

Clio's Scroll



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NOTE FROM THE EDITORS

We are very pleased to introduce the Spring 2012 issue of *Clio's Scroll*, an issue which marks the first time in our thirteen-year publication history that we have been awarded the title of Best Journal on campus by the ASUC. This award is truly an honor and speaks to all of the time and effort our editors and writers have all put into making *Clio's Scroll* a great publication. We hope that this award will encourage a greater readership of *Clio's Scroll* on campus and foster a greater interdisciplinary interest in historical scholarship among the undergraduate community here at Berkeley. In such times of financial austerity at public universities, it is hoped that the exceptional undergraduate scholarship showcased by *Clio's Scroll* will promote increased funding towards the humanities.

Sincerely,
The Editors

FROM THE EMERALD ISLE TO THE GOLDEN WEST: SAN FRANCISCO'S MAKING OF THE IRISH-AMERICAN

By Michael Davis

The fog-laced streets of San Francisco bare keepsakes of its Irish roots: from O'Shaughnessy Boulevard, to O'Farrell Street, to McCoppin Square—named after the first Irish-born mayor of San Francisco—the city's connections to the Emerald Isle are extensive. The Irish in the mid-1800's had a romantic view of America and were repressed by the imperial English at home; so when hit by a famine that killed 1.5 million in Ireland, over a million Irish looked to the "New World" for political, religious, and economic refuge. The Irish, for the most part, settled along the Eastern Seaboard in New York City, Boston and Philadelphia. Not wanting the Irish to be assimilated into American culture, the native-born Americans met them with prejudice and hostility. While America was experiencing a large boom of Irish immigration, the West Coast was experiencing a boom of their own: gold was found in the Sierra Mountains. In the East, the natives ruled the land; however, the West was relatively new

and unsettled, and the new land to the West offered a fresh start for the discriminated and destitute Irish in America. In San Francisco, in particular, the Irish broke from the political, economic, and religious shackles of back home and the eastern U.S, and blazed their trail on the unfettered golden roads of San Francisco where they played a pivotal part in the formation of the modern-day San Francisco. It has been said that America was built on the backs of the Irish; however, the Irish in America, were built on the back of the Golden West.

Potato Famine

In 1845, Ireland was the victim of a potato blight that caused potato crops to fail and diminish for the ensuing six years. Potato was the main cash crop of Irish farmers and the substance crop of the Irish people. The west of the Shannon River, where those most dependant on the potato resided, was devastated. The potato farmers “depended on the potato harvest to carry them through the winter and spring.”¹ So, when the potato crops turned black, rendering them useless for sale or consumption, the lean months of summer carried into fall. As a result of the failed potato crop approximately a million Irish perished and another million immigrated to America. Many of those emigrating, however, felt as if they were being driven out of their homes unnecessarily by repressive Westminster politics. This feeling was reflected through their language, in which “the act of leaving Ireland was often described by the word *deorat*” which “translates into English not as emigration but as exile.”² Instead of keeping the little potato crop the Irish had for food, they were required to ship the crops out to English markets, exacerbating the level of starvation, even though “in each of its [the famine’s] six years there was probably sufficient food exported out of Ireland to sustain the nation, certainly enough to have saved the million who died.”³ Many Irish felt that the English, who controlled Irish policy from Westminster, did not do enough to abate the mass starvation.

1 Susan Campbell Bartoletti, *Black Potatoes: The Story of the Great Irish Famine, 1845-50*, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001), 32.

2 Paul Wagner and Kerby Miller, *Out of Ireland*, (Washington D.C: Elliot and Clark Publishing, 1994), 17.

3 Edward Laxton, *The Famine Ships*, (New York: Henry Hold and Company, 1996), 19.

Charles Trevelyan, the head of the famine relief effort for Ireland, exemplified this sentiment. In a letter sent to Lord Monteagle during the beginning of the blight, Trevelyan stated, “the cure [of Irish social evil] has been applied by the direct stroke of an all-wise providence in a manner as unexpected and unthought as it is likely to be effectual. God grant that we may rightly perform our part and not turn into a curse what was intended as a blessing.”⁴ Trevelyan saw the famine as a blessing from God that would act as a “mechanism for reducing surplus population”⁵ in Ireland. Trevelyan, however, was not the only person that welcomed a famine in Ireland. Nassau William Senior, Queen Victoria’s economist, wrote in 1845 that the famine “would not kill more than a million people, and that would scarcely be enough to do any good.”⁶ The English were concerned more with expanding their empire than ameliorating the Irish condition. Only .3 % of the GDP of Britain—roughly £8 ½ million—was spent in total on the Irish famine while £20 million was given to West Indian slave owners, and £69 million was spent on the Crimean War around the same time.⁷ It became so dire in Ireland at the time that mothers chose to starve infants in favor of feeding the older children because the older children had the strength to work in the fields. In addition to the devastation of the potato blight, most Catholics, the majority of the Irish, were not allowed to own property and were being denied many of the basic rights of the Protestant British. “No Catholic could vote, hold office, practice law, join the army, carry a sword, keep a gun or own a horse worth more than 5 pounds.”⁸ The immigration of the Irish in the mid 19th century was indeed more of an exile than an emigration; they could either starve in Ireland or try their luck across the Atlantic in the New World, and a million people chose the latter in hopes of a better life than the poverty and English persecution they knew at home.

4 Terry Golway, *Irish Rebel: John Devoy and America*, (New York: St. Martin, 1998), 29.

5 Tomás O’Riordan, “Emancipation, Famine & Religion: Ireland under the Union, 1815–1870: Charles Edward Trevelyan.” *Multitext Project in Irish History*. http://multitext.ucc.ie/d/Charles_Edward_Trevelyan.

6 Edward Alexander, *Matthew Arnold, John Ruskin, and the Modern Temper*, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1973), 23.

7 Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland Before and After the Famine: Explorations in Economic History, 1800-1925*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 116-17.

8 Laxton, *The Famine Ships*, 21.

Arrival in America

Since establishing the American colonies, the English used them as a place to send people they did not want in Britain, from criminals to Irish Catholics. In fact, many of the first Irish inhabitants of the colonies arrived as slaves. The English, since the 17th century, would use the Irish as slaves. They sent the majority of the Irish slaves to Tasmania and the Caribbean; however, many were also sent to America. It has been estimated that as many as 130,000 citizens of Ireland were sent to the early American colonies for the purpose of slavery.⁹ The majority of the Irish, however, would arrive to America in the mid-19th century when blight ravished Irish crops and created widespread famine. This would be known as the most devastating period of Irish history since the Viking invasions of the 8th century.

During the Great Famine, as it was called in Ireland, 1.2 million Irish arrived in America.¹⁰ The trip across the Atlantic took around 4 weeks or more depending on the weather conditions, and the ship ride cost roughly \$17 in today's money. Most of the Irish settled in Boston, New York and other Eastern territories fleeing famine, as well as religious and economic persecution at home. Unfortunately, the Irish would experience the same poverty and persecution in America. This time, however, instead of the Protestant English it was the native-born Americans responsible for the Irish prejudice. "No Irish Need Apply" signs were commonplace in storefront windows in Eastern America.¹¹ The Irish were regarded as a class lower than the slaves of the American South. For instance, when slave-masters felt jobs were too dangerous and the work could kill their slaves, they would hire the Irish because they would work for so little, and if they died, they would only be out a day's pay and not a slave.¹²

Particularly brutal to the Irish was the Know-Nothing political party. The Know-Nothings were a group of British and Protestant people who wanted to impede the Catholic Irish from

9 Ferghal McNulty, "The Dirty Secret of Ireland's Slave Trade," *Daily Mail*, 46, May 15, 2010, Newspaper Source Plus. EBSCO (accessed Nov 1, 2011).

10 Laxton, *The Famine Ships*, 18.

11 Wagner and Miller, *Out of Ireland*, 54.

12 *Ibid.*, 52.

immigrating and becoming naturalized citizens of America. In an example of the Know-Nothing's influence, a September 1855 letter to Ireland from Irish immigrant James Dixon said, "If people can live comfortably in Ireland they ought to remain there, for affairs are becoming fearful in this country. The Know-Nothings have murdered a number of Irishmen in Louisville and destroyed their property."¹³ Dixon goes on to write, "If feelings continue as they are, on the increase, an Irishman will not get to live in this country."¹⁴ This fleeting feeling of America as a refuge for the Irish was not an isolated one. Thomas McIntyre, another Irish immigrant, wrote in a letter home about America that "people need not expect a great deal of enjoyment when they come here. There is nothing here but work hard today and go to bed at night and rise and work harder tomorrow. Nothing but work, work away."¹⁵

When the Irish weren't working for little pay, they were sent to fight for the United States. During the Civil War, the violence in America was noted through Irish folk songs. The song "Paddy's Lamentation," tells the story of Paddy, the allegorical Irish immigrant in America, who leaves Ireland to escape poverty only to come to a war engrossed America. When Paddy sets off for America there was a high expectation that was abruptly dispelled,

*Our fortunes to be made we were thinkin',
But when we got to Yankee land,
They shoved a gun into our hands,
Saying Paddy you must go and fight for Lincoln.*¹⁶

Paddy further laments,

*But with the devil I do say,
Curse Amerikay[sic],
For I am sick and tired of this hard fightin'!*¹⁷

Paddy, concluding from his immigration to America, offers a piece of advice to the boys of Ireland,

13 *Ibid.*, 56.

14 *Ibid.*

15 *Ibid.*, 51.

16 Linda Thompson, "Paddy's Lamentation," *Gangs of New York*, © 2002 by Universal Int'l, compact disc.

17 *Ibid.*

*Now take my advice,
To America I'll have you not be coming,
There is nothing here but war,
Where the murderin' cannons roar,
And I wish I was at home in dear ol' Dublin.*¹⁸

This song, although anachronistic, encapsulates the Irish sentiment during the time; between the prejudices and Civil-War, America was not as appealing as they first believed, but many Irish were too poor to return home to Ireland.

Migration to San Francisco

When gold was found in the Sierra Mountains in 1848, the sparsely populated West experienced a rapid population growth. Many flocked to San Francisco in hopes of making their fortunes. Some found their fortunes in the gold mines, others left empty handed; however, the people who thrived the most from the discovery of gold in the west and the ensuing boom were the Irish. “In the west, and especially in San Francisco, the Irish were among the first to arrive and put forth effort to create new homes and businesses relatively free from the constraints, restrictions, and prejudices.”¹⁹ This new land offered the Irish a new opportunity “because San Francisco had no past, because it looked only to the future, its development gave opportunity to native-born and immigrant alike in their commitment to that future”²⁰. In the Eastern United States, the Irish were outnumbered by the oppressive natives; in San Francisco the numbers weren’t as skewed, “in 1870 foreign-born European immigrants made up more than 40 percent of the city’s population, with Irish Catholics comprising the largest group by far.”²¹ The majority, up to even 30 percent of the 100,000 population, of San Francisco was Irish, and one-third of all Irish owned real

18 *Ibid.*

19 Karen Hanning and John Garvey, *Irish San Francisco*, (San Francisco: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 7.

20 R.A Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish, 1848-1880*, (Berkeley: University of California, 1980), 13.

21 J. Paddison, “Anti-Catholicism and Race in Post-Civil War San Francisco,” *The Pacific Historical Review* (2009): 511.

estate, a number unprecedented in Ireland; in San Francisco, the Irish were no longer restricted from receiving an education or owning property and businesses due to their ethnicity or religion. “Here the Irish were a major force from the start, and the city grew up with the input and influence of the Irish.”²² What the Irish had once been denied was now open to them in San Francisco. In fact, the first bank of San Francisco, the Hibernian Bank, was founded by Irishmen John Sullivan which gave the Irish economic opportunities they never before had.²³

Unlike the letters the Irish sent home from the eastern United States, the letters from the West were inspiring. The editor of the Irish-owned San Francisco newspaper, “The Monitor” published an article directed towards the Irish stating, “Our countrymen need not fear that they will have to encounter the prejudices against their race or religion, that are such drawbacks to their settlement in many parts of Eastern States. Irishmen have made themselves a position here fully equal to that of any other nationality.”²⁴ Another change in viewpoint the Irish experienced in the West was the admiration they received from the non-Irish. “Alta California”, a San Francisco paper based newspaper, published an article sympathizing with the Irish noting, “if there be a people whose condition is worthy of a world-wide commiseration and sympathy, it is that of tyrannized and famished Ireland.”²⁵ For the first time in America, the Irish were now equal and free from oppression.

The Ireland of the West

In the west, the Irish were viewed as equal; bars, banks, and liquor importing businesses were now under the ownership of Irish. The first newspaper from San Francisco was owned by Irishman Samuel Brannan, and even the majority of the San Francisco Police Department at the time was Irish. The Irish could now freely practice their religion, own homes, and attend school; not only could they succeed in the west unfettered from oppression, they could help in the development of the West. In the late 1840s Jasper O’Farrell,

22 Hanning and Garvey, *Irish San Francisco*, 7.

23 *Ibid.*, 21.

24 Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish*, 13.

25 *Ibid.*, 6.

an Irish engineer, was hired to survey the city of San Francisco. O'Farrell mapped existing streets and created future ones; he developed much of the neighborhoods in San Francisco we are familiar with today. One of the most groundbreaking professions for the Irish, however, was holding public office. Boston elected an Irish mayor in 1884 and New York did so in 1880, but San Francisco preempted both those cities, electing its first Irish Mayor, Frank McCoppin, in 1867.²⁶ In San Francisco, unlike the East Coast and even in Ireland, the Irish could easily enter politics. For example, when David Broderick arrived in San Francisco “after having been frustrated in attempts to join political circles in New York,” he was elected as state senator in 1849; and two years later, he was elected president of the senate.²⁷ In California, the Irish held many important political positions. It was not uncommon for an Irishman to be elected mayor, sheriff, to the state assembly or even governor. In fact, California's first foreign-born mayor was John Downey of Roscommon, Ireland.²⁸ The Irish, now afforded the same rights as the native-born Americans, flocked to San Francisco. Even the Irish that had been deemed as criminals in England and sent to Tasmanian penal colonies, sometimes for offenses as minor as trespassing, found new beginnings in San Francisco. For example, Terrence Bellew McManus, after escaping from the Tasmanian penal colonies, “arrived in San Francisco and was given a public dinner attended by the mayor and other authorities.”²⁹ The West truly offered all Irish a new beginning, and the Irish returned the favor by helping to create the modern-day San Francisco.

The Irish in San Francisco Today

The Irish are still ubiquitous in San Francisco's culture today. The first St. Patrick's Day parade in San Francisco was in 1852 and has ran annually ever since. The Irish, as they were in the late 19th century, are still the most populous ethnicity in San Francisco

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

²⁷ Hanning and Garvey, *Irish San Francisco*, 8.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

²⁹ Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish*, 7.

accounting for 8.9 percent of today's population.³⁰ In addition, the Irish remain prominent in San Franciscan politics today. San Francisco's former mayor, and current lieutenant Governor of California, Gavin Newsom is "a direct descendant of a former lord mayor of Cork" County in Ireland.³¹ Since the Gold Rush era, San Francisco has seen 6 mayors of Irish ancestry, "23 Irish chiefs of police, 12 fire chiefs, and 13 sheriffs and six archbishops."³²

The proverbial American dream for the Irish would not be realized until the mass migration to the West stimulated by the striking of gold. The peripheral gold discovery in the American West and the potato blight of Western Ireland would function as an ideal reason for the Irish to try their hand in America. Most people came to the Golden West with hopes of striking it rich. The Irish, however, came for equal rights and acceptance. Stricken by poverty and religious persecution in Ireland, the Irish immigrated to America in staggering numbers. With the mass migration to the practically unsettled area of the Golden West, the Irish were able to obtain their acceptance in America; and consequentially, alter the figurative and literal landscape of San Francisco forever.

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30 City-Data, "San Francisco," <http://www.city-data.com/city/San-Francisco-California.html> (accessed November 29, 2011).

31 Catherine Bigelow, "Erin went bragh at St. Patrick's Day parade," *SF Gate.com*, Mar 17, 2010, www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2010/03/16/DDNK1CG2L4.DTL.

32 Carl Nolte, "Irish put their mark on the city," *San Francisco Chronicle*, sec. A-2, Mar 15, 2009, www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2009/03/14/MN7K16F2TS.DTL.

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TRANSLATING HOME ONTO THE FRONTIER: NARCISSA WHITMAN AND DOMESTICITY IN THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI WEST

By Austin Bergstrom

*“And now they were at home amid a nation that had no homes;
they had found a resting place among restless wanderers.”¹*

-Letter from the Secretary of the Interior,
1903

In 1836, Narcissa Prentiss Whitman, riding sidesaddle in men’s leather boots, was one of the first two white women to travel the early Oregon Trail west across the Rocky Mountains. With noble intentions of saving the savage characteristic of the nineteenth-century Protestant missionary movement, Narcissa severed herself from her family and comfortable middle-class lifestyle, and followed her new husband 2,500 miles through wilderness and dust into

¹ United States, *Letter from the Secretary of the Interior communicating, in compliance with the resolution of the Senate of the 2d instant, information in relation to the early labors of the missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Oregon, commencing in 1836*, (Washington: Govt. Print, 1903), 11.

Oregon Territory. At their fort in Waiilatpu in the Walla Walla Valley of present day Washington, Narcissa Whitman gave birth to the first child of American parents born in the Pacific Northwest. By doing so, she brought the white family westward. The mission home that Narcissa and her husband, Marcus, carved out of the empty landscape of Oregon in 1836 would serve as the resting stop for the thousands of emigrants Marcus would help lead over the mountain pass as he blazed the trail of western expansion. For white families settling in the new territory, the Whitman home stood as a beacon of domesticity on the far western frontier.

The reality of the remote and windy landscape was far different than the idealistic notions of western religious romance Narcissa had envisioned. Isolated from family and friends in a foreign environment among a people about whom she knew nothing, Narcissa's experiences at her makeshift home in Waiilatpu show that white middle-class conceptions of family and a woman's place in Victorian New England society did not translate easily onto the stark, unforgiving plains of Oregon. "The West," as historian Julie Roy Jeffrey argues in her book *Frontier Women*, can be understood "as a test of the power of nineteenth century understanding of gender roles."² While white conceptions of *true womanhood* in the nineteenth century were definitely challenged by the overland trail west and the cultural clash with Native Americans, they were not lost. Narcissa, in diaries and letters home, always understood herself as female missionary, mother, and wife. While in many, if not all ways she failed as a missionary among the Cayuse Indians, Narcissa succeeded in living up to Victorian notions of motherhood and domesticity. By pioneering the woman's sphere in the West, Narcissa stood as a grandmother-like precursor to the white frontierswomen, turning the West into a home for the American family.

To understand how Narcissa translated domesticity onto the Western frontier, it is helpful to look to her earliest conceptions of home and gender roles. Narcissa, the third of nine brothers and sisters, was raised in a comfortable middle-class house in northern New York. As the oldest daughter in the family, Narcissa looked to her mother as an example of appropriate domesticity—learning to

2 Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Frontier Women: "Civilizing" the West? 1840-1880*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998), 5.

keep the parlor cleaned and her father's shirts pressed. Nevertheless, like her mother who joined a church separate from her husband without his consent, Narcissa took up religion as a sort of escape from the homebound maternal role expected of American women during the Jacksonian Age. After receiving an academy education, Narcissa became a Sunday school instructor. As historian Carroll Smith-Rosenburg discusses in her study of gender in Victorian America, the religious zeal of the Second Great Awakening that immediately succeeded the bourgeois construction of the "Cult of True Womanhood," gave women a pious space of individuality beyond the home.³ In Protestant American churches women could pray aloud—for their fathers, sons, communities, for the wider, exotic world, and for their selves.⁴ Rejecting the marriage proposal of a local churchgoer who promised comfortable domesticity, Narcissa instead applied to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (AMCFM) to journey westward as a single woman. Determined even after rejection from the board because of her single status, she agreed to marry the medical missionary, Dr. Marcus Whitman, a stranger, so that she could accompany him to Oregon Territory.⁵ Thus, it was only by finally accepting the role of "wife" at the relatively old marriage age of twenty-seven, that Narcissa was able to transcend the gender boundaries of her Eastern community and venture west.

It was on the long journey across the continent with her husband, who she had wed (dressed in Puritan black) only the day before, that Narcissa first confronted the absence of gender spaces. In a journal dedicated to her mother, Narcissa wrote of her willingness to begin her "journey into the wilderness."⁶ Sheltered "under husband's wing," Narcissa was excited to be "so near

3 Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*, (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1985), 129.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Converting the West: A Biography of Narcissa Whitman*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 3-34.

6 Narcissa Whitman to Clarissa Prentiss, March 15, 1836, in *The Letters of Narcissa Whitman*, (Fairfield, Wash: Ye Galleon Press, 1986), 9.

encountering the difficulties of an unheard of journey for females.”⁷ Narcissa bragged of her health and vitality compared to the fragile, faint Eliza, the wife of Henry Spalding (ironically, Narcissa’s rejected suitor from New York) who had recently lost a child. Full of life and adventure, Narcissa was amused by the thick western accent of the fur traders, and awed by the sight of buffalos. On the empty prairies, without any physical base of domesticity, domestic duties had to be improvised. “We found it awkward to bake out of doors at first,” Narcissa wrote, “but we have become so accustomed to it now we do it very easily.”⁸ With makeshift table clothes on trunks arranged with tin dishes, Narcissa did her best to recreate the grace and comforts of her mother’s home. “Tell mother,” she wrote her sister, “I am a very good housekeeper on the prairie.”⁹ Even as physical ties to the East were dropped with every trunk left behind to lighten the wagon’s weight, Narcissa remained vigorous in appetite and spirit. It was also on the trail that Narcissa became with child. Moving from independent missionary woman to wife and future mother, the journey through the wilderness ironically proved to also be Narcissa’s path to domesticity.

When the couples made it to the British Fort of Vancouver, the women were left behind to eat desserts on china and stroll in “delightful” English gardens of French men and their Indian wives, while Marcus and Henry went to build homes among the Cayuse and Nez Perce Indians, respectively.¹⁰ At the fort, Narcissa bought simple, durable furniture to replace the “fancy” Eastern items dropped on the trail.¹¹ Western domesticity meant survival and endurance, not frivolity. When she arrived at her new adobe lean-to home Narcissa wrote: “my heart nearly leaped for joy as I alighted from my horse, entered and seated myself before a pleasant fire... We had neither straw, bedstead or table, nor anything to make of them except green

7 Narcissa Whitman to Jane Prentiss, March 31, 1836, in *The Letters of Narcissa Whitman*, 13.

8 Narcissa Whitman to Harriet Prentiss, June 3, 1836, in *The Letters of Narcissa Whitman*, 16.

9 *Ibid.*

10 Narcissa Whitman to Clarissa Prentiss, Sep. 12, 1836, in *The Letters of Narcissa Whitman*, 37.

11 Narcissa Whitman to Clarissa Prentiss, Sep. 16, 1836, in *The Letters of Narcissa Whitman*, 38.

cottonwood. All our boards are sawed by hand.”¹² Marcus reported proudly to the ABCFM that they “commenced housekeeping the 10th Dec.”¹³ Three months later Narcissa, without mother or sister by her side, gave birth to Alice Clarissa, the first white child born to American parents in the far west. The natives called her *Cayuse te-mi* (Cayuse girl) born of *Cayuse wai-tis* (Cayuse land). It was not long before Narcissa, known now as a mother among the locals, was left with two Owyhee (Hawaiian) orphans whom she took in as house servants. Within less than six months of her arrival, Narcissa had become the mother she refused to be in the East—adopting a form of white middle-class domesticity shaped by the rugged frontier environment and new cultural interactions.

Tied down by her gender with the birth of Alice, Narcissa could no longer accompany Marcus on his missionary work among the wandering Cayuse as she had planned. Confined to her new home, Narcissa’s role as mother took precedence over that of the missionary. She observed the practices of the Cayuse from the mission, acknowledging the unfamiliar way gender played out among the native culture. Men had a “plurality of wives” that, as wanderers without the comfort of a stable home, acted as “slaves to their husbands.”¹⁴ Children, raised in such an undisciplined wandering lifestyle were seen by Narcissa as treated with “neglect.”¹⁵ Encountering this cultural difference just outside her doorway was key to the shaping of domesticity in the American west. As historian Jane E. Simonsen argues, Western “women often defined the value of one kind of women’s work by contrasting it with another.”¹⁶ Domesticity, Simonsen argues, would become a crucial “civilizing function” for middle-class white women involved in the

12 Narcissa Whitman to Clarissa Prentiss, Dec. 26, 1836, in *The Letters of Narcissa Whitman*, 46.

13 Marcus Whitman to Rev. David Greene, May 5, 1837, in *Whitman Mission Correspondence, 1834-1852*.

14 Narcissa Whitman to Prentiss Family, May 3, 1837, in *The Letters of Narcissa Whitman*, 50.

15 *Ibid.*

16 Jane E. Simonsen, *Making Home Work: Domesticity and Native American Assimilation in the American West, 1860-1919*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 5.

late nineteenth-century project of assimilating Native Americans.¹⁷ Narcissa stood as an early precursor to the project, declaring the Cayuse “heathens” and “savages” based on their failure to adhere to white gender norms and familial structure. Closely tied to Marcus’s missionary objective of teaching the Indians how to cultivate plots of land, Narcissa’s mission seemed to be to domesticate (Christianize) by example.

There were times when Narcissa accompanied Marcus to the Indian encampments, carrying their small child who spoke the native words better than Narcissa could. For the most part, however, Narcissa stayed behind at the station. She lived alone among strangers for many weeks at a time while Marcus made the yearly trip to guide emigrant families through the mountain pass. When he returned the emigrants filled the rooms of the small Whitman house—forcing the sacred domestic space to expand beyond the nuclear family. Narcissa’s home served as a “resting place” for the emigrants until they could “seek and find homes of their own among the solitary winds of Oregon.”¹⁸ The new flood of emigrants also meant more female companions for Narcissa—to read the scriptures with her, and to join the “Columbia Maternal Association” her and Eliza had established. In the first women’s club west of the Rockies, missionary sisters gathered over issues of *Mother’s Magazine* sent from the East, appropriating its guidance onto their uniquely western situations. As early emigrant Mary Gray wrote in her diary, the missionary women managed to take time out of planting flower beds, churning butter, and “learning” Indian women to “sew & wash,” so that two Wednesdays a month they could discuss and pray together for their children.¹⁹

The Native Americans further tried Narcissa’s conception of the home as a sacred place of privacy. The Cayuse, a wandering society, did not understand the white concept of fences and closed doors, and Narcissa often found them looking in through her windows, or standing in her kitchen. “The greatest trial to a woman’s

17 *Ibid.*, 6.

18 Simonsen, *Making Home Work*, 93.

19 Mary Gray, “Diary, May to August 1840,” in *Where Wagons Could Go: Narcissa Whitman and Eliza Spalding*, ed. Clifford Merrill Drury, (Lincoln, Neb: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 248-265.

feelings is to have her cooking and eating room always filled with four or five Indians,” Narcissa explained to her mother.²⁰ “They are so filthy they make a great deal of cleaning wherever they go, and this wears out a woman very fast...I hardly know how to describe my feelings at the prospect of a clean, comfortable house.”²¹ Marcus, agreeing that Narcissa needed more space, completed a larger home in 1840. Narcissa whitewashed the outside of her new home as much as she did the inside—Indians were restricted to a single *Indian Hall*. Until its completion, Narcissa made Marcus explain to the Indians that “our house was to live in and we could not have them worship there for they would make it so dirty and fill it full of fleas.”²² As biographer Clifford Merrill Drury points out, Narcissa’s original fervor for her missionary calling dimmed the more daily she encountered the Cayuse, becoming haughty and proud in her effort to preserve Victorian domesticity.²³

Narcissa drew a detailed plan of her new home in a letter to her mother, explaining where the stove would go, in which rooms clothes were to be pressed, and in what fashion the linen cupboards were to be arranged, as if to prove her success at creating a *real home* (as defined by Victorian New England standards) on the frontier. Narcissa’s greater hostility towards the Cayuse and insistence on a better home seemed to spring from the death of her two-year-old daughter, who drowned in the river near the station as she tried to fill little tin cups with water. Alice, the one and only biological child Narcissa would have, had been her mother’s dearest companion, providing a sense of family during Marcus’s long absences when the letters from parents and siblings back east were scarce. Alice also served as a sort of bond between the Cayuse and Narcissa. Passing Indians would often come to play with her, the first innocent white body they had come across. After Alice’s death, Narcissa attempted to fill the maternal void by taking two “little half-breed girls” into her home—Mary Ann Bridger, daughter of the infamous

20 Narcissa Whitman to Clarissa Prentiss, May 2, 1840, In *The Letters of Narcissa Whitman*, 93.

21 *Ibid.*

22 Narcissa Whitman to Clarissa Prentiss, May 2, 1840, in *The Letters of Narcissa Whitman*, 93-94.

23 Clifford Merrill Drury, *Where Wagons Could Go*, 26.

Western explorer James “Jim” Bridger, and Helen Meek, abandoned daughter of the fur-trapper Joseph Meek. “The Lord has taken our own dear child away,” Narcissa wrote, “so that we may care for the poor outcasts of the country and suffering children.”²⁴ The fact that Narcissa ended up raising the mixed-race daughters of two historically important Western men, attests to her fundamental role in the shaping of the American family amidst the cultural-clash on the frontier.

Making both home and motherhood work in the far western frontier entailed the adoption of a new, more flexible understanding of gender roles. In the same way that Narcissa referred to her house at Waiilatpu as her “adopted Oregon home,” she adopted these two abandoned girls when she realized she would not have more children of her own.²⁵ Narcissa was still eager to fulfill her feminine role as mother, and adoption seemed to be the only way she could. She made straw dolls for her girls (though refused to let them play like they had the woven cradleboards the native women used to carry children), taught them to read, and kept them as isolated from the Cayuse as possible, something she regretted not doing with Alice. When an old Indian woman brought Narcissa a “half-breed” infant orphan boy—“dirty, covered with body and head lice and starved”—he was taken into the Whitman home too.²⁶ The number of children Narcissa took in would continue to expand when in 1844 Marcus brought home his own nephew, and seven children who had been orphaned on the Oregon Trail. Narcissa, incapable of having children herself, would be a mother to eleven by the end of her life in Oregon.

Motherhood, replacing Narcissa’s missionary efforts, proved to be a much more effective conversion method than the one she had attempted in the mission’s schoolroom. Matilda Sager, one of the children orphaned on the trail, later wrote, “The Whitmans were New England people and we were taken into their home and they

24 Narcissa Whitman to Jane and Edward Prentiss, March 1, 1842, in *The Letters of Narcissa Whitman*, 128-129.

25 Narcissa Whitman to Mrs. Brewer, Aug. 5, 1844, in *The Letters of Narcissa Whitman*, 180.

26 Narcissa Whitman to Jane and Edward Prentiss, March 1, 1842, in *The Letters of Narcissa Whitman*, 129.

began teaching us in the old Puritan way of raising and training children—very different to they ways of the Plains.”²⁷ Narcissa held all her children to a strict schedule similar to the one with which she had been raised. She was determined to keep them busy and resourceful Christians. “We had certain things to do at a certain hour...and they [the Whitmans] were very particular in our being very regular in all our habits of eating and sleeping.”²⁸ Children spent the day reading verses, praying, singing hymns, and gardening. Another of the orphaned Sager children, Catherine, recalled how even the mission house was not what was expected of the western frontier. “We had expected to see log houses occupied by Indians and such folks as we had seen about the forts. Instead, we saw a large white house surrounded by palisades.”²⁹ Whereas Narcissa had raised Alice in an adobe home surrounded by Native American culture and language, she favored a more Victorian upbringing for her adopted children.

The more Narcissa rejected the native people, the more hostile they became towards the Whitmans. The Cayuse took offense to Narcissa’s closed whitewashed door, at one point axing it down and at other times breaking through the windows. Frustrated by Marcus’s attempt to domesticate them onto fenced-in plots of land, they let their animals trample the mission’s gardens and burned down the mill. They understood that the flood of white families Marcus brought over each year were not only the cause of the measles epidemic among the tribe, but that these families were also paving the way for their land to be overtaken. This cultural clash revolving around different conceptions of domesticity encouraged the Whitman Massacre of 1847, where fourteen men were killed on the Whitman Mission. While all other women and children were taken hostage, Narcissa was the only woman killed outright—whipped to death face down in the mud outside her door in front of her children.³⁰ Ironically it was the Indians’ murder of Narcissa that ultimately brought about the end of their tribal sovereignty

27 Matilda Sager, *The Whitman Massacre of 1847*, (Fairfield, Wash: Ye Galleon Press, 1981), 108.

28 *Ibid.*

29 Catherine Sager, *The Whitman Massacre of 1847*, 17.

30 Catherine Sager, *The Whitman Massacre of 1847*, 62.

in Oregon Territory. For it was in response to the massacre at Waiilatpu that the subsequent massacres were launched against natives in the Indian Wars of the Pacific Northwest. When America emerged the victor, the Plateau Indians were completely pushed from their homelands into delineated “Indian Territory” or clustered onto reservations, clearing the way for the white family to settle in their place. The wandering Cayuse were pushed onto the Umatilla Reservation. Thus, it was through her death that Narcissa contributed most to the domestic settlement of the Trans-Mississippi West.

Whereas fourteen years earlier Narcissa and Eliza had been the only two white women in rural Oregon, by 1850 there were about 100 women to every 137 men.³¹ “From 1840 to 1867 approximately 350,000 women, children, and men trekked across the American continent to Oregon.”³² While missionary men wrote formal reports back to the ABCFM, women captured the spirit of the West in the journals they kept and the letters they wrote religiously to families and friends back east. In one of the final letters Narcissa penned to her sister, she wrote in the Indian language she had refused to adopt—“*kala tilapsa kunku* (I am longing for you continually to sing with).”³³ None of Narcissa’s family ever joined her in Oregon, despite her continuous requests. She was largely left to her own devices, improvising as she recreated the family and home she was familiar with among a people and landscape about which she knew nothing. As historian and Narcissa biographer Julie Roy Jeffrey suggests, the West changed women’s ways of doing things, but it did not challenge their core belief in the values of nineteenth century domesticity and gender spheres.³⁴ No matter how many trunks they left scattered along the wilderness path, white women, as Narcissa Whitman attests, carried the ideological baggage of domesticity all the way to the Pacific. It was by carrying these ideas upon her back, that Narcissa led the windblown American family westward in her dust.

31 Jeffrey, *Frontier Women*, 73.

32 Lucy Jane Bledsoe, “Adventuresome Women on the Oregon Trail: 1840-1867,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 7, no. 3, (1984): 22.

33 Narcissa Whitman to Jane Prentiss, April 15, 1847 in *The Letters of Narcissa Whitman*, 219.

34 Jeffrey, *Frontier Women*, 80.

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I.G. FARBEN AND CORPORATE PROFITEERING IN THE HOLOCAUST

By Livia Maas

On January 30, 1933, Adolf Hitler rose to power as Germany's Reich Chancellor, a post he would occupy for over a decade. Between 1933 and 1939, the pre-war years of his reign, Hitler systematically geared the German economy toward wartime production. The 1933 Reinhardt Program called for massive infrastructure developments, including highways and railroads later used for troop and material transports. Other wartime preparation projects included an increase in the production of explosives, steel, and heavy machinery.¹ As a result of these new economic plans, various German corporations specializing in the production of wartime materials became key figures in the Nazi regime. Prominent among these was I.G. Farben, a German chemical manufacturing conglomerate that not only supplied the Nazis with essential war materials, but also financed Hitler's political campaign in 1933. I.G. Farben profited from Nazi policy before and during World War II; the Nazi invasions of Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland in the

1 Richard J. Overy, *Goering* (New York: Barnes and Nobles, 2003), 86.

late 1930s allowed the international corporation to take control of major chemical plants in these and later other regions.² I.G. Farben also garnered increasing power in the social, political, and economic sectors of the Nazi state. As the Nazis implemented anti-Semitic policies as part of the Final Solution, the chemical giant aligned its operations accordingly. Socially, like many other organizations, I.G. Farben took advantage of Germany's open hostility toward Jews by unleashing its deep-seated anti-Semitism through physical violence and policy campaigns. Politically, it wielded its enormous influence by initiating and planning Nazi military operations. Economically, it exploited Auschwitz inmates as slave labor to reduce its operational costs, and amassed substantial domestic economic power as the sole supplier of specific war materials to Germany. Consequently, I.G. Farben played a significant role in the perpetuation of the Holocaust, profiting from Nazi atrocities against Jews.

The Holocaust enabled anti-Semitic sentiment already firmly entrenched within I.G. Farben to erupt into outright brutality and discrimination. In Auschwitz III-Monowitz, Farben's industrial camp stationed within Auschwitz, plant managers openly participated in beatings and other severe punishments of Jewish prisoners in order to assert their authority.³ During the Nuremberg Trials, Arnest Tauber, a former prisoner at the Monowitz camp, testified that he witnessed I.G. Farben construction supervisor "[Max] Faust beat several prisoners with a club because the moving of loaded wagons [...] did not function as he desired."⁴ Tauber concludes that I.G. Farben "not only [had] knowledge of the atrocities which were taking place, but it took an active part in them."⁵ I.G. Farben profited socially and personally by initiating such anti-Semitic acts of violence, using the Holocaust as an opportunity to express its contempt for Jews.

In his 1938 autobiography, Jewish Nobel-Prize winning

2 Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal, *I.G. Farben Trial – Roll 97* (National Archives Microfilm Productions: 1948), 747.

3 Joseph Borkin, *The Crime and Punishment of I.G. Farben* (New York: Free Press/Macmillan, 1978), 125.

4 Arnest Tauber, affidavit, 3 May 1947, NI-4829. Archive of the Fritz Bauer Institute, Subsequent Nuremberg Trials, Case VI, 111-115.

5 *Ibid.*

chemist Richard Willstätter criticized Carl Duisberg, the founder of I.G. Farben, for making anti-Semitic remarks after Willstätter resigned from the University of Munich in 1924.⁶ It is significant that Willstätter left his post due to rampant institutional anti-Semitism in Germany.⁷ Indeed, Duisberg's, and hence I.G. Farben's, anti-Semitism was symptomatic of that which had taken hold throughout Germany in the period. Thus, the Holocaust provided the ideal venue for I.G. Farben to act upon its anti-Semitic sentiments.

I.G. Farben also targeted Jews in a more subversive fashion, namely through Nazi policy campaigns. In the late 1930s to early 1940s, a powerful anti-tobacco and cancer research campaign emerged under the Nazis. In an effort to “engineer a high-achieving worker”⁸ with optimal health, the Nazis launched a massive propaganda campaign fervently condemning tobacco use. These propaganda materials were frequently anti-Semitic, depicting Jews and other “inferior” peoples smoking cigarettes or promoting them. In *Reine Luft*, a prominent anti-tobacco journal in the Reich, several graphics portrayed Jews with stereotypical characteristics, including crooked noses and dark features;⁹ in the corner of one image is written, “Tobacco has its victims by the neck; the Jew has his victims by the neck.”¹⁰ By the early 1940s, I.G. Farben had become involved in the anti-cancer movement as well, publishing reports on the connection between asbestos exposure and cancer.¹¹ By supporting this blatantly anti-Semitic health movement, I.G. Farben implicitly expressed its support of Nazi anti-Semitism as well as its persecution of Jews. Once more, the chemical conglomerate profited socially from this explicitly anti-Semitic atmosphere; it did not need to fear retribution within Germany because anti-Semitism was already legitimized by then, most notably through the Holocaust. More importantly, I.G. Farben's participation in Nazi Germany's anti-cancer

6 Richard Willstätter, *From My Life* (New York: W.A. Benjamin, 1965), 213.

7 Nobel Lectures, *Chemistry 1901-1921* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishing Company, 1966).

8 Robert N. Proctor, *The Nazi War on Cancer* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 77.

9 *Ibid.*, 221.

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid.*, 112.

program integrated the company into the nation's social fiber.

While the movement certainly had both political and economic implications, its propaganda aligned with the Nazis' preoccupation with public health, a social concern. Thus, Nazi Germany's anti-cancer effort not only provided an opportunity for I.G. Farben to illustrate its disdain for Jews, but also to associate itself with a major Nazi social project. This undoubtedly lent the company legitimacy among the German population, which took the movement seriously,¹² as well as the Nazi political establishment. Hence, I.G. Farben profited doubly from the Holocaust from a social perspective: it was granted the opportunity to express unbridled anti-Semitism and managed to incorporate itself into Nazi Germany's political and social structure.

Since 1933, I.G. Farben played an essential role in influencing the course of Nazi politics. In February of that year, it donated 45 percent of the Nazi Party's funds for the 1933 election, contributing over 700,000 Reichsmarks in total.¹³ American I.G. Farben, the U.S. division of the company, provided 400,000 Reichsmarks for Hitler's campaign through a covert "political slush fund,"¹⁴ constituting nearly 30.5 percent of Hitler's political donations from industry. These donations ultimately bolstered I.G. Farben's political authority within Nazi Germany, allowing them to spearhead military campaigns in which Jews were openly targeted.

In March 1938, the Nazis annexed Austria through the Anschluss, prompting I.G. Farben to present Nazi officials with its "New Order for the Greater Chemical Industry of Austria."¹⁵ In the memorandum, the corporation argued that it would be beneficial for the German economy for I.G. Farben to seize control of Skoda Werke Wetzler, a major chemical facility in Austria. Because Skoda was a Jewish-run company, I.G. Farben further justified its request by asserting that appropriating the Austrian facility would "promote

12 *Ibid.*, 17.

13 Antony C. Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler* (Seal Beach, CA: '76 Press, 1976), 74.

14 *Ibid.*, 75.

15 National Archives Collection, *Trials of War Criminals Before the Nuremberg Military Tribunals: VII* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1953), 1404-1406.

the elimination of Jewish influence in Austrian industry.”¹⁶ Following the Anschluss, the Nazis dismissed all top Jewish officials in Skoda, and began negotiations with Josef Joham, the key representative of the company. These talks proved futile, however, as Joham himself was Jewish and I.G. Farben made anti-Semitic threats against him.¹⁷ Ultimately, I.G. Farben acquired Skoda, forcing Joham to flee Austria and leading Isador Pollack, the general manager of Skoda, to be “stomped to death by Nazi Storm Troopers before he could make his escape.”¹⁸ By 1940, I.G. Farben planned to implement similar schemes in surrounding nations, including France, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Norway, Denmark, and England.¹⁹ It thus practiced great control over Nazi foreign policy, reaping immense political and financial strength through the physical and economic annihilation of Jews. Indeed, I.G. Farben fully participated in planning and executing Nazi government and military policy. The conglomerate often initiated its own projects to increase Germany’s military might, and then persuaded the Wehrmacht to pursue those projects.²⁰ In a report detailing I.G. Farben’s research work, it discloses that, “The cases were relatively rare where the Army for its part approached the I.G.”²¹ Even more, the report states that roughly 40 to 50 percent of I.G. Farben projects were “submitted to the Army by the I.G. on its own initiative.”²² Hence, by appealing to the anti-Semitic ideology of the Nazi regime, the corporation managed to secure considerable control over Nazi foreign politics, a conclusion reached by the company’s

16 Joseph Borkin, *The Crime and Punishment of I.G. Farben* (New York: Free Press/Macmillan, 1978), 96.

17 *Ibid.*

18 *Ibid.*

19 I.G. Farben, Patent for the European Reich (1940), excerpted, EU Facts, http://www.eu-facts.org/en/ireland/1940_ig_farben_patent_for_the_european_reich.html (accessed 18 April 2011).

20 Division of Investigation of Cartels and External Assets, *Report of the Investigation of I.G. Farbenindustrie A.G.* (Office of Military Government, U.S.: 1945), 11.

21 *Ibid.*

22 *Ibid.*

principal commercial director Georg von Schnitzler himself.²³

Perhaps I.G. Farben's most overtly anti-Semitic profiteering efforts took place in the economic sector. In April 1941, I.G. Farben established I.G. Auschwitz, a chemical facility charged with the production of synthetic rubber, fuels, plastics, stabilizing agents, resins, methanol, nitrogen, and pharmaceutical drugs.²⁴ Roughly a year later, I.G. Farben opened its own industrial concentration camp within Auschwitz, known as Auschwitz III or Buna/Monowitz. This camp primarily lodged Jewish prisoners who served as slave labor for I.G. Auschwitz, producing the aforementioned materials.²⁵ Jews made up a substantial portion of the forced labor force in Monowitz as a result of SS selection procedures in the years following the camp's establishment.²⁶ Ultimately, roughly 30,000 inmates perished in Monowitz due to starvation, disease, arbitrary killings, and gassing in Auschwitz-Birkenau.²⁷ I.G. Farben profited substantially from these atrocities. Not only was it supplied with an expendable slave labor force to manufacture its products, but it also tightened its economic grip on the Wehrmacht. By 1943, the German Army was entirely dependent upon I.G. Farben for essential war materials, including synthetic rubber, poison gas, plastics, explosives, and gasoline.²⁸ In fact, I.G. Farben produced 100 percent of Germany's synthetic rubber, 90 percent of German plastics, 84 percent of German explosives, 46 percent of German aviation gasoline, and

23 Division of Investigation of Cartels and External Assets, *Report of the Investigation of I.G. Farbenindustrie A.G.* (Office of Military Government, U.S.: 1945), 12.

24 Wollheim Memorial, "What Was I.G. Auschwitz Meant to Produce?" *Wollheim Memorial*, Fritz Bauer Institute, http://www.wollheim-memorial.de/en/was_sollte_fabrik_produzieren (accessed 18 April 2011).

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27 Adam LeBor and Roger Boyes, *Seduced by Hitler: The Choices of a Nation and the Ethics of Survival* (Naperville, Ill: Sourcebooks, 2001), 145.

28 Antony C. Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler* (Seal Beach, CA: '76 Press, 1976), 19.

33 percent of German synthetic gasoline. As previously indicated, Jewish inmates were recruited to produce these materials en masse at little cost to I.G. Farben. Hence, the conglomerate managed to become a profitable, indispensable war materials manufacturer for the Wehrmacht by exploiting its Jewish labor force during the Holocaust.

Even more importantly, I.G. Farben was the chief manufacturer of Zyklon B, the gas used to murder Jews in the extermination camps. For Degesch, an independent license holder of I.G. Farben, sales of Zyklon B constituted roughly 75 percent of its business; within the company itself, enough Zyklon B was produced and sold to kill 200 million people.²⁹ In a 1945 interrogation of I.G. Farben commercial director Georg von Schnitzler, von Schnitzler confessed that “all I.G. directors in Auschwitz” knew that Zyklon B was used to murder concentration camp inmates.³⁰ Murder was thus a prime source of income for I.G. Farben, as it profited from death in its labor camps or directly through the sale of Zyklon B.

I.G. Farben, a chemical manufacturing giant, profited enormously from the rise of the Nazi Party and its subsequent persecution of Jews in the Holocaust. From a social perspective, the company took advantage of Nazi Germany’s anti-Semitic sentiment to physically harm Jews in its own corporate concentration camps. It also waged ideological warfare against Jews, supporting Germany’s anti-cancer campaign which infamously depicted Jews as devils, sexual predators, and low-lives. Participating in this social movement allowed I.G. Farben to become a prominent figure in Nazi Germany’s social affairs, and gained it recognition amongst the health-conscious public. Politically, I.G. Farben played a key role in planning Nazi Germany’s foreign policy as well as its expansionary route. In its proposed military plans to the Wehrmacht, Farben demanded that it seize control of foreign chemical factories in order to weaken Jewish influence in the chemical industry. The chemical company thus exploited Nazi anti-Semitism in order to gain control of German military operations. Finally, I.G. Farben profited economically from Jewish slave labor during the Holocaust. By employing Auschwitz inmates to produce massive amounts of war materials, it was able to

29 Antony C. Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler* (Seal Beach, CA: ’76 Press, 1976), 20.

30 *Ibid.*

become an indispensable component of the Nazi war machine. Most notably, I.G. Farben directly benefited from the mass production and sale of Zyklon B, the primary gas used to murder Jews in the Holocaust. Thus, the Holocaust enabled I.G. Farben to reap enormous profits in the social, political, and economic sectors of Nazi Germany.

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CONQUEST OF THE ALGERIAN LANDSCAPE: SPACE, MYTH, AND IDEOLOGY IN ALGERIA, 1830- 1900

By Kristine Yoshihara

The 19th century Algerian landscape provided a formidable obstacle to the colonial dreams of the French, who invaded and conquered Algerian shores in 1830. Military difficulties aside, once Algeria had been subdued, the French faced the difficulty of reconciling the exotic and unfamiliar landscape with their overarching determination to create a new French homeland on the far side of the Mediterranean Sea. Conquest is about the acquisition of territory, but successful settler colonization requires much more: physical possession alone does not ensure a colony's success. In the period of 1830 to 1870, the French consolidated control of Algeria's more threatening elements, seeking to regulate the foreign Algerian space, warring with the unfamiliar to create a colony ideologically and physically structured according to French standards. The result was an Algeria with a new face, a curious blend of the old traditions, new French structures, and a number of myths created by the colonizing

power in order to establish their presence on Algeria soil.

Prior to French colonization, Algeria was a multiethnic nation under the loose authority of Turkish rule, comprised of Arabs, Berbers, Turks, Andalusians, blacks, and Jews.¹ Composed of consanguineous tribes, who traded and warred with one another, Algeria functioned under the loose authority of the Turkish Dey of Algiers.² French invasion over the pretext of diplomatic insult in 1830 was contrived to distract the public from internal problems and bolster the prestige of the monarchy.³ These events led to 27 years of subjugating military conquest and 13 years of administration, followed by a civilian regime, the changes in Algerian government reflecting the rise and fall of monarchies and republics in the métropole.⁴ In the 1840s, questions over colonization emerged as the French struggled to define their presence in Algeria: whether colonization should be dictated by the military or the civilian *colons*, balancing economic interests with the civilizing mission.⁵ The significance of Algeria to France is demonstrated in the half a meter tall painting titled *Episode from the Conquest of Algeria in 1837* by Vernet, displayed in a room in the Museum of French History.⁶ The theme was the conquest of Algeria and the painting was part of a major cultural project by Louis-Philippe, king of France, who placed evidence of the new French territory as a focal point in the exhibit, a certain national pride.⁷

The question of nation was a subject of some discomfort to both the French and historians studying the French. Prior to Algerian

1 Patricia M.E. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, prejudice, and race in colonial Algeria* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1995), 2.

2 Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, prejudice, and race in colonial Algeria*, 6. John Ruedy, *Modern Algeria* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 24

3 David Prochaska, *Making Algeria French: Colonialism in Bône, 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 7. Paul A. Silverstein, "The Kabyle Myth: Colonization and the Production of Ethnicity," in *From the Margins: Historical Anthropology and Its Futures*, ed. Brian Keith Axel (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 129.

4 Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, prejudice, and race in colonial Algeria*, 6.

5 John Zarobell, *Empire of landscape: space and ideology in colonial Algeria* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 37-38.

6 *Ibid.*, 39.

7 *Ibid.*

occupation, the French took steps to direct focus to the fragmented structure of Algerian society, emphasizing that no nation could have existed before French occupation.⁸ The destructive tendencies of warring tribes were emphasized and economic interdependence of the tribes minimized in order to create the appearance of a disorganized land of primitive peoples.⁹ From Ruedy's analysis, Algerians shared a "common framework" created by Islamic values, a similar consanguineous structure, and reliance on trade for specialized goods between tribes, which possessed the potential to form a true nation.¹⁰ This represents one of the many myths created by the French in the period, an image of a land of warring tribes in stasis, attaining high civilization only after arrival of the French.

On this subject, Prochaska discusses the difference between colonialist historians and anticolonialist historians, the former believing that no Algerian nation had existed before French arrival, while the latter argued that the Algerian nation preceded the French.¹¹ Under anticolonialist history, the French alone were considered colonizers, since unlike previous invaders such as the Phoenicians and Turks, the French came from a different religious and cultural heritage than the Algerian indigenous.¹² This difference in heritage and culture is key to understanding French discomfort with simply governing Algeria as it came without adding modifying ideologies and myths. "Colonialism is about control of space," writes Zarobell, going on to describe the importance of imposing control over the landscape by removing the indigenous way of relating to space, replacing native structures with French agricultural and urban spaces.¹³ Landscape is defined as "a picture of the world," structured according to its creator's aesthetics and values and deeply influenced by culture.¹⁴ Necessity demanded the French replace the Algerian landscape with their own. The colonial alteration of landscape reflects not only explicit economic and political control, but also a

8 Ruedy, *Modern Algeria*, 25.

9 *Ibid.*, 43.

10 *Ibid.*, 25.

11 Prochaska, *Making Algeria French: Colonialism in Bône, 1870-1920*, 2.

12 *Ibid.*

13 *Ibid.*, 5.

14 *Ibid.*, 4.

subtler overlay of the colonizing discourse and values.

Artwork from the early years of Algerian colonization provides an example of how symbolic control of the landscape could be transmitted into public consciousness. The *Panorama of Algiers* created by French military officer Jean-Charles Langlois in 1837 was a circular painting housed in a Parisian rotunda, in which city inhabitants paid for the experience of looking about the authentic Algerian city.¹⁵ Unlike the practical but static military drawings common in the decade, the *Panorama of Algiers* took some artistic license. Langlois used perspective to convey the sensation of looking over the city, depicting a landscape devoid of people and enabling civilians far from Algeria to feel that they could step into the exotic landscape.¹⁶ The panorama aided in the naturalization of Algeria as a potential extension of France across the Mediterranean, familiarizing citizens with the formerly foreign territory and altering French conception of Algeria.¹⁷ Notably, Langlois's work was received by critics and the public as a depiction of the absolute truth, despite its idealized portrayal of a utopian Algeria.¹⁸ Perhaps the most significant aspect of the painted image before widespread photography was public trust in the artist's ability to represent reality. As seen in Langlois' example, cultural bias translates into images just as with written sources. By making the far away location accessible to the public, accessible landscape artwork such as the panorama served as a nonverbal vehicle for colonial beliefs, in this case, that of a welcoming, empty land receptive to visitors.

Yet the newly conquered Algeria was not as empty as portrayed in Langlois' panorama and French takeover of the physical land, often of dubious legality, represented another method of controlling Algerian space. Land expropriation occurred in two phases in early colonial Algeria, first carried out by the administration until the 1860s, after which ownership changed through private transactions.¹⁹ The French military set the example in early Algerian colonization,

15 *Ibid.*, 13, 21.

16 Jean-Charles, Langlois, *Panorama of Algiers*, 1832.

17 Zarobell, *Empire of landscape: space and ideology in colonial Algeria*, 13-15.

18 *Ibid.*, 24.

19 Kjell H. Halvorsen, "Colonial Transformation of Agrarian Society," *Journal of Peace Research* No. 4 Vol XV (1978): 323-343, 334.

emphasizing profit over legality. Count Bertrand Clauzel, the second commanding general in the early conquest of Algeria, established the experimental Ferme Modèle settlement for soldiers to settle and began a land rush by example of his own acquisition of illegal land.²⁰ In 1832, despite a law banning property exchange between Europeans and Algerians, General Monck d'Uzer obtained an exemption for Bône and promptly engaged in land speculation, obtaining 2000 acres cheaply.²¹ In addition to expropriating land for public needs, the French confiscated land from rebelling tribes and took over any unoccupied land, considering it French territory by virtue of having defeated the former Turkish owners.²² In many cities, Bône for example, civilians fled when the French military approached, returning later only to find their dwellings occupied by the invaders.²³ The result was overwhelming French control of actual property rights to the land.

The conquered landscape was then further controlled by distinctly Western modes of production and property. Great swathes of agricultural land, cork oak forests, and mineral deposits of iron copper and lead were resources of great value to a French style economy and promptly put to use.²⁴ The French further regulated use of the landscape, as demonstrated by the 1881 *Code de l'indigénat*, which named multiple specifications on private property rights, contrary to native conception of private property, which was defined by kinship.²⁵ The Algerian version of the feudal forest code of France, which disrupted traditional native use of the forests, represents a particularly intrusive redefinition of the landscape, which the French thought to be uninhabited and therefore state property.²⁶ Even cantonnement, which divided land according to tribal use, fell prey to French ideas of what land was being used by natives.²⁷ In

20 Ruedy, *Modern Algeria*, 52.

21 Prochaska, *Making Algeria French: Colonialism in Bône, 1870-1920*, 65.

22 Kjell H. Halvorsen, "Colonial Transformation of Agrarian Society," *Journal of Peace Research* No. 4 Vol XV (1978): 323-343, 342.

23 Prochaska, *Making Algeria French: Colonialism in Bône, 1870-1920*, 64.

24 *Ibid.*, 64, 77.

25 Halvorsen, "Colonial Transformation of Agrarian Society," 337.

26 Prochaska, *Making Algeria French: Colonialism in Bône, 1870-1920*, 71.

27 Halvorsen, "Colonial Transformation of Agrarian Society," 335.

establishing a new colony, the French redefined notions of the use and ownership of the land, actions which contributed to normalizing the distant locale to French standards.

As the countryside was transformed by French agriculture, cities became the hubs of trade, intermediaries between the métropole and the countryside.²⁸ The cities of Algeria became magnets for the *colons* and by the end of the 19th century, over 60% of European settlers lived in towns and cities, unique colonial structures where the culture of the métropole and indigenous people overlapped.²⁹ The process of creating the French protocolonial city from the skeleton of the traditional city exemplifies the evolution of French presence in Algeria. Prior to French arrival, Algiers exemplified the Islamic city, filled with a hierarchy of streets, defined by the Ottomans in medieval times, and with Islamic public spaces, including mosques, fountains, baths, and religious schools.³⁰ Visually exotic, with its landscape of white geometric houses and a street organization alien to the French, a certain myth arose around the old, precolonial city, the Casbah, which became personified in French literature and writings as a sensuous female, mysterious and veiled.³¹ The feminine personification is significant, bearing resemblance to similar feminizations of ships and countries, entities to be guided or steered and ultimately controlled. Early French presence in the 1830s was strictly military, and considered brutal by the inhabitants of the Casbah, who witnessed alterations to arteries of the cities for passage and the violations of “cultural icons,” the beginning of the creation of a French niche.³²

The city of Algiers provides an example of the altered face of Algeria following colonization. Further construction was less destructive than during military occupation, as French interest in occupation became more concrete, and in 1849 new fortifications were added to the city, along with regular street network conforming

28 Prochaska, *Making Algeria French: Colonialism in Bône, 1870-1920*, 17.

29 *Ibid.*, 11-15.

30 Zeynep Çelik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 12-15.

31 *Ibid.*, 22-25.

32 *Ibid.*, 27.

to French standards for urban planning.³³ The difficulty of remodeling the Casbah was remarked upon in a government report that described the process as fighting “against nature,” a statement which further attributes another personified trait to the foreign and suddenly threatening Casbah.³⁴ When merely a distant, exotic locale across the Mediterranean, the Casbah seemed an alluring female; in the reality of occupation, its exoticism was displeasing and dangerous. Again, the French faced the problem of making a landscape defined by indigenous and foreign presence into a new portion of the French homeland.

As French presence in Algiers became more pronounced, civilian desire to maintain distance from the less familiar indigenous spaces increased. The city became divided along ethnic lines, with the European settlers, the French, Spanish, and Italians, creating the “Marine Quarter” in the lower Casbah, leaving the upper for the indigenous population.³⁵ This ethnic segregation created boundaries between the new French settlement and the everyday life of the indigenous population, exemplifying association over assimilation. Architectural segregation, which separated European architectural forms from the indigenous, occurred in many protocolonial cities, barring appropriations of a few native features.³⁶ The French Marine Quarter was remodeled to create regular buildings and large arteries, with spaces named for French personalities, seen in the Square Aristide Briand in the 1860s and an artery on the waterfront named for Napoleon III. The European square, functioning as the center of trade and public gatherings, was a cultural imposition, contrasting with the Islamic bazaar, which served the corresponding function.³⁷ The urban segregation and hasty import of comforting reminders of métropole culture are the result of *piéd noir* desire for the familiar as they separated themselves from the indigenous elements of the Casbah.

Despite the prominence of association within the urban city, the balance between assimilation and association in Algeria was initially in

33 *Ibid.*, 35.

34 *Ibid.*, 37.

35 *Ibid.*, 35.

36 Prochaska, *Making Algeria French: Colonialism in Bône, 1870-1920*, 15.

37 John Zarobell, *Empire of landscape: space and ideology in colonial Algeria*, 19.

favor of assimilation. In the early period of establishing Algeria as a colony in the 1830s, cultural assimilation was primarily pursued by the military, who worked to modernize peasant agriculture and establish ‘civilization.’³⁸ Silverstein notes that some historians believe French colonial interest in assimilation was shaped by Rousseau and Diderot, leading to a staunch belief in citizenship and rights (Silverstein 125).³⁹ Under this conception of citizenship, it was only natural that Algerians become new French citizens. After Second Republic arose in France in 1848, Algeria was declared French territory, granting military rule new authority to protect the indigenous from the land-expropriating settlers, leading to the creation of the *sénatus consulte* legislation.⁴⁰ The *sénatus consulte* may be seen as a form of legal assimilation, reestablishing proper ownership of tribal land and granting rights to the Muslim population, although its actual benefits were debatable.⁴¹

Some French discomfort with the indigenous practices can be seen through the publications of the Scientific Commission. Established in 1840, the Scientific Commission lent an institutionalized authority to Algerian colonial ideology through its publication of scholarly works as well as its role in advising government policy makers.⁴² Among the ideas it disseminated were the strong link between civilization and a sedentary society, at odds with the nomadic Arab way of life.⁴³ Early interest in assimilation is characterized by French interest in creating an economic rivalry between Arabs and Kabyles, to hasten the transition to a sedentarized Arab society.⁴⁴ Assimilation was further supported by Père Enfantin, a Scientific Commission author, writing as a Saint-Simonian interested in socialist utopia, who espoused the belief that the state expropriate

38 Halvorsen, “Colonial Transformation of Agrarian Society,” 333.

39 Paul A. Silverstein, “The Kabyle Myth: Colonization and the Production of Ethnicity,” in *From the Margins: Historical Anthropology and Its Futures*, ed. Brian Keith Axel (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 125.

40 Ruedy, *Modern Algeria*, 74.

41 *Ibid.*, 39.

42 Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, prejudice, and race in colonial Algeria*, 36-49.

43 *Ibid.*, 49-50.

44 Prochaska, *Making Algeria French: Colonialism in Bône, 1870-1920*, 68.

all land in Algeria and redistribute it.⁴⁵ Père Enfantin's views reflect his belief in the innate capabilities of even Arabs to be productive citizens under French customs when given their own land. Capitalist or socialists alike saw the land use of the native Arabs and Kabyles was seen as something to be altered through assimilation.

Assimilation gave way to association as civilians, rather than the military, came to dominate administration. True assimilation, writes Lorcin, "was, at least as far as the indigenous population was concerned, so distant a prospect as to make it meaningless."⁴⁶ As seen as the earlier example of the city of Algiers, civilian settlers and their new administration in 1870 preferred a segregated form of association, gradually implemented throughout colonization.⁴⁷ Assimilation was a tool for integration; association occurred when it was clear assimilation alone could not recreate France on Algerian soil. The failure of assimilation reflects that for the creation of a new French territory, the racial issue was problematic; unlike the landscape, race could not be satisfactorily integrated into French conception of the familiar in its current state.

The Kabyle ethnic myth is an unusual and longlasting example of intentional French distortion of race in Algeria. French views of ethnicity were shaped not by incorrect information on the ethnicities of Algeria, but by the polarizing effect of French values, which led to a negative depiction of Arabs due to their Islamic faith, while the 'Kabyles' were considered in a more positive light.⁴⁸ The Kabyle myth imposed the term 'Kabyle,' originally derived from Arabic, upon hillsmen and mountain dwellers and often Berbers, although the term did not refer to any historical tribe prior to the arrival of the French.⁴⁹ Since Arab conception of nationality was tied to bloodlines and descent, while the Kabyles and the French both believed that nationality originated from the occupied land, the French concluded the Kabyles were more similar in ideology and

45 Bartholomy Prosper Enfantin, *Colonisation de l'Algérie*, (Paris: P. Bertrand, 1843) 160-165.

46 Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, prejudice, and race in colonial Algeria*, 7.

47 Halvorsen, "Colonial Transformation of Agrarian Society," 333.

48 Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, prejudice, and race in colonial Algeria*, 3-4.

49 *Ibid.*, 4-6.

better suited for assimilation.⁵⁰ This ethnic myth was imposed and artificial.

The myth of Kabylean superiority was enhanced by the discovery of a blond haired Kayble group in the Aurès, which further inspired anthropological scholarship. In the 13th session of the Anthropological Society of Paris, members debated its implications. “Le climate de la region d’Atlas... pourrait à la rigueur avoir la cause de cette coloration blonde,” writes Broca, noting that climate in North Africa also translated into a light pelage in animals, further adding that the lack of Germanic influence in their language made Vandal descent unlikely.⁵¹ Yet the myth that the Kabyles were possibly descended from Germanic tribes, Celts, or Roman settlers persisted, fitting in with French interest in the formation of a “new white Mediterranean race” in Algeria, in which mixed blood was not problematic.⁵² As the Kabyles were “destined to be fused with the French,” great effort was made to place French schools in Kabylia and assign French names to towns.⁵³ The use of French structures and nomenclature in protocolonial cities like Algiers for naturalization was mirrored in Kabylia. The French went to unusual lengths to create the impression that the Kabyles were closer to the French Christian heritage than the Islamic Arabic, demonstrative of the French use of myths to familiarize foreign aspects of Algeria.

French conquest of Algeria led to the complex problem of how a visually and culturally foreign land might be made habitable for settlers anticipating an extension of their homeland. The issue of control is a major aspect of colonialism, and in Algeria, the French explored early requirements for successful colonization. Cities were remodeled in the colonizer’s image and new myths about nation, race, and land ownership were imposed over the landscape. Despite experiments with association and assimilation, the French found that

50 *Ibid.*, 44.

51 P. Broca, “Séance du 19 Janvier” in *Bulletins de la Société d’Anthropologie de Paris*, (Paris: Typographie Hennuyer, 1860), 158

52 Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, prejudice, and race in colonial Algeria*, 155. Ruedy, *Modern Algeria*, 91.

53 Ruedy, *Modern Algeria*, 91-92.

the Algerian landscape was difficult to fully remodel in the métropole image, resulting in a protocolony characterized by great duality between colonizer and colonized peoples.

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SOCIAL AND CULTURAL INFLUENCES OF THE HACIENDA PEASANTRY

By Tiana Yarbrough

There are many ways in which culture and society among labor forces were influenced by the hacienda system in Latin America. The term *hacienda* can be described as a type of formal organization in which the landowner is always at the top, and the various social dimensions of laborers are underneath. Haciendas can also be identified as a distinct economic enterprise, where maximum production is met solely through total control over the lives of its inhabitants. The methods of discipline used by the landowner, or *hacendado*, created a very complex web of social and cultural relationships between patron and clients. In this essay, I will search throughout Latin American hacienda case studies to discuss how notions of authority, respect, and resistance affected everyday interactions within the hacienda community. These fundamental social themes defined hacienda life for both landowner and laborer, and often stemmed from basic ties to deep-seated religious upbringing and discipline.

The various case studies used in this essay draw from the everyday experiences of laborers living and working under the power and authority of the hacendado. The particular countries under examination include Ecuador, Mexico, and Venezuela. The Monjas Corral of Ecuador is not considered a “typical” hacienda, in the sense that it was not a completely isolated society. Many of the residents on the hacienda moved from one estate to another, and therefore many had carried experiences from various haciendas in the area.¹ The *villa* or Spanish municipality of San Felipe el Real de Chihuahua, today known as the city of Chihuahua, is a remote desert location nearly a thousand miles northwest of Mexico City. In Yucatàn, Mexico, the haciendas Santo Domingo Xcuyum and Ticopò provide us with information about coerced indigenous labor and paternalistic peasant-landowner relations. Other hacienda case studies mentioned in this essay include: the Chanchalò agricultural region of the Andean Highlands in Ecuador, the Chuao hacienda of Venezuela, and other small accounts of lumber haciendas formed out of the Indian villages of Tepetitlàn, San Onofre, and Providencia of San Felipe, Mexico.

The underlying commonality that produced more power and influence over social and cultural life was religion. Along with the boss headquarters, the church was typically located at the core in any social organization of hacienda land. Because of this, religious practices became integrated into all aspects of day-to-day living. Authority and religion often went hand in hand, as landowners often used *mestizo* teachers and priests to promote good behavior and obedience.² For example, the *Casco*, or core of the San Onofre hacienda community contained the schoolhouse, chapel, “big house”, and the general store. The hub of hacienda Xcuyum consisted of the main house, machine house, chapel, corrals, hacienda store, and worker’s huts along the outskirts of the estate. Although the church was a major entity of hacienda Xcuyum, it was secondary to the machine house, as this hacienda was intensely dedicated to cultivation

1 Barry J. Lyons, *Remembering the Hacienda* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2006).

2 Barbara Margolies, *Princes of the Earth* (Washington: American Anthropological Association).

of henequen.³ In Venezuela however, on the Chuao Hacienda, work for all 200 slaves began before daybreak, where they emerged from their huts to say prayers in the central patio, where the church was located, until the sun came up.⁴

The Monjas Corral, located in the upper Pangor basin of Ecuador, was a Catholic church-owned hacienda from 1880 until 1960. Its buildings and outdoor spaces served a variety of purposes. Owners, renters, and stewards all slept in the main house, and one room served as a chapel where residents received religious instruction, prayed and worshipped the patron saint. The yards between and around the house served as a gathering place where laborers received instruction, were disciplined, and celebrated fiestas. This area was deemed the ritual area of the hacienda estate. In the same area were the corrals for the animals, while the pastures were located in the surrounding valley. The hacienda cultivated products in a small, flat area near the river. Many resident families resided just east of this river in little huts, in an area near the central complex. Some also lived out in the hills in the southwest, where they panted potatoes and beans around their huts for their own subsistence.⁵ For these haciendas, the centrality of the church and big house suggest a great deal about the importance of social hierarchies and the linkage between religion and authority.

What all of these estates have in common is that despite their subservient position in the chain of command, indigenous people were able to collectively create a complex society that spanned all boundaries of the hacienda system. Peasant social relations and cultural practices provided a counterweight to subordination inflicted by the landowner. Some scholars relate hacienda society and authority to the image of an “open triangle”, which suggests that the landowner is placed at the top, and the vertical legs represent relationships with individual peasants.⁶ Although it is true that

3 Allen Wells, *Yucatán's Gilded Age: Haciendas, Henequen, and International Harvester 1860-1915* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1985).

4 Rafael Herrero, *The Colonial Slave Plantation as a Form of Hacienda: A Preliminary Outline of the Case of Venezuela* (Glasgow, Scotland: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Glasgow, 1978).

5 Barry J. Lyons, *Remembering the Hacienda*.

6 *Ibid.*

some haciendas operated from a strict vertical, hierarchical ladder, such as in the regions of Yucatàn, it is more likely that indigenous peoples maintained both vertical *and* horizontal hierarchies amongst themselves and with the landowner.

If one were to argue a complete triangle, the “base” would contain strong underlying ideologies of vertical elder-junior relations, although still on a horizontal plane. As with the hacendado and his employees, elders held authority over juniors below them. Norms of respect and disciplinary practices between parents and children, elders and juniors, helped prepare hacienda residents to respect landlords. They taught children to respect their parents, godchildren to respect their godparents, and younger siblings to respect older siblings. An interesting aspect of this vertical-horizontal hierarchical system was the recognition of spiritual kinship based on sponsorship of life-cycle sacraments. On Monjas Corral, as with all over the Roman Catholic Latin American world, this religious practice serves as an important way for people to strengthen bonds through mutual support, respect, and adherence of authority. These deeply integrated notions were instilled from the time of birth, and permeated both vertical and horizontal relationships at every level of hacienda society.

Traditionally, elders and landowners worked together to instill respect for authority into the minds of younger generations. The idea of authority began with a series of understandings, practices and relationships centered on moral obligation to the landowner, and the Church. On the Monjas Corral, during the Easter ritual of confession, elders and overseers gave their subordinates three lashes “in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost” and then blessed them.⁷ On many haciendas where the Catholic Church played a prominent role, the local understanding of authority and respect were deeply intertwined with religious meaning, which shaped cultural ideologies and social relationships.

When thinking about authoritarianism, there are many parallels to be drawn between parental and hacendado authority. The degree to which landlords’ power influenced residents’ social behavior was similar to the impact that parents and other adults had on shaping the lives of children. Paternalism was a form of authority that consisted of an unequal exchange of influence between patron

7 Barry J. Lyons, *Remembering the Hacienda*.

and client. Paternal figures displayed benevolence toward their subordinates and expected loyalty and obedience in return; this was generally understood as how authority became legitimate in subordinate's eyes, otherwise known as the theory of persuasion.⁸

Paternalism however was not always the primary ideological construct. For Andean societies, a fundamental belief in the power balance between men and women appeared to challenge other hacienda's notions of patriarchy. The idea of hacienda repression brought on by Chanchaleño authority appears to be distinctively one of commitment to collaboration, rather than a pattern of dominance and subordination.⁹ For those living and working on Yucatàn haciendas, notions of paternalism existed, but not to the extent that it reached in other regions of Latin America. For these workers, paternalism ensured a compliant and manageable work force to carry out the daily tasks of the estate.¹⁰

On other haciendas where paternalism was the main form of authority, landowners formed solid friendships with top employees, as well as the nearby town's most prominent social figures, to enhance economic and social stability. Genealogies even reveal that occasional marital unions occurred between the children of the hacendado and administrators.¹¹ Many landowners took to providing assistance for peasants in desperate times of need, and offered financial loans for ceremonial practices such as weddings and fiestas. A portion of hacienda products and profits were also redistributed among laborers, and ritual gifts and feasts reaffirmed the mutual goodwill and obligation that ideally characterized the hacendado-laborer relationship.¹² As part of this notion of "gift giving", residents living and working on Monjas Corral could request general aid at anytime. This type of "supplemental distribution" included money for ritual expenses, aid in special circumstances such as family illness or legal problems, potatoes or seed for substance crops, money for clothing,

8 *Ibid.*

9 Sarah Hamilton, *The Two-Headed Household: Gender and Rural Development in the Equadorean Andes* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998).

10 Allen Wells, *Yucatàn's Guilded Age: Haciendas, Henequen, and International Harvester 1860-1915*.

11 Barbara Margolies, *Princes of the Earth*.

12 Barry J. Lyons, *Remembering the Hacienda*.

and in few cases, a portion of the hacienda product or profit.¹³ In Chihuahua, some employers reportedly gave workers small amounts of silver for fiestas, but would have more than likely indebted them for it.¹⁴ As apart of the landowner's role as master, he would often open up his home to the rest of the hacienda for festive celebrations. When the hacendado celebrated his saint's day, the entire town celebrated with him. When he celebrated Candlemas, there was no need to issue invitations; respectfully, everybody automatically attended.¹⁵ Festive occasions like these often reiterated the notion of cooperation, respect, and authority between patron and client.

In the case of hacienda Ticopò, a *peon* hacienda for fifty years and arguably the largest henequen plantation in Yucatàn, workers did not enjoy this sense of security and closeness to authority figures. For this plantation, paternalism grew out of the simple necessity to discipline and morally justify a system of exploitation and coerced labor. Not only did henequen planters simply fail to invest enough time and effort required to nurture such complex relationships, laborers feared at any given moment, the absentee landlord would sell, trade, or gamble away his own birth right.¹⁶ In response to landowner's constraints on indigenous freedom, lack of moral and material compensation, and little opportunity to provide for themselves or their families, Indians on henequen plantations often resorted to random acts of violence, periodic escapes, and chronic alcoholism.¹⁷

Along with paternalism, the relationship between hacienda landlord and resident laborer was based on the moral characteristic of reciprocity. Hacendados often provided plots for people to cultivate, pasturage for their animals, and other resources in which labor was demanded in return. Sometimes this notion was reciprocated, and sometimes not. In Chihuahua for example, although employers often referred to their workers as "servants", workers failed to reciprocate

13 *Ibid.*

14 Cheryl English Martin, *Governance and Society in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford University Press, 1996).

15 Barbara Margolies, *Princes of the Earth*.

16 Allen Wells, *Yucatàn's Guilded Age: Haciendas, Henequen, and International Harvester 1860-1915*.

17 *Ibid.*

using the word “master”.¹⁸ These workers invariably failed to display the level of respect that their employers expected. Eighteenth-century employers and authorities tolerated a certain amount of rhetorical defiance on the part of the workers, as long as these gestures did not undermine the fundamental principles of subordination and domination at work in hacienda society.

On the Chulo hacienda, the parcels of land given by the hacendados were simply not enough to provide for an entire family. Laborer’s rebelled by stealing ears of cocoa to sell or barter in order to make up for what little the hacendado provided.¹⁹ A woman by the name of Jacoba Sayay lived and worked on Monjas Corral since childhood and often defied the landowner and overseers of the estate. Yet even in her defiance she recalled concern for religious morality. She states, “I thought, with my girl’s head – that maybe one shouldn’t talk back to the *fundador*. I thought that the Virgin would punish that.”²⁰ The reason for Jacoba’s retaliation was a reaction to the landowner’s failure of compensation for all of her hard labor suffering on the hacienda. Although aspects of the hacienda system could not easily be reconciled with the morality of reciprocity, the relationship between hacienda bosses and resident laborers was characterized as much by mutual resentment as by mutual goodwill. Deep-seated notions of respect were heavily integrated into the idea of reciprocity, and rebellion often sprang up due to landowner’s failure to conform to normal expectations of reciprocity and respect.

The particular themes of authority, respect, and resistance serve as the root from which all other cultural and societal aspects of the hacienda stem. These social and cultural patterns are all highly conducive to one another, and can ultimately be traced back to basic religious moralities. The ideology of respect for authority was deeply rooted into all elements of social hierarchy and religious practices, and manifested through various channels such as paternalism. Hacienda bosses placed great emphasis on the role of the Church, as to deeply instill complexes of respect and encourage patron subordination. Resistance to these principles naturally arose due

18 Cheryl English Martin, *Governance and Society in Colonial Mexico*.

19 Rafael Herrero, *The Colonial Slave Plantation as a Form of Hacienda: A Preliminary Outline of the Case of Venezuela*.

20 Barry J. Lyons, *Remembering the Hacienda*.

to feelings of injustice and lack of compensation. Overall, respect, authoritarianism, and defiance created complicated levels of social hierarchies and highly influenced laborer's social and cultural values on the hacienda.

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