and were subsequently introduced to freedom fighters around the country. As previously mentioned, Albany’s black citizens were proud of their culture and considered singing to be a major part of their heritage. As explained by Bernice Johnson Reagon, freedom songs, broadly defined, were a mixture of traditional spirituals and popular music that were revised for each event during a civil rights campaign. Songs were an essential component in most black churches and homes, and blacks were raised to join in songs whenever one was

²⁹ Laurie Pritchett in Hampton and Fayer,106.
³⁰ Charles Sherrod in Hampton and Fayer, 107.
³¹ Donald Harris in Stoper, 149.
started, whether it was in church or on the fields, even if one did not have a particularly attractive voice.\(^{32}\) Thus, it was only natural to bring song to this new struggle.

Indeed, Reagon was in the forefront of popularizing freedom songs during the Albany movement itself. At the outset of the movement, she was a student at Albany College and the secretary of the NAACP youth chapter.\(^{33}\) She never had any professional training in signing, and learned to sing, like most other black Americans, at her local Baptist church which did not even have a piano.\(^{34}\) She took part in one of the first demonstrations in Albany when she and other student activists walked along with Cordell Reagon and Charles Sherrod around City Hall before going to Mount Zion Baptist Church and attending the first mass meeting. None of the blacks had ever walked around the City Hall and they were thus afraid. To break the tension inside of the church, one of the SNCC workers asked Reagon to sing. She stood up to sing “Over My Head I See Trouble In the Air,” but when she began singing, the word “trouble” did not seem to suit the occasion, so she immediately changed “trouble” to “freedom,” thus expressing more hope. She felt that she had the authority at that moment to change the lyrics because she had already done something forbidden by simply walking around the City Hall.\(^{35}\) Changing song lyrics to fit the unique circumstances of each city quickly became an accepted practice.

With singing used to quell the fear of the participants in one of the first demonstrations in Albany, this spiritual community continued to use songs throughout their struggle. Songs and signing played numerous functional roles in the movement. Songs gave blacks a positive


\(^{33}\) Hampton and Fayer, 98.


\(^{35}\) Greenberg, 114-115.
view of themselves and uplifted their feelings. Blacks in the South had been long made to feel inferior and unworthy. But through singing, blacks felt as if they could create their own identities. Instead of being the stupid, lazy, and immoral people that whites portrayed them as, by singing powerful songs, they became courageous freedom fighters. Songs, according to Reagon, also helped to unite all the black community members participating in the movement. It united the different classes and was often the only way to communicate to illiterate rural people.

Songs were also useful in jail, as they helped to pass time and to reduce fear. Reagon mentioned that in jail one could call out the names of white police officers in their songs, troubling the guards. This gave those in jail a small sense of victory. Often, song leaders in jail or out on the streets were also looked to as leaders in the movement. For example, Reagon wrote that although she was younger than most of the people she was with in her jail cell, she was the one who was expected to communicate to the prison guards. Being a song leader increased authority.

Although in Albany and in later campaigns freedom songs and singing became an integral part of the struggle and was a great sense of inspiration to the participants, initially, songs were not used in the Civil Rights Movement. At the first sit-ins, the students wanted to be quiet, stoic, and civil in order to gain respect from the public as they were arrested or harassed by angry whites. Therefore, singing was not deemed to be appropriate. Also, most early civil rights workers came from middle-class backgrounds where singing was not as

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36 Sanger, 3-4.
38 Hampton and Fayer, 108.
39 Martin, 166.
common or as familiar to them as to the poorer blacks, although after Albany and later, all blacks, regardless of class, began singing to unite the group and to get back in touch with their culture. In the Montgomery bus boycott movement, songs were usually not a part of demonstrations. In Nashville, however, one song was revised by civil rights workers to be used especially for the sit-ins. Taking a twist on the song “You’d Better Leave My Little Kitten Alone,” James Bevel and Bernard Lafayette gave new lyrics to the piece and renamed it “You’d Better Leave Segregation Alone” revising the refrain to read: “You’d better leave segregation alone because they love segregation like a hound dog loves a bone, a bone.” The song recounted the hard times faced by the students at the sit-ins, and at the same time, degraded whites by comparing them to dogs. Just as Bernice Johnson Reagon changed lyrics to an old song, civil rights activists around the country soon began to reword songs to fit the occasion.

Accordingly, it is very possible that if one were to listen to the same song sung in five different Southern cities, there would be five different versions of the song. Often, names of prominent whites who supported segregation, such as mayors or governors or police chiefs, were used in songs. For example, Hollis Watkins, a SNCC activist, explained how the song “Which Side Are you On?” was often reworked. The traditional refrain read: “Which side are you on boy, which side are you on?” which was sung after each verse. For instance, in Mississippi one of the verses sung before the refrain was:

They tell me in Mississippi,  
No neutral have we met,  
You’ll either be a Freedom Fighter

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40 Ibid., 161-3.  
Or a Tom for Ross Barnett.\textsuperscript{42} [Barnett was the segregationist governor of that state]

On the other hand, in Albany, one of the verses was:

They tell me in Albany  
No neural have we met  
You’ll either be a Freedom Fighter  
Or a Tom for Chief Pritchett\textsuperscript{43}

Also from Albany, the traditional spiritual “Oh Mary, Oh Martha” was reworked by students Bertha Gober and Janie Culbreath in jail to help keep morale high and was subsequently entitled “Oh Pritchett, Oh Kelly” (Ada Kelly was the mayor of Albany). This song contained lyrics such as “Oh Pritchett, Oh, Kelly, Oh Pritchett, I hear God’s children, you open them cells, open them cells.”\textsuperscript{44} The spiritual “Ain’t Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Round” was also revised. The refrain in the Albany movement would sometimes be sung as “Ain’t gonna let Chief Pritchett Turn me Round” or “Ain’t gonna let Mayor Kelly Turn me Round.”\textsuperscript{45} Bernice Johnson Reagon said that activists felt comfortable with using traditional, black Christian music because they felt particularly close to Jesus Christ. Just as Jesus was crucified to save others, they were being lynched fighting for their freedom and for the freedom as others.\textsuperscript{46}

One of the most important songs in Albany and throughout the rest of the Civil Rights Movement was “We Shall Overcome.” The song was originally entitled “I Shall Overcome” and although its origins cannot be completely traced, it is believed the song was commonly sung by slaves. It was first known to be used in a social movement when black female tobacco workers in Charleston sang it during a strike. It then became a popular song to be used by black and white labor forces, and was taught at workshops in Highlander by singer Guy

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{42} Greenberg, 124.
\item \textsuperscript{43} Ibid., 124.
\item \textsuperscript{44} Carawan, 64.
\item \textsuperscript{45} Ibid., 62-3.
\item \textsuperscript{46} Greenberg, 122.
\end{itemize}
Carawan. Highlander, located in Tennessee, taught labor unions how to effectively strike and was noted as being inclusive of all races. Carawan became involved in working for civil rights at Highlander and sung this song at the formation of SNCC at Shaw University. It was soon taught at workshops run by civil rights organizations. “We Shall Overcome” was extremely popular during the Albany campaign, and it was frequently sung at the mass meetings.\(^{47}\) In fact, in Albany and later, often the lyrics were changed from “We shall overcome someday” to “We shall go to jail today” or “We are not afraid today.” Participants in Albany remember singing this song in jail and being pleased at how the guards were upset with the sense of community and unity the imprisoned civil rights workers showed.\(^{48}\)

Albany also influenced music in the movement because from Albany came the SNCC Freedom Singers, a musical group that toured the nation and brought the songs of struggling African-Americans with them. Bernice Johnson Reagon’s talent was quickly noted in Albany and Pete Seegar, a folk singer who released his own version of “We Shall Overcome” and was active in the Civil Rights Movement, told SNCC that Reagon and some other Albany students were excellent singers and should tour the country.\(^{49}\) The SNCC Freedom Singers were thus born. The group contained four members, Bernice Johnson Reagon, Charles Neblett, Rutha Mae Harris, and Cordell Reagon. They became a fundraising group for SNCC and, more importantly, took the Southern struggle for freedom with them to the North and West. They explained the fight in the South by mixing their songs with spoken narratives, and listeners were often moved by the intensity of their voices which reflected the struggles that they had seen and taken part in.\(^{50}\)

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\(^{48}\) Harding and Lynd, 317.

\(^{49}\) *We Shall Overcome*.

\(^{50}\) Martin, 170.
Some of the songs in their repertoire included “Dog, Dog,” which spoke of a dog belonging to a black family that played with a dog belonging to a white family while their owners could not get along, and “We’ll Never Turn Back,” which encouraged blacks to keep fighting through even through the most difficult circumstances. They sung favorites such as “We Shall Overcome and “Ain’t Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Roud,” and introduced the public to “Governor Wallace,” about Alabama’s Dixiecrat Governor and “Woke Up this Morning With My Mind On Freedom.” They performed in the Mississippi Delta during the difficult days of SNCC’s voter registration campaign to raise spirits, sung at music festivals, and taught workshops in the North to interested college students. In fact, James Schwerner and Michael Goodman, two white civil rights workers who were murdered in Mississippi first became interested in the movement through a Freedom Singers workshop. In June of 1963, over 2,000 people came to Carnegie Hall in New York for a show entitled “A Salute to Southern Freedom” featuring the Freedom Singers and Mahalia Jackson, a famous gospel singer. But, as suggested at the time by the New York Times, the Freedom Singers stole the show. The Freedom Singers’ message appealed to both black and white inside and out of the South for the words of freedom and hope that they spread.

As seen, freedom songs first became a main tactic used in Albany, and thanks to the talent from this city, these songs became a staple in the Civil Rights Movement. Due to his experience in Albany, Charles Sherrod considered singing so important that he actually listed teaching freedom songs as the first item on his agenda for a SNCC conference in the spring of

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52 We Shall Overcome.
53 Martin, 159.
One civil rights agitator, Goldie Jackson, reflected on the power of singing and said “Two things held us together: prayer or something good to come and song that tells from the depth of the heart how we feel about our fellow man.” Freedom songs that originated in Albany and became popularized by the Freedom Singers quickly caught on. “We Shall Overcome” soon became the unofficial anthem of the movement and was sung during the famed March on Washington in 1963. Additionally when referring to his voting rights legislation, President Johnson promised the blacks of his country that “We shall overcome” in an attempt to show his solidarity with the black community. Freedom songs gave hope to those participating in the movement and helped communicate their fight to the rest of the nation.

Accordingly, the Albany struggle had many lasting impacts on the broader battle for civil rights and on American society as a whole. Albany workers fought for over seven months to register voters and to help desegregate the city, and after fights, arrests, and injunctions, little had tangibly changed. Yet, the people of Albany were no longer afraid to speak out, and it was the first true grassroots campaign of the movement. In addition, the activists of Albany helped to shape the freedom struggle by turning to its rich black culture to utilize freedom songs as an effective tool. These songs gave courage to the blacks, unified them, and gave them a sense of power. Because of the prominent use of song in Albany and the subsequent spread of the songs by Albany’s own Freedom Singers, soon almost every civil rights protest included some type of freedom song. Indeed, perhaps the greatest achievement of the Albany campaign was that freedom became, to borrow from Bernice Johnson Reagon, visible. The struggle of the entire Albany community—not just a portion, showed the world that all blacks wanted their rights.

54 Clayborne, 64.
55 Ibid., 59.
56 *We Shall Overcome*. 
The massive amounts of people in jail made clear that African-Americans were willing to suffer to receive justice. The songs that grew out from Albany’s strong sense of black spiritual community displayed the courage they had to withstand the backlash of reactionary officials and police. The Freedom Singers and the traditional and revised songs that they took with them demonstrated to the rest of the nation the conflict that was taking place and allowed other freedom workers to find and use the power of song in their own struggles. And the visibility that came from Albany helped to light the way for future civil rights campaigns that highlighted the plight of blacks to the nation and forever altered race relations in the country.
“You must all be Interned”:

Identity Among Internees in Great Britain during World War II

*Elizabeth A. Atkins*

Between 1933 and 1940, the United States, Great Britain and most other developed nations saw an influx of German refugees entering their borders attempting to be free of the tyranny of Hitler’s National Socialism. Many of those fleeing from Germany were intellectuals: authors, teachers, artists, or thinkers who faced persecution in their homeland. For the men, women, and children who chose the British Isles as their new home, Great Britain symbolized hope for a life free from persecution. By 1941, however, many refugees from Germany found themselves arrested and put into camps, not by the Nazis, but by their protectors, the British.

How were the internees in Great Britain viewed by outsiders, and how did they view themselves? The British government imprisoned German, Austrian and Italian refugees as “enemy aliens,” but did anyone outside of the government view them as a real threat? This work seeks to examine the mental state of German refugees interned in Great Britain during the Second World War, and the opinions of the people of Great Britain concerning these refugees. Responses and views varied widely both within and outside of the camps. For some, Nazis and Germans were one in the same, while many others saw a clear delineation between the two. Many refugees saw themselves not as German, but as British, wanting to leave their past behind and embrace the culture of their new nation, and some British civilians were more than willing to accept that view as well. Some even abandoned British, German or Nazi as terms, choosing instead to define themselves as Jews. Most internees were refugees who remained strongly anti-Nazi throughout their internments, continuing to work against the Nazi party even when their adopted country let them down.
Britain had a history of interning “enemy aliens,” a policy that had begun during the First World War on the Isle of Man. Sandwiched between the United Kingdom and Ireland, this little island became a camp for enemy aliens, primarily Germans, from 1914 until 1919, after which, most of the internees were expelled from Britain, despite personal adaptations such as having married a native or having lived in Britain before the outbreak of war.¹ This extremely strict policy would become the forerunner of the internment of refugees during the Second World War, some twenty years later.

As soon as Hitler’s rise to power began to seriously threaten citizens of Germany, emigration from Germany began in earnest. From 1933 until 1939 and the start of World War II, approximately 300,000 refugees fled from Germany, trickling into any country willing to give them refuge.² The 300,000 refugees were made up of a wide variety of personalities, but were often young, with either university education or training in useful, mainly service-related, fields. Britain often urged refugees to use England as an intermediary point, living there only until the refugee could gain admittance to another country, such as the United States. Those who planned to stay in Britain, particularly with the dramatic increase in immigration in the two years prior to the outbreak of war, had to meet stricter standards in terms of education and economic security, so as to not be a drain on the British economy. Hilda Ogbe, age eighteen when she and her mother left Germany, remembered the hurdles she and her mother had to jump in order to save their own lives. “To enter another country as a refugee,” she wrote, “one had to deposit the sum of fifty English pounds in a bank overseas…The snag was that in Germany it was strictly

² For comparison’s sake, in 1939, the Nazis held over 400,000 political prisoners in Germany or Germany controlled areas.
forbidden to own foreign currency.” England offered to waive the fifty-pound rule for those trained in useful careers, leading Hilda to train as a domestic servant, while her mother trained to be a milliner.

Hilda emigrated from Germany in 1939, but many of the refugees had left Germany shortly after Hitler became chancellor in January of 1933. Many intellectuals, scientists and professionals, particularly those with Jewish backgrounds, or whose thinking did not agree with Nazi policies left for the United States and Great Britain in 1933. By the outbreak of the War, these men and women would feel their primary allegiances lay with the Allies, not their native lands. They trusted that any suspicion or abuse they encountered in England would be mild compared to the tortures inflicted by the Nazis. Because of Great Britain’s tough stance on immigration, most refugees were young, educated and productive members of society. In general, they assumed that they would continue to perform their daily occupations, or would be allowed to aid the war effort. They certainly did not expect the widespread distrust that surrounded anyone with a foreign accent as soon as the country was at war.

At the start of World War II, approximately 70,000 unnaturalized Germans and Austrians were living within the borders of Great Britain. On September 3, 1939, when Britain declared war on Nazi Germany, all of those men and women became enemy aliens and fell under deep suspicion because of their native birth. Hoping to avoid a policy of mass internment, British officials allowed, and encouraged, German refugees to leave Great Britain and return to Germany; only 2,000 did. In addition, the government also began to crack down on illegal refugees; newspapers were filled with news and editorial articles outlining the cases of aliens

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4Peter and Leni Gillman, *Collar the Lot: How Britain Interned and Expelled Her Wartime Refugees* (London: Quartet Books, 1980), 61. Only ten days were allotted to allow Germans to leave, but a mere one hundred Germans failed to make the deadline of September 9.
who had never been naturalized before the war, who were sneaking into the country with forged passports, or who had lied to get a passport. Sir John Anderson, Secretary of State for the Home Department, was the man who would decide the fate of every foreigner of Germanic heritage, being forced to weigh public opinion against real danger and to create a plan to deal with enemy aliens. He looked back upon Britain’s policies during World War I to try to find an answer.\(^5\)

Understandably, the risks of infiltration and espionage were felt to be very real and very serious, and Britain’s new policies clearly reflected this fear. In October 1939, the executive branch of government began to use powers they had received for wartime use in the Emergency Powers (Defence)\(^6\) Act. Throughout the last week of October, Parliament debated extending the executive’s wartime powers to include the power to set curfews for some or all of society and to have more control over propaganda.\(^7\) With their new powers properly defined as being for the greater good of British defense, policies regarding refugee freedom of movement were the first to be implemented. Male refugees from hostile countries, or from countries currently occupied by the enemy, between the ages of sixteen and sixty were ordered to give up their bicycles, firearms, cameras, and maps; they had to check in with the local police department weekly, or sometimes daily, and were required to obtain a permit from their local police department in order to travel further than five miles from their place of residence.\(^8\) Eventually these rules were widened to include women, some children, and some older refugees. A curfew was added as well, originally 10:30 pm (midnight in London), but soon after, the curfew was changed to 8

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\(^6\) Throughout this work, the British spelling will remain in official policy names, and within quotations.


\(^8\) “Alien Restrictions on Refugees,” *Times* (London), 23 May, 1940.
Despite the shortage of doctors, refugee professionals were not allowed to practice during this time.\(^9\)

Refugee responses to these new policies varied. One refugee remembered the hassle of having to receive permission every time he left the city for business, being in a job that required near constant trips across the country. Some men found the curfews unbearable; fines and arrests were common, particularly among young men and sailors, often leading to altercations with the police and drunken brawls in public houses. Indignation was high as refugees felt they were British; they had come to the country and learned the language; they had made themselves useful and “had to seal our windows in case of gas attacks” just as the British did.\(^11\)

Under Anderson’s policies, most German and Austrian refugees were interned for at least a short time. Length of internment and the location where one would spend that time was determined by what class each refugee was placed into. Classes A, B, and C, most dangerous to least dangerous, respectively, were the simple labels used to group refugees and decide their fates. Society had even more distinctions: German, British, Fascist, Nazi, Fifth Columnist and many others became labels that were open to many variations and perceptions. The term Fifth Columnist, referring to Francisco Franco’s Fascist regime in Spain, became the most all-encompassing slur used to describe refugees, internees, or anyone suspected of aiding one of Britain’s enemies.\(^12\) It was a daunting task to attach these different labels with their many interpretations to thousands of strangers, but the process was well organized, with tribunals set up across the country in front of which every immigrant from a hostile nation had to stand.


\(^12\) Gillman, *Collar the Lot*, 74.
Despite its organization, no one was really happy with how the tribunals operated. They were slow, unfair, judged the wrong merits, and often lacked interpreters. *The Times* received frequent letters to the editor deploring the bureaucracy and hypocrisy of the tribunals, which determined who would be set free and who would be interned. Each tribunal set its own standards for determining into what category a refugee would be placed. Monetary well-being was sometimes more important than a good character, and understanding English was often vital. Being Jewish was almost certain to gain one leniency, but being a non-Jewish German often brought up the question “Why did you leave Germany?” from a panel which did not realize that the Nazis targeted many more than just Jews.\(^{13}\)

Judaism was not a certain way to avoid deportation or internment, as one Jewish refugee learned before the tribunal. When asked by the tribunal if the Gestapo had ever arrested him, the enemy alien replied truthfully, no; he had been ordered by the Gestapo to leave the country, but had not been arrested. His tribunal refused to classify him as a refugee, stating that he was not one, but that he did not want to be repatriated.\(^{14}\) Often, a refugee would not know until he or she had been called before a tribunal, that his or her naturalization papers had been misplaced, incorrectly filled out, or simply denied.

Soon after the tribunals were set up, the government began to feel that the panels of judges were too lenient to refugees, and began to set stricter criteria for B or C class, and likewise for interment. In May 1940, the Aliens Advisory Committee informed 3500 class B women that they had to once more stand before their tribunal since all male Germans and Austrians between the ages of 16 and 60 in classes A and B had already been interned. Until that

\(^{13}\) “An Alien’s Tribunal,” *Times* (London), 28 October, 1939.
time, few women had been interned as security threats.\textsuperscript{15} During May and June wholesale internment began, in order to secure Britain against espionage.

Internment camps began to pop up all across Great Britain; they varied greatly in size and treatment of prisoners. The largest and best-documented internments occurred on the Isle of Man, the location of which, as well as the legacy of internment there caused it to be quickly reopened as an internment facility when mass numbers of refugees were arrested. The camps located on the Isle of Man were universally considered the most comfortable and best maintained of all internment camps. Port Douglas became an arrival and departure point for many refugees during internment, and later, deportation. From Douglas, enemy aliens deemed dangerous to the war effort were deported to Canada or Australia. Other camps were located at Lancashire Cotton Mill, Bertram Mills Circus, Devon Holiday Camp, Prees Heath in Shropshire and many other places both convenient and inconvenient. For governmental ease, camps were created at locations convenient for transport, but just as no one today wishes to live next to a prison, some towns then attempted to dissuade the government from holding enemy aliens nearby. The Edinburgh town council, in later 1939, urged the government to transfer internees from a camp within the city boundaries to a “more appropriate site” since “three and four prisoners escaped recently” from the camp.\textsuperscript{16} Internees were still seen as dangerous by most citizens of Britain, and no one wanted escapees roaming through their towns. But while the townsfolk complained about the locations of the camps, the internees were the ones who had to suffer life within the camps.

\textsuperscript{15}“Re-Examination of Alien Women,” \textit{Times} (London), 21 May, 1940.
\textsuperscript{16} “Removal of Internment Camp Suggested,” \textit{Times} (London), 24 November, 1939
Camps in Great Britain. ¹⁷

¹⁷ Both maps are taken from Kochan, *Britain’s Internees*, xii-xiii.
Camps on Isle of Man.

Map 2  Map showing the sites of the internment-camps on the Isle of Man
Conditions in camps varied widely depending largely on the camp location and who was being interned there. Fred Uhlman described his stay at the Bertram Mills Circus at Ascot, the first of several camps in which he would live:

We slept in the elephants’ and lions’ apartments on straw-filled mattresses; the food—for days on end—consisted of burned porridge and kippers; the first day it had been bread and tea only. There was no salt. Everything was dirty. No news or newspapers were allowed, but every prisoner got five pieces of toilet paper daily.\(^{18}\)

Other camps, however, were luxurious, particularly the women’s camp on the Isle of Man. There, internees were allowed to wander nearly freely within the port of Douglas. Their money was confiscated and doled out weekly as an allowance, to be spent as the person wished. Internees were housed in seaside hotels with “beautiful tiled bathrooms” and “three regular meals a day.”\(^{19}\)

Another internee complained, however, that seaside resorts were by no means an ideal place to be held captive; in January, the chalets in which internees lived were “unheatable,” being designed for use only in summer.\(^{20}\) Whether an internee was housed in a seaside resort, or an animal stall, there was always the pervasive feeling of being a prisoner.

For most refugees, internment came as a shock. Since in general men were interned before women, families were torn apart and women left with little support. For some, incarceration in one camp reminded them of Germany, where the Nazis were busily interring the “misfortune” of the German people, the Jews. One refugee, the wife of a doctor, cried to her friend, “Our domestic happiness was the only thing that Hitler did not take from us. Now

\(^{19}\) Ogbe, \textit{Crumbs}, 15-16
persecution continues in this country that offered us hospitality and freedom.” Many like this woman became disillusioned with Britain as a land of freedom. Most did not see the point of internment and felt, justifiably, that it aided the Nazis more than hurt them. Fritz Frank, a German refugee eloquently outlined the feelings of many anti-Hitler aliens in England:

“If the present wholesale internment of refugees were for England’s sake I would accept it in silence. But is it of any use to England; is it not rather helping the enemy by enabling him to proclaim in his propaganda that England is no longer a sanctuary of the protected? And England and the cause stand to lose by depriving the country of the services of many willing helpers whose knowledge and skill would be of great assistance, but who are now to be interned.”

Internment allowed the Nazis to spread propaganda about the treatment of Germans in Britain, and to decry that England was no more a free land than Germany was. England meanwhile, had to spread manpower even thinner to continue the war effort.

When most internments took place in 1940, the opinion outside of the camp was primarily one of relief. Anti-German feeling had spread quickly during the “phony war” as citizens failed to separate Nazis from Germans or from refugees from other nations. In at least some cases, anti-German feeling could result in anti-Semitism, as well. Signs in boarding houses read “No Germans—No Jews” and educated Germans were offered the most simple and menial jobs, despite the newly opened job offerings attached to the war effort. While tribunals tended to be more lenient to Jewish refugees, British society buttressed negative stereotypes of Jews during the war, accusing them of profiteering and running black market scams.

After internment began, the public felt secure knowing that the “bad Germans” were locked up where they could not hurt anyone or damage the war effort. “We have a large number of German refugees in our midst, and while these remain at large it is bound to cause

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uneasiness,” wrote one pro-internment activist, “Hitler’s subtle methods are known to be planned through internal means…Tribunals are not infallible, and it is no time to take risks of any kind.”

Even British citizens who were on close terms with German and Austrian refugees, often knowing the full details of their friend or neighbor’s trip to Britain, endorsed the idea of interning all aliens for the war effort. Fred Uhlman recalled in his memoirs a telephone conversation with his neighbor. The “dear old lady” told him excitedly, “I must tell you that we are all afraid of the Germans in our midst. You all must be interned. I don’t say you are a spy. But imagine what harm one spy in even 20,000 could do!”

Others saw internment as a better alternative to deportation, particularly for refugees who entered the country on a forged or stolen passport. Then the authorities could at least be certain that the refugees would live through the war.

Despite the clamoring for internment from many sections of society, no one sought to abuse the refugees. Knowing that some innocent people would end up in camps, the government sought to create a comfortable environment for their internees. William Paton, Chairman of the Joint Committee for the Welfare of Internees and Prisoners of War, wrote a letter describing the conditions set forth for camps in Britain:

The members of this committee represent the Christian Churches, the Jewish community, the Y.M.C.A., the British Red Cross Society and Order of St. John, the Christian Council for Refugees, and the National Council of Social Service…the provision of worship and pastoral ministrations, of lectures, concerts and games, and of minor physical comforts is the responsibility of one or other of the cooperating bodies.

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Refugees were to be kept in relative comfort, given amusement and spiritual guidance, and not to slave away as in German camps. Prisoners of war were, likewise, dealt with humanely, following the international regulations for work and leisure.

Most refugees arrived at the camp cold, hungry, and sometimes wet, though in letters to the Times, they often place the blame for that situation on general circumstances, not on the care given by British guards. R. Avigdor, a German internee, used almost those exact words when writing a short piece for the Times: “The fact that I arrived at my destination cold, wet, hungry, and feeling very miserable was no fault of the commander of the camp or his officers,” he stated, rather, “the treatment meted out to me and the other internees by the commander and his officers was beyond words of praise.” Other internees were not as kind in the descriptions of their guards. Fred Uhlman recalled his arrest and internment as being filled with uncaring, rude and sometimes cruel treatment. Arrested just nine days before his wife gave birth to their first child, Uhlman asked the officer if he knew that Uhlman’s wife was about to have a baby. “I know,” was the officer’s reply, but the affair was out of his hands. He was the guard who received the kindest description, being polite and kind enough to allow Uhlman to pack a bag and say goodbye to his wife. Upon arrival at the Bertram Mills Circus winter-quarters, conditions were poor, and out of boredom, the guards called across the camp to each other all night long, preventing the inmates from getting any sleep. Sometime later, when Uhlman was transferred to Douglas, Isle of Man, he and the other internees were “surrounded by soldiers with fixed bayonets…One of the soldiers shouted, ‘Faster, faster.’ I told him that the man in front of me was seventy—and he stopped.” A large part of the rudeness, or occasional cruelty of the guards, was caused by ignorance or carelessness. Upon being reminded of the common decencies of humanity, behavior became more gentlemanly. The only camp with a truly bad name was the

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“infamous” Wharf Mills Camp.\textsuperscript{28} It was described as “a disused cotton-mill near Manchester…derelict and filthy, with most of the windows broken and floors littered with rubbish. The commandant stole like a magpie.”\textsuperscript{29}

After the initial shock of entering the camp was past, a time of sheer boredom came, and a feeling of uselessness. Idleness was a common cause of depression and listlessness, especially in the first few months of internment when very little reliable news was allowed into the camp and correspondence was closely guarded. Internees were left with little idea how their families were getting along without them, and even less about the progress of the war. Most refugees had hoped to be of use to the war effort; men most often hoped to fight in the military, while women expected to begin war work. For men, however, the only military avenue truly open to them was the Pioneer Corps. In theory, all branches of the armed forces were supposed to be open to aliens, but in reality, only a handful of refugees were able to secure posts, but rather were, as one writer put it “herded into the Pioneer Corps with no prospect whatever of advancement.”\textsuperscript{30} In the Pioneer Corps, a soldier could have any number of odd jobs, from digging ditches and building camps to handling stores of ammunition to clearing rubble and rebuilding bridges. Usually they did not actually fight, and there was little room for advancement or a military career.\textsuperscript{31} Even men of German or Austrian lineage who had been raised and educated in England since childhood found it nearly impossible to join the military outside of the Pioneer Corps. Letters to the editor were almost entirely kind to the idea of aliens in the military; one description stated “German and Austrian refugees, are looked upon in every

\begin{thebibliography}{10}
\bibitem{28} Alternately Warth Mills Camp.
\bibitem{29} Uhlman, \textit{Making of an Englishman}, 229.
\bibitem{30} “The Pioneer Corps,” Times (London), 17 December, 1941.
\end{thebibliography}
way as British soldiers.” Though, the writer points out, they had not the opportunities for advancement that a true British soldier would have. Several military men considered the idea of forming a fighting Foreign Legion to allow aliens to fight.

Joining the Pioneer Corps was one way to avoid internment that many young men accepted; unfortunately there was no equivalent organization for women. Since women were interned, in general, after most men had been, women were able to perform some helpful work at the war’s start. Many refugees who had come to Britain worked as domestic servants, an occupation that always had openings at the time, but at the war’s start many of these women found themselves without jobs, their employers not wanting to risk housing a spy. By 1940, the British government realized the war was not about to end, and released a law that all foreign domestic workers must help the war effort and could not perform other work. Many women found their ways to factories or hospitals, where they labored as seamstresses and nurses. Hilda Ogbe’s mother had trained in Germany as a milliner before she and her daughter left for England, she then worked as a domestic servant, but eventually ended up working as a seamstress at a factory making military uniforms along with her son, Hilda’s brother. Throughout 1940, however, as internments rose, women were pulled away from their wartime work and sent to camps across Britain to sit idly. One hospital in London had employed thirty alien women as nurses, twenty-nine of which were arrested and interned one day; the Ministry of Health then ordered the hospital to remain open, an impossibility without the aid of another nearby hospital. The head of the hospital was obviously upset and disgusted by the sudden loss of most of his staff, and defended them valiantly claiming that “the visit of the police came as a

33 Ogbe, *Crumbs*, 10.
34 Ogbe, *Crumbs*, 10-11.
surprise, for all the sisters and nurses, although German, were anti-Hitler."35 Despite the widespread need of doctors, nurses and scientists, non-naturalized professionals were still barred from working at their professions. Scientists were hampered in their wartime research and in the recruitment of researchers by the internment of German and Austrian scientists.36 In January of 1941, alien women clamored at the newly founded International Women’s Service Groups for an organization to be formed that would allow female enemy aliens to aid the war cause.37 Like military service for men, letters concerning women’s war work were almost entirely sympathetic to the plight of women who wanted to help. Several articles outlined recommendations for refugee women’s organizations to aid the war effort. Most encouraged supervision by British officers and limitation of participation to “friendly” enemy aliens, those deemed safe and loyal to Britain.

Since they were unable to help the war cause, most internees spent their time improving themselves and other internees, helping each other to gain skills that would be useful in their new country. One of their first tasks, at least amongst the majority of the refugees, was to convince the guards that most of the refugees were anti-Hitler and loyal to Great Britain. Some internees took every possible opportunity to show their support and respect for Great Britain. At the Bertram Mills Circus the guards had up to Fred Uhlman’s arrival guarded only prisoners of war, most of whom were loyal to Germany if not necessarily to Hitler. When the refugee internees gave a concert within the camp they “finished with God Save the King before and after” to differentiate themselves from “the German sailors who had been prisoners there just before our

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35 “29 Alien Nurses Interned,” Times (London), 3 June, 1940.
arrival.”38 As Uhlman and his fellow internees were being marched from the port of Douglas to the camp, they passed a war memorial and “every one of us took our hats off.”39 Once one was comfortably settled into camp, the next thing to do was fill out forms and wait to be released.

The flight of intellectuals and freethinkers from German and Austria created a massive drain on professionals and artists within Germany. Most of these men and women ended up in the United States and Great Britain. As a result England saw an influx of writers, scientists, musicians and artists whose thinking did not agree with Nazi ideology. When so many brilliant people were confined with little to do, a high culture flourished within the camps. Concerts, theatre productions, and poetry readings were commonplace, and sometimes used as fundraisers for the war effort. Exile newspapers sprouted up in all countries to which refugees fled, and flourished within camps even though they were often forbidden. Within their pages, stories and poems protested their confinement, but more often articles critical of Hitler and Nazism filled the pages. Most exile newspapers and cultural magazines within England included articles in both English and German, celebrating the cultures of both countries and raising awareness about the conditions of exiles in other countries. Die Zeitung, a London-based exile newspaper, carried several stories relating to the internment of aliens while Aufbau, published in New York, ran articles praising Britain’s decision to separate Nazis and anti-Nazis.

Other internees, not necessarily intellectuals, but well educated all the same, spent time improving themselves and each other through lectures, classes, and forums designed to teach useful information that would aid the students in their postwar lives in Britain. Hilda Ogbe’s camp at St. Mary’s, not far from Port Erin on the Isle of Man, was a paradise when compared to the camps where Fred Uhlman was interned, and the relative freedom of movement allowed

38 Uhlman, Making of an Englishman, 226.
39 Uhlman, Making of an Englishman, 230.
inmates to interact much more freely with each other. Boredom was a constant companion until her camp began a “service exchange” where internees gave classes to each other on various skills they knew. At age eighteen she had passed her Abitur just before leaving Germany, and hoped to study modern languages when she and her mother settled in England. Upon internment, to pass the time, she began teaching English and French to other inmates, as well as acting in frequent theater productions. Ogbe’s language courses became so popular that she needed a larger room to accommodate all her students. Unfortunately, many old inmates, especially, came only for the social aspect; they talked or sewed through the entire lessons, and learned little to prepare themselves for life in their new country.40 Classes and lectures not only filled each internee’s day, but also gave them hope for a better, more prepared life in Britain, after the war ended.

It is certain that some true believers in Nazism were interned in Great Britain, up to 2,500 of the 12,000 internees held in Britain as of June 7, 1941, according to one contemporary source,41 but unsurprisingly, none have written memoirs recording their accounts. The closest we can come are accounts of other internees, and perhaps the account of Sir Oswald Mosley, as well. Sir Oswald Mosley, leader of the British Union of Fascists, was arrested on May 23, 1940. Certainly not a Nazi, Mosley was an admitted Fascist whose political party had just polled one percent of the vote on the previous day’s election.42 The popularity of the Fascist movement had been declining steadily since 1936, but Mosley maintained his position that Britain should not get involved in a European conflict. He promised to continue to oppose the war, but neither he nor the British Union would sabotage the war effort. Sir Oswald Mosley, with this background, was considered a danger to the country, and was arrested under Defence Regulation 18b, which

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40 Ogbe, *Crumbs*, 15-19
41 Kochan, *Britain’s Internees*, 58.
42 Goldman, “Defence Regulation 18B,” 128
gave the government nearly limitless power to imprison enemies of the state and was used not to punish the guilty, but rather as a preventative measure to keep potential threats under control.\(^{43}\)

Being one of the few native British citizens to be interned during the war, Mosley’s views were understandably different from the views of the foreign occupants of the camps. He had no doubt that he was considered a British citizen, not an enemy, and so did not have to prove his loyalty in the same way a foreigner would. Mosley always held the view that he was trying to improve British life in a legal, and constitutional, manner, so that where a foreigner would have been seen as dangerous and devious, Mosley, as a British citizen, could and was seen by many as being patriotic. One Member of Parliament, Sir Thomas Cook, did accuse Mosley of being unpatriotic, calling Mosley a traitor for opposing involvement in the Second World War, but while imprisoned under Defence Regulation 18B, Mosley was able to successfully sue Cook for slander, receiving an apology and payment for damages.\(^{44}\) According to Mosley two reasons were given for his detainment "(1) A suggestion that we are traitors who would take up arms and fight with the Germans if they landed, and (2) that our propaganda undermines the civilian morale," though he maintained that the latter, rather than the former, was the more important reason for detention.\(^{45}\)

Sir Oswald Mosley found his predicament humorous as opposed to worrisome, since he did not face the uncertainty that plagued refugees in the camps. He did not face deportation or confrontations with hostile Nazis; he did not have to constantly prove himself to be a loyal Englishman, because his birth and military service absolved him from such questions. Once more, how the authorities perceived one, whether one was labeled a foreigner or a native, was of the utmost importance. A British citizen interned or imprisoned without a trial went against the

morality and ingrained sense of freedom for which many were fighting, causing Mosley to gain popular support by playing the card of an innocent citizen in a free country, who was lawfully, but immorally arrested for exerting his right to protest his government. An alien refugee, however, did not have the luxury of exerting one's rights as a citizen.

About 800 political dissenters were arrested in the third week of May 1940 and split "between Brixton Prison and the concentration camp at Ascot," the Bertram Mills Circus winter-quarters where Fred Uhlman was interned.\textsuperscript{46} Mosley's use of the term "concentration camp" is, of course, ironic, since even at their worst, British internment camps never approached the horrors of the Nazi concentration and death camps. Surrounded by members of his own movement, naturalized Germans who remained loyal to Germany or Hitler, and a few other right-wing political figures, Mosley suffered little loneliness or boredom, complaining only of "the most variegated collection of bed-bugs I had ever encountered since the First War."\textsuperscript{47} Mosley knew many of the prison wardens, one had even served under Mosley, so these British men suffered none of the occasional rough or cruel treatment experienced by alien refugees.\textsuperscript{48} Likewise, Brixton prisoners were able to order meals from outside the compound, play sports during free time in the courtyard, were provided with books and companionship, and were not required to wear uniforms as refugees were.\textsuperscript{49} Sir Mosley's internment, however, lasted much longer than the average stay of a refugee. After three and a half years of confinement, Mosley was released in 1944, partially due to illness, but more so because of the campaigning of many citizens to release one of their own. As noted above, many citizens were outraged at the violation of basic civil liberties permitted by Defence Regulation 18B, particularly in August of

\begin{footnotes}
\item[46] Mosley, \textit{My Life}, 405.
\item[47] Mosley, \textit{My Life}, 405.
\item[48] Mosley, \textit{My Life}, 406.
\end{footnotes}
1940 when the number of British citizens in prison without trial topped 1,600. By 1941, only 400 citizens were still in confinement and the last twenty-two detainees were finally freed on May 8, 1945, VE day when Defence Regulation 18B was revoked. Arguments raged, until the regulation’s revocation, about the morality and legality of the regulation, arguing liberty versus security in a controversy not unlike the current debates surrounding terrorism. The issue was discussed in Parliament and newspapers, which led to more and more leniency throughout the war years.

While one account exists of an interned Fascist, no true, admitted Nazi has come forward to tell of life in the camps. All of the information available on Nazi prisoners is secondhand, from memoirs and newspaper articles. Both within and outside of the camps, aliens and their supporters saw the danger and unfairness inherent in interning all refugees. Many refugees claim to have never seen a Nazi sympathizer, but those who did often complained of the undifferentiated treatment shown to both Nazi sympathizers and anti-Nazi internees. One American with ties to England wrote an editorial letter decrying Britain’s policies which went so strongly against its claims to protect freedom protesting “the present internment policy which embraces Nazis and anti-Nazis alike.” Peter F. Weiner knew and admitted that some of the freed internees were Nazis, but wrote the following concerning his favorable camp experience:

   Every single “Tommy” who guarded us, and who usually did not know the difference between Class “A,” “B,” and “C” aliens, treated us in the same human and kind way. In one of the compounds of our camp were actual Nazis. We never had anything to do with them, greatest care was taken by all the officials that we were separated from them….these men, who never hid their Nazi sympathies, were always treated in exactly the same friendly and generous—i.e. British—way by all the officers.

50 Cross, Fascists in Britain, 195.
51 See Aaron Goldman, “Defence Regulation 18B” for a detailed overview of these debates.
52 Robbins, “Internment of Refugees.”
Most internees were not as happy about the universal treatment shown the unrepentant Nazis, though for Weiner, it seemed to support his personal resolve that despite the apparent similarities in British and Nazi treatment of undesirables, Britain was a free and civilized land.

Indignation was the frequent response to being housed with and treated the same as true Nazis. Edith Jacobus recalled the trip to Port Erin on the Isle of Man: "When we arrived on the Isle of Man, the inhabitants stood watching us refugees arrive and do you know what they did? They spat on us as nasty Germans. We were taken by train and bus together with real Nazis."54

As mentioned above, internees made strong distinctions between the titles of Englishman, German and Nazi; some Jews added the title "Jewish" along with the others as a descriptor such as "Jewish German."

Most internees seemed to have no trouble telling true Nazis from refugees. Since refugees were interned from any country controlled by the Nazis, Czechs, Poles, Belgians and many others were interned besides those native to aggressor nations; internees saw the vast majority of fellow prisoners as anti-Nazi. The Nazis mentioned in memoirs and letters mostly fit into the stereotypical image of a Fascist German. Fred Uhlman described the one person in his camp who was certainly a Nazi as having "the right Nazi mentality: he was overbearing, intolerant, narrow-minded and had no sense of humour."55 They were loud and open about their political views, both aspects of their character were similar to the Nazis during their rise to power, maintaining high visibility and making it seem like there were more Nazis than actually existed. Because of their clamoring, while imprisoned during the war, as well as while gaining power in pre-war Germany, they were able to achieve their agenda even though they were a minority. Within camps, Nazis were often allowed to sing militaristic German songs like "Heut'
“fahren wir gegen Engelland” and raise Nazis flags, while other internees continually sought to prove their loyalty to the British war effort. As in all other aspects, camps varied in the freedom allowed to Nazi sympathizers; sometimes they were separated from other inmates, sometimes they were encouraged by anti-Semitic remarks from wardens.56 The only evidence of a camp having a large number of Nazi sympathizers was an occurrence in Peel, Isle of Man. Upon the capture of three escaped Fascists, the fugitives “were cheered on their arrival in a police van, and their guard and the Commandant of the camp were jeered at.”57 Later the internees insisted on their release to roam the camp, and rioted, attacking the wardens, when their demands were not met. Such riots were rare in the camps, usually occurring over reduction of rations or treatment of prisoners, not due to political turmoil. Peel was not a spot designated for Fascists, making such a strong outburst in favor of Fascist prisoners difficult to understand, unless the authorities were incorrect in their labeling of inmates. While most citizens and internees in Great Britain realized that Nazis were a minority in camps, that opinion was not held elsewhere. The New York based exile newspaper Die Aufbau carried an article commending the British government’s decision to separate Nazis from anti-Nazis in the Huyton internment camp where “the Nazis had exercised a reign of terror over the anti-Nazi minority.”58 Even this late in the internment of aliens, the majority of internees would still have been neutral or anti-Nazi, given reports of other internees.

Personal and political confrontation was commonplace within camps that interned Jewish, Christian, and Nazi aliens in the same quarters. Oliver Pretzel recalls his father’s statement’s about internment in Seaton, a summer resort in south Devon. There, he said, “It was

56 Seller, We Built Up Our Lives, 86.
57 “Riot at Internment Camp,” Times (London), 22 September 1941.
run by the army, who appointed the only real Nazis among the internees as block leaders. That was the most unpleasant thing about internment: living under the very people he had emigrated to get away from.”\(^{59}\) Close quarters also formed alliances between groups, but also led to constant bickering. At least one Jewish refugee recounted a Communist group that caused a group of Nazis to settle down and be quiet by threatening fisticuffs.\(^{60}\) During the voyage of a ship deporting a mixed group of Nazis and true refugees to Canada, some Nazis nailed a National Socialist flag to the wall and attempted to force the other passengers to salute it, resulting in a riot and confinement of 200 men.\(^{61}\) In the early stages of internment, Nazis could force themselves into authority positions by offering to be block leaders. Camp commanders sometimes formed councils of prisoners within camps, often insisting that the Nazis have representation as a separate group.\(^{62}\)

Amongst the true Nazis and aliens (particularly men) in categories B and C from their tribunals, the risk of deportation was the one last fear they had to overcome. Nazis and prisoners of war were the first to be deported to Canada or Australia from the Isle of Man, next internees in categories B and C, especially single men, were asked to volunteer, or at least, not to object, to being deported.\(^{63}\) Some showed relief that finally, in deportation they were separated from Nazis and allowed to do work to aid the war effort, even if that work was totally unrelated to their training.\(^{64}\) Deportation led to a drop in the number of Nazi sympathizers in male camps, but Nazi sentiment remained in some women's camps. The woman's commandant on the Isle of Man, Dame Joanna Cruikshank, refused to acknowledge any difference between Nazi

\(^{59}\) Pretzel, afterward to *Defying Hitler*, 303.
\(^{60}\) Kochan, *Britain's Internees*, 32.
\(^{63}\) Kochan, *Britain's Internees*, 59.
\(^{64}\) Kochan, *Britain's Internees*, 94.
sympathizers and genuine refugees, leaving the way open for violence and harassment of Jews and anti-Hitler enthusiast by Nazis. By 1944, long after most internees had been released, Britain was still attempting to remove dangerous aliens from camps, offering to repatriate Germans. Some 600 volunteered to return to Germany, though at least two jumped ship along the way, once more highlighting the fact that most internees did not want to return to their native lands.

War work and the uselessness of locked up refugees began to slowly shift public opinion. Aided by the press, the illogic and uselessness of internment began to become evident by late summer of 1940. Anti-internment letters arrived more frequently on editors' desks and advocacy groups, as well as the government published book-length tracts detailing the injustice of internment of aliens. *Anderson's Prisoners* was on one of several "victory books" in a series published in London during the summer of 1940, all dealing with political or war related topics, often written under pseudonyms. The author of this particular book, "Judex," leaves no questions as to the injustice and cruelties suffered by the internees in Britain, nor does he leave any doubt as to the responsibility of Sir John Anderson, the Home Secretary under whom internment began. "Judex" outlines the groups of people who were interned, the ill, youth, scientists, members of the Pioneer Corps, racial victims and many others. Emotions run high through the entire book as the author describes suicides of refugees who could not bear the thought of another term of imprisonment, and the plight of women and children left behind after their husbands and fathers were interned. Not surprisingly in such a one-sided view, there is no mention of the handful of true and dangerous Nazis that were interned as well. All of the

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66 “600 German Internees Going Home,” *Times* (London), 2 September, 1944.
67 Most of the authors of this book series preferred to use pseudonyms. “Judex” was actually Herbert Delawney Hughes.
internees mentioned were true refugees, and truly helpful members of British society. For this author, the enemy aliens were neither German, nor British, rather they were simply refugees who needed to be protected, not arrested. Despite the subjectivity of the argument, many people of the time were familiar with *Anderson's Prisoners*; it served a valuable purpose to bring more attention to the refugee issue, containing an address to send away for pamphlets to "enlighten your friends about the refugee problem," and influenced other authors, mostly by urging them to retain objectivity.  

While “Judex” was writing *Anderson’s Prisoners*, another historian was busily researching internment. Francois Lafitte published a far more objective view of Britain’s policies in August of 1940, under the title *The Internment of Aliens*. When looking back on his book in 1988, the incidents long in the past, Lafitte states “I find astonishingly little that I would wish to rewrite.” Like *Anderson’s Prisoners*, Lafitte’s book deals with most aspects of internment, seeking to answer questions about who was interned, and why. Instead of forming the British government into monsters preying upon helpless refugees, *The Internment of Aliens* paints the government as well meaning, if slightly misled, men who felt that they needed to protect their country in a time of war. The book addresses the facts of internment and deportation, seeking to inform rather than to emotionalize.

Though “Judex” and Lafitte disagree on style and purpose, they both agree on many aspects of internment. Both felt that the vast majority of detainees were innocent and anti-Nazi. While they disagreed somewhat on the fairness of tribunals and the conditions in camps, Lafitte, of course, being much kinder to the authorities, both agreed that the government ordered the arrests of the refugees too suddenly, giving in to public fear without considering the immediate

effect their policies would have on detainees. Round ups of refugees occurred at all hours of the
day and night, and families were given little time to pack, take care of personal affairs, and say
goodbyes before being separated for an unknown period of time. It was not until 1941 that
couples were permitted to live together in camps, since internment separated men and women.
Lafitte and “Judex” comment on the use of internment by foreign countries in an attempt to
oppose the British war effort.

The irony of internment by foreign countries in an attempt to oppose the British war effort was not lost on many
during the Second World War. No refugee was unaware of the concentration camps sprouting
throughout German-controlled areas of central Europe. It is impossible that most did not make
the connection between the internment of Jews and anti-Nazis in the National Socialist state and
the internment of those same individuals in Great Britain. Nor were the similarities lost upon
Germany. Hitler is quoted in Anderson’s Prisoners as gloating over the internment of aliens
saying, “The enemies of Germany are now the enemies of Britain too. The British have detained
in concentration camps the very people we found it necessary to detain.”

Lafitte comments that although “Nazi news bulletins have treated internment of refugees in Britain … with little
comment, though with a certain amount of condescending sarcasm,” they were “pleased to learn
that many of their bitterest enemies are now locked up in Britain.” German news and
propaganda did not take as much advantage of the situation as many in Great Britain expected,
but they threw enough observations at Great Britain to cause Lord Lytton, chairman of the
Advisory Council on Aliens in 1941, to reply to German accusations that German citizens in
internment camps were being denied adequate food. Many internees understood the
significance of being interned in the land to which they had traveled for protection. Hilda Ogbe

70 Quoted in Judex, Anderson’s Prisoners, 9.
71 Lafitte, The Internment, 155.
remembers she and her mother’s fear as they were transported to their camp on the Isle of Man. “Any fears of concentration camp barracks,” she remembered, “were soon dispelled” upon arrival at their island resort hotel.\textsuperscript{73}

No one seems to have made the connection between England’s system of internment and the similar policies evident in the United States, where Japanese and Japanese-Americans were interned in camps. But such a connection would never have been important or considered, since the United States was not yet truly involved in the war on the continent. By the time the United States began interning aliens in early 1942, most of Britain’s internees had been deported or released.

In the end, the anti-alien sentiment in Britain was just a passing scare. By mid 1940, with the end of the “phony war” the aid of aliens was needed even more to keep wartime businesses running, and most aliens were able to prove their loyalty to their new land. When the tide of war began to shift away from German might, particularly with the United States’ entry into the fighting, so did public opinion concerning the refugees within the British Isles. Perhaps the final factor in turning public opinion to favor refugees was the sinking of the Arandora Star, a former luxury liner used during the war to deport Nazis and refugees to Canada. On July 2, 1940, the ship was struck by a German torpedo, killing 146 Germans and 453 Italians.\textsuperscript{74} Throughout the fall and winter of 1940, nearly all internees were either released or deported. Arguments arose again, this time surrounding the criteria for release. Intellectuals like Fred Uhlman argued that internees were released based on monetary incentives, not loyalty or innocence from crimes. Release “depended on one question,” Uhlman wrote, “Were you or were you not ‘important for

\textsuperscript{73} Ogbe, \textit{Crumbs}, 15.
\textsuperscript{74} Kochan, \textit{Britain’s Internees}, 84.
the war effort”?

He went on to complain that “fat business tycoons who had escaped with their capital but had never lifted a finger against Hitler, and would have licked his boots if he had allowed them to” were released, while it took months to release “useless” individuals like professors and intellectuals, even if they had actively opposed Hitler. Once more, for many internees, their adopted government let them down, judging them on the wrong criteria.

Most wanted to resume their lives from before internment, to help defeat the Nazis, and to rebuild their lives once more. Many who were released early wrote into newspapers, encouraging the release of others, or asking for the chance to let internees aid the war effort. They offered advice on how to improve the internment system, but little strong criticism. None were known to want to return to Germany, and loyalty to the British war effort remained strong, at least amongst those who affixed their opinions to paper. Having been interned remained influential in the lives of many during and after the war. Internees were officially labeled “prisoners of war” and “enemy aliens,” both titles carried an emotional and social stigma. Many of the internees about whom much information is known emigrated from Britain after the war’s end. Perhaps, in the end, they felt that once more they had been abused by their government, and wanted to try to find a sense of freedom and acceptance, leaving their past pain behind and forging a new identity.

Through the first half of the Second World War, refugees to Great Britain from Nazi controlled areas had many identities. They had the official label given to them by their local tribunal, the names and titles of the press and public, and, naturally, their own images of who they were. Each of these labels had a lasting effect on the treatment of refugees and how they dealt with that treatment. A label from a tribunal, which met with a refugee for only a few

77 See the appendix for more about the lives of some of the internees mentioned repeatedly in this work.
minutes in some instances, could follow a refugee for years, leading to difficulty receiving and maintaining a job, internment and shunning by former friends and neighbors, while press and public fear led to widespread harassment and reinforcement of destructive stereotypes. Anti-Semitism and anti-German feelings ran rampant through Britain caused by fear and distrust, which fed on each other during the uncertainty of war.

Opinions regarding refugees varied greatly throughout Britain, and changed over time depending on the success of the war effort and the necessity of labor, as well as the influence of the press. Most British citizens viewed refugees as being citizens of their respective countries, if not necessarily believers in their native country’s government. Within camps, in general, all refugees were treated the same, having to wait months to be separated from Nazis, and treated like criminals and traitors regardless of their situation before the war. Refugees from Germany were Germans, not Nazis, though often that refugee viewed himself as an Englishman. Many refugees had fled from Germany in the early 1930s; after having lived in England for nearly a decade, learning a new language and adapting to a new way of life, refugees felt they had earned a new life and a fair chance to prove their loyalty and aid their adopted country.

Despite the frequent disillusionment caused by internment, internees remained steadfast in their desire to help defeat Nazi Germany. They remained loyal and willing to help Great Britain, even when they saw strong parallels between the treatment of Jews and anti-Nazi supporters in Germany and England. Yet after the Second World War was won, many refugees continued to feel the stigma of their internment; the labels and stereotypes remained despite the aid provided by refugees in the defeat of Nazism. The lack of acceptance in their new country, the one to which they had fled for freedom, was too disappointing for many refugees, who continued their travels to other countries, looking for a true home and acceptance.
In the end, internment of wartime refugees has remained a dark smudge on the history of Great Britain. Many British historians look back on the incident with shame, and even at the time, many realized the internment resulted from uncontrolled and illogical fear. The case of interned refugees can teach a valuable lesson about viewing and labeling others. As one man warned Great Britain during the war, “We are being reminded that we are fighting this war against Hitler only, not against the German people.”

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Appendix
Personalities and Figures of the Camps

Below are short biographies of important figures relating the above essay. Education and background are vital to understanding the experiences related by the internees. These biographies were written using information found in the recommended book at the end of each biographical sketch.

Sebastian Haffner (1908-1999) grew up within interwar Germany, remembering the rise of the Nazis and the effect of propaganda and militarism on those around him. He was born Raimund Pretzel in Berlin, studied law and for a time followed the path encouraged by the Nazis, honing his body through exercise and receiving tests and letters from the Nazi authorities. He wrote his Ph.D. in Paris, returned to Berlin where he fell in love with a Jewish woman, whom he could not marry. By then he was working as a journalist, and received permission in 1938 to write a series of articles about England, using this assignment as a chance to flee Germany. Haffner was interned in England from January 1940 until August of the same year. After his release he worked with colleagues for better conditions for Germans interned in Britain. Throughout the following two decades Haffner worked as a journalist, then turned in the 1960s to history, authoring books about German history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For more information on Sebastian Haffner, see Defying Hitler: A Memoir, published posthumously by Haffner’s family.
Sir Oswald Mosley (1896-1980) was born and raised in Great Britain. After attending school at Winchester and the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst where he excelled at boxing and fencing, Mosley then served in World War I with the 16th Lancers, following his family’s strong precedent of military service. He went on to become the leader of one of the most influential Fascist organizations in England, the British Union of Fascists. The organization reached its peak of popularity in 1936, adopting black shirts and leading parades and public speeches throughout London. At the outbreak of World War II, Mosley campaigned for peace and against British involvement until his arrest and internment from May of 1940 until winter 1944. For more information on Sir Oswald Mosley, see My Life, his autobiography.

Hilda Ogbe was born Hilda Gerson on July 31, 1921, making her eighteen when she and her mother fled to Britain from their home in Hamburg. She had successfully passed her Abitur, the German test that allows a student to continue his or her education beyond high school. Her specialty was modern languages, which served her well in her new country and during internment in 1940. After the war she married a Nigerian lawyer, Thomas Ogbe and moved to Nigeria. For more information, see Hilda Ogbe’s autobiography, The Crumbs off the Wife’s Table.

Fred Uhlman (1901-1985) was born in Stuttgart, Germany in an unhappy home. His university studies occurred at Freiburg, Munich, and lastly Tübingen. He intended to study dentistry, eventually settling for anatomy. Soon he began to study art history against his father’s will. As the Nazis came to power in 1933, Uhlman moved
to Paris where he became a well-known artist, then moved to Spain, and finally to London with his wife. Uhlman was interned in several camps between late fall of 1939 and December 30, 1940. After the War, he and his wife traveled widely and Uhlman continued to paint. Many of his works reside in famous galleries throughout Great Britain. See *The Making of an Englishman* for more information on Fred Uhlman.
After General Juan Domingo Perón was elected President of Argentina in 1946, he quickly moved to adopt a “New Deal” Plan for Argentina based upon economic nationalism and improved working conditions. The nationalization of the British-owned railroads was perhaps the centerpiece of his reformist policies. But fervent national pride and pageantry surrounding the purchase were quickly eroded by a painful realization: the Argentine railway system was a crumbling, antiquated colossus that drained vital resources and helped propel the nation and its people to financial ruin.

Before ascending to the presidency in 1946, Juan Perón had been a high-ranking government official, busily engaged in cultivating support for his future plans. Once Perón became Secretary of Labor and Welfare in 1943. He mediated a crippling strike by railroad workers. The agreement he reached with the Union Ferroviaria, the largest railroad union, called for increased pay and benefits—which the union had unsuccessfully sought for more than fifteen years. The industry had a troubled history marked by bitter labor disputes, including strikes in 1917-18. Perón even made an appeal in favor of Christmas bonuses. In the eyes of the worker, Perón was a hero. Railroad employee Arturo Cordeyro Echague remarked that “it was natural that the workers would turn out in support of a man who seemed to have their welfare at heart.”

Historian David Rock argued that these actions represent a shrewd strategy by the secretary to create a “vast popular constituency” of the worker and proletariat. Support of the working

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classes would be crucial to a successful nationalist platform. Indeed, it would reap the intended rewards.

Three years later Perón became President of Argentina. Throughout the next nine years in office, he would lead the nation with an unprecedented nationalist vision. According to historian Robert Crassweller, Perón’s “inward” approach was based upon guiding policies that promoted a “strong evocation of the indigenous Argentina.” His “New Deal” economic reforms were embodied in two sweeping five year plans, the first passed in 1946, and the second in 1952. Both rested on several core principles: enlarged state ownership through nationalization of utilities, central economic planning by the state, and industrialization. Appealing to his base supporters, Perón implemented new labor laws including a minimum wage, paid holidays, sick leave, disability pay, and a right to strike. Overall, his economic nationalism can be considered “reformist” but not revolutionary. Author Jean Kirkpatrick argued that the economic models of Perón’s predecessors were left largely intact.

The showcase of Perón’s new nationalism was perhaps the acquisition and nationalization of the British rail system. In the years preceding the Perón administration, Argentina had attempted to gradually buy out foreign railroad interests. By 1946, the nation had been successful in assuming ownership of a small network of French rails, but the British, to whom the vast majority of the system belonged, refused to sell off any of its interests. Early in his term, Perón agreed to a plan that would have incrementally increased Argentine railroad interests, but he later scrapped the plan in favor of immediate purchase. Negotiations were

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5 Kirkpatrick, Leader and Vanguard, 38.
reopened and the purchase was finally completed on March 1, 1947, for a staggering price tag of $600 million.\(^7\) Reactions to the sale were mixed. Argentine economist, Raul Prebisch contended that “Perón undoubtedly paid entirely too much for the railroads.”\(^8\) In contrast, Americo Berries, an aide to the President, argues that “the purchase of the railroads was a good deal which cost Argentina nothing.”\(^9\) In any event, Perón had achieved the centerpiece of his nationalist plan.

The dramatic purchase was made possible by utilizing the country’s abundant assets. President Perón was the lucky benefactor of significant foreign reserves accumulated during World War II. Because Argentina remained neutral, its factories were not retooled to support the war effort and subsequently, continued to churn out exports that wartime countries were no longer able to. As a result, the nation amassed a sizable foreign trade balance, mostly with Britain, that totaled approximately $1.6 billion dollars in 1946. Historian Arthur P. Whitaker stated that by using this “fabulous treasure” to purchase the rails, Perón squandered a “golden opportunity” to put the reserves to good use.\(^10\) Similarly, Manuel Herrada, an Argentine student, asserted that “it was a great mistake to use these frozen assets to buy the railroads.”\(^11\) Julio Broide, and economics professor at the University of Buenos Aires, agreed. He alleged that “Perón was a free spender.” As to the foreign exchange, “he wasted it,” Broide said.\(^12\) In addition, as aforementioned, Perón used the reserve balance to pay the purchase price in one lump sum. This method was also highly criticized by observers, including Whitaker who argued that it was “unwise” for Perón to do so. Instead, he would have preferred the payments be made

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\(^8\) Raul Prebisch, in *Alexander Papers*, reel 4, frame 581.
\(^9\) Berries, in *Alexander Papers*, reel 4, frame 1039.
\(^11\) Manuel Herrada, in *Alexander Papers*, reel 4, frame 476.
\(^12\) Julio Broide, in *Alexander Papers*, reel 4, frame 472.
in installments, thereby maintaining a reserve balance which could have been used for necessary projects.\(^\text{13}\)

Nevertheless, Perón’s bold railroad nationalization was wildly popular and garnered widespread support for the regime. The purchase was a significant and dramatic achievement in the fulfillment of Perón’s vision for enlarged state ownership. The acquired system accounted for a staggering 65% of all rails within Argentina (the remaining sections were mostly owned by France).\(^\text{14}\) In addition, total foreign-owned assets in the nation plummeted by 59%.\(^\text{15}\) Flag draped rail cars triumphantly chugged through towns and cities, arousing much needed nationalist pride. But the pageantry and celebration were quickly eroded by a painful realization, one that would strike a serious blow to the Perón presidency.

Argentina had on its hands a crumbling, outdated rail system. More than half of the equipment and machinery used on the 30,000 kilometers of track pre-dated 1914.\(^\text{16}\) By 1955, some of the trains had deteriorated so badly that they ran at only half their normal speed. It was estimated that $1.2 billion would be needed to properly overhaul the dilapidated system (whereas only $600 was paid for the system originally).\(^\text{17}\) But with foreign reserves gone, there existed no available capital for the needed upgrades. Surely, the sparkle and gleam of Perón’s new nationalism was considerably faded by the rusting hulk of a once impressive rail system no longer in its glory. Manuel Herrada, a student at the University of La Plata, surmised that because of the “bad condition” of the rails, the “real gainers from [the nationalization purchase] were the British investors.”\(^\text{18}\) He had a point. Why then, was the industry itself unable to

\(^{13}\) Whitaker, *Argentina*, 126.
\(^{14}\) Whitaker, *Argentina*, 126.
\(^{15}\) Rock, *Argentina*, 278.
\(^{16}\) Rock, *Argentina*, 279.
\(^{17}\) Whitaker, *Argentina*, 138.
\(^{18}\) Herrada, interview, reel 4, frame 476.
generate sufficient revenue to meet critical infrastructure needs? Historian Robert Crassweller argued that the railroads were not a “productive industry,” meaning they created no new jobs and “did little to stimulate economic growth.” Furthermore, the rails were labor intensive, requiring an expansion of an already bloated workforce. Between 1943 and 1957, the number of employees jumped by 60%. Coupled with stagnant passenger traffic, the system soon became an enormous cancer slowly draining the country of its economic health. Raul Prebisch, once General Manager of the Central Bank of Argentina, characterized the railroads as a “serious deficit creator for the government.” But Mr. Prebisch placed blame for this mostly upon Perón himself.

Indeed, the president poorly managed the industry by ignoring critical needs and hampering the workforce with ineffective bureaucrats. Prebisch stated that Perón “very much overmanned the railroads.” Whitaker agreed and further argued that Perón filled the staff with loyal cronies as opposed to talented businessmen who were capable of effectively managing the railroad labyrinth. He asserted that Perón’s stewardship was nothing more than “bureaucratic politics, feather-bedding, and incompetence.” Perhaps even the best managerial efforts couldn’t have rescued the decrepit rails, but clearly the president erred by allowing partisanship and favoritism to supercede honest direction from the Casa Rosada (presidential palace).

The disastrous railroad debacle is largely indicative of Perón’s failed economic policies as a whole. During his term, Argentina grappled with soaring inflation and a skyrocketing deficit. Inflation jumped from 3.6% in 1947 to 15.3% in 1948, and up to 23.2% in 1949.

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19 Crassweller, Perón and the Enigmas, 218.
20 Rock, Argentina, 301.
21 Prebisch, interview, reel 4, frame 581.
22 Prebisch, interview, reel 4, frame 581.
23 Whitaker, Argentina, 126.
24 Juan Carlow Torre and Liliana de Riz, “Argentina Since 1946,” in Argentina Since Independence, ed.
dramatic increase in the cost of living essentially undermined Perón’s earlier wage increases—precisely the reason why railroad workers went on strike in 1950. Arturo Echague, a construction engineer on the rails, stated that “Perón has not done so much for the workers as he makes out that he has done...And insofar as wages are concerned, they may have gone up, but prices have gone up even faster, and so the worker is the loser.”

Author Fredrick C. Turner agreed. He stated that Perón’s policies “spurred inflation and undercut the economic growth that might have been the surest aid to the lower classes in the long run.” In addition to inflation, the ballooning deficit loomed as a grave and growing problem. The huge rise in public spending caused the national debt to reach $160 million by 1949.

Edward Morrow, a New York Times correspondent in Buenos Aires, lamented that “the deficit has been getting bigger... [and] the economy is going to ruin.” Without a doubt, the rail system only added to this dismal economic picture. It was indeed a microcosm of a much larger yet equally severe financial situation.

Robert Crassweller made a case that the “Achilles heel,” or root cause of Perón’s economic woes was his investment policy. As aforementioned, industrialization was a major priority for the administration. However, Perón went too far in this regard and largely neglected the agricultural sector. As a result, agricultural exports declined, as did crucial export revenues. With declining profits, Perón was hard pressed to find sufficient funds for acquiring imports (say, new machinery for industrialization) and investing in domestic projects (railroad overhaul,

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25 Echague, in Alexander Papers, reel 4, frame 455.


27 Torre and de Riz, in Argentina Since Independence, 257.

for example). Argentine politician Arturo Frondizi saw the results of this “disastrous” economic policy first-hand. He commented that “there has not been imported any new agricultural machinery for many years. This is because the industrialization program of the government was established at the cost of the country’s agriculture.”

The dramatic showcase of President Juan Domingo Perón’s economic nationalism was the wildly popular purchase and nationalization of British-owned railroads. But the bold move turned out to be a costly anachronism in a land increasingly characterized by modern, transnational highways not colossal rail networks. The system was a crumbling, expensive, poorly managed labyrinth. Looking back, engineering student Felix Lodesma remarks that “the Perón government was a disaster. He loaded the country with social legislation which it couldn’t afford, and which was purely demagogic. He wasted government funds, destroyed agriculture, and did nothing for the industry or any other part of the economy.” Indeed the nationalization was indicative of such failed economic policies as a whole. The purchase squandered favorable reserves, caused significant deficits, and turned out to be a massive cancer, slowly draining Argentina of its economic vitality.

29 Crassweller, Perón and the Enigmas, 219.
30 Arturo Frondizi, in Alexander Papers, reel 4, 1077.
31 Felix Lodesma, in Alexander Papers, reel 4, 491.
IN MEMORIAM

Dr. Francis A. Burkle-Young died of cancer on January 17, 2005. He was 60 years old. A distinguished scholar and author who was deeply committed to research and the study of the English language, Dr. Burkle-Young was honored with a desk in his name at the Library of Congress when he was only an adolescent. His publications include: *The Life of Cardinal Innocenzo Del Monte: A Scandal in Scarlet* (1997), *The Art of the Footnote* (1996), *The Research Guide for the Digital Age: A New Handbook to Research and Writing for the Serious Student* (1997), *Papal Elections in the Age of Transition, 1878-1922* (2000), and *Passing the Keys: Modern Cardinals, Conclaves and the Election of the Next Pope* (1999).

Dr. Burkle-Young’s love of knowledge and history significantly enlightened his students’ approaches to research and their academic outlooks. The essay that had the most influence on his life was Walter Pater’s “Conclusion” to “The Renaissance,” which summed up Dr. Burkle-Young’s mission to learn and teach: “Of such wisdom, the poetic passion, the desire of beauty, the love of art for its own sake, has most. For art comes to you proposing frankly to give nothing but the highest quality to your moments as they pass, and simply for those moments’ sake.”

Lorelei Westbrook
May, 2005