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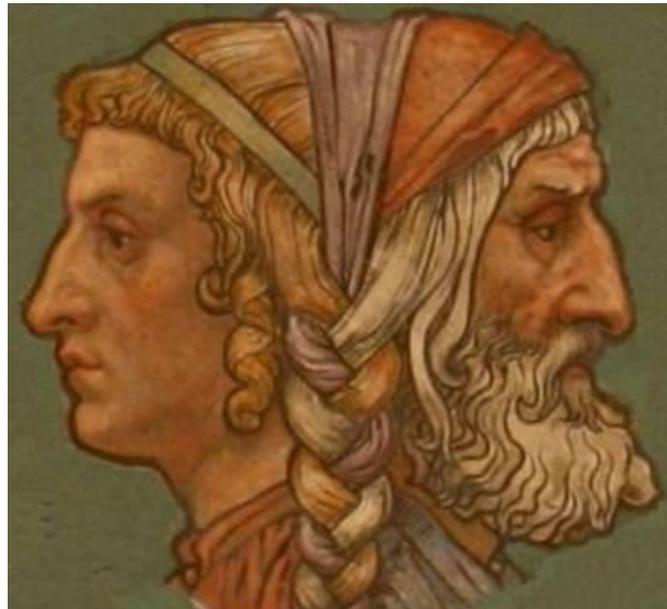
Table of Contents

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Piercing the Culture of Power: Perceptions and Disputes over Absolute Authority
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During the late 1780s, the members of the constitutional convention drafted and subsequently ratified the United States Constitution, which would outline the codes and conduct befitting of the newly established branches of government. The process was rife with debate, notably on the role that executive power would play in this new governmental code. Rule under a monarch was not-too-   distant memory, and for some, an executive that had the ability to command the army, navy, and hold a right to veto would simply result in a "military king."[1] For others, an executive branch imbued with such powers would fill in the vulnerabilities revealed in the earlier Articles of Confederation. However, on both sides of the debate, the idea of an executive branch unrestrained in power was troubling, and a system of checks, restraints and balances was discussed.

Almost 230 years later on Friday, November 15th in Washington D.C, the Federalist Society held their annual Lawyers Convention at the Mayflower Hotel, half a mile from the White House. [2] Amid a presidential scandal, Attorney General William Barr delivered an hour-long lecture, during which he claimed that the executive branch can maintain the confidentiality of its internal deliberations, and that issues within the branch are inoculated from a system of checks and balances.[3] He adds that,

> The grammar school civics class version of our Revolution is that it was a rebellion against monarchical tyranny, and that, in framing our Constitution, one of the main preoccupations of the Founders was to keep the Executive weak. This is misguided. By the time of the Glorious Revolution of 1689, monarchical power was effectively neutered and had begun its steady decline. Parliamentary power was well on its way to supremacy and was effectively in the driver's seat. By the time of the American Revolution, the patriots well understood that their prime antagonist was an overweening Parliament. Indeed, British thinkers came to conceive of Parliament, rather than the people, as the seat of Sovereignty.[4]

Colored by debates over the divine rights of kings, the Revolution of 1688 was a result of the perceived tyranny from James II and Charles II.[5] In this context, William Barr's claims are wildly ahistorical, digressive, and should be viewed as a maundering political maneuverer to deflect criticism.[6] However, the public spectacle of addressing a room full of conceding constitutional lawyers by using a fabricated historical precedent is a source of major concern, as it only serves to enforce a deliberately anti-intellectual cult of power. While Barr's comments are an overt example of historical revisionism being used to legitimize executive authority, they serve an irresponsible, absolutist view of governance that the founding fathers sought to disrupt. When Barr pairs an endorsement for an unchecked executive branch with statements such as, "the proper balance of freedom and order necessary for healthy development of natural civil society and individual human flourishing," he attempts to conflate the two as a moral structure of society.[7]

This speech serves as a good opportunity to remind ourselves of the philosophical, social, and political contexts in which authority was discussed during the 17th and 18th centuries, as these exchanges shaped the way governments in the 21st century are modelled. The British monarchy and slave masters drew from absolutist rhetoric

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[1] Unknown Author, "Philadelphiensis IX", *Philadelphia Freeman's Journal*, Feb 6, 1788.* Found in John P. Kaminski, The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2004).

[2] William Barr, "Attorney General William P. Barr Delivers the 19th Annual Barbara K. Olson Memorial Lecture at the Federalist Society's 2019 National Lawyers Convention." (speech, Washington D.C, Nov. 15 2019).

[3] Ibid.

[4] Barr, "19th Annual Barbara K. Olson Memorial Lecture."

[5] Barr mistakenly calls it the "Glorious Revolution of 1689" instead of using the correct date of 1688. This is possibly the least egregious thing he states, as he possibly conflated it with the English Bill of Rights which was signed by William and Mary in 1689, or the Convention Parliament where the transfer of James II's power went to William and Mary.

[6] The perceived tyranny of King James II and Charles II will be discussed in greater length later in the paper.

[7] Barr, "19th Annual Barbara K. Olson Memorial Lecture." and Timothy Mitchell. "Everyday Metaphors of Power." *Theory and Society* 19, no. 5 (1990): 545-77. www.jstor.org/stable/657563.

to enforce hierarchy, and to protect their institutions where unquestioned obedience was central to their operation. It was through the intellectual and political developments of the Founders, and notably the Enlightenment philosophers that inspired them, that our   anti-absolutist ethic   was created. While Barr may dispute the grammar school version, the ideological legacy of enlightenment thinkers such as John Locke, Algernon Sydney, and Morgan Godwyn made resistance to absolutist power, both monarchical and slave-based, a moral obligation. Looking at the political contexts of the Glorious Revolution of 1689, and 18th century accounts of slave revolts, we can see how a widespread anti-absolutist ethic was constructed, and how that influenced the Founders of the United States.

Barr's version of history is skewed, but even a broken clock is right twice a day, as he correctly identifies the contexts of the Revolution of 1688 as the ideological inspiration for the   Founders. However, it was the anti-absolutist principles laid out by John Locke and Algernon Sydney that inspired Thomas Jefferson in his drafting of the Declaration of Independence.[8] To understand the role played by the Glorious Revolution of 1688 in forming an anti-absolutist ethic, one must understand that it was preceded by hundreds of year's parliamentary and monarchal conflict.[9] The "divine right of kings" was a medieval concept that proclaimed that the King was an instrument of God's will. The spiritual implications behind this idea had survived well past the dictatorship of Oliver Cromwell and had become a tool to leverage political power. While the initial function of divine right was to bar the papacy from interfering in state affairs, after the reformation its meaning had changed. The rhetoric of divine right was used by Catholic monarchs as a tool of absolutism to control baronial dissent and combat the divisiveness that anti-papists propagated within their lands. Ironically, the divine right of kings was invoked by Protestant figures such as Henry VIII, but under the Anglican pretenses. During his rule, Henry VIII had constructed a religious movement where he would serve as both head of the church and state. Historically, the ebb and flow of monarchal and feudal power eventually culminated into the establishment of the modern state, and some states had much of their power vested into the monarch or their courts. A good example of this was France, often seen as the progenitor of the feudal system; but through divine right rhetoric and skilled statecraft under the monarchies of Louis XIII and XIV, the country had become a model for an absolutist, centralized state. In England's case on the other hand, despite the theory's invocation in English political discourse, a divine right-based and absolutist state had never fully been implemented in the French sense. Failure to implement the system can be attributed to the consistent strength of the English nobility and an early establishment of parliamentary practice in the 1200s.[10] However, this did not prevent monarchs from trying to create an absolutist regime.

Just prior to his coronation in 1603, James I would write extensively on the theory of the divine rights of kings in his 1598 treatise, *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, in which he states, "Whereunto, for answer, I grant indeed that a wicked king is sent by God for a curse to his people, and a plague for their sins. But that it is lawful to them to shake off the curse at their own hand, which God has laid on them that I deny, and may so do justly."[11] James I was likely aware of how vulnerable the English throne was, as England by this time had a rich history of usurpation and regime change in the form of the Normans, Simon de Montfort, the War of the Roses, and ironically, his own mother, Mary, Queen of Scots. He would pass on his theory of divine rights to his son, Charles I, who would frequently draw from the rhetoric of his father. Charles I's reign would be characterized by his power struggle with parliament, and it would trigger the beginning of the English Civil Wars (1641-1651).[12] After his capture, he would go on trial to defend himself against accusations of treason, in which the parliamentarians would state that his absolutist desire for governance was tyranny. During Charles I's trial, prosecutor John Cook stated that the King's approach towards government was an encroachment on the rights of the people, and subversive to the will of the people. Within the opening remarks of the act that would establish the court to try the King, it states,

> Charles Stuart, the now King of England, not content with those many encroachments which his predecessors had made upon the people in their rights and freedoms, hath had a wicked design totally to

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[8] Holly Brewer. "Introduction," *Algernon Sidney's Trial & Excerpts from his Discourses Concerning Government*. (1699). Drawn from the Handout under Week VI, and part of her "Slaves and Empires" project. p.1. Brewer gleans this information from a correspondence between Jefferson and Henry Lee in 1825.

[9] Christopher Hill. *The Century of Revolution, 1603-1714*. 2nd ed. (London: Routledge Classics, 2006). Pp.94-100.

[10] C. Warren Hollister, et al. The Making of England to 1399, 8th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001). P.180

[11] Treatise is drawn from David Wootton, *Divine Right and Democracy: an Anthology of Political Writing in Stuart England* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 2009) p.99-106.

[12] Hill. *The Century of Revolution.* Pgs.95-100.

subvert the ancient and fundamental laws and liberties of this nation, and in their place to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government, and that besides all other evil ways and means to bring this design to pass, he hath prosecuted it with fire and sword, levied and maintained a civil war in the land, against the Parliament and kingdom.[13]

The rhetoric of divine right theory to many parliamentarians sounded despotic, while Charles I believed that he had a heritable obligation from God to rule and preserve the realm. It is laden in the language of his defense when he states, "I have a trust committed to me by God, by old and lawful descent, I will not betray it, to answer a new unlawful authority; therefore resolve me that, and you shall hear more of me."[14] Despite his father claiming that Kings should never be deposed in the *Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, his son would be executed in 1649, and objects related to his martyrdom were circulated among admirers.[15] Even after the death of Charles I, the military dictatorship that followed was simply a hiatus, as soon after the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660, the dispute between monarchy and parliament had resumed.

It is important to note that the rhetoric of divine-right theory is closely interlarded with patriarchal norms, rooted in biblical rhetoric and subsequently emulated in American chattel slavery. In opening chapter of Sir Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha,* he states that the role of king is imbued with the *"natural authority of a supreme father,"* and cites the passage "Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee."[16,17] By invoking the image of fatherhood and by extension English subjects as children, Filmer justifies the role of King as the political and moral authority. Furthermore, by interlarding the concepts of patriarchy, and divine-right driven absolutism, a cult of power is established, in which a seemingly unchallengeable authority can rest. These interwoven elements are not unique to the modern era, as kings in the medieval period would cite their divinely ordained role to justify monarchal taxation of church-held lands, or famously in the Investiture Controversy (1056-1122), the appointment of bishops. But when placed within the contexts of the 17th century Anglican Church's structure, the theory of divine rights is uniquely expressed, precipitating into a unique tactile power. When the head of the state is also head of the church, when left unchecked, creates a moral hierarchy with the ability to disseminate royal beliefs and political agendas during congregation. An example of the moral hierarchy in action can be seen with Henry VIII and pushing the acceptability of divorce. But as the wars of religion continued throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, the social controls set in place to preserve an absolute monarchy likely evoked images of the Catholic divine-rightists, and the continental persecution of Protestants.

This conflict between the monarchy and parliament must be understood along the lines of religious belief, since Europe had been waging over the Protestant-Catholic split for over 150 years. While religious toleration was discussed, even under Cromwell's Puritan regime the notion was unsavory and never extended to Catholics.[18] During the reign of James I and Charles I, conciliatory practices towards Catholics were generally met with disdain from Whigs, and absolutism and divine rights would continue   to be conflated with Catholicism.[19] During Charles II's reign, the lynchpin of anti-absolutist ethic nestled itself among the Whigs, as it was a common belief among their ranks that he was setting up a Papist dynasty. This was a result of many policies, but especially apparent with his combativeness toward the exclusion bills of 1679-1681, which tried to get his Catholic brother James out of the line of succession.[20] The legislative battles coincided with the fabrication of the Popish Plot (1678-1681), which

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[13] "January 1649: An Act of the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, for Erecting of a High Court of Justice, for the Trying and Judging of Charles Stuart, King of England.," in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. C H Firth and R S Rait (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), 1253-1255. *British History Online*.

[14] Excerpt drawn from Charles T. Wood. *The Trial of Charles I: A Documentary History*. Lebanon: Dartmouth College, 2000.

[15] Liam Sims, "Charles I and the Eikon Basilike," *Cambridge University Library Special Collections*, January 30, 2014.

[16] Sir Robert Filmer, *Patriarcha, or The Natruall Power of Kinges Defended against the Unnatural Liberty Of the People*. (London, England, 1680) p.11.

[17] Exo 20:12 (KJV).

[18] Hill. The Century of Revolution. p. 148.

[19] Ibid, 197.

[20] Ibid, 198.

resulted in the death of many Catholics and further invigorated anti-Catholic sentiment.[21] To many Whigs, Catholics were seen not only as "agents to a foreign power," but a threat to English freedom because the Catholic kingdoms of Europe were absolutist regimes.[22] When Charles II died, his brother was successfully crowned as James II and passed the widely disputed Declaration of Indulgence in 1687 to promote religious toleration for Protestant and Catholic dissidents.[23] For many, this legislation and the demand for a standing national army further invigorated anti-papists, as it was seen as a Catholic-absolutist ploy to consolidate monarchal power.[24] Throughout this period, disputes over social controls, such as the dissemination of information, control of public space, and even legal customs such as *Habeas Corpus* would be a platform to launch criticism against the strengthening absolutist rule of Charles II and James II.

After the invention of the printing press, the dissemination of seditious ideas became a major concern for monarchs. Ironically, the invention that helped spread the ideas of the Reformation, would be restricted to protect the institutions that formed as a result of it. Shortly after the Restoration, Charles II soon assigned Roger L'Strange as the official censor and licenser of press, and enacted the Licensing Acts (1662-1695).[25] Under these strict regulations, works deemed "Blasphemy, Heresie, Schism, Treason, Sedition, Scandal, or Contempt of Authority" could face severe punishment, including death.[26] Deeming what fit the criteria was determined by royal courts, outlined under L'Strange's jurisdiction, which was gauged in relation to how it disputed the position of the King. The point was to be arbitrary, as it was used to target political and religious movements that were postured against the king. In a treatise published by L'Strange, it is easy to envision the scope of this governmental censorship, but also the nature of the documents that they hope to seize.

> It is noted, First, as a very Rare Thing, for any Presbyterian Pamphlet to be Seiz'd, and Suppressed, unless by Order from Above. Secondly, it is observed that those Offenders that are discovered, that Generally the Rich have the fortune to Come off, and the Poor to Suffer: and Thirdly; that scare one of five, though under custody, is ever brought to either of Your Majesties Principal Secretaries of State.I have now discharged my soul to both God, and your Majesty;[27]

The Whigs and other anti-absolutists were placed on the ideological defensive. The state had exercised an extreme level of social control reminiscent of Cromwell's tyranny a decade prior. Even after the expiration of the Licensing Act in 1679, Chief Justice Scroggs would still censor the influx of Whig literature under a court order to control the flow of opposition information.[28] The only way to combat it was through illicit means, and in these small acts of disobedience amid oppressive social control, the seed of anti-absolutist ethic is planted.

In the years shortly after the Restoration in 1660, it is believed that the number of presses went from over 60, to just 20.[29] Much like the 21st century, the effects of censorship would be undermined, as pirated works would appear on the black market.[30] Radical ideas would often be exchanged at secular social venues, such as clubs and coffee houses. Illegal literature and seditious talk would mostly happen in areas free of public scrutiny, prompting Charles II to instate a ban on coffee houses in 1675.[31] In a royal proclamation, Charles II states, "for that in such Houses, and by occasion of the meetings of such persons therein, divers False, Malitious and Scandalous Reports are devised and spread abroad, to the Defamation of His Majesties Government, and to the Disturbance of the Peace and

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[21] Ibid, 168.

[22] Ibid, 169.

[23] Ibid, 148, 170.

[24] Ibid. 170.

[25] Ibid. 213.

[26] Sir Roger L'Strange. *Considerations and Proposals in Order to the Regulation of the Press: Together with Diverse Instances of Treasonous, and Seditious Pamphlets Proving the Necessity Thereof.*(London, 1663) p.31.

[27] Ibid, iii-iv.

[28] Hill. The Century of Revolution. p. 212.

[29] Holly Brewer. "Introduction*," On the Regulation of the Press, 1663 by Roger L'Estrange*. Source is derived from the Week IV Handout.

[30] Hill. The Century of Revolution. p. 214.

[31] Hollie McDonald. "Social Politics of Seventeenth Century London Coffee Houses: An Exploration of Class and Gender" (2013). *Honors Project*. p.8.

Quiet of the Realm."[32] The attempt to control the personal dissemination of information failed, however it reflected an extreme willingness the monarchy had to prevent encroachments on its power. Tory pamphleteer Edmund Bohun noted the extensive and prolific network of illegal literature, stating that "you shall sometimes find seditious libel to have passed through so many hands that it is at last scare legible for dust and sweat, whilst the loyal answer stands in a gentleman's study clean and neat as it came from the press."[33] For those sympathetic to the monarchy, the repressive limitations on speculative freedoms only emboldened resistance. However, the political opponents of the monarchy would find themselves in physical danger as a result of their resistance. After the Rye House plot in 1683, Algernon Sidney was accused of being a conspirator to kill Charles II and his successor James.[34] After his detainment, Sydney's home would be searched, and among the findings would be his treatise, *Discourses Concerning Government.* The work had not been published yet, however the words contained within it would be used against him to implicate his role within the plot. This would lead to his subsequent execution, martyrdom for the Whig cause, and for the treatise to be published in 1699 after the Glorious Revolution.[35]

Within *Discourses Concerning Government,* Sydney has a section titled "To depend on the Will of Man is Slavery," in which he states,

> People are, but from whence; not considering, that whilst he denies they can proceed from the Laws of natural Liberty, or any other Root than the Grace and Bounty of the Prince, he declares they can have none at all. For as Liberty solely consists in an independency upon the Will of another, and by the name of Slave we understand a Man, who can neither dispose of his Person nor Goods, but enjoys all at the will of his Master; there is no such thing in nature as a Slave, if those Men or Nations are not Slaves, who have no other title to what they enjoy, than the grace of the Prince, which he may revoke whomsoever he pleases.[36]

Sydney may have drafted *Discourses* with the intention of rebuking Filmer's *Patriarcha,* but it also can be viewed as a macabre premonition of his own detainment and death.[37] During the process of his trial, the judge ruled that his own writings would be used as a witness against him, as two witnesses were needed to prosecute him.[38] It was likely that Sydney knew what life was like prior to the *Habeas Corpus* Act of 1679, in which the royal courts could twist conventions and laws to arrest people without trial.[39] Living under an arbitrary rule of law with no protections against the tyranny of the Stuart regime prompted Sydney to compare the living conditions to slavery, and it appears that many agreed with the notion, as in 1688, the invasion of England by William of Orange and Mary II would be largely bloodless.[40] It was absolutist tyranny, not Barr's fabrication of a weak monarchy, which spurred the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Shortly after the Glorious Revolution, the power of the monarchy would be curtailed as documents such as the English Bill of Rights (1689) and Triennial Act of 1694 would codify rights perceived to be inalienable, and the role of Parliament would be permanently established. An ethic towards checks and balances, and would be modelled after when the U.S constitution would be drafted.

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[32] Charles II. *By the King. A proclamation for the suppression of coffee-houses.* (London, Dec 1675).

[33] Edmund Bohun quoted in Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) p. 183. Knights draws from "The Third and Last Part of the Address to the Freemen", in the *Epistle Dedicatory*. (London 1683).

[34] . Brewer. "Introduction," *Algernon Sidney's Trial & Excerpts*. p.1.

[35] Ibid, 2. There is a discourse among historians as to the extent of which the Rye House Plot of 1683 was real. Some believe that it was an embellishment, even a fabrication, from Charles II to target and dispose of political rivals. While I would argue that the important thing we can glean from this event was the public perception of it, one should not dismiss the length of which the monarchy would embellish the details of the plot to maximize political gains. Assassination attempts typically garner support for the person targeted, and the reveal of the plot was a major blow to the Whig party.

[36] Brewer. "Introduction," *Algernon Sidney's Trial & Excerpts*. P.1.

[37] Brewer. "Introduction," *Algernon Sidney's Trial & Excerpts*. p.1.

[38] Ibid, 1.

[39] Holly Brewer, Rachel Edmonston. Habeas Corpus Act, 1679 "Introduction". Drawn from Week V handouts. P.1.

[40] Hill, Century of Revolution. P.171.

While the comparison to slavery was being made on the eastern side of the Atlantic, the horrors of chattel slavery were being perpetuated in the West. In Europe, slavery had been practiced since antiquity, but has existed in various forms and generally declined until its explosive resurgence in the $16^{th} - 17^{th}$ centuries. The nature of slavery often reflects the values of the power regime that condones and promotes it. In the medieval period, the condition of the enslaved depended on their religious standing, and if they had been captured as a prisoner of war. Slavery in the modern-era was reinvigorated with the rise of colonialism and attempt to the replicate the mercantilist success of Spanish and Dutch.

Under the monarchal powers of Europe, slavery had transmuted into something far more extreme than what was in the medieval period. Monarchal capitalism and the desire for empire had coalesced with the ideology behind divine right absolutism, making slavery a heritable status and constructed the view of slaves as property.[41] The principles of absolutism that were invigorated under the Stuart monarchy dovetails with how these ideas were perpetuated across the Atlantic, especially in the management of indentured servants and slaves. Slave masters would liken their authority to Kings and fathers, much like what was outlined in *Patriarcha,* by constructing a set of social controls. In an ironic twist, the royal officials serving under Governor Walrond in Barbados drafted a slave code in 1661, in which they state, "Yett we well know by ye right rule of reason, and order, we are not to leave them to ye arbitrary, cruel, & outrageous will, of every evil disposed person, but soe farre to protect them as we doe many other goods and Chattels"[42] In one vein, the royal government wants to control how masters manage their property, establishing that the King's right "rule of reason" triumphs that of the slave masters. But in the other vein, it shows how the arbitrary treatment of slaves would result in needless harm and punishment, spurring government intervention to ease   the cruelty of the master-slave dynamic. Not to say this came from a place of empathy on the government's part, as it was likely conceptualized as a form of property damage. This can be with within the third clause of the Barbados slave code, where it states, "it is hereby further enacted that the Negroes shall have clothes to cover their nakedness once every year (that is to say) drawers and caps for men and petticoats for women[43] This measure was initiated   by the government because it is likely that the slaves were being severely mistreated by their masters, as they were being forced to work in conditions that resulted in them being severely sunburnt, or cut by the thicket. This dynamic is also seen in the Jamaican Servant Code of 1664, where it is stated that "by the authority aforesaid that if any Man Servant shall marry without his Master or Mistresses consent dureing the time of his apprenticeship hee shall serve his Master or Mistress fower [four] yeares after his said time of apprenticeship is expired."[44] There is a looming irony and hypocrisy that a code drafted by Protestants prevented the marriage of servants when it was the driving reason Henry VIII formed the Anglican Church, but this is to be expected from an absolutist ideology which is centered on the fabrication of social controls. An essential part of fabricating the cult of power is the reassertion of boundaries, and this dualistic form that it assumes in the colonies highlights how power is conceived. For the royal government, it is the contraction of the slaver's abilities, and for the slavers, it is the assertion of coercive means.

What is important to glean about the social controls of absolutist England and its colonial holdings is that it is not simply contractionary, but is a multifaceted concept that rests on implications of coercion. The objective of both the Stuart dynasty, and the slavers it issued licenses to, was to maintain a power imbalance between the "superior" and "subordinate." When this hierarchy is challenged or compromised, the regime doubles down using methods it is already familiar with. In the case of slave revolt, gross and excessive force is used to deter resistance.

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[41] Holly Brewer, "Slavery, Sovereignty, and "Inheritable Blood": Reconsidering John Locke and the Origins of American Slavery." *The American Historical Review*, Volume 122, Issue 4, October 2017. P.1042. It must be stated that the manner in which "property" is conceptualized is very important. Slavery rose to prominence under the Stuart dynasty, and a major ideological holdover from the medieval period was how the nobility tethered laborers to the land. The laborer's place, much like the nobility, was determined by hereditary origins. While serfdom had been on the decline since the 14th century, the social controls instituted against slaves in the 17th can find their origins in the medieval period. Far more severe than the censorship and alienation of rights in England in the late 1600s, Slavery in the New World was built on a system of outright domination, with the usage of force being a constant reminder and threat. While coercion was used in England, it was not the modus operandi.

[42] Holly Brewer. "Introduction" *Barbados Act 1661*. (1667). Handout drawn from week IV. P.2.

[43] Ibid, 3.

[44] Transcription by Lauren Michalak and Holly Brewer. *An Act for the good Governing of Servants & ordering Rights betweene Masters & Servants.* Jamaica, 1664. P.4. Drawn from Week V handouts.

In 1739, just south of Charleston, the Stono Rebellion prompted South Carolina officials to draft the "Act for the Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes and other Slaves in this Province."[45] Within this act are several provisions in which an enslaved person's mobility and agency are further impinged upon by the state, limiting the few freedoms they had, but also limiting how much a slave could work, attempting to mitigate the risks of another revolt.[46] Among these clauses are the mandatory compliance of being stopped and searched by any white when travelling off of the plantation (5), the prohibition of selling alcohol to enslaved persons (32), and interestingly, the prohibition of any firearm being discharged at night (41).[47] While Smith uses this document to try and capture popular fears as a result of the revolt, it also points out a major flaw in absolutist societies. When a society's stability rests on an immutable, unchallenged authority, it is inherently insecure, as the primary preoccupation is asserting domination. These measures were enacted to prevent any form of resistance, much like the aforementioned practices in England, but done so in a far more extreme degree. Violation of these clauses would often result in mutilation or death. While those in England could rely on a history of parliamentary practice to check absolutist power, cultural tethers to disobedience such as Robin Hood and Francis Drake, and a precedent of successful rebellions to disrupt regimes of inequity, the slave-master relation was far more difficult to navigate. The Slaves during the Stono revolt would perform symbolic acts during the rebellion, such as decapitating white civilians, and marching to fiefs and drums, to symbolically flip the institution that had subjugated them.[48]

Revolts however, were not the norm. It is important to recognize still the enslaved as independent agents within a tighter context than freemen, but a context nonetheless. Olwell calls the "tug of war", where states that "the growing familiarity between South Carolina's whites and blacks breed a good measure of contempt and hatred, but it also inspired a degree of mutual comprehension, calculation, and negotiation.[49] Through these interactions, power structures were often gauged, and ideals could be gleaned. It should be noted that during the 16th and 17th centuries, whilst the enslaved were not active participants in the political institutions, they shaped the social and even the religious institutions around them. Even in the 17th century, there was a sense among some that slavery was fundamentally reprehensible, with Morgan Godwyn stating, "Who, so that their Portion may be fat, and their Meat plenteous, and that Trading may flourish, (the advancement whereof doth, it seems, justify the grossest Villanies), they are not ashamed to debase Men, made in the Image of God." [50] Godwyn cites that slavers are mammonists, betraying their Christian nature in pursuit of greed. It is hard to get a figure as how many people disagreed with the institution of slavery, but it would be reasonable to assume that some people who wished to be free from tyranny of a monarch would extend that slave masters. During the reign of Charles II, Thomas Tryon had spent some time years in the colonies, notably Barbados, and had witnessed firsthand the cruelty of slavery. In his book, *Friendly Advice to the Gentlemen-Planters of the East and West Indies, he* positions himself as one of the early advocates of abolitionism. In a chapter dedicated to documenting the cruelty of slavery, he states,

> We find and feel from sad experience the fatal consequences of this apostasy from the dignity of the human nature: We had never been snatched from the land of the nativity, never traversed liquid mountains, nor journeyed through the hazards of the vast seas, to be cast away on land; never brought in fetters into new worlds, nor made perpetual slaves in regions which neither we nor our forefathers have heard of before, if we had not forsaken that law of our creator which he had planted in us, and entered with our wills the root of bitterness and the fierce wraith.[51]

Much like the anti-absolutist English who spread the idea that tyranny is morally reprehensible, the tyranny over the enslaved communities in the Americas would become reprehensible as well. The religious dimension that

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[45] Mark Michael Smith, Stono: Documenting and Interpreting a Southern Slave Revolt (Columbia S.C.: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 2005. P.20.

[46] Ibid, 20.

[47] Smith. Stono. Pps.21, 23, 25.

[48] Smith. *Stono*. p.xi.

[49] Robert Olwell*, Masters, Slaves, & Subjects: the Culture of Power in the South Carolina Low Country, 1740-1790* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998) p.7.

[50] Morgan Godwyn, *Trade Preferr'd Before Religion* (Sermon, London 1685) p. 3.

[51] Thomas Tryon. "The Negro's Complaint of Their Hard Servitude, and the Cruelties Practised upon Them: By Divers Professing Christianity in West-Indian Plantations." *Friendly Advice to the Gentlemen-Planters of the East and West Indies.* (London: Andrew Sowle, 1684) pgs.78-79 .

abolitionism takes is a stark contrast to the absolutist rhetoric that is proliferated, pushing the notion that submission to a king or master is divinely ordained.

What is for certain is that the ideas behind anti-absolutism were entropic by nature. While the progenitors of the idea may have had their contexts in mind, at its core, it was a blueprint to combat authority. It is why feminists, civil rights advocates, and anti-imperialists draw from the concepts established by it, and also one of the reasons why Jefferson drew from the thinkers of the 16th and 17th century. The concerns surrounding what would become the American Revolution, contrary to what William Barr may think, were centered on a mother country they believed was unwilling to listen to their needs. They believed King George III was culpable in disenfranchising his colonial subjects, which is why his name comes up in the Declaration, and not the institution of Parliament. The founding fathers of the United States based the Revolution, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution on the principle of anti-absolutism, and any attempt to imbue the executive branch with powers was (and honestly still is) met with stiff resistance. In the years preceding the revolution, there was a large body of literature circulating across the country, in the form of pamphlets and newspaper articles.[52] Notable works such as Thomas Payne's *Common Sense* (1776) and John Joachim Zubly (1769) were inspired by, and drew heavily from the concepts that Locke, Sydney and Godwyn developed under the social restraints prior to the Glorious Revolution.[53] The discourse on natural rights, representation and consent resembles that of the coffee house literature exchanges that happened almost 100 years prior in England, as Enlightenment ideals would rapidly propagate through all 13 colonies. The principles outlined by anti-absolutist thought was so unanimously accepted, that it is embedded in the strong rhetoric of the Declaration of Independence. Absolutism, which thrives on forced, unchallenged inequity, is dismissed, when the Declaration states, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."[54]

However, the extent in which anti-absolutist principle resonated varied from person to person. For many, it did not include the enslaved population or women, as the discussion over absolutism eventually shifted to the extent in which freedoms were applied. Likely considered too radical from the revolutionaries who believed in the institution of slavery, Thomas Jefferson added a clause during the drafting of the Declaration that would later be removed. In it he states,

> He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought & sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative effort to restrain this execrable commerce.[55]

For Jefferson, he took "all men are created equal" in the most literal sense. While he controversially engaged in the practice of slavery, he has frequently writing against the institution, conveying the principle that freedoms must be universally granted. Jefferson was familiar with tyranny of Kings, past and contemporary, and familiar with the writings of those who set the ideological foundation for the revolution he helped start.[56]

When reading the literature of the anti-absolutists, and the Declaration itself, Barr's speech dissolves into a weak obfuscation of the principles this country was supposedly founded on. When the Attorney General serves a President that wishes to indefinitely place children in cages, discredits news outlets, and has a faith advisor that

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[52] Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2017) p.5

[53] Ibid, 27.

[54] John Adams et al., "Declaration of Independence: A Transcript," *National Archives and Records Administration* (https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript).

[55] Thomas Jefferson. *Deleted Clause.* (Phillidelphia, 1776) prepared by Holly Brewer, and drawn from Week XI handout.

[56] Bailyn. *The Ideological Origins.* P.25. It is also worth noting that Jefferson died with over $2 million in debt, and that debt was heritable. Any attempts to free an enslaved person (and descendants) would result in his assets being seized.

states "To say no to President Trump would be saying no to God," one must really gauge his true intentions.[57,58,59] Is he a defender of this country's values, or does his agenda lie within the efforts of a man constructing his own cult of power?

[57]Brian Naylor, "New Trump Policy Would Permit Indefinite Detention Of Migrant Families, Children," *NPR* (NPR, August 21, 2019).

[58] Margaret Sullivan, "Perspective | Trump's Attacks on the News Media Are Accelerating. You Can Expect Three Results.," *The Washington* Post (WP Company, September 3, 2019).

[59] Jeremy Diamond, "Paula White: Trump's Televangelist in the White House," CNN (Cable News Network, November 8, 2019).

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**Cleansing the City and Creating Communism: Fitting Ethnic Cleansing of Vilnius
into Michael Mann's Theoretical Framework**

By Alan Clingan

Lithuania, wedged between great powers for most of its existence, struggled through ethnic cleansing from 1939 to 1945. While the Holocaust in Lithuania is more often remembered due its greater horror, two other – and more minor – episodes of ethnic violence occurred between 1939-1941 under independent Lithuania and Soviet Lithuania and 1944-1945 under Soviet Lithuania after its reacquisition from Nazi Germany. These periods of ethnic violence were radically different from the ethnic cleansing Lithuania experienced under the Nazis, with different causes and manifestations of the violence. These three periods of ethnic cleansing merge well with Michael Mann's analysis of ethnic cleansing and helps to explain why the three periods of ethnic cleansing occurred in such different fashions from each other. The institutions, ideologies, and people involved in Lithuania under the Smetonan government,[60] the 1940 Soviet government, and the 1944-onwards Soviet government brought about ethnic cleansing but also ensured that ethnic cleansing actions did not escalate.

MICHAEL MANN'S FRAMEWORK

Michael Mann argued that multiple factors that must work in concert to result in ethnic cleansing. In his book *The Dark Side of Democracy* he identified six of these factors and two general facets of ethnic cleansing. A presence of any factor increases the drive to ethnic cleansing while a lack of any one reduces the drive towards ethnic cleansing. His first factor identified is state instability, particularly unstable semi-democratic regimes.[61] The triumph of ethnic identity over class divisions constitutes the second factor.[62] The third factor is competing legitimate claims to the same territory.[63] His fourth factor is the necessity of overwhelming force, or a conviction of overwhelming force, to instigate ethnic cleansing.[64] The radicalization and fractionalization of the state is his fifth factor.[65] Sixth is escalation due to the failure of less-violent plans to achieve the desired outcome.[66] These six factors under the right conditions contribute to different ethnic cleansing activities. The two facets deal with individuals involved. One recognizes that different levels of perpetrators exist[67] while other is that ordinary individuals are brought into ethnic cleansing by factors outside of their control.[68] These facets are important to assign blame, but do not bring about ethnic cleansing by themselves. The factors together with the facets of ethnic cleansing provide a framework for understanding how ethnic cleansing occurs, why it does not always occur, and who is responsible when it ultimately erupts.

WORLD WAR I

Interethnic tensions had historically been acrimonious in Lithuania since the end of the First World War. The four main ethnic groups in Lithuania – the Lithuanians, the Germans, the Poles, and the Jews – all struggled against one another as the war wound down and in the early years of the interwar period. Ethnic tensions boiled during of the destruction wrought by the retreating Russian army and the panic at the approaching German army. One-third of the population of Lithuania, including Poles, Lithuanians, and Jews, fled or died during the retreat of

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[60] The Smetonan government is the designation for the independent Lithuanian government from 1926-1940 under the presidency of Antanas Smetona.

[61] Michael Mann, *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*, (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2005), 3-4.

[62] Mann, *Dark Side of Democracy*, 4.

[63] Mann, *Dark Side of Democracy*, 6.

[64] Mann, *Dark Side of Democracy*, 6.

[65] Mann, *Dark Side of Democracy*, 7.

[66] Mann, *Dark Side of Democracy*, 7.

[67] Mann, *Dark Side of Democracy*, 8.

[68] Mann, *Dark Side of Democracy*, 9.

the Russian army in 1915, partly spurred on by marauding Cossacks and partially by fear of the Germans.[69] In this environment relief committees were set up, although they were often organized along ethnic lines with Poles helping Poles, Lithuanians helping Lithuanians, and Jews helping Jews.[70] These ethnic divisions were further exacerbated by the policies of Ober Ost, the German Eastern military command. Due to the devastation the German command relied on pre-established Jewish trading networks, driving the reemergence of old anti-Semitic narratives of Jewish profiteering.[71] All of these factors led to increased ethnic hostility during the period but they were kept under control by the German military occupational governments set up throughout the conquered land.

As the Germans retreated there was a lack of central authority, radically changing the situation. To fill this gap local committees emerged to govern different regions, but they emerged along ethnic lines as well, similar to the relief committees. Struggles for authority occurred between Lithuanian committees, Polish committees, and the retreating German authority until late 1919. Violence broke out sporadically in this multipolar struggle as Lithuanians, Poles, and Germans all fought each other.[72] The outcome of this struggle in Lithuania was the creation of a Lithuanian state, but tensions remained where Lithuanian claims of territory conflicted with Polish claims of territory, particularly concerning the city and region of Vilnius. Vilnius was a predominantly Polish and Jewish city with only a minor Lithuanian population. Yet despite being only a minority in the city Lithuania considered Vilnius to be its rightful capital. Both Poland and Lithuania had a conflicting claim to territory in the hectic and unstable period of state formation. This aligns with Michael Mann's analysis that contesting claims to territory and state instability are factors contributing to ethnic cleansing.[73] The contest for the control of Vilnius ended with Poland in control of the city in 1920, but Lithuania retained its claim to the city. Lithuania continued to view Vilnius as their rightful capital while its *de jure* capital of Kaunas was viewed solely as the provisional capital. Poland and Lithuania were technically at war from 1920 to 1938 over Vilnius despite actual fighting ceasing in 1920.[74] Yet this contested Polish victory did not stop the drive towards ethnic-based politics. What rested were relatively peaceful ethnic cleansing policies by both sides. Poland explicitly encouraged Lithuanians to leave the city and the region of Vilnius and to immigrate to Lithuania.[75] Lithuania undertook similar measures, but included forced evictions on a disorderly basis. Lithuanian authorities even undertook a deportation of Poles or other pro-Polish people away from the Polish border under, "pogrom-like conditions".[76] These movements of people away from borderlands echoed Imperial Russian actions in the Caucasus, where deportation and violent pacification of differing Muslim ethnic groups was seen as vital for continued control of the region.[77]

INTERWAR LITHUANIA

The Lithuanian government feared minorities, resulting in anti-minority policies. After the 1926 election a hung parliament arose, with the deciding votes between left- and right-wing parties being held by ethnic minorities and fear grew that the minority parties were going to cast their votes for the far-left-wing parties. In this atmosphere a coup d'état led by the former president Antanas Smetona occurred.[78] Even prior to any pre-World War Two tensions the Lithuanian government feared ethnic minorities would destroy Lithuania and Lithuanian nationalism. Later in the interwar period and during the Nazi and Soviet invasion of Poland an influx of Polish refugees arrived in Lithuania. In response to this influx the Lithuanian government stepped up their anti-minority activities and worked towards denying citizenship to all ethnic Poles who moved into Lithuania in the 1920s and 1930s.[79] The government of Smetona in particular could trace its roots back to the fear of minorities and needed to vocalize its

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[69] Tomas Balkelis and Violeta Davoliūtė, *Population Displacement in Lithuania in the Twentieth Century: Experiences, Identities, and Legacies*, (Amsterdam: Brill|Rodopi, 2016), 23, EBSCO.

[70] Balkelis and Davoliūtė, *Population Displacement in Lithuania*, 25.

[71] Balkelis and Davoliūtė, *Population Displacement in Lithuania*, 67.

[72] Balkelis and Davoliūtė, *Population Displacement in Lithuania*, 66.

[73] Mann, *Dark Side of Democracy*, 6.

[74] Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations- Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999*, (New Haven: Yale, 2013), 78.

[75] Balkelis and Davoliūtė, *Population Displacement in Lithuania*, 82.

[76] Balkelis and Davoliūtė, *Population Displacement in Lithuania*, 83.

[77] Geoffrey Hosking, *Russia: People and Empire*, (Cambridge: Harvard, 1997), 22-23.

[78] Alfred Erich Senn, *Lithuania 1940: A Revolution From Above*, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 60.

[79] Senn, *Lithuania 1940*, 61.

anti-minority stance to maintain the legitimacy it built for itself. Once Vilnius was transferred to Lithuania this anti-minority stance was applied to the city and region

<center>INTERNATIONAL POLITICS OF VILNIUS</center>

German international machinations leading up to the invasion of Poland and the start of World War II involved Lithuania, which was seen as a possible ally. In the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact Lithuania was originally assigned to the German sphere of influence while the rest of the Baltic States went to the Soviet Union.[80] Because of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact between the Soviet Union and Germany, the Germans had reasons beyond their own dislike of Poland to support Lithuanian claims. Lithuania was a natural ally for the German invasion of Poland. Germany planned to incite Lithuania to invade Poland with them and to encourage them to capture Vilnius. Not only would this lead to friendlier relations between Germany and Lithuania at the expense of Poland but it would also increase German power vis-à-vis the Soviet Union since if Lithuania did not invade Poland to capture Vilnius it would naturally fall to the Red Army once they invaded Poland. However, the Lithuanians demurred and took no coordinated action during the Nazi invasion of Poland.[81] The Lithuanian government under Smetona foresaw a breakdown in the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and calculated that the Soviet Union would emerge the victor in that struggle, making it wary of alliance with Nazi Germany.[82] After the Nazi-Soviet invasion of Poland, Stalin made a new agreement with Germany. Germany was allowed to retain the territory they had conquered over a predetermined demarcation line in Poland and in exchange Lithuania was reassigned to the Soviet sphere. By proposing and agreeing to this swap, Stalin wanted to both strengthen his hold on the other Baltic states already under the Soviet Union's sphere and to lessen the population of Poles in the Soviet Union.[83] After this swap of spheres, German activities in Lithuania decreased and the Soviet Union started exerting pressure on Lithuania to accept an alliance.

There was a clear reason why Stalin gave Vilnius to Lithuania despite its majority Polish population. Stalin, like many Russian and Soviet leaders, feared the Poles. Distrust of the Poles by Russian and Soviet leaders dated back to Imperial Russia where actions such as forced conversions, suppression of Polish language, and other methods to identity destruction were undertaken.[84] With the creation of the Soviet Union however, traditional distrust of Poles had another component, one which focused on their perceived middle-class status. This perception gave rise to a view of the Poles that mixed ethnic fear with class fear.[85] Because of this distrust of the Poles, Stalin wanted the minimum number of Poles in the Soviet Union as necessary. Soviet land in Poland, which would have had to be directly incorporated into the Soviet Union, was swapped for the Vilnius region, which could be disposed of by giving it to Lithuania, resulting in a massive Machiavellian manipulation of population. Under the plan fewer Poles would have been absorbed into the Soviet Union.[86] Stalin, via Molotov, presented this grant of Vilnius to Lithuania as rebuilding the historical homeland of Lithuania. The Lithuanians, who viewed the situation much the same way, were only too happy to accept.[87] Accepting the offer however put Lithuania in a subservient position vis-à-vis the Soviet Union and they were forced to allow Soviet troops to be stationed in Lithuania, guaranteeing that when the Soviet Union wanted to annex Lithuania there could be no practical resistance.[88] When the Soviet Union decided to invade Lithuania in 1940 all went according to the Soviet plan and there was effectively no resistance.

<center>POLISH VILNIUS & 1939-1940 LITHUANIAN VILNIUS</center>

Lithuanian policies coupled with preexisting class divides along ethnic lines created a stronger sense of ethnic identity. After the fall of Poland to Nazi Germany and to the USSR many Poles fled to Lithuania. However,

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[80] Senn, *Lithuania 1940*, 9.
[81] Senn, *Lithuania 1940*, 11-12.
[82] Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations*, 79-80.
[83] Senn, *Lithuania 1940*, 14.
[84] Hosking, *Russia: People and Empire*, 377.
[85] Theodore R. Weeks, "Population Politics in Vilnius 1944-1947: A Case Study of Socialist-Sponsored Ethnic Cleansing," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 23:1, 80, https://doi.org/10.2747/1060-586X.23.1.76.
[86] Senn, *Lithuania 1940*, 62.
[87] Senn, *Lithuania 1940*, 67.
[88] Senn, *Lithuania 1940*, 82.

the Lithuanian government denied citizenship to all Poles who immigrated between 1920 and 1939, thereby depriving both older immigrant Poles and new refugee Poles of citizenship.[89] Lithuania was particularly concerned with its new territory of Vilnius which was carved out of Poland and which had few Lithuanians. There was a perceived class divide along ethnic lines between the middle-class Poles and the peasant Lithuanians. Lithuania tried to create a solidly Lithuanian middle class but even with a push towards Lithuanian culture, language, and history, they could not shake the ethno-class divisions.[90] This conflation of class and ethnicity encouraged ethnic violence along the lines as described by Michael Mann: ethnic cleansing occurs when class identity becomes subservient or intertwined with the identity of ethnicity.[91] Vilnius had strong Polish roots, being one of the main centers of Polish culture.[92] Lithuania by contrast barely had a presence in the city which only had a Lithuanian minority, yet claimed ownership of the city dating back to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but they felt as if their culture was now under attack by Poland.[93] Vilnius was culturally significant to the Lithuanians, so if Lithuanians in Vilnius were under cultural attack then Lithuania as a whole was under cultural attack.

A few days after Lithuania annexed Vilnius – with the Red Army's permission – ethnic violence exploded. Tensions were rising between the new Lithuanian authorities and the Polish population which felt unfairly split from their former nation. To muddle matters fleeing Polish refugees swamped Vilnius. The Lithuanian authorities took pride in the idea that they helped Polish refugees, but the Poles complained that the Lithuanians were not following through on their promises of helping.[94] The Jewish population of Vilnius was caught in the middle of these tensions and found itself in an unenviable position as Lithuanian-Polish tensions contributed to Polish-Jewish tensions. Few Jews spoke Lithuanian but the Lithuanian authorities attempted to accommodate the Jewish population of Vilnius. Consequently the Polish population viewed the Jews and the Lithuanians as in alliance and the Jews as traitors to Poland.[95] These tensions resulted in the misperception that Jews favored the Soviet Union.[96] This gave both Poles and Lithuanians reasons to worry about the Jews as both had seen their own nation under Soviet influence. Poland was directly invaded while Lithuania was forced to abandon neutrality by the Soviet Union.

Under these fear-ladened circumstances an anti-Jewish pogrom occurred in the city. The pogrom erupted after rumors spread particularly amongst the Polish population that the Jewish population was hoarding bread. The few Lithuanian authorities in Vilnius characterized the violence as between Poles and Jews, but the Lithuanian authorities were slow in intervening.[97] After the violence the Lithuanian authorities blamed the Polish refugees, the local Poles, and the Jews for all not retraining themselves. Despite official pronouncements otherwise some people, such as the Lithuanian Communist Party, asserted that the Lithuanian police were guilty of failing to intervene in a timely and effective manner.[98] But importantly for demonstrating how the Lithuanian authorities viewed the Poles and Jews, they specifically singled them both out as minorities despite the fact Poles and Jews were a majority of the population of Vilnius. The Lithuanian authorities viewed them less as equal individual citizens or as a local population, but more as entities to be moved, boxed, and organized at will, akin to the viewpoints taken by both Imperial Russia and the Soviet Union towards both ethnic groups.[99] Ethnicity even came to trump known loyalties, as rumors and newspapers spread the names of prominent Vilnians who accepted Polish rule in 1920, resulting in such people being disgraced in newly-Lithuanian Vilnius.[100] A new understanding of ethnicity and citizenship formed. True Lithuanians were required to be in ethnicity and citizenship to be true Lithuanians.

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[89] Balkelis and Davoliūtė, *Population Displacement in Lithuania*, 11.
[90] Balkelis and Davoliūtė, *Population Displacement in Lithuania*, 33.
[91] Mann, *Dark Side of Democracy*, 5.
[92] Snyder, *The Reconstruction of* Nations, 75-76.
[93] Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations*, 77-78.
[94] Senn, *Lithuania 1940*, 59.
[95] Balkelis and Davoliūtė, *Population Displacement in Lithuania*, 140.
[96] Senn, *Lithuania 1940*, 96.
[97] Senn, *Lithuania 1940*, 55.
[98] Senn, *Lithuania 1940*, 56-57.
[99] Peter Holquist, "To Count, to Extract, and to Exterminate," in *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, ed. Ronald Grigor Suny and Terry Martin (New York: Oxford, 2001), 124.
[100] Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations*, 83.

1940-1941 SOVIET LITHUANIA

While previous perceptions of class and ethnicity resulted in fairly peaceful state policies with only an occasional outburst of violence, Soviet Lithuania paid more consideration to ethnic and class divisions. When the Soviet Union invaded Lithuania in 1940 the ethnic violence took on a different character. Nationalization of the businesses was carried out quickly but as many business-owners were Polish they were disproportionately affected.[101] Those ethnicities overrepresented in the Soviet Lithuanian government were the Lithuanians themselves, as they had previously been in control, and the very small Russian minority, which was seen as a loyal ally by the Soviet Union. Along with the Soviet invasion the NKVD also entered Lithuania and, in continuing the overall terror that existed within the Soviet Union, arrested and deported thousands of Poles and Jews along with Lithuanians.[102] Many of those arrested and deported were lawyers, doctors, politicians, and businessmen of mostly Polish but less occasionally Jewish, Russian, or Belarusian ethnicity. There was little resistance to these deportations except by some Poles who were involved in the already-forming Polish resistance forces.[103] However, Soviet control did not last long and ended in 1941 with the invasion by Nazi Germany

NAZI LITHUANIA

Lithuanians had hoped for some deliverance from the clutches of the Soviet Union, so when the Nazis invaded there was a perception that the Nazis were liberators, but this would come back to haunt the Lithuanians later. After the Soviet invasion Smetona looked forward to a breakdown in the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and conceived of a German invasion as a way to restore full independence for Lithuania.[104] Despite some hatred of the Soviets and some love of the Germans by portions of Lithuanian society, many Lithuanians viewed Nazi German and the lesser evil of the two options – Soviet or Nazi – offered.[105] Lithuanian culture managed to survive and to an extent flourish under the Nazi occupation, but at the expense of the culture of non-German ethnic minorities such as the Poles and especially the Jews.[106] The Holocaust in Lithuania was extremely effective; by the end of German rule in 1944 nearly all Jewish populations in Lithuania had been murdered.[107] Some Lithuanians worked in concert with the Nazis, but few intervened to stop the atrocities.[108] As with Michael Mann's explanation for ethnic cleansing, the majority of Lithuanian society was not murderous psychopaths, but rather they were drawn into the cycle of violence by the circumstances outside their control.[109] Misperceptions based off the ideas of Jews being traitorous citizens and profiteers, both of which date back to the end of World War One, combined with passive acceptance of Nazi Germany to create few who stood up against the Holocaust.

1944-1945 SOVIET LITHUANIA

Once the Soviets regained Lithuania in 1944 they tried to encourage the Jewish community. The Soviet authorities supported the Jews as a counterweight to the powers of the traditional Lithuanian nationalists.[110] Dating back to the 1940-1941 Soviet occupation, Lithuanian nationalists formed resistance groups. Many of these wer anti-Communist and anti-Semitic, but not necessarily fascist. These groups, such as the Lithuanian Activist Front and the Lithuanian Liberation Army tended to be cross-class organizations solely focused on the recreation of an independent Lithuanian state.[111] These resistance groups cooperated with the Nazis while fighting the Nazis, but the one defining and uniting feature of them was their anti-Semitism.[112] Once the Soviets were back in control of

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[101] Balkelis and Davoliūtė, *Population Displacement in Lithuania*, 142.
[102] Balkelis and Davoliūtė, *Population Displacement in Lithuania*, 142-143.
[103] Balkelis and Davoliūtė, *Population Displacement in Lithuania*, 137-138.
[104] Senn, *Lithuania 1940*, 73.
[105] Alexander Statiev, *The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands*, (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2010), 67.
[106] Balkelis and Davoliūtė, *Population Displacement in Lithuania*, 144.
[107] Senn, *Lithuania 1940*, 196.
[108] Balkelis and Davoliūtė, *Population Displacement in Lithuania*, 147.
[109] Mann, *Dark Side of Democracy*, 9.
[110] Senn, *Lithuania 1940*, 197.
[111] Statiev, *The Soviet Counterinsurgency*, 50.
[112] Statiev, *The Soviet Counterinsurgency*, 90.

Lithuania the Soviet authorities needed local allies to prevent unrest from arising, and found them in the Jewish population. They also found allies in the form of Poles. Poles in Vilnius were hopeful that, as they perceived the Lithuanians to be allies of Germany, the newly-recreated Poland might regain control of the city.[113] Poles were to be disappointed but Jews became so closely associated with the Soviet government that, almost stereotypically,[114] the Soviet government was seen as Jewish.[115]

Polish hopes for Vilnius were dashed by the Soviet Union. The Soviets opted not to remove control of Vilnius from Lithuania and did not ignore the Lithuanians, engaging instead in encouraging some measure of Lithuanian nationhood and culture. However, this managed to undermine the hopes of the Poles who saw Vilnius remain in Lithuania but faced increasing Lithuanization of the city.[116] While being pro-Lithuanian did not necessarily mean anti-Polish – Vilnius was still a majority-Polish city – the Vilnius Poles felt alienated from Soviet Lithuania.[117] Poles were also viewed by the Soviet authorities as suspected supporters of middle-class anti-Communist resistance movements, therefore making them class enemies of the Soviet Union.[118] Soviet Lithuania faced a dilemma regarding how to deal with the Polish population in Vilnius. Therefore an agreement was reached with the pro-Communist Lublin Polish government to arrange a population transfer between Soviet Lithuania and Poland from December 1944 until June 1945.[119] While the movements were official voluntary, Poles in Lithuania faced both psychological pressure and fear of being accused of participating in the anti-Communist Polish resistance. The NKVD increased such fears by being specifically active in Lithuania during the time.[120] Memories and fears of the 1940 arrests and deportations also encouraged Poles to depart.[121] However, a mass exodus of Poles from Lithuania had unexpected consequences that forced Soviet Lithuanian authorities to rethink their policies.

The exodus of Poles from Lithuania displayed glaring economic and manpower reliance on Poles within Lithuania. Many industries faced manpower shortages as a result of the Polish exodus, some, such as the railroads, were already struggling to keep up with the increase in traffic brought on by the mass movement of Poles.[122] Because of these weaknesses exposed Soviet Lithuania tried both to make accommodations for Poles and to forcibly-restrict Poles from leaving parts of Lithuania, particularly from the rural areas.[123] Despite this need to accommodate the Poles, Soviet Lithuania tried specifically in Vilnius to encourage Poles to leave, which Lithuanians saw as a necessary step towards reshaping Vilnius into a Lithuanian capital.[124] In contrast to other capitals of constituent republics of the Soviet Union such as Riga, Tallinn, or Minsk, Vilnius saw little Russification or movement of Russians into the city. Rather, in a reversal of the pre-war situation, the city took on a strongly Lithuanian character. Lithuanian became the main ethnicity of the city while the Poles who remained in Lithuania tended to be in rural areas.[125] Despite this compromise with the Lithuanian Poles both the Soviet Lithuanian government and the Soviet Union presented themselves to the Lithuanians as allies guarding Lithuania against the common enemy of Poland.[126] Poles were not the only ones who suffered, but they were specifically targeted.

WHO, WHAT, WHY?

The ethnic cleansing perpetrated under the Lithuanian and Soviet regimes between 1939 to 1940 and 1944 onward was not particularly violent, but there were definite ethnic considerations behind it. The ideas and stereotypes that arose in Lithuania out of the end of the World War One, such as those surrounding the Jews,

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[113] Weeks, "Population Politics in Vilnius," 83-84.
[114] Mann, *Dark Side of Democracy*, 286.
[115] Senn, *Lithuania 1940*, 198.
[116] Weeks, "Population Politics in Vilnius," 79.
[117] Balkelis and Davoliūtė, *Population Displacement in Lithuania*, 151, 173.
[118] Weeks, "Population Politics in Vilnius," 86.
[119] Weeks, "Population Politics in Vilnius," 81.
[120] Balkelis and Davoliūtė, *Population Displacement in Lithuania*, 169.
[121] Weeks, "Population Politics in Vilnius," 85.
[122] Weeks, "Population Politics in Vilnius," 90.
[123] Balkelis and Davoliūtė, *Population Displacement in Lithuania*, 172.
[124] Weeks, "Population Politics in Vilnius," 77.
[125] Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations*, 93-95.
[126] Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations*, 98.

contributed to the ease to which the Holocaust was able to be carried out – to great effectiveness[127] – in Lithuania. The competing claims to Vilnius, as per Mann's analysis,[128] between Lithuania and Poland contributed to anti-Polish sentiment. Perceptions of ethnicity not only outweighed perceptions of class in by population, but class became associated with ethnicity. Neither Lithuania nor Soviet Lithuania was democratic, and that helped prevent much escalation into ethnic violence as authoritarian regimes need people to rule over.[129] The Lithuanian intervention in the Vilnius pogrom being an example of this: they did not allow the violence to escalate beyond spontaneous short-lived mob violence. Rather they preferred to play the minorities off each other to strengthen their own hold. Antanas Smetona, the leader of independent Lithuania, was not particularly violence-prone; he tried to navigate Lithuanian power – and his own – through tumultuous geopolitical events. Lithuania, both independent and Soviet, found itself engulfed in a geopolitically unstable time, one of Mann's factors for ethnic cleansing to occur.[130] The Soviet Union after 1944 similarly could not engage in widespread ethnic cleansing in Lithuania. It needed to portray itself as a defender of Lithuania to Lithuanians, and so facilitated the voluntary deportation of the Poles, but it had to be careful not to anger the Poles, who were a satellite state. Yet population transfer was commonly employed by the Soviet Union during this period and later, as Stalin attempted to shape ethnically homogenous nations.[131] The Lithuanian ethnic violence between 1939-1940 in Vilnius and 1944-1945 in Soviet Lithuania was kept in check by many different institutions, ideals, and people, but it was encouraged, on some minor level, by those same institutions, ideals, and people.

<div align="center">CONCLUSION</div>

In conclusion, Lithuanian ethnic violence between 1939-1940 in Vilnius and 1944-1945 in Soviet Lithuania more generally was driven by multiple factors, yet those factors also prevented the ethnic violence from escalating. Lithuania found itself in an unenviable position, stuck between two powers it correctly assumed would battle each other. Vilnius, the rightful capital of Lithuania in nationalist rhetoric, was finally granted. But with Vilnius came many minorities with which Lithuania had to deal with, and they choose to do so by ethnic cleansing. Yet the violence remained constrained. Ethnic policies harmed minorities, but aside from spontaneous violence, state-sponsored ethnic cleansing did not occur. This changed with the Nazis. The Holocaust brutally affected Lithuania, changing the ethnic composition of Vilnius. The Holocaust brought state-sponsored ethnic cleansing to Lithuania in the form of genocide. The return of the Soviet Union ended the genocide but not the ethnic cleansing. Ethnic-based policies took the form of population exchange. While ostensibly voluntary, there were pressures applied to the population to encourage the minorities to leave. Ultimately Lithuania received Vilnius and made it their capital city, but they changed the ethnic composition of the city by spontaneous ethnic violence, Nazi genocide, and population exchanges.

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[127] Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*, (New York: Basic, 2010), 344.

[128] Mann, *Dark Side of Democracy*, 6.

[129] Mann, *Dark Side of Democracy*, 35.

[130] Mann, *Dark Side of Democracy*, 7.

[131] Snyder, *Bloodlands*, 331.

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CONTINUING THE MOVEMENT:
Clerical Responses to the Assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.

Adam Fairchild

Introduction

Throughout the U.S. Civil Rights movement, clergymen played an integral role in advocating for social change while combating racism and other forms of institutional discrimination. Although clerical leaders like Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. famously exemplified the role of religious figures who occupied positions of leadership within public advocacy, King was one of several clerical leaders who led the struggle for civil rights. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), one of several organizations dedicated to the advancement of civil rights in the 1950s and 1960s, constituted an essential arm of the Civil Rights movement and was led almost exclusively by reverends. Throughout the South, countless reverends organized and led voter registration drives, nonviolent protests such as sit-ins, and walked in the front lines of marches like the March on Washington in 1963. During his tenure as the first President of the SCLC, King increasingly was considered by other clerical leaders to be an exemplary model for how reverends could incorporate their training and experience in religious leadership to that of public advocacy. Due to his immense influence as one of the most public leaders of the Civil Rights movement, the assassination of King on April 4th, 1968 fundamentally altered the movement and had immense effects on reverends who had looked to King for guidance and direction. In my article, I argue that following the assassination of King, clerical leaders of the SCLC briefly continued to serve in similar positions within religious leadership of the Civil Rights movement in the SCLC before pursuing political office to further advance their versions of King's conception of Christian civil rights advocacy.

My methodological approach incorporates the study of four specific reverends: Ralph Abernathy, Andrew Young, James Bevel, and Jesse Jackson. Ralph Abernathy served as King's second-in-command and later succeeded King as the President of the SCLC.[132] Andrew Young served as the Executive Director of the SCLC beginning in 1964 and directed several efforts of the SCLC after 1968.[133] James Bevel became the Director of Direct Action and Director of Nonviolent Education for the SCLC under King in 1962.[134] Jesse Jackson's work for the SCLC in Chicago following 1964 was critical within the final years of King's leadership.[135] These four clergymen served in essential roles in the SCLC under King and continued to lead the movement after his death. Each helped lead the 1968 Poor People's Campaign (PPC) before and after King's death.[136] As the PPC began under King and continued following his death, this event is an excellent lens to understand the immediate effects of King's assassination on clerical leadership of the civil rights movement. These four ministers also witnessed the death of King, which would shape each of their lives and careers. Although the scope of my article is limited to four reverends, their unique proximity to King in his final hours and their continued leadership of the SCLC lead them to be the most appropriate leaders to study within the constraints of this article.

My primary sources include autobiographies, transcripts, and recordings of both their speeches and interviews. My secondary sources consist of various books and scholarly articles. One central historiographical tension that I observed within secondary literature on the Civil Rights movement surrounds the study of its national goals versus its local effects. This conflict is especially evident in Amy Nathan Wright's "The 1968 Poor People's

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[132] Ralph Abernathy, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down, an Autobiography*, (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2010): 475-478.

[133] Andrew Young, *An Easy Burden: The Civil Rights Movement and the Transformation of America, 1st ed*, (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1996): 507.

[134] Interview with Rev. James Bevel, conducted by Blackside, Inc. on November 13, 1987, for *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years (1954-1965)*, Washington University Libraries, Film and Media Archive, Henry Hampton Collection.

[135] Marshall Frady, *Jesse: The Life and Pilgrimage of Jesse Jackson*, (New York: Random House, 1996): 194.

[136] From this point on in the text, I abbreviate "Poor People's Campaign" as "PPC," except in places in which "Poor People's Campaign" is included within a source title or quote.

Campaign, Marks, Mississippi, and the Mule Train: Fighting Poverty Locally, Representing Poverty Nationally." Wright argues that the PPC's rise to the national stage would not have been possible without local activists from Marks, Mississippi, and that the "local changes experienced in Marks would not likely not have occurred without the national exposure that the PPC gave to the local economic and racial injustice…throughout the nation."[137] Wright's text marks an evolution in scholarship on the Civil Rights movement towards incorporating both local and national foci. I will build upon this evolution in my examination of each ministers' pursuit of political office, which ranged from local congressional campaigns to presidential campaigns. My scholarship develops upon that of Wright as it introduces consideration of religious leadership within analysis of the PPC. My scholarship is further significant as I challenge existing periodizations of the Civil Rights movement. The death of King is a commonly utilized end date for periodizations of the Civil Rights movement that is evident in texts like Mark Newman's *The Civil Rights Movement*.[138] Instead of considering the assassination of King to be the end of the movement, my article focuses on continuations in civil rights activism post-1968.

My journal article consists of three main sections that follow the chronological evolution of the Civil Rights movement after the assassination of King. I begin with the historical context for King's leadership of the SCLC, especially his commitment to nonviolent protest and religiously oriented public advocacy. My second chapter begins immediately following the assassination of King and examines internal conflicts throughout the 1968 PPC. In this chapter, I argue that the loss of King brought to light varied internal conflicts between each reverend that directly contributed to the failure of the PPC. I conclude my paper by discussing each reverends' pursuit of political office as the natural evolution of the work of the SCLC in the decades after King's death.

Martin Luther King Jr. and the Rise of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference

To understand the effects of the 1968 assassination of King on clerical leaders of the Civil Rights movement, it is essential to begin with King's ascendancy in leadership of the movement in the early 1950s. Although protesting against institutional racial discrimination like Jim Crow laws had existed for decades prior, the "Civil Rights movement" began in conjunction with the Montgomery Bus Boycotts of 1955-1956.[139] These boycotts emerged as resistance to racial segregation within the city's bus system, which faced increasing public scrutiny following the arrest of Rosa Parks in December 1955 after she refused to give up her bus seat for a white passenger.[140] This event sparked widespread bus boycotts among the city's black population and the creation of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA). Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., the then-26 year old Pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, became the first President of the MIA on December 5th, 1955.[141] Through the MIA, King met Rev. Ralph Abernathy, another young, outspoken pastor of Montgomery who helped lead the boycott. Despite its initial plans as a one-day protest, the Montgomery bus boycott lasted for 381 days and was a resounding success for the MIA as it led to the integration of Montgomery's buses.[142] In the subsequent two years, King continued to develop connections with other black leaders of civil rights protests throughout the American South. At a gathering of these leaders in Atlanta in 1957, the Southern Leadership Conference was formed to organize collective action against racial discrimination throughout the South.[143] Under King's direction, this organization became the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) later that year, which reflect the clerical background of its participants and

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[137] Amy Wright Nathan, "The 1968 Poor People's Campaign: Fighting Poverty Locally, Representing Poverty Nationally," in *Civil Rights History from the Ground Up: Local Struggles, A National Movement*, ed. Emilye Crosby, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2011): 138.

[138] Mark Newman, *The Civil Rights Movement* (Westport: Praeger, 2004): 130.

[139] For analysis of the historical context of the Civil Rights movement, especially prior protests against Jim Crow legislation throughout the American South, see Newman, *The Civil Rights Movement*, 6-50.

[140] David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1988): 11-13.

[141] Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 22.

[142] Newman, *The Civil Rights Movement*, 58.

[143] Adam Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King Jr.*, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1987): 32.

support that it received within the Black church.[144] In the following years, the SCLC would grow into one of the largest and most important organizations of the Civil Rights movement.

As King became more involved in Civil Rights advocacy through leadership of the SCLC, he became renowned for his commitment to noncooperative nonviolent methods of protest. King first became dedicated to nonviolence through his interactions with the professional pacifist Glenn Smiley in 1956. Through conversations with Smiley, King was convinced of the power of "love" and nonviolence to "generate unity, dynamism, and power…" within the African-American community.[145] In spite of the significant violence that he experienced in his earliest days of SCLC leadership, which included bombings of his home and efforts to bomb his church, King's advancement of nonviolent noncooperative protests continued throughout his leadership of the SCLC. Across the South, the SCLC peacefully protested racial discrimination through sit-ins at restaurants and stores, voting registration drives, and marches.[146]

Along with his embrace of Gandhian philosophical nonviolence, King justified nonviolence within the context of Christian theology. Nonviolence was widely viewed among leaders of the SCLC as an extension of Christian "redemptive suffering," in which nonviolence increased one's honor and power by refusing to support institutional segregation.[147] King further defended nonviolent resistance through allusions to the nonviolent "extremism" of Biblical figures like Jesus and Paul. In his "Letter from a Birmingham Jail," King writes "Was not Jesus an extremist in love – 'Love your enemies…'… Was not Paul an extremist for the gospel of Jesus […]."[148] By establishing nonviolent protest within the tradition of notable Christian leaders, King posited the work of the SCLC as an expression of Christian faith. These links between King's advocacy and the biblical context of nonviolent pursuit of justice and Christian theological tenets advanced support for the SCLC within the Black church. With these philosophical foundations, the SCLC would grow larger throughout the 1960s with King as its spiritual and political leader.

The SCLC was integral within the Civil Rights movement. Many of the achievements of the movement, including the 1963 March on Washington and the Selma to Montgomery marches of 1965 can be traced to the leadership of the SCLC. King's commitments to nonviolent noncooperation and Christian leadership were essential to these events. The apex of the March on Washington was King's "I Have a Dream Speech," in which King envisions a future America where liberty and freedom is ensured for "all of God's children."[149] In this speech, King asserts divine providence for his movement and the struggle for justice through the lens of Christian faith. King further exemplified nonviolent Christian protest in the Selma to Montgomery marches of 1965. Initially proposed by Rev. James Bevel, the first Selma March began on Sunday, March 7th, 1965 and provoked a violent police response.[150] This response prompted widespread anger and the planning of subsequent marches. The last march was led by Revs. King, Abernathy, Young, and Bevel among others from March 21st-25th, 1965. Following their arrival to Montgomery, King delivered a speech entitled "Our God is Marching On!" from the steps of the Alabama State House. King's speech further advanced divine legitimacy for the Civil Rights movement and specifically nonviolent protest. The characterization of God "marching on" throughout the speech asserts that God is a nonviolent figure that will continue to accompany nonviolent protests.[151]

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[144] "The Black church" is a somewhat-ambiguous term that refers to primarily to Protestant churches that currently or historically have served primarily African-American congregations throughout the U.S. For a more detailed analysis of the history of the "Black church," see *The Black Church in America* (Nelsen, et. al., 1971).

[145] Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 25.

[146] Wesley Hogan, "Freedom Now: Nonviolence in the Southern Freedom Movement, 1960-1964," in *Civil Rights History from the Ground Up: Local Struggles, A National Movement*, ed. Emilye Crosby, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2011): 174.

[147] Hogan, "Freedom Now: Nonviolence in the Southern Freedom Movement, 1960-1964," 178-179.

[148] Martin Luther King Jr., "The Strategy of Nonviolent Direct Action," in *Sources of the African-American Past*, ed. Roy Finkenbine, (New York: Longman, 1997): 179.

[149] Martin Luther King Jr. "I have a Dream," August 28, 1963, Washington, D.C., MP3, 16:27, U.S. Archives, https://www.archives.gov/files/press/exhibits/dream-speech.pdf.

[150] Interview with Rev. James Bevel, conducted by Blackside, Inc. on November 13, 1987, for *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years (1954-1965)*, Washington University Libraries, Film and Media Archive, Henry Hampton Collection.

[151] Martin Luther King Jr, "Our God is Marching On!" March 25, 1965, Montgomery, Alabama, MP3, 3:40, American Public Media, http://americanradioworks.publicradio.org/features/prestapes/mlk_speech.html.

As his leadership of the SCLC and the Civil Rights movement continued following the Selma march, King continued to justify the leadership through a Christian moral imperative for protesting racial injustice. Beyond the American South, the SCLC initiated efforts at national expansion and launched a campaign based in Chicago, which was led by Rev. Jesse Jackson. Following his participation in the Selma march, King appointed Jackson to lead programs in Chicago to protest residential racial segregation and disparities in public housing.[152] King's expansion of the SCLC also extended to Memphis as he travelled to the city to join the ongoing Sanitation Worker's Strike. This strike, triggered by the deaths of sanitation workers Echol Cole and Robert Walker, was a response to decades of racial discrimination within the city under Mayor Henry Loeb.[153] In Memphis, King delivered what would be his last speech on April 3rd, 1968, entitled "I've Been to the Mountaintop." In this sermon, King exemplified the role of clergy within the Civil Rights movement as prophetic figures whose visions of justice inspired wide following through the African-American community. King's description of "having seen the mountaintop" alluded to biblical figures of Moses and Joshua, who led the Israelites to the Promised Land. For King, the "Promised Land" was a society without racial discrimination, brought about through nonviolent protest.[154]

On the next morning of April 4th, 1968, Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated by a white supremacist on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel. This event radically shaped the continuation of the Civil Rights movement through its effects on clerical leaders of the SCLC who witnessed the murder first-hand, most notably Reverends Abernathy, Young, Bevel, and Jackson.

The Aftermath of King's Assassination: Internal Conflicts and the 1968 Poor People's Campaign

The assassination of King deeply affected clergymen in the continuation of the Civil Rights movement, evident in the responses to the murder by Reverends Abernathy, Young, Bevel, and Jackson. Although these reverends continued to direct the SCLC through the 1968 PPC in a similar style of religious leadership to that of King, the loss of King led to increasingly public internal conflicts. These tensions emerged from disputes surrounding who would succeed King as the leader of the SCLC. In his autobiography *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down*, Abernathy describes how King had addressed this concern by privately appointing Abernathy to become his successor in the event of his death.[155] As King's second-in-command, Abernathy was the natural choice to succeed King in the event of his death. In the days following King's assassination, Abernathy demonstrated his claims to succession of King in his eulogies for King. Abernathy first eulogized King in a sermon entitled "My Last Letter to Martin," delivered at the West Hunter Street Baptist Church in Atlanta, GA on April 7th, 1968. Abernathy's sermon includes several intimate moments that he had shared with King throughout their years together in the leadership of the SCLC.[156] This speech connected the two leaders and linked the advocacy of King to what Abernathy hoped to further as president of the SCLC. Abernathy further eulogized King at his public funeral held at Morehouse College on April 9th. In his description of the funeral, Rev. Young details that "Of all the speeches by intellectual giants that day, Ralph's preaching is all that I remember."[157] In his reflections, Young reveals how Abernathy's eulogies for King advanced his legitimacy as King's successor.

Abernathy's succession claim and beginnings in leadership of the SCLC prompted immense internal conflict within the SCLC. Although Young supported Abernathy's leadership, Young thought Abernathy "…was frustrated by his inability to be Martin Luther King…[and] was not a strategist…."[158] Abernathy's weaknesses especially frustrated Bevel and Jackson, who had engaged in a power struggle for leadership of the SCLC with Abernathy almost immediately following King's death. Conflict between Jackson and Abernathy began during

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[152] Frady, *Jesse: The Life and Pilgrimage of Jesse Jackson*, 211-212.
[153] Carl Zimring, "We are Tired of Being at the Bottom," in *Clean and White: A History of Environmental Racism in the United States*, (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 201.
[154] Martin Luther King Jr., "I've Been to the Mountaintop," April 3, 1968, Memphis, TN, MP3, 43:06, American Rhetoric. https://americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkivebeentothemountaintop.htm.
[155] Abernathy, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down*, 475-478.
[156] "My Last Letter to Martin," in *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down*, 613-620.
[157] Young, *An Easy Burden*, 478.
[158] Young, *An Easy Burden*, 489-490.

King's life but boiled over following his assassination. In his *Jesse: The Life and Pilgrimage of Jesse Jackson*, Marshall Frady argues that Jesse Jackson was immensely ambitious and cultivated a close relationship with King. With respect to King, Jackson was "like a son with a father [King] who he was very proud of."[159] Jackson's efforts to establish an intimate relationship with King threatened Abernathy's position as King's successor. Although he believed Jackson to be a more likely successor to King due to his natural charisma and "willingness to seek the spotlight…", Abernathy eagerly succeeded King.[160] Jackson challenged Abernathy's succession to King in his response to the assassination. While King was bleeding out on the hotel balcony, Jackson spread King's blood on his shirt. The next day, Jackson appeared in an interview with The Today Show and claimed to have held King as he died.[161] This provoked the ire of Abernathy, who claimed to have been the one who held King as he died on the balcony.[162] When Abernathy became aware of Jackson's claims, Abernathy attributed Jackson's "story" to the trauma of witnessing King's death.[163] This conflict between each reverend's claims about their proximity to the dying body of King exemplified internal conflict between SCLC clergymen in determining King's successor in leading the SCLC. These tensions would later play a crucial role in the failure of the 1968 PPC.

Planning for the PPC began under King's direction in early 1968 following his visit to Marks, MS. After witnessing the town's devastating poverty, King decided to launch a nationally-oriented campaign to bring members of impoverished communities from across the country to Resurrection City, a tent city established adjacent to the U.S. Capitol.[164] The objective of this campaign was to force the U.S. Congress to address the systemic issue of poverty, and its intersections with racial discrimination by placing members of Congress in direct proximity with the poor. To realize this goal, the SCLC utilized mule trains and other forms of transportation to bring poor people from Marks, MS and other towns to Resurrection City. Internal conflict between clerical leaders of the SCLC surrounding the PPC's objectives existed before King's death. Although he helped lead the PPC, Bevel fundamentally opposed the campaign and thought that the Civil Rights movement should focus on protesting the Vietnam War.[165] For Bevel, international peace and an end to U.S. militarism was the most important consideration for the movement.[166] Jackson also criticized the campaign and claimed that the PPC would foster dependency on the government for welfare programs as a permanent solution to poverty.[167] Although King managed to quell these critiques and internal conflict in his initial planning for the PPC, his death opened a void through which conflict and disagreement between clerical leaders became more public and altered the course of the PPC.

Almost immediately after the establishment of Resurrection City on May 13th, 1968, internal conflict between Abernathy, Young, Bevel, and Jackson plagued the PPC's ability to resolve logistical crises that impeded the campaign's advancement. One of these conflicts occurred when Jackson took a large group of citizens from Resurrection City to the cafeteria of the U.S. Department of Agriculture building. After eating, Jackson charged all the meals to Resurrection City instead of paying for them at that moment.[168] Although the SCLC eventually paid for the meals, this move sowed further disagreement between its leaders. Abernathy directly linked this decision to Jackson's financial mismanagement, but Jackson claimed it was an example of why the PPC existed in the first place: "[to have the government] feed poor people some food."[169] This disagreement led to Abernathy's replacement of Jackson as the supervisor of Resurrection City. Conflict between Abernathy and Jackson exemplified increasingly-public disputes between clerical leaders of the SCLC surrounding the logistics and finances of the PPC,

[159] Frady, *Jesse: The Life and Pilgrimage of Jesse Jackson*, 223.
[160] Abernathy, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down*, 468.
[161] Frady, *Jesse: The Life and Pilgrimage of Jesse Jackson*, 232-33.
[162] Interview with Rev. Ralph Abernathy, conducted by Blackside, Inc. on November 6, 1985, for *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years (1954-1965)*, Washington University Libraries, Film and Media Archive, Henry Hampton Collection.
[163] Abernathy, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down*, 449.
[164] Nathan, "The 1968 Poor People's Campaign…Representing Poverty Nationally," 110-111.
[165] Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 358-9, 362
[166] Interview with Rev. James Bevel, conducted by Blackside, Inc. on November 13, 1987, for *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years (1954-1965)*, Washington University Libraries, Film and Media Archive, Henry Hampton Collection.
[167] Fairclough*, To Redeem the Soul of America*, 362.
[168] Abernathy, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down*, 522.
[169] For Abernathy's account of events, see Abernathy, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down*, 521-522. For Jackson's account, see Frady*, Jesse: The Life and Pilgrimage of Jesse Jackson*, 242-3.

which limited their efforts to unify the poor. Instead of articulating the demands of the PPC and negotiating with the appropriate officials, leaders like Young were forced to mediate conflicts within the ranks of the SCLC.[170] Exacerbated by power struggles and internal tensions, logistical issues surrounding the finances and organization of Resurrection City led to its demise after a little more than a month.[171]

The death of King was a major blow to the PPC. Despite an increase in public support for the campaign in the aftermath of King's murder, this Campaign failed to achieve substantive results and was disastrous for the continued work of the SCLC. Despite efforts to continue the movement like the 1969 Charleston Hospital Worker's Strike, the failure of the PPC created widespread disillusionment with the SCLC. As the SCLC attempted to rebound from the PPC, continuing conflict between each of the four ministers led to important personnel changes in the SCLC leadership. After years of frustrations with Bevel due to his eccentric style and autonomous operation, he was forced out of leadership in the SCLC in 1970. This decision occurred following his "bizarre" behavior at Spelman College, where he inappropriately lectured a group of female students in a hotel room for a weekend following an invitation to speak at Spelman's chapel.[172] In the wake of Bevel's release, Young "knew [he] was ready to leave the SCLC…[as] it was time to go in a new direction."[173] The years of conflict between Abernathy and Jackson culminated in 1971 in a major disagreement about Jackson's use of SCLC funds in directing his Chicago-based Operation Breadbasket. Abernathy's decision to suspend Jackson provoked Jackson's resignation from the SCLC in 1971.[174] With only Abernathy as the remaining member of the four ministers in leadership of the SCLC in 1971, the organization became a shell of what it was under King. Through the departures of these three ministers, the dormancy of the SCLC became definite and each minister sought other avenues by which the movement could be continued, eventually settling on the pursuit of political office.

Political Advocacy and the Continuation of the Movement

Following the death of King, each of the four clerical leaders of the SCLC continued to serve in similar positions of religious leadership within the SCLC under Abernathy. However, the failure of the PPC and internal conflicts of the power struggle following King's death motivated each leader to pursue political office to continue the Civil Rights movement and advance King's conception of civil rights advocacy. Although the timelines of each minister's campaigns for political office and the offices that they pursue varied, each minister viewed holding political office as the natural evolution of the Civil Rights movement instead of remaining in religious leadership of the SCLC.

Rev. Ralph Abernathy remained with the SCLC the longest of any of the four ministers. Despite its diminished capacity following the PPC and the departures of Bevel, Young, and Jackson, Abernathy directed the SCLC until he was asked to resign in 1976.[175] In considering whether to resign, Abernathy considered political office as a way to continue the work that he had done in leadership of the SCLC. Abernathy writes, "…I *wanted* to win. I wanted to go to Congress…because it was an opportunity to render greater service to our people."[176] Abernathy also included the lack of representation of African-Americans in political office as a motivation for his Congressional bid. Although Abernathy lost the election, he would continue in political advocacy by endorsing political candidates. In the 1980 presidential election, Abernathy endorsed Ronald Reagan, arguing that he would make a good president because he "had advocated and initiated job training programs to remove people from welfare…[which] conferred new dignity on people by providing work for them and teaching them valuable skills in the process."[177] Abernathy faced backlash for these endorsements from other reverends who had played key roles in the SCLC, especially Young and Jackson. Despite the effects of his endorsement of Reagan, Abernathy believed

[170] Young, *An Easy Burden*, 484.
[171] Abernathy, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down,* 534.
[172] Young, *An Easy Burden*, 503-504.
[173] Young, *An Easy Burden*, 507.
[174] Frady, *Jesse: The Life and Pilgrimage of Jesse Jackson*, 264-5.
[175] Abernathy, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down*, 579.
[176] Abernathy, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down,* 584.
[177] Abernathy, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down*, 589-590.

support for Reagan's economic policy would further the Civil Rights movement through the continued economic empowerment of African-Americans that had begun under King decades earlier.

Rev. Andrew Young further demonstrated the shift among clerical leaders of the SCLC from religious leadership of the Civil Rights movement in an organization to pursuit of political office following the death of King and disintegration of the SCLC. In the aftermath of the PPC, Young identified that the height of the SCLC's influence had passed, and that the organization needed new direction. Young also attributed the diminished capacity of the SCLC to the limitations of several other clerical leaders, especially Abernathy's poor leadership and Bevel's "lack of tact."[178] These difficulties motivated Young to seek opportunities beyond the SCLC to further advocate for an end to racial discrimination. Young settled on pursuit of political office and ran to represent Georgia's Fifth Congressional District in the House of Representatives in the 1970 election. Despite winning the Democratic nomination, Young lost in the general election to Fletcher Thompson. Young ran again in 1972 and won the election, becoming the first black U.S. Representative from Georgia since the Reconstruction.[179] After four years of serving in Congress, Young was appointed by newly-elected President Jimmy Carter to become the first black U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations (UN).[180]

Throughout his tenure in Congress and as the U.S. Ambassador to the UN, Young viewed his work as the next step in following his work with King and the SCLC in countering racial discrimination. In his first act as Ambassador to the UN, Young provoked significant criticism in his comments that claimed racism was a greater enemy to Black people than communism in the context of Cuban and American intervention in Angola.[181] This quote provoked backlash from many American politicians and calls for Young's resignation. Young's comments reflect his commitment to combating racism through political office as a continuation of the Civil Rights movement. Young would later characterize his political career as "…a natural culmination of so much we had worked for in the sixties. No objective of our Southern campaigns was more well-focused than our voter registration drives…our participation in the political system was more imperative. An active black electorate could preserve the gains that the people had won at such a dear price…"[182] Young distinctly connected his shift to political activism to the previous nonviolent noncooperative voting registration drives led by the SCLC across the South. As a Congressman and as Ambassador to the U.N., Young's conception of politics was rooted in continuing the movement begun by King and the SCLC in civil rights advocacy in the South on a wider scale.

Rev. James Bevel's career following the PPC reflected the common shift of clerical leaders of the SCLC from religious leadership of an organization to the pursuit of political office to further King's conception of Civil Rights. Bevel's scandalous conduct following the PPC quickly rendered him a pariah and prompted his general withdrawal from public life.[183] After more than a decade, Bevel began to eagerly pursue political office to continue his advocacy against U.S. militarism. In 1984, Bevel launched a campaign for Illinois' Seventh Congressional district. Although he lost the election, this campaign marked the beginnings of his attempts to win political office through associations with controversial figures like Lyndon LaRouche and Louis Farrakhan. In 1992, Bevel ran as the Vice Presidential candidate for LaRouche's presidential campaign. This campaign was little more than a fringe movement and garnered little electoral support. Bevel also worked with Louis Farrakhan, the controversial leader of the Nation of Islam, to organize the Million Man March on Washington in 1995.[184] Although Bevel's political advocacy and pursuit of office was less successful than that of either Abernathy or Young, Bevel still viewed politics as critical to the struggle for civil rights after King's death. Bevel's career in politics relied on nonviolent noncooperative protests like marches to demonstrate opposition to the injustices of militarism and segregation both

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[178] Young, *An Easy Burden*, 502-504.

[179] Young, *An Easy Burden*, 519.

[180] Carl Gardner, *Andrew Young: A Biography*, (New York: Drake Publishers, 1978), 49.

[181] Gardner, *Andrew Young: A Biography*, 49.

[182] Young, *An Easy Burden*, 507.

[183] Randy Kyrn, "Movement Revision Research Summary Regarding James Bevel," Fulfilling the Dream, Chicago Freedom Movement, 2005, http://cfm40.middlebury.edu/node/287.

[184] John Blake, *Children of the Movement: The sons and daughters of Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, Elijah Muhammad, George Wallace, Andrew Young, Julian Bond, Stokely Carmichael, Bob Moses, James Chaney, Elaine Brown, and others reveal how the civil rights movement tested and transformed their families*, (Chicago: Lawrence Books, 2004), 9.

within America and abroad. Bevel's shift to political advocacy in the 1980s and 1990s further exemplified the trend of past clerical leaders of the SCLC to pursuit of political office to continue civil rights activism.

Rev. Jesse Jackson's shift towards furthering the civil rights movement through political office began in the years following his resignation from the SCLC in 1971. Immediately after issuing his resignation, Jackson replaced the work of the SCLC-led Operation Breadbasket in Chicago with People United to Save Humanity, otherwise known as Operation PUSH.[185] Operation PUSH initially retained much of the same personnel as Operation Breadbasket and shared a similar focus on the economic empowerment of African-Americans through negotiations with major companies like Coca-Cola and the Miller Brewing Company. These negotiations led to a significant financial investment in African-American communities, but Operation PUSH struggled to expand and remained largely invisible in the public eye.[186] Under Jackson's leadership, Operation PUSH combated these limitations through a greater emphasis on political advocacy within Chicago. Through voter mobilization drives and fundraising programs, PUSH broadened its focus beyond economic empowerment of African-Americans to supporting candidates in elections in Chicago and beyond. Through this process, Jackson realized the importance of black representation and influence within national politics in furthering the advocacy for greater social equality that had begun under the work of King and the SCLC. Jackson's successes in reshaping electoral politics in Chicago towards more representation of racial minorities directly inspired his later pursuit of political office to continue King's civil rights advocacy on a national level.

Jackson's pursuit of political office was essential to his continued activism for King's vision of racial justice. In the 1980s, Jackson became a rising figure within the Democratic Party and ran for the party's presidential nomination in both 1984 and 1988. Although Jackson did not win the nomination in either campaign, he garnered wide support from impoverished people across the U.S. and played a critical role in efforts to defeat the Republican nominees in both elections. During each campaign, Jackson deliberately used his oratorical skill to express visions of justice that fused populist politics with religious allusions, which would later become known as "gospel populism."[187] This rhetorical style relied heavily on biblical allusions that compared the differences between Democrats and Republicans to that of Jesus and Herod. Jackson argued, "Liberation is inherently a *liberal* process. Moses, Jesus, they were the liberals and Pharaoh, Herod, Pilate, ole Nero, they were the conservatives."[188]Jackson's "gospel populism" connected to King's civil rights activism through its emphasis on Biblical allusions and the Christian theological context of struggle for justice and liberation. Jackson further employed gospel populism as a tool to unite different peoples in overcoming division and oppression, evident in his speech at the 1984 Democratic Nomination Convention. In his speech, Jackson asserted that "…we are all precious in God's sight…We are much too intelligent…much too victimized by racism, sexism, militarism, and anti-Semitism…to go on divided from one another. We *must* come together!"[189] Jackson's dedication to gospel populist politics during his two presidential campaigns demonstrate his belief in politics as a natural progression for the Civil Rights movement, especially King's commitments to nonviolent protest within a Christian context.

Conclusion

The assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. on April 4th, 1968 radically altered the trajectory of the Civil Rights movement and deeply affected the lives of contemporary clerical leaders of the SCLC. I argue that in the aftermath of King's assassination, clergymen of the SCLC briefly continued to serve in religious leadership of the Civil Rights movement through involvement with the SCLC-led PPC before pursuing political office to further advance their versions of King's conception of Christian civil rights advocacy. Religious leadership of the Civil Rights movement following the death of King meant completing the projects and programs that King had initiated before his death, most importantly the PPC of 1968. Long-standing tensions between each of the four ministers

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[185] Frady, *Jesse: The Life and Pilgrimage of Jesse Jackson*, 265.
[186] Frady, Jesse: *The Life and Pilgrimage of Jesse Jackson*, 280.
[187] Frady, *Jesse: The Life and Pilgrimage of Jesse Jackson*, 46.
[188] Frady, Jesse: *The Life and Pilgrimage of Jesse Jackson*, 47.
[189] Jackson, Jesse. "1984 Democratic Convention Address," July 18, 1984, San Francisco, CA, MP3, 43:53, American Rhetoric, https://americanrhetoric.com/speeches/jessejackson1984dnc.htm.

eventually boiled over into open conflict, which limited the success of the Poor People' Campaign and led to the end of the SCLC. As the SCLC collapsed, each of the four reverends that I examined turned directly to politics to further Civil Rights advocacy. This shift towards politics included both campaigns for political office and in endorsing candidates. Although these four reverends had varying successes in politics, each viewed politics as the natural evolution of the Civil Rights movement and as the avenue to bring about their conceptions of King's vision of Civil Rights advocacy.

To expand this study, I would conduct a quantitative analysis of the involvement of black church leaders throughout the South in civil rights advocacy. This study would reveal the myriad of ways in which "the Black church" is not a monolith, but instead contained important ideological divisions that continue to shape the Black American religious experience. My study is important in analyzing the Black clergymen with the highest positions of leadership in the SCLC, but a quantitative study would examine the extent to which the shift from religious leadership to political campaigns was embraced as a national pattern among black clergy. One question for further research on this subject could be about the role of the black church throughout the evolution of the Black Lives Matter movement. It is my hope that further examination of this subject within contemporary political protests would reveal potential continuities and evolutions in the roles of black clergymen within advocacy and progressive activism in the United States.

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Religious and Ethnic Motivations for the Philhellenic Movement during the Greek Revolution
By Peter Roberts

Philhellenism

Beyond the bright days of philosophy, science, math, and military valor, more contemporary Greek history is largely unknown to the public outside of academia in Western nations. To the Greeks however, every moment from ancient Mycenae to the recent debt crisis, is a central part of their national identity, none perhaps more so than the 1821 Revolution. In this war, the first unified Greek nation in history gained its independence from the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish nation that had conquered Hellas[190] and her islands after taking the Byzantine capital of Constantinople in 1453. For such a significant moment in the history of Greece, why is it that this war is seldom taught or known in much of the West, especially given the fact that Classical Greek history, politics, and philosophy have remained a core part of western education for centuries? Interestingly, during the time of the Revolution itself, the West was acutely aware of the dynamic happenings in Greece. The Greek Revolution was a subject of great debates, powerful sympathies, and in a few cases, even direct military intervention by European nations and the United States. Great Britain, France, and Russia all contributed to the Greek war effort directly. The United States came close, but eventually resolved to remain uninvolved, preferring an isolationist foreign policy. This stance did not stop private American citizens and organizations from contributing to Greek independence with money, supplies, and in some cases, fighters and doctors. In fact, there were volunteers from all over Europe and the Americas fighting with the Greeks.

These global powers, private individuals, and groups deeply identified with the Greek struggle and recognized Greece as a foundation for their governmental structure, philosophical beliefs, and education, largely as a result of the Enlightenment Period. Enlightenment thinkers reevaluated texts from the Classical Greek era and rediscovered democracy, as more and more thinkers like John Locke and Jacques Rousseau began to value the individual freedoms over monarchs. People who resonated with and supported Greek independence for these reasons were a part of the spreading philhellenic movement, as their writings, art, and debates would hearken all the way back to Ancient Greek thought for justification. Just as important, however, was the fact that the Greeks were white Europeans. Not only were they white Europeans, they were Christians, and under the yoke of an Islamic power. International philhellenes supported the Greeks not just because of Greece's cultural significance, but many viewed the Greek Revolution as a new holy war, wherein oppressed Christians were rising up to strike down their savage heathen masters from the East. While some scholars have dismissed the religious and ethnic factors as irrelevant compared to the Greek cultural significance, I argue that these factors were at least as important to philhellenes as the cultural one. To demonstrate the importance of ethnic and religious affiliation for international philhellenic support of the Greek revolutionaries, I analyze artwork and poetry created by international philhellenes that frequently portrayed the Turks were frequently shown as brutish savages, while depicting the Greeks as righteous and faithful. I examine publications from Western governments and influential citizenry to demonstrate similar themes and thoughts in the political realm.

The Serbian Revolution

Some scholars contend that the philhellenic philosophical sympathies were the only reasons why the West supported Greece. An article from 1927 by Edward Mead Earle suggests that the racial and religious components to western support for the Greek Revolution were negligible compared to the cultural sympathies of philhellenic thought. He points out that the Serbian Revolution had been fought a few years prior, and pockets of fighting continued in Serbia throughout the duration of the Greek Revolution. Yet the Serbians had failed to garner the type of support from the US and the European powers that the Greek Revolution had, despite the fact that the Serbians were also white Christians revolting against the Ottomans.[191] Most powers either ignored it completely or expressed support for the Ottomans, preferring a maintaining of the status quo for peace's sake. Earle credits all of the western support for

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[190] The term Hellas is the Latinized version of the Greek word for Greece, Ἑλλάς. It is from this word that the word 'hellenic' comes from, which is important considering the nature of this work as an exploration of philhellenism.
[191] Edward Mead Earle, "American Interest in the Greek Cause, 1821-1827," *The American Historical Review* 33, no. 1 (1927): 44-63. doi:10.2307/1838110.

Greece to cultural philhellenism, as it is the only tangible difference between the Serbian and Greek wars in the eyes of the western spectators.

It must be remembered, however, that the Serbians are Slavic, and Slavs were seen in those days as a lesser race. They were lumped together with the other non-German, Latin, and Anglo-Saxon races, such as Turks, Poles, Arabs etc. Joseph Roucek notes that "from about 1820 to 1880 there was a constant flow of immigrants from Europe… classified as 'Old Immigrants,' [they] were primarily Northern Europeans; they tended to be Protestant in religion and to resemble in other cultural aspects the dominant national pattern."[192] The Slavs, though they had white skin, were drastically different in culture and religion. Slavic peoples remained pagan longer than the German, French, and British regions of Europe, converting in the 10th century with Vladimir the Great. Slavic territories had also been occupied by Mongols in the Dark Ages, and later the Ottomans, limiting Slavic influence in and exposure to the Western world. As a result, the thought and philosophy of Slavs had also not been acknowledged very much, if at all, during the Enlightenment, whereas Ancient Greek contribution was prized and celebrated. The Greeks would also eventually be seen in the United States as belonging to these lesser races, but that would happen when they began immigrating to America in large numbers during the late 19th and into the 20th centuries.[193] During the time of the revolution, however, their race was valued and admired.

As other sources used in this research will demonstrate, the Greeks were a race that was celebrated and admired in the decades leading up to and during the revolution. These sources, such as statesman Webster's 1822 speech and the responses to it, and philhellenic poetry demonstrate an irrefutable air of respect for the Greeks as an ethnic group. There are, of course, exceptions to this rule, but during the era of revolutions in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the Greeks were highly respected as a race that lived up to the legacy of the Greeks of old. In his study, *Hellenes & Hellions*, Alexander Karanikas takes note of dozens of plays composed in the United States with plots and characters based on the idea of a modern free Greece, some of these plays predated the actual revolution by a few years, while others were written during or after.[194] The abundance of these plays shows that the plight of the Greek was a popular theme in the States, and Karanikas notes that Isaac Goldberg wrote in review of one of these plays that "the characters are 'virtually Americans, and Greece itself is described in terms but slightly altered from the famous line of the virginal Star Spangled Banner.'"[195] While Goldberg intended this as a criticism of the lack of a distinct Greek identity in the characters, this portrayal provides a valuable insight as to the perceptions of the Greeks as a race. If American playwrights depicted Greek characters almost exactly as they would American characters, this is a clear demonstration of the fact that Greeks were seen as a race equal to Anglo-Saxon whites.

Samuel Gridley Howe, an American doctor who sailed to Greece to aid in the Greek war effort wrote extensively on his experiences and his opinions of Greece and its people upon his return. He admits that they have some flaws, in that they are prone to taking advantage of travelers by extorting money from them, and that Greeks from various regions can have a variety of negative traits such as greed, hypocrisy, rudeness, cruelty, and fickleness depending on the area they hail from.[196] He believed they learned and adapted this nature after centuries of cruelty endured from the Turks however, and could not speak highly enough of the Greek race. He writes that he was "surprised at finding *so much* national spirit, and *so much* virtue among them," and that he waited "confidently for the day, when they will show themselves worthy of their glorious descent."[197] He must have already had a positive view of Greeks racially if he was willing to sail across the world and put his own life in danger to aid their fight and heal their wounded. His experiences during the war only served to strengthen his ideas of the contemporary noble Greeks.

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[192]Joseph S. Roucek, "The Image of the Slav in U.S. History and in Immigration Policy," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 28, no. 1 (1969): 29-48, www.jstor.org/stable/3485555.

[193] For further reading on this, please see Roediger's *Working Toward Whiteness* (New York: Basic Books, 2005). For a comprehensive early 20th century perspective on Greek immigration and the Greeks as a race, see Henry Pratt Fairchild's *Greek Immigration to the United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911). This work in particular claims that the modern Greek is nothing like his ancestors, as a result of centuries of interbreeding with Turks, Arabs, and other Oriental and African races.

[194] Alexander Karanikas, *Hellenes & Hellions: Modern Greek Characters in American Literature* (Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1981), 7-8.

[195] Isaac Goldberg, as quoted in Karanikas, *Hellenes & Hellions*, 8.

[196] Samuel Gridley Howe, *An Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution* (New York, 18280), xxii-xxiii.

[197] Howe, *An Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution* (New York, 1828), vi.

Meanwhile, Slavs were looked down on as savage, barbarous, and uncultured, not unlike the Turks and other non-white races. This viewpoint is a common theme in the Western sphere regarding Slavs, and goes back several centuries before this specific point in history. A printing from 1561 Nuremberg, then in the Holy Roman Empire, depicts Russians as murderous and evil. The image shows Russian soldiers during the Livonian War, which was still raging at the time, firing arrows into already hanged women for sport. Their corpses are suspended above a mass grave full of what appears to be children. The Nuremberg publication responsible for this depiction obviously did not think the Russians to be a very civilized group if they so easily accepted that they were carrying out acts of cruelty such as these.

During the time of the American Revolution, an American named John Ledyard undertook a journey from Paris, through several European cities, Russia, Siberia, and Asia, hoping to find a continuous path to the Americas. He recorded his journey and his observations. He recorded that

The nice gradation by which I pass from civilization to incivilzation appears in everything; in manners, dress, language; and particularly that remarkable and important circumstance, *colour*… I think the same of *feature*. I see here the large mouth, the thick lip, the broad flat nose, as well as in Africa. I see also in the same village as great a difference of complexion- from the fair hair, fair skin, and white eyes, to the olive, the black jetty hair and eyes… I have frequently observed in Russian villages, obscure and dirty, mean and poor, that women… paint their faces, both red and white… The contour of their manners is Asiatic, and not European.[198]

Larry Wolff notes that Ledyards "gradation" "was essential to the Enlightenment's construction of Eastern Europe" and that "the markings on his graded ruler of civilization were those of the itinerary he had sketched in Paris: to Brussels, Cologne, Berlin, Warsaw, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kamchatka… from west to east, from civilization to incivilization. Manners were first on the list of factors that measured the degree of civilization, but Ledyard added emphasis to the other factors of 'Colour' and 'Feature,' the variables of race."[199] Ledyard believed that the further east he traveled, the more barbaric and less civilized the peoples he encountered became. He had recorded these thoughts and observations in the 1790s, and the words quoted above were reprinted in 1834 in London, suggesting that these ideas had seen a resurgence in popularity abroad, or at least that they had remained influential.

Why the Greeks Revolted

After the collapse of the Roman Empire in the West in 476 CE, the Eastern Roman Empire, which encompassed Greece, Anatolia, Egypt, the Levant, and parts of North Africa, continued for another thousand years. The Eastern Roman Empire, which would later be referred to by historians as the Byzantine Empire, was dealt its mortal blow after centuries of warfare and hardship in 1453, when the Turkish Ottoman Empire took the capital city of Constantinople after a two month siege. The Greek islands and mainland would soon follow.

The Ottomans were similar to other Islamic states of the Middle Ages in their stance on religious minorities. Pagans were expelled, converted, or killed, but Christians and Jews were recognized as worshippers of the same God and allowed to live amongst Muslims, albeit as second class citizens. These citizens were barred from holding offices, did not have the same rights as Muslim citizens, and had to pay extra taxes. Unique to Ottoman Christian minorities, however, they also had to contribute to a system of military recruitment known as *devshirme*. In this system, a government official would travel to Christian villages and neighborhoods, and forcibly take boys from the local families to be trained for the Janissary Corps, the personal guards and elite infantry of the Sultan himself. These boys were taught Muslim theology and complete loyalty to the Sultan. Initially, this policy was carried out ruthlessly, with orders such as that from Sultan Mehmed III in 1601 which stated: "The infidel parents or anybody else who resists the surrender of their janissary sons are to be hanged at once in front of their house-gate, their blood being considered

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[198] John Ledyard, *Travels and Adventures of John Ledyard; Comprising his Voyage with Capt. Cook's Third and Last Expedition; His Journey on Foot 1300 Miles Round the Gulf of Bothnia to St. Petersburg; His Adventures and Residence in Siberia; and his Exploratory Mission to Africa* (London: R. Bentley Booksellers, 1834), 264.

[199] Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), 345-346.

of no importance whatsoever."[200] This cruel system had all but died out by the time of the Greek Revolution, and many Christian families during the time it was practiced saw it as a way for their children to escape a life of poverty and earn some glory and a reputation. Still, historian David Brewer notes that it was the "capricious inhumanity of the system that was forever associated in Greek minds with the centuries of Turkish rule."[201]

Religious persecution was also a pressing concern among Greeks. The Sultanate allowed the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese to continue to function, and even extended it some power that it had not had during the Byzantine era but at the expense of the Archdiocese' independence.[202] Priests and officials that did not carry out the will of the government were removed.[203] The Sultan used the church as a tool to keep his Christian subjects in line. It was also common practice for someone wishing to advance through the ranks in the church to have to bribe an Ottoman official for support first, often leading to extortion, as officials would require higher and higher bids from competing priests for offices within the church. Ancient churches, such as Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, were converted to mosques, and church-heads increasingly fell under the influence of the state, similar to the situation of the Russian Orthodox Church in the twentieth century. Historian Molly Greene states "patriarchs had to struggle hard to impose their authority on and maintain the loyalty of bishops, who, often as not, considered their primary allegiance to be to the sultan rather than to the patriarch."[204] High officials in the church were often loyal to the Ottoman Porte first, and the church second.

Taxation policies, however, truly drove the Greek people to war more than any other issue. Greek peasantry often worked as tenant farmers on land owned by an Ottoman aristocrat and had to pay tithes in addition to the non-Muslim headtax. These taxes progressively increased throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, eventually resulting in entire village populations relocating to areas where tithing rates were not as steep.[205] This practice led to areas with incredibly low populations, and even more exploitation of the remaining people to keep tax income coming in.

<p style="text-align:center">International Perspective</p>

In the post-Enlightenment era, the philhellenic attitude began to manifest itself in the academic and political world. There was a renewed focus on Ancient Greek texts and a widespread idealizing of Greek democracy as being the best and most humanitarian way to run a society, as compared to more absolutist monarchies of early modern Europe. The Enlightenment and the philhellenic movement led to an era of revolutions across the globe as more and more people saw that one person had too much power in their nation and wanted to give more to the citizenry. These movements had a resounding impact all the way into today, as revolutions are still cropping up for the very same reasons. Post-Enlightenment thinkers saw a piece of themselves in the democracy and philosophy of Ancient Greece, so had a deep and emotional response when learning of the state of modern Greece.

Following the initial uprisings in the Peloponnese in 1821, the Turks put pressure on the leader of Greek Orthodox Christians, Patriarch Gregorios of Constantinople, to do everything in his power to bring those of his flock back under his control. In an article from *The Religious Intelligencer*, a Christian publication from Connecticut that ran for several years during the early 19th century, Gregorios "solemnly proclaimed… the curse and ban of the Church against all the Greeks who attempted to withdraw from the Turkish yoke," and "had (probably by compulsion) made use of the Holy Gospel to impress upon the Greeks that their Turkish Governors were appointed by God."[206] Despite his efforts, the attacks on Ottoman forces continued, and the Ottoman authorities had him executed in April of 1821 on Easter Sunday. According to the *Intelligencer*, Turkish soldiers seized Gregorios and other clergy under him, as

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[200] David Brewer, *The Greek War of Independence* (Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press, 2001), 11.

[201] Brewer, *The Greek War of Independence*, 11.

[202] The Byzantine emperor ruled a mostly religiously homogeneous population (there were Muslims and Jews, but the emperor directly oversaw them) and thus did not have to use a separate authoritative entity to manage religious minorities.

[203] Merry Weisner-Hanks, *Early Modern Europe 1450-1789* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 428.

[204] Molly Greene, *Minorities in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, NJ. Markus Wiener Publishers. 2005), 4.

[205] Brewer, *The Greek War of Independence*, 9.

[206] Nathan Whiting, "Greece," *The Religious Intelligencer* (New Haven, Connecticut: 1821), 148.

well as members of his congregation in or on their way to the chapel, imprisoning or killing them.[207] Grigorios was hanged on the front gate of the church that served as the headquarters of all of Greek Orthodoxy, which remains welded shut to this day in remembrance. His body remained there for three days, before it was given to the Jews of the city, who (likely under duress) dragged it through the streets and threw it into the sea.[208]

The Protestant West generally viewed Orthodox Christianity as superstitious and backwards, yet American publications treat Gregorios with respect and his death with such solemnity. A Scottish theologian wrote in 1845 that the Greek Church was "sunk in idolatrous error and superstition" and "exhibits little to gratify the mind of him who is enlightened by the oracles of God."[209] Despite these sentiments, the *Intelligencer* uses strong words such as "deplorable" and "murder" to illustrate the moral failure on the part of the Turks, words like "venerable" to describe the Patriarch, and goes on to say "it is certain that this execution will excite the utmost desperation among the Christians throughout Greece."[210] This American Protestant work recognized the vast importance of the Patriarch of Constantinople to the Church of the East and expressed sympathy toward the Greeks as fellow Christians, while condemning the Turks as murderous infidels.

The Russians, which shared a similar Orthodox Christian religion, were unsurprisingly enraged by this as well. After the execution, Kapodistrias, a Greek who served Russia as Foreign Minister, wrote an ultimatum to the Ottomans on behalf of Tsar Alexander. In it, "The Turks were accused of insulting the Orthodox faith, proscribing Russia's fellow Christians, breaking Russo-Turkish treaties, and… 'threatening to disturb the peace that Europe has bought at so great a sacrifice.'"[211] In this ultimatum, Russia claimed to have more support from the Christian nations of the West and said that unless their demands were met, they would go to war on behalf of the Greeks. The Tsar, upon finding out that the body of the patriarch had been recovered by a Greek vessel and had been taken to Odessa, ordered a funeral ceremony "conducted with every elaboration of ritual and every mark of respect."[212]

One of the bloodiest events of the war, and the one that perhaps earned Greece the most sympathy from the West was the Massacre of Chios in 1822. Rebels from the nearby island of Samos traveled to Chios to gather support. While most Chians were not inclined to support the revolution, as Chios was then a wealthy trading port within the Ottoman Empire and had no reason to worsen relations with their Turkish lords, a few did and proceeded to attack Ottoman strongholds on the island. Chios is only a few mere miles from the Turkish mainland--the Turkish coast can easily be seen from the eastern half of the island--and so the Ottomans were quick and ruthless in their response. About 40,000 Ottoman troops landed on the island, with orders to raze the towns and kill every child under three years old, every male over twelve, and every woman over forty unless she were to convert to Islam. Brewer writes that the original population of the island had been roughly 100-120 thousand, and after the massacres there were about eighteen to twenty thousand remaining, the difference all slain, sold into slavery, or escaped. Some estimates even put the number of survivors as low as two thousand.[213] The island would never fully recover from these events, its status as a Mediterranean trading power ruined. People hiding in monasteries were put to the sword, the monasteries looted and burned. Nea Moni, the most famous monastery on Chios, has recovered bones from the massacre that took place there and displays them today in solemn remembrance (Photo taken by author at Nea Moni, Chios). Entire villages were destroyed or abandoned in the bloodshed.

International outrage over the massacre was immense. Theophilus Prousis, in a study of the Russian response to the Greek struggle writes "The name of Chios became familiar to the world at large as a result of the vengeance exacted by the Turks. The incident gave fresh impetus to the wave of European philhellenism."[214] One of the most

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[207] Whiting, "Greece." *The Religious Intelligencer*, 148.

[208] Brewer, *The Greek War of Independence*, 104-105.

[209] Daniel Dewe, *The Church: Or A Comprehensive View of the Doctrines, Constitution, Government, and Ordinances of the Church and the Leading Denominations into which it is Divided* (Glasgow, Scotland: Macgregor, Polson, & Company, 1845), 836.

[210] Whiting, "Greece," *The Religious Intelligencer*, 148.

[211] Brewer, *The Greek War of Independence*, 107.

[212] Brewer, *The Greek War of Independence*, 106.

[213] Brewer, *The Greek War of Independence*, 165.

[214] Theophilus Prousis, "Russian Philorthodox Relief During The Greek War Of Independence", *History Faculty Publications* (United States: University of North Florida, 1985), 39.

famous examples of philhellenic response to the Chios Massacres is the painting *Scenes from the Massacre of Chios* (see below). Painted in 1824 by renowned French artist Eugene Delacroix, it shows a bleak scene that uses dark colors to illustrate a frightened and dangerous mood. On the right, a mounted Turkish soldier callously looks down on islanders who reach up to him, begging for mercy. Around him, a claustrophobic scene of sick, dead, and wounded Greeks unfolds as children scream and reach for their dead parents and the dying cast thousand-yard stares into the distance, accepting whatever comes next.

The only discernible difference between the Greeks and the Turks in this work is in their attire, wherein the Turks wear Turbans and elegant robes and are distinct from the mostly naked Greeks. While it is arguable that this shows that the French did not put as much emphasis on race as other European countries and the United States, this painting is still very powerfully and emotionally charged, and gives an insight into how the French viewed this tragedy.[215] The Turks are shown as inhuman and monstrous, completely indifferent to the suffering at hand, while the Greeks, shown naked and in agony, are innocents. This contrast is a common propagandizing strategy, and has been done countless times throughout history. Showing the enemy as inhuman and incapable of emotion is an excellent way of getting an audience ready and willing to fight them, especially when this enemy is not of the same race. The painting was displayed with some of Delacroix's other works in a gallery in Paris. *Scenes from the Massacre of Chios* is unlike other works of this period in France, in that it lacks a clear hero or celebrates a glorious moment. It only shows the suffering of innocents at the hands of their tormentors, and for this reason, it was heavily criticized in France as being pro-Turkish, or at least anti-Greek, as it showed no promise of salvation or deliverance for the Greeks. There was no hopeful message of impending victory or justice to be found, only despair, and this angered many French critics.[216]

American and British poets wrote numerous works in response to the Massacre as well, sharing the same sentiments, and appealing to the greater calling of Christianity to support Greece. One poem, published in 1834 by Lydia Huntley Sigourney called "The Martyr of Scio" follows a family that is confronted by an Ottoman soldier looking for loot.[217] The soldier orders the man of the family to hand over his treasures, and he responds "My birthright

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[215] Some sources say that some critics of the work even claimed that it was pro-Turkish. While Delacroix was a philhellene and expressed this with his work, this criticism shows that the French were especially outraged by the massacre and would lash out at anything they perceived as possibly anti-Greek or pro-Ottoman.

[216] The Open University, "Delacroix- Classic or Romantic?" *3.7 Massacre of Chios- A Critical Stir*.

[217] Lydia Sigourney, "The Martyr of Scio", *Poems* (Philadelphia, USA: 1834), 154-56, in *Greek Revolution and the American Muse: A Collection of Philhellenic Poetry 1821-1828*, ed. Alexander Papas and Marios Bryon Raizis

was the faith/ of Jesus Christ, which thou hast stolen away/ With hollow words…". The Turk responds "'The faith of the Moslem, or the saber stroke,/ Chose thee, young Greek!'" The man chooses death and is slain in front of his family. The cruelty of the soldier in this poem is another obvious portrayal of the Muslim Turk as savage murderers and reminder to the audience that the Greeks are fellow Christians under the rule of these oppressive Ottomans.

A copy of *Scenes From the Massacre at Chios*, displayed on Chios in the islands Byzantine Museum. The painting had been taken down in 2009 as part of a program to improve Turkish relations, but was put back up after complaints from the public. Photo taken by author at Byzantine Museum of Chios, 2019.

Another poem from the same collection written by an anonymous Englishman and published in 1822 simply called "Scio" is rife with Christian references and portrayal of Turks as savages.[218] One portion reads "Barbarian hands have smote thee [Chios]- In the/ hour/ Of peace their rushing wrath swept o'er the land." This poet plainly calls the Turks barbarians. Another verse referencing the suffering of the people of Chios reads, "This England saw, and felt not!-Christian/ land! / She saw the cross dishonor'd and the fires/ Of Christian temples quench'd in Christian/ blood; / And yet she felt not! Or her only thought/ Was how to cruch, by secret, cruel arts, / The spirit calling for revenge in Greece!" Great Britain had not yet gotten involved when this poem was written. The British government, though it sympathized with the Greeks, initially favored peace and maintaining the status quo of power in Europe. Pressure from various philhellenic groups, the populace, and officials would eventually bring Britain into the war, but this shift was unbeknownst to the poet at the time. For this, the outraged poet accuses the crown of seeking to stamp out "The spirit calling for revenge in Greece," and for failing to live up to the Christian name by allowing the transgressions of the Ottomans go unpunished. The poem goes on to remark on how lamentable England has become, that it has not leapt to the aid of Greece following the destruction of the Christians of Chios.

There are several other examples of poetry following these themes that are not in reference to the Chios Massacre or any other specific events, but are still proposed as rallying calls to action for a western audience. In 1827, a poet who fittingly refers to himself as Leonidas published a poem titled "Ode--The Cause of Greece."[219] In it are

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(Thessaloniki, Greece: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1972), 116-118. The word "Scio" is the Genoese way of saying Chios. The Genoese had occupied the island for centuries prior to the Ottomans taking it.

[218] Anonymous, "Scio", *The Salem Gazette* XXXVI, No. 70 (London, September 10, 1822), in *Greek Revolution and the American Muse: A Collection of Philhellenic Poetry 1821-1828*, ed. Alexander Papas and Marios Bryon Raizis (Thessaloniki, Greece: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1972), 122-123.

[219] Leonidas, "Ode-The Cause of Greece," *The Album, and Ladies' Weekly Gazette*, I, No. 35 (Philadelphia: January 31, 1827), 8, in *Greek Revolution and the American Muse: A Collection of Philhellenic Poetry 1821-1828*, ed. Alexander Papas and Marios Bryon Raizis (Thessaloniki, Greece: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1972), 21.

several lines that refer to looting Muslim territory, and the last two lines of it read "Greece shall soon feel her wasting strength renew'd/ And deep in Moslem blood our hands shall be imbued." This poem clearly illustrates a deep animosity for Islam and a desire to exact vengeance for the suffering of the Christians of Greece. Yet another poem by an anonymous author entitled "Greece" is loaded with Christian references, calls to action against Islam, and even directly references the Crusades![220] "Thou whose lion prince of yore, / Led to war the mighty men, / Who on Palestina's shore, / Smote the turban'd Saracen: / Oh! If Mindful of your name, / Ne'er you wish one blot to light/ On your stainless wreath of fame, / Charge upon the Islamite." The poet directly appeals to those of Anglo heritage in Britain and America by reminding them of the legendary English ruler King Richard the Lionheart and his Crusade in Jerusalem. This reminder serves to hearken back to the days when men from England and all over Europe waged war in the name of Christ, and the poet hopes that this will serve to motivate the still Christian men of the Christendom to fight the same (only in regards to faith and a few cultural aspects) enemy that Richard fought centuries ago, that they might live up to the memory of their ancestors and not dishonor their name by letting their sacrifices go in vain.

Philhellenic politicians also expressed support whenever possible, and some even tried to get their nations directly involved in the war effort. It may be a surprise to learn that even Haiti had considered joining the war effort, but was unable to. Haiti had recently earned her own independence from France, and was unfortunately experiencing economic hardship due to a lack of trade partners, as none of the European powers nor the US wanted to have a new nation that was run by former slaves as a trading partner. This fact did not concern the Greeks, however, who desperately needed the support and looked everywhere they could for it. A group of Greeks in Paris seeking international support wrote to Jean-Pierre Boyer, the then president of Haiti, asking for his aid. Boyer sent them a response letter in 1822. E.G Sideris, who studied this letter and published an English translation along with his own analysis, writes that these Greeks saw inspiration for their own cause in the successful Haitian revolt, wherein oppressed slaves discarded their chains and threw their masters off of their land.[221] It remains unclear how race factored into the Greeks' calculation in requesting Haitian support, but it is a question that deserves further consideration and scrutiny beyond the confines of this paper. However, the oppression that the Haitians endured before obtaining their own independence may have resonated with the Greeks and their own suffering at the hands of the Ottomans. In the letter, Boyer writes

> Wishing to Heavens to protect the descendants of Leonidas, we thought to assist these brave warriors, if not with military forces and ammunition, at least with money… But events that have occurred and imposed financial restrictions onto our country absorbed the entire budget, including the part that could be disposed by our administration...If the circumstances, as we wish, improve again, then we shall honorably assist you, the sons of Hellas, to the best of our abilities.[222]

Boyer fills his letter with moving allusion to the glory of the past of Greece, but his appeal to the heavens should not be overlooked. Haiti, still having a very French culture despite just earning their independence from France, remained heavily Catholic and willing to fight for their fellow Christians in Greece had they the funds to do so. Later on in the letter, Boyer also refers to the recipients of his letter as "Citizens" of Greece, implying recognition of Greek sovereignty and technically making Haiti the first nation to recognize the state of Greece. Today, according to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Relations between Greece and Haiti are strong despite the geographical distance, as...Haiti was the first government of an independent state that recognized Greece's liberation from Ottoman rule in 1821."[223]

The United States government came close to intervening in the war, thanks to campaigning from sympathetic philhellenic politicians. Daniel Webster, a congressman representing Massachusetts, delivered a speech to Congress

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[220] Anonymous, "Greece", *The Philadelphia Monthly Magazine*, I (January 15, 1828), in *Greek Revolution and the American Muse: A Collection of Philhellenic Poetry 1821-1828*, ed. Alexander Papas and Marios Bryon Raizis (Thessaloniki, Greece: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1972), 31-33.

[221] E.G Sideris, A.A Konsta, "A Letter from Jean-Pierre Boyer to Greek Revolutionaries," *Journal of Haitian Studies*, Vol. 11, No.1 (Spring 2005), 167-171.

[222] Jean Pierre Boyer, "LIBERTE (The Flag) Egalite," (Haiti, 1822), in E.G Sideris, A.A Konsta, "A Letter from Jean-Pierre Boyer to Greek Revolutionaries," *Journal of Haitian Studies*, Vol. 11, No.1 (Spring 2005), 167-171.

[223] Hellenic Republic, "Haiti," *Bilateral Relations* (Athens, Greece: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019) https://www.mfa.gr/en/blog/greece-bilateral-relations/haiti/.

in 1824, calling for the United States to contribute economic and military aid to Greece, by first sending an agent to survey the situation and determining how best to help. Having won American independence only a few decades prior, and fighting the Ottomans in the Barbary Wars very recently, it was not out of the realm of possibility that the United States government might send assistance to an area rife with cultural and trade implications. In his speech, Webster states that the dominion of the Ottoman Empire over Greece is complete, and incompatible with the western concept of conquest. To illustrate this, he claims that a western conquest would not

> imply a never-ending bondage imposed upon the conquered, a perpetual mark, and opprobrious distinction between them and their masters; a bitter and unending persecution of their religion; an habitual violation of the rights of person and property, and unrestrained indulgence towards them, of every passion which belongs to the character of a barbarous soldiery. Yet, such is the fate of Greece.[224]

There is an (unintended) element of irony in Webster's statement, as future United States conquests would look strikingly similar to this, not to mention that the treatment of slaves in the United States modeled many of these conditions, but for now it is important to note that he describes Ottoman rule not only as unjust, but also "barbarous."

Webster goes on to express a disdain for Islam when he states "the religious and civil code of the [Ottoman] state, being both fixed in the Alcoran [Koran], and equally the object of an ignorant and furious faith, have been found equally incapable of change." He follows this up by saying that this is a direct cause of Christian suffering within the empire, and that the suffering felt by the Greek Christians is the worst of all of the injustices of the world, because the Greeks are a superior and enlightened people ruled by barbarians.[225] Webster wanted the United States to intervene because there were fellow Christians and members of what he saw as a higher race being governed by Muslim Turkish barbarians.

The day after Webster delivered his speech, Charles Adams recorded his response in his personal diary. Adams did not record much by way of his own thoughts regarding the Greek Revolution, and instead took note of the debates going on within the Congressional session. Overall, Adams records the tone and mood of these congressmen as sympathetic and generous in regards to the Greeks; however, this does not mean they wished to intervene in the revolution. The United States was still largely isolationist at this point in history, at least regarding its foreign policy with Europe, and it shows in the debates recorded by Adams. According to Adams, Congressman Joel Poinsett of South Carolina spoke, and he was of an isolationist mind. He did not want to intervene, favoring as little activity in Europe as possible so as not to attract the attention of colonial powers. He held a tremendous amount of sympathy for the Greeks and an animosity for Turks though, which is shown when he says "It is impossible to contemplate the contest between the Greeks and the Turks… without feeling the strongest indignation at the barbarous atrocities committed by the infidel oppressor, and the deepest interest in the cause of a brave people, struggling alone, against fearful odds, to shake off the yoke of despotism."[226] After Poinsett spoke, Adams records that Congressman Randolph rose to speak for the first time in two years, and said that a previous suggestion to support independence movements in South America instead of Greece would be "as dangerous to the peace of this country as any steps across the Atlantic. We should not look out of our own home and not waste our strength in affairs with foreign nations."[227] These congressmen saw attracting any attention from Europe as a danger, perhaps rightfully so as the War of 1812 had only been concluded a few years prior, and at enormous cost in money and lives to the United States. With that in mind, he opposed American intervention in Greece despite being able to sympathize with the Greek cause. However, they were still passionately moved by the struggle of the white Christian Greek.

To the 1820s western world, the Greek Revolution was much more about the central identities of Christian and Muslim, and European and Turk than it was about Ancient Greece. These fundamental differences of culture and appearance were what served to differentiate this war from other post-Enlightenment revolutions of this era. Few of these wars had such a bloody proclivity for the targeting and mass-killing of civilian populations, because most of these wars were between peoples of a similar demographic composition, racially and religiously. The Greek

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[224] Daniel Webster, *Mr. Webster's Speech on the Greek Revolution* (Washington DC: John S. Meehan, 1824), 29.

[225] Webster, *Mr. Webster's Speech*, 30.

[226] Senator Poinsett speaking on the Greek Revolution, *The Greek Cause*, HR, 18th Congress, 1st Session, *Annals of Congress* (January, 1824), 110.

[227] Charles Adams, "Tuesday 20th," *Diary of Charles Francis Adams*, Vol. 1, (Washington, 1824).

Revolution was born from centuries of religious and racial resentment, which served to drive a wedge between two ethnicities that still exists today. The revolution did nothing to address this fundamental problem of identity, as evidenced by the following two centuries of warfare and tension that Greece and Turkey still share. Even today, these two countries are bitter rivals, but fortunately, this rivalry mainly exists among the governments and nationalists of each country. Most ordinary Greeks and Turks get along fine with one another, and even do business regularly. That being said, the two have recently come close to war, with Turkish intrusion on Greek waters and airspace, and the Greeks harboring fugitives from the Turkish coup of 2016. Recent Turkish aggression in the Middle East is also serving to raise suspicion in Greece and the Balkans.If Turkey continues with military action in Syria, a prominent Russian ally, there is a risk of NATO being dragged into conflict against Russia and her allies. These tensions have contributed to the overall uneasiness between the nations of the Christian West and the Muslim East. Understanding the roots of this bitter resentment that they have for each other is crucial for bridging the gap in the future, and someday, these two peoples can exist in a mutually beneficial state of peace and prosperity.

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Asylum, refugium et tutela: Married Life and Anchoritic Alternatives in the 12th century
Oscar Saywell

Introduction

Religious men and women have been inspired to seek lives of spiritual solitude since ancient times. Driven by the belief that rejecting society and earthly indulgence would clear the path to spiritual enlightenment, the desert fathers and mothers withdrew from their communities and lived harsh existences in desolate environments as ascetic recluses. These early Christian solitaries provided inspiration for the professional anchorites of the medieval period. Anchorites were men and women who withdrew from secular society for religious reasons and often adopted ascetic practices. Religious ascetics typically went to great physical and mental lengths to deny themselves comfort and pleasure in the name of God. In the 11th and 12th centuries, figures like St. Francis of Assisi and his Franciscan monks popularized anchoritic movements. By the height of the 12th century, anchoresses—the name given to female anchorites—were the most common practitioners of the lifestyle throughout the Christian world.

Across western Europe in the Middle Ages, the desire for spiritual seclusion and solitude grew in tandem with church-driven social reform. The anchoritic lifestyle provided a path for lay people to sequester themselves in the protective umbrella of the church. According to L'Hermite-Leclerque, anchoritism was so popular by the 13th century that ecclesiastic authorities were forced to reconsider how to manage it.[228] Religious recluses no longer fit the neat image of old, wealthy males living out their last days in small forest dwellings as hermits. Somewhere along the way, the anchoritic lifestyle was taken over by women. Researchers have yet to fully explore the motivating factors women had in adopting anchoritic lifestyles. Until we understand why records of anchoresses proliferated in the 12th century, an important aspect of women's standing in the medieval church remains uncovered.

This paper explores these topics through the life and experiences of Christina of Markyate. Christina was a 12th century anchoress whose *Vita* is hailed as among the most enlightening of its kind for its frank discussion of her motivations, struggles, and experiences in the pursuit of spiritual enlightenment. Although her *Vita* is undeniably a narrative motivated by the pursuit of spiritual truth, the fact that it was authored during her lifetime makes it an appealing source to draw from. I use the *Vita* as a foundation for discussing the implications of marriage, anchoritism, and spiritual autonomy for women in the medieval period. The paper covers other contemporary anchoritic literature such as the *Ancrene Wisse* and also relies on the work of medieval scholars like Karras, McAvoy, Amt, and Bennet.

My research led me to the question: what does Christina of Markyate's *Vita* reveal about the adoption of anchoritic lifestyle among wealthy medieval women in the 12th century? Recent scholarly work argues that medieval women found safety and stability in the institution of marriage. However, the pattern of female anchoritism in the 12th century suggests that medieval women found the anchoritic lifestyle to be an attractive alternative to married life. Christina of Markyate's *Vita* reveals how married life created restrictive social conditions for wealthy women in the 12th century. Further, an analysis of her *Vita* and contemporary anchoritic literature explains how and why wealthy women turned to anchoritism to pursue a sense of independence, authority, and community.

This paper begins by contextualizing Christina of Markyate's *Vita*. Then, it discusses the institutionalization of Christian marriage in the 12th century and examines the social conditions elite women faced in the household, including Christina's experiences with marriage and her subsequent path to anchoritism. Next, the paper discusses 12th century anchoritic lifestyle and why it was an appealing alternative for elite women like Christina. Finally, the paper concludes by summarizing my findings and briefly discussing further potential research.

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[228] McAvoy, Liz Herbert. *Anchoritic Traditions of Medieval Europe*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019. 123

Who was Christina of Markyate?

Christina of Markyate was born Theodora around the year 1096 in Huntington, England, to a wealthy aristocratic Saxon family.[229] Her anonymously written *Vita* tells the story of a young woman whose dedication to religion was expressed primarily through her desire to remain a virgin, a quintessentially feminine saintly goal. The *Vita* indicates that she made a vow of chastity as a child after visiting the altar at St. Alban's Abbey. She struggled to maintain her vow as a youth, however, because of the machinations of her wealthy family.

Christina's early life is framed around her desire to escape an unwanted marriage and enter into the church to dedicate her life to God. Her *Vita* unfolds after she outwitted a bishop who tied to coerce her into a sexual relationship. In revenge, he directed Christina's family to marry her off to a young Norman man called Buthred. Her parents, preoccupied by improving the family fortune, repeatedly tried to trick and force her into consummating the unwanted marriage. Christina went to court over the matter but was forced to flee after her parents bribed the Bishop Robert to rule against her vow of celibacy. Eventually, she escaped to live with Anglo-Saxon hermits, primarily a deacon called Roger. The *Vita* describes how she lived an ascetic life for six years before moving to Markyate to live as an anchorite. Late in life, she led a community of nuns and became an advisor to the Abbot of St. Albans.

As well as the Vita's importance as a spiritual text, the story of Christina's failed marriage and her fervent opposition to the institution provides key insight into the conflicting social expectations women faced during the time period. The Catholic church emphasized the necessity of marriage as a direct expression of faith in God.[230] Yet, especially among women, they acknowledged the sanctity of chastity and encouraged the pursuit of spirituality.[231] This proved problematic for wealthy families like Christina's, who relied on their daughters to supplement the family economy with dowries.

The importance of spiritual enlightenment is an undeniable factor in Christina's pursuit of anchoritism. However, we must remember that before her life as an anchoress, she was a young, eligible, single daughter of a minor noble family. To understand Christina's path to anchoritism and what informed her decisions, we must first consider the reality of marriage for women in the early medieval period.

An Overview of 12th century Marriage Practices

What was married life like for a wealthy woman in the medieval period? From the 9th century, the church started to canonize the idea that marriage was a lifelong commitment to one partner. By the beginning of the 12th century, in Christina's youth, the church had taken legal jurisdiction over marriage.[232] If a couple was not closely related, freely consented, and were capable of having sex for procreation, they were eligible to marry. Following its institutionalization, the church was so eager to prevent extramarital sex that they considered a couple who engaged in sexual practices married by law.[233] This is the primary reason Christina's parents tried to force the consummation of her marriage to Buthred.

The church's commitment to institutionalization socialized Christians to the expectation of marriage and commitment from a young age. Young girls usually married in their mid-teens and many wealthy girls were betrothed by the age of nine.[234] Elite women like Christina were expected to run the household and, in the absence of their husbands, tend to the land. Husbands had authority over their wives, and some amount of physical violence was considered normal in a marriage. It was believed that a man held the right and responsibility as the more rational of the sexes to discipline their spouse.[235] Before the church took legal jurisdiction over marriage in the 11th century, men—especially elites—were not used to monogamous lives. Gradually, the church changed the cultural landscape. The institution of monogamous marriage became a vital aspect of Christianity.

[229] *The Vita of Christina of Markyate: A Twelfth-Century Recluse*, ed. and trans. C.H Talbot. Oxford: Clarendon, 1959. 36

[230] Bianchini, Janna. "Wives, Mothers, and Singlewomen." Lecture, Women in Medieval Culture and Society from University of Maryland, College Park, February 2020.

[231] Bianchini, "Wives, Mothers, and Singlewomen".

[232] Bianchini, "Wives, Mothers, and Singlewomen".

[233] Brundage, James A. *Sex, Law, and Marriage in the Middle Ages*. Aldershot, Hampshire, Great Britain. 1993

[234] Bianchini, "Wives, Mothers, and Singlewomen".

[235] Ibid.

By drawing on evidence from post-Gregorian church documents, some scholars have recently argued that Christian women found safety, stability, and even equality in marriage. The feminist historian McDougall argues that "Christian marriage provided women as *wives* a distinct opportunity for a complicated equality with their husbands…". [236] She argues that marriage was understood as a partnership in the Bible, and when a couple made their vows, both the man and woman lost power over their own bodies. Divine providence took over their actions and status. In the same essay, she agrees with Charles Reid's assertion that a husband and wife shared four common rights based on Gratian's canon law: the right to consent to marriage, the right to ask for marital debt, the right to leave a marriage when it was invalid, and the right to choose one's own place of burial.[237]

The study of women and wives in the courtroom has developed quickly in recent years, and we know more about how courts responded to cases concerning women. McDougall points to Charles Donahue's comparative study of five courts in southwest England to stress that court practice reflected what canon law demanded for marriage. She argues that evidence of courts deviating from canon law had important implications for women: church courts "always allowed women and other persons technically excluded from bringing suits… to participate on a seemingly equal basis with… men to whom the learned law granted the greatest privilege".[238] She found evidence that medieval German and English courts granted spouses married to absent partners the right to remarry, permission to separate, and even divorce based on testimony from women.[239] This is important because it indicates that women had some agency in upholding canon law.

The issue with this line of reasoning is that new evidence does not explain established practice. Records of gender equitability in canon law does not indicate the universal application of rights to women across western medieval Europe. Christina, for one, faced corruption and dismissal from ecclesiastical authorities who consulted her case. The *Vita* describes how Christina's parents gave the Bishop Robert "large bribes [to shape] his mind to their will."[240] Christina and Buthred then traveled to the bishop's court, who upheld the validity of the marriage, handed Christina over to the plaintiff, and released her back into her parent's custody. The *Vita* then records Buthred "boasting that he had bettered her before two bishops, of Durham and of Lincoln".[241] In this case, neither bishop upheld canon law: Christina did not consent to marriage, nor was she granted the right to claim the marriage was invalid.

Aside from laws that dictated gender dynamics, medieval social and cultural understandings of women played an important role in shaping their livelihoods. Records detailing elite household gender dynamics are an important source of evidence for inequality in a medieval marriage. The much studied "Householder of Paris: Manual for his Wife" illustrates the life a woman of lower nobility like Christina might expect as a spouse.[242] The book is generally interpreted as a kindly set of rules to help the young woman navigate her way through her new life, but the marks of hierarchy and restriction are evident throughout. The author talked of the "greater service that you… would willingly do for me" and outlined details of who his wife was allowed to keep company with.[243] He also included expectations of her ability to "order, ordain, devise and have made all manner" of meals for him, a detailed list of what she should wear each day, and the central goal to "preserve and keep your husband from all discomforts and give all comforts you can bethink of…".[244]

For a young noblewoman like Christina, marriage was not supposed to be a choice and women were expected to marry in order to benefit the family unit. Hildegard of Bingen's 12th century medical manuscript *Cause et Cure* offers a glimpse into how women were socially classified on the basis of personality and physiques. Hildegard, a prominent German Benedictine nun and abbess, described four different classes she claimed all women

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[236] Sara McDougall, Bennet, Judith and Ruth Karras eds. "Women and Gender in Canon Law", *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016. 164
[237] McDougall, 165
[238] Ibid.
[239] McDougall, 165-6
[240] Vita, 71
[241] Ibid.
[242] The text was written by a minor noble for his new wife. Amt, Emilie, ed. "The Householder of Paris: Manual for his Wife". *Women's Lives in Medieval Europe: a Sourcebook*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013. 86-90
[243] Amt, 87
[244] Amt, 89-90

fall into: sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, and melancholic women.[245] Historians study this work primarily as an insight into medieval understanding of biology and bodily functions. But the text is also enlightening for its appraisal of female sexuality and the importance of keeping women primed for wifehood. Hildegard describes how "it is necessary to watch over her [any young unmarried woman] so she does not fall victim to lewdness…"[246] She was particularly concerned with the lives of secular single women. Three of her four classes of women included a description of what might happen if they were unable to marry. According to Hildegard, sanguine women "will possibly suffer physical pain" if they failed to find a husband; phlegmatic women "will become more morose and disagreeable in their demeanor" if they abstain from intercourse; and finally choleric women "if they are deprived of a husband… will suffer physically and be debilitated".[247] The cultural expectation that women should find a husband was so strong that, aside from social shame, women had to contend with the idea of physical, debilitating consequences if they failed to do so.

It is worth noting that evidence detailing the hardships that medieval women faced is not lacking in medieval literature, nor is it ignored by medieval historians. However, the assertions made by McDougall and Reid indicate how easy it is to latch onto evidence because it serves to supplement a new historical angle or argument. More simply, historians should not take what is written in contemporary literature as established practice. That being said, Christina's experiences exemplify the pitiful conditions of women who attempted to resist established practice. In the next chapter, I will discuss Christina's relationship with the institution of marriage in her *Vita* and her motivations to pursue anchoritism.

Christina's Path to Anchoritism

Christina's desire to enter the service of the church was met with dismay and despair by her parents. The *Vita* stresses that Christina was so "lovable… intelligent… prudent in her affairs" that she would have expanded her family's social position by getting married.[248] But her rejection of a conventional path to womanhood motivated sinister resistance from her family. According to the *Vita,* they forced Christina to marry against her will to avoid becoming the "laughingstock of our neighbors".[249] This admission is important because it directly contradicts canon law. Marriage required consent from both parties to be valid.

The actions of Christina's parents are one indication of why she wanted to abandon her life as a wealthy minor noble. The *Vita* notes that her family "pursued to the bitter end anything it had begun" and decided to lock Christina in her bedroom.[250] To try to force the marriage, Christina's parents let her betrothed, Buthred, into her room late at night with the hope that he "might take her suddenly by surprise and overcome her".[251] On this occasion, Christina dissuaded Buthred from forcibly consummating the marriage. Soon after, she was forced to hide from her family by clinging "with both hands to a nail that was fixed to a wall, she hung trembling between the wall and the hangers".[252] On the last occasion, she fled from the house after she learned her parents planned to forcibly hold her down so Buthred could rape her. The *Vita* likely includes these successful escape attempts as proof of Christina's commitment to her childhood vow.

The *Vita* makes it clear that Christina always nurtured a desire to serve God, and this desire drove her to the anchoritic lifestyle. In her early childhood, Christina "used to talk to Him in her bed as if He was a man she could see…" and decided after a trip to St. Albans that "after life had departed nobody could foretell the abode of the spirit", deciding in that moment to commit herself to God.[253] Christina's willingness to enter a life of confinement

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[245] The individual definitions of these categories are too lengthy to include in this paper. Hildegard essentially describes the biological dispositions of each category of woman. Most notably, she discusses how women interact with men as wives and singlewomen. For a full excerpt from the text, see: Hildegard of Bingen, Amt, Emilie, ed. "Medical Writings." *Women's Lives in Medieval Europe: a Sourcebook.* Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013.
[246] Amt, 101
[247] Amt, 101-2
[248] Vita, 37
[249] Vita, 50
[250] Vita, 67
[251] Vita, 51
[252] Vita, 52
[253] Vita, 38-40

proves her deep commitment to spiritual enlightenment. Christina actively sought out a hermit called Eadwin to "converse with him" about life in solitude, and "asked his advice for her escape".[254] After sustaining injuries from her abusive parents, dealing with "old crones who tried with their tricks and love potions to drive her out of her mind with desire" and standing trial multiple times over the validity of her marriage, Christina fled to a cell occupied by Roger the hermit.[255] Her life would have been filled with dedicated prayer. The *Ancrene Wisse*, an anonymously written 13th century monastic rule, detailed how anchoresses should conduct themselves as servants of God. Organized around the concept of deadly sin, five of its eight parts catalogue conquering external and internal temptations through a strict regime of prayer, fasting, reading the Bible, penance, and solitude.[256] The climactic chapter of the *Ancrene Wisse* teaches its readers that the highest goal of anchoritic life is divine love. Christina spent years in strict ascetic conditions, and some versions of the hagiography end with descriptions of her miracles clouded by "grievous ailments which she had contracted through the various trials which she had endured."[257] The *Vita* maintains that she bore these burdens willingly in the name of God.

It is to be expected that a *Vita* will extoll the virtues of its subject. It is also convenient for the author to write extensively of Christina's dedication to Christ and her long-held commitment to chastity and piety. However, the realities of marriage for women in the medieval period were unpredictable and restrictive. In the next chapter, I will discuss how the adoption of anchoritic lifestyle could be an attractive refuge for young women of means. What was life like for an anchoress?

<div align="center">Anchoritic Alternatives: Life as an Anchoress</div>

The primary appeal of anchoritism was its outlet for spiritual enlightenment and religious solitude. However, it also delivered freedom and authority in physical separation from society. The ability to operate alone by the passive support of a local community was a marked difference from the domesticated, swaddled lives of wealthy women like Christina faced. However, the proliferation of anchorites in the 12th century does not mean that becoming an anchoress was easy. Christina's *Vita* makes it clear how difficult it was for a young woman to escape the expectations of her community.

Because of the restrictions of domestic life, medieval women like Christina were forced to go to great lengths to become recluse. Christina's pattern of escape echoed stories from late antiquity. According to her *Vita*, Saint Melangell escaped an unwanted marriage in Ireland, fled to Wales, and "withdrew into a life of solitary contemplation" in Pennant for fifteen years.[258] The historian Cartwright notes that Melangell's community "offered an alternative life of piety to those young women who sought her out".[259] Similarly, Saint Elunud was recorded to reject a suitor to "[marry] instead the King Eternal, thus triumphing in an ecstasy of self-denial".[260] In a more contemporary example from the 11th century, the minor noble Hildeburge escaped remarriage by throwing herself from a ladder, breaking her pelvis, and seeking refuge with the monks of Saint-Martin at Pontoise.[261] She lived out the rest of her days in a cell "devoted to the service of the community, in prayer and strict penitence to subdue the flesh".[262]

The *Ancrene Wisse* provides a tantalizing glimpse into the daily lives of anchoresses. In their edition of the text, Ackerman and Dahood compiled an itinerary reconstructed from Part One's advice about prayer and liturgy.[263] The hours between 3:00 AM and 1:00 PM were entirely devoted to prayer, punctuated by a single meal, and then

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[254] Vita, 81

[255] Vita, 75

[256] *The Ancrene Wisse*, ed. and trans. Robert Hasenfrantz. Medieval Institute Publications, 2000. 130-51

[257] Vita, 121

[258] McAvoy, 211

[259] McAvoy, 211

[260] In this case, the "King Eternal" referring to God so Saint Elunud could dedicate her life to religious contemplation. McAvoy, 211

[261] McAvoy, 125

[262] McAvoy, 126

[263] Ackerman and Dahood refer to the *Ancrene Wisse* as the *Ancrene Riwle*. The itinerary can be found in the preface of the text: Ackerman, Robert W., and Roger Dahood. *Ancrene Riwle*. New York: Binghamton, 1984.

more prayer. An hour-long rest period was followed by more private prayer, reading, and then bed at 7:00 PM.[264] Although there is no evidence that Christina read the *Ancrene Wisse*, her dedication to spiritual enlightenment as described in her *Vita* certainly reflects the recommended practice. Christina's time in her cell at Markyate was filled with "holy affection… [she] yearned to contemplate the beauty of the Creator" and a devotion to "prayer and contemplative meditation" as she hid from her pursuers.[265]

Despite strict conditions, once women achieved anchoritism, their efforts were often rewarded with independence and autonomy that they could not have hoped to achieve in their secular communities. Anchoresses often became leaders of informal communities and provided spiritual power to the administration of church prelates. According to the historian Anneke Mulder-Bakker, beguines, or communities of women run by women, proliferated in the Low Countries in the 13th century alongside the rise of recorded anchorolds.[266] Mulder-Bakker notes that these women promoted a mixed life of social service with the cultivation of inner spirituality. Beguines were where women could support themselves "with their own hands".[267] Some anchoresses achieved enough fame to be sought out as spiritual advisors. Christina was one of these women: she led a congregation of nuns and became the confidant and advisor to Abbot Geoffrey of St. Albans, the man who also commissioned her *Vita*.

Anchorolds were often important parts of the village community. The *Ancrene Wisse* references this obliquely through a list of banned activities for anchoresses in Part 8. There, the author tells anchoresses not to run schools, refrain from written correspondence, and not to keep valuables; and in Part 2, warns the anchorold should not become a source of gossip.[268] These insights seem to indicate that at least some anchorolds became the centre of town life, acting as quasi-public institutions. Further, the *Ancrene Wisse* indicates that the anchoress need not stress about outside authority, including ecclesiastical officials. In Part 2, referencing the visits of bishops, the author states, "if the bishop comes to see you… if he asks to see you… you might with respect to that conduct yourself toward him as you have done and continue to do all others. If he still wants to have a look… draw yourself well back [from the window].[269] Here, the bishop appears as another man, not an authority figure exempt from temptation or judgement. The anchoress retains the right to her own space.

Compared to married life, anchoritism provided women with a modicum of autonomy. Although historians like McDougall and Reid argue that marriage offered legal equality on the basis of divine providence, the fact remains that anchoresses achieved spiritual enlightenment independently. If Christina had not fled her secular marriage, what would her life have been like? Certainly, the *Vita* claims that she would have been unhappily married, denied a life in the service of God that she desired from childhood. For a woman such as Christina, the anchorold offered escape, spiritual peace, and independence.

Conclusion

The social conditions of marriage for women in the 12th century restricted and molded their lives around patriarchal gender dynamics. Anchoritism provided wealthy medieval women with a safer, more empowering alternative to married life.

This paper builds on the established understanding of the restrictive social conditions of medieval women to highlight the importance of anchoritism in the 12th century. As new evidence emerges, some historians have committed to revisiting how marriage was practiced in the medieval period. Scholars like McDougall argue for the recognition of equitability between spouses based on interpretations of legal documents and court files provided by the medieval Catholic church. But in this case, historians must not lose sight of the difference between canonical decrees and established practice. Christina of Markyate's *Vita* is one of many sources that proves the restrictive social conditions of young married women in the medieval period.

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[264] Ackerman and Dahood, 37-8.
[265] The *Vita* explains that Christina had to hide from "pursuers" after she fled her family. Vita, 105-6
[266] Anneke Mulder-Bakker, "Devoted Holiness in the Lay World". *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016. 468
[267] Anchoresses did plain needlework on church vestments or clothing for the poor. Mulder-Bakker, 468
[268] *Ancrene Wisse*, 8.162-5; 8.166; 8.89-92 and 2.486-88.
[269] *Ancrene Wisse*, 2.185-88

The paper establishes the importance of anchoritism as a branch of the medieval Catholic church and discusses the motivating factors women had for adopting spiritual reclusivity. Christina of Markyate's *Vita* provides an important framework for the discussion of women's relationship with anchoritism in the medieval period. While this paper focused on Christina, there are still considerable research opportunities for historians to study how other prominent anchoresses shaped medieval life. Anneke Mulder-Bakker provided the most complete study on anchoresses to date in 2005. Her *Lives of the Anchoresses* explores five of the most well-known urban female recluses— notably excluding Christina—of the medieval period.[270] Mulder-Bakker delivers a nuanced study of how these women can inform historical understanding of anchoritic movements by discussing their role in oral culture, the question of religious women in theological discussion, and the anchoress's role as religious instructors to lay populations. By her own admission, however, the research is incomplete. Since publishing the book, more records and contemporary literature has been unearthed that expands on the niche role of anchoresses across western Europe.

Analysing Christina's experiences in relation to important literature like the *Ancrene Wisse* allows us to explore the practical application of anchoritism. Ultimately, by understanding how and why anchoritism was important to medieval women, we can build a better understanding of how ascetic movements informed the cultural landscape of 12th century Europe.

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[270] Mulder-Bakker chose to focus on anchoresses from the continent, namely in the Low Countries and France.

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