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Historical Studies Honor Society

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cont'd.

PSO

Welcome Letter

Hello everyone! Here is the Winter 2019 edition of *The Saber and Scroll Journal.*

This issue features articles and reviews that cover a wide range of historical topics—from Rembrandt to Mickey Mouse and Thomas Jefferson to NASCAR. We also have several new contributors to this issue: Michael Oram, Joseph Frusci, Chelsea Tatham, and Daniel Boone. I would like to congratulate all those whose papers or reviews were selected for publication. I am not certain that people realize the amount of work that goes into the research, writing, and editing of papers that are published in our journal.

As with every issue, there are many people who have contributed to this endeavor. I would like to thank our volunteer content editors and proofreaders. Also, a special shout-out to our faculty advisor, Dr. Steven Kreis, who personally read and edited all papers and reviews.

Rather than take your time reading this "Letter from the Editor" I will close and allow you to move on to reading the great articles and reviews.

Here's wishing everyone a healthy and happy holiday season and a prosperous New Year. Be on the lookout for the Spring 2020 edition of the Saber & Scroll Journal, tentatively scheduled for March 2020.

Regards,

Lew Taylor

Editor-in-Chief, The Saber and Scroll Journal

Rembrandt: Compliant Calvinist or Independent Thinker?

Kathleen Guler

American Military University

Abstract

Theories suggest that Calvinist Reformation dogma created a problem for artists in seventeenth century Netherlands by redefining the concept of grace. As a result, artists struggled to portray grace in a manner that aligned with Calvinist doctrine. Rembrandt (1606-1669) allegedly solved this problem when he "invented" an artistic style to satisfy the redefinition. Although Rembrandt's subject matter appears to have properly portrayed Calvinist grace, the artist also expressed social and political commentary through his *oeuvre* with a remarkable independence from Reformation ideology. He was driven to perfect the dramatic, real life emotional values of themes *underlying* biblical stories—compassion, tolerance, forgiveness—as well as in gritty street scenes, portraits, and much more. In comparing and contrasting details of Rembrandt's goals as an artist, his social attitudes, and the themes of his wide-ranging works against the context of the religious climate in which he lived, a strong suggestion emerges that this "invention" may never have been the artist's intention at all.

Keywords: Rembrandt, Reformation, Calvinist Grace, Dutch Masters, Artists, Netherlands, Humanism, Independent Thought, Remonstrants

Rembrandt: ¿calvinista conforme o pensador independiente?

Resumen

Las teorías sugieren que el dogma de la Reforma Calvinista creó un problema para los artistas en los Países Bajos del siglo XVII al redefinir el concepto de gracia. Como resultado, los artistas lucharon por retratar la gracia de una manera que se alineara con la doc-

trina calvinista. Rembrandt (1606-1669) supuestamente resolvió este problema cuando "inventó" un estilo artístico para satisfacer la redefinición. Aunque el tema de Rembrandt parece haber retratado adecuadamente la gracia calvinista, el artista también expresó comentarios sociales y políticos a través de su obra con una notable independencia de la ideología de la Reforma. Se vio impulsado a perfeccionar los dramáticos valores emocionales de la vida real de los temas que subyacen a las historias bíblicas (compasión, tolerancia, perdón), así como en escenas callejeras, retratos y mucho más. Al comparar y contrastar los detalles de los objetivos de Rembrandt como artista, sus actitudes sociales y los temas de sus obras de gran alcance contra el contexto del clima religioso en el que vivió, surge una fuerte sugerencia de que esta "invención" puede nunca haber sido la intención del artista en absoluto.

Palabras clave: Rembrandt, Reforma, Gracia calvinista, Maestros holandeses, Artistas, Países Bajos, Humanismo, Pensamiento independiente, Manifestantes

伦勃朗：忠实的加尔文主义者还是独立思考者？

摘要

理论暗示，加尔文宗教改革教义通过重新定义恩典的概念，为十七世纪的荷兰艺术家创造了一个问题。结果则是，艺术家以与加尔文主义教条一致的方式，努力刻画恩典的形象。据称，当伦勃朗（生于1606年，卒于1669年）"发明"了一种能满足恩典再定义的艺术风格时，便解决了这一问题。尽管伦勃朗的画作主题看似恰当地描绘了加尔文主义式的恩典，这位艺术家也通过其全部作品表达了社会评论和政治评论，这些作品（的创作）在很大程度上独立于宗教改革意识形态。受到驱使，他需要完美展现圣经故事中隐含主题的夸张且真实的情感价值观—同情、容忍、原谅—和真实街边情景及肖像画等中的价值观。通过比较和对比伦勃朗时期的宗教氛围背景下他作为艺术家的目标、他的社会态度、他的广泛题材作品主题，得出了一个强烈的暗示，即所谓的"创造"可能从来就不是这位艺术家的意图。

关键词：伦勃朗，宗教改革，加尔文主义式恩典（Calvinist Grace），荷兰（艺术）大师，艺术家，荷兰，人权主义，独立思考，抗辩者

Retired University of Toronto English professor William H. Halewood has theorized that Calvinist Reformation doctrine created a problem for artists in the Netherlands by redefining the concept of grace. As a result, artists struggled to portray grace in a manner that aligned to Calvinist doctrine. Rembrandt allegedly solved the problem when he "invented" an artistic style to satisfy this redefinition.[1] While biblical topics indeed comprised a healthy percentage of Rembrandt's subject matter and appear to portray the Calvinist conception of grace, the artist also expressed social and political commentary through his *oeuvre* with a remarkable independence from Reformation ideology. By comparing and contrasting details of Rembrandt's goals as an artist, his social attitudes, and the themes of his wide-ranging works against the context of the religious climate in which he lived, a strong suggestion emerges that the "invention" of Halewood's focus may never have been the artist's intention at all.

The problem that Halewood perceives for Netherlandish artists is that the Protestant concept of grace—the unmerited gift from God of divine love and protection—was not being portrayed properly in art. Anti-humanist Protestant austerity stifled the spectacular celebration of human life that had developed in Renaissance art and, in some places, almost completely eliminated it. In the Netherlands, Reformers believed the good life was unattainable because of man's sinfulness thus, art must be redefined along the same lines as religion's redefinition and grace, as

God's greatest gift, had to be recognized for its tremendous generosity against man's sinfulness.[2]

Calvinist Protestantism dominated the seventeenth century Netherlands in which Rembrandt lived and it certainly overshadowed his upbringing. Calvinism had reached the Netherlands in the mid-to-late-1500s, and by the time Rembrandt was born in Leiden in 1606, half the Dutch had converted from Catholicism to Calvinism, Lutheranism, Anabaptism, Mennonitism, and other Protestant followings. Calvinism's austerity not only caused tension with Catholics and Jews, it split along class lines and was embroiled in the politics of the Dutch War of Independence (1568-1648) from Catholic Spain. Wealthier, less austere upper-class liberals, called Remonstrants, favored peace. Hardliner Counter-Remonstrants of the lower classes wanted to continue the fight. This rift caused further stress within Dutch society.

Against this gloomy religious and politically acrimonious climate, Rembrandt received a humanist education. The humanism movement of the Renaissance that had pervaded Europe expressed the ideal of a moral hero living the good life in earthly happiness, a concept drawn from Aristotelian thought, which European intellectuals embraced. Particularly in Italy, but spreading elsewhere as well, the celebration of the perfect human image in painting and sculpture pursued a "golden world of harmony, symmetry, and fulfilled aspiration, a revelation in human terms of universal beauty."[3]

As the ninth of ten children and the youngest son of an upper-middle-class miller, Rembrandt was fortunate that his family could afford to send him to good schools. Even though humanism was still the basis of education at the time of his generation—this changed soon after, in 1625—the religious instruction included in school also encompassed the "true religion," otherwise known as Calvinist Protestantism.[4] During Rembrandt's schooling, he would have spent much time studying the Bible, which provided numerous subjects for the career on which he would soon embark. At thirteen, he went to Leiden University, with the goal of preparing himself for a life of civic duty, a typical occupation for a middle-class man in the Calvinist Netherlands.[5]

However, within about a year of enrolling at the university, Rembrandt already began to show he was not going to have a typical life. He quit school and immediately began an apprenticeship as an artist; his new goal was possibly to become a court painter. A German artist, Joachim von Sandrart (1606-1688), noted in a biographical sketch in 1675 that Rembrandt could "only read Netherlandish poorly, and therefore gained little from reading."[6] Perhaps poor academic performance explains why he left school so abruptly. More likely, however, he was simply disinterested and decided to follow his growing inclination towards art.

As a young apprentice, Rembrandt was absolutely determined to become a premier history painter. Dutch painter Karel van Mander (1548-1606), in his book, argued that the only worthwhile art is based on mythological, classical, and allegorical scenes, categorized as "history painting." Anything else was beneath an artist's dignity. Portraiture, though esteemed—depending upon the subject of the portrait—was deemed less prestigious, mainly due to the need to flatter the patron. Paintings of streets, shops, humorous subjects, and similar genre scenes were another level down. Landscapes and still life scenes occupied the lowest category of all. In the seventeenth century, an artist was judged by his patrons; to be a history painter could bring artists the patronage of nobility or even royalty, which in turn would give them enormous prestige and the possibility of earning a good living. Rembrandt had the talent for this. Further, he acted on the ambition and pride that his parents and teachers seemed to have instilled in him from childhood. Most artists became proficient in only one skill and concentrated on a particular type of imagery, such as portraits or landscapes. Rembrandt proved able to do most anything. Artistically, he found great inspiration in the work of the Italian painter Caravaggio (1571-1610) and the Flemish painter Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640). Italian Renaissance painters popularized the highly rendered play of light and dark, called *chiaroscuro*, which became a fad in the Netherlands. Rembrandt carried this use of dramatic light much further, as he mastered both painting skills and the art of etching. Moreover, he pioneered the combination of genres, creating the notion of not just a history painter, but

also a dramatist. He became obsessed with telling a story through a painting or etching, finding the decisive moment in a scene, and through it, expressing commentary that was religious, social, political, or all three.

In light of his artistic goals, how religious Rembrandt actually was is difficult, if not impossible, to determine. Biblical tales were a principal source for Rembrandt's storytelling. The Italian artist Filippo Baldinucci (1624-1697) claimed that Rembrandt "professed in those days the religion of the Mennonites."[7] Scholars have speculated on the truth of this claim, noting that austere black and white Mennonite clothing and themes of family ties, honesty, piety, charity, and patience recurred often in Rembrandt's art. However, the clothing of those images was common to the period and worn by both Remonstrants and Catholics alike. Rembrandt's father was most likely a liberal Calvinist Remonstrant, but how much influence his father had on him is unknown. Regardless, Rembrandt did not appear to have adhered to or cared for any organized religion.[8]

Rembrandt produced his first known painting, *The Stoning of St. Stephen*, in 1625. While art critics do not consider it a good painting, it already demonstrated Rembrandt's strong drive to become a history painter and his dramatic storytelling capabilities. It shows a group of men wielding stones the instant before they crush a martyr's skull. In the background is a group of men who show utter indifference to Stephen's plight. Behind the group of stone throwers, a face gazes out at the painting's viewer with an "expression of glee—another nice, chilling touch" to the story's mood, in the words of Rembrandt biographer Charles L. Mee.[9] Intriguingly, art experts identify the face as one of Rembrandt's many self-portraits. What was he trying to convey? Within the context of Rembrandt's time, the tightening austerity of the Calvinists narrowed religious tolerance. With hardliner Counter-Remonstrants pushing for continued war against Catholic Spain, a Remonstrant leader had been arrested and beheaded in 1619 during a period of sectarian strife. In this painting, Rembrandt appears to have made a daring and courageous plea for peace and tolerance, putting him on the side of the liberal Remonstrants.

But was Rembrandt truly commenting on this event? Perhaps, but not necessarily. The painting appeared in the same year that Prince Frederik Hendrik came to power. Perhaps Rembrandt wanted to appear in a favorable light to the prince or to wealthy liberal Calvinists who might confer a lucrative history painting commission upon him. While this is conjecture, like any other artist, in his early days Rembrandt struggled to establish his career through a good reputation.

Whether Rembrandt ever read van Mander's book on the rules of art is doubtful, but he probably knew of it. Even if he had read it, he produced art by his own rules, not the way others thought he should. He continued to paint history scenes, numerous society portraits that were the building blocks

of his financial success in the 1630s, and dozens of self-portraits. In all of these works, he built upon the traits that would become his signature as an artist. Regardless of the subject, he chose to portray the subject's theme at the instant of a revelation, the shock of a miracle as it happened, the invisible divine presence reflected in the subject's eyes, or the moment that grief, relief, compassion, or any other emotion was at its most intense. Sandrart noted that Rembrandt, who taught art to the children of wealthy families for several years, steered his students away from the idealized beautiful bodies of the Italian Renaissance tradition. He stressed that the perfect proportions and "politically correct" depictions of aristocrats with noble virtues was not real life and the artist should look for the plain, real world.[10] In biblical scenes, he also showed attitudes, gestures, and actions that reflected real life. For example, one of his images of Jesus preaching shows his listeners exhibiting a range of responses from rapt attention to abject boredom. This sort of depiction, which for Rembrandt was more common than not, brought him both popularity and disdain. It certainly would not have endeared him to proper Calvinists.

Going against the rules—any rules—was a characteristic that governed Rembrandt for much of his life. In spite of the biblical subjects that so many of his works portrayed, his social attitudes appear to have taken precedence over religious thought. Early on, Rembrandt moved into the cheap, run-down artists' quarter of Amsterdam, on Sint Antoniesbreestraat, St. Anthony's

Broad Street. Initially he could not have afforded a better neighborhood, but regardless, it seems to have had plenty of appeal for him. It was full of artists, writers, scholars, publishers, art dealers, and immigrants. The shops sold items that made appropriate props for his paintings, objects like old helmets, swords, violins, cloaks, and hats. Taverns provided drink, camaraderie, and prostitutes who were willing models. Old Jewish men posed for scenes from the Old Testament, and immigrants and soldiers who survived the wars made intriguing subjects for exotic scenes. Small scruffy dogs, old toothless women, blind men, beggars and cripples, street urchins, and the downtrodden all lived in this neighborhood, giving Rembrandt more than enough material to infuse his scenes with the deep sense of reality he craved to portray.

Rembrandt seems to have always been a bit of an outsider in Dutch society. Even his name—Rembrandt—was old-fashioned for the time, another aspect, though minor, that set him apart and out of place. He must have felt comfortable among the many languages and religions of the poor, the foreign, and the outcast. Among the members of the Jewish community who lived in the neighborhood, a rabbi and scholar called Menasseh ben Israel, who knew ten languages and ran the leading Jewish press in northern Europe, became a close friend. Menasseh was a bit unorthodox in his own ideas, an appealing trait to Rembrandt, who tended to displease Calvinists by painting Jesus as a Jew. He also illustrated Menasseh's book *The Glorious Stone* and did more por-

traits of Jews than any other Amsterdam painter, another point of contention for the Calvinists. Rembrandt did not seem to care what his critics thought of him for doing so. His temperament and motivation seemed to come from warmth and tolerance, not ideology, as the early painting *The Stoning of St. Stephen* suggests.[11] Even during his period of success in the 1630s, when he bought one of the largest houses in Amsterdam, he was still more or less in the same neighborhood, just around the end corner of Sint Antoniesbreestraat. He lived there for at least twenty years until bankruptcy forced him to move to the Jordaan, another poor neighborhood known as an enclave for outsiders.

Never modest, Rembrandt's attitudes towards other social conventions further support a disregard of Calvinist morals. Scandals plagued him, their origins of his own making. Some stemmed from the subject matter of his artwork. Like a shape-shifter, he portrayed himself in dozens of self-portraits, ranging from experimental expressions in the 1620s that give the impression of a sardonic sense of humor to theatrical disguises in the 1630s that many considered outrageously pretentious. Risqué bedroom scenes in which his wife Saskia modeled set gossip rampaging.

Further scandals that would have heaped disdain on him came after Saskia's death in 1642: Rembrandt cohabited with two women, first with his son's nurse, then with a young housekeeper, Hendrickje Stoffels, until her death from the plague in 1663. He did not marry either woman, most likely due to money issues stemming from Saskia's inheritance. He never kept household records to keep track of his money—or the lack of it. Out of utter distaste for cooperating with governmental entities, Rembrandt often neglected to pay taxes, file necessary court papers, or answer legal summons. Noted for his rudeness at times, probably due to these struggles, he lost patrons and was able to secure only a few commissions. Yet he had the resourcefulness, or audacity, to evade notaries and to connive others into lending him even more money despite his manipulations and well-known untrustworthiness. He was incredibly creative in dodging creditors and continued to dig himself into a bottomless pit of debt.

The tone of Rembrandt's works grew more frank and analytical in the last decade of his life, probably reflecting the loss of Saskia and Hendrickje and the weight of his financial problems. He gave up society portraiture, and while sometimes erratic in quality, his scenes concentrated on lonely, anonymous figures, some simply domestic, but many in the biblical genre. He appears to have come closer to the "invented" artistic style that Halewood describes. Of the Reformation subjects that allegedly satisfied the master theme of forgiveness or mercy, Rembrandt illustrated them all, often many times over. But was this the "invention" Halewood posits? [12]

Stylistically, Dutch Reformation art in general had already been playing down the "prettiness" of earlier art, moving towards simplicity, darker colors, minimal gestures, and blurred

lines. Many artists adapted by retreating to neutral subjects such as portraiture, landscapes, still-lifes, classical mythology, and history, anything that would not offend Calvinist reformers.[13] As noted, Rembrandt had followed suit with the use of dramatic *chiaroscuro*. Further, art historian Julius Held stated, "Nothing indeed seems to support the theory that to the contemporary Dutchmen Rembrandt's art appeared strange, eccentric or out of line with what they knew from other artists."[14]

One of the most important subjects Halewood identified, the conversion of the apostle Paul, offers a clue to Rembrandt's thinking. The artist portrayed Paul at least eleven times. Calvinists considered Paul a hero, the Protestant everyman. One sketch shows him weakened from his conversion, crumpled and in need of God's mercy—Calvinist grace. Other works show him in quiet, contemplative moods with accompanying symbolism in accordance with Calvinist principles. Rembrandt even produced a self-portrait in which he posed as Paul. Yet the dates of these renditions range from very early to very late in the artist's career. Rather than developing a style to satisfy the definition of Calvinist grace, Rembrandt was already creating works from the beginning that fit the ideal.

Rembrandt's upbringing amidst the all-pervasive Calvinist doctrines and attitudes would have likely saturated his knowledge of biblical subjects. He would not have read religious treatises—Halewood believes this is true[15]—but even without this aid, Rembrandt

likely would have known the symbolism and dogma by heart, like a tool used so often the craftsman no longer needs to think how to manipulate it—he simply used it. Rembrandt employed these topics again and again. Moreover, the only known phrase with which he described his own artwork was "the deepest and most lifelike emotion."[16] Certainly, the artist was a thinker in the sense that he studied more than just Calvinist subjects. Profoundly driven, he perfected the dramatic and real-life emotional values of the themes *underlying* the biblical stories—compassion, tolerance, forgiveness, and many more along this line.

Further, unlike his creditors and despite his sometimes questionable actions, no mention of hounding Calvinist "moral police" appears in any records. Possibly, his religious paintings were considered proper enough to keep moralists at bay, but more likely, the Calvinist Church had little power over him because he disregarded its authority in the way he did other conventions of society. He appears to have never received help from the Reformers either.

Indeed, Halewood is not even sure whether Rembrandt intentionally set out to "invent" a Reformationist style. He attempts to "locate Rembrandt in relation to the dominant religious attitudes of his time and place, emphasizing what was *typical* rather than *individual* in his faith." Halewood states he is simply suggesting this thesis rather than making an exhaustive study.[17] Further, as an English professor, not art historian, Halewood focused on the Refor-

mation idea of grace, both in his book on Rembrandt and in another he wrote on seventeenth century poetry. Perhaps he narrowed his analysis so far that he missed the real mission of Rembrandt's art: to perfect the dramatic emotional quality of the themes he portrayed.

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Notes

1   William H. Halewood, *Six Subjects of Reformation Art: A Preface to Rembrandt* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), ix–x.

2   Ibid., 4.

3   Ibid., 19.

4   Bob Haak, *Rembrandt: His Life, His Work, His Time,* trans. by Elizabeth Willems-Treeman (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1969), 18–19.

5   Charles L. Mee, Jr., *Rembrandt's Portrait: A Biography* (n.p.: New Word City, 2013), Kindle edition, 120.

6   Joachim von Sandrart, "Life of Rembrandt, from *Teutsche Academie*, 1675," in *Lives of Rembrandt*, ed. by Charles Ford (London: Pallas Athene, 2007), 29.

7   Filippo Baldinucci, "Life of Rembrandt: from the Cominciamento e Progresso dell'arte d'intagliare in rame colle vita de' più eccellenti maestri della stessa professione, 1686" in *Lives of Rembrandt,* ed. Charles Ford (London: Pallas Athene, 2007), 40.

8   Mee, *Rembrandt's Portrait*, 703.

9   Ibid., 663–664.

10 Ibid., 1886-89.

11 Ibid., 1662.

12 Halewood, *Six Subjects*, 143.

13 Ibid., 5, 28.

14 Julius S. Held, "Reflections on Seventeenth Century Dutch Painting," *Parnassus* 11, no. 2 (February 1939): 16, http://www.jstor.org/stable/771724.

15 Halewood, 136.

16 Mee, 2068.

17 Halewood, ix. Emphasis is mine.

The Aristotelian Philosophies of Quattrocento Venice: The Effect on Isotta Nogarola's Humanist Career

Melissa Sims

American Military University

Abstract

This paper examines Isotta Nogarola's (1418–1466) path to becoming a prominent female Renaissance humanist scholar in early fifteenth-century Venice. In quattrocento Italy, some learned women entered the realm of Renaissance humanism through their literary works, which demonstrated they had a thorough knowledge of classical authors and their philosophies. The journey was not an easy one for Isotta, however, who lived under Venetian rule; she had to contend with the dominant Aristotelian gender ideal that she be silent and submissive as a wife and mother or enter conventual life. She abandoned her secular humanist career for a life devoted to God in 1441, primarily because of Venice's Aristotelian conservative assessment of women, but also because, as a holy woman, combining her humanist views with Biblical wisdom was the only socially acceptable way for a fifteenth-century, unmarried Italian woman to pursue humanism as a career and reject her culture's misogyny without being condemned. This paper will also compare Isotta's life to those of Hildegard of Bingen and Christine de Pizan, who enjoyed success writing about women's issues between the Middle Ages and the Italian Renaissance.

Keywords: Isotta Nogarola, Humanism, Renaissance, Venice, Aristotle, holy woman

Las filosofías aristotélicas del Quattrocento Venecia: el efecto sobre la carrera humanista de Isotta Nogarola

Resumen

Este artículo examina el camino de Isotta Nogarola (1418-1466) para convertirse en una prominente erudita humanista del Renacimiento a principios de la Venecia del siglo XV. En el quattrocento

de Italia, algunas mujeres instruidas entraron en el reino del humanismo renacentista a través de sus obras literarias, lo que demostró que tenían un conocimiento profundo de los autores clásicos y sus filosofías. Sin embargo, el viaje no fue fácil para Isotta, que vivió bajo el dominio veneciano; tuvo que lidiar con el ideal de género aristotélico dominante para que fuera silenciosa y sumisa como esposa y madre o entrara en la vida conventual. Ella abandonó su carrera humanista secular por una vida dedicada a Dios en 1441, principalmente debido a la evaluación conservadora aristotélica de Venecia sobre las mujeres, pero también porque, como mujer santa, combinar sus puntos de vista humanistas con la sabiduría bíblica era la única forma socialmente aceptable para un decimoquinto. siglo, mujer italiana soltera para perseguir el humanismo como carrera y rechazar la misoginia de su cultura sin ser condenada. Este documento también comparará la vida de Isotta con la de Hildegard de Bingen y Christine de Pizan, quienes disfrutaron con éxito escribiendo sobre temas de mujeres entre la Edad Media y el Renacimiento italiano.

Palabras clave: Isotta Nogarola, Humanismo, Renacimiento, Venecia, Aristóteles, mujer santa

十五世纪威尼斯的亚里士多德学派哲学：对伊索塔·诺加罗拉的人道主义事业产生的效果

摘要

本文研究了伊索塔·诺加罗拉（Isotta Nogarola，生于1418年，卒于1466年）在十五世纪早期的威尼斯成为著名文艺复兴女性人道主义学者的历程。十五世纪的意大利，一些有学问的女性通过其文学作品进入了文艺复兴人道主义领域，这些作品证明她们全面了解了经典作家及其哲学理念。然而，对于生活在威尼斯规则下的伊索塔而言，这条路并不轻松；她不得不挑战当时占主导地位的亚里士多德的性别观念，后者认为她在作为妻子、母亲或进入修道院的生活中时应该保持沉默和温顺。她在1441年抛弃了世俗的人道主义事业，投身于上帝，主要是因为威尼斯亚里士多德学派保守党对女性的评价，但也因为作为一名圣洁的女性，将人道主义观点与圣经智慧结合，对这位生活在十五世纪的未婚意大利女性而言是唯一的可以被社会所接受的方式，以追求人道主义事业，同时在不被谴责的情况下对其文化中的厌女症说不。

本文还将伊索塔的生活与希尔德加德·冯·宾根、克里斯蒂娜·德·皮桑的生活进行比较，后两位女性在中世纪时期和意大利文艺复兴期间成功撰写了有女性问题的著作。

关键词：伊索塔·诺加罗拉（Isotta Nogarola），人道主义，文艺复兴，威尼斯，亚里士多德，圣洁的女人

Feminist historians herald Isotta Nogarola (1418–1466) as the first female humanist of the Italian Renaissance due to her vast epistolary exchange with prominent male humanists and claim her as the most learned female of the Italian Renaissance.[1] While some learned women in quattrocento Italy participated in Renaissance humanism by circulating their writings, which demonstrated they had a thorough knowledge of classical authors and their philosophies, the journey was not an easy one for those who wanted to study humanism as a career, remain unmarried, and live under Venetian rule; they had to contend with the dominant Aristotelian gender ideal that they be silent and submissive as wives and mothers or enter conventual life as a nun. Although Isotta enjoyed early success as a humanist scholar in Verona and Venice, she suddenly abandoned her secular humanist career for a life devoted to God in 1441, primarily because Venice's Aristotelian conservative assessment of women pressured her to accept its dominant gender ideals, but also because, as a holy woman, combining her humanist views with Biblical wisdom was the only socially acceptable way for a fifteenth-century, unmarried Italian woman to pursue humanism and reject her culture's misogyny without being condemned.

The Attack on Isotta's Humanist Career (1436–1441)

In quattrocento Italy, it was customary for men entering humanist circles to correspond with statesmen, clergymen, and prominent male humanists in the hope that a good response of praise and encouragement, which would have been made public, would soon follow.[2] For women, it was customary to write within their "intellectual family," which included male teachers, noblemen, clergymen, and other male intellectuals closely associated with the family.[3] Isotta Nogarola's humanist career began in Verona in just that way, when she was just eighteen years old. Yet, she pushed the bounds of what was considered customary and normal for her gender in quattrocento Italy.

It was considered inappropriate for women to write outside of their intellectual family,[4] but Isotta did just that. She wrote to men she did not know, like

Ermolao Barbaro (1410–1471), a clergyman, at the same time she wrote to her intellectual family. Writing to men not related to her was a bold act and the first indication that Isotta did not care to conform to the conventional rules of her society. No matter who she wrote to, however, Isotta demonstrated from the start that she had intellectual prowess. The correspondence within and outside her intellectual family was laced with classical references from Cicero, Petronius, Plutarch, and Virgil.[5] Moreover, she wrote in Latin. Those were characteristics of male intellectuals more than half her senior, not an eighteen-year-old girl.[6]

Then, Guarino Veronese (1374–1460), the distinguished humanist scholar of Verona, heard of Isotta's remarkable intelligence and eloquence in letters from her brother-in-law in 1436, praised her as a prodigy and knowledgeable in the classics, compared her to the heroines of antiquity, and said Verona should be proud of producing such an intelligent daughter.[7] Other prominent Veronese humanists also became aware of Isotta's remarkable intelligence and eloquence and praised her for it, even going so far as to say that "the whole female sex should rejoice and consecrate statues to Isotta as the ancient Egyptians had to Isis."[8] Then later in 1436, Isotta was invited to correspond with Guarino himself. Margaret L. King and Diana Robin stress that "by engaging in this correspondence with [Guarino] and his circle, Isotta became known to the leading humanists of northeastern Italy and also to groups beyond."[9] That would have been very important for

Isotta, who wanted to pursue a vocation as a humanist scholar, rather than being a wife and mother or entering a convent as a nun.[10] Humanist scholars were traditionally men who studied ancient and classical texts, philosophies, and rhetoric and applied their lessons to fourteenth and fifteenth century problems in order to promote moral character and civil service. They also used those texts to pursue the theoretical dilemma of whether or not women could be virtuous and fulfill their civic duty. Despite that tradition, Isotta pursued a career as a humanist scholar after the praise she earned as a teenager elevated her to a public platform outside of her intellectual family. Since she was unmarried, however, she remained an outsider in the humanist realm and to her society, yet Isotta was already seen as an outsider for being highly intelligent and educated in humanist studies.

As a daughter from a noble Veronese family in quattrocento Italy, Isotta's education took place in the private sphere of domesticity under the guidance of her parents.[11] She was taught the domestic arts, such as embroidery, and to read and write in the vernacular, preparing her for marriage and raising children. Her father, Leonardo Nogarola, a theologian and philosopher, however, also provided Isotta and her sisters with a humanist education from an early age.[12] A humanist education included the learning of classical languages, history, grammar, philosophy, and poetry, but for girls it was not to include classical oratorical practices or rhetoric; patriarchal ideology demanded that women be seen and not heard in pub-

lic.[13] However, Isotta's father must have educated Isotta and her sister Ginerva in classical oration and rhetoric for, as young girls, they were praised for their intellect and eloquence and gained notoriety as prodigies by rhetoricians in Northern Italy.[14]

Although considered rare, yet not unheard of in the Northern Communes, some young girls of the social elite were educated in humanist studies under the tutelage of a father or patriarchal figure for the purpose of educating future sons as male citizens; an advanced education beyond domesticity was more prevalent in dynastic or royal families in Northern Italy where a classical or humanist education prepared them for courtly life and the governance of their husband's land.[15] A noble daughter, such as Isotta, was never expected to be in a position of authority. Therefore, Isotta's advanced education in classical and humanist studies was the exception, not the rule. Ross has suggested that through the "intellectual family," fathers educated their daughters in humanist studies because it brought more honor to the family name, increased the family's social standing, and improved the girl's marriageability.[16] Therefore, the education of young noble daughters in humanist studies was purely a choice made by the patriarch of the family in the early fifteenth century.[17]

When her father died suddenly, sometime before 1433, Isotta's mother, Bianca Borromeo, insisted that Isotta's humanist education continue and hired Martino Rizzio, a humanist student of Guarino, to tutor her. During that time,

Isotta became fluent in Latin, classical philosophy, rhetoric, the Scriptures, and theology.[18] It was highly unusual for her mother to further her daughter's humanist education, since a mother's duty was to educate her daughters in domesticity, but Virginia Cox posits that Isotta's mother may have continued her daughter's advancement in education after her husband's death to further ennoble the family and to secure marriage prospects for her daughter.[19] However, Isotta had no intention of marrying and made the conscious decision to follow the career path of a humanist scholar instead.[20] That made her even more of an outcast in Veronese society.

Highly educated or learned women of noble rank who were not married had no place in society; they were not respected. Once a woman reached sexual maturity, she was expected to set aside her intellectual pursuits and marry. If a woman wanted to pursue academics or humanist studies beyond adolescence and forge a successful career out of it, she had to have support from her father or her husband.[21] Women who did not marry and pursued humanist studies were considered as "exceeding their sex."[22] As a result, unmarried learned women were condemned and dragged down by both men and women in the upper and lower echelons of their society.[23] Ross suggests that was because "they counterargued centuries of biblical and Aristotelian antiwoman sentiment and the patriarchal structure of Western society."[24] By contrast, there was little to no evidence that unmarried learned women from dynastic families met resistance. It was only the unmar-

ried learned women of the noble class that encountered hostility. Therefore, as an unmarried learned noblewoman in Northern Italy in the quattrocento, seeking to join the male-dominated realm of humanism, Isotta was ostracized by her society, despite praise from prominent male humanists and being just as accomplished in humanist studies as men.

Even though there was social opprobrium against Isotta in Verona for being an unmarried learned woman, she was bolstered with Guarino's praise of her and moved to Venice in 1438, where she tried to establish herself as a humanist scholar with Venetian male humanists and other elite men in Renaissance society. However, nine months later, Isotta received a threatening message that would alter the course of the rest of her life. On June 1, 1439, she came under attack by an anonymous Venetian writer who called himself "Pliny." He made several accusations against Isotta, specifically, sexual promiscuity, homosexuality, and incest:

> Let us cease to wonder at all these things, when that second unmarried sister, who has won such praise for her eloquence, does things which little befit her erudition and reputation—although the saying of many wise men I hold to be true: that an eloquent woman is never chaste; and the behavior of many learned women also confirms its truth .... But lest you approve even slightly this excessively foul and obscene crime, let me explain that

before she made her body generally available for promiscuous intercourse, she had first permitted—and indeed even earnestly desired—that the seal of her virginity be broken by none other than her brother, so that by this tie she might be more tightly bound to him. Alas for God in whom men trust, who does not mingle heaven, when she, who sets herself no limit in this filthy lust, dares to engage so deeply in the finest literary studies.[25]

The letter was a clear indication of the negative attitudes of Venetians towards unmarried learned women who dared step out of the private sphere of domesticity and into the public sphere in Venice. Combined with her pursuit of becoming a humanist scholar and her intelligence, while remaining unmarried, Isotta was vilified like a criminal. Her gender and her society's ideas about her gender played too significant a role for her to be a humanist scholar, a career that men dominated.

Isotta was condemned even further for reaching out to Guarino in an attempt to repair her reputation. She lamented to him in a letter about how she was "jeered throughout the city, my sex mocks me, nowhere do I have a restful place ..."[26] King suggests that those women mocked Isotta out of jealousy for going against her culture's gender ideals.[27] Isotta begged him to "put a stop to these cruel tongues that call me a tower of audacity and say that I should be sent to the ends of the earth."[28] His immediate response was to admonish

her for feeling humiliated, and he lost his admiration for her because of it.[29] He believed that there should be no room in her life for femaleness and went on to tell her that she must be manlier.

Although Isotta vehemently denied the allegations made against her, which were also publicly denounced by Niccolo Barbo, a prominent Venetian patrician and humanist, the damage had been done to her reputation. Isotta Nogarola went silent in all of her communications between the publication of the "Pliny" letter and her letter to Guarino from 1439 to 1441. During that time, a humiliated Isotta must have realized that if she wanted to continue her pursuit of scholarly learning as a humanist, she would have to make a great sacrifice and conform to Venetian society's gender ideal of women, for in 1441, at the age of twenty-three, five years after she entered Veronese and Venetian humanist circles, Isotta moved back to Verona and took up the life of a holy woman, devoted her life to sacred studies, pledged virginity, and lived life in semi-solitude.

Aristotelian Venice

Venice was unlike any other city-state in Italy during the Middle Ages (500–1500) and the Italian Renaissance (1300–1600). Beginning in 1204, Venetians created a unique government that shared the combined traits of a monarchy, an aristocracy, and a republic, which focused solely on trade. Conversely, the other Italian city-states were republics, like Florence, or principalities, like Naples.

Venetians did everything in their power to show that Venice was superior to all other Italian city-states in every way, especially in the functionality and stability of its government. However, Venice was similar to all other Italian city-states during the Middle Ages in that they incorporated Aristotle's (384 BC–322 BC) philosophies on logic, physics, ethics, and metaphysics into their culture, due to their close contact with the Greek culture, which had been deeply entrenched in Aristotelian philosophy since the fourth century.[30] Through his philosophies, Aristotle's concepts and arguments on women and their place in the *polis* made a slow and steady integration into religious philosophy over several hundred years and then was infused even more into the Italian culture through the scholastic curriculum at the Universities of Paris and Padua, where men who ran the Italian governments received their education, beginning in 1250.[31] Those men then spread the Aristotelian concept of women beyond academia into their societies through their governance, private dialogues, and literary works.

One of the primary Aristotelian philosophies that the medieval Italian city-states incorporated into their culture was that men were superior and dominant over women because women were inferior by nature. Prudence Allen called this superiority and dominance of one sex over another "gender polarity."[32] According to Aristotle's *Politics* (350 BCE), "the male is by nature superior, and the female inferior; and the one rules, and the other is ruled; this principle, of necessity, extends to all

mankind."[33] Women were deemed to be too emotional and, therefore, incapable of rational thought and judgment; they could not make reasonable decisions about public affairs and this disqualified them from full citizenship. Only men could be full citizens. Therefore, women were to have no role in the *polis*; they could not participate in government matters, nor could they be lawyers, teachers, or administrators. According to Aristotle, they were expected to remain "silent," stay in the private sphere of domesticity, and marry to maintain alliances and raise children.[34] As a patriarchal society, both in the private and public spheres, submission and silence were, therefore, a woman's virtue while eloquence was a man's virtue, according to Aristotle, for eloquence would help a man run the government. By contrast, any woman who displayed eloquence, like Isotta, was as an anomaly and deemed socially destructive.[35]

Moreover, an eloquent woman disrupted the social norms of society and was seen as usurping male virtues and claiming power, which was only meant for men. Only men were allowed to display their eloquence in public, where women were banned. Although historians Francis Sparshott and Irina Deretic have recently argued that Aristotle did not devalue women and disregard their position in Italian society,[36] his philosophies about the positions and contributions of men and women in society were taken literally in medieval Italy, since they had been woven throughout the culture since the fourth century and the scholastic curriculum since the thirteenth century. However,

that all changed around 1300 in Florence, when humanism attempted to reform Aristotelianism with Platonism.

Florence was the birthplace of the Italian Renaissance after intellectuals rediscovered ancient and classical texts in 1300. Its main cultural movement was humanism, which reinforced the principles from classical antiquity and emphasized an anthropocentric worldview, rather than the theocentric one that dominated the Middle Ages. Humanism influenced many aspects of Italian culture, from education to art and literature. It also redefined familial roles, court and public life, and reexamined Aristotle's misogynist perceptions of women, which had been embedded in the Italian culture for centuries. Achievements by women were celebrated for the first time as a result of that reexamination, such as in Giovanni Boccaccio's (1313–1375) *Corbaccio* (1365). The "woman question," which asked if women could be virtuous, if women could perform noble deeds, and if women were the same as men, was also heavily debated.[37] This also resulted in an increase in knowledge about Plato and his philosophies on life. Kenneth R. Bartlett posits that with that increase of knowledge "came an incentive to replace the now despised Aristotelianism of the scholastics with another, more humanistically-oriented philosophical system" and Platonism did that well.[38]

Although Plato and Aristotle were equally respected as classicists during the early Renaissance, according to Bartlett, Platonism proved to be a good replacement for Aristotelianism because there was no hostility to-

ward it, it had not been overanalyzed by scholars—unlike Aristotelianism—and it closely aligned with Christianity through the immortality of the soul.[39] Plato believed the soul was asexual and reincarnated after death, which led him to take the stance in *Timaeus* (c. 360 BCE), which was translated into Latin (c. 45 BCE) and available to early humanists, that women could contribute the same as men in serving as Guardians of the *polis* and therefore deserved the same education as men.[40] Allen calls that "gender unity" and posits that "all those who read [*Timaeus*] tended to conclude that Plato actually supported the equality and non-differentiation of men and women in the world itself."[41] His *Republic* (360 BCE) and *Laws* (360 BCE), which also contained arguments that supported gender unity,[42] was available to humanists in Latin from 1450. Despite inconsistencies throughout his work about women's equality to men in the *polis* and in education, which has led scholars to debate Plato's gender unity theory for hundreds of years,[43] Renaissance humanists in Florence began an open dialogue about women and their role in society. As a result of that dialogue, a new concept of woman based on Plato's gender unity theory emerged.

Evidence of that dialogue and the new concept of women in Renaissance Italy could be found in fourteenth-century stories of women from Dante (1265–1321), Petrarch (1304–1374), and Boccaccio, in which "women were presented as full of self-discipline and engaging in the development of virtue, and also willing and able to lead men to greater heights of wisdom and virtues

as well," according to Allen.[44] Other evidence could be found in the writings of religious women, such as Catherine of Siena (1347-1380), who disregarded the traditions of her time and successfully wrote about men's manipulation of women in marriage alliances, albeit with a theological element.[45] They proved they had authority, reasoned, and wrote with wisdom, and they showed that women could be equal to men. Plato's theories were in direct contrast to Aristotelianism, however. Venetians were closed to any idea of a new concept of woman and intensified Aristotelianism when they became a *terra firma* empire in the late fourteenth century, coming into contact with Florence's civic humanism.

Venice was able to expand onto mainland Italy and become a terra firma empire after its triumph over Genoa in 1381. Then, between 1404 and 1406, it absorbed the city-states of Padua, Vicenza, and Verona, where they sent representatives, equipped with their strong Aristotelian values, laws, and government practice, to each government council. Therefore, when Isotta was born in Verona in 1418 and entered its humanist circles in 1436, it was under the rule of Aristotelian Venice. It was during Venice's mainland expansion and occupation that the intelligentsia, or the all-male intellectual elite (patricians) who ruled and ran the governments of the Venetian empire, came into contact with Florence's humanistic movement. However, they were uninterested in developing a civic humanist culture for their empire and strengthened Aristotelianism instead.

Florentine humanism and, thereby, Platonist philosophies on gender unity failed to develop throughout Venice's empire in the early fifteenth century for two reasons. First, Venice was focused only on the preservation of its political stability, which Florence's humanism threatened to destabilize if they adopted Florentine humanism; Venice did not have a history of internal strife and the classes were harmonious, unlike in Florence. The second reason was that the intelligentsia, who used Aristotelian philosophy to maintain the superiority of Venice, simply were happy with the way things were.[46] In other words, the quattrocento generation of Venetians was more concerned with trade and politics and upholding their traditional social and political values than with incorporating Platonist ideas into their world, like Florence and other Italian city-states had been doing for more than century. King argues, however, that since the intelligentsia found some aspects of humanism appealing, especially as a luxury for patricians, quattrocento Venetians were "open to novelty but closed to change ... welcomed new texts but abhorred new meanings ... praised eloquence but stifled criticism"; therefore, the intelligentsia meshed some of the ideologies of humanism with their deeply-rooted Aristotelian values and created patrician humanism.[47] However, that did not change their conservative Aristotelian views of women.

In patrician humanism, Venetians intensified their Aristotelian philosophies while doing it in human-ism's language of Latin and style of classical learning, albeit without Platonist gender unity ideologies. Patrician humanism would, therefore, not weaken their mainland empire and strengthen the superiority of Venice. Furthermore, anthropocentrism, prevalent in civic humanism, was absent in patrician humanism in order to continue unapologetically celebrating Venice. That intensification was clearly problematic for Isotta, as she stepped out of the private sphere and into the public sphere of humanism in the 1430s. Since Venice's empire was solidly Aristotelian in the quattrocento, it was evident why Isotta, who was born in Verona just twelve years after it was absorbed into the Venetian empire and chose the career path of a humanist scholar, which was solely reserved for men in the Venetian empire, was viciously attacked between 1436 and 1439. By choosing a career path outside of domesticity and remaining unmarried, Isotta simply did not conform to Venice's Aristotelian philosophy that she be submissive and silent, marry, and have children.

Moreover, since Isotta received a humanist education, it would have been reasonable that she studied Plato and his gender unity theories in *Timaeus* and connected with them. That was especially evident when she wrote to men outside her intellectual family, such as Ermolao Barbaro, in 1436. According to Luka Borsic and Ivana S. Karasman, that correspondence was an indication that she believed herself equal to men.[48] That went completely against Aristotelian philosophy, align-

ing with Platonism instead, and would have, therefore, made her a target for condemnation by her culture.

Isotta was also eloquent, which was publicly acknowledged by Guarino and other male humanists in Verona and Venice. Since that was only a characteristic acceptable in men, according to Aristotle, that was a challenge for Isotta. She knew her eloquence did not follow the customs of her city but was eloquent anyway; she told Ermolao and Guarino that she could not "stay silent" just to prove to everyone that she was wrong.[49] Even though her eloquence marked her as a highly intelligent humanist scholar, in 1430s Venice she was perceived as an aberration of female nature, a threat to male propriety, a female claiming power in a realm solely reserved for men, and a threat to Venice's superiority.

Those notions did not change for eloquent women in Northern Italy until 1480, when learned ladies were no longer deemed a threat to society; civic humanism had finally broken through the barrier of Aristotelianism.[50] According to Aileen Feng, a learned lady by 1500 "was a familiar and sanctioned enough figure to have been [designated] as kind of a national treasure, routinely boasted of by compatriots as an honor to her city and kin."[51] For instance, Cassandra Fedele (1465–1558) was considered an exceptional woman and a symbol of Venetian superiority in 1490 for her success and intelligence as a humanist scholar. Additionally, Laura Cereta (1469–1499), who argued that all women, as human beings, had a right to an education, was also a celebrated female humanist in Northern Italy in the late quattrocento. Unlike Isotta, however, Cassandra and Laura were never condemned for breaking into the male-dominated realm of humanism because, by that time, Venetian men welcomed learned ladies in society.[52] By 1600, female humanists throughout Italy were common and widely accepted; they were no longer considered an anomaly.[53] By contrast, the attitudes in early quattrocento Venice were significantly less welcoming. Consequently, Isotta was mocked, disrespected, debased, and called unchaste for being an unmarried learned lady and not conforming to her society's rules for the female gender. Being called unchaste was the ultimate offense for women in the quattrocento and since "Pliny" claimed Isotta as such, even with no evidentiary support, she was ultimately pushed to abandon her secular humanist career for one that was more acceptable to her society.

Since antiquity, chastity had been the quintessential virtue in a woman.[54] Chastity was a virtue all girls and women were required to follow because the society of men believed it ensured the continuity and legitimacy of the male line after marriage. Therefore, being unchaste was the worst sin a female could commit; it would have ruined not only her honor, but also that of her entire family and even her city. She was also accused of incest, which was claimed to be the "most monstrous of all" sins, since the Church associated it with witchcraft and demons, according to Allison Levy.[55] Therefore, Isotta's

eloquence and accusations of sexual promiscuity, homosexuality, and incest were damning. Even though Isotta was never accused of witchcraft, being called unchaste and accused of incest was bad enough that it would have been something she would have wanted to avoid at all costs. Consequently, combined with her culture's intensification of Aristotelian philosophies in early quattrocento Venice and being called unchaste through sexual deviance as she entered the public sphere of humanism, Isotta was ultimately defeated by the Aristotelian-saturated society in which she lived.

By 1441, rather than facing daunting obstacles by continuing her pursuit in secular humanist studies, she was forced by the deeply-entrenched Aristotelian philosophies of her society, scorn, and the foul accusations made against her from 1436 to 1439 to follow a path deemed more appropriate for her gender, so as not to upset her society's traditions and values, prove she was not a threat in any way, and save her reputation. That path was that of a holy woman.

Isotta Nogarola: Holy Woman and Humanist Scholar (1441-1466)

As a noble Renaissance woman living in the Venetian empire in the early quattrocento, Isotta had two career paths before her: become a wife and mother or enter the convent as a nun. King's research shows that most Renaissance women, no matter their class, chose to marry and be-

come mothers, as it was ingrained in them that it was their sole mission in life to bear children, thus preserving their husband's familial line and wealth.[56] The alternative career to the burden of motherhood was that of a nun.

Since the founding of Christianity, young girls and women have pursued a life in imitation of Christ. By the Middle Ages, conventual life required those girls and women to take three irreversible vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. According to the Benedictine Rule, a woman entering conventual life also had to give up her worldly possessions, pray daily for her sins and the sins of others, stay silent, live in seclusion, and live an ascetic life. Although many women entered conventual life due to a spiritual calling, some women entered conventual life to further their education.

Convents provided women with an education that was not provided at home. A nun was required to be literate in a variety of topics other than domesticity and religion, such as economics. Nuns had to be able to read, write, and translate sacred texts from Latin into the vernacular; therefore, women were trained in Latin, which happened to be the language of Renaissance humanism. Consequently, convents became the setting for women pursuing higher education. Kathryn Hinds suggests that convents were "often the only place where an intelligent woman was allowed to pursue an education."[57] As a result, women became scholars, authors, and scribes, offering them a power that was typically denied to them as a wife and mother. They wrote plays, devotional

literature, and histories and biographies about ancient and mythological heroines, female saints, female chastity, and the "woman question," defying the Aristotelian tradition that women should remain silent. One such woman who became a scholar and defied Aristotelian tradition was Hildegard of Bingen.

Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179) was much more than a twelfth-century nun; she was a counselor, physician, theologian, and scholar. She entered the convent when she was eight years old and became an abbess in 1136, a time when no woman was to have any power over a man. However, Hildegard defied that command and wrote about the unjust inferiority of women to men.

Hildegard was attracted to Bible passages about women and morality. She was specifically drawn to the passages about Wisdom, "God's feminine consort and collaborator in the works of creation," who earned the praise of a goddess.[58] Using the Scriptures, Hildegard analyzed the relationship between men and women and found through the feminine parts of the Bible that women were not frail and meek creatures and that men and women could have an equal partnership.[59] She was a Renaissance woman before the Renaissance. Although her views of women were considered unfeminine at the time, as a nun, Hildegard was never condemned for them. By combining her feminist views with theology, she successfully wrote about the hostility that women faced in a male-dominated world. Another woman who successfully wrote about men's misogynist views on women was Christine de Pizan.

Christine de Pizan (1365-1431) was a Venetian who moved to France and became an author who rejected the gender polarity of Aristotle. She received a humanist education from her father, who was a physician to King Charles V of France. Although she was not a nun, she wrote numerous works combined with a theological dimension. That allowed her to successfully write about the "woman question" and argue that the inferior treatment of women by men had to stop.

Similar to Hildegard, Christine also used the biblical figure of Wisdom to challenge the misogynist attitudes toward her gender, justifying the idea that women and men were equal. She also used the Holy Trinity as female figures in her works, such as *L'epistre Othea* (1400), in which Christine promoted women's wisdom and intellect. Christine received opposition for her works, but she was also supported by theologians for writing about feminine topics in a religious way. She effectively affirmed women's worth, heralded female achievements, and argued for the equal treatment of women to men, all the while proving that she was a learned lady. Therefore, it can be concluded from the experiences of Hildegard and Christine that any woman who wrote about secular topics and the "woman question" was never condemned by society, if her works were combined with wisdom from the Bible, figuratively or literally. Based on the opposition she received between 1436 and 1439, Isotta had to choose between marrying or entering a convent, if she wanted to be a learned lady, study humanism, and

write about the "woman question." However, Isotta chose neither.

Some women who did not want to enter conventual life or marry, like Isotta, were called tertiaries or holy women. Holy women made vows comparable to a nun, but they were reversible, simpler, and more personal. They made no permanent vows, followed some of the Benedictine Rules, supported themselves, and interacted with the world, while remaining celibate. That allowed her to leave conventual life and re-enter society, if she wished, with her chastity intact. In addition, as a holy woman, she would have been allowed to study Latin. Moreover, she would not have been subjected to a man, thus giving her some control over her life. Since Isotta had no desire to marry and be under the authority of a husband nor did she want to be subjected to a father superior as a nun, and since her culture could not accept her as an unmarried intellectual, especially as one who was claimed as unchaste, it can only be supposed that the only path left for her, in which she could continue her pursuit as a humanist scholar without further condemnation, was that of a holy woman. As a holy woman, Isotta could choose to live like a nun and continue her pursuit of humanist studies while proving that she was not a threat as a learned lady. She could also prove that she was chaste without being condemned by society.

In 1441, Isotta abandoned her pursuit of secular humanist studies, took a pledge of virginity, devoted herself to God, and studied sacred texts, yet did not take a conventual vow. She lived a hermitic life, rarely leaving her bedroom in her mother's home and living ascetically.[60] She did not have any intention of reversing her vows, however; the treatment she received prior to 1441 demanded that she live the rest of her life as a virgin dedicated to God. Even though Isotta did not enter a convent, her new religious lifestyle was accepted, applauded, and even encouraged by Northern Italian society.

Veronese and Venetian men and women saw Isotta's self-imposed religious exile as her acceptance of the traditional Aristotelian values of their society. In her new role as a holy woman, they encouraged her to pursue advanced philosophy and become a "woman intellectual" because a religious life required her to be learned.[61] For instance, humanist Lauro Quirini (1420-1479) advised her to only study Aristotle in order to "have knowledge of [humanist studies], as well as [philosophy and theology]."[62] Costanza Varano (1426–1447) applauded Isotta for taking up the traditional role of "woman religious," but also encouraged her to continue her intellectual pursuit now that she had pledged herself to God.[63] That was completely the opposite of how she was treated between 1436 and 1439, when she pursued a secular humanist career as an unmarried woman. As long as she remained committed to her pledge of virginity and devoted herself to God as a holy woman, Isotta was, therefore, allowed to pursue humanist studies and be a learned lady. The life of a holy woman was so similar to that of a nun that Isotta did not pose a threat to

the continuity of her deep-rooted Aristotelian society. It was as a holy woman that Isotta wrote her most philosophical works.[64]

Like Hildegard and Christine, Isotta incorporated texts from the Bible, such as Genesis, Exodus, Jeremiah, and the Song of Solomon, into her literary works in her new role as a holy woman. In addition, she meshed those Biblical texts with classical references from Aristotle, possibly as a way to show that she was not a threat to the Aristotelian traditions of Venetian society. Prior to 1441, Isotta never incorporated religious texts in her epistolary; she only made references to classical texts.[65] However, like Hildegard and Christine, Isotta could only study and write about humanist topics and also undermine Aristotle's gender polarity, without being condemned by her society, by including scriptural texts. From 1450 to her death in 1466, Isotta wrote an oration for Pope Nicholas V and Bishop Ermolao Barbaro, a lecture on St. Jerome, a sermon for Pope Pius, and a eulogy for Jacopo Marcello's son, but the best example to show that she conformed to her Aristotelian culture, while at the same undermining it, can be seen in her *Dialogue on Adam and Eve.*

The *Dialogue on Adam and Eve* (1451) began as an exchange of correspondence between Isotta and the Venetian governor in Verona, Ludovico Foscarini, in which they debated who was to blame for original sin, Adam or Eve. Isotta opened the exchange with the traditional view that Eve was the guiltiest, a burden that women carried

for centuries. However, Isotta quickly defended Eve, saying that "Adam must be judged more guilty than Eve because God commanded him not to eat the fruit, and he, in greater attempt, broke this command."[66] In other words, according to the story in Genesis, God created man to be perfect and rational; therefore, Adam was the guiltiest. Conversely, Ludovico countered that Eve was the guiltiest because of her pride. Throughout the dialogue, however, Isotta interwove the traditional gender polarity texts of Aristotle with classical text references and scriptural texts to prove that man was guiltier of original sin, due to his moral inferiority.[67] Isotta successfully used centuries of Aristotelian theories against Ludovico and won the debate.[68] Although that was controversial to conclude in the quattrocento, Isotta was not criticized or condemned for it. She earned praise and recognition as a learned lady by Venetian and Veronese societies and was even called a saint by Ermolao Barbaro.[69] The *Dialogue on Adam and Eve* was arguably Isotta's best and most important literary work, as it challenged her culture's misogyny.

Despite the praise and admiration, Isotta was unhappy. She had to sacrifice bodily comforts and live in isolation, prove that she had conformed to the Aristotelian gender ideals of her society, and prove that she was chaste and wholly devoted to God in order to be a learned lady and humanist scholar. King alleges that it was plausible that Isotta was chronically ill and suffered from "pains in the stomach and body" as she succumbed to the prejudices of

her Aristotelian culture, never rejoining society to marry, based on letters between Foscarini and Isotta beginning in 1453; he acknowledged that she held a "contempt for life" when she "chose to be dissolved with Paul and to be one with Christ."[70] A later letter by Foscarini to Isotta mentioned that she, who was "constantly occupied in sacred studies," was in "poor health" because she was "neglectful of herself."[71] Nevertheless, Isotta showed strength and resolve and continued to produce some of the most sophisticated philosophical works of the Italian Renaissance.[72] Including the *Dialogue*, she significantly contributed to the humanist intellectual movement. As a result of that contribution, Isotta Nogarola became not only the most learned female of the Renaissance, but also the first female humanist of the Italian Renaissance.

The path to becoming a humanist scholar in early quattrocento Venice was not an easy one for Isotta Nogarola. The Venetian empire was solidly entrenched in Aristotelian philosophies from the Middle Ages to the late fifteenth century, which held that women were to be silent, submissive, and relegated to the home or convent, due to their inferior nature. Although Platonism opened up a dialogue between humanists about a new concept of woman, noblewomen who did not marry or enter the convent were social deviants and seen as exceeding their sex. Consequently, when a single Isotta entered the male-dominated realm of humanism in Verona and Venice between 1436 and 1439, she was forced, through condemnation and vilification, to abandon her career as a

secular humanist scholar for one devoted to God. Isotta, therefore, accepted the conservative traditions of her society and chose a more socially acceptable career path. As a holy woman, Isotta was able to continue her pursuit of becoming a humanist scholar by successfully combining Biblical wisdom with views of gender unity and classical references. In the end, it was only as a holy woman that Isotta Nogarola became the most celebrated female humanist of the Italian Renaissance.

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24 Ross, 5.

25 Nogarola, 69.

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27 King, "The Religious Retreat of Isotta Nogarola," 810.

28 Nogarola, 54.

29 Nogarola, 43.

30 Bartlett, 149. See also Allen, *The Concept of Woman,* 8-92.

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Mickey Mouse and Merry Melodies: How Disney and Warner Bros. Animation Entertained and Inspired Americans During the Great Depression

Chelsea Tatham

American Public University

Abstract

While the entire country suffered from the worst economic crisis in American history in the 1930s, animated cartoons grew out of humble beginnings to mark the Golden Age of Animation. The two powerhouses of animation—Disney and Warner Brothers—achieved success and set a standard during this decade because of their cartoons' ability to cater to the average suffering American. Animated shorts like *Confidence, Three Little Pigs,* and *Porky's Spring Planting* entertained while reflecting and soothing feelings of hopelessness and panic felt throughout the nation during the Great Depression. Many showed hopeless heroes' triumphs, most were family-friendly, some gave adults reasons to laugh at naughty jokes, and some poked fun at other cartoons, political figures, and the news. While Warner Bros. and Disney competed fiercely with one another and with Warner Bros. and Universal often giving cheeky answers to Disney characters and fairytales—the hundreds of cartoon shorts pushed out of these two studios provided cheap, digestible entertainment for millions of Americans looking for a temporary escape from reality.

Keywords: Mickey Mouse, Walt Disney, Warner Brothers, the Great Depression, the Golden Age of Animation, Universal Pictures, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, entertainment, Looney Tunes, Merry Melodies, Three Little Pigs, Oswald the Lucky Rabbit, Porky Pig, Minnie Mouse

Mickey Mouse y Merrie Melodies: cómo la animación de Disney y Warner Bros. entretuvo e inspiró a los estadounidenses durante la Gran Depresión

Resumen

Mientras que todo el país sufrió la peor crisis económica en la historia estadounidense en la década de 1930, los dibujos animados surgieron de humildes comienzos para marcar la Edad de Oro de la Animación. Las dos potencias de la animación, Disney y Warner Brothers, alcanzaron el éxito y establecieron un estándar durante esta década debido a la capacidad de sus dibujos para atender al estadounidense que sufre en promedio. Los cortos animados como Confidence, Three Little Pigs y Porky's Spring Planting se entretuvieron mientras reflejaban y calmaban sentimientos de desesperanza y pánico en todo el país durante la Gran Depresión. Muchos mostraron triunfos de héroes desesperados, la mayoría fueron amigables con la familia, algunos dieron a los adultos razones para reírse de bromas traviesas y algunos se burlaron de otras caricaturas, figuras políticas y noticias. Mientras Warner Bros. y Disney compitieron ferozmente entre sí, y con Warner Bros. y Universal a menudo dando respuestas descaradas a los personajes de Disney y a los cuentos de hadas, los cientos de cortos de dibujos animados que salieron de estos dos estudios proporcionaron entretenimiento barato y digerible para millones de Los estadounidenses buscan un escape temporal de la realidad.

Palabras clave: Mickey Mouse, Walt Disney, Warner Brothers, Gran Depresión, Edad de Oro de la Animación, Universal Pictures, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Entretenimiento, Looney Tunes, Merry Melodies, Three Little Pigs, Oswald the Lucky Rabbit, Porky Pig, Minnie Mouse

米老鼠与《梅里小旋律》：迪士尼与华纳兄弟的动画如何娱乐并激励了大萧条时期的美国人

摘要

20世纪30年代，当整个国家都遭受美国史上最严重的经济危

机时，卡通动画开始慢慢出现，标志着动画制作的黄金时代。两大动画集团—迪士尼和华纳兄弟—实现了成功，并因其动画制作能力能迎合多数受到经济重创的美国人，而在这十年里建立了一个（动画）标准。例如《confidence》、《三只小猪》和《猪小弟的春日种植》（Porky's Spring Planting）等动画短片在娱乐大众的同时，还反映并抚慰了大萧条期间全美上下感受到的无助和恐惧。许多短片展现了无助英雄的成就，绝大多数适合家庭观看，一些短片为成年人打趣粗俗笑话提供了理由，另一些则挪揄其他动画、政治人物和新闻。当华纳兄弟与迪士尼发生激烈竞争—同时华纳兄弟与环球影业时常打趣迪士尼的卡通形象和童话故事时—这两大动画制作商发行的成百上千的卡通短片，为那些寻求短暂逃离现实的千万美国人提供了廉价且易消化的娱乐。

关键词：米老鼠，华特·迪士尼，华纳兄弟，大萧条，动画黄金时代，环球影业，富兰克林·德拉诺·罗斯福，娱乐，《乐一通》，《梅里小旋律》，《三只小猪》《幸运兔奥斯华》，猪小弟，米妮老鼠

Popular culture's ability to thrive and grow during times of national hardship is clearly reflected in animated feature films and shorts during America's Great Depression from 1929 to 1939. This decade forever changed the economy and overhauled what it meant to achieve the American dream. There was a notable shift in American culture, which seemed to favor popular culture over high culture and "endorsed a commoner's version of American ideals."[1] During this decade, popular culture grew on a larger national scale because of its reliance on showing the "importance of the little folk and the greatness of the American way of life" amid national hardship.[2] It was the lowest point in the history of the nation's economy, but the decade marked the beginnings of the Golden Age of Animation. The two biggest powerhouses in animation were born during this decade —Disney and Warner Bros. The animated shorts flowing from these two companies were wildly popular with the American people, who were suffering through economic disaster and personal hardship. Through animated entertainment, these shorts reflected issues and emotions, acted as propaganda for President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, and instilled hope for a more prosperous national future.

Two major factors shaped the experiences of movie-watchers and the purposes of animation during the 1930s: film sound and the Great Depression.[3]

Before the stock market crash on October 29, 1929, movie audiences enjoyed lavish movie palaces full of middle and upper class splendor and roaring live bands that provided the music for films. Movie houses were styled based on the communities they were in and the people they entertained, and live music encouraged audience participation. Around the same time as the Depression, American workers became more vocal about their economic plights and movie audiences became almost silent. Sound threatened to destroy the "primacy of the image" in the later 1920s, and by the 1930s, "movement and montage gave way to static mise-en-scène."[4] Between 1926 and 1931, most theaters were fitted with sound systems. Sound films and the Depression quickly redefined the movie-going experience, shifting from the luxury of a movie palace to the low prices, comfort, quiet, and distraction from worries that came with modern movie theaters. An evening at the movies evolved from something enjoyed only by the upper and middle classes to one of popcorn and soda, indulgences almost anyone could afford.[5]

The changes to movie houses also brought about changes in the ways Hollywood made films. Film studios wanted movies to be the cheap leisure activity people chose first and aimed to establish audience loyalty by creating films that reflected and inspired. Similarly, studios and movie houses—especially small-town theaters—offered premiums like "Depression-ware" dishes and giveaways to attract customers. Walt Disney formed the Mickey Mouse Club in 1929 with weekly meetings and matinees on Saturdays in specific theaters. These local clubs promoted Disney characters and films with tie-ins for merchandise while Disney himself tried to link local communities to the Mickey Mouse Club.[6] Movie studios and theaters knew that during the Depression, being poor and working-class was often the dominant local culture in big and small cities and in suburban and rural areas, and studios aimed to cater to that culture. These efforts worked, because from the 1930s and through the end of World War II, Americans spent more on going to the movies than on any other recreation.[7] Going to the movies became a way for suffering Americans to find a little respite from their worries that was convenient, comfortable, and often reflected their feelings about the national crisis affecting their families and communities.

Conversely, the staggering amount of unemployment during the Depression of the 1930s brought about "a disturbing twist to old worries about the 'problem of leisure.'"[8] The economic crisis renewed moralists' and social scientists' calls for "the right use of leisure."[9] These calls also helped launch campaign for censorship against "commercial amusements, which elites still judged as low-class diversions."[10] One such example came from Walt Disney in his first feature-length cartoon movie, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*. The film garnered praise when it was released in 1937 for "affirming traditional moral values."[11] However, a woman who worked with slum children believed her charges missed "the beauty of this extraordinary film and its lesson."[12] In-

stead, she said they seemed more interested in the scary trees and violence. At the Warner Brothers studio, co-founder Jack Warner knew the live-action movie *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* would "make us some enemies" with its plot: a decorated World War I veteran ends up in a Southern chain gang for a crime he didn't commit during the post-war economic slump. When he finally escapes, he escapes right into the Great Depression.[13]

Still, hundreds of animated shorts and films from Disney and Warner Brothers were wildly popular during the 1930s. Disney's Silly Symphonies and Mickey Mouse cartoons and Warner Bros.' Merrie Melodies and Looney Tunes were fierce competitors, but they all entertained, provided commentary on current affairs and national emotions, and shared messages with upper-, middle-, and working-class audiences. One of the most poignant shorts that came out of the Depression featured a Disney-created character that was distributed by Universal Pictures, which often co-produced films with Warner Bros. Oswald the Lucky Rabbit was the star of the *Confidence* short released in 1933. Disney and legendary animator Ub Iwerks created Oswald in early 1927 for Universal, but the duo lost the character when they broke from the studios about a year later.[14] Disney as a company wouldn't regain control of Oswald and the character's cartoons until 2006.

In *Confidence*, Oswald is a successful and happy farmer until a toxic dump down the road forms a black cloud named Depression that wreaks havoc on his livelihood. The short features scenes of angry mobs fighting in front of a failed bank, a citizen stashing cash under a mattress, and Oswald seeking a remedy from a doctor for this Depression. The doctor tells him, "There's your doctor," while pointing to President Roosevelt. The president then sings about having confidence, smiling, grinning, and laughing out loud.[15] This short, written by Walter Lantz, was released just months after Roosevelt took office and announced his plans for the New Deal.[16]

Months before *Confidence*, Disney released *Three Little Pigs*, a "Depression-era fable"[17] that was more of a metaphorical commentary on the first years of the Depression. The "big, bad wolf" was the Depression itself and the foolish pigs—Fiddler Pig and Fifer Pig—who built their houses of straw and twigs, are the children of the fruitful Gilded Age. These two pigs represent the heirs to the bull market and the excesses of the roaring '20s. Practical Pig prepared for the future and spent more time ensuring the stability of his assets than being outside playing and having fun. Practicality, self-reliance, and not being afraid to get down and dirty to make ends meet are the central themes of *Three Little Pigs*.[18]

Three Little Pigs was released in the middle of Roosevelt's first hundred days in office and expresses the "confident, purposeful spirit of the early New Deal."[19] The film honors politically conservative virtues of hard work, self-reliance, and self-denial amid the "wolf at the door" metaphor for the economic

Depression gripping the nation. After the release of *Three Little Pigs*, political cartoonists began using the pig to symbolize the overall mood of the Depression.[20] The two shortsighted pigs represented "self-inflicted suffering and economic adversity."[21] The Practical Pig, who built his house with bricks and ended up saving the other two pigs from the "big, bad wolf," was seen as far-sighted and representative of Roosevelt and his plans for the country. In the end, it was the pig who exhibited "old-fashioned virtues, hard work, self-reliance, self-denial" who was the successful one.[22] The lyrics of the song "Who's Afraid of the Big, Bad Wolf?" also became an anthem for Depression-era America, a rallying cry promoting the future success of the New Deal.[23]

Even before the Depression hit, Disney's animated shorts were espousing morals and American cultural themes of resourcefulness, finding usefulness in the useless, and finding entertainment and hope in the ordinary, the mundane, and the hopeless. This is especially true in the first appearance of Disney's Mickey Mouse in 1928's *Steamboat Willie*. Disney told journalist Harry Carr in 1931 that he couldn't say exactly how the idea of Mickey Mouse came to be, but that he "wanted something appealing, and we thought of a tiny bit of a mouse that would have something of the wistfulness of (Charlie) Chaplin ... a little fellow trying to do the best he could."[24] That "tiny bit of a mouse ... trying to do the best he could" theme would resonate immediately with the American people and would continue

to inspire and entertain those suffering through the Depression. Animated characters like Mickey championed and celebrated average Americans' wisdom, dignity, and the ability to survive, and Disney's films often focused on family, hope, and self-confidence.[25]

Steamboat Willie premiered about a year before the stock market crash that kicked off the Depression. It featured a dancing, whistling Mickey Mouse piloting a steamboat down a river, thwarting attempts by the nefarious Pete, and genuinely having a swell time with his girl, Minnie Mouse. Resourcefulness and ingenuity are expressed in Mickey's ability to turn anything into a musical instrument. When a goat eats Minnie's ukulele and sheet music, they turn the goat into a phonograph by cranking its tail. Mickey also plays the tinging xylophone on a cow's teeth.[26] And when Pete finally puts Mickey back to work peeling potatoes, Mickey gets in one last jab by throwing a potato peel at the parrot laughing at him. The short ends with Mickey laughing again.[27]

Steamboat Willie premiered to rave reviews. *Film Daily* called the short "a real tidbit of diversion" days after its premiere in 1928.[28] *Variety*'s critic Robert J. Landry wrote "giggles came so fast at the Colony (theater) they were stumbling over each other."[29] Carolina A. Lejeune's article in a December 8, 1929 observer foreshadowed how Mickey cartoons would become reflective of attitudes during the Depression when she described the character as a "wicked commentary on Western civilization."[30] From his beginnings, Mickey

was able to appeal to a wide audience. He catered to "neither the 'highbrow' nor the 'hick,' but the ordinary intelligent picturegoer."[31]

Disney produced 198 animated shorts from *Steamboat Willie* until 1939 and saw the release of his first feature-length animated film with *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* in 1937. Many popular culture historians believe Disney's cartoons were so popular because they "provided an escape for audiences stuck in the Depression." The whole of Hollywood was a "dream factory" and the creator was praised for "whisking the populace from day-to-day drudgery into the bountiful land of childhood fantasy and wish-fulfilling dreams."[32] Disney's early Mickey cartoons and Silly Symphonies (of which *Three Little Pigs* was one) allowed audiences to be "freed from the burdens of time and responsibility."[33] Beginning with *Steamboat Willie* and moving through the early 1930s, Disney's animated shorts portrayed the "cultural mood, the exhilarating, initially liberating, then finally frightening disorder" of the early years of the Depression.[34] Many viewed Disney with a "mythic saga" life story that reassured the people that the American dream was still attainable even in the midst of crisis.[35] He built his company by isolating himself from other creators, specializing in animation, and avoiding associating with stars, agents, or movie moguls.[36] Disney was an independent, self-reliant animator who successfully changed the movie industry and made money through entertainment despite the economic collapse.

The early years of the Depression influenced Disney's cartoons, however. Many Mickey shorts still contained fantasy but were also imbued with warnings about the rules of the world: "Don't be too imaginative, don't be too inquisitive, don't be too willful, or you'll get in trouble."[37] These shorts reinforced old values of "individual initiative and enterprise," which were key in bringing America out of the Depression.[38]

In *Mickey's Follies* from 1929, the mouse represents working-class values and shows off an ideal working-class life of work and leisure, pride in labor, and working hard. This short also sees Mickey singing words for the first time and playing his own theme song and dancing to it.[39] Mickey performs this in the farm's talent show and sings of his love for Minnie in "Minnie's Yoo Hoo." He claims his heart is "down in the chicken house" with Minnie. In this short, the two "tossed mechanized life and inflated capitalism away and returned to their rural roots."[40] In their earliest years, Mickey and Minnie epitomized the "back to the land" movie genre by being "a country couple, finding their adventures among the other creatures of the farmyard and countryside."[41]

The Fire Fighters, also from 1929, explores the fantasy of rescue amid everything burning down along with the promise of a reward. It was one of the earliest cartoons to reflect the economic crisis and the stock market crash with its tragic animated images of city buildings on fire and figures falling from the tops.[42] This rescue and reward fantasy blots out images of an economy in

collapse. In this short, Mickey is the hero and pulls Minnie out of a burning building, but the rope holding them burns and snaps. In a bit of exaggeration and fantasy, a pair of trousers is turned into a parachute that helps them land safely.[43]

The Fire Fighters and other Mickey shorts also explore the American government's "incapacity to handle the dynamics of urban life."[44] Even before the Depression, many lost faith in the achievability of the American dream amid rapid urban industrialization and the farm crisis following the end of World War I. This loss of faith is explored through Mickey Mouse in 1929's *The Plowboy*. *The Fire Fighters* reflects the chaos of crisis and the hope for rescue. Debilitating poverty during the Depression is explored through *Mickey's Good Deed* in 1932, but the "hope emerging with the 1932 presidential campaign and election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt" is shown in *Building a Building* in 1933.[45]

Disney and his animators knew the value of "shock and titillation" among fantasy stories.[46] The fantasy nature of Mickey Mouse shorts and Silly Symphonies helped free the audiences' minds from "normal expectations of what the world is like"[47] while also opening up their imaginations to the ways in which "all would be alright eventually" through propaganda of Roosevelt's New Deal and the reinforcement of traditional American working-class values.

Over at Warner Brothers in the late 1920s into the 1930s, creators were making live-action shorts and cartoons about social problems that "drew stories from the news,"[48] while also attempting to produce "pictures for the entire family."[49] Legendary creators, Hugh Harman and Rudolf Ising, crafted Warner Brothers' Merrie Melodies, which evolved into the Looney Tunes we know today. These animated shorts often parodied real life problems and are often considered "the most accurate portraits of an era that the animated screen has ever produced."[50] Some of the Roaring '20s and Depression-era topics explored include speakeasies (*Goopy Gear*), the vaudeville stage (*You Don't Know What You're Doin'!*), the college football craze (*Freddie the Freshman*), and even Russian mystic Rasputin (*Wake Up the Gypsy in Me*).[51] Music was everything in these shorts, and the jokes and gags were often of the crude, schoolboy variety.

Legendary Warner Bros. creator, Tex Avery, often took aim at an existing film or genre (often Disney-related) and crafted a parody with gags that tended to "explode the fundamental assumptions underlying these genres."[52] Examples of these include first *Cinderella Meets Fella* in 1938 and later *Little Red Riding Hood* in 1943. In *Cinderella Meets Fella,* the future princess calls the police because her fairy godmother is missing. The fairy godmother is then dropped off in a police van at Cinderella's house, visibly drunk. She's also witch-like and uses pumpkin from a cane to create Cinderella's ride to the ball. Prince Charming is also a dope.[53]

Cinderella Meets Fella is also one of the earliest cartoon shorts that breaks a bit of the fourth wall and makes the au-

dience feel like they're a part of the story. When her Prince Charming comes looking for her, he finds a note that reads, "Dear Princy: Got tired of waiting, went to a Warner Bros. Show. Lovingly, Cinderella." The scene pans out to show Cinderella has "exited" the film and now sits in the audience. There was often no boundary between animated characters and live audiences viewing Warner Bros. cartoons. These types of shorts harkened back to pre-sound and pre-Depression movie palaces that encouraged audience participation—now seen as a violation of acceptable movie theater behavior.[54]

Another Warner Bros. short that had this vaudeville sensibility featured one of the studios' first characters. *Ride Him, Bosko*, from 1933, featured Bosko as a cowboy riding and singing through the desert. It was an animated musical western that featured fighting, shooting, and plenty of booze. When Bosko's girl is attacked by desperados on her way to see him and then the Deadwood stage is robbed, Bosko rides into the desert to be a hero. However, the cartoon ends by panning out from the screen and showing a trio of animators sitting around talking and smoking. The three clock out for the night with a promise to finish the cartoon the next day.[55] The short technically never ends; the animators leave Bosko without support or a neat resolution to his story. That lack of a resolution or remedy was a feeling felt by many Americans in the first years of the Depression.

Warner Bros. debuted Bosko with *Sinkin' in the Bathtub* in 1930. The Talk-ink Kid would set the stage for many more Warner Bros. characters to follow.[56] He was the original inspiration for Warner Bros. characters, like Bugs Bunny and Daffy Duck, who "put into question the very idea of a hero."[57] In his debut, Bosko is a bit of a parody of Mickey Mouse, using streams of water as instruments and with his bathtub and car being sentient beings. He was Warner Bros.' answer to Mickey and often parodies fantasy musical shorts. One long scene in *Sinkin' in the Bathtub* can be interpreted as an attempt to imbue a bit of hope amid the Depression. At one point, Bosko and his girl are tumbling down a hill, then down a tree trunk, hitting every obstacle on the way, with no relief in sight. When they finally do stop, they land back in the bathtub, ready to sing and play lily pads as drums.[58]

While Disney's cartoons turned to the fantasy world to comment on real-life issues, Warner Bros. "allowed their cartoon characters to interact with and comment on the events and trends of the day" more directly.[59] In *Holiday Highlights* from 1940, the cartoon traces various holidays throughout the year with some snark. June is graduation season, and as a young man receives his diploma, the presenter tells him he is "now equipped to take your place in society. Good luck!" Still in his graduation garb, the young man marches off stage and immediately into the breadline.[60] When the cartoon gets to Thanksgiving, two dates are given: one for Democrats and one for Republicans. This was a comment on the 1939 presidential declaration that wanted to shift the Thanksgiving holiday back one week

"in hopes of giving retailers and the economy a boost."[61] Warner Bros. creators aimed to entertain and provide an escape for their audiences, but they also didn't want to ignore the world outside of the movie theater.

One of the most poignant cartoon shorts about the Depression created by Warner Bros. was 1938's *Porky's Spring Planting*. The story is a spoof of "back to the land" ideas espoused in many other cartoons of the time and "capitalized not only on the characteristics of the genre but also on Porky's 'country boy' background" which made him a "hard working pig of the land."[62] Porky represented a parody of the American ideal of being happy, busy, and working hard for ways to improve his life. He's shown working the land and showing how easy it is to produce a "swell garden."[63] But his wisecracking farm dog Streamline isn't buying it. Streamline is shown taking a bone and burying it in a locked safe underground, saying "none of this 'share the wealth' business from me."[64] The "Share the Wealth" initiative was created by presidential candidate Huey Long for those who felt left behind by Roosevelt's New Deal. But many Americans, like Streamline the dog, preferred to keep their self-reliance—unless the US government offered assistance. Streamline goes on to comment how the new Social Security program didn't give him the benefits he had hoped for, but in reality, "the promise of assistance after the losses inflicted by the Depression gave many Americans hope."[65] *Porky's Spring Planting* exposed a counter-idea to the "wholesome, innocent world" of the back to the land movie

genre. Through Streamline's skepticism and pessimism, many Americans could "hear their hopes and their fears echoing back from the movie screen."[66]

Walt Disney and the Warner Brothers found success amid the economic crisis of the 1930s because of their cartoons' ability to cater to the average American audience. The lines between economic classes blurred during the Great Depression as the entire nation suffered in varying degrees for a decade. The class lines also blurred when it came to popular culture. The line between the high culture of art and movie houses and the "low culture" of raucous neighborhood theaters almost ceased to exist after the stock market crashed.

While Warner Bros. and Disney competed fiercely with one another—and with Warner Bros. and Universal often giving cheeky answers to Disney characters and fairytales—the hundreds of cartoon shorts pushed out of these two studios provided cheap, digestible entertainment for millions of Americans looking for a temporary escape from reality. Even as entertaining escapes, these quirky characters and silly storylines reflected the mood of America during the Depression. Many showed hopeless heroes' triumphs, most were family-friendly, some gave adults reasons to laugh at naughty jokes, and some poked fun at other cartoons, political figures, and the news. They set a standard for future movie studios to achieve when it came to giving Americans the entertainment they wanted and needed, and their animated shorts

marked the beginning of the Golden Age of Animation that would continue through the next forty years.

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Foreign Intervention: The Influence of the French and Spanish Navies on the American Revolution

Daniel Boone

American Public University

Abstract

The American Revolution encompassed far more than a rebellion by the thirteen colonies. After 1778, the war became a global struggle for supremacy. At the center of the struggle were the European powers' colonial possessions. Great Britain in particular, being an island nation, relied heavily on the resources and income from their colonies. The colonies played a key role in Britain's overall economic and political power in Europe. While all of their possessions were important, the Caribbean and Indian colonies created the most economic revenue for Great Britain.

While the East India Company maintained a military presence in the Indian Theater of Operations, the West Indies was protected only by the Royal Navy and the British Army. Due to the importance of the Caribbean possessions, these colonies garnered the majority of the resources of the British military effort, particularly after the conflict with the Americans spread into a global war.

Prior to the outbreak of war in 1775, Great Britain found itself in a precarious situation, both economically and militarily. The British economic situation made the buildup and maintenance of the Royal Navy difficult. The entry of the French and Spanish navies into the conflict compounded Britain's problems, and it had to alter its overall war strategy. The combined strength of the French and Spanish navies, and later the Dutch navy in 1780, exceeded the power of the Royal Navy and thus forced Great Britain to refocus its naval might from the American colonies in order to protect its imperial possessions.

Keywords: American Revolution, sea power, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Spain, economics, colonies, West Indies, Caribbean.

Intervención extranjera: la influencia de las armadas francesa y española en la revolución americana

Resumen

La revolución americana abarcó mucho más que una rebelión de las trece colonias. Después de 1778, la guerra se convirtió en una lucha global por la supremacía. En el centro de la lucha estaban las posesiones coloniales de las potencias europeas. Gran Bretaña en particular, al ser una nación insular, dependía en gran medida de los recursos e ingresos de esas colonias. Estas colonias desempeñaron un papel clave en el poder económico y político general de Gran Bretaña en Europa. Si bien todas sus posesiones eran importantes, las colonias caribeñas e indias crearon los mayores ingresos económicos para Gran Bretaña.

Mientras que la Compañía de las Indias Orientales mantuvo una presencia militar en el Teatro Indio de Operaciones, las Indias Occidentales estaban protegidas solo por la Armada Real y el Ejército Británico. Debido a la importancia de las posesiones caribeñas, estas colonias obtuvieron la mayoría de los recursos del esfuerzo militar británico, particularmente después de que el conflicto con los estadounidenses se extendió a una guerra global.

Antes del estallido de la guerra en 1775, Gran Bretaña se encontraba en una situación precaria, tanto económica como militarmente. La situación económica británica dificultó el mantenimiento y la acumulación de la Royal Navy. La entrada de las armadas francesa y española en el conflicto agravó los problemas de Gran Bretaña, y ella tuvo que alterar su estrategia general de guerra. La fuerza combinada de las armadas francesa y española, y más tarde la armada holandesa en 1780, excedió el poder de la Royal Navy y, por lo tanto, obligó a Gran Bretaña a reenfocar su poder naval de las colonias estadounidenses para proteger sus posesiones imperiales.

Palabras clave: Revolución Americana, Energía marítima, Francia, Gran Bretaña, Países Bajos, España, Economía, Colonias, Antillas (Caribe)

外国干涉：法国和西班牙海军对美国革命造成的影响

摘要

美国革命的范围远不止十三个殖民地的反叛。1778年后，战争成为了全球的霸权之争。这场争夺的中心则是欧洲强国的殖民地。尤其是大不列颠，作为一个岛国，严重依赖殖民地的资源和收入。这些殖民地对英国在欧洲的整体经济实力和政治实力发挥了关键作用。虽然所有殖民地都很重要，但加勒比海和西印度群岛殖民地为大不列颠创造了最多的经济收入。

尽管东印度公司在印度战区中保有军事力量，但西印度群岛却只受到皇家海军和英国军队保护。鉴于加勒比海殖民地的重要性，该地区获得了英国军方的大多数资源，尤其是自与美洲发生的冲突扩散为一场全球战争之后。

1775年战争爆发前，大不列颠发现自身在经济和军事上都陷入了一个危险处境。英国的经济情况使得皇家海军的维护和军力扩增变得困难。法国和西班牙海军加入这场冲突，导致英国的问题更为严重，因此不得不改变其整体战争策略。法国和西班牙海军的联合实力，加上1780年荷兰海军的加入，军事力量超过了皇家海军，因此迫使大不列颠重新聚焦于其从美洲殖民地获得的海上实力，以保护其帝国殖民地。

关键词：美国革命，海上实力，法国，大不列颠，荷兰，西班牙，经济学，殖民地，西印度群岛（加勒比海）

The American Revolution pitted a growing, discontented segment of the British colonists in America against the might of the British Empire. This was a seemingly impossible task, considering the economic and military power of Great Britain. The British Empire, however, faced certain challenges that directly affected its ability to prosecute a war against the American rebels. The widespread nature of the Empire following the Seven Years' War was one aspect that spread the British military thinly around the globe and hindered its ability to concentrate its force in one area, and the economic costs of the various wars prior to the American Revolution left the British economy in a precarious position. As a result, Great Britain was unprepared for a large-scale rebellion and even less prepared to fight a global war, two facts the British leadership, from King George III to Parliament, failed to recognize.

Britain enjoyed a powerful navy, but that navy had fallen into a state of neglect because the British did not expect the American rebellion to be a large-scale conflict and thus failed to mobilize for war.[1] Even if the British anticipated the coming conflict correctly, there was simply no money with which to strengthen the navy in 1775.[2] As a result, American privateers and smugglers managed to circumvent British attempts at interdicting war materiel and supplies. Following the formal intervention of foreign powers in 1778 and 1779, the British situation became even more tenuous. The power of the British navy could have initially provided Great Britain with a significant advantage in the American Revolution, but a weak economic situation prevented the Royal Navy from exercising its full might against the rebellion. The entry of the French and Spanish navies into the conflict compounded Britain's problems, and it had to alter its overall war strategy. The combined strength of the French and Spanish navies exceeded the power of the Royal Navy and thus forced Great Britain to refocus its naval might from the American colonies in order to protect her imperial possessions.

The early years of the war were the ideal time for Great Britain to strike at the rebellion and crush it with a powerful demonstration of force. This, however, did not occur for a variety of reasons. Early in the war, Parliament simply did not believe that the rebellion was a serious concern.[3] As such, they neither mobilized the navy, nor injected enough ground forces into the colonies

to deal with the uprising. A contemporary account of the situation proclaimed in 1775 that "the military force which was destined for America, was far short of the strength requisite for the proposed coercion."[4] This was a hard truth for the British to accept and many simply refused to believe the fact they did not have the power to suppress the rebellion. They compounded this error by sending General William Howe and his brother Admiral Richard Howe to act as both peace commissioners and commanders in chief of ground and naval forces, respectively, in the colonies.[5] This most certainly created a conflict of interest over the use of overwhelming force. The Howes found it difficult to talk of peace and at the same time conduct a destructive campaign to end the rebellion. The Americans, however, also had their issues at the war's outset, and the primary one was the lack of war materiel.

When the war broke out, the Americans did not possess gunpowder in any great quantity, nor did they have the means of mass-producing it themselves.[6] Fortunately for the Americans, numerous European countries were happy to supply the war materiel the rebellion required, adding to Britain's problems by creating a potential international incident over suppressing the flow of gunpowder into the American colonies. Over 90 percent of the gunpowder used by the rebels in the early period of the war came from sources outside the colonies.[7] The Spanish smuggled supplies up the Mississippi River, and the French, Dutch, and Spanish all maintained active trade routes with

their possessions in the Caribbean.[8] The Americans would then transport supplies from the European colonies in the Caribbean to the American mainland in fast sloops, with the majority of the goods coming in through Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Providence, Rhode Island.[9] The British needed to stop this trade in war supplies to the rebellious colonies and thus attempted a blockade.

The British attempts to curtail war materiel from entering the colonies experienced problems from the outset. They had neither enough ships, nor the correct ships, to enforce a blockade, but in Boston they made a valiant effort.[10] In Boston Harbor, the British stopped and searched all inbound ships, and at night sent crews out in rowboats to patrol the shallows, but their numbers were simply too few and the waterways too numerous.[11] American vessels would dart into convenient coves or rivers and then transport the supplies overland,[12] avoiding the British navy altogether. Small vessels, privateers, and smugglers all evaded the blockade. Privateering and smuggling was a highly profitable business,[13] and numerous people engaged in the practice, too many for the British to stop.

Many private ship owners, such as William Holland of Massachusetts, petitioned to fit out their ships as privateers and engage the British.[14] The privateers and European powers smuggling to the colonies seriously hampered the British war effort. The British experienced great difficulties in combating the privateers and could not openly confront the European powers providing the supplies. As mentioned, Britain

was dealing with a weakened economy and rising debt from the Seven Years' War; thus, they could ill-afford to provoke any of the European maritime powers.[15] With an ineffective navy, the British turned to diplomacy to stop the flow of supplies to the rebels.

British diplomatic measures failed for two primary reasons: the smuggling business was too profitable for those engaging in it, and the other European powers enjoyed seeing Britain humbled after her victory in the Seven Years' War. The aforementioned privateers played on both of these issues. Made up of many nationalities, the privateers preyed on British shipping and found welcome Dutch and Spanish ports in the West Indies to sell their captured prizes.[16] British resources could not match the growing demand and the idea of escalating the war into a European conflict was not a welcome one with many in the British Parliament. The British had counted on a blockade that would ruin the colonial trade and bring the colonies to their senses, but the eastern coastline of America was simply too great an expanse to effectively monitor.[17] Then, in late 1777, the entire conflict changed.

Following the British defeat at the Battle of Saratoga and the subsequent surrender of General John Burgoyne on October 14, 1777, the Americans had what they needed: a stunning victory to bring France openly into the war. The French entered the war against Great Britain on June 14, 1778, following the ratification of a treaty with the American colonies on May 4.[18] This change in the war greatly affected British strategy.

One of the key changes was in how to utilize the Royal Navy. Lord Sandwich in particular argued for an aggressive naval war against colonial maritime trade, but with the entry of France, that was not possible.[19]

When France entered the war, British intelligence estimated that the French navy comprised between thirty-three and forty-three ships of the line deployed between Brest in the Atlantic and Toulon in the Mediterranean.[20] The British mustered some forty ships of the line, half of those designated to channel duty to protect against invasion.[21] The remainder covered North America and the West Indies. Added to this were the ongoing political and economic strain Britain endured and the suddenly immense strategic problems of a global war.[22] A shift in British strategic thinking was in order.

The British were aware of French naval preparations as early as 1776, but did not heed the advice of ministers, such as First Lord of the Admiralty Lord Sandwich, and did not prepare their fleet.[23] The British assumed that the Americans could not contest the Royal Navy, yet American privateers and cruisers roamed North American and European waters.[24] American privateers captured over three hundred British merchant vessels in 1777, while the British captured only fifteen of the American raiders.[25] The American navy even recorded victories in the West Indies early in the war. In a raid on the port of Nassau in New Providence, the Americans captured quantities of war materiel and successfully returned it to the American colonies.[26] Britain already had this naval problem to contend with when France entered the war. The focus thus shifted to protecting the home islands first and foremost.

Once France entered the conflict, many of the politicians at Whitehall proposed to fight the war the way they had during the Seven Years' War, with a European focus that blockaded the French in their homeports, while British squadrons raided the West Indies.[27] This plan was also unfeasible, for the British were alone in this war, the alliance with Prussia was gone and the Netherlands remained neutral for the time being. Great Britain was diplomatically alone, and with no distractions on the continent, the French could focus on the naval war.[28] The idea of fighting this war the same way as the last was abandoned. Instead, a strategy emerged from Lord North, George Germain, Lord Jeffery Amherst, and Lord Sandwich that focused on fighting the French at sea and subduing the rebellion in the American colonies.[29]

The British faced the stark reality that they could lose their various colonies and still survive, but if they were defeated in the Channel, they would be open to invasion.[30] Thus, British strategy evolved to protecting the Channel first, then reinforcing the Mediterranean and West Indies squadrons. In so doing, they also recalled twenty ships from duty in the American colonies.[31] The British clearly placed the American colonies as a lower priority in this scenario, even though the strategy mentioned above called for subduing

the rebellion. As the strategy unfolded, and the British realized they could not accomplish all of the goals, they had to continue prioritizing where to utilize their naval power as the war progressed.

Great Britain eventually scaled back the Mediterranean portion of their plan, as they simply did not have the ships to reinforce the Mediterranean squadron. British intelligence reported that a combined force of French and Spanish ships, should the Spanish enter the war, totaled sixty warships to the British forty-two.[32] Thus outnumbered, the British could not afford to weaken the Channel fleet to send more ships to the Mediterranean.

This was a significant shift for the British; they were clearly on the defensive and had to prioritize areas of most importance. The home islands were obviously the most important, followed by the West Indies due to its profitable trade, which greatly helped to sustain the British economy. If they had possessed enough naval power, the Mediterranean would have been third. The British also had possessions in Africa, India, and Canada, aside from the Caribbean and Mediterranean, which they needed to protect. They thus stretched themselves dangerously thin around the globe.[33] The danger would become increasingly worse in 1779, once Spain entered the war against Britain.

Prior to Spanish entry into the war, France gained notable successes, particularly in the Caribbean where they captured Dominica in June 1778 and St. Vincent and Grenada in 1779.[34] The British had already abandoned

the Mediterranean, save Gibraltar and Minorca; now with the Spanish entry, those two remaining possessions were at risk, and they faced an invasion of the British home islands.[35] This possibility of invasion, however, may have saved Great Britain in what was surely the darkest stage of the war for the British.

Spain's decision to throw off neutrality and involve itself in the war came about because of Spanish national interest and pride. Spain had little concern over the American rebellion, and in fact, thought that a rebellion on a continent where they maintained colonial possessions a dangerous development.[36] What Spain desired was to humble Britain and recover lost possessions. One primary aspect of this revenge was an invasion of Britain itself and this was the price Spain demanded in agreeing to France's desire that Spain should enter the war. France agreed to continue the war until Spain regained Gibraltar and also agreed to a joint invasion of the British Isles.[37] This latter agreement proved disastrous for France and Spain.

In preparation for the invasion, the French sailed out of Brest on June 4, 1779 to the island of Cizarga, where they were to join with the Spanish fleet.[38] The Spanish, however, did not arrive until July 23. The delay reduced the supplies and health of the French fleet, which was ill-equipped from the start, owing to its hurried departure from Brest due to fear that the British would blockade them in port.[39]

The invasion, while causing extensive panic in Britain, was a dismal failure, not due to British naval resis-

tance, but to weather and illness in the Franco-Spanish fleet.[40] The allied fleet eventually gave up the idea of entering the Channel and instead sought to engage the British fleet, which they outnumbered, but the British evaded these efforts and the French and Spanish returned to Brest.[41] This action was important to the British in that it signaled the last time the allies would attempt to invade the British Isles. Naval engagements continued in home waters, however, until the peace in 1783.[42] The joint allied fleet dispersed, with France turning her attention to the West Indies, and Spain to Gibraltar and Minorca.[43]

As soon as the Spanish declared war on Great Britain, they blockaded Gibraltar, and now they turned their full attention to that strategic base. The British were also aware of the strategic importance of Gibraltar and elected to relieve it. Fortunately for Great Britain, during 1779 twenty-three ships of the line joined the Royal Navy, including seven taken from the French and two from the Spanish.[44] These additional ships made the prospect of a relief expedition feasible. To command the relief of Gibraltar, Lord Sandwich chose Admiral George Rodney to lead the expedition, which was a risk due to Rodney's unpopularity in the navy as a result of his pro-government views and blatant dishonesty.[45] Rodney, however, was an aggressive and intelligent admiral who was not averse to taking risks.[46]

Rodney's relief force set sail on Christmas Eve, 1779 and met with early success. The British fleet comprised twenty-two ships of the line and eight frigates, along with hundreds of support vessels.[47] The British first encountered a Spanish convoy, also heading to Gibraltar, and the British easily captured the smaller Spanish fleet.[48] Then, on January 16, 1780, the British encountered a Spanish fleet sent out to intercept the British relief expedition.

This second Spanish fleet was also significantly weaker than the British fleet as it contained only eleven ships of the line and two frigates, and thus the Spanish elected to flee.[49] Rodney ordered the British fleet to pursue, and in a desperate gamble on a stormy night amidst the shoals and reefs, placed his ships between the Spanish and the coast.[50] The gamble was a success and the British captured six Spanish ships and destroyed a seventh.[51] Gibraltar was relieved and Minorca was as well. The Spanish, however, continued the siege, which culminated in an attack on September 13, 1782 that ended in utter failure.[52] While Spain would continue to pose a threat to the British, they never seriously endangered the British fleet. The entry of France and Spain, however, had expanded the war from a colonial rebellion into a global conflict, and this altered the British war strategy. The entry of the Netherlands into the war against Great Britain, far from complicating Britain's position by bringing in yet another naval power, actually aided her war effort.

The entry of the Netherlands into the conflict in late 1780 brought economic ruin to the Dutch and solved a dilemma for Great Britain. The French figured out a means of circumventing the British blockade of the English Channel using a canal system, which al-

lowed ship materials, such as masts, to arrive in French ports via the canals.[53] Once the blockade became ineffective, the British elected to declare war on the Netherlands in order to directly blockade her coasts and halt the flow of war materiel to France.

Britain declared war on December 20, 1780 and set about shutting down Dutch maritime trade. The result was the economic ruin of the Netherlands, as the Dutch did not have the naval or political power to break the English blockade.[54] The economic fallout from the war also affected the Dutch colonies in the West Indies, and the Netherlands relinquished the colonies of Demerary and Essequebo in the southern Caribbean to Great Britain without a fight in 1781.[55] The French, however, captured these colonies from the British in 1782, which they returned to the Dutch at the war's end. [56]

The major naval engagement between the British and the Dutch took place in 1781, when the two navies fought an inconclusive engagement in the North Sea. While the actual battle was a tactical draw, strategically the British scored a victory, as they effectively kept the Dutch navy bottled up in its home waters for the remainder of the war.[57] This latter development was important, as it removed one of the Royal Navy's maritime foes from the contest. The naval war in European waters, particularly after the Dutch retreat, was at something of a standstill. The attention of the remaining combatants shifted to the West Indies, which was of vital interest to the British, and they accordingly sent an able commander to re-es-

tablish their dominance in the area.

The commander the British elected to send to the West Indies was Admiral Rodney, now a hero after the Gibraltar expedition. Rodney demonstrated the same aggressive tactics against the French in the Caribbean as he did against the Spanish and achieved notable results. Rodney prevented the French from taking Barbados in 1781, and in 1782 he destroyed the French fleet at the Battle of the Saintes (April 12, 1782).[58]

In the latter engagement, Rodney utilized the same tactic, attacking from the leeward position, as he did against the Spanish fleet en route to Gibraltar. The move once again proved successful and granted victory to Rodney. The British fleet destroyed the French fleet off Santo Domingo, where the French were waiting to join the Spanish fleet for a combined assault against the British base at Jamaica.[59] The French suffered over three thousand casualties[60] and lost eight ships, and the French Admiral de Grasse became a prisoner of the British.[61] The British regained the advantage in the West Indies, and once again dealt a decisive blow to French naval power, but this victory came too late to save the British army at Yorktown, which suffered defeat and surrender in October 1781.

The naval victories over Spain and France strengthened Britain's military position and political power in Europe.[62] The victory also deprived the Americans of the French navy from joint operations in the American colonies: following the British surrender at

Yorktown, the French turned to combating the British elsewhere. Even with the blow dealt the British at Yorktown, the Americans could not mount any serious campaigns against the remaining British possessions in North America.[63] The absence of a French Navy to aid them in combined-arms operations effectively hamstrung the American war effort. Following the victory at Yorktown, de Grasse sailed to his eventual fate against Rodney in the Caribbean, and the majority of the French troops in America desired to return home now that the contest in the American colonies was all but over.[64] The war was winding down, and while further battles and engagements occurred, it was really only the peace negotiations that remained.

At the beginning of the rebellion, the British navy had the power to control events and possibly ensure an early British victory. The weak economy of Britain, however, prevented the navy from fully mobilizing, and the eventual entry of France and Spain into the conflict forced Great Britain to alter its war strategy. The combined strength of the French and Spanish navies presented a serious challenge to the power of the Royal Navy. This led to Britain re-prioritizing the value of its imperial possessions, and the American colonies did not rank high on the list. The home waters became the area of highest importance, likewise the relief of Gibraltar and re-establishing control in the economically vital West Indies. To accomplish this, the British reduced forces allocated to the war in the American colonies, and reinforcements were unavailable to counter defeats and losses.

The British shift in strategy, however, saved the majority of their empire and enabled them to be ready when France once again became a threat following the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte. There are historians who state that the Royal Navy failed in its mission to protect Great Britain's interests and in fact lost the war.[65] The facts, however, demonstrate something different. The British political leadership failed to prepare for war; they misjudged both the Americans and the French. Once the war became a global affair, however, the British shifted strategies and strengthened their navy, and this enabled them to be prepared to deal with the French and Spanish, as well as the Dutch when they entered the war as well. They lost their American colonies, but they retained the majority of the global British Empire. Canada, India, the African possessions, and most of the West Indies remained British. This was a result of Lord Sandwich shifting the British naval strategy and focusing on winning the global war, even at the cost of the troublesome American colonies.[66] A decisive victory it was not. Indeed, the terms of the Peace of Paris were decidedly unfavorable to Britain. However, the British Empire, although reduced, survived.[67] France did not; revolution swept the country in 1789. Spain was meanwhile already in decline and, by the end of the nineteenth century, collapsed altogether following a disastrous war against the United States in 1898. The British, however, would go on to defeat Napoleon Bonaparte and continue to dominate the oceans until their former enemy, the United States, took

over the mantle of the primary global naval power during the Second World War.

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Wendell Scott: Black, Rural, and Poor in the Early Days of NASCAR

Linda Callis

American Public University

Abstract

Wendell Scott was the most successful African-American driver in the National Association of Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR). He faced many challenges, both as a man of color and an independent driver. His struggle to succeed as a driver paralleled the civil rights era in the same geographic location. Other than ethnicity, Scott had the credentials to become a racecar driver. A poor man from a rural area who was involved in running moonshine, Scott struggled to compete but succeeded in becoming a fulltime racecar driver. His love for the sport allowed him to face adversity. Despite competing in a sport that did not openly welcome him, he found respect in the racing community. His mechanical ability, driving skills, and determination are being honored years after his retirement and death. Wendell Scott, called the Jackie Robinson of NASCAR, opened a path for diversity in a typically segregated time and place. His family continues to honor his memory and share his experience with the world.

Keywords: Wendell Scott, NASCAR, civil rights, racing, Bill France, rural, moonshine, the South

Wendell Scott: negro, rural y pobre en los primeros días de NASCAR

Resumen

Wendell Scott fue el piloto afroamericano más exitoso en NAS-CAR. Se enfrentó a muchos desafíos, tanto como un hombre de color y un conductor independiente. Su lucha por tener éxito como conductor fue paralela a la era de los derechos civiles en la misma ubicación geográfica. Además de la etnia, Scott tenía las creden-

ciales para convertirse en un piloto de carreras. Un hombre pobre de una zona rural que estaba involucrado en el funcionamiento de la luz de la luna, Scott luchó para competir, pero logró convertirse en un piloto de carreras de tiempo completo. Su amor por el deporte le permitió enfrentar la adversidad. A pesar de competir en un deporte que no lo acogió abiertamente, encontró respeto en la comunidad de carreras. Su habilidad mecánica, habilidades de manejo y determinación están siendo honrados años después de su retiro y muerte. Wendell Scott, llamado Jackie Robinson de NASCAR, abrió un camino para la diversidad en un tiempo y lugar típicamente segregados. Su familia continúa honrando su memoria y comparte su experiencia con el mundo.

Palabra clave: Wendell Scott, NASCAR, derechos civiles, carreras, Bill France, rural, moonshine, Sur

温德尔·斯科特：纳斯卡赛车（NASCAR）早期的农村黑人贫民

摘要

温德尔·斯科特曾是纳斯卡赛车（NASCAR）史上最成功的非裔美国赛车手。作为一名有色人种和独立赛车手，他都面临过许多挑战。他为成为一名赛车手所经历的奋斗可以与非裔美国人在同地区争取公民权力的时代相媲美。除民族身份外，斯科特有资格成为一名赛车手。作为一名贩卖私酿酒的农村贫民，斯科特奋力（与同行）竞争，但却成功当上了一名全职赛车手。他对运动的热爱让他能够直面困难。尽管在一个未曾公开表示欢迎的体育运动中参与竞争，他却在赛车社群中获得了尊重。在其退休和去世后的十几年，他的机械技能、驾车技术和决心仍然受到尊敬和推崇。温德尔·斯科特被称作NASCAR界的杰基·罗宾森，他在一个典型的种族隔离时空中开创了一条通往多样性的道路。他的家人继续尊崇他的记忆，并将他的经历与全世界分享。

关键词：斯科特，温德尔，纳斯卡赛车（NASCAR），公民权利，赛车，法国，Bill，农村，私酿酒，South

The National Association of Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR) was developed during the post-World War II era to showcase drivers competing in so-called "stock cars." Stock referred to a vehicle that could be bought from a local car dealer. It meant a car that might be modified but could be driven on the road. Many of the early drivers hauled illegal moonshine from hidden production sites, stills, to illicit distribution points, often in distant cities. They developed excellent driving skills while learning to evade government officials, the G-men, T-men, and revenuers, who wanted them to pay taxes. Some of these drivers were war veterans seeking excitement that was lacking in dreary, rural areas. A popular leisure activity involved local drivers meeting together to test their skills in open-road and closed-course races. These races primarily developed in the white, rural, and poor piedmont regions of the American South. Wendell Scott (1921-1990) fit the description of a stock car driver, with the exception that he was not white. As the first African American to win a top-level NASCAR race (1963), he fought discrimination and influenced today's still-primarily white, but more inclusive racing entertainment. As an African American driving in NASCAR and other races during the height of the civil rights movement, Wendell Scott presents an integration story unique to his geographical and cultural location.

The early NASCAR drivers included a cadre of men who drove Thunder Road, a nickname for the routes traveled by those carrying illic-it moonshine. Tim Flock (1924–1998) and Junior Johnson (b. 1931) drove illegal alcohol from its creation point to distributors and sellers. Bootlegging, which boomed during Prohibition, was still common after the Second World War. However, the driving experience was a geographically specialized activity through rural hills and over a variety of road surfaces. While these drivers were a starting point, NASCAR was also a set of tightly controlled rules that made racing competitive

NASCAR's official foundation began in December 1947 at the Streamline Hotel in Daytona, Florida. This meeting, organized by Bill France, Sr., brought together promoters, drivers, mechanics, and car owners to discuss sanctioning a set of rules for racing. No official records were kept, but the consensus of attendees was that France dominated the group and knew what he wanted; the result was NASCAR. The first official NASCAR-sanctioned race occurred on February 15, 1948 at the Daytona Beach-road course. On February 21, the organization received its incorporation. However, the first premier series event was not held until June 19, 1949 at the Charlotte [North Carolina] Fairgrounds. This event featured stock cars that looked like those driven on the street. This concept put NASCAR on a path to popularity.[1]

Without the forceful personality of France, NASCAR would not have been formed, yet every attempt to present a history of the sport starts well before the 1947 meetings. Racing is a natural human impulse, and car rac-

ing starts with the invention of the automobile. Drivers competed with their skill behind the wheel, and mechanics competed to build the best car. France, the son of a bank clerk, trained as a mechanic and developed an infatuation with racing. He explained it by saying, "I just liked to go fast. I don't think I was unusual. I just wanted to be a race driver, but then everybody I knew wanted to be a race driver. Go out and ask every kid who likes to drive fast if he'd like to be a race driver and he'll say, yes." Speed was synonymous with Daytona Beach, and in 1934 he moved there with his wife and son. Thus, the stage was set for stock car racing to develop into a legitimate sport.[2]

The sands of Daytona allowed cars to obtain high speeds, but most drivers grew up on red clay and raced on dirt roads and tracks cut into fields or pastures. "Southern stock car racing cannot be properly understood without understanding its strong connections to a particular region, to a particular time, and to a particular group of people."[3] Tim Flock admitted that when racing started, it was "Just a bunch of these bootleggers who'd been arguing all week about who had the fastest car would get together and prove it." The first races were held in fields without admission or purses. Flock continued, "Then Bill France came along and he started putting up fences, the whole bit. He made stock car racing what it is today."[4]

The South had all the factors needed to make NASCAR into a sport. The geography and geology allowed tracks to be built easily. There were drivers to perform and people who wanted to watch.

Like the most important and original cultural contributions of the South, NASCAR emerged from the genius of the southern working class, as part of what historian Pete Daniel termed an "an unlikely renaissance" of "lowdown culture." Born on the beach at Daytona in 1936, the sport was nurtured in the Piedmont South by the mother's milk of white lightning. All of its early organizers, participants, and fans were working-class individuals attracted to the sport as an ultimate expression of freedom in a confining life defined by rural poverty or by the restrictive life of the mill and the milltown. As racing promoter H. A. "Humpy" Wheeler observed, "Guys might have worked in the mill. They might have been an electrician. They might have been a plumber, whatever. But they had these strict rules they had to go by during the week. As soon as they walked on that racetrack ... the rules disappear. Nobody's going to tell them what to do. 'Cause that's what they're getting away from." Their ability to take the sport from its Piedmont roots to a national, and even international, audience is indicative of the creative agency of people attempting to transcend the limitations of life and is an example of the finest expression of the human spirit.[5]

These men were the poor working men of the South trying to find excitement. Perhaps they were a generation removed from the farm and finding the drudgery of mill work monotonous, but they found excitement at the track.

Before becoming a national sport, NASCAR was confined to the South. "NASCAR, in its origins and early growth, was not a sport popular in all of the South. For much of its early history it was nurtured and grew out of the Piedmont region of the South, stretching roughly from Richmond, Virginia, in an arc to Birmingham, Alabama. Indeed, the 'NASCAR South' is the South of red clay, not black loam; yeoman farmers, not plantation slavery; and cotton mills, rather than cotton fields."[6] The geography gave the sport a physical location; the necessary elements of drivers, mechanics, and fans; and a forceful personality to unify them into a sport.

The sport was ready, but was Wendell Scott ready to be a part of NASCAR? A basic overview of his career can be found on the historical marker located in Danville, Virginia. The text reads,

> On 1 December 1963 in Jacksonville, Florida, Wendell O. Scott Sr. became the first African American to win a NASCAR Grand National race. He lived here in the house he built after his return from World War II. Persevering over prejudice and discrimination, Scott broke racial barriers in NASCAR, with a 13-year career that included 20 top five and 147 top ten finishes. He retired in 1973 after an injury suffered during a race in Talladega, Alabama. The International Motorsports Hall of Fame, among 13 Hall of Fames, has inducted him as a member.[7]

Scott is acknowledged as overcoming prejudice and discrimination. In the Jim Crow South, he received his NASCAR license in 1950s before the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that invigorated the Civil Rights movement.

Scott's background was little different from any other racer or fan. He came out of the bootlegging tradition found in the Virginia hills. He told Sylvia Wilkinson, "I know every back road within a hundred miles of here—well, maybe not a hundred, maybe fifty or sixty, and I remember them to this day. The truth is, I never drank a drop of liquor in my life. I just hauled it." He explained the difference between Mason and Kern jars and the economics of profit: it mattered how much he hauled and how far he took it. As a mechanic, Scott made sure his car could handle the pressure of liquor hauling. "My liquor car would do 95 in second gear, and 118 in high. Back then there wasn't a police car in Danville that could do over 95. The police did outrun me one time, though, and caught me .... They give me three years probation."[8] Like fellow Hall of Famer,[9] Junior Johnson (from mountainous Wilkes County, North Carolina), Wendell Scott was a convicted bootlegger.

Being a bootlegger did not mean that a man would be a racecar driver, but many early drivers honed their skills with a liquor car on the back roads. When Scott started driving, he had a reputation for outrunning the police. "The fellow who ran the track at the Fairgrounds was looking for something to get the people to come to his races, so he went down to the police department to find out which black boys had speeding records. He walked in, and they told him if you're looking for a black boy to drive a car, then you're looking for Wendell Scott."[10] In the Jim Crow South, the thirty-one-year-old Scott was a "black boy." He was also a racing fan. The Danville Fairgrounds had a dirt track, and since the late 1940s, Wendell Scott had been one the few people watching the races from the Negro section of the stands.[11] When he was offered a chance to be a racecar driver, Scott had the right background. He was in the right geographical area. NASCAR's oldest Grand National track is located approximately thirty miles away in Martinsville. He had the driving experience. Most of the roads driven by bootleggers were dirt, as was the track in Danville. He had a car since his brother-in-law technically had title to the liquor car that Scott had been using, a 1935 Ford. For the novelty of the promotion, he was black in a white man's sport. He had an opportunity and was ready for the challenge.

However, the promoter did not plan to start a racing career for Scott; he was trying to fill the seats. Scott had to finance and develop his own racing career. The drawbacks were huge. His race was a major barrier. He would have to find ways to remove those barriers or find a way around them. It was not easy to be a black man in the South in the first place; to be a black racecar driver was even harder. This led him to struggle down the path of an independent racer. In a time when the car manufacturers of Detroit were supporting many teams, being an independent meant poorer equipment and less opportunity.

Wendell Scott's racing career spanned from 1952 to 1973. This was the heart of the Civil Rights era, and race relations were changing. In 1952, the first year of Scott's racing career, a paper presented at the Institute on Mental Hygiene and later published discussed race and culture. The author suggested how the contemporary culture should be changed.

> Discriminatory laws are the first targets in the campaign of amelioration, for they are the corner stone of other discriminations. The second target is discrimination in employment and upgrading. Other targets may receive concentrated attention as strategy and tactics later may indicate. The strategic overall objective is an equalitarian society resting solidly upon individual worth and respect for the human personality.[12]

This plan was enacted by the actions of many people who worked to change the racial situation, particularly in the Jim Crow South. Discriminatory laws prevented Scott from doing many things.

In 1964, even after passage of the Civil Rights Act, integration was slow to change how things were done. Scott had blown his engine and was rebuilding it at his hotel. Fellow drivers Larry Frank and Tiny Lund drove by and stopped. They were not surprised that Scott was working on his car, but they did question him on his location and why he was staying so far from the track. He had to explain that he was staying at a black motel. For Frank it was a revelation; it had never occurred to him that Wendell, his colleague, was so outside what was normal for other drivers and crews.[13] Some slights were minor; others were significant.

Discrimination was a part of daily life and related to skin color. Scott's daughter, Sybil, recollected,

Daddy worked to two, three o'clock in the morning and had himself timed to get to whatever track by deadline time when you had to sign in. And he would be so tired. We might have stopped several times for gas, food, and whatever, and he may never have even woke up during a long trip. My mother she always made sure she carried actual meals you know, at the tracks and while travelling. Daddy was very, very light skinned, so he could very easily pass for not being a black person. So he would be able to get in places that the rest of us couldn't.[14]

In addition to the standard discrimination faced by all Southern blacks, he was in a unique position. He and his crew might be the only African Americans at an event. They could be tolerated or hated. In the heyday of Civil Rights marches and boycotts, the Scotts were headed to the racetrack and competing. In a later interview, the younger son, Frank Scott, recalled, "The timeframe that we were in the South racing, you know, in the early sixties, all through the early sixties, the demonstrations, the thing that Martin Luther King was doing for our people, things were going on in Montgomery, Birmingham, we'd be actually racing in those cities." While some African Americans were staging sit-ins to desegregate lunch counters, Wendell Scott was making laps to desegregate the racetrack. For doing so, he faced the same threats presented to many Civil Rights activists. Wendell Scott, Jr. shared, "I remember us getting the call, "If you come to the track tonight, we're going to kill your family while you're on the track."'[15]

Wendell Scott was not a Civil Rights activist but as a racecar driver, who wanted to do what he loved, he had to take action. He preferred the action to be on the track. If necessary, he could speak up and react. The other drivers saw this, and some of them respected him for what he was trying to do. Some of them were willing to help a fellow driver. For example, Leonard Wood of the Ford-sponsored Wood Brothers team was generous. He would tell Scott that if he drove the fifty miles to Stuart, Virginia, he could get some used parts. His son, Wendell, Jr., noted that this might include new parts or the exact part that they needed. The obser-

vant Wood might provide a new differential with the right gear ratio amidst the discards.[16] Frank Scott recalled a story about Bobby Allison bumping and spinning his father five times. After the race, Scott confronted Allison; he directly and profanely told Allison to leave his car alone. Before they left the track, Allison would give Scott sixty dollars and call him "a hell of a man." It was a rare confrontation, but the car bashing stopped.[17]

Other racers, promoters, and fans were not so respectful. First run in 1950, Darlington International Raceway's Southern 500 was a prestigious race.

> After the first year's difficulties with fans finding accommodations, track officials began to allow them to camp in the infield. Soon the infield scene at the Southern 500 became as legendary as the race itself for its drinking and carousing, barbecues, makeshift viewing platforms, and ever present Confederate battle flags. For the stock car racing community, especially in the Piedmont South, Labor Day and the Southern 500 became inextricably entwined."[18]

It was a race that did not want Wendell Scott in the field. In a 2015 interview, Frank Scott explained, "He was denied entry to races because of his race. For three years he was denied entry into Darlington Raceway, [both of the annual] races at Darlington Speedway. It wasn't until 1964, the Civil Rights Act was passed, that he was actually allowed

to race there."[19] Darlington was an extreme case of discrimination, and it should be noted that it was a track not owned by Big Bill France.

France, Sr. was the most influential personality in NASCAR. Most people associated with NASCAR remember him, positively or negatively, as the man who was NASCAR. He controlled the organization and owned several racetracks, including Daytona and Talladega. No one has reported hearing him use a racial slur, and Wendell Scott respected the man. France did not object to Scott's appearance in NASCAR. The official opinion was that Scott was a driver and should be treated as one. France's politics were those of a good-ole-boy, and he supported George Wallace's run for the presidency. This type of politics and backroom dealing left Scott outside the mainstream and driving as an independent.

In addition to the struggles that came with his race, Wendell Scott faced the challenges of being an independent driver in the era of factory teams. A 1960s documentary proclaimed that the mechanics who worked on the cars needed imagination and mechanical ability. Footage shot at Holman-Moody, a Ford-sponsored garage, showed how parts were discarded, replaced, or reinforced. They needed equipment that could take the same amount of punishment in one afternoon as that in a year of standard driving. Stock cars were modified but required a stock chassis and stock engine, a standard requirement for all car makers. The difference was that Holman-Moody was a factory

garage, while Wendell Scott worked in his own personal garage.[20] Because an independent racer did not receive factory money or parts, he worked by and for himself. Automakers provided better equipment, pit crews, and guaranteed salaries for the drivers they backed. These teams and their situations allowed the sport to expand into different parts of the country. While Holman-Moody had dedicated space, paid employees, and hundreds of parts, Scott was on his own to find, make, or buy the parts that he needed.[21]

Scott started racing at local tracks and worked his way up to the NASCAR Grand National circuit by financing his own car. His pit crew was usually family and friends, and he was his own mechanic. He was proud of that fact and wrote on his car: "mechanic: me." It was not easy and required a certain type of personality. Sybil Scott remembered, "Daddy was a very quiet and unassuming. He wasn't a conflicting person. He had his goal in mind of always being able to return from a race and meet whatever that next bill was. He was very disciplined, very good-natured person .... He was a genius of a mechanic."[22]

Many of the factory drivers knew how hard it was to race as an independent and respected those who travelled the harder path. It is significant that he won any race. His ability as a driver meant that he was often the fastest independent when the factory teams took the top spots. His ability is reflected in his record of 147 top ten finishes with only one victory.

One of the important themes that come from Wendell Scott's legacy

is diversity in NASCAR. As the only African-American winner of a Grand National race, Scott has become the touchstone for diversity. His children have become his spokesmen and are often interviewed about race in NASCAR. Every potential African-American driver is compared to Wendell Scott. He has also begun to receive his due recognition.

As NASCAR expands from its Southern roots, it has attempted to move away from some traditional symbols of the South, particularly the Confederate battle flag. In his time, "Scott was a rebel racing in a sport represented by the rebel flag."[23] The Confederate battle flag has become a racially charged symbol, and NASCAR has responded by bringing its policies in line with twenty-first century societal norms. The association between racing and the battle flag began with early races and was closely associated with Darlington in particular. On June 26, 2015, NASCAR began to request that the Confederate battle flag not be brought to races; they earlier had banned the symbol from cars and official merchandise. Scott's son recalled that the flag was not the most important issue for his father.

> He prepared us for the flag and the other things like insults, the snares, the comments, and things like that. Because it was a business for us. He taught the family; he taught the children and anyone who was associated with his team to avoid, you know, problems, not to create a problem because of the flag. We mostly ignored it because there were

things more serious. He had to deal with matters that were much more serious at the time.

Frank Scott concluded that he was pleased that NASCAR was making strides for diversity and welcoming a variety of people.[24]

One commentator recognized the reason NASCAR has been working on diversity when she stated, "The perception exists that people of color are not welcome at NASCAR events. That's rubbish. When it comes to race, NASCAR is colorblind. The only color that interests NASCAR is green. Keeping their hearts—and cash registers—open to a rainbow of race fans helped the France brothers amass their fortunes."[25] Like many businesses, NASCAR has learned that women and minorities spend money; it does not need to depend on white men.

The diversity that has developed in NASCAR has grown slowly. The change was not an artificial scheme like bussing school children, but rather a cultivated organic growth. Journalist Warren Brown, who grew up in segregated New Orleans, talked about loving racing but hating NASCAR. "It was a Southern white man's thing, replete with Confederate flags and rebel yells, both of which, to me, translated to 'Blacks not welcome here.'" Yet he praised the faith of the Scott family who preserve in maintaining their father's legacy and the actions taken by car owner Joe Gibbs. Gibbs, encouraged by Reggie White, developed a Drive for Diversity program in 2003. Tracks and sponsors were supportive of the pro-

gram. It has had official NASCAR support since 2004.[26]

The legacy of Wendell Scott, promoted by his children, is to encourage NASCAR to develop into a sport that would have welcomed their father. A beneficiary of this legacy is Darrell Wallace, Jr., often called Bubba. With five truck series wins, he has been successful in NASCAR's top levels. Often referred to as the first African American to win since Wendell Scott, he was a full-time driver on the junior circuit for Roush Fenway Racing and substituted for Richard Petty Motorsports on the Grand National level in 2017. Since then, Wallace has moved to the Grand National level, finished second in the 2018 Daytona 500, and, like Scott, was runner-up for Rookie of the Year.[27]

The media has compared Scott and Wallace, yet there are many attributes that separate them. Scott and the early racers often learned their skills by driving moonshine; Wallace started with go carts. Scott was an independent who struggled to beat the factory teams while Wallace is a team driver. NASCAR's official position was to neither hinder nor abet Scott's racing career. In 2009, Wallace entered NASCAR's Drive for Diversity program. These men are drivers from different eras, each benefiting the other. Mutual publicity has enhanced each driver's reputation, and until more African Americans are in the sport, they will stand as representatives of their race.[28]

It is only decades after his single win that Wendell Scott is beginning to receive the acknowledgement due to

him. Jackie Robinson integrated baseball with official aid and protection; he is duly honored by Major League Baseball. By contrast, Scott drove as an independent and remained a driver through his own financing and skill. More than fifty years passed between his one Grand National victory and his induction into the NASCAR Hall of Fame. At least fourteen halls of fame have inducted Scott, most posthumously. During his life, the movie, *Greased Lightning,* starring Richard Pryor, showcased Scott's career. He was also the inspiration for the character of Rivers Scott in Disney Pixar's *Cars 3*.[29] The Commonwealth of Virginia has honored Scott with an historical marker. The city of Danville declared April 5, 2013 to be Wendell Scott Day in the city, and the marker was dedicated. Speakers at the event included the mayor of Danville and other city luminaries, the president of NASCAR, and Wendell Scott, Jr.[30]

From its beginning, the United States has had an uncomfortable balancing act in regard to race. A country that proclaimed that all men are created equal held some men in bondage. Although freed from slavery, African Americans were still denied their rights. The twentieth century found people moving toward legal desegregation in education, accommodations, and employment. Wendell Scott sought equality on the racetrack and found both discrimination and respect. His story includes being denied the chance to race as well as winning at the top level of his sport. Like many African Americans of his generation, his life had highs and lows. He was not a top name in his

sport, but he was a contender who persisted in racing and outdid many white challengers.

Wendell Scott was one man, competing in a particularly segregated time and place. He was black in a sport created and dominated by white men. That one characteristic, his race, separated him from his competitors and most fans; however, in his other attributes, he was cut from the same pattern. He was a bootlegger from a mill town in the Piedmont of Virginia, a typical pedigree among men who loved to race stock cars and found a way to make a living following that dream. Scott made his mark on history by driving fast and chasing the checkered flag of NASCAR.

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The United States and the Pirates of the Barbary Coast

Joseph Frusci, Ed.D.
Northeastern University

Abstract

The United States was born into a very hostile world ruled by monarchies that did not wish this new democratic republic well. Piracy in the Mediterranean Sea along the North African Coast was a problem that the new American leaders confronted when trying to engage in commerce, trade, and shipping. The fledgling United States was considered to be an easy target due to the lack of protection for its merchant ships sailing into the Mediterranean Sea. Pirates seized and boarded these ships, and its crews were held for ransom or sold into slavery. This forced the United States to establish the United States Navy to help defend against piracy in the Mediterranean Sea, which in turn led to the First and Second Barbary Wars. These wars became America's first wars overseas after America achieved independence and led to gaining respect from the international community.

Keywords: America, navy, frigate, piracy, corsair, tribute, ransom, Barbary Coast, Tripoli, Algiers, war

Los Estados Unidos y los piratas de la costa de Berbería

Resumen

Estados Unidos nació en un mundo muy hostil gobernado por monarquías que no deseaban bien a esta nueva república democrática. La piratería en el mar Mediterráneo a lo largo de la costa norteafricana fue un problema que los nuevos líderes estadounidenses enfrentaron al tratar de participar en el comercio, el comercio y el transporte marítimo. Los incipientes Estados Unidos se consideraban un blanco fácil debido a la falta de protección para sus buques mercantes que navegaban hacia el mar Mediterráneo. Los piratas

se apoderaron y abordaron estos barcos, y sus tripulaciones fueron retenidas por rescate o vendidas como esclavas. Esto obligó a los Estados Unidos a establecer la Marina de los Estados Unidos para ayudar a defenderse contra la piratería en el Mar Mediterráneo, que a su vez condujo a la Primera y Segunda Guerra de Berbería. Estas guerras se convirtieron en la primera guerra de Estados Unidos en el extranjero después de que Estados Unidos logró la independencia y condujo a ganar el respeto de la comunidad internacional

Palabras clave: América, Armada, Fragata, Piratería, Corsario, Homenaje, Rescate, Costa de Berbería, Trípoli, Argel, Guerra

美国与巴巴里海盗

摘要

美国建立之初，全球正被那些不希望这个新兴的民主共和国发展顺利的君主们所统治。北非海岸地中海区域的海上抢劫曾是新的美国领导者在试图参与商业、贸易和海运时面临的一个问题。由于前往地中海的商业船只缺乏保护，羽翼未丰的美国被视为一个容易得手的目标。海盗夺取这些船只，并控制船员获取赎金，或者将其贩卖为奴隶。此举迫使美国建立美国海军，帮助防御地中海海盗，而这导致了第一次和第二次巴巴里战争。这一系列战争成为了美国独立以来的首次海外战争，并因此获得了国际社会的尊重。

关键词：美国，海军，护卫舰，海上抢劫，海盗，贡品，赎金，巴巴里海岸，的黎波里，阿尔及尔，战争

The Barbary pirates, sometimes called the Barbary corsairs, were a collective that came from the coastal regions of what are now Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya (formerly known as Tripoli). Their leaders, known as Pashas and Deys, supported piracy, because it generated profits for those areas. When a foreign ship sailed into their waters in the Mediterranean, entry was refused until they paid tribute. Once they received payment, they allowed the foreign vessel to pass. If a vessel refused or could not pay tribute, the Barbary pirates seized the ship and crew and held them until their nation paid the tribute and a ransom for the release of their sailors. In many in-

stances, the captured vessel would not be returned to the nation of origin, but instead was brought into the fleet of the Barbary pirates.

The European powers of the 1700s and early 1800s (England, France, Spain, and Portugal) had over the years worked out an arrangement with the pirates, in which these nations paid annual tribute in advance. William M. Fowler, Jr., states, "for several years, paying tribute had been British policy."[1] This can be considered an insurance policy for their ships' safe passage through the Mediterranean Sea. England and France hoped to bankrupt other nations by driving up the going rate of tribute. They would do this to try to bankrupt their rivals so they would have unchallenged trade throughout Mediterranean Sea. According to historian Robert Allison, it is said that the English merchants once stated, "if there were no Algiers, we would have to build one."[2] Not only was this beneficial for England and France at the time, but by sponsoring them, it empowered the Barbary pirates to carry out these acts of piracy against their competition.

After independence abruptly ended that arrangement, American vessels were now on their own.[3] However, the United States would not have the same experience as England or France. The Thirteen Colonies were protected under the British umbrella of insurance. However, after 1783, the new nation of states was forced to deal with the problem of piracy on its own. At this time, no nation wished the United States well.[4] England certainly did

not wish America well; they were not good losers. Although France was an ally during the Revolution, they were now considered rivals. At the time of its birth, the United States was involved in border wars with Native American tribes and in naval conflict with revolutionary France.

One major problem for the United States government during the 1780s was that it did not have the available funds to pay the tribute or build a navy to protect its merchant ships. With no navy to protect them from piracy and no money to ransom the captives or negotiate a treaty, "Congress spent most of its time lamenting its weakness."[5] After the American Revolution, many of the ships used by the Americans were disarmed and sold to private shipping companies to raise revenue to help pay off the huge debt incurred during the war for independence. As a result, many American sailors were enslaved by the pirates and forced to build fortifications along the Barbary Coast. This went on throughout George Washington's administration until the problem became so bad that the United States was forced to act.

Thomas Jefferson was the loudest voice throughout the 1780s and 1790s but was unable to persuade Congress and President Washington to act on it. By 1794, however, the nation could not continue to pay the astronomical tribute. As a result, Congress passed the Naval Act of 1794 on March 27 and established the first naval force of the United States of America, known as the United States Navy.

The Naval Act of 1794 authorized the construction of four ships to carry forty guns each and two ships to carry thirty-six guns each.[6] This was a major idealistic shift for the young republic. Many statesmen at the time felt that a navy would be too expensive to raise and preserve, too imperialistic, and would unnecessarily provoke the European powers. In the end, however, it proved to be necessary to protect American interests at sea.

In March 1796, as construction of naval vessels slowly progressed, a peace accord was announced between the United States and the Dey of Algiers. In accordance with clause nine of the Naval Act of 1794, a clause that specifically directed that construction of the frigates be discontinued if peace is established, construction was halted. After heated debate, Congress agreed to continue to fund the construction of the three ships closest to completion. The first naval vessel to complete construction was the *USS Constitution*.

The peace accord did not last, because only two years later, the Barbary Coast pirates resumed seizing American ships, demanding tribute be paid to pass. John Adams was now President of the United States and he suggested paying the tribute. However, Vice President Thomas Jefferson stated that it was not a matter of business; it was a matter of honor. Jefferson believed that if America demanded respect through the presence of a naval force in the Mediterranean Sea, it would gain stature in the eyes of Europe. The disagreement lasted until the inauguration of Jefferson as the third President of the United States.

In 1801, the Pasha of Tripoli, Yussif Karamanli, demanded tribute of $225,000. At the time of his demand, "United States revenues totaled a little over $10 million."[7] The United States considered this too much money to pay as tribute. With great confidence in the newly established United States Navy, Jefferson refused the demand. Consequently, the Pasha of Tripoli chopped down the flagstaff in front of the U.S. Consulate. This was considered a declaration of war against the United States.

In response to the actions of Yussif Karamanli, Jefferson sent a group of frigates, comprised of the *President*, *Philadelphia,* and *Essex*, along with the schooner *Enterprise*, to protect American interests in the Mediterranean Sea and informed Congress. Although Congress never voted on a formal declaration of war, they authorized the President to conduct extended military engagements against those carrying out the acts of piracy.

The first naval battle was a victory for the United States when the *Enterprise* defeated the Tripolitan vessel *Tripoli*. Jefferson decided to have four ships, led by Commodore Edward Preble, already in the Mediterranean, to set up a blockade of Tripoli Harbor. This proved to be a tactical error and failure since the *Philadelphia* was boarded and captured by Barbary corsairs. The pirates took the ship and began preparation to add the most heavily armed warship in the area to their fleet. To free the vessel from the Barbary pirates would be impossible; therefore, it must be destroyed. But how? The answer came from Lieutenant Stephen

Decatur, commander of the *Enterprise*. In giving a great deal of thought to the problem, he now proposed a plan to the commodore. "No American vessel could ever hope to gain the harbor of Tripoli, but *Mastico*, with her Tripolitan rig and appearance, might well be able to penetrate without raising suspicion. Why not send her in with Americans hidden below, come up to the *Philadelphia*, board, and burn her?"[8]

The ship, its captain, William Bainbridge, and all officers and crew were taken ashore and held as hostages. On February 16, 1804, a small contingent of US sailors in a disguised vessel, known as the *Intrepid* and led by Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, Jr., were able to invade the harbor of Tripoli and burn the *Philadelphia* since he was unable to leave with it under fire, denying her use to the enemy. Stephen Decatur's bravery in action made him one of the first American military heroes since the Revolution. Admiral Lord Nelson of the Royal Navy is said to have called this "the most bold and daring act of the age."[9]

Lieutenant Decatur's status was enhanced by his courageous conduct during bombardment of Tripoli in August of 1804. In that action, he led his men in hand-to-hand combat while boarding and capturing an enemy gunboat. At the age of twenty-five, Decatur was promoted to the rank of Captain, which made him the youngest in the United States Navy to hold that rank, and over the next eight years he commanded several frigates.

After Decatur destroyed the *Philadelphia*, the conflict was kept to a stalemate. It was not until William Eaton came to the shores of Tripoli with eight Marines and one midshipman that there was a turning point in the First Barbary War. Because of his experience in the North African region, he was appointed Navy agent for the Barbary Regencies in May of 1804. He devised a plan that would take the deposed leader of Tripoli, Hamet Karamanli, and put him in power in as the Pasha of Tripoli. He was the brother of current Pasha of Tripoli, Yussif Karamanli. From there, he organized a group of about two hundred Christian and three hundred Muslim mercenaries to begin the takeover of Tripoli, starting with Derna. From this march come the first lines of The Marines' Hymn, "From the Halls of Montezuma, to the Shores of Tripoli."[10] William Eaton led the attack in the Battle of Derna on April 1805. On April 27, the *Argus* and *Hornet* came into sight. The entire American force, land and sea, was ready to attack. Eaton delivered the ultimatum to the governor of the city.[11] Known as the first battle of American troops on foreign soil, it also established the Marine Corps as an overseas fighting force for the United States. Because of this victory, the United States flag flew on captured territory overseas for the first time in its history. The town's capture, and the threat of further advance on Tripoli, strongly influenced the peace negotiated in June 1805 with the Pasha of Tripoli.

The negotiated peace ended the capture of American ships and demands for tribute by the Barbary pirates. Although the Senate did not approve the treaty until the following year, this effec-

tively ended the First Barbary War. To some degree, the United States gained the respect and stature it was looking for at that time. The First Barbary War also proved to be useful experience for those who would come to lead the navy in upcoming conflicts. However, a few years later, the Barbary corsairs would recommence seizing American ships and demanding tribute.

Over time, the actions of the Barbary pirates were overshadowed with the growing tensions between the United States and Great Britain. By the time the War of 1812 started on June 18, 1812, the United States did not have the time or the resources to confront the Barbary corsairs. The removal of American naval vessels from the Mediterranean during the War of 1812 by the British navy further emboldened the pirate nations. Hadji Ali, the Dey of Algiers from 1809–1815, reacted favorably to British attempts to stir up the Barbary powers against the Americans during the war of 1812 by declaring war on the United States.[12] After the war ended, the United States could now focus on the resurfacing problems in the Mediterranean Sea.

In March 1815, Congress authorized President James Madison to initiate military operations along the North African coast. A fleet of ten ships was dispatched, under the command of Commodores Stephen Decatur and William Bainbridge. Both naval commanders were veterans of the First Barbary War. Decatur's squadron departed for the Mediterranean in May 1815. Bainbridge's command was still assembling and did not depart until July of

the same year, in so doing, missing the military and diplomatic initiatives that Decatur quickly and decisively handled with the Dey of Algiers.

Shortly after departing Gibraltar en route to Algiers, Decatur's squadron encountered the Algerian flagship Meshuda. After a quick action, Decatur captured it. Shortly after this, the American squadron likewise captured the Algerian brig Estedio. By the last week of June, the squadron reached Algiers and opened negotiations with the Dey. After unrelenting demands for compensation mingled with threats of destruction, the Dey surrendered. By the terms of the treaty signed aboard the *Guerriere* in the Bay of Algiers in July of 1815, Decatur agreed to return the captured *Meshuda* and *Estedio* and the Algerians returned all American captives. This was estimated to be about ten, and a significant proportion of European captives were exchanged for about five hundred subjects of the Dey, along with $10,000 in payment for seized shipping. The treaty guaranteed no further tributes and granted the United States full shipping rights.

Shortly after Decatur set off for Tunis to negotiate a similar agreement with the Bey of Tunis and enforce prior agreements with the Pasha of Tripoli, the Dey repudiated the treaty. The next year, an Anglo-Dutch fleet, under the command of British Admiral Viscount Exmouth, delivered a punishing nine-hour bombardment of Algiers. The attack immobilized many of the Dey's corsairs and coerced from him a second treaty that reaffirmed the conditions imposed by Decatur. In addition,

the Dey agreed to end the practice of enslaving Christians.

Unlike after the First Barbary War, in which the European nations were engaged in warfare with one another (and with the US, for the British during the War of 1812), there was no general European war after the Second Barbary War. Consequently, the age of colonization allowed the Europeans to build up their resources and challenge Barbary power in the Mediterranean Sea without distraction. The Barbary states declined in power after the Second Barbary War. Algiers and Tunis became colonies of France in 1830 and 1881 respectively, while Tripoli returned to the control of the Ottoman Empire in 1835, becoming a colony of Italy in 1911. Europeans remained in control of the government there until the mid-twentieth century. By then the Iron-clads of the late 19th century and destroyers of the early 20th century ensured European and American dominance of the Mediterranean Sea.

Decatur's returning squadron marked the end of an era. Since its founding, the United States had been mostly embroiled in war, wars that had jeopardized the very existence of the nation. That was now past, independence was exonerated, and the American republic was firmly established as a national body with which to be reckoned. Much credit for this must go to the navy of the new republic.[13]

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2 Robert J. Allison, *The United States and the Specter of Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 3.

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5 Ibid., 8.

6 Richard Zacks, *The Pirate* Coast (New York: Hyperion Press, 2005), 21.

7 Zacks, *Pirate Coast*, 74.

8 Fowler, 98.

9 John H. Dalton, "Where There's a USS There's an HMS," *United States Navy*, last modified October 15, 1988, http://www.navy.mil/navydata/people/secnav/dalton/speeches/traf1015.txt

10 Zacks, 78.

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13 Fowler, 264.

Thomas Jefferson and the Diffusion of Knowledge

Lew Taylor

American Military University

Abstract

Thomas Jefferson not only believed that public education the cornerstone of the foundation of the new nation, he also believed that education at public expense was a necessity for the survival of the new republic. With this in mind, in 1779, while a delegate to the Virginia Assembly, Jefferson introduced a series of bills that addressed that he thought was important to the revolutionary movement. The topics of these bills were public education, religious freedom, and primogeniture. At this time Virginia had no public education system, and Jefferson's Bill 79 was designed to establish a public education system similar to the one in New England. The establishing of a system of public education in Virginia was a central issue for Jefferson throughout his life. Although he did not see his plans for a public education come to fruition, he was a driving force in the establishment of the University of Virginia, the first secular institution of higher learning in the United States.

Keywords: Thomas Jefferson, Virginia, education, University of Virginia, Bill 79, William & Mary

Thomas Jefferson y la difusión del conocimiento

Resumen

Thomas Jefferson creía que la educación pública no solo era la piedra angular de la fundación de la nueva nación, sino que también creía que la educación a expensas públicas era una necesidad para la supervivencia de la nueva república. Con esto en mente, en 1779, mientras era delegado de la Asamblea de Virginia, Jefferson presentó una serie de proyectos de ley que consideraban importantes para el movimiento revolucionario. Los temas de estos proyectos

de ley fueron educación pública, libertad religiosa y primogenitura. En este momento, Virginia no tenía un sistema de educación pública y el proyecto de ley 79 de Jefferson fue diseñado para establecer un sistema de educación pública similar al que existía en Nueva Inglaterra. El establecimiento de un sistema de educación pública en Virginia fue un tema central para Jefferson a lo largo de su vida. Aunque no vio que sus planes para una educación pública se materializaran, pudo ser una fuerza impulsora en el establecimiento de la Universidad de Virginia, la primera institución secular de educación superior en los Estados Unidos.

Palabras clave: Thomas Jefferson, Virginia, Educación, Universidad de Virginia, Bill 79, William & Mary

托马斯·杰斐逊与知识扩散

摘要

托马斯·杰斐逊相信，教育是新国家建立的基石，并且用公共开支支持教育是新共和国生存之需。鉴于此，1799年作为弗吉尼亚议会代表的杰斐逊引入了一系列法案，以应对他认为对改革运动至关重要的事务。这些法案的主题为教育、宗教自由和长子继承权。此时，弗吉尼亚州还没有公共教育体系，并且杰斐逊起草的第79号法案是为了建立一个与新英格兰公共教育相似的公共教育体系。弗吉尼亚州公共教育体系的建立是杰斐逊一生中的一个关键议题。尽管他并未看到该计划取得成功，但他驱动了弗吉尼亚大学的建立，该校是美国首个独立于教会的高等教育学府。

关键词：托马斯·杰斐逊，弗吉尼亚州，教育，弗吉尼亚大学，第79号法案，威廉与玛丽

If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be. If we are to guard against ignorance and remain free, it is the responsibility of every American to be informed.[1]

—Thomas Jefferson, 1816.

In 1779, when Thomas Jefferson was a delegate to the Virginia Assembly, he introduced a series of bills addressing issues he believed were important to the revolutionary movement—topics that were not just political, but also social. These topics were public education, religious freedom, and primogeniture. It was Jefferson's belief that if the colonies were to win their independence from Great Britain, they would not survive unless the foundation of the new nation was properly established—and he believed that public education was the cornerstone of that foundation. One of his bills—Bill 79—was designed to establish a public education system that was similar to one that already existed in New England. The bill had four basic tenets: democracy cannot exist without enlightenment: democracy cannot function without wise and honest officials; the talent and virtue needed by a free society should be available without considering wealth, birth status, or other accidental conditions; and poor children must be educated at the public expense.[2]

In essence, Jefferson believed that education at public expense was a necessity for a republic to exist. Throughout the eighteenth century, education was private and limited to the wealthy and this is why Jefferson's plan had limitations and faced resistance from the opposition. Jefferson saw "common schools" as lasting only three years and extending only to "free children" of Virginia. While his bill allowed for those "scholars" of "promising genius and disposition" the opportunity to move up his "pyramidical" blueprint, only very small numbers were allowed to do so. Those opposing the bill used several arguments to defeat it—that Virginia was basically a rural state and setting up a program like the one Jefferson envisioned in a thinly populated area would not be wise, there was no promotion of religion in Jefferson's educational plan, and there was opposition to the imposition of additional taxes to fund the plan.[3]

Was Thomas Jefferson like Don Quixote, tilting at windmills, when he proposed his ideas for education in eighteenth-century Virginia, or was he a much more enlightened individual than the rest of those in power in Virginia at that time? Jefferson wanted to see a free public education that was not controlled by organized religion and one that was available to every child, except black children, but including girls. He also believed firmly that "an educated citizenry was the best way to guar-

antee and perpetuate democracy,"[4] and that "it is imperative that the nation see to it that a suitable education be provided for all its citizens."[5] This is what prompted him to include in the Report of the Committee of Revisors three bills that addressed education in the Commonwealth of Virginia: "A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge," "A Bill for Amending the Constitutions of the College of William and Mary, and Substituting More Certain Revenues for its Support," and "A Bill for Establishing a Public Library."[6] Even though not one of these bills passed initially, all three eventually influenced public education not only in Virginia, but the educational system throughout the entire country. In his *Autobiography*, Jefferson said that he wrote the bills so that "a system by which every fibre would be eradicated of ancient or future aristocracy; and a foundation laid for a government truly republican."[7] Jefferson saw the American Revolution as more than just a separation from Great Britain. He, like others, was concerned with issues such as primogeniture, the structure of government, and the place of the church in the new nation.

Jefferson had a profound interest in education, both his personal education and that of his fellow Virginians, and even though he was not able to establish a public school system in Virginia, he did, to a point, realize a part of his vision through the establishment of the University of Virginia. In a letter to John Adams in 1813, Jefferson wrote that he hoped that public schools would eventually be "the keystone in the arch of our government," and in another let-

ter "[if]f a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be."[8] And true to his Enlightenment beliefs, Jefferson, in 1814, applauded the new Constitution of Spain because the right to vote was withheld from "every citizen who could not read or write."[9]

Jefferson focused his educational theories on the natural rights of man, believing that for a republic to thrive, an informed population was crucial to produce leaders who were competent and necessary to ensure a successful self-government. Jefferson did not leave us with an explanation of his concept of education other than knowledge and happiness are closely related. Jefferson was convinced that a man who possessed superior intelligence and a well-rounded education would be able to reach a higher level of happiness and satisfaction than a man with lower intelligence and a lesser education. He also observed that "a man who is lacking the faculty of reason does not seem capable of any happiness." Education, according to Jefferson was composed of two basic components: "subject matter, which is the knowledge necessary to obtain a level of happiness, and subject method, which is the way knowledge is obtained." His argument was that the greater command a person has in subject knowledge and method, the greater the intelligence he will achieve, which correlates to a higher attainment of happiness.[10]

There can be no doubt that Thomas Jefferson was a product of his times and the environment in which he was raised. Jefferson was born in

1743 into the elite of Virginia and into a home that placed a high value on "reading, self-improvement, and learning."[11] As a result Jefferson was able to attend school—something that few Virginians were able to do in the eighteenth century. For the scions of the planter class, however, "the South was an outpost of the Enlightenment," and Jefferson "enjoyed the intellectual and economic privileges of [this] squirearchy,"[12] and received a very good formal education. Jefferson wrote in his autobiography that his father "... placed me at the English school at 5. Years of age and at the Latin at 9. Where I continued to until his death."[13] (Peter Jefferson died in 1757 when Thomas was fourteen years old.) The English school Jefferson speaks of was run by Reverend William Douglas, who was the rector of St. James Northern Parish. Jefferson later stated that Douglas was "but a superficial Latinist, less instructed in Greek, but with the rudiments of these languages he taught me French."[14] The death of his father did not interfere with Jefferson's education because Peter Jefferson's wish was that his son should receive a thorough classical education.

In 1758, Jefferson started his education under Parson James Maury and stayed under his tutelage for two years. While studying with Maury, Jefferson learned to read the Greek and Roman authors in their language and was encouraged by Maury to learn to master the English language—something that Jefferson, over his lifetime, excelled in. Writing later in life, Jefferson described Maury as a "correct classical scholar."[15] When Jefferson was seventeen, rather than go to Europe to continue his education, as many of the sons of Virginia gentry did, he decided to stay closer to home and attend The College of William & Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia.

During his time at William & Mary, Jefferson studied mathematics, natural philosophy (science), and political philosophy under William Small. It was through his studies with Small that Jefferson learned, through the leading thinkers of the Enlightenment, such as Locke and Rousseau, that "rational thought and useful knowledge guaranteed the progress of humanity."[16] Jefferson soon found that William & Mary's academic offerings did not measure up to his expectations. The curriculum at William & Mary was developed primarily to educate students who were planning to become Anglican ministers. The courses of study had not changed much since the school was established in 1693 and when Jefferson enrolled in 1760, it was composed of only four schools: a school of theology, a school of philosophy and sciences, a school for teaching classical languages, and a school for teaching Native American boys the "three Rs along with the Christian religion."[17] At this time, the school only had six professors, five of whom were Anglican clergymen. Mr. Small, as he was called by the students, was the lone layman professor, and it is under him that Jefferson took most of his classes. Jefferson was not happy "with the lazy clergy he encountered"[18] while a student at William & Mary—something he tried, to no avail, to change while serving as governor of Virginia.

Later, while still in Williamsburg and studying law with George Wythe, Jefferson was exposed to important legal principles. Through Wythe, Jefferson became part of a circle of learning composed of Wythe, Dr. Small, and the Royal Governor of Virginia, Francis Fauquier. This group not only exposed Jefferson to the academic climate of Williamsburg, but also to the culture of the elite of Virginia.

Jefferson's experience as a student in Williamsburg reinforced his love of learning and reading, and he believed that virtually all elements "of an useful American education" could be "as well acquired at William and Mary College, as any place in Europe."[19] He found great pleasure in reading and believed that maximizing one's education opportunities was a civil responsibility.[20] One example of Jefferson's Enlightenment style of thought is expressed in a letter he wrote to John Trumbull saying he considered "Bacon, Lock, and Newton ... as three of the greatest men that ever lived, without any exception and as having laid the foundation of those superstructures which have been raised in the Physical and Moral Sciences."[21]

Jefferson's thoughts developed over a period of more than sixty years, beginning with his years at William & Mary, continuing through the Revolutionary War period, his time in France, and the election of 1800, until his death in 1826. Throughout his life, Jefferson was an advocate for public education and was "convinced that freedom and knowledge were inseparable"[22] and the issue of public education should be a main concern of government. Jefferson, along with Benjamin Rush and Noah Webster, "saw public education as the great engine of republican enlightenment,"[23] and an educated electorate was the key to keeping the new republican experiment from falling apart due to powerful personal ambitions. Jefferson's theory of knowledge was derived from sources found in his past studies and his present reading, especially "Bacon, Locke, the ancestor of positive empiricism, Lord Kames, the Scotch realist and as time went on he included the ideas of the French encyclopedists, ideologues, and physiocrats."[24] The one writer Jefferson could not agree with was Hume. Hume believed that it was better for people to endure their present form of government, regardless of the level of abuses, than to rebel against it. This argument was totally opposite to what Jefferson believed—that the individual who studied history learned to distrust everyone who wielded too much power and that European leaders had divided their nations into two groups: those who wielded power and those who were affected by that power. It was only through education that the masses would be able to make informed decisions as to who would lead the new nation. Jefferson's views were not the "typical Rousseauian view of the natural goodness of all persons, but instead a general observation—driven by scrutinizing history ..."[25] and he was certain that to advance the morals of the new nation, educational reform was as important as political reform.

In 1799, Jefferson laid out the first educational legislation in Virginia,

a bill titled "For the More General Diffusion of Knowledge." This bill, the first of its kind in the United States, called for a state-supported, multiple-level educational system that culminated with a state university. Along with this, Jefferson proposed modernizing the curriculum at William & Mary, realizing that with its limited subjects, it would never reach the level of a university. Believing that William & Mary was the "capstone of education" in Virginia, Jefferson proposed the elimination of the two chairs of religion, and that new chairs in history, medicine, law, and modern language be established.[26] The inclusion of modern languages was not going to be at the expense of Latin and Greek. When Jefferson heard that the classic languages were falling into disuse in Europe, his response was "[I] know not what their manners and occupations may call for, but it would be very ill-judged in us to follow their example in this instance."[27]

The bill to modernize William & Mary's curriculum did not pass, but Jefferson's effort did not die. Later, while serving as governor of Virginia and an ex-officio member of William & Mary's Board of Visitors, he implemented the changes he wanted. Not only did Jefferson's changes broaden the course offerings at William & Mary to include subjects such as moral philosophy, law, politics, mathematics, anatomy and medicine, and ancient and modern languages, it also increased the number of professors.[28] The aim of education, as Jefferson saw it, was to provide the tools people needed to continue a process of life-long learning, and, Jefferson said, "... why send an American youth to Europe for education" when all of the subjects can be learned just as easily at William & Mary.[29]

According to Jefferson, the first step towards the diffusion of knowledge throughout Virginia would be to divide each county into smaller districts or units of five or six square miles called hundreds. Each of these hundreds would establish a school that would teach reading, writing, and arithmetic to all children (again, except for free black or slave children, but including girls). The first three years of education would be free, but if a family could afford to pay, the child could stay longer. From each of these schools, one student (a boy) would be chosen each year to continue his education at the next level. Jefferson believed that girls did not need to attend the next level because their education would continue in the home. Jefferson's views about the education of young girls were different than many of his period. For example, even though he did not believe girls needed instruction in classical languages (he required his girls to read classical authors in translations), he did consider the learning of French to be important for both sexes.[30]

This next level—grammar school—would consist of twenty schools in various parts of Virginia, which would teach Greek, Latin, geography, and higher mathematics. From each of these schools, one student would be selected each year to continue their education at public expense for an additional six years. The rest of the class would be dismissed. As Jefferson noted,

this meant that twenty of the best students from the Commonwealth would continue their education for six years, after which, the top half would continue on to William & Mary, with the other half being dismissed, hopefully, to continue as teachers in the lower levels. The objective of the law would be "to provide an education adapted to the years, to the capacity, and the condition of everyone, and directed to their freedom and happiness."[31] As a result of this educational program, Jefferson believed that not only would all children of the state learn to read, write, and perform basic arithmetic, but there would also be ten students turned out each year that were of superior genius that were "well taught in Greek, Latin, geography, and the higher branches of arithmetic." Beyond that there would be an additional ten turned out each year whose "branches of learning shall have added such of the sciences as their genius shall have led them to."[32] The schools in this final level were to be, like the others, established throughout Virginia, with all of them being "within one day's ride of every inhabitant," and as Saul Padover writes, "[t]he crown of the whole system was to be the university."[33]

Jefferson's vision of a university was not one that was, like William & Mary, primarily for the education of aspiring ministers, but one that would encompass a number of different schools —schools that would train all types of professions, from physicians to gardeners, economists to lawyers, sculptors to musicians. The law, as Jefferson saw it, was to "provide an education adapted to the years, to the capacity, and to the

condition of everyone ... regardless of wealth, birth, or other accidental condition."[34] Another change sought to include in the overhaul of William & Mary's curriculum was to change the college's Native American educational program from a missionary orientation to one that centered on anthropology. This, Jefferson believed, would allow for the investigation of "their laws, customs, religions, traditions, and more particularly, their languages, constructing grammars thereof, as well as may be ..."[35] Jefferson recognized that there was a relation between democracy and education and that each was dependent upon the other, and together they were self-sustaining. It was only through a well-informed citizenry that a democratic government could survive.

When Jefferson presented his plan to the Virginia legislature, it was considered visionary and was, as Jefferson expected, rejected. Jefferson wrote in a letter to Joseph Cabell that "[l]egislators do not generally possess information enough to perceive the important truths, that knowledge is power, that knowledge is safety, and that knowledge is happiness."[36] The rejection did not deter Jefferson from his goal. He realized that it was difficult to convince farmers and artisans that an education was a necessity, not a luxury, and that a public education was for the good of society. Jefferson's plan for public education was, as Peter Onuf states, like that of a father/son relationship. He was aware that each generation began life dependent on the previous generation and had to rely on that generation in order to develop. This relationship between

the state and its young people would be "a fundamental building block of a just republican social order" that would "encourage the good republican father [Virginia] to care for his children" so that the next generation could continue the work of the American Revolutionaries, making them ready to "assume the responsibilities and duties of self-government."[37]

It is not surprising that the Virginia legislature rejected Jefferson's plan. Thinking about the number of schools that would have been needed if Jefferson's plan had been implemented is mind-boggling. The size of Virginia in the late eighteenth century was approximately 63,800 square miles. If Virginia were to have set up "hundreds" of five or six square miles each, they would have needed between 10,600 and 12,700 elementary schools. Albemarle County, Virginia—Jefferson's home county—is roughly 726 square miles, meaning that there would have had to have been between 125 and 150 schools in that one county alone. The other issue is that the number of elementary schools was to be determined by the number of "hundreds," not the number of potential students. This means that in large population centers like Williamsburg or Alexandria, the school would have to be much larger than those in August County (located in the Shenandoah Valley), where there might be few, if any, students in a given school.

Calculating the number of secondary schools is more difficult because Jefferson's plan was to have them situated so that no one would have more than a one-day ride to get to a school. With

that in mind, we could use today's Interstate 81 (which runs from the Maryland line south to the Tennessee line) as an example. The distance is approximately 350 miles, and if we use 15 miles (on horseback) as the distance that could be traveled in one day, it would mean that there would have to be a minimum of 29 high schools on that stretch of highway alone.

Granted, much of Virginia was unsettled in the late eighteenth century, but even if we were to divide the number of elementary schools by five, it would mean that there would still need to be between 2100 and 2600 schools—a huge project for 1781. And that is just the elementary schools! Jefferson's plan would also add approximately 100-150 high schools, plus a university![38]

Jefferson was not like others of his time who advocated public education as a way to teach children "the virtue of obedience to American government,"[39] but instead believed that education was what would protect the nation from dangerous politicians. It was also Jefferson's belief that schools should teach children to read by having them read history—a change from New England's thinking that one learns to read by reading the Bible, and "although a liberal education in various fields is desirable, a general knowledge of history is indispensable."[40] Jefferson expressed this view in a letter to his nephew Peter Carr, suggesting that Peter devote most of his time to the study of history, and what time was left could be devoted to the study of philosophy and poetry.[41]

In 1814, while meeting in Charlottesville, the trustees of Albemarle Academy nominated Jefferson to serve as a trustee of the school that, although chartered ten years earlier, still existed only on paper. Peter Carr and others were trying to get the academy off the ground and believed that Jefferson could help them accomplish that goal. Jefferson saw this as a first step in his plan to establish a statewide system of public education that would include all levels of study. Realizing that things would have to progress one step at a time, Jefferson came up with a plan to "transform the projected academy into a college and to translate the college into the university of his dreams."[42] Writing to Peter Carr, who was then the president of the Board of Trustees of the projected academy, Jefferson said that for years he had contemplated an institution "where every branch of science, deemed useful at this day, should be taught in its highest degree,"[43] an institution where several of the best professors could teach the young men of Virginia. Jefferson promised that he would prepare a plan for the academy, but he took it further – he gave them a plan for what he hoped would become his "academical village." This plan consisted of three grades. The first or Elementary grade would teach reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography; the second or General grade would include language and history (both ancient and modern), mathematics, physics, chemistry, anatomy, theory of medicine, zoology, botany, mineralogy, philosophy, government, and political economy; and the third or Professional grade would be an advanced program that would incorporate theology and ecclesiastical history, law, practice of medicine, surgery, architecture, technical philosophy, and fine arts.[44] The plan that Jefferson was offering to the trustees of Albemarle Academy was very similar to the plan he had tried to incorporate into the curriculum at William & Mary in the 1770s.

In 1817, Jefferson again drafted a legislative public education bill. His new bill, "Bill for Establishing a System of Public Education," was, for all practical purposes, the same as the one he introduced forty years earlier—a bill that would include the creation of three academic levels: primary, intermediate, and university. Jefferson's plan in 1817 also included nine separate colleges, placed strategically throughout the state, with the Central College in Charlottesville as the main campus—a plan very similar to the community college program of today's public education system.[45]

It was not until 1818 that the Virginia legislature finally voted to support Jefferson's dream of public education. At that time, the legislature appropriated the sum of $45,000 for the education of the poor and $15,000 for the establishment of a state university.[46] This amount, considering the number of schools that would need to be funded, was probably not nearly enough to cover the expense of implementing even a watered-down version of Jefferson's educational plan—but it was a beginning.

In an 1818 report to the Commissioners of the University of Virginia (known as the Rockfish Gap Report),

Jefferson summed up his rationale for supporting public education:

> To give every citizen information he needs for the transaction of his own business – To enable him to calculate for himself, express and preserve his own ideas, contracts and accounts in writing – To improve by reading his morals and faculties – To understand his duties to his neighbors and country, and to discharge with competence the functions confided in him by either – To know his rights; to exercise with order and justice those he retains; to choose with discretion the fiduciary of those delegates; and to notice their conduct with diligence, with candor, and judgment – And, in general, to observe with intelligence and faithfulness all the social relations under which he shall be placed.

> To instruct the mass of our citizens in these, their rights, interests and duties, as men and citizens, being then the objects of education in the primary schools, whether private or public, in them should be taught reading, writing, and numerical arithmetic, the elements of mensuration (useful in so many callings), and the outlines of geography and history. And this brings us to the point at which are to commence the higher branches of education, of which the Legislature require the development; those, for example, which are: To form the statesmen, legislators and judges, on whom public prosperity and individual happiness are so much to depend; To expound the principles and structure of government, the laws which regulate the intercourse of nations, those formed municipally for our own government, and a sound spirit of legislation, which, banishing all arbitrary and unnecessary restraint on individual action, shall leave us free to do whatever does not violate the equal rights of another; To harmonize and promote interest of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and by well informed views of political economy to give a free scope to public industry; To develop the reasoning faculties of our youth, enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instill into them the precepts of virtue and order: To enlighten them with mathematical and physical sciences, which advance the arts, and administer to the health, the subsistence, and comforts of human life; And, generally, to form them to habits of reflection and correct action, rendering them examples of virtue to others, and of happiness within themselves.[47]

Jefferson's vision of a basic public education for all non-black children, boys and girls, as well as a high school and college level education for the boys who showed exceptional abilities, was a vision that remained virtually unchanged for over forty years. Although

Jefferson was not able to convince the Virginia legislature to implement his original plans for elementary and secondary education, the necessary funding for a public university was finally approved after close to twenty years. To twenty-first century Americans, the idea of only three years of public education may not seem very enlightened, but when Jefferson was proposing his Bill 79, there was no public education anywhere in the state of Virginia.

One major aspect of Jefferson's dream, the establishment of an "academical village" that was secular, rather than a church-sponsored university, became a reality in 1818 when both houses of the Virginia legislature voted to approve the establishment of Central College, which would later become known as the University of Virginia. Once the bill was passed, Jefferson was appointed to a committee to recommend a location for the school, and he wanted, more than anything, to have the school located in Charlottesville. To help convince the other committee members, Jefferson, at one of the committee meetings, "took from his pocket a card cut into the shape of Virginia ... by balancing the dot on the point of a pencil, he proved that Charlottesville was, in fact, near the geographic center of the state."[48] Two other locations were being considered as sites for the new school—Lexington and Staunton. Jefferson needed to convince those responsible for making the selection that Charlottesville would be the ideal location—and he did this by stressing the centrality of Charlottesville. When the legislature took its final vote, Charlot-

tesville came out on top with a vote of 16-5 in favor.[49] While Jefferson won the war, there was still much to be done. He began to organize the Board of Visitors and look for funding for some of the projects. As Gary Wills writes, "[i]t took all of Jefferson's optimism to think that he could succeed in changing his little college [the phantom academy, Central College] into an ambitious university. There were serious obstacles in the way ... and the obstacles would continue to impede him."[50]

Jefferson now had a new lease on life. He became the architect of the school in every way. Not only did he choose the site, but he also provided the bricks, designed the buildings, laid out its gardens and paths, and supervised all aspects of the construction. It was Jefferson who designed the curriculum and hired the faculty members. He also provided the first books for the library. From the time construction began until its completion, Jefferson was at the site. He rode down from Monticello in the morning and supervised the day's work. Then, after returning to Monticello later in the day, he continued to monitor what was taking place by watching through a telescope he had set up on his home's north terrace.

The most important thing about this new school was that, because of Jefferson, the University of Virginia became the first university in America that had no religious affiliation. Jefferson wrote that "[t]his institution will be based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind ..."[51] In 1821, Jefferson wrote to William Short about the University of Virginia saying, "[i]t will

be a splendid establishment, would be thought so in Europe ... [leaving] everything in America behind it."[52] When the University opened in March 1825, Thomas Jefferson was its first rector and chairman of its Board of Trustees. Jefferson worked at an unbelievable pace from 1817 to 1825, "passing from his seventy-fourth to his eighty-third year in this final creative act."[53]

Overseeing the establishment of the University of Virginia was "the crowning achievement of Jefferson's life, the culmination of his hopes and dreams for the new nation, his monument to Enlightenment rationality," and Jefferson referred to it as "the last service I can render my country."[54] It was also one of the three accomplishments that he wanted to be remembered for – accomplishments that he specified should be engraved on his headstone: Author of the Declaration of American Independence and of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom and Father of the University of Virginia.[55]

Thomas Jefferson, in 1779, was a young man, only twenty-six years of age. However, his wisdom was far beyond his years. As the years went by and Jefferson had the opportunity to fine-tune his thoughts on public education, they began to evolve. Jefferson never supported compulsory education, realizing that the state could not (or should not) force a parent to send their child to school. Rather than trying to enforce a compulsory attendance policy, Jefferson argued that the right to vote should not be extended to those who were illiterate—something that Spain

had included in their new Constitution and that Jefferson wholeheartedly supported, believing that ignorant citizens would certainly fall to tyrants.

Jefferson was also involved in the establishment of one other institution of higher learning. Jefferson signed the bill establishing the United States Military Academy at West Point, but in this case his logic was different. Even though he was not supportive of a standing army and believed that in peacetime the local militias would be able to guarantee the security of the nation, he did think that a standing army would be necessary should the United States find itself at war. Because of this, Jefferson's reasoning behind signing the Military Peace Establishment Act of 1802 and establishing the United States Military Academy was that "an effective military establishment, properly led by enlightened, liberty-loving officers, could help to deter threats against America's government."[56] Jefferson was aware that an institution that was instrumental to military training "could become a place where citizens acquired the practical knowledge that would prepare them to defend the nation's rapidly expanding borders."[57] As Theodore Crackel writes, Jefferson also saw the army as a Federalist organization that he believed was threatening to the new Republican administration and that many of the officers "had openly expressed contempt for the political philosophy of the new administration." Jefferson, Crackel argues, did "nothing short of Republicanizing the army and thus ensuring its loyalty to his administration."[58] Even the establishment of

the United States Military Academy fell into line with Jefferson's belief that an educated citizenry, be it civilian or military, was necessary for the security of the nation.

The establishment of a public education system in Virginia was a central issue for Thomas Jefferson throughout his life. He firmly believed that the state had the obligation to treat all of its children equally (again—not including slave children or free black children), making sure that they understood what their basic individual rights were, as well as "their collective rights as a generation that would one day govern itself."[59] Although the plan that Jefferson originally laid out in Bill 79 was never approved exactly how it was envisioned, over the years Jefferson's ideas were gradually incorporated into the educational system of the United States. Jefferson worked tirelessly to see that the University of Virginia became a first-class school, and he never lost sight of the fact that a primary and secondary education was as important, if not more important, to the state of Virginia than a university. In 1823 he wrote "[i]t is safer to have a whole people respectably enlightened, than a few in a high state of science, and the many in ignorance. This last is the most dangerous state in which a nation can be."[60]

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35 Hayes, 217.

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38 Figures for the square mileage of Virginia and the distance between points were obtained from several maps and atlases.

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Book Review: Edward Hagerman's *The American Civil War and the Origins of Modern Warfare*

Tormod Engvig

American Military University
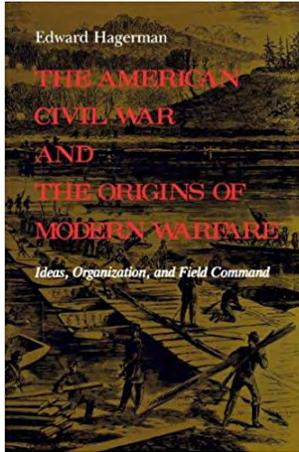
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In *The American Civil War and the Origins of Modern Warfare*, Edward Hagerman illustrates how Union and Confederate generals and staffs wrestled with adapting old schools of military thought to modern, industrialized warfare. By the mid-nineteenth century, the industrial revolution was disrupting traditional military thinking on all levels—tactical, operational, strategic, logistical, and administrative.

Hagerman contributes to the readers' understanding of the Civil War in two fundamental ways. *The American Civil War* tries to show the evolution (or rather, degeneration) from classic battles of maneuver, as practiced in the Napoleonic Wars, to the static trench warfare that characterized the carnage of World War I. He illustrates how the American Civil War was, in effect, the major link between the two. The book also traces the development of military logistics during the period. It seeks to do this by showing how traditional logistical doctrine had to be altered in order to keep the ever-expanding Union and Confederate armies mobile in the field—naturally of paramount concern to commanders on both sides. By extension, this includes the adaptation of the modern staff system, which saw its first, rudimentary use in America during the war, as well as battlefield command and control, especially the development of the signals corps.

Hagerman's book repeatedly references the tendency of static trench warfare to ensue, and the commanders' constant (and, by the end of the war, futile) struggle to maintain the maneuverability of their armies in the face of an

increasingly technologically sophisticated (i.e., lethal) battlefield. The author chronicles this alongside the changing currents in military thought that appeared during the war regarding mobile offense versus entrenched defense, the adaptation of communications technology, and how to keep armies mobile on campaign.

In providing the reader with examples of the improvisational nature and gradual change in military thought from what was an essentially a tactically Napoleonic mindset to what would become modern, industrialized warfare, *The American Civil War* succeeds admirably. In tracing the conflicting schools of military thought that characterized the antebellum period (with Jomini and Dennis Hart Mahan, but also Clausewitz being foremost on the list) and the trial-and-error way in which the war was frequently waged, a number of aspects of Civil War operations are described in detail. The evolution of the staff system, the modification of Napoleonic doctrine with regards to supply, and the progression of field works to counter increasingly lethal weaponry are all explained in detail. The reader is given a multitude of examples of Union and Confederate commanders adapting—and in other cases failing to adapt—to the changing battlefield. Interestingly, Hagerman's narrative serves to partly vindicate cautious Union commanders like McClellan, who, while lacking the élan of their Confederate counterparts, nonetheless seemed to be in better touch with the realities of the modern battlefield and made extensive improvements "behind the scenes" in the logistics and communications doctrine of the US Army. The reader is also struck by unfortunate cases of generals failing to innovate or adapt. This is especially telling in both sides' slow adoption of the modern staff concept—a system pioneered by Clausewitz and the Prussian military school before the American Civil War. The book illustrates how, due to a lack of an efficient, modern staff, most Civil War commanders quickly lost control of their forces during engagements, with unfortunate consequences. As the carnage of the war clearly illustrates, the rapid technological strides made during this period quickly outpaced military doctrine and the commander's ability to keep up with the changes.

The American Civil War is a broad survey; hence criticism of its finer points is bound to surface. The American Civil War was ultimately one of several wars foreshadowing the military nature of the bloody twentieth century. However, as long as the reader keeps in mind that the origins of modern warfare did not lie exclusively with the American Civil War—about which at no point in his writing Hagerman makes overt claims—*The American Civil War and the Origins of Modern Warfare* gives valuable insight into the transformation of warfare during 1861–1865 for students and scholars alike. Hagerman's book is as relevant today as when it was first published— perhaps more so, as today's militaries wrestle with war's continuing devolution amidst a changing geostrategic landscape in the second decade of the twenty-first century.

Exhibit Review

Rembrandt: Painter as Printmaker

Hamilton Building, Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado

Kathleen Guler

American Military University

Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn (1606-1669) belonged to the period of the Dutch Masters during the seventeenth century. While he is probably best known for his paintings, such as *The Night Watch*, during his lifetime, one factor that brought him to the attention of the art world was his innovative printmaking. The renowned Denver Art Museum in downtown Denver, Colorado, is the sole venue for the exhibition, *Rembrandt: Painter as Printmaker*, on display from September 16, 2018 through January 6, 2019. The exhibition features approximately one hundred of Rembrandt's etchings and several of his paintings and drawings.

According to the catalogue that accompanies the exhibition,[1] the show came about from a chance meeting of curators at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF) in 2015 that led to a discussion of Rembrandt's importance as a printmaker. In turn, this led to the creation of the exhibition through generous loans from not only the BNF, but also numerous other collections around the world and the local Denver collection of Drs. Toby and Morton Mower.

Nearly eighty prints loaned from the BNF form the bulk of the exhibition. Interestingly, these prints are marked with a small stamp with the initials, BR, for Bibliothèque Royale, underneath a crown. The stamp indicates these were once part of the French kings' collections that eventually found their way into France's Royal Library, which in turn became the National Library after the French Revolution of 1789.

On entering the exhibition, the visitor finds three images on the first wall, all dated 1630, when Rembrandt was only about twenty-four. In the center is an oil painting on a panel, *Head of an Old Man in a Cap*. Flanked to the right is a drawing in red chalk, *Seated Old Man*, and to the left, an etching, *Old Man with a Flowing Beard*. This trio sets the tone for the show by comparing Rembrandt's ease in moving from drawing to painting to etching. For someone so young, the detail and lifelike qualities show he was already a master.

Along the next wall hangs a row of self-portraits. Rembrandt's sense of humor becomes apparent as the portraits' expressions range from silly to serious. We also see how he ages from a young man into his later years. He never compromised reality for vanity, showing his audience what he truly looked like.

Figure 1. *Self-Portrait in a Soft Hat and a Patterned Cloak,* 1631, state 14.

Figure 2. *Jan Cornelis Sylvius,* Preacher, 1646, state 2.
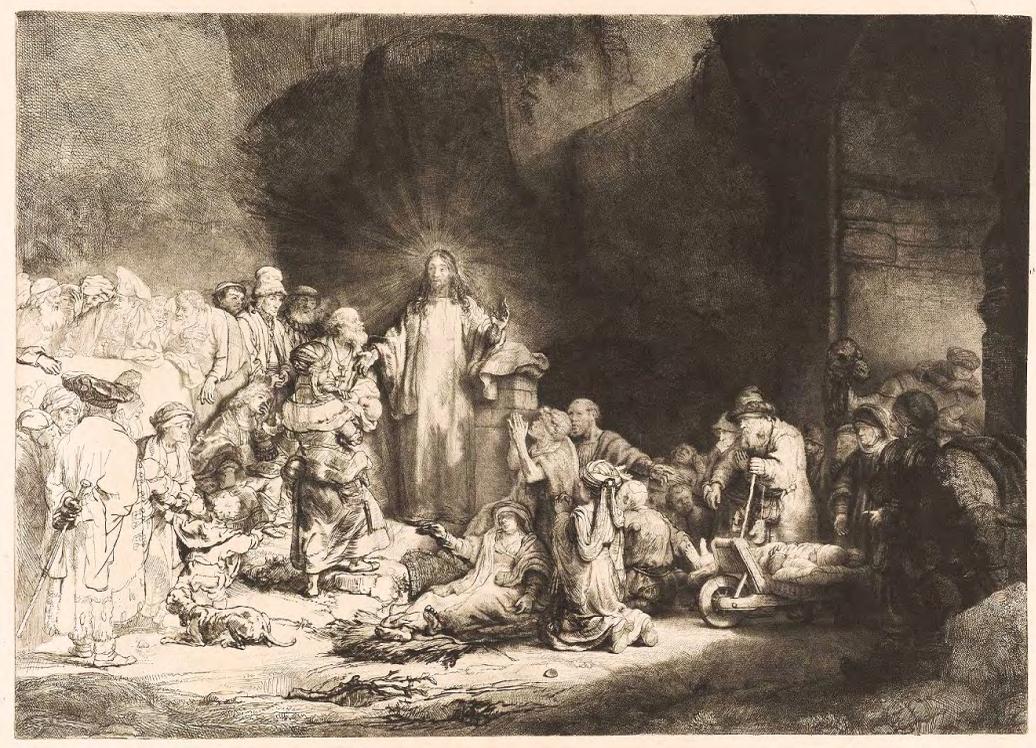
Figure 3. *Christ Healing the Sick,* c. 1648, state 1.

With the self-portraits, visitors also begin to learn that Rembrandt produced many of his prints in multiple "states." The first edition of prints made from an original etching plate is called a "state." Sometimes there may be the only one, but if Rembrandt was not satisfied with it, he worked the plate further, creating a second state from which he printed. Sometimes he made many multiple states, each one producing an edition of prints. This continuing process demonstrates how he learned the craft, experimenting and perfecting his technique while creating new ways to deepen or soften light and shadow. At times, he was even able to remove figures and replace them with other subject matter.

Around the corner from the self-portraits, a video explains the etching process. An etching begins with a copper plate covered with a coating of wax. The artist draws into the wax with an etching tool to create the image. The plate is then placed in an acid bath that eats away at the exposed copper. After, the wax is removed, ink is applied and pressed into the grooves, and then the excess is wiped off. This ink is quite thick, not the thin type associated with writing pens. Paper is placed over the inked plate, soft blanket-like material goes over the paper for cushioning, and then the whole package runs through a press. The ink adheres to the paper—a reverse image of what is on the plate. The video also shows what the related

techniques of drypoint and engraving entail, both of which Rembrandt sometimes incorporated into his etching process. Tactile displays installed next to the video further enhance information of how these three processes work as well as types of papers the artist used.

Moving through the gallery, the visitor finds the etchings grouped into logical categories. Besides the self-portraits, portraits of prominent figures, landscapes, nudes, and street, religious, and allegorical scenes fill out the selection. Many of the groupings demonstrate the progression of the "states" from simple to complex to others where he made corrections. Some progressions go from very light to very dark. In some groupings, the visitor can see how Rembrandt started with a simple sketch or detailed drawing in either chalk or pen, brown ink and wash, quickly capturing a particular scene, person, or landscape. From there, he took it back to his studio and developed it into a highly detailed print or painting.

The curators showcased one piece in particular, nicknamed *The Hundred Gilder Print*, on its own dedicated wall. Its real name, *Christ Healing the Sick*, demonstrates Rembrandt's skill at storytelling. A series of four plaques accompany the print, each an enlargement of a portion of the illustration that explain how he unified four stories from the gospel of Matthew within this one image. The print sold for one hundred gilders in Rembrandt's time, an astronomical price: hence the nickname.

The rooms of the exhibition flow from one into the next, allowing patrons to wander and become purposely "lost" in Rembrandt's world. The atmosphere is hushed, even at peak times during the day. The gallery maintains low light as the prints are on paper, a medium particularly vulnerable to light damage. Photographs may be taken, but with no flash. The walls are a soft blue that is gentle on the eyes. All prints and drawings hang at eye level in simple frames and light-colored mats. The exception to simplicity comes with the handful of paintings interspersed among the prints, some of which startle the viewer with a heavy ornate frame.

It is one thing to see these prints in a book—that certainly gives a fine overview of Rembrandt's work—and many fine books exist. But to see them in person, up close, is something else altogether. The detail is astounding, especially when the impression is tiny but has as much detail as a much larger piece. Either Rembrandt had remarkable eyesight or he used an excellent magnifying glass! Fortunately, the museum provides large plastic magnifying sheets that visitors can hold up to a print in order to see it more clearly.

The Denver Art Museum's website includes a blog with further details about the exhibit. The hardcover companion catalogue, also titled *Rembrandt: Painter as Printmaker,* includes all the images on display as well as new scholarship on the etchings. Highly recommended, it is available from the website or in the museum store.[2]

This exhibition is not simply a display of an artist's work. The curators have enhanced it with pertinent back-

ground on Rembrandt's life and how he transformed printmaking from mundane advertising and book illustrations into a true art form. Although he never travelled outside the Dutch Republic, he used his close surroundings to great advantage, giving an honest and intimate showcase of his time and the place in which he lived. His innovations in composition, expressiveness, and use of light and dark helped to establish his reputation far beyond his homeland. What a privilege for the viewer to explore his world and genius, and what a privilege to enjoy it through the superb efforts of the Denver Art Museum.

Notes

1 Jaco Rutgers and Timothy J. Standring, *Rembrandt: Painter as Printmaker* (New Haven: Denver Art Museum in association with Yale University Press, 2018), 9–10.

2 *Rembrandt: Painter as Printmaker*, Denver Art Museum (accessed November 27, 2018), https://denverartmuseum.org/exhibitions/rembrandt-painter-printmaker.

The Vikings Have Invaded Western Canada

Michael Oram

American Military University

A long ship, flying its blood red sail, fights the current of the North Saskatchewan River, landing on the shores by the City of Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. The occupants fight their way inland to the Royal Alberta Museum to become the first travelling exhibit in their brand-new facility. **Vikings: Beyond the Legend** is on loan from the National Museum of Denmark. The exhibition is a joint venture between and produced by The National Museum of Denmark and MuseumsPartner GmbH in Austria.

This exhibition includes the Canadian premiere of the *Roskilde 6*—the longest Viking warship ever found, featuring approximately 1,000-year-old wooden planks and metal supports showing the ship's original lines. Although known as prolific raiders, plunderers, and conquerors, this exhibition takes the visitor back to the ninth and tenth centuries, when people of the North crossed unknown borders to become heroes whose names were reverentially passed from generation to generation. During the late ninth century, favourable economic conditions encouraged many Scandinavians to settle in England, Ireland, the Scottish Isles,

the Faroe Islands, Iceland, Greenland, Friesland, Normandy, Russia, and as far as L'Anse-aux-Meadows in Canada's Newfoundland.

With over 650 artifacts of which only eight are replicas, this exhibition is one of the largest travelling collections of Viking material to be seen in North America. The exhibit has eight themes. These introduce the visitor to the Viking legacy, time and place, and geographical and historical orientation. The focal points of the Viking Age represented are characteristics like the formation of the Danish state (the Jelling Dynasty, Harald Bluetooth, Denmark, and Norway), the Danish conversion to Christianity and the Vikings as founders of towns and cities, both home and abroad. The earliest documentation of the Viking Age was in Ribe AD 704–710 and internationally at the raid of Lindisfarne AD 793.

The second is the **Wind Age**. The Vikings had a major influence on the development of Europe and some parts of Asia. The impressive Viking ships made it possible to travel from the North American coast in the west to the Black Sea in the east and from Greenland in the north to Spain in the

south—to plunder, trade, make war, or settle. Figure 1 is a representation of a typical Viking ship. It was excavated from Goldstad, where similar ships have been excavated from burial mounds located there.

Figure 1. *A typical Viking ship.*

Figure 2. *The Ulfberth sword.* This sword was of particularly high quality. The name comes from the inscription on the lowest part of the blade close to the hilt. The steel used to make this type of sword had few impurities and produced an excellent blade.

The Splendor of the Sea. This exhibit is of the Viking ship known as the *Roskilde 6*. Despite being nearly 1,000 years old, about 25 percent of the ship—including much of the hull and inner timber—remained intact thanks to its waterlogged condition. Scientists have traced the origin of the ship's oak timber to Oslo, Norway. The growth rings in the oak suggest the ship was first built around 1025 and later repaired somewhere along the Baltic Sea around 1039 AD. The *Roskilde 6* was excavated in 1997 from the Roskilde Fjord, which is located about twenty-five miles from Copenhagen, Denmark.

With the Sword in the Hand. This exhibit showcases the central role that the warrior played in the Viking Age, which was a very turbulent period of unrest and dissension. The warrior, his equipment (rider, heavy, and light armament), and battle and infantry (duel, army against army, formation) are a central part of the exhibit. Among a large selection of weapons, a characteristic sword—an Ulfberth sword—is on display.

Connecting Continents—Traders and Merchants. As time passed, there was greater and more sophisticated specialization in trade and production. With trade and crafts as the central basis, towns became centers of political, economic, and social organization. The trading of goods bears witnesses to both a substantial local demand and the fact that all of these towns were hubs for long-distance trade. Trading mainly occurred along Eastern European and Russian rivers and all the way to the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, where they reached the Byzantine Empire and on to the Muslim Caliphate. The Vikings traded amber, salt, honey and wax, furs, and slaves against payment in silver. Examples of some of the many impressive treasures that bear witness to the Viking's trade and foreign contact are shown. The exhibit also includes examples of the exotic merchandise the Vikings traded.

The Viking Way of Life. Whether one was free or unfree, rich or poor, or man or woman strongly determined the role of each person in Viking society. Groups often lived together in societies where honor and family relationships played an important role. They were central and tied together by traditions and norms. This exhibit focuses on everyday life in the Vikings' homelands—the lives of women and children with the daily household, cooking, clothing and textile manufacturing, organization, houses, agriculture, livestock, crafts for household use, leisure etc.

The Power of Kings. Viking society was clearly divided into social classes. At the top was the king, surrounded by an aristocratic elite. The free people constituted the majority of the community—they had the right to carry weapons and to be heard at annual assemblies, called "The Thing." They were farmers, landowners, craftsmen, hunters, professional warriors, and merchants. The unfree were brooch/slaves who had no rights to decide over their own lives. They were either bought or brought back from raids around Europe. The purpose of many of the Viking raids was to obtain slaves for their own use and for resale.

The Viking Mind—Gods and Beliefs. Odin, the supreme God of the Nordic pantheon, was the god of war and wisdom and was particularly worshipped by the rulers of Viking society. The pagan gods had great influence on human everyday life, and it was therefore necessary through sacrifices to be on good terms with them. In this way it was possible to ensure peace, welfare, and crops in the field. The transition from paganism to Christianity was slow, and archaeological finds have revealed that both religions flourished side-by-side.

Figure 3. *The large Jelling Stone.* This stone was erected in 965 by Harald Blue-tooth, son of King Gorm and Queen Thyra, and tells of Harald's achievements in uniting Denmark and Norway and making the Danes Christian.

Figure 4. *The Åby crucifix.* This crucifix is the oldest large-scale crucifix in Denmark and comes from Åby Church near Aarhus. The crucifix is from c. 1050-1100 and is made of gilded copper plates on a base of wood. Only in Scandinavia is Jesus depicted as this kind of king on the cross.

This is one of the most informative exhibits that I have had the pleasure of visiting. I found it to be well put together and the artifacts that were displayed revealed the life and times of the Vikings to the viewer. This exhibit is also "kid-friendly" with lots of interactive displays and things for children to do. The backdrops, costumes, and music take the viewer back in time to the 700AD to 800AD time period. Should you have the opportunity to have this exhibition come to your city, I recommend that you take it in. You will be amazed. The next stop will be at the Kansas City Union Station, Kansas City, Missouri, opening on May 25, 2020.

I would like to thank Heinz Reese from the MuseumsPartner GmbH for providing the photographs and exhibition narrative descriptions. These were greatly appreciated.

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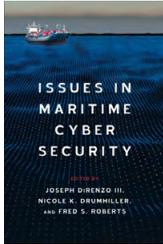
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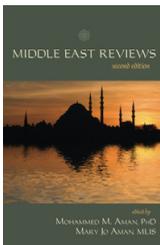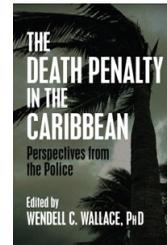
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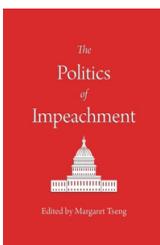
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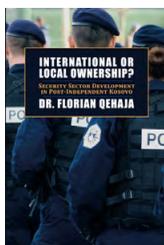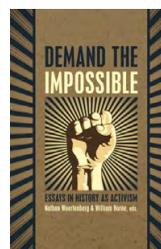
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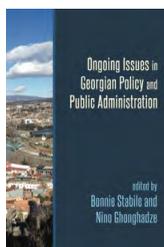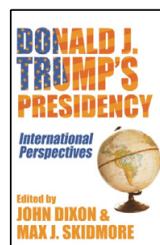
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