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Danielle Steussy
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Travelogue Writers in the Age of Inquiry: Law, Orientalism, and</td>
<td>Keith Goodwin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Enlightenment Ideology in Southeast Asia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>English Reformation and Irish Witches: The Effects of</td>
<td>William Kramer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Confessionalisation in Suppressing Witchcraft Accusations in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Early Modern Ireland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Japanese Cultural Transition: Meiji Architecture and the Effect of</td>
<td>Christine Manzano Visita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cross-Cultural Exchange with the West</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>The Fear of Colonial Miscegenation in the British Colonies of</td>
<td>Katrina Chludzinski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Southeast Asia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>“Seeking and Holding”: Afrocentric Liberation Faith in the</td>
<td>Danielle R. Johnson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Antebellum South</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>“Our Testament to Democracy”: The Deception of Japanese American</td>
<td>Laura Sorvetti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Internment in World War II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Death and the Industrial Grunt: Sentiments of the American Textile</td>
<td>Trevor Walker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Worker From 1901–1935</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formations,</td>
<td>Reviewed by Brian Flint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>Frantz Fanon. <em>The Wretched of the Earth</em>. New York: Grove Press.</td>
<td>Reviewed by Justin G. McCollum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2004. 251 Pages.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EDITOR’S NOTE

This is the first publication of The Forum, Cal Poly’s Journal of History. Although it has been a trying process, it has also been a rewarding one. The process began in the Spring of last year when Keith Goodwin and I were given the opportunity to establish the precedents for this journal. We started from scratch putting together an editorial board, composed entirely of members of Phi Alpha Theta, and began the process of establishing submission requirements, an evaluation system, a means of distributing submissions to the editorial board, and many more technicalities that go along with establishing a journal. Although we had a few setbacks with our original plans, the entire editorial board was flexible, and we managed to get The Forum together for this publication.

As Co-Editor-in-Chief I would like to thank everyone that contributed to the publication of our first issue. Dr. Thomas Trice has been invaluable to this publication. The Department of History has long lacked an outlet to showcase its work and thanks to Dr. Trice, we finally have one. I would also like to thank Keith Goodwin, my fellow editor, for helping me to start Cal Poly’s first history journal. I would like to thank the editorial board. In the beginning we had an editorial board of eleven students; by the end we had seven students. It is largely due to their support that this publication exists. Lastly, none of this would have been possible without the numerous contributors to our journal—without them there would be nothing to publish. I thank each and every one of you that submitted.

Our goal this year was to give students at Cal Poly the opportunity to publish their history articles and reviews, and we succeeded. While we are pleased with this year’s progress, Keith and I hope to expand on this year’s accomplishments in the next publication. It is our hope to have submissions from other departments at Cal Poly, as well as have submissions from other universities. While we are pleased with this year’s progress, Keith and I hope to expand on this year’s accomplishments in the next publication.

Katrina Chludzinski
Co-Editor
During what I shall call the Age of Inquiry, 1690–1870, European and American explorers were conducting detailed observations of Southeast Asia and documenting them in travelogues. These travelogues attempted to record, describe, and define the manners, customs, and people of Southeast Asia for a Euro-American audience. Among their areas of inquiry were Southeast Asian legal and penal systems. When portraying the nature of these judicial systems, European and American travelogue writers frequently characterized them as arbitrary, barbaric, or lawless. However, this paper shall show that the negative portrayals of Southeast Asian legal and penal systems during the Age of Inquiry were underscored by inherent ideological biases that sought to objectify Southeast Asia in contrast to “the West,” and depict it as ripe for Occidental exploitation.

The core of this essay is derived from extensive examination of European and American travelogues written between 1690 and 1870. Beginning at the height of the English Enlightenment, this period ends at the dawn of the Second Industrial Revolution, as the dramatic industrialization of the late nineteenth century would significantly alter the course of imperialism toward a more direct rule and reshaping of Southeast Asian societies. Thus,
this period encompasses an age of increasing European commerce, global exchange, inquiry, and “rationalization.”

Reliance on travelogue has both advantages and disadvantages. Most significantly, travelogue writings provide first-hand accounts of Southeast Asia during the Age of Inquiry. Written from an outsider’s perspective, these accounts address areas that natives themselves may not have considered relevant to record in their own histories. However, travelogue writings provide only the perspective of one particular group during a specific moment in time—a group that was highly judgmental in their observations of Southeast Asia. Although these judgments may be a hindrance in the construction of an “objective” history of the region, they can also be beneficial. Analyzing the judgments within travelogue writings provides insight into the ideologies of the travelogue writers during the time period. Therefore, in order to transcend the inherent limitations of these travelogues, this paper seeks to draw conclusions about the motivations of the travelogue writers by examining their judgments in the context of the historical period and subsequent developments.

The development of this essay owes a great deal to Edward Said’s Orientalism. Said defines Orientalism as a series of discourses through which “the West” exoticized, defined, and ultimately dominated “the East,” thereby dichotomizing the world into two unequal realms. In addition, Said argues that Orientalism has significantly shaped the modern political and intellectual culture and has less to do with accurate portrayals of the Orient than it does with defining “the West.” My argument will also draw upon the legal analysis of Teemu Ruskola, who discusses how “the West” has used the notion that China lacks an indigenous legal tradition to construct its own cultural identity in opposition to China. Han Mui Ling’s examination of travelogues and guidebooks concerning colonial Singapore is also of great importance to this essay. Ling argues that travel experiences are filtered through preconceptions and ideologies, and that by presenting themselves as authoritative and objective accounts, they are instrumental in

2 Ibid., 12.
the definition of a "place." Although her argument is specifically confined to colonial Singapore, her analysis is easily applicable to travelogues concerning Southeast Asia in general during the Age of Inquiry.

This paper will also investigate the influence of Enlightenment ideology in Euro-American travelogues. Some may object to this investigation, noting that the Age of Inquiry includes a significant portion of the Romantic Era (typically 1785–1900), a period traditionally portrayed as a rejection of the Enlightenment values of rationalism and empiricism. However, an examination of the leading Romantic figures will reveal that Romanticism was not necessarily a total negation of Enlightenment ideology, but more of a contention that other ways of examining the world needed to supplement the rational-empirical approach in order to truly understand the world. Accordingly, this paper assumes this position in addressing travelogues that would otherwise be labeled as Romantic.

The Age of Inquiry occurred within the Age of Imperialism, which, led by the Iberian charge toward the end of the fifteenth century, emerged not as a result of expanding commercial capital or industrialization, but due to a combination of eager state support and individual ambition. Wealth acquired from early expeditions amplified existing intra-European rivalry and the arrival of Dutch merchants in the seventeenth century shifted the focus of this rivalry towards trade and economic competition, as opposed to missionary activity. The emergence of British supremacy in the 1820s dampened this rivalry and witnessed a transition toward the development of empires of commercial allies, rather than slaves, and a desire to impose global free trade. The rise of the United States and a reunified Germany reenergized imperial rivalries in the late nineteenth century, and precipi-
tated a last ditch effort to acquire what little territory remained to be colonized in the world.\textsuperscript{10} Political imperialism would dominate the history of the non-Western world until the rise of nationalist movements in the mid twentieth century.

Positioned between India and China, Southeast Asia was exposed to Western colonial activity from the beginning of the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{11} However, European impact in colonial Southeast Asia was varied and uneven.\textsuperscript{12} Europeans did not initially seek to establish territorial empires, rather they sought to place themselves in an optimum position to monopolize regional trade—thus, significant territorial colonization in Southeast Asia progressed gradually and often took decades (or even centuries).\textsuperscript{14} What’s more, the success of European colonization depended as much on the actions of natives as it did on the Europeans,\textsuperscript{15} and, in some cases, political authority remained largely indirect even after the establishment of a territorial empire.\textsuperscript{16} In time, however, Portugal, Spain, France, Britain, the United States, and the Dutch would all hold territories in Southeast Asia, redefining boundaries and leaving a cultural imprint that would significantly affect the remainder of Southeast Asian history. It was in this context that travelogue writers set out to explore Southeast Asia.

One of the major influences on European and American travelogues writers during the Age of Inquiry was the principles of the Enlightenment, which led many travelogue writers to define Southeast Asian judicial practices through perverse applications of rationalism, progression theories, and other ideologies. Within their writings, for example, travelogue writers frequently condemned Southeast Asia as lacking civilized legal progress. Writing in 1693, the first lines of Simon de La Loubere's section on the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid., 35.
\item Mary Somers Heidhues, \textit{Southeast Asia: A Concise History} (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), 9.
\item Milton Osborne, \textit{Southeast Asia, An Introductory History}, 6\textsuperscript{th} ed. (St. Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1995), 61.
\item Tarling, 41.
\item Osborne, 72.
\end{enumerate}
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judiciary system of Siam immediately contrast Siamese law to European law. La Loubere remarks that “[the Siamese] have not thought fit” to create a distinction between civil and criminal laws. That La Loubere makes a comparison is not unusual—cultures have always imposed their own interpretations on other cultures, seeing them not as they are, but as the observer imagines them. However, La Loubere’s condescending tone adds another dimension to this comparison. He implies that a “civilized” society would have made the distinction between civil and criminal law. His views emerge from a Western notion that the lack of civil law represents a gaping hole in a legal system that renders it devoid of “real” law.

A common criticism made by travelogue writers was that Southeast Asia lacked “civilized” legal progress. John Crawfurd, for example, attacked Southeast Asian law by claiming that the possession of judiciary power in the hands of a sovereign ruler was indicative of a primitive period of society. He reiterates by labeling the local judicial codes of conduct as “crude” and as evidence that the Indian Islanders were only in the rudest stages of civilization. The same criticisms are found in American travelogue writings as well. One particular example asserts that the lack of a three-branch form of government allowed for “innumerable and shameful abuses” in the realm of law and justice.

Underscoring these disapprovals were Enlightenment ideologies. If we look to two of the leading political theorists of the Enlightenment, John Locke and Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu, this is immediately evident. In his Second Treatise of Civil Govern-

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17 Simon de La Loubere, A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam (London: Tho. Horn, 1693), 85.
18 Said, 67.
19 Ruskola, 182.
21 Ibid., 85.
ment, Locke advocated a separation of government powers, an idea Montesquieu later built upon in advocating a system of checks and balances. Lacking these structural components, Euro-American travelogue writers classified Southeast Asian systems as “crude.” If one takes into account that both Locke’s and Montesquieu’s theories rested on an Enlightenment belief in human progress through political freedom and intellectual revolution, it is clear that travelogue writers negatively perverted this philosophy of progression to imply that the “crude” forms of legal administration in Southeast Asia made it inferior to the Occident.

A common technique employed in travelogue writings during the Age of Inquiry was the undermining of the integrity of Southeast Asian law via attacks on the officers of legal administration. One of the most surprising aspects of travelogue writers’ criticism is the consistency in word choice among both European and American travelogue writers. John White, for example, points out the venality of officials in Saigon, immediately following up this comment with a description of the frequent occurrence of murder and theft. In his observations of Burma, Thomas Trant also emphasizes the venality of administrative officials. The particular emphasis on venality (or some similar word) is alarmingly consistent in numerous other travelogue writings as well. One travelogue acknowledged the existence of formal codes of law but claimed, “all codes whatever are dead letters,” as corrupt judges never referenced them. Another author argued that neither law nor regulation existed in Singapore as the strong exploited

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23 John Locke, “Second Treatise” in Two Treatises of Government, ed. Ian Shapiro (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), §§143–144. All further citations will be designated by section number.
24 Charles de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu, the Spirit of the Laws (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), ed. and trans. Anne M. Cohler, Basia C. Miller, and Harold S. Stone, Book 11: Chapter 6. All further citations will be designated by book and chapter.
25 Fernández-Armesto, 748–749.
26 John White, History of a Voyage to the China Sea (Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1823), 280.
27 Thomas Abercromby Trant, Two Years in Ava, from May 1824 to May 1826 (London: John Murray, 1827), 274.
28 To avoid a laundry list of sources here, anyone wishing to verify this may search the Southeast Asia Visions travelogue database available through the Cornell University Library.
the weak and the Rajah exploited everyone. What is important about this emphasis on the faults of officials is that it undermined the very idea that law existed in Southeast Asia. Since the officers administering the law were “corrupt,” there could be no law. In fact, lacking an “indifferent judge,” any person ascribing to Locke’s theory of civilization would see Southeast Asia as not even constituting a valid society. Also, given the prevailing Enlightenment view that law was essential in securing liberty, and thus human progress, lacking law would have been seen as the epitome of barbaric. Furthermore, as Teemu Ruskola has noted, law plays a significant role in establishing the identity of a people. Thus, asserting that Southeast Asia lacked law asserts, by extension, that Southeast Asians themselves were somehow subhuman.

Travelogue writers’ negative portrayals of Southeast Asian law also utilized attacks on the “irrationality” of indigenous legal systems. John Crawfurd, for instance, explicitly called the rules of evidence in the Indian Archipelago “arbitrary and capricious.” Given the status of reason in Enlightenment thought, Crawfurd’s belittling of the rules of evidence as irrational undercuts the entire indigenous legal system and channels his audience’s existing ideologies against Southeast Asian natives. A more subtle attack commented that the lack of written law in the Philippines was the source of tyranny in the islands. This comment must be considered in light of the Western legal tradition and the general character of the Enlightenment. For “the West,” written law was viewed as a marker of civilization, held in high esteem as characteristic of the Greek and Roman civilizations from which their own traditions derived. As Locke commented in his Second Treatise, “Whoever has the legislative or supreme power of any commonwealth, is bound to govern by established standing laws,

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30 J.H. Moor, Notices of the Indian Archipelago and Adjacent Countries (Singapore: 1837), 34.
31 Locke, §§125, 131.
32 See Montesquieu, Books 11 and 12.
33 Ruskola, 208
34 Crawfurd, History of the Indian Archipelago, 87.
promulgated and known to the people, and not by extemporary decrees.”36 Furthermore, it must be remembered that the Enlightenment was a period of extensive documentation. Diderot’s Encyclopedia, for example, aimed to record, classify, and document the breadth of human knowledge.37 In true Orientalist fashion, emphasizing the lack of written law was used to assert the superiority of the “Western” tradition by means of denigrating “the other.”

Like representations of legal codes, negative portrayals of Southeast Asian penal systems also contained Enlightenment influences, and acted to dehumanize natives as barbaric savages. Just as many travelogues demeaned indigenous laws by labeling them as arbitrary, attacks on penal systems took a similar approach. Crawfurd openly expressed disapproval of “arbitrary violence” and the administration of capital punishment with a “wantonness that shocks the humanity of civilization.”38 Crawfurd’s criticisms of Southeast Asian law emerge amid a seemingly objective portion of the text. While much of his account of indigenous laws contains short and unemotional sentences, portions concerning punishment explode with subjectivity. Masking this subjectivity within a narrative structure, Crawfurd is able to transform his text into an authoritative “encyclopedia of exotic display and Orientalist scrutiny.”39 In another work, he continues to demonize Southeast Asians as violent by noting the “liberal and indiscriminate” use of bamboo as a form of corporal punishment in Siam.40 It is important here to note the subtitle of Crawfurd’s travelogue: Exhibiting the Actual State of Those Kingdoms. Presented to his Euro-American audience as an authoritative historical text on the Indian Archipelago, he is able to usurp the power to construct definitions that emerge out of his own imagination under the guise of empiricism.41 Therefore, his portrayal of Southeast Asian penal

36 Locke, §131.
39 Said, 161.
41 Ling, 259.
systems as violent and arbitrary is more readily accepted as fact among his audience, and consequently becomes a basis for judgments on the overall character of Southeast Asian natives.

European historical developments also influenced many of the descriptions characterizing Southeast Asians as violent and savage. Eighteenth-century Europe witnessed the progressive elimination of judicial torture and a transition to penal systems that sought to rehabilitate criminals rather than exact punishment through damaging the body.\(^{42}\) Hence, it comes as no surprise that in Thomas Trant criticizes the mode of capital punishment in the Kingdom of Ava as being incompatible with human nature in 1827.\(^{43}\) With the rise of rehabilitative prisons and “proportionate” punishments,\(^{44}\) Euro-American audiences were inclined to view the use of violent execution as backward and barbaric. However, the continued emphasis on violent punishment is used to redefine the Southeast Asian character. John Anderson, for example, mentions the “savage” nature of punishment in Sumatra, devoting none of his section on punishment to an explanation of why natives utilized a particular mode of punishment.\(^{45}\) Similar comments are evident in John White’s work, in which he denounces the “barbarous dexterity” of executioners.\(^{46}\)

Emphasis on the violent nature of indigenous penal systems must also be viewed in the context of eighteenth-century intellectual developments. Locke’s political philosophy, for example, advocated punishment dictated by “calm reason” and administered in proportion to the criminal’s offense.\(^{47}\) Throughout the eighteenth century, arbitrariness was depicted as representative of despotic power that defied natural law.\(^{48}\) In The Spirit of the Laws, Montesquieu claimed that severe punishments were characteristic of despotic governments, who utilized terror and intimidation, as opposed to


\(^{43}\) Trant, 275.

\(^{44}\) Jeremy’s Bentham’s *Panopticon* provides one ideal example of penal reforms.


\(^{46}\) White, 281.

\(^{47}\) Locke, “Second Treatise” in *Two Treatises of Government*, §8.

\(^{48}\) Ibid., §172.
Keith Goodwin

republics or “enlightened” monarchies, “which [had] honor and virtue for their spring.” 49 Thus, it is evident that this emphasis on violent and “arbitrary” punishment was an attempt by the travelogue writers to highlight the virtues of their own society by characterizing actions contrary to their own practices as despotic and inhumane.

By writing detailed, and exoticized, descriptions of Southeast Asian punishments, Euro-American travelogue writers were able to manipulate the emotions of their audience and dehumanize Southeast Asians. Crawfurd abhorred the “savage ferocity” of inflicting death with a kris. His section on punishment emphasizes the brutality of this practice, focusing on the pain one particular criminal endured for more than four hours when the dexterity of the executioner failed. 50 Crawfurd’s most exoticized account, however, notes, “In cases of enormous crimes the criminal...was condemned to be devoured by tigers, while his fate was aggravated by the abominable mockery of being made to fight beforehand, for the amusement of a tyrant and his court, with his savage executioner.” 51 Such an account epitomizes Orientalist exoticization and stereotyping. In light of this, it must reemphasized that travelogue writings begin as personal statement and assume a position of official statement, allowing them to play an important role in defining a given subject. 52 Thus, in the eyes of Crawfurd’s Euro-American audience, Southeast Asians were categorized as violent, savage tyrants, who fed their criminals to exotic beasts.

Exoticized travelogue descriptions of indigenous punishments acted to strip Southeast Asians of their human qualities and redefine them as barbarians. An excellent example of this dehumanization is evident in Trant’s description of a punishment wherein executioners marked each criminal with a piece of chalk that designated where the victim was to be stabbed with a knife. He comments, “The assistant approached the man marked with a circle, and seizing a knife, plunged it up to the hilt in his side, then slowly and deliberately turning it round, he finished the circle!” 53 He then calls attention to the joy the executioner was deprived of when the victim

49 Montesquieu, Book 6: Chapter 9.
51 Ibid., 110.
52 Said 157, and Ling, 257.
53 Trant, 276.
died too quickly. By emphasizing the brutality of the punishment, and depicting the executioner as enjoying the process, Trant significantly influences the perception his audience will have on Southeast Asians.

Negative portrayals of legal and penal systems in Southeast Asia were also instrumental in justifying Euro-American exploitation of Southeast Asia for colonization or "civilizing missions." Frequent among travelogue writings was a belief in the need to Christianize Southeast Asia in order to instill moral laws and "civilization." Crawfurd, for instance, believed that "cruel" use of mutilation as a punishment for theft was the result of Islamic influence in Southeast Asia.\(^{54}\) While not as explicit with his call to action as other writers Crawfurd's reference to the "Mahomedan religion" plays upon the emotions of his Western-Christian readers. Beginning with the Crusades, Christians embarked on a path of demonizing Islam.\(^{55}\) In the eyes of Christian Europeans, Mohammad, and Islam by extension, was the epitome of wickedness and religious heresy.\(^{56}\) Thus, by referencing Islam as the source of violence in Southeast Asia, Crawfurd implies the need for "civilizing" the region by introducing Christianity. George Windsor Earl takes a similar approach, citing the influence Arabs had in the Malay states, and crediting Islamic law with the emergence of tyranny and lawless society.\(^{57}\) Like Crawfurd, Earl manipulates the emotions of his audience by highlighting the presence of Islam. Though not explicitly calling for an ousting of Arab Muslims, the tone of his work implies that such an action would improve the conditions of Southeast Asia.

Criticizing the presence of cannibalism as a form of legal punishment was a common method travelogue writers used to justify Christian missionary activity. In 1833, Sarah Tuttle published a travelogue for the Massachusetts Sabbath School, written as a narrative in which an adult charac-

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\(^{55}\) Fernández-Armesto, 381.


Keith Goodwin

Mr. M informs children of the conditions of the indigenous people of the Indian Archipelago. In one section, Mr. M addresses cannibalism, telling vivid stories of leaders devouring criminals and of crowds swarming upon the live criminal, “scrambling for a favorite morsel.” When asked if anything had been done to introduce Christianity, Mr. M comments that attempts had been made, but, lacking resources, only served to “render the darkness more visible.” Tuttle’s work coincides with what Edward Said termed Romantic Orientalism—the idea of an Asia revitalized by Western influences. Though Said has called this Romantic Orientalism, it, in fact, reflects an Enlightenment philosophy—that success can be taught. Lady Sophia Raffles presents a similar idea, arguing that an active government and zealous missionary activity could solve the problem of a lawless and violent Southeast Asia. Given the role that her husband, Sir Stamford Raffles, played in the foundation of Singapore, Lady Raffles’ comments seem to advocate similar actions throughout Southeast Asia and can also be classified as a form of Romantic Orientalism.

By defining Southeast Asia as a lawless region, Euro-American travelogue writers were able to create the perception that Southeast Asia needed Western intervention. Thomson Newbold quoted Stamford Raffles in his travelogue to point out that the horrible state of the Malay people was due to a “want of a well defined and generally acknowledged system of law.” In light of Raffles role in imperialism, Newbold’s reference implies that in order to prevent further “deterioration of the Malay character,” Western powers ought to colonize the region and instill “real” law. A more explicit example emphasizes the petty nature of Southeast Asians and their

58 Sarah Tuttle, Prospective Missions in the Indian Archipelago (Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School, 1833), 61–64.
59 Ibid., 64.
60 Said, 154.
63 Ibid.
law of vengeance, insisting that without European mediation, reconciliation could never have been reached. These remarks implied to their Euro-American audience that that Southeast Asians were incapable of governing themselves, and thus Westerners should govern for them. According to the travelogue writers, Southeast Asians were petty children who needed a superior authority to keep them from harming themselves. By the end of the twentieth century, the notion that Europeans and Americans should “take up the White Man’s burden...to serve [their] captives’ need” dominated Western political ideology.

The Age of Inquiry was ultimately a period of documentation. In increasing numbers, Europeans and Americans were entering Southeast Asia and trying to explain its “mysteries” to their Euro-American audience. In detailed travelogues they compared indigenous traditions to their own practices, and, most importantly, created definitions concerning Southeast Asia and its inhabitants. However, these observations were not as objective as they professed. In the eyes of the travelogue writers, the Orient was not seen as group of people, but rather as a problem to be solved or taken over. Euro-American representations of Southeast Asian legal and penal systems epitomize this view and were often underscored by perverse applications of Enlightenment ideologies. By negatively portraying legal and penal systems, European and American travelogue writers not only defined Southeast Asia as an inferior region in contrast to “the West,” but they portrayed Southeast Asia as a broken region that needed Western intervention.

64 Dirk Hendrick Kolff, Voyages of the Dutch Brig of War Dourga, Through the Southern and Little-Known Parts of the Moluccan Archipelago, and Along the Previously Unknown Southern Coast of New Guinea, Performed During the Years 1825 & 1826, trans. George Windsor Earl (London: James Madden, 1840), 67.


66 Said, 207.


Kolff, Dirk Hendrick. *Voyages of the Dutch Brig of War Dourga, Through the Southern and Little-Known Parts of the Moluccan Archipelago, and Along the Previously Unknown Southern Coast of New Guinea, Performed During the Years 1825 & 1826*. Translated by George Windsor Earl. London: James Madden, 1840.


There was a witch in Youghal. Mary Longdon testified before the Assize at Cork on 11 September, 1661, that she had been bewitched by Florence Newton. Longdon said Newton, after kissing her on the forehead, had caused her to suffer fits and trances, during which Longdon saw Newton’s face and knew that Newton was the cause of her malady. Longdon testified that during her fits she vomited foreign material such as pins, horseshoe nails, wool and straw. Longdon’s employer, John Pyne, confirmed that Longdon was frequently struck by small stones hurled from an invisible source. As Longdon concluded her testimony, Newton peered at her from between the heads of the people standing in front of her. Newton raised her manacled hands toward Longdon and said, “Now she is down.” Without another word, Mary Longdon collapsed to the floor and began convulsing, biting her own arms and shrieking.\(^1\) Could there be any doubt? “Gammar” Newton was a witch. There was a witch in Youghal.

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The most remarkable aspect of this case was not the nature of the accusations, which actually followed a pattern typical of most Puritanical witchcraft accusations; more importantly this was the first recorded witchcraft trial in southern Ireland in eighty-seven years. The last one was in Kilkenny in 1578, wherein two women were tried for witchcraft under “natural law” and executed.\(^2\) Indeed, Ireland stands out among the countries of early Modern Europe as having very few recorded witchcraft trials and no actual witch hunts. In point of fact, there was no actual statute in Ireland criminalizing witchcraft until 1586.\(^3\) Why was Ireland spared this plague of internal suspicion that took the lives of nearly 50,000 women and men in the rest of Europe? There are many reasons that the tendency of witchcraft accusations was suppressed in Ireland, but one of the underlying causes was the process of dual confessionalisation that resulted from the Reformation of Henry VIII. The effects, in Ireland, of the Protestant Reformation begun by Henry VIII and carried on by successive generations of Tudor and Stuart monarchs created a condition of open religious conflict that suppressed those conditions that facilitated witchcraft accusations and witch-hunts.

The political, religious and social conditions necessary to support witchcraft accusations, trials and larger witch-hunts have been well documented by scholars such as Brian Levack, Robin Briggs and Christina Larner. Even Anne Barstow in her rather gender-biased *Witchcraze* demonstrated some of these prerequisite conditions. Historians of Ireland seem to have overlooked this aspect of Irish history, probably due to the dearth of documented witchcraft trials in Ireland. There are several collections of insightful and informative essays treating this era, such as those in *The Course of Irish History* and *The Oxford History of Ireland*, which contains an excellent essay by Nicholas Canny. Recently published are two more volumes of essays by various scholars analyzing the development of religious division in Ireland and the history of institutional violence in early modern Ireland, respectively *The Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland* and *Age of Atrocity*. While these works present analyses of various specific instances of violence or religious disunity in Ireland as a result of English coloniza-

\(^3\) Seymour, *Irish Witchcraft*, 61.
tion, they have neglected an overall synthesis regarding the effects of these instances or trends on the conditions of Irish society which resulted in the suppression of witchcraft accusations and witch hunt—and the significance thereof. This essay will provide a very brief attempt toward correcting that oversight in examining the effects of the English Reformation as instituted by the Tudor-Stuart monarchs, the English Civil War and the Restoration in Ireland by creating a condition of dual confessionalisation.

Ute Lotz-Heumann first applied the German concept of confessionalisation to Ireland in 1999. The concept of confessionalization was originally developed in the early 1980s by Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling, who built upon the work of Ernst Walter Zeeden. Zeeden, in 1958, analyzed the development of Catholic, Lutheran and Calvinist churches in late sixteenth century Germany. Zeeden determined that the three faiths began establishing “confessional churches” based on the “confession of faith” by their members, what Zeeden called “confession-building.” Reinhard and Schilling, recognizing the relationship between religion, society and politics developed the paradigm of “confessionalisation” to encompass the political and social dimensions of confession-building. Confessionalisation, thus incorporates confession-building into the process of early modern state formation. Confessionalisation was not unique to Ireland, but the socio-political and religious impacts of simultaneous Protestant and Catholic confessionalisation in that country were.

The English Reformation itself was distinct in that it was driven primarily by the dynastic and political agendas of Henry VIII, rather than reactions against corruption within the Catholic Church. To be certain, there were both institutional and doctrinal reform movements in England from which Henry VIII and subsequent Tudor monarchs would derive support for their policies, but the fact remains that the impetus for the English Reformation began with Henry VIII’s “Great Matter.” Had it ended there things in both England and Ireland might be very different. Beginning in

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1531, with the enforcement of the Act of Praemunire against the Convocation, Henry VIII began the somewhat gradual process of separating the Church in England from the Pope in Rome.\(^8\) The annulment of Henry's marriage to Catherine of Aragon was secured by the Act in Restraint of Appeals in April 1533. An economic and political agenda became immediately apparent with the 1532 Statute of Annates, which abolished the practice of sending the first year's salary of each new bishop to Rome. The November 1534 Act of Supremacy, which declared Henry VIII the "Supreme Head of the Church of England," was preceded by a second Statute of Annates that severed all financial ties with Rome and channeled the once papal revenue into the Royal Treasury.\(^9\) Overall, Henry VIII made relatively few changes within the Church. He abolished the reliquaries and confiscated the monastic lands, but, despite the production of an English translation of the Bible, church services remained in Latin and the Eucharist remained a Sacrament of transubstantiation. Henry VIII created an institutionalized, official Protestant state religion, with the king as the "supreme head" of both the Church and the State. The State had become the Church and religion became inextricably wedded to English and Irish politics. This would ultimately have severely polarizing effects on both religion and politics in Ireland.

The chief governing officer of the English regions in Ireland was the Lord Deputy, alternately the Governor General, who was appointed by, and answered exclusively to, the English Crown. By the fifteenth century, competition for this position was dominated by the FitszGerald earls of Kildare and the Butler earls of Ormond.\(^10\) This contest was settled in 1478 when Garrett More FitzGerald, earl of Kildare was appointed as Governor General of Ireland. FitzGerald, "the great earl" had established close familial ties with both Old English and Gaelic Irish lords, particularly the O'Neills of Tyrone. The power and influence of the Kildare FitzGeralds

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\(^8\) The term "gradual" is relative. The entire process took six years to complete from 1531 attack on the Convocation to the 1536 Act Against Papal Authority. While this may seem gradual to modern historians, it was probably rather sudden to those who lived through it.


was demonstrated in 1467 when the summary execution of the FitzGerald earl of Desmond and imprisonment of Kildare by Sir John Tiptoft of Worcester provoked an armed uprising of combined Old English and Gaelic Irish forces.\(^{11}\) The great earl’s involvement in one of the Yorkist plots to overthrow Henry VII brought Tudor attention to Ireland and resulted in FitzGerald being replaced by Sir Edward Poynings. Poynings was charged with bringing the entirety of Ireland into “whole and perfect obedience.”\(^{12}\) In December of 1494, Poynings called a Parliament in Drogheda which brought the whole of Irish government under the control of the Crown. Under the statute that has come to be known as “Poynings’ Law,” the Irish Parliament could meet only with royal permission and only after the king and council had reviewed and approved the measures to be enacted.\(^{13}\) From one perspective, royal oversight prevented the Irish Parliament from enacting any statutes contrary to the will of the Crown. Viewed from another perspective, however, this statute allowed the Crown to dictate and control what measures were heard by Parliament, and allowed Henry VIII to introduce and enact specific Reformation measures in Ireland.

Poynings was ultimately unable to maintain control in Ireland and Henry VII restored Kildare to his position in 1496. The Governorship of Ireland became a \textit{de facto} hereditary title for the Kildare FitzGeralds when it passed from the great earl to his son, Garrett Oge in 1513. In 1533 Oge was called to London by Henry VIII for a second time. The first, in 1519, resulted in the temporary transfer of the Governorship to the earl of Surrey. Surrey was unable to accomplish the task Henry VIII had set for him without enormous cost to the Crown, and Oge was restored to power. Oge, apparently was less than optimistic about this second royal summons and when he departed in February of 1534, he left control of the government in the hands of his son Thomas, Lord Offally. Offally determined to prove to the Crown that the FitzGeralds of Kildare were necessary for the governance of Ireland, just as had been proven in 1467 and 1496, marched into the council chamber at St. Mary’s Abbey and, throwing down his sword of


\(^{12}\) Cosgrove, “The Gaelic Resurgence,” 133.

\(^{13}\) Cosgrove, “The Gaelic Resurgence,” 135.
state declared himself no longer the king's deputy, but rather his enemy. 

By this time, in England, Henry VIII's "Reformation Parliament" had passed both the Statutes of Annates and the Act in Restraint of Appeals; and though the Act of Supremacy was still five months off, when "Silken Thomas" staged his revolt, the King's course had to have been clear.\(^{14}\) It certainly seems to have been to Lord Offally, who attempted to garner Gaelic support for his cause by opposing the king's religious policy. The institutional Catholic churches in Ireland had largely fallen into disuse and disrepair and religious renewal and revitalization became the work of Observant Friars, who concentrated their efforts among the Gaelic Irish.\(^{15}\) It was these friars who sustained the Catholic faith and solidified Irish resistance to the religious reforms of Henry VIII after his marriage to Anne Boleyn and his break with Rome in 1533.\(^{16}\) Silken Thomas' manipulation of religious sentiments for his own purpose turned what was primarily a political contest of wills into an institutional attack that Henry VIII could not ignore or countenance through negotiation. Politico-religious conflict had come to Ireland.

Henry VIII's response was direct and decisive. The Silken Thomas Rebellion was put down in 1534 by William Skeffington who first attacked the Kildare castle Maynooth with sustained artillery bombardment, then summarily executed Lord Offally and all of the survivors when they surrendered. Henry VIII then attempted to repeat the Church of England policies in Ireland and met with little popular resistance. In 1536, the Irish Parliament passed an Act declaring Henry VIII "the only supreme head on earth of the whole Church of Ireland."\(^{17}\) Following the English model, Henry VIII abolished the monasteries and seized the monastic lands within Dublin and the Pale. Despite the absence of open resistance, Henry VIII was either unable or unwilling to enforce this policy in the Gaelic controlled lands and by 1539 friars in the Gaelic regions were preaching martial resistance to Henry VIII's policies.\(^{18}\) The wealthy, Old English families

\(^{14}\) Smith, *This Realm*, 120
\(^{15}\) Smith, *This Realm*, 136–7.
\(^{16}\) Cosgrove, "The Gaelic Resurgence," 137.
\(^{18}\) Hayes-McCoy, "Tudor Conquest," 144.
demonstrated symbolic resistance to the Henrician Reform by removing their children from English universities such as Oxford and Cambridge and sending them to Catholic universities on the Continent.19 Henry VIII created an official Protestant State religion in Ireland based on the English model that existed only in the Anglicized regions. Beyond the Pale, the Gaelic Irish and Old English retained their Catholic faith and their Catholic churches.

The religious reforms carried out by Henry VIII's heirs met with even less success in Ireland than Henry's. In England, the Regency of Edward VI, under Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, and archbishop Thomas Cranmer, issued the first *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549, which allowed the English speaking congregation to follow the mass. The book failed however, because it failed to definitively address the matter of the Eucharist. The traditional Catholic interpretation of the mass was that the bread and wine were *actually* transformed into the body and blood of Christ, transubstantiation; while the Protestant interpretation was that the service was only commemorative and an actual transformation did not occur, consubstantiation. At the time, this issue, more than any other, formed a dividing line within the Church of England. The ambiguous language in the first prayer book was supposed to be a compromise, but that only angered the reformist-minded Protestants in England. The Act of Uniformity, 14 March, 1549, which was supposed to enforce the use of the prayer book, was similarly ineffective. In Ireland in June of that same year, the *Book of Common Prayer* was also ordered into use in the Church of Ireland. The matter seemed settled in 1552 with the publication of *Second Book of Common Prayer*, which declared the mass an act of consubstantiation and removed all of the Catholic trappings from the Church. The second Act of Uniformity required religious conformity within England, and by association, Ireland. While this act went largely unenforced in either country, it did set the stage for a state-instituted religion that was substantially different than the predominant faith of the majority of Ireland.

When Edward VI died on July 6, 1553, Mary Tudor—a Catholic—ascended to the throne, she reversed all of the “Edwardian” reforms and many of her father’s. While Mary’s restoration of Catholicism probably met with

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at least tacit approval from the Irish Catholics, the English were not nearly so receptive. In January 1554, 3000 men of Kent rose up in protest of both Mary’s husband, Philip II, the king of Spain, and the restoration of a papal mass. Mary was able to rally the London troops and put down the uprising, but religious conflict remained at the forefront of Mary’s reign. Mary, in contrast to Henry VIII, Edward VI and, later Elizabeth I, effectively “confessionalized” politics. In Mary’s mind it was better to burn heretics than hang traitors, and the first of her “martyrs” were in fact political victims. 20 Thomas Cranmer, the architect of the Church of England under Edward VI, was burned as a heretic rather than a traitor to Mary’s Crown.

The ascension of Elizabeth I in 1558 saw the restoration of the Church of England and in 1560 Elizabeth attempted to legislate the Protestant Church of Ireland back into effect by restoring royal supremacy over the Church and prescribing the use of the English Second Book of Common Prayer. The fact that Elizabeth I’s Irish Parliament represented almost exclusively the Anglicized regions of Ireland resulted in association of the Protestant church with a foreign power. Added to this was the fact that priests of the Society of Jesus had come to Ireland to enforce the rulings of the Council of Trent and Catholicism became entrenched in Ireland. Gaelic Irish and Old English effectively united as Catholics and the Protestant Church of Ireland became the religion of the English colony and the “official class.” 21

In England, Elizabeth I’s policies demonstrated a complete reversal of Mary’s as Elizabeth I returned to a practice of politicized religion. Elizabeth handled troublesome Catholics as traitors rather than heretics of the Church of England, translating the Catholics’ loyalty to the Pope as allegiance to a foreign prince. Rather than creating martyrs, Elizabeth I executed traitors to the Crown. 22 Though her revised Second Book of Common Prayer reintroduced ambiguous language regarding the Eucharist and became less severely Protestant, the Thirty-Nine Articles of 1563, however, leaned heavily toward Calvinism. 23 Ultimately Elizabeth I’s Church had

20 Smith, This Realm, 165.
22 Smith, This Realm, 172.
23 Smith, This Realm, 171.
THE FORUM
room for both Catholic trappings and Protestant dogma. Archbishop Laud pursued a heavily Catholic program within the Church, though he never moved for a reunification with Rome. None of this spared Elizabeth I the scorn of the Catholic Church and in 1570 Pope Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth I in his papal bull Regnans in Excelsis.\footnote{T. W. Moody and F. X. Martin, editors, The Course of Irish History (Lanham, MD: Roberts Rinehart Publisher, 2001), 403.}

Papal condemnation of Elizabeth I combined with her expansionist programs into Catholic Ireland would eventually lead to open religious war between the Catholic Irish and the Protestant English settlers. In 1565, Elizabeth attempted to expand English influence into Ireland through the use of regional presidencies in Munster and Connacht. In Munster, the program of presidencies under Sir Henry Sidney led to the establishment of provincial councils of the English settlers who were intensely Protestant and hostile toward the Gaelic Irish in that region. Open hostilities had been brought to an end when Elizabeth I curtailed Sidney’s program, but they remained and obviously continued to simmer for several years.\footnote{Canny, “Early Modern Ireland,” 108–9.}

The very fact that two witches were tried in Kilkenny in 1578 indicates that tensions were high in that region, but open hostilities were suppressed. Studies have shown that witchcraft accusations and witch-hunts occur in areas of religious division as an alternative to open inter-religious conflict.\footnote{Brian Levack, The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe (Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited, 2006), 127.} Increased anxiety over religious instability in the area tended to cause people to look for the enemy within. Additionally, given that most witchcraft suspects were held in prison for several months prior to actual trial, it would be reasonable to assume that the witches tried and executed in 1578 had been charged and arrested as early as 1577. Another indication that hostilities remained latent is the fact that witchcraft allegations did not occur during times of open warfare when the human agents of destruction were readily identifiable.\footnote{Levack, Witch-Hunts, 180; Robin Briggs, Witches and Neighbors: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft (New York: Penguin Books, 1996) 308–9.}

Religious hostilities erupted into open conflict when James Fitz Maurice FitzGerald returned from exile on the Continent in 1579 to lead a...
rebellion against the heretic Queen Elizabeth. The Munster rebellion was based on religious grounds: Catholic Irish against English Protestants. To make matters worse, from the English perspective, the Irish forces were bolstered by Spanish and Italian forces in 1580. Elizabeth I responded by sending an army of 8000 and crushed the rebellion in 1583. Leaders of the rebellion were executed as traitors. Catholic lands were confiscated by the Crown and a program of plantation brought 4000 English-Protestant settlers into the region. 28

Religion played a role in the 1595 Ulster rebellion as well. For years Ulster had been a thorn in the English side. Shane O’Neill, who succeeded Conn O’Neill as the earl of Tyrone waged a fairly continuous campaign of raids against not only his fellow Gaelic lords, but also against the Pale lands. For years Elizabeth I refrained from taking direct action against Shane O’Neill, assuming, correctly it had seemed, that the situation would rectify itself when Hugh O’Neill supplanted his uncle as the earl of Tyrone in 1585. 29 In 1595, however, Hugh O’Neill joined his fellow lords in Ulster in open revolt against English encroachment. O’Neill knew that Ulster could not stand alone against the might of England, so he attempted to rally widespread Irish support by declaring himself the champion of the Counter Reformation in Ireland. Once again Spain sent troops to Ireland to support a “Catholic rebellion.” 30

The revolt outlived Elizabeth I and it fell to her Calvinist heir, James I and VI to bring O’Neill to heel. The Irish forces were defeated in 1603, when they attempted to rendezvous with the Spanish army, and O’Neill surrendered to the English army at Mellifont in the north of the Pale. The surrender may have been negotiated, but the acts of atrocity committed by the Protestant English Army in Ulster from 1600 to 1603 would not soon be forgotten. Not content with killing men, women, and children in Ulster, the predominately Calvinist army also slaughtered the bishop of Derry and twenty other Catholic Priests from Ulster. 31 The Nine Years’ War may not

have started as a religious conflict, but it certainly eaded as one. James I's program of plantation in Ulster only served to exacerbate the problem in the end. The king confiscated the lands of Catholic Irish involved in the rebellion, which were then given to Protestant settlers, many of which were Scottish Presbyterians. Rather than successfully removing the Catholic Irish, they frequently became the tenants of the new Protestant landholders. This resulted in the region being riddled with angry and resentful Catholics, who were waiting for their opportunity to strike back.  

Anti-papist sentiments in England were reinforced after November 5, 1605 when a group of Catholic activists attempted to destroy Parliament with four barrels of gunpowder hidden under Whitehall. Sir Thomas Percy, the earl of Northumberland's suspected involvement in this plot only served to deepen English suspicion towards Catholics. The strong anti-Catholic reaction to the Gunpowder Plot may well have had an influence on James I. In 1606, the king heard the appeal of Brian Gunter in the Court of Star Chamber. Gunter claimed his daughter, Anne had been bewitched by Elizabeth Gregory and two other women. Anne suffered from seizures and trances and allegedly identified her tormentors during her seizure. The Assize court acquitted Gregory and the other women; Brian, probably relying on the reputation of James I as a witch-hunter, appealed to the king for another hearing. Not only was James skeptical at this point, but he set one of the most skeptical men in the kingdom to depose both Anne and Brian Gunter, Samuel Harsnett. Anne confessed to Harsnett that her father had given her “green waters” to drink that gave her the seizures and trances she claimed were the result of being bewitched. While it is difficult to draw a direct causal relationship between the Gunpowder Plot and James I's

33 James I, “Proclamation for the Apprehension of Thomas Percy,” in James I: The Masque of Monarchy, edited by James Travers (Surrey, UK: The National Archives, 2003), 50–51. Percy was the head of one of England’s most powerful Catholic families.
34 James Travers, James I, 36; Brian Levack, editor, The Witchcraft Sourcebook (New York: Routledge, 2004), 249. Samuel Harsnett was the chaplain to the Archbishop of York and in 1603 he published a pamphlet entitled, “A Declaration of Egregious Popish Imposture” which began with a prologue by Edward Jorden, who believed that witchcraft confessions were the result of hysteria.
skepticism in the Anne Gunter case, the inflated anti-Catholic sentiments of the country following discovery of the Plot influenced events in England and Ireland for many years afterward.

England’s anti-Catholic policies continued to be a source of political, social, and religious turmoil in Ireland. The Old English found themselves faced with actual disenfranchisement and potential dispossession based solely on their religion. Their past loyalties to the Crown counted for naught with the Protestant Parliament in Dublin, under the control of Viscount Wentworth, earl of Strafford, which passed further anti-Catholic laws in 1634. Wentworth arranged the confiscation of one quarter of the Catholic owned lands in Connacht and made no distinction between Irish and Old English Catholic. Admittedly, Wentworth was equally harsh with the Presbyterian settlers in Ulster. Rather than affecting an appearance of balance in Irish eyes, Wentworth’s policies created enemies in both religions. Worse yet for Wentworth, in England his policies appeared papist and he was recalled to London in 1639. By 1641, the Irish Parliament had joined with the English Parliament in charging Wentworth with treason.

Religious confessionalism and politics became even more polarized and intertwined in Ireland with the outbreak of the English Civil War. While the war in England centered on the rights of Royal prerogative conflicting with Parliament’s perceptions of its ancient rights to influence governmental policy, in Ireland religion was the primary issue. The Catholics in Ireland quickly realized the religious impacts of the king’s loss of power. If either the Parliament or its Scottish allies, both of which were “militantly and intolerantly Protestant,” should gain dominance over the king the results for the Irish Catholics would be disastrous. In 1641 the Gaelic Irish Catholics rose in Ulster under Sir Phelim O’Neill and were quickly successful in taking control of Ulster. O’Neill insisted that he and his army were loyal subjects of the Crown and he even went so far as to have all of his soldiers take an oath of loyalty to Charles I. This convinced the Old English Catholics of O’Neill’s sincerity and they quickly joined with the Gaelic Irish forces, demonstrating that, for the Old English, religious loy-

36 Clarke, “Colonization of Ulster,” 159.
alty was more important than racial loyalty. Oliver Cromwell’s fears of a Catholic Army were realized in Ireland as that was the very name the united Old English and Gaelic Irish army took for itself. The Irish forces were again bolstered by the arrival of Continental reinforcements including Archbishop Rinuccini, serving as papal nuncio. With the defeat and execution of Charles I in England, Cromwell was now free to subdue Ireland. Reports of Catholic atrocities against Protestant settlers in Ulster inflamed the anti-Catholic sentiments of the Puritan Army. Cromwell’s viciousness at Drogheda and Wexford, where he captured and executed the leaders of the Catholic Army, made an indelible impression upon the Irish. By the time the war was over in Ireland, the Puritan Army had slaughtered at least 618,000 Irish Catholics. Cromwell’s real revenge took the form of land confiscations. In Ireland, Cromwell found a solution to the mounting expenses of the Civil War. Profits from land confiscated from Irish Catholics helped defray the financial costs while the land itself served as payment for many Cromwellian veterans. Those Catholics deemed “innocent” of the rebellion were relocated to Counties Clare and Connacht on the west coast.

The Confederate uprising and Cromwellian settlement had profound effects on the psychology of Irish society. As noted above, periods of open military conflict suppressed society’s need for witchcraft accusations. In areas of open warfare, witchcraft accusations typically occur on the periphery, as demonstrated in Essex in 1645–6. By this time the Civil War had become concentrated to the west of England and Matthew Hopkins was able to manipulate the latent anxiety of people to spark one of the largest hunts in English history. In Ireland, however, there was no periphery. By relocating all of the Catholic Irish to the west coast, Cromwell effectively eliminated the periphery of the Irish wars. Additionally, by displacing all of the surviving Irish Catholics, Cromwell disrupted the process of suspicion building that frequently occurred in tight knit communities and led to witchcraft accusations.

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38 Edwards, Lenihan and Tait, Age of Atrocity, 12; Clarke, “Colonization of Ulster,” 161.
39 Smith, This Realm, 306.
The Restoration of Charles II to the throne of England brought further changes to Ireland and ultimately resulted in an increase in anxiety amongst the Puritan settlers. Charles II endeavored to rectify some of the injustice the Irish Catholics experienced at the hands of Cromwell and he promised to return their lands to them. At the same time, Charles II also promised not to dispossess the settlers of their lands. Ultimately, the Act of Settlement was a compromise. The Irish Catholics would have some of their land restored, though not necessarily the land that was taken from them, and certainly not all of it. The Protestant Cromwellian settlers were required to surrender one third of their estates to accommodate the Act. This of course created resentment among the Cromwellian settlers. Add to this the Puritan anxiety over a restored monarch and the potential or actual return of a socially unacceptable group and the conditions favorable to witchcraft accusations grew; Florence Newton became a witch in Youghal.

From the Protestant torture and execution of Dermont O'Hurley, the Catholic archbishop of Cashel, to the scorched earth policies of the English in the early seventeenth century, from the Catholic atrocities against the Protestant settlers in Ulster in 1641 to Cromwell's brutal victories at Drogheda and Wexford, religious conflict was open, bloody and violent. The "enemy" was clearly defined as a member of the opposite religion. The nature of the Protestant revolution in England was inextricably tied religion to politics in Ireland, which resulted in every major conflict becoming a religious war between the Protestant state and the Catholic resistance. The open and active nature of these conflicts, combined with the repeated smaller raids of the Gaelic lords struggling to maintain independence, resulted in an environment antithetical to witchcraft accusations. Ironically, it was only when a modicum of stability developed, coupled with increased anxiety that witches actually appeared in Ireland.

42 Richard Stanihurst, Brevis praemunitio pro futura concertione cum Jacobo Usario, quoted in Ford and McCafferty, eds, Origins, 1.
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JAPANESE CULTURAL TRANSITION: MEIJI ARCHITECTURE AND THE EFFECT OF CROSS-CULTURAL EXCHANGE WITH THE WEST

By Christine Manzano Visita

“Here, now, comes the greatest revolutionary epoch! These are the two great events, the restoration of the Imperial power from the lands of the last Shogun after the end of several wars, followed by the opening of our communication and the forming of our treaties with the western world!”

— Funakoshi Kinya, Imperial College of Engineering graduation thesis, 1883

The class of 1879 and 1883 at the Imperial College of Engineering in Tokyo set out to create comprehensive theses about the future of architecture in Japan, looking to new materials, foreign forms, and revolutionary engineering to describe the development of the architectural landscape of Japan as they tried to adapt to Western influence. One of the students, Sone Tatsuzo, made several points within his essay marking the essence of what the

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future of Japanese architecture entailed in the Meiji era: the combination of European styles and materials with Japanese forms to create an architectural atmosphere that was most conducive to the Japanese in the modernizing era. All of the students, in some capacity, addressed the combination of Western and European ideas and technology that were making their way into the cultural tapestry of Japan. For the Japanese, this struggle between modernity and tradition was a way to find a foothold in the ever changing environment of the world.

Botond Bognar, in his work *Contemporary Japanese Architecture*, breaks down the conflict observed by both Japanese and foreigners alike between the modern and the traditional into a situation characterized by not choosing one or the other but by choosing to inter-mix each side. Foreign influence on Japanese architecture did not start with the use of Western styles, but had been present in its history for centuries through other countries such as China and Korea. In those situations and during the age of Western influence, Japan’s decision to learn the different techniques and building styles had always been about creating a “both-and” situation rather than an “either-or.” Instead of trying to make a clear decision about using one specific style of architecture over another in building structures, the Japanese would apply aspects of foreign forms to the already developed forms of Japanese designs, utilizing both modern and traditional types of architectural elements.

Looking towards the influence that the West had on Japanese architecture, one way to analyze the infusion of modern styles into the more traditional methods includes understanding the importance of national identity to the Japanese. Arata Isozaki uses the idea of “Japan-ness” to describe the effect of Western influence on what was considered “pure” Japanese style of architecture. In his book, *Japan-ness In Architecture*, Isozaki describes Japan-ness as a reflection of the idea of the unique prevailing tastes and ideas of what Japanese style was. This perception of Japanese style was formed through observations made by Western architects such as Frank

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Lloyd Wright, an American architect, and Bruno Taut from Germany. Japan's own cultural identity, its Japan-ness, was, therefore, a product of Westerners, people who were not actually part of Japanese society but just observers. Though this idea of Japan-ness started with foreigners, the idea of Japan's own unique style and essence—their own national identity—was held within the Japanese people years before the Western characterization was created.

The architecture of Japan was a symbol of their innovation, their culture, and history, so with the influence of Western ideas affecting their architecture, the Japanese who had significant interaction with Westerners and their technology had to deal with adjusting what represented them in order to keep up with the expanding Western trend. Changing from traditional wood and brick design to the uses of steel and glass and other modern materials marked a metamorphosis in the look and meaning of Japanese architecture as the Japanese people moved into a more modern society and adjusted to increasing international relations. Becoming a larger part of the “world order,” as Seizaburo Sato describes in his essay in Modern Japan: an Interpretive Anthology, evoked a certain reaction to the cultural changes brought on through architecture.4

The education of Japanese scholars in Japan and in other countries, particularly in Europe, proved to be a pathway within which Western ideas traveled through to the consciousness of the Japanese. Within his article “Teaching Architectural History in Japan: Building a Context for Contemporary Practice” in The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Jonathan Reynolds focuses on the pedagogy of architectural history in Japan. He calls attention to the infusion of Western and modern technology, materials, and styles into the awareness of Japanese architectural students during the Meiji period through curriculum at institutions such as the Imperial University.5

The Meiji Restoration in Japan, which began in 1868, brought an influx of Western ideas and injected modern technology into a flourishing nation

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that, at the time, was opening its boundaries to the West in an attempt to acquire knowledge that would help them attain a more powerful position among other Western countries. Architecture marked one of the aspects of Japanese culture that felt the effects Japan's struggle to find its place within the changing landscape of the world politically, socially, economically, and culturally. This paper will address the idea that the education of the Japanese in Western ways and the added interest in finding a way to become a world power in the context of politics and economics not only affected the architectural landscape of Japan but also affected the notions of national identity, Japan's status in the international realm, and other cultural and social constructs found within Japan. The ideals of tradition and modernization came together in the context of architecture and reflected these changes that Japan faced as it evolved into a more industrialized, modern nation during the Meiji Period and into the twentieth century.

**Motivations in Changing Japan's Landscape**

“A nation unique and precious as this was, could not fall behind others in power…”


The rapid succession with which advancing technology was introduced to Japan as the world modernized led the Japanese to realize that they had to be able to keep up with the changes in order to become a greater power in the international realm. The Western nations were categorized as part of the world that had the most success in terms of the advancement of technology, the education of people in politics, economics, and other contributing factors to a modern and industrial nation. The Western nations proved that they had a strong presence as influential countries through their endeavors abroad, including colonization toward imperialistic success. As an Eastern nation, it was important for Japan to prove that they could

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contribute as much or even more to the international sphere as the Western world, as well as impose their ideas of how the world should work. At the time of the Meiji Restoration, Japan was looking towards extending greater influence over their Asian counterparts in their area such as China and Korea. The Japanese believed that they were the most capable of the Eastern nations to show other Asian nations how they should conduct themselves in order to avoid exploitation of their nation and resources by Western rulers looking to gain power.

"In quick advance of civilization no nation could be compared with the Japanese who are in a burning emotion to rank especially with the most civilized nations of the world," Sone Tatsuzo wrote as one of his observations of Japan's condition was at that point in the Meiji era.7 Breaking down this idea of advancing into a more civilized nation, there were two differing concepts of where the Japanese saw themselves in comparison to the rest of the world. First they saw themselves as a strong and unique country to which no other nation could be compared, giving them an air of superiority. But even with the confidence that the Japanese had concerning their ability to develop and advance into a great nation, they were aware that there were still other nations with whom they had to compete.

Japan's Meiji elite were confident of their formula for rising up in the ranks of the international scene with military power and wealth.8 Japan's goal in adapting to Western ideas, including technology, was to try and rise through the ranks by keeping up with the Western powers and establish themselves as an Eastern nation of equal status. In the eyes of the Western powers, Japan stood as one of the more modern and more "civilized" Asian countries.9 They were poised with potential to show their strengths economically, militarily, and culturally; the Japanese did not fail to demonstrate their capabilities as they adjusted to new technology rapidly and made strides to expand their control through their military might and economic interests in the neighboring countries of China, Korea, the Philippines, and others.

The Japanese were adept at taking on aspects of Western society and

8 Sato, 15.
9 Sato, 15.
technology within their own country's structure, but they also wanted to ensure that they were not completely under the influence of the Western nations. They continued to move towards their goal of spreading their control and influence throughout the Asian countries in order to create an “empire” that could rival the Western nations. By going into places like China, the Japanese could diffuse their thoughts on how an Asian nation should organize and build up their country. The adaptation of more modern technology and ideas were seen as a way to improve, not only the physical landscape of Japan, but also the economical and political scene. These improvements were made to ensure that Japan would become a prominent power in the East as well as keep themselves from being taken over by Western nations that had influence in the Asian countries through colonization, politics, and the economics of trading.

Western Education, Technology, and Superiority?

“The science of Architecture has been laid in our college as one of the main professional branches of study and the true principles of European Architecture is being here taught with the view of learning their true principles in our country…”

— Funakoshi Kinya, Imperial College of Engineering graduation thesis, 1883

At the same time as Japan was opening itself to the West, the educational system underwent major reconstruction. The national spirit of a country was paramount in the formation of a strong exterior front shown to the international world. The educational system looked towards developing that spirit, emphasizing that the most important point of education was “pointing the direction toward which the whole nation should march.”11

The Minister of Education from 1886 to 1889, Mori Arinori, created new educational ordinances and reforms that encouraged education sys-

10 Funakoshi, 9.
tems and institutions to “teach the arts and sciences essential to the state.”\textsuperscript{12} The educational content of the schools and universities being formed were to have a basis in concepts that would contribute to the building of a powerful nation. Such concepts included Confucianism that would emphasize tradition, but not reject modernization of the state.\textsuperscript{13} In order to bring better education to the Japanese, it was important for ministers of Japan to focus the attention of the country to the type of programs that would best benefit their future, which included the impressionable youth of the nation.

One such minister, Inoue Kowashi, looked at the encroaching industrialization and modernization and tried to adjust the educational system to accommodate changing times. In order to better prepare the citizens of Japan for the new age of technology, the educational system had to provide students with the skills to advance them into the burgeoning industrial society. There was more vocational training and technical education in industrial skills such as architectural design, mechanical engineering, and other forms of engineering that would help establish the Japanese at the forefront of research and development of new ideas. The reformation of the educational programs improved the possibility of Japan gaining better status by keeping up the pace of where the world as a whole was going in terms of technical, as well as moral, political, and social knowledge.

One byproduct of the reconstruction of Japan’s educational methods was the creation of a distinction between certain classes. This emergence of class divisions within the Japanese society was a reflection of the idea of class conflict between the bourgeois (upper-class) and the working class. For the upper class, it was not uncommon for their children to seek education at more prestigious, overseas facilities due to their connections and financial stability. Many well-to-do families were able to send their children abroad to foreign countries where they could study subjects in places where new technology and educational systems were already in place.\textsuperscript{14} Japanese

\textsuperscript{12} Pittau, 177.
\textsuperscript{13} A description of Confucianism can be found in Andrew Gordon’s \textit{A Modern History of Japan From Tokugawa Times to the Present} (Oxford, 2003): 4–6. Confucianism focused on fostering high ethical quality and great intellectuality among people. Morality and respect were ideas that were to be cultivated and studied to bring about a strong sense of spirit among the Japanese.
\textsuperscript{14} Jordan Sand, \textit{House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space, and Bourgeois Culture, 1880–1930} (Cambridge; London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), 13, 15.
architectural students, who had the means to travel, would go and train under well-established architects in Europe and the United States, often bringing back the styles and knowledge they acquired to Japan, integrating Western forms of engineering and architecture into Japanese society.

The distinct emphasis on being well-versed in European forms was evident in the manner that Japanese students constructed their ideas about the direction they thought Japanese architecture was heading towards in the future. When the Imperial College of Engineering began an architectural program in 1877, many of the practical studios were the environment in which students learned and were expected to master Western forms. Architectural education in European designs was seen as an important part of the architectural program; the reason behind the creation of this program was deemed as trying to “prepare Japanese to design buildings in Western architectural styles using modern building technology.” The focus on Western education supported the notion that in order to move forward with the development of better designs, Japanese architects had to be open to foreign styles with their new materials and technology.

In addition to practical work, students at the Imperial University in Tokyo were required to write a thesis paper on different aspects of architecture and domestic spaces. Their papers were written in English reflecting the architectural education they received from English-speaking, and often Western educated, professors. Each written thesis had an extensive history and description of historic European and Western forms of architecture, particularly Gothic, Grecian, and Roman architectural styles, structure, and materials. A good portion of each thesis addressed the influence of Western forms on architectural history and its potential to affect new Japanese styles or how it had presently changed traditional Japanese forms.

The idea that Western and European architectural style and engineering was more advanced and stable than that of Japanese architecture was a motivation to incorporate more Westernized qualities of design into Japan’s buildings and homes. Japanese architectural students acknowledged that there were some major advantages to using materials and forms from Western forms. The stone, concrete, and brick buildings prevented fires from

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spreading to other buildings, unlike the wooden construction found with most domestic and public buildings. Attention to the detail of using more Western uses of materials focused in onto something small as roofing material, where tile was suggested for roofs to keep moisture from snow and rain from leaking through.

In response to the climate of Japan, Western materials were substantial enough to withstand the harsher aspects of the external conditions of the country. More stable structures that were constructed with stone and concrete had stronger foundations that could help protect buildings from the earthquake forces that were known to occur in Japan. Also engineering factors such as loads from people occupying buildings and snow accumulating on roofs made architects lean more towards the seemingly sturdier Western forms of architecture with Roman arches which could withstand great compression from weight applied to the building.

From studying foreign styles and materials of architecture, the Japanese students knew that in some ways, other forms of construction were equal, if not better, than the elements of their own native architecture. However, the reality was that although new technology emerged from the influence of the West, at times the Japanese style proved to be the more appropriate architectural context for Japan. From more traditional style of architecture for comfort or uses of traditional materials for safer buildings, the affinity towards more natural Japanese design was still apparent. The habits and customs of the Japanese set the ideal way of life that architecture and space needed to adjust to, creating a distinct style that would be hard to leave behind even in the age of Western ideas and technology.

Within the more personal setting of a domestic dwelling, the everyday habits and routines of the Japanese occupants gave purpose to the use of more traditional designs of spaces and homes. For the Japanese, the designs of the interior of their homes were more open and flowing compared to more structured layouts. Paper screens were used in between rooms to account for customs such as warming rooms with charcoal fire in a hibachi.

18 Satachi, 8.
(firebox) that would produce smoke. Europeans viewed this custom as being odd, permitting smoke to reside within the home, but the breathable material used in the arrangement of the interior allowed the smoke to flow out of the house better than the solid walls usually found within Westernized interiors.

In regard to structural safety, Japanese use of more natural materials such as wood, which was abundant in their country, was deemed by Westerners as weaker in comparison to the apparent sturdiness of solid stone and concrete. In the 1891 earthquake centered in Nobi, Japan, doubt toward the superiority of Western uses of material within structures rose within the Japanese community. Many were surprised that many of the wooden buildings that were fairly older than the new European stone and masonry material-based buildings were able to weather the shocks of the earthquake better. Was it worth it to move towards engineering materials that did not perform as well during natural disasters as traditional Japanese architectural components? There were advantages to developing Western technology and styles within Japan’s own architectural landscape, but would it be beneficial to concentrate their efforts on fostering this growth while edging out customary forms?

Bruno Taut, a German architect that visited Japan and studied its present architecture as well as its history during the late Meiji period, acknowledged that like many representative forms of culture of countries, over time they are subject to change. “Like waves of fashion, like the length of skirts, the courses change and will replace one another until fundamentals have been agreed upon and a continuous work begun.” Every different style offered strength, beauty, and practicality, but the logical question in reference to where Japanese architecture was heading during the Meiji era would be: Would the Japanese have to settle for one style or the other? How would their course change?

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20 Sone, 25.
The “Both-And” Situation and National Identity

“The architecture of a country can be only improved, not by entire translation but by substituting the superior principle in the other.”

— Taki Daikichi, Imperial College of Engineering graduation thesis, 1883

The “technological transfer” that was experienced by the Japanese produced the question of national and cultural identity. The confusion about which style would best represent the Japanese way of life made it difficult to settle on just one specific style. The dilemma of abandoning the traditional architectural styles for the new technological and Western advances created a similar consensus among the future architects of Japan: it would be beneficial to combining the best aspects of both worlds. The compromise between the two could create a better form of building design to benefit the Japanese and ease their struggle with choosing one or the other.

“The familiar intercourse of the Japanese with their ideas is the source of a great refinement to our country,” Sone Tatsuzo stated, acknowledging that combining information with other cultures was beneficial to create a more polished society. This recognition of mutual influence among other nations, particularly China and Korea in the past, demonstrated the natural tendency for Japan to adopt different cultural aspects into their society to complement their native style. Taki Daikichi, another architecture student, wrote, “I’m more inclined to improve our buildings by borrowing superior principles in others rather than to sacrifice our own conveniences and ideas to fit the principles and requirements in others.” Daikichi’s insight into the exchange of cultural elements alluded to the idea that the Japanese should not be changed to fit the designs of other countries, but to use concepts from the others to better what was already present in their culture.

The hybridism of domestic homes with European exteriors and Japa-

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24 Sone, 5.
25 Taki, 25.
Japanese interiors were able to give residents a way to use new materials and styles while holding on to the comforting, traditional aspects of the Japanese home. The private domain for a person was a reflection of what they considered most important in their lives, aspects of life they liked were kept in close proximity. For the Japanese, maintaining the essence of their culture and the familiarity of more traditional environments within their personal realm helped to keep their identity as they delved into foreign styles. For many, the presence of Japanese-style aspects in dwellings was essential to people’s lifestyles.

“The men of high rank and the merchant of large fortune recently built their abodes in a pure European style, yet in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred there were formed the rooms of Japanese arrangement to sit down in the habitual manner, within the building, or instead of them, there were subordinately built Japanese houses, or else they cannot comfort themselves.”

— Sone Tutsuzo, Imperial College of Engineering, 1879

Figure 1. “Pure French” design created by Yasuoka Katsuya in the catalogue, Japanized Small Western Homes. Designs like these signaled a change in the styles of Japanese residential homes. From Jordan Sard’s House and Home in Modern Japan, 269.

26 Sone, 26.
In the late Meiji period during the 1900s, this form of hybridism became a part of the “mass market” of people looking to create domestic spaces in accordance to changing times. Just as Western styles of clothing, furniture, and decoration became embodied in Japanese lifestyles, so was its architectural features. The use of the two different styles of materials and forms led to series of domestic homes that reflected the fusion. *Japanized Small Western Homes* was a catalogue that presented Japanese families with houses that were built in varying European styles, but still had some Japanese aspects to its design. These houses were described as “seven parts Western and three parts Japanese” as the catalogues advertised houses that were “Swiss chalet”, “pure German”, and other European styles. (See Figure 1.)

This commercialization of Westernized, but Japanese, homes showed the growing influence that foreign styles had on the cultural formation of the most personal and identifying spaces of a person, their own home. This implementation of foreign designs revealed the gravitation towards what was seen as exotic to the Japanese. Just as Westerners observed Japanese ways of life and cultural styles in art and architecture as different and intriguing in their unfamiliar ways, so did the Japanese have a similar fascination with the unknown of which they wanted to gain understanding. This concept is explored in the recent theory of Occidentalism, the opposite of Orientalism.

Orientalism, characterized by Edward Said in his work of the same name, was the creation of the idea of “the other,” or the unknown culture, group, people that distinct in their own way. It is the study of different people and cultures by another group of people relative to what is they know of their own culture. This idea and study was created by Westerners in the observation of the Eastern world and their seemingly exotic and different lifestyles and traditions into which they wanted to gain insight. In this way, the understanding gained from studying the other culture would result in the formation of opinions on the value of each society in comparison to each other.

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28 Sand, 268.
The idea that the Japanese were fascinated by the differences in lifestyle, art, and architecture of other countries, particularly Western ones, retains the same ideas of Orientalism, but turns it around and sees it from the point of view of “the Orient”. With this notion of Occidentalism, the Orient is able to study how the “Western Other” view their lifestyles and customs. Through the analysis of the comprehension of Eastern culture by the Western Other, the Orient is able to “participate actively and with the indigenous creativity in the process of self-appropriation.”  

By looking at the Western accounts of what their culture was about and their opinions of the Orient’s culture, the Orient would be able to reinterpret their “non-Western realities mainly through the looking glass of Western theory.” The Orient is able to compare their own concept about who they are to the insights formed by the Westerners and their Western culture to determine how to move forward with their own society. For the Japanese, architecture was a point in their culture where observing Westerners provided a catalyst for change.

The change to Western and modern materials spawned discourses on what represented the Japanese as a distinct people, what would provide a strong sense of identity among other countries. The concept of national identity seen in the context of Japanese architectural history can be explained through Benedict Anderson’s theory of nationalism and imagined communities.  

Even though each individual person in Japan may not have identified with each other because they had never met personally, they still had a sense of unity and national identity through a common idea that the nation itself created, whether it was a tangible object such as a building or a concept like architectural styles.

One of the most important discourses, that proved the ongoing struggle between established and foreign ideas of what architecture should be in conjunction with national identity, would concern one of the most promi-

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31 Chen, 17.
nent institutions in Japan, The Imperial Diet. For the Japanese, The Imperial Diet was a reflection of the Western government used in the Meiji government. Because the governmental division itself was supposed to be representative of Japanese government, the Diet building was supposed to “represent a vision of Japanese identity both domestically and internationally,” and act as a unifying symbol.

Much of the debate that surrounded the creation of a new Imperial Diet building was made among politicians and architects who wanted to pinpoint a design that would encompass the spirit of Japan. Many of the designs presented were made by foreign architects; the government wanted the building to be rooted in modernity as Japan moved towards a new age. What came out of these foreign architects were designs that either embraced Japanese aspects of architecture or moved away from them. One German architecture firm came up with two different designs: one with a straight European style and no Japanese details and one that alluded to Japan's architectural past through small details. Part of the use of Japanese style was aimed at composing an “exotic hybrid” (orientalized design) as seen by Westerners; though the main design style was foreign, Japanese details were used to create portions of a design that would reflect the country and its people. (See Figures 2.1, 2.2.)

Following the lines of combining styles, the emergence of the combination of European classicism with “pure” Japanese elements was brought into Japanese consciousness through the teikan style, the imperial crown synthesis style. Shimoda Kikuataro, a Japanese architect who entered the contest for the Imperial Diet design in 1918, presented his work in

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33 A description of the branch of the Japanese government, The Diet, can be found in Andrew Gordon’s A Modern History of Japan From Tokugawa Times to the Present (Oxford, 2003): 77–93. The Diet marks its beginning in 1890 as the parliament of Japan. It was created through the Meiji Constitution to address the political debates and practices that had formed during the Meiji era. The Diet represented then, as it does now, a large part of the political life of Japan.


35 Reynolds, 40.

36 Reynolds, 40.

37 Isosaki, 3.
this particular combination of Japanese and Western concepts.\textsuperscript{38} His work tried to represent the possible future of architecture during the Meiji era; he tried to suitably represent the best of both architectural styles in one building, making the building both aesthetically pleasing and respectful of Westernized forms and of Japan’s desire for national identity. Despite the creative effort at reconciling the two different styles, his juxtaposition of European and Japanese styles was attacked by his colleagues; instead of seeing a strong illustration of both forms, his colleagues believed that the

\textsuperscript{38} Reynolds, 43.
designs undermined the basic nature of each style and chose to reject the proposals. 39

Eventually a neoclassical design was chosen for the Diet building which contained Japanese decorative motifs. The use of a primarily European design never really reached the “status of a national symbol that resonated with the Japanese public.” 40 The form did not reflect, adequately, the Japanese style that would have given the building more accurate projection of Japan and its people. The Diet building was a chance for Japan to use modern materials and designs to become this physical representation of their national pride and identity, but the final Western-style edifice was unable to evoke that image among the Japanese. (See Figure 3.)

Figure 3. After the first Imperial Diet building burned down in January 1891, this final design for the Imperial Diet building was composed as a permanent replacement in lieu of a temporary building that was constructed. The final edifice was built out of steel, reinforced concrete, and gray granite. This design has Japanese details which only accounts for a small portion of the overall neoclassical construction with its towers, stepped roofs, and columns. It is a compromise of styles to bring a modern building to life. This picture of a model of the final building is from Jonathan Reynolds’ “Japan’s Imperial Diet Building,” 46.

For the Japanese, the creation of combined styles within their architectural world gave them conflict over national identity as they tried to find the right balance between modern designs with traditional aspects of

39 Reynolds, 44.
40 Reynolds, 47.
Japanese architecture. The evolution of the architectural landscape of Japan emerged through their sense of national pride interpreted through changing technology and new education.

Conclusion
The transference of knowledge of technology and architectural styles set the future of Japan on a course to adjust both their physical, outward appearance while at the same time changing the core of their ideas of national identity and culture. The transformation of Japanese life in relation to the introduction of Western educational opportunities of learning modern materials, technology, and structures has been seen as reaching into all aspects of Japan as a country during the Meiji period.

As a strong nation in Asia among others being taken over and colonized by Westerners, Japan looked to staying an independent and influential country to avoid the same fate. In order to keep their status as a greatly educated and united nation, adaptations to the new world order from 1868 onward had to be made to promote further progress in the international arena. The Japanese not only had to be well-informed politically about where it stood among the ranks of powerful European and other Western countries, but they had to support their own position through strengthening their cultural and social elements of their nation.

From the goals to become a greater people came improvements to assist their efforts to keep up with the modern times. The educational system that was created gave opportunities for students to become more educated in new technology which was important for them to contribute more in research and development of Japanese engineering, art, and architecture. The improvement of the education of Japanese students led to the betterment of the country by creating more informed citizens to build up their nation through their use of their knowledge.

Through the changes made in the educational system, and the opportunities available to students to study abroad, the incorporation of Western ideas helped forge new identities as Japanese as well as helping to create new styles in architecture. The question of whether the use of Western styles, Japanese styles, or a mixture of the two could appropriately represent the Japanese culture and nation was the main issue that emerged during the Meiji period; the influence of modern technology and foreign forms of
art and architecture became a point of discussion in regards to the development of the country’s culture and style.

Ultimately, the conclusion that many Japanese and Western architects alike devised was a combination of Western and Japanese elements of design moved towards constructing a “hybrid” design that tried to encompass the new aspects of Western ideas while keeping the essence of Japanese design. The national identity of the Japanese people was important to keep intact not only through political and social movements, but also through the cultural changes, like architecture, that were made in response to changing environments, education, and interaction with other countries.

From the effects of bringing in foreign ideas and new technology, the architecture of Japan was forever changed by the infusion of forms and materials into its already present designs. The movement towards more focused education on expanding industries and the search for a representative style of Japan through new areas of developed ideas gave Japan a chance to move into the Meiji Era with a new outlook on its future; a future that involved adapting to the changing modern and technological times as well as keeping their traditions to create a better nation.
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52


Between 1820 and 1923, European and American travelogue writers in the Southeast Asian British Colonies looked down upon Europeans participating in miscegenation with local women. They felt that it was a “barbaric” institution, and if Europeans participated in miscegenation, they were destroying the racial hierarchy that had been established during colonialism. They feared miscegenation would blur the racial lines that had been used as the basis for control over the colonies. Miscegenation also produced children of mixed races, called Eurasians. Eurasians became a separate class, however, the British and Southeast Asians did not know how to classify and treat them. Eurasians were not accepted by Europeans or Southeast Asians, they were a group of people not even recognized as a class. Why did the European and American travelogue writers fear miscegenation between Europeans and Southeast Asians? By examining European and American travelogues, I will argue that in the Southeast Asian British Colonies between the years 1820–1923, British and American travelogue writers feared miscegenation between Europeans and Southeast Asians because it challenged the existing racial structures.
For this paper I will rely exclusively on the Travelogues of Europeans and Americans. They provide a window into the culture of Southeast Asia which Southeast Asians themselves did not write about. Southeast Asian culture was new and different to European and American travelogue writers, however. As such, they documented extensively what which was foreign or strange to them. Though relying exclusively on travelogues limits this paper by excluding the Southeast Asian perspective, my purpose is to analyze the European and American perspective on Southeast Asian culture. Travelogues proved the best source for such analysis.

For the history of miscegenation in Southeast Asia, I will mainly rely on John G. Butler’s *The British in Malaya 1880–1841 The Social History of a European Community in Colonial South-East Asia*. According to Butcher, colonial miscegenation came about due to the necessity for female companionship.¹ He goes on to speculate that concubinage occurred mainly in rural settings, and that these women not only provided companionship, but they also helped acclimate European men to their new Southeast Asian settings.² Later in his book, Butcher describes how concubinage began to decline in the early twentieth century as Europeans in Southeast Asia began to make more money and were able to afford to bring European wives over.³

Ann Stoler has several interesting theories about miscegenation that she derived from her readings of Michel Foucault. Stoler theorizes that more and more Europeans began to view miscegenation negatively as the bourgeois classes in Europe began to grow during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁴ She goes on to say that with the growth of the bourgeois class, there came a growth of the bourgeois morality or racial purity.⁵ The new, growing, bourgeois morality was based on the belief that Southeast Asians were unsophisticated and unable to control their primi-

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² Butcher, 200.
³ Butcher, 202.
⁵ Stoler, *Race*, 45.
tive and sexual desires. In order to demonstrate bourgeois sophistication, they had to be the opposite: they had to control themselves sexually. She argues that the European middle class claimed the people who could be characterized by their sexual promiscuity were the people that were meant to be in the lower classes, which even included Europeans participating in concubinage with Southeast Asian women.

European colonization occurred in two phases. During the sixteenth century, Spain and Portugal were the first European countries to colonize. Individual glory and state glory were the primary objective during the first phase of colonization. These expeditions also sought to secure capital and to spread religion. Spain and Portugal had both been crusading against the Muslims in Europe and Northern Africa for centuries, and the “New World” was a great opportunity to spread Christianity and increase its global popularity relative to Islam. Imperialism was also about trade. Imperialism allowed the Dutch to dominate European trade and allowed the British to dominate trade with India. The second phase of imperialism, occurring after the French Revolution, was more of a competition among the different European countries. It was a battle to see who could control the most land and prove their nationalism. This second phase was dominated by competition between England and France to see who the strongest and largest imperial power.

Europeans began to colonize Southeast Asia in the sixteenth century for trade. The Portuguese were the first dominating imperial power in Southeast Asia—starting with the capture of Melaka in 1511. The Spanish also arrived and imperialized the Philippines during the sixteenth century. After the Spanish-American War at the end of the nineteenth century, the United States waged a war against the Philippines, and official-

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6 Stoler, Race, 183.
7 Stoler, Race, 194.
8 Nicholas Tarling, Imperialism in Southeast Asia: A Fleeting Passing Phase (London and New York), 27.
"Tarling, 26.
10"Tarling, 27.
11 Tarling, 39.
12 Tarling, 37.
13 Milton Osborne, Southeast Asia: An Introductory History (Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 1968), 77.
Katrina Chludzinski

ly colonized the region in 1902. The mainland portion of Southeast Asia was colonized during the second phase of imperialism by the British and the French. The French occupied Vietnam in hopes of being able to trade with China, and also because they had lost India to Britain. The British moved into Burma for a few reasons, the most important were the disputes between the Burmese government and Britain about borders. Burma had frontier zones between India and Burma that the government claimed no responsibility for, but they would not let the British occupy that region. The Burmese did not have defined borders like the British did, so the misunderstanding between the British and the Burmese caused conflicts and in the end, war. By the end of the nineteenth century, the British occupied all of Burma. Soon after the British started occupying Burma, the French moved into Cambodia and Laos to compete with the British. Thailand was the only Southeast Asian country that was not colonized. By employing European tactics, the Thai government successfully resisted colonization and remained a buffer zone between the French and British colonies.

The British saw miscegenation as dangerous to the colonial structure because it contradicted the belief that Southeast Asians were inferior to Europeans. In one American travelogue from the Philippines, the writer compared the way that the British and the Spanish treated the natives. He commented that the British ridiculed the Portuguese and the Spanish for allowing interracial marriage. The British felt that miscegenation would result in the decline of the colonial government and even the decline of home government of the colonizing power, even though they did not explain how. The conclusion that interracial marriage would lead to the decline of the colonial structure could only result from the fear that interracial marriage blurred the lines of the racial hierarchy that the British had established. According to the same American travelogue writer, the

15 Osborne, 68.
16 Osborne, 64.
18 Osborne, 70.
19 Osborne, 71.
British believed that interracial marriage produced “mongrel,” “inferior and renegade” Eurasian children. The British did not know how to classify Eurasians and did not want to recognize their European descent. In order to maintain their racial hierarchy, the British needed to establish the inferiority of Eurasians in any way possible, including the use of derogatory words to describe them. Ann Stoler explains that miscegenation presented questions that Europeans were not ready to answer. One of those questions was how to maintain white supremacy when their racial purity was threatened by miscegenation. The British response to this question was to classify Eurasians as inferior and employed derogatory language to make them social outcasts and discourage others from participating in miscegenation.

European travelogue writers dismissed concubinage between Europeans and Southeast Asians because they did not want to admit that European men were part of the problem to the degradation of their racial structures. A British travelogue writer in Burma made excuses for British men falling into concubinage. He claimed that Burmese women had sweeter and more affectionate personalities, therefore British men could not help themselves. Ann Stoler remarks that Europeans also felt by keeping the race pure and abstaining from promiscuity, they were establishing their superiority over Southeast Asians. But concubinage would make the established racial structures harder to define, thereby making it harder to maintain their racial superiority. An interracial couple threatened the Caucasian racial purity. But they feared that if they admitted that British men were willing participating in miscegenation it would encourage other British men to do it as well. In an attempt to deter other British men from it, travelogue writers refused to admit that British men were consciously able to consent to concubinage.

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21 LeRoy, 38.  
23 Fitz, William Thomas Pellok, Sport in British Burmah, Assam and the Casvah and Jyntiah Hills: with notes of sport in the hilly districts of the northern division, Madra. presidency, indicating the best localities in those countries for sport, with natural history notes, illustrations of the people, scenery, and game, together with maps to guide the traveller or sportsman, and hints on weapons, fishing-tackle, etc., best suited for killing game met with in those provinces, Vol. I (London: Chapman and Hall, 1879), 11.  
24 Stoler, Race, 193.
To establish that British were not at fault for participating in miscegenation, other excuses were made by travelogue writers. For example, one writer claimed that Europeans could not help themselves. The climate of Southeast Asia weakened their strength to stand by their British morals. These outrageous claims were only used to remove all blame from Europeans and place it on the natives, or the climate of the colony itself.

Other European travelogue writers tried to emphasize that miscegenation was temporary, which degraded the European men to a more uncivilized status in order to maintain the established racial structures. One British travelogue writer states that Europeans only stayed with Burmese women temporarily and rarely ever called them “wife.” The term “wife” was an endearing term that elevated women to a more respectful status. Having a wife was stabilizing and permanent. But this travelogue writer alludes that refusing to call Southeast Asian women wife, even if that was in fact what they were, was degrading. It kept Southeast Asian women in an inferior status to Europeans. The same travelogue writer continued to say that Burmese women were not seen as suitable companions. English travelers only stayed with Burmese women until they could return to England to find a real wife. His implicate argument was that British men were not actually attracted to Southeast Asian women. While living in Southeast Asia, British men had no other option than to lower themselves by being with Southeast Asian women until they could return to England and find a suitable woman. European travelogue writers could not admit that British men preferred to participate in concubinage because it would have been admitting that their racial structures were in fact changing and that British men were partly responsible for it.

Miscegenation produced Eurasian children that were not European or Asian; they were a people without an identity that had the ability to change the European established racial hierarchy. Christina Firpo mentions that in Vietnam, Eurasians were clearly recognizable as being of French descent. But the French viewed this as a threat to their racial purity and su-

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27 Winston, 229.
A British travelogue writer noticed that Eurasians were divided amongst themselves based on how closely they resembled Europeans. The Eurasians with the skin tones and facial features that more closely resembled those of Europeans had higher social statuses than those that had features that more closely resembled Southeast Asians. This made it seem like there were several racial categories within the Eurasian community. This confusion over racial hierarchies within the Eurasian community created confusion among the British. The British were confused as to how to categorize Eurasians racially. The British had established a strict racial hierarchy. They were also convinced that they would be able to maintain a racial purity amongst the Europeans. So they were not prepared when British men began to participate in miscegenation and producing another race.

As Ann Stoler put it, Eurasians “straddled the divide” between colonizers and colonized. This “divide” blurred some of the racial lines between Europeans and Southeast Asians, which terrified the British.

Travelogue writers also noticed that Eurasians were disliked by both Europeans and Asians. Not only were they despised by the Europeans, but since they despised their Southeast Asian heritage, they alienated themselves even further by rejecting the Southeast Asian community. This left Eurasians isolated and alone. The British feared Eurasians because they did not know what Eurasians would do, since they were not accepted by either community. Eurasians were also alienated in their own families. One travelogue writer wrote that in Eurasian families, the lighter skinned children had more privileges than the darker skinned ones. The British feared that

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32 Curle, 49.

33 Thomson, 251.
unrest in the Eurasian community for not having a place in the previously established racial structure might lead to political unrest. Eurasians did not belong to European or Asian societies and they suffer disadvantages for it.\textsuperscript{35} They were rejected from some jobs and events because they were Eurasian. The British would not allow them access to all European events or to high ranking European jobs. Furthermore, Southeast Asians would not accept them into the Southeast Asian community. In most cases, the European father left and the family was financially cut off and without a father.\textsuperscript{36} Having their European fathers leave lead to feelings of abandonment and alienation as well. In some cases, when the European father left, the family became poor. So not only were the Eurasian children alienated from most communities, they were left with no means to support themselves.

Eurasians were so disoriented about where they belonged, that they fought to be seen as European, while Europeans fought to reject the notion that Eurasians were of European descent, creating a tension among Eurasians that Europeans feared. A British travelogue writer noted that Eurasians wanted to demonstrate their European heritage so much that they over exaggerated and tried to be more patriotic than their British fathers.\textsuperscript{37} Yet Daniel Gorman explains that “Britishness” is defined by “character, masculinity, whiteness, and Protestantism.” He goes on to explain that, obviously, not all Europeans possessed all of these qualities, but they required the colonized to possess all those qualities if they wanted to be accepted by the European community.\textsuperscript{38} Yet Europeans wanted to reject them so much that they created unobtainable standards in order to keep Eurasians inferior. But identification as Europeans was not only to be accepted into the European community. Eurasians also tried to demonstrate their European heritage in an attempt to rise socially among other Eurasians.\textsuperscript{39} The more European a Eurasian appeared to be, the more benefits they could gain, especially if they could pass for European. Eurasians that closely resembled

\textsuperscript{35}Winston, 229.
\textsuperscript{36}Winston, 229.
\textsuperscript{37}Curle, 50.
\textsuperscript{39}Curle, 51.
Europeans were given better jobs, but were still kept socially inferior to actual Europeans. One travelogue writer stated that they were so consumed trying to be European, something that they were not, that they are essentially empty.\(^{40}\) They were so busy trying to emulate Europeans, that they did not create a unified community of their own. And Europeans feared that if they recognized Eurasians’ European heritage, it would destroy the racial hierarchy that they had tried to hard to maintain.

European and American travelogue writers writing between 1820 and 1923 feared miscegenation. They saw it as a threat to their racial structures. They spoke about it negatively to try to deter other Europeans from participating in concubinage because it blurred the racial lines between Europeans and Southeast Asians. It also produced Eurasian children that the British were not prepared to deal with. They did not want to recognize Eurasians' European heritage because that would also blur the racial lines. These fears lead European travelogue writers to write about miscegenation derogatorily in order to deter other Europeans from participating in it as well. They also felt the need to excuse European men for participating in miscegenation because they refused to believe that European men were part of the reason that their established racial structures were being challenged and even changed. Europeans refused to become a part of the Southeast Asian culture, which created problems when miscegenation began to mix European and Southeast Asian cultures. Because Europeans refused to accept miscegenation, they excluded an entire class of people, one that would eventually fight against rejection.

\(^{40}\) Curle, 50.
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Colonialism in the United States was characterized by exploitive and oppressive activities that were justified by the socially constructed notion that White people were closest to divine. Historically, the desire for land, money, and power—and the need for an exclusive unifying group identity—led to the development of the racial “Other” as a means of separating a specific group of European descendents from outside groups. People of African descent were enslaved and brutally utilized as the chief United States labor source; their exploitation was rationalized by the popular assumption that blackness connoted subhuman nature. White slaveholders during this time commonly claimed to believe in the Christian faith, yet faced a complex web of moral dilemmas due to the intersecting nature of that faith with their position in society: enslaved Africans would die as pagans if not taught Christianity, yet baptism might necessitate their emancipation; religious instruction would be time-consuming, and therefore potentially economically detrimental to plantations; if Africans were humans, they would be entitled to certain rights, possibly inclusion in religious fellow-
ship with Whites. Each of the slaveholders’ fears was brought about by the “threatened...security of the master-slave hierarchy.” Consequently, the Bible became a means of justifying their morally perverted behavior; a Eurocentric interpretation of biblical scripture defended the enslavement of Blacks. Slaveholders’ Eurocentric theology then resulted in what Reginald F. Davis refers to as the “misreligion” of slaves.

Despite the efforts of slave owners, over 6,000 written personal accounts of slaves’ experiences indicate that innumerable people of African descent converted to Christianity during the antebellum period. Slaves could not embrace slaveholders’ interpretation of the Bible without effectively endorsing existing power structures. An African American interpretation of biblical scripture was born out of African Americans’ need to reconcile genuine Christian faith with a fundamental opposition to the institution of slavery. As race and religious beliefs intersected, Black Christian spirituality emerged from within the context of their unique experiences. That spirituality was also influenced by the legacy of religious traditions of Africa, which withstood the early Transatlantic Slave Trade and the removal of Africans from their continent of birth. Enslaved Africans and their personal testimonies provided the link to an African past that many enslaved African Americans sought. The history and culture brought by enslaved Africans to the United States via the Middle Passage had—and continues to have—a lasting impact on the religious beliefs, traditions, and practices of African Americans. Socially constructed racial categories justified the enslavement of Africans, and the enslavement of Africans resulted in their transport to the United States; thus, the faith of slaves was shaped by their connection to the African Diaspora and an African past, as well as their oppressed status in society.

2 Ibid.
The Influence of an African Past

In his article “The Middle Passage, Trauma and the Tragic Re-Imagination of African American Theology,” Matthew V. Johnson, Sr., claims that the Middle Passage robbed Africans of the “fundamental elements of meaningful human existence.” According to Johnson, a meaningful human existence originates with a common culture and its inherited traditions and practices. He goes on to say that “the African was systematically traumatized, culturally raped, and deprived of the fundamental realities that render human existence stable and meaningful.” While acknowledging that enslaved Africans “were torn away from the political, social, and cultural systems that had ordered their lives,” Albert J. Raboteau disagrees with the absoluteness of Johnson’s argument and instead suggests that “one of the most durable and adaptable constituents of the slave’s culture, linking African past with American present, was his religion.”

In reality, enslaved Africans were both seeking and holding: they sought out new worldviews from which they could understand their new realities, all while holding onto cultural traditions and religious practices of the past. Instead of being fully “denuded” of their former identity, enslaved Africans developed a collective identity reflective of their African past and their oppressive present. “Important strands of African consciousness” were maintained in humor, songs, dance, tales, games, etc., shaping the newly emerging beliefs and ideologies of slaves. Therefore, unlike Johnson’s argument, the common culture and inherited traditions and practices of Africans did not die, but instead were integrated with new cultural traditions and practices.

“The spread of Christianity among enslaved Africans hastened the development of a common ethnic identity among the ethnically diverse peoples who were the first generations of enslaved Africans on American

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5 Matthew V. Johnson, Sr., “The Middle Passage, Trauma and the Tragic Re-Imagination of African American Theology,” Pastoral Psychology 53, no. 6 (July 2005): 545. (EBSCOhost).
6 Ibid.
7 Raboteau, Slave Religion, 4.
8 Lawrence W. Levine, Black Culture and Black Consciousness (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 42.
9 Ibid., 444.
10 Raboteau, Slave Religion, 8.
This common ethnic identity resulted in a sense of shared history that provided the basis for an African American consciousness, and ultimately an African American Christian consciousness. The Christianity of slaves that emerged on Southern plantations was shaped by the experiences of enslaved Africans: their suffering during the Middle Passage, confronting the cultures of nations bordering the Atlantic Ocean, and development of a sense of community among other enslaved peoples. The faith of slaves displayed the influence of their particular experience, all while embracing "the symbols, myths, and values of Judeo-Christian tradition." Because of the African Diaspora, Christianity of slaves in the United States reflected religious traditions from Africa, Europe, the Caribbean, and Latin America, as well as the "American evangelical Protestantism" of White slave owners. However, even with the pervasive nature of Christianity among Whites enslaved Africans "brought their cultural past to the task of translating and interpreting the doctrinal words and ritual gestures of Christianity" so that a unique faith-life among slaves emerged.

The Christianizing Efforts of White Slaveholders
Prior to the nineteenth century, few White slaveholders taught their slaves the Christian faith—most either believed Blacks to be animalistic, subhuman, and lacking the souls necessary to convert, or that Christianizing enslaved Africans would necessitate their emancipation. Evangelism was left to European missionaries who sought to "save the souls of the Africans from eternal damnation," but were little concerned with freeing Africans from slavery. The baptism of slaves would have signified an acknowledgement of their humanity, and thus Whites feared that the Bible's messages

16 Akinyela, 259.
of freedom would incite slave-revolt or demand equal treatment of Blacks as Christian brothers and sisters. The rise of the Great Awakening in Europe in 1750 further exacerbated this moral dilemma, as the growing number of missionary societies and popularity of Christianity led to widespread Christianizing of enslaved Africans. Slaveholders were now compelled to establish a moral position and biblical interpretation that would justify their oppressive actions and inhibit slave revolt. In order to preserve existing power relationships, “African American slaves were taught the Pauline text of ‘slaves be obedient to your masters.’” The slaves’ religious education was misleading in that they were only taught “portions of the Bible that talked about the proper conduct of slaves and the rights of masters.”

In terms of biblical history, the Eurocentric interpretation of scripture portrayed “an ancient religious drama of Eurasian Hebrews who once sojournered in Egypt...evolved in an ancient Canaan...and eventually gave rise to the birth of a European Jesus and Christianity.” Any geographical connections to Africa were overlooked or ignored, and Black people of the Bible were seen as anomalies to the typically European-cast figures. Slaveholders used the Bible’s story of the curse of Ham to argue in favor of God’s divine will for the master-slave relationship: “Cursed by Canaan! The lowest of slaves will he be to his brothers.” “The presumption was that God inflicted blackness as a curse on Ham for his indiscretion; because Ham was cursed for his sinful deed, the pigment of his skin changed to black, making him fall below the norm and doomed for slavery.” In reality, the story does not describe the color of Ham’s skin changing as a result of a curse for the maltreatment of his father. However, because Ham is thought to have been a Black man, and because he was one of Noah’s three sons from whom the Bible says all people of the earth dispersed, Whites argued that Africans were cursed with Black skin as Ham’s descendants. Not only

17 Ibid., 258; Turner, 44.
18 Akinyela, 261–262.
19 Ibid., 262; Davis, 94.
20 Davis, 94.
21 Akinyela, 262.
23 Genesis 9:25, New International Version
24 Davis, 94.
were slaves taught that "whiteness [was] synonymous with morality and purity," but they were also taught to "accept their existential reality because it [had] ontological credence."

**The Reconciliation of Religion and Reality**

While White missionaries and slaveholders are thought to have been responsible for introducing Christianity to many slaves, the religion had long been influential in Northern and Central Africa. Makungu M. Akinyela claims that most of the Africans taken captive to America already commonly believed in one God who created all things and was "directly involved with humanity." Culturally, religion was an important component of day-to-day life; "there was no distinction between the spiritual and the material worlds." Kelly Brown Douglas and Ronald E. Hopson add to his argument by stating that the typical African worldview "equated balance and harmony with God." Any aspect of life that did not reflect balance and harmony could not have been divine, or of God—including interpersonal relationships. "The master-slave relationship was, therefore, impugned as evil. Such a noncomplementary relationship was not considered as being of God." Attempting to reconcile long-held beliefs formed by the cultural systems of Africa with Bible-based Christianity, Africans had little choice but to reject the idea that God authorized slavery.

Reginald F. Davis asserts that "many African Christians knew that something was inherently wrong with an interpretation of Scripture that supported slavery and inequality before God." The God that the slaves had known in Africa "was one of power and justice who had embraced the wholeness of their being—a God who was not aloof in their every-

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25 Ibid., 94–95.
26 Akinyela, 257.
27 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
31 Davis, 96.
day existence.” This understanding of God was supplemented with a growing knowledge of biblical scripture resulting from several factors: attending slave owners’ church services; increased literacy among slaves; the emergence of slave preachers; and the transmission of the Christian gospel through oral tradition and slave songs. African Americans came to believe that—contrary to what Whites had taught them—slavery and racial exclusion contradicted Christianity as God had intended it. Realizing the hypocrisy of their slaveholders’ professed religious beliefs, many slaves “came to the conclusion that the Christian slavemasters’ God was not their God.”

African American Christian Consciousness and Liberation Theology

Slaves experienced inner-tensions as they attempted to live according to Christian principles that were defined by Whites. While enslaved Africans wanted to believe in the messages of the Bible, they could not consign themselves to religious obedience that would threaten their well-being. Sharon Carson points out that “the existential repercussions of [precepts like] submission would raise doubts about white slaveholding Christianity for slaves struggling to survive the physical, psychological, and spiritual abuses of slavery.” Slaves’ obedience was divided between their earthly masters and their Divine Master, their desire to please and their self-respect. The brutal treatment of slaves demanded that they reinterpret and reexamine the Bible from a perspective reflective of their particular experiences. As Christian beliefs and experiences of oppression were reconciled, what emerged was an Afrocentric interpretation of biblical scripture that

32 Ibid.
33 Akinyela, 260; Raboteau, “The Secret Religion,” 4; Wimbush, 10–11.
35 Davis, 96–97.
37 Ibid.
38 Wimbush, 11.
placed African people as the center of focus in history. Enslaved Africans’ faith could be “parallel to, but not replicative of the slaveowners’ Christianity from which they borrowed.”

“The faith of enslaved Africans was not just a slave religion but a genuine and indigenous faith forged out of the experiences of Africans in slavery.” Slaves learned about God through biblical scripture, but it was personal conversion experiences that affirmed enslaved Africans’ inherent value as bearers of God’s image and formed their identity as products of God’s creative workmanship and investment. The God whom African Americans proclaimed to first encounter during their conversions to Christianity “was the source of transformation and the new sense of worth.” Slaves trusted their own experiences of God and knowledge of biblical scripture over White slaveholders’ insistence that God unconditionally loved, but also sanctioned slavery. Instead of despairing and rejecting the God of the Bible, “the enslaved were able to see that something more than ideas must be engaged for an adequate appreciation of God’s revelation; they were able to affirm the primacy of their experience, the experience of the oppressed.” The context of African Americans’ bondage and oppression brought about their distinctive theology.

Reflective of the syncretism of the slave experience and the Christian faith, “enslaved Africans particularly focused on the Old Testament stories of liberation from cruel slave masters...the promises of release for the oppressed Israelites and the destruction of the oppressors.” Just as God had done with biblical Israel, slaves believed that God was acting and would continue to act on their behalf. African American Christians maintained

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39 Felder, 47.
41 Akinyela, 278.
42 Davis, 100; Holder, 45; Raboteau, “Fire in the Bones,” 6.
43 Turner, 46.
44 Douglas and Hopson, 108; Turner, 53.
45 Douglas and Hopson, 108.
47 Akinyela, 264.
that they had a “preferred perspective” of God as a result of their marginalization and oppression: not only did slaves believe that God could relate to their suffering by way of Jesus Christ’s crucifixion, but the Bible also stated that God’s “chosen people” were the enslaved Israelites rather than the enslaving Egyptians.\(^49\) Because slaves had little memory of home and no common “historical/cultural reservoir,” these stories of liberation, struggle, and oppression “began to serve as the unifying collective memory for the enslaved Africans...as the mythical source of meaning to the community’s existence.”\(^50\)

**Community and the Black Church**

As a “response and expression of a people oppressed on the basis or race,”\(^51\) Christian slaves began to gather illicitly or informally in order to hold their own worship meetings.\(^52\) African Americans could not support a religious doctrine tied to racial injustice, and so emerged a “black social space independent of white institutional and ideological control.”\(^53\) Often referred to as “invisible institutions” or “hush harbors” due to their covert nature, these gatherings “provided physical and psychological relief from the horrific conditions of servitude,” granted dignity and self-esteem, and reaffirmed slaves’ intrinsic worth as human beings.\(^54\) By having their own church services, African Americans could reject oppressive interpretations of the Bible and Eurocentric understandings of Christian precepts, and instead “[preach] from an African cultural context and through the experience of being an enslaved people.”\(^55\) The Black Church was representative of “black people’s resistance to an enslaving and dehumanizing white culture, even

\(^{49}\) Akinyela, 265; Rufus Burrow, Jr., “Who Teaches Black Theology?” *The Journal of Religious Thought* 43, no. 2 (Fall 1986/Winter 1987): 8–9. (EBSCOhost); Davis, 98; Douglas and Hopson, 107

\(^{50}\) Akinyela, 271.


\(^{54}\) Simms, 101.

\(^{55}\) Akinyela, 263–264.
as it testified to God’s affirmation of freedom and blackness.”\textsuperscript{56} African Americans “[reworked] Christian frameworks into an autonomous and profoundly ‘resisting’ African American liberation theology.”\textsuperscript{57}

The values of African American Christians and the early Black Church developed as a result of slaves’ experiences as they “navigated life in a world hostile to their blackness.”\textsuperscript{58} Though they understood that the color of their skin was not a curse, blackness became a source of justification for African Americans’ oppression.\textsuperscript{59} As a result of slaves’ unique experiences and resultant interest in the Bible’s stories of oppression, “blackness became associated with Christ and viewed in the context of a human struggle for liberation.”\textsuperscript{60} African Americans saw biblical examples of Jesus’ compassion for the poor and God’s determination to free his people as “divine approbation” to oppose slaveholders’ faith and the institution of slavery.\textsuperscript{61} And not only did slaves believe that God was in favor of their “quest for freedom,” but the belief that they were created in the image of God and therefore deeply valued by him meant that they did not have to become White before converting to Christianity.\textsuperscript{62} By affirming blackness as a reflection of God’s image, African Americans were able to defy the oppressive parameters set by Whites and support the claim that to deny blackness would consequently be to deny God.\textsuperscript{63}

\textsuperscript{56} Douglas and Hopson, 96.
\textsuperscript{57} Carson, 54.
\textsuperscript{58} Douglas and Hopson, 100.
\textsuperscript{59} Davis, 97.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., 98.
\textsuperscript{61} Turner, 49.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., 49–50.
\textsuperscript{63} Davis, 100.
Conclusion

For you are a people holy to the LORD your God. The LORD your God has chosen you to be a people for his treasured possession, out of all the peoples who are on the face of the earth. It was not because you were more in number than any other people that the LORD set his love on you and chose you, for you were the fewest of all peoples, but it is because the LORD loves you and is keeping the oath that he swore to your fathers, that the LORD has brought you out with a mighty hand and redeemed you from the house of slavery, from the land of Pharaoh king of Egypt.

— Deuteronomy 7:6–8, English Standard Version

In a world attempting to invalidate their humanity, the Christian faith and early Black Church offered slaves identity and belonging, a common history, and refuge from a White, racist society.\(^{64}\) The shared experiences of African Americans provided them with a—once-lacking—common worldview, and ultimately acted to sustain their community.\(^{65}\) Christian slaves’ knowledge of God and understanding of biblical scripture was confirmed and affirmed by other Christian slaves, therefore granting African Americans a sense of legitimacy beyond the parameters set for them by the dominant, White society.\(^{66}\) Instead of allowing their faith to be shaped by the Eurocentric biblical interpretations of slaveholders, African Americans “created a self-preserving belief system by Africanizing European religion.”\(^{67}\) The emergence of an African American Christian consciousness and a Christian slave community gave Blacks the courage to oppose their oppressive conditions and advocate a theology centered on God’s relationship to the oppressed and his desire to liberate all people.\(^{68}\)

Reginald F. Davis claims that it was because of their faith in God and his goodness that African American Christian slaves were able to endure

\(^{64}\) Douglas and Hopson, 102; Johnson, 555; Raboteau, “Fire in the Bones,” 2.
\(^{65}\) Turner, 47.
\(^{66}\) Ibid.
\(^{67}\) Simms, 101.
\(^{68}\) Turner, 47.
their profound oppression.69 Much like biblical Israel, while slaves’ “faith in God was often tested by the appearance of evil and suffering, the faithful still would not negate Yahweh’s justice and divine righteousness in human history.”70 African Americans endured suffering because they were fully confident in the Bible and in it God’s promises to deliver his people.71 In believing that liberation was the “essence” of the Christian message, “African-American Christians [shared] the belief that [they had] been chosen by God to suffer with and for God in the liberation of humanity.”72 Their unique struggle was simply seen as part of a much larger struggle between the powers of good and evil, a fight that was necessary to take on as children of God who identified with the “toil and trial” of Jesus.73 Slaves’ hope rested with the Bible’s claims of God’s ultimate victory and his ability to “bring good out of evil” and “make a way out of no way.”74 It was this faith that allowed African Americans to “survive, with meaning, the non-affirming, de-humanizing forces and structures of American society.”75

69 Davis, 102.
70 Ibid., 101.
71 Ibid., 102.
72 Ibid.
73 Turner, 48.
74 Davis, 102.
75 Wimbush, 12.


Johnson, Sr., Matthew V. “The Middle Passage, Trauma and the Tragic Re-Imagination of African American Theology.” *Pastoral Psychology* 53, no. 6 (July 2005): 541–561. (EBSCOhost).


“OUR TESTAMENT TO DEMOCRACY”
THE DECEPTION OF JAPANESE AMERICAN INTERNMENT
IN WORLD WAR II
By Laura Sorvetti

Introduction

“Let us have faith, and build here in Manzanar our testament to democracy, a system so perfect that other Americans may emulate it in years to come.”
— Manzanar Free Press, July 17, 1943

The incarceration of 120,000 Japanese Americans between 1942 and 1945 on the West Coast was the result of a deception on several fronts through a variety of conduits. The United States government and press were complicit in presenting a portrait of Japanese American incarceration that defended a certain necessity and justification of their policy. Their deception took many forms but was most prominently captured in language and euphemism that reduced the experience of Japanese Americans to an acceptable necessity. Visual deception via photographs enabled Americans to incorporate a distinct visual legacy of the internment into the reports published by the government and journalism.
The deception was also defined and maintained by Japanese Americans within the internment camps. America in the early twentieth century expected a mono-Americanism that demanded conformity. Most Japanese Americans followed the demands of the government, leaving everything familiar behind, relying on their belief in the ideals of American democracy. In order to prove their loyalty to their country and re-obtain their civil liberties, internees presented an image of their experiences that stressed American values and little criticism of the government or public.

The legacy of this deception in regards to the internment camps has been hard to dispel among Americans. Not until the 1981 Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied*, did the government argue that there was no certain “military necessity” demanding the incarceration of Japanese Americans. Many of the manuscript collections housed within government museums are selective in their presentation of the primary sources provided on the incarceration. Historians still debate the causes, ramifications, and meanings behind the experience.

The sources drawn upon here extend from original manuscript collections within California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo’s Special Collections in the Kennedy Library, to online collections of government and national publications, to historians’ recent analysis of the incarceration. These sources are part of a growing collection of American primary sources that present the issue of Japanese American internment from a wide array of perspectives. There are discrepancies among the various sources, but in general there is a greater consensus that unites the sources into a body that extended a deception of the truth.

Cal Poly’s Special Collections holdings entitled “Manzanar Collection, 1942–1994” contain correspondence, photographs, and newspaper copies relating to the Manzanar Relocation Center. The correspondences trace the communication between two women incarcerated at Manzanar and their friends outside the camps. In the collection are also included photographs from 1942 through 1994 that capture images of the camp and the families of the two women. The third of three areas of the collection are fourteen original copies of the *Manzanar Free Press*, a tri-weekly publication published by internees at Manzanar.

Additional copies of the *Manzanar Free Press* are now accessible to the
public via the National Park Service’s Manzanar Historical Site, the Library of Congress’ American Memory Project, and Densho, the Japanese American Legacy Project. Densho and American Memory are excellent repositories for additional sources on the internment, including photographs by War Relocation Authority employees and internees, government publications, and written and oral histories by the internees themselves. National newspapers are accessible via Kennedy Library’s Microfiche Collections (*San Francisco Chronicle, Wall Street Journal, San Luis Obispo Telegram-Tribune*, and various popular magazines) and through ProQuest’s digital collections (*New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times*).

**The Linguistic Deception**

The most powerful and lasting deception of Americans was the linguistic deception of the government and newspapers in the 1940s. Euphemism and language created a distorted impression and story of Japanese American incarceration that exists even into the twentieth century. These deceptions fit into a longer history of discrimination and exclusion of Asian Americans since immigration to the West Coast began in the late nineteenth century.

As early as 1790 Americans sought to define citizenship based on race and ethnicity. The Naturalization Act of 1790 provided the opportunity for citizenship to “any alien, being a free white person.” Although “persons of African nativity or decent” were incorporated in 1873, the act denied citizenship to Japanese and other Asian immigrants until 1952. Chinese who immigrated to California during the Gold Rush were essentially shut out of America by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. In 1885 the first official immigrants from Japan landed in Hawaii, and by 1905 the *San Francisco Chronicle* declared “The Japanese Invasion: The Problem of the Hour.”

The Asiatic Exclusion League, formed in 1905, illustrated a growing public opposition to Japanese immigrants and the 1913 Alien Land Law and *Takao Ozawa v. United States* in 1922 legalized the discrimination against Japa-

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nese immigrants.³

Language became an effective means of separating European Americans from Japanese immigrants, capitalizing on the physical differences that separated them. The Japanese immigrant was known as the “brown [or yellow] peril.” Japanese were the Chinese immigrants’ “half-dwarf neighbor,” the “far more dangerous serfs from the empire of the Mikado.” Racial and cultural stereotypes abounded, generalizing Japanese into a class of aliens that were all the same in their differences from other Americans. A leader in an Anti-Japanese League in Alameda in 1905 stated that “the Japanese is worse than the Chinese in [being a danger to white labor], for while the Chinese for the most part takes up work that a white man will not do, the Japanese enters into active competition and drives the white man out.”⁴

As war between Japan and the United States drew closer in the early 1940s journalists began to focus on a cultural legacy that excluded Japanese Americans from mainstream America and united them instead with Japan. Some newspapers recognized the Japanese terms for first and second generation Japanese Americans, Issei and Nisei respectively. Unfortunately, their main reasons for using the terms were to distinguish between what appeared to be inherently different Japanese and other Americans. For example, the Fresno Bee associated the Nisei not with their second generation counterparts born in the United States, but with their Japanese relations via their claim for dual citizenship in Japan and the United States.⁵ Japanese Americans of the Nisei generation who visited Japan or who had attended school in Japan, called Kibei, were especially investigated by the FBI for possible ties to Japan. The terms that Japanese Americans used to define their generation would be turned into means of controlling and segregating by the United States government and public media.

During World War II reporting the connection between Japanese Americans and Japan was always emphasized above any connections to the United States. Citizens of Japanese ancestry were rarely called “Japanese

³ In 1913 the Alien Land Law prohibited “aliens ineligible to citizenship” from owning land. The Supreme Court ruling in Ozawa v. United States denied Japanese immigrants eligibility for naturalization and was not overturned until 1952.
⁵ “Nisei Retain Dual Citizenship, Fresno Bee, December 3, 1941.
Americans,” instead being divided into “pro-American Japanese” and “pro-Axis Japanese.” The derogatory term “Jap” became widely used in headlines addressing both the Japanese and Japanese Americans, linking the two groups together as a greater enemy. An older generation of non-Japanese Americans, characterized by my grandmother and grandfather, refer to both the Japanese that my grandfather fought against in the Pacific theater and Japanese American citizens as “Japs.” Their use of the term is one example of a popular sentiment that defines anyone of Japanese ancestry as a “them” against “us,” dissimilar in ancestry, customs, religion, and mentality. This appearance of difference would remain consistent throughout the 1940s.

The deception in words reached beyond the “us versus them” mentality of white American journalists, government, and public. The language of internment is still a debated issue that reflects on the lack of clarity regarding the true causes and realities of Japanese American incarceration. During World War II officials in the government and military used a number of euphemisms to describe their actions against people of Japanese ancestry that misconstrued the true meaning of the events. Historians and teachers today seek an agreement in whether or not to use the euphemistic words and phrases commonly used during the war or to replace them with language that may provide a more accurate representation of the past.6

One of the most common euphemisms that limited the truth for Americans was that of “evacuation” and “evacuee.” The first Japanese Americans to reach the internment camps were called by national newspapers “voluntary evacuees.” Evacuation suggests the interpretation that these people were moved to inland areas for their own protection against angry protestors, but research suggests that the justification of protecting ethnic Japanese from vigilantes was a “lame explanation.”7 Historians are beginning to replace evacuation with “exclusion” or “mass removal,” which better explains the placement of thousands of people in remote and barren regions of the United States behind barbed wire and under the supervision of military personnel.

6 To read more on this debate visit Densho: the Japanese American Legacy Project online at http://www.densho.org/densho.asp.
7 Personal Justice Denied, 89.
The temporary camps that Japanese Americans were first placed in were called by the government “Assembly Centers,” surrounded by fences and armed military personnel. As Yoshiko Uchida illustrates in *Desert Exile*, the “assembly centers” were little more than hastily built barracks in large public arenas, such as the Santa Anita Racetrack in Southern California.8 Although historians still recognized the place names such as “Puyallup Assembly Center,” more are turning to different terms, such as “temporary incarceration camps” or “temporary prison camps.”

The incarceration camps that Japanese Americans were confined to after exclusion were called “relocation centers” or “reception centers.”9 However, these euphemisms inadequately describe the harsh conditions of the centers. Newspapers depicted a migration similar to that of the Dust Bowl inhabitants of the 1930s, a vacation trip or summer camp. Manzanar, located at the base of the Sierra Nevadas, was in the center of an area known as a popular vacation destination. Even visitors today might consider that given the location, living at Manzanar could not have been too terrible. But the stories of Japanese Americans who lived at Manzanar, such as those of author Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston, suggest otherwise.10

These euphemisms are part of a greater attempt by the government and the media to depict the internment camps as pleasant alternatives for evacuated civilians. The public exhibited growing concern at the possibility that internees were better off than the rest of the nation. Letters to editors of major and local newspapers question the lifestyle to be found at the camps, citing rumors of better pay, more foodstuffs that for other Americans had been rationed, or too much of a festive, laidback feel while the rest of the nation was hard at work. An editorial in the *Los Angeles Times* depicts this widespread concern: “The Japs in these centers in the United States have been afforded the very best of treatment, together with food and living quarters far better than many of them ever knew before, and a minimum amount of restraint…”11 In reality, the living conditions for most interned

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8 Yoshiko Uchida, *Desert Exile*.
9 For one example of the various terms used in describing the internment camps see the *Los Angeles Times*, April 23, 1942, 4.
Laura Sorveti

at the camps was harsh and the treatment was roughshod at times and degrading. Thousands lost millions of dollars of property and possessions as a result of forced incarceration. These editors and the public spread a myth of internment that hid the realities of the program.

This deception was a necessary road for Americans to take in order to defend their support the incarceration of Japanese Americans. Government and media alike defended the action as a “military necessity” in order to protect both Japanese Americans and national security. Not until the 1980 publication of the findings of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians in *Personal Justice Denied* was the defense of “military necessity” denied. The belief was so prevalent among Americans at the time and after the war in part because of the work of newspaper journalists. Stories of Japanese sabotage and violence against Americans were spread throughout national newspapers, and although they were proved to be rumors they were never discounted by the press. As a result, newspapers helped spread a belief of dangerous and treasonous Japanese Americans that would be hard to dispel during and after the war.

In addition, deception was important in maintaining a distinction between the actions and policies of the United States versus Germany and Japan. Americans were aware, to an extent, of the racial segregation in Nazi Germany of Jews in the 1940s. Reports from the Pacific attested to horrific mistreatment of Allied prisoners of war by Japanese troops. As a result, American newspapers and government officials were very clear in distinguishing between American and Axis concentration camps. In the first months of interning Japanese Americans in the camps the term “concentration camp” was used interchangeably with internment camp. However, the term quickly disappeared from newspapers as the relation to the German concentration camps came too close. In fact, the internment camps fit the description of concentration camps as prison camps outside the normal criminal justice system, designed to confine civilians for military or political purposes on the basis of race and ethnicity. However, historians still refrain from using the term “concentration camp” extensively because of its connection to the horrors of the German concentration camps.

Many editors and commentators throughout the war emphasized the distinction between American and Axis concentration camps. They called on the example of the earlier internment of people of Japanese ancestry by
British and the simultaneous development of internment camps in Canada and South America. In the first days of the war, many letters to the editors concerned the treatment of Japanese Americans, cautioning against mob violence or attacks on persons. Many called upon the “democratic nature” of the American tradition. The editorial page of the San Francisco Chronicle during December 1942 is an especially thoughtful and cautious response by American journalists to the issues of race relations in the first month of the war. However, by the first month of required interment in the camps, all major newspapers supported the move, citing the military necessity and the benign—if not positive—effects on “Japanese aliens and non-aliens.” The portrayal of the camps became increasingly important to justify the camps to the American public and maintain the distinction between the democratic West and the despotic East. Concerned citizens were placated by the illustration of the camp presented by the media and most newspapers quickly dropped editorials on the issue.

The camps were cited as successful “colonies” of alien and American Japanese. White administrators spoke to public hearings, white guests were invited to tour the camps on “Open House Days,” and white educators were brought in to the camps to provide classes for students. At Manzanar the experimental cultivation of guayule, a potential substitute for the lack of access to Japanese controlled rubber sources in the Pacific, was lauded as a successful means of Japanese Americans proving their commitment to the war effort. Also at Manzanar workers wove hundreds of pounds of camouflage nets for the troops and their success met with similar public response.

But the reaction to the camps was not always consistently upbeat. When protest spread within internment camps, editors and journalists were quick to point out the necessity of the camps and their dangerous inmates. Americans who felt that Japanese internees were being treated too kindly attacked their opponents as treasonous abettors to the Japanese cause. As news of the Japanese treatment of Allied prisoners spread, more opponents felt justified in demanding harsher conditions for the internees.

12 “United Kingdom: All Japs Rounded Up by the British,” San Francisco Chronicle, December 8, 1941.
13 For example see “This is a Tough Time for American Japanese”, San Francisco Chronicle, 9 December 1941.
However, the work and words of Japanese Americans in the camps eventually convinced some authorities to begin releasing internees to attend school and move to non-restricted areas and allowed some Nisei men to enlist in combat troops. Over half of the camps were released by 1945.

**The Visual Deception**

The deception extended beyond that of language and into the realm of the visual. Before the move to internment camps, newspapers and magazines employed photographs and cartoons in depicting Japanese and Japanese Americans as they saw fit. As an editorial cartoonist for the liberal New York newspaper *PM* Theodor Geisel (later known as Dr. Seuss) depicted all Japanese Americans as fifth-column traitors. The visual depiction of the Japanese abroad and Japanese Americans remained markedly similar throughout the war.

![Figure 1. “Waiting for the Signal from Home” PM, February 13, 1942.](image)

The difficulty of distinguishing between Chinese allies and Japanese enemies confounded many Americans. Some Chinese Americans created pins that they attached to coats declaring themselves to be Chinese rather than Japanese. Journalists wrote articles on “How to Tell Your Friends from the Japs,” an example of the inability of some journalists to separate between Japanese and Japanese Americans. The article cited illustrates the racial undertones of white relations with Asian counterparts, including their Chinese allies: “Those who know them best often rely on facial expressions to tell them apart: the Chinese expression is likely to be more placid, kindly,
open; the Japanese more positive, dogmatic, arrogant.”¹¹⁴ Photographs depicted angry and sneering Japanese contrasted with pleasant, smiling Chinese. These photographs and cartoons helped to create a deceptive image of Japanese Americans that Americans then to support the incarceration of an entire ethnic minority.

Not all photographs attempted to attack Japanese Americans. The War Relocation Administration (WRA), a civilian agency responsible for the relocation and internment of Japanese Americans during the war, hired several photographers to capture scenes from the internment camps. Photographs that the government and news agencies published depicted happy, Americanized Japanese Americans against the backdrop of majestic landscapes. These photographs successfully accompanied the written deceptions that positively portrayed the internment camp.

Two of the most notable American photographers, Dorothea Lange and Ansel Adams, consecutively photographed life in the assembly centers

Figure 3. Manzanar Relocation Center, Manzanar, California. Photograph by Dorothea Lange.

Caption reads: “An elementary school with voluntary attendance has been established with volunteer evacuee teachers, most of whom are college graduates. No school equipment is as yet obtainable and available tables and benches are used. However, classes are often held in the shade of the barrack building at this War Relocation Authority center.”

and at the internment camps. Both artists were opposed to the internment, but their methods to end the camps diverged. While Lange attacked the government policy by depicting the painful truth of the facts through her photographs and captions, Adams used his photographs to capture the success and American character of the internees. Although Adams’ photographs do not necessarily attempt to propagandize the internment camps, some convey a more beautiful idea of the camps than was usually the case—personal stories are posed against the majestic background of the Sierras.

However, this same mountain range contributed to the barren desert geography of the Owens Valley. Lange’s and Adams’ photographs tell two
different stories of internment, and as a result the government chose to utilize several of Adams’ while disregarding most of Lange’s photographs.

The Story Within
The goals of the Nisei in the internment camps led many to maintain and perpetuate the myths created by the government and media, staging the camps as positive and successful experiences for Japanese Americans. This second generation, citizens of the United States, grew up more as Americans than Japanese. They attended American schools—many attending university—and made friends with non-Japanese Americans. Many of those who spoke out against the internment of Japanese were these friends of Nisei. For most of the Nisei and their parents the goal of the printed word—via newspapers and correspondences—was to reinforce the connection between themselves and the American public and to “prove” themselves as American first, Japanese second. This ultimate goal, although successful,
supported a misleading interpretation of the camps for the American public that left the impression of a positive experience.

The Manzanar Free Press, printed by Nisei men at Manzanar, led by example the nine other newspapers published in each of the internment camps. Running from April 11, 1942 through September 28, 1945, the newspaper was a tri-weekly four page depiction of life in Manzanar. The cover page was generally devoted to important announcements and news from outside the camp, while the back page featured the camp’s sport teams. Editors selected news from the outside, ranging from how the war was progressing on the various fronts to other newspapers’ “letters to the editor” regarding Japanese Americans.

Within the articles in the Free Press there emerges an awareness of the editors that their newspaper and their camp represented the larger story of Japanese Americans internees. On July 27, 1943 one article leads: “Manzanar, the eyes of the world are upon you.” The reporters recognized that they were writing to their own audience at home—some copies were

translated into Japanese for *Issei* readers—as well as a larger audience in the nation—subscribers included non-Japanese Americans outside the camp. Therefore, the articles and stories included remain consistently patriotic and positive, with little overt negative criticism toward the government or Americans. Although they never resort to calling themselves “Japs”—instead maintaining the term “Japanese Americans”—the editors utilize many of the euphemisms utilized by the government and national papers, such as “evacuees,” “military necessity,” and “relocation center.” They do not attempt to oppose federal and public policy.

Instead the editors and journalists of the *Manzanar Free Press* follow a general trend among Japanese Americans to ask the American public to let Japanese Americans prove themselves as loyal Americans. Immediately after the bombing of Pearl Harbor Japanese Americans began to lobby the public via the newspapers to give them a chance.

“I know that the majority of the Japanese in this country, both citizens and aliens, realize that they are truly under the merciless spotlight of the public gaze together with loyal Americans of Italian and German descent and that hardships must be undergone, silently and patiently, perhaps even increasing in severity as the war drags on and the casualties mount, but we feel in our heart that the American public will know that we are really all one people fighting against a common foe.”

“There cannot be any question. There must be no doubt. We, in our hearts, know we are Americans—loyal to America. We must prove that to all of you!”

These sentiments ran parallel to the feelings of many *Nisei* in Manzanar. The workers who contributed to the experiments of the guayule project were lauded by the *Press* as “contributing to the building of good will between the Japanese in America and their Caucasian friends...such

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good will...will benefit the entire Japanese community.”17 At the same time the newspaper reported on the developments of self-governing committees and the Consumer Cooperative within Manzanar. They purposefully denied the scope of their sacrifices, arguing that “our sacrifices, great as they may seem, will seem petty in comparison with the vast sacrifices that the rest of the world is making.”18 Through their words the Manzanar Free Press united the camp in a population that was American first, Japanese second, and ready to be assimilated back into the general American public.

The correspondences between Japanese Americans interned and their friends outside the camps mirror the attitudes of the Manzanar Free Press. While interned at Manzanar, between the spring of 1942 and 1943, Miriko Nagahama and Honey Mitsuye Toda wrote periodically to one of their friends, Betty Salzman. Miriko, Honey, and Betty grew up together near Los Angeles, attending school and Girl Scouts, and during the war Betty would visit the women at Manzanar. Their correspondence with Betty presented a somewhat light-hearted, patient, and positive impression of life at Manzanar.

Manzanar, known for its extreme climate, is depicted in Honey’s letters merely as “dry and dusty.” She wrote “I’m afraid Manzanar camp is a little bit different from other summer camps. But it won’t stop us from having our fun.”19 The “girls” recount stories of evening wiener roasts, college classes, and their participation in the Delta Y, an offshoot of the YWCA. Some of the heartache of the forced internment is present, but hidden among other stories:

“Manzanar isn’t too bad—but I sure would like to go “home” again.”
“We’ve had no butter for a long time, only little kids get milk.”
“Everything is on the boresome side”
“Anyone who wants to come has to apply for a permit or pass before coming. This is terrible but maybe they’ll change their

19 Honey Misuye to Betty Salzman, June 17, Manzanar Collection, Kennedy Library, San Luis Obispo, CA.
minds about this ruling—as they’ve done about a lot of rules and regulations.”

The overall impression of Manzanar is of a pleasant albeit boring and limited “camp.”

Historians and veterans of internment alike are beginning to address reasons for why most internees remained in the camps without a significant amount of protest. Contemporary journalists attempted to depict Japanese Americans as possessed with an “air of Oriental fatalism,” obedient to the last, sheep-like in their willingness to be herded along. This myth was perpetuated by conservative critics who claimed the apparent lack of bitterness, the ability of many interned to close that chapter of their lives, and their silence and stoicism as proof that the internment camps were not unjust after all. However the silence has proved selective, and the attitudes of the Japanese Americans interned reflect a general consensus of the time period rather than any “model minority” stereotype proposed by some critics.

In the 1930s many Americans valued a conservative, inward looking society that avoided questioning the government and looked toward leaders in their communities to follow. Japanese Americans, like most Americans, had yet to experience the Civil Rights Movement or the anti-war protests of Vietnam: “we had been raised to respect and to trust those in authority. To us resistance or confrontation, such as we know them today, was unthinkable and of course would have had no support from the American public. We naively believed at the time that cooperating with the government edict was the best way to help our country.” Many other Japanese Americans felt likewise, relying on the belief that the wrongs inflicted against them would be righted by the participation of “good American citizens.”

The generations that followed the Issei and Nisei have since fought for

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20 Honey Misuye to Betty Salzman, June 24, July 26, July 16, September 13, Manzanar Collection, Kennedy Library, San Luis Obispo, CA.
22 Emily Roxworthy, The Spectacle of Japanese American Trauma, 1.
23 Yoshiko Uchida, Desert Exile, 57.
24 Editorial, Manzanar Free Press, August 21, 1942.
redress and restitution of their parents and grandparents. Biographic accounts of the experiences in the camps and renewed examination of primary sources will continue to dispel the legacy of deception. But the legacy of the deception by the government and the media toward Japanese Americans during World War II is enduring. In a recent discussion with my mother, I found that the myth of “military necessity” remains alive in the popular understanding of internment. Her defense of the justification of the government’s policy toward Japanese Americans suggests that more work must be done. Historians, educators, and the general public must work together to understand the myth, the means of deception, and the reality of the internment of 120,000 Americans.
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DEATH AND THE INDUSTRIAL GRUNT
SENTIMENTS OF THE AMERICAN TEXTILE WORKER FROM 1901–1935
By Trevor Walker

For years psychologists have fiddled and toyed with notions of internalized worth within the greater human context: seeking to answer what, precisely, "worth" is. Those who assume that the questions surrounding work-ethic, morale, and internalized worth of workers are new to our own era are sad victims of naivety. From 1901, when the United Textile Workers of America was founded, to 1935, when the National Labor Relations Act passed, the notion of labor unions fundamentally altered the perceived worth of American textile workers, changing their thoughts on life, and subsequently, their thoughts on death. The hope offered to workers by unified (read: union-ified) workforces helped alter the notion that death, disease, and despair in the workplace are not necessary evils, but are rather ailments that can be prevented and avoided.

Historical accounts and commentaries depicting the conditions plaguing the working class near the turn of the twentieth century are diverse and abundant. Based on these sources, Alan Brinkley, Professor of History at Columbia University, advances the idea that the striking of labor unions in the early twentieth century were causal forces in the advent of
healthy working conditions because of the influence strikes had over local government. He specifically notes that many strikes were stopped only when federal troops were involved.\(^1\) Along a somewhat different path, Dr. Jacquelyn Hall and Dr. Vincent J. Roscigno both argue that the change in working conditions did not necessarily originate with third parties, such as unions, and their activities, but rather within the mindsets of the workers themselves. The advent of unions was critical in the development of workers’ rights, but if one does not look to the workers for the source of workers’ rights, the significance of the era can be missed.

In a review of historian Jacquelyn Dowd Hall’s work, Jacqueline Jones summarizes that laborers all took pride in their work, struggled endlessly to provide for their families, and flexed more strength than their national union counterparts.\(^2\) It seems to be suggested, somewhat paradoxically, that the whole is less than the sum of its parts. This is evidence that it was not just the labor unions that brought about the changes in life, but rather the workers themselves.

Vincent J. Roscigno, Professor of Sociology at Ohio State University, argues that because “paternalistic control and the possibility of severe sanctions were the reality in most mill workers’ lives, workers had little resources or political power on which to draw, and the formal organizational presence of a union, to the extent it was ever existent, was typically only after worker radicalism was formulated.”\(^3\) To him, the union did not have the “formal organizational presence” to defend the first protests of workers. The union could not offer any hope to the workers initially because the first instances of backlash against united workforces was most severe. If an organizational presence, *viz.* union, existed only after worker radicalism sprouted, the ability of the union to be the cause of worker’s rights is called into question, demanding the investigation of alternate explanations of causality.


A somber newspaper article from 1888 depicts a tragic inquest into the perceived level of worth in the average American worker. On the Friday of August 3, 1888, a scorching fire seared a tailor’s shop located on Chrystie Street, New York City. The circumstances surrounding the fire were confusing at best. Anthony Saffer, a local marble worker, watched as the fire took its toll on twenty workers. To his horror, he saw the workers lugging their tailored clothes to the window and dropping them out, only to see them ignite on their way to the street below. The fiery clothes landed and obstructed the entrance to the building, one of the only means of escape. Contemporary newspapers paraphrased Saffer as saying that had the persons in the building attended to their own safety instead of bothering about the clothes, they could have escaped. The fire did not discriminate between the men, the women, or even the four-year-old child. They were “all Polish Jews, and employers and employed worked, ate and slept in the crowded rooms of the dingy tenement.” Further inquiry into the Chrystie Street’s fire indicated that better building codes would not have necessarily stopped the carnage that unfolded. The problem did not wholly lie within the building, but rather within the mindset of the workers.

In an inquest into the events of that frightful day, judge and jury alike tried to decipher why the twenty had to die. Abraham Schneider argued that the workers were killed by inhabitants of neighboring buildings when they closed the shutters, effectively trapping the workers in the inferno. What is suspect, however, is Mr. Schneider’s involvement in the fire. As the inquest soon unveiled, his testimony was riddled with vested interests: he was the overseer in this textile operation. Michael Nathan, an inhabitant of a local building, told the court he opened his shutters to save trapped workers, but was rebuffed by the workers who told him to “get away and mind his own business [because] Schneider had ordered them to close the window to save his stock.”

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7 *New York Times*, “Chrystie Streets Fire.”
building, made it clear in the same article that the workers could have safely jumped into neighboring buildings, assuming the shutters had been open. Because the neighboring shutters were opened, the whole tragedy can be seen to be hinged on the workers’ perceived level of worth.

Surprisingly for the era, the untimely death of twenty workers was widely publicized. With scant building codes and limited legal protection, the workers took the problem into their own hands. Within fifteen days of the Chrystie Street tragedy, individuals sent letters to legal authorities citing horrible working conditions throughout the greater city. One letter described a building initially intended to be a stable and storehouse for carriages. The problem, however, was that it had since been transformed into a tailor’s shop. The building was constructed of brick, four stories tall, but never outfitted with fire escapes. The lower two floors functioned as stables and storehouses, complete with the dried food that horses loved, but the kindling workers feared. The upper two floors housed 150 textile workers. Mr. F. Boehm, the building owner, made it clear that he “was not making arrangements to put any [fire escapes] in the building” because no one had told him the building must include them.8

With the Chrystie Street’s fire fresh in mind, Coroner Levy and those sympathetic to the families who lost their loved ones both agreed that something must be done to avert future disaster. An investigation into a nearby building found that the workers “felt very ill at ease... that their lives are placed in jeopardy on account of the present state” of it.9 Noting such cases, the jury deliberated and found that, while no foul play was involved in the Chrystie Street’s fire, there was gross negligence inherent in New York building codes. They claimed, “We believe that the present laws relative to fire escapes...are inadequate to practical application and recommend that the same be revised so that proper protection be afforded them in case of danger.”10 While somewhat timid, the push for alteration of working conditions after the Chrystie Street’s fire exemplifies the determination of the working class. Though fearing for their job and their life, the

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workers mustered the courage to make known the woes affecting them. No strong union united their efforts. Hope for a better life united their efforts.

The tragedy that unfolded that fateful August afternoon was by no means unheard of in the era. On January 12, 1893, there were twenty-three fires reported within New York City over the course of nineteen hours. A few months later, another fire ripped through a tailor shop, much to the effect of the one on Chrystie Street years before. This time, four people were killed and eight were injured. The nationality of those killed and injured was practically uniform. Of the four dead, three were Russian immigrants and of the eight injured, five were Russian immigrants. On the body of one dead worker, Kiva Boox, a receipt was found from the purchase of a passage ticket sent to Russia for his wife. With such carnage confined to members of the working class, it is clear that their lives were predisposed to specific hardships. The life of the American worker was precisely what prompted the desire for labor unions. The hope for a good life without the protection of an external, third party agency seemed dismal at best. Anything was better than succumbing to the conflagrations searing the shops of New York City.

Textile workers and others involved in the tedious cotton industries all felt similar pressures and pains inherent in their work. In the Northern cotton mills of 1899, the labor force was composed of 45.1% women over the age of 16 and 6.7% children under the age of 16. While somewhat striking, these percentages cannot compare to the 33.4% of women aged 16 or older and the 25.0% of children aged 16 or younger in the Southern cotton mills. In 1900, the ratio of native to foreign born worker was roughly 1:2, with foreigners amounting to 67.9% of the work force in the North. What was worse, however, were the hours imposed on the workers: 62.2 hours per week were required of cotton mill workers in 1901, compared to all other manufacturing jobs which required an average of 58.7 hours per week. Adding to the list of unfortunate circumstances, the average cotton worker made only 10.4 cents an hour, compared to 21.9 cents an hour of all

other manufacturing jobs in 1901. These statistics paint the bleak portrait of the American cotton industry worker.

At its formation in 1901, the United Textile Workers of America (UTW) sought to protect the workers. Its leader thought that “without unions and without the legal and administrative apparatus that now provides a basic level of industrial health and safety, millhands were at the mercy of dangerous machinery.” For the average Northern cotton mill worker, the prospects for life and longevity seemed scant. When 51.8% of the Northern cotton mill workers could not vote due to age or gender restrictions and 67.9% of the workers were foreign born, despair was rampant. Without the political clout to positively affect Washington, the workers put their hope for better life in the union. “The union was good to us,” reminisced Mary, a child working in the Massachusetts textile mills, “they helped all they could.”

Unable to push for social change by the traditional American method of electing sympathetic leaders, the women and children were forced to endure the conditions plaguing the workplace. Disease, infection and catastrophe hit without mercy. “Sickness is the worst,” bemoaned one worker, “when you drive on eight looms all the time in busy season you get sort of ‘spent’ and you catch cold easily...some of the girls take sick awful sudden and never get back for their pay envelopes—they go that quick sometimes.” Unfortunately, the common cold often turned out to be the least of the worker’s worries. Byssinosis, or “Brown Lung,” inflamed the worker’s airways and constricted their breathing, clouding their lungs and coating them in a fine layer of cotton dust. “Monday morning sickness” resurfaced every week after the brief respite Sunday offered. The sickness persisted for years and years until their own inhalations caused their suffocation. These

17 Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, Like a Family, 82.
conditions were in desperate need of reparation, and the hope of the workers was placed in national unions to meet this end.

From 1914 to 1918, Europe trembled under the burps of machine guns and whirring of biplanes. At the same time halfway around the world, the United States shook with chants and cries demanding that the labor wrongs be righted. The American Federation of Labor saw its membership soar to five million souls during this period, while the UTW experienced similar growth: between 1914 and 1920, 70,000 new members joined their ranks. When the men who comprised most of the union went to fight Europe's war, those left behind filled their places. The populations who joined in droves were the unskilled women and young men—those who had been relatively unprotected in decades past—which fundamentally altered the composition of the union.

Likewise, the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 brought about an unprecedented shift in the balance of power. Within the course of a year, the national electorate nearly doubled with the inclusion of women. The number of votes increased from 18,252,940 in 1916 to 26,219,352 in 1920, while the overall voter turnout decreased roughly 12 percent, from 61.6% to 49.2%. If women had not voted in this election, the voter turnout statistic would most likely fall to a meager 30% based on available demographics. While women did not vote en masse immediately, many flexed their new voting might right from the start. What was once a sizable population of disenfranchised voters two decades before had suddenly become a large and vocal voting bloc. Worth was added to 45.1% of the Northern cotton industry work force, a population who never felt it before. America had finally begun to recognize their existence.

The Roaring Twenties served as the incubator heating already stressed owner-worker relations. Many decades of neglect brought the two to picket lines and battlefields. Scattered strikes dotted the landscape of the 1920s, with particular ferocity in 1929. Union fever had struck and countless workers had joined the unions across America. The workers were tired of the catastrophes hitting them every day. To be sure, organized labor was

18 Ibid, 186.
still illegal, calling into question the true effectiveness of the union. During a typical strike in the South, it is very important to “remember that the UTW could offer no material support. Its treasury was practically empty; fewer than ten paid organizers covered the entire south.”

Hoyle McCorkle, a millhand at the time, lamented the fact that “[The union] told us they’d feed us. But they didn’t.” The physical manifestation of unions did little to alter the status quo. In 1929, one third of the total strikers refused affiliation with a particular union. The strikes occurred with the workers taking the lead but they “receiv[ed] little in the way of organized support or resources from the unions.” The wrongs of the working world were enough motivation to bring the workers to the picket lines.

The shockwaves sent from the collapsing of the U.S. Stock Market in 1929 reverberated through the working class. Massive unemployment, despair, and distress wrapped the seemingly good feelings of the 1920s in woeful nostalgia. Without jobs, money, or a future, life seemed desperate. The election of Franklin Roosevelt brought hope to the working class because his “impact on southern mill-worker consciousness via radio fireside chats was direct, altering perceptions of opportunity and providing some legitimacy to workers’ claims of injustice at the hands of mill owners.”

Roosevelt captured Southern hearts by signing the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1933. This law offered “ambiguous assurances,” as Flamming puts it, that unions would have the right to organize. “Hardpressed millhands throughout America and the South seized upon the law as a mandate for unionization. ‘Roosevelt, he told ‘em to organize’ recalled one of Crown’s workers, voicing a common attitude in the mill village.” Roosevelt was seen as the liberator, the one man in Washington who offered hope. In a stunning turn of events, the workers finally achieved uni-


21 Ibid.


23 Roscigno, The Voice of Southern Labor, 32.

fied clout: “Never had the mill owners’ credibility sunk so low; never had workers dared to voice such discontent.” The average worker’s view of self dramatically changed in the decades leading up to 1935. Their hope for a better life came to fruition under Roosevelt’s watch. They were finally able to understand their worth and integral placement in the greater scheme of the American workforce. Unions did not achieve this end: the diligence of the workers searching for a better life did.

The tumultuous decades initiating the twentieth century brought unprecedented social shifts and inversions in power. Never before had the United States been so swayed by the political clout of the working class as it was in the 1930s. With the dramatic shift in power spurred by the working class, it must follow that the worker’s nature changed. The hope offered to the working class from the years 1901 to 1935 was not based on the union itself, which often proved to be cumbersome and ineffective, but rather the idea of the union uniting all workers under the common banner of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The workers acknowledged that they needed “the rights...if something was wrong, to be able to stand up and say that ‘you’re not doing me right.’” This sentiment reflects the sense of worth eventually obtained by the workers. While the legalization of unions was critical to the development and progression of working-class rights, it was the workers—the immigrant men, the single women, the oppressed children—who had hope in organized labor forces that pushed for social rectification and a better life.

25 Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, Like a Family, 323.
26 Flamming, Creating the Modern South, 218.
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In *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formations, 1830–1864* Mary Poovey tries to make sense of the emerging “mass culture” in Victorian England. Poovey argues the British social domain was reconceptualized by 1860 into “similar, self-regulating individuals” (22). She quotes Robert Chambers in explaining that “every man, no matter what his position, is imposed Individual Responsibility” (22). Poovey demonstrates the emergence of this social body through a collection of essays and an examination of contemporary novels.

Poovey discusses how the Industrial Revolution, the emergence of factories, and the rise of capitalism created a new organization of space (25). This “abstract space” changed how people interacted with each other both in the factory and in the neighborhoods. Poovey expands on a metaphor mentioned in Chapter Two describing society as a human body. First she describes the social body in terms of differentiation and displacement, or “the differentiation of the national we from aliens within and without, and the displacement of other interests of consciousness” (55–56). The social body is then analyzed through the writings of James Phillips Kay, who uses
Brian Flint

the body metaphor to describe society's ailments. Kay's symptoms include pauperism, "popular tumults," and the outbreak of Asiatic Cholera (57). These are all used literally and figuratively to describe the population as a single entity.

Poovey argues British society showed signs of a Foucauldian "disciplinary individualism," which she describes as "that paradoxical configuration of agency that is constituted as "voluntary" (99). She examines the actions of Thomas Chalmers, a preacher, and the management of the New Poor Law by Edwin Chadwick. Chalmers preached in opposition of the government's increasing intrusion into church matters. Poovey argues while Chalmers is preaching in support of Foucault's disciplinary individualism, the apparatus required to accommodate those he wished to help created the very bureaucracy he preached against (105). Chadwick sought to manage the New Poor Law in a way that would not "deprive poor individuals of their agency, but to ensure that they would act freely—according, that is to the laws of the market" (107). Poovey suggests the actions of Chalmers and Chadwick helped, through their paradoxical nature, to normalize disciplinary individualism (114).

Poovey then examines Chadwick's Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain. Poovey states that documents like Chadwick's Sanitary Report "contributed to the consolidation of class identities during a period in which the economic basis of wealth and the political basis of citizenship were both undergoing revision." Poovey continues: "Chadwick reveals one of the most important paradoxes of this process, for he simultaneously condemns members of the working class for failing to live up to middle-class standards and suggests that the poor are—and will remain—fundamentally different" (117). Chadwick's sanitary plan limited the ability of the working class to organize politically as the middle-class had done (130). Poovey argues that historians are not entirely accurate when they point to this as the reason there was no effective labor class organization in the nineteenth century but rather the political challenges at the time were eventually replaced with battles over the "rights of women to own property, to divorce, and to enter the labor force" (131).

The final two chapters deal with contemporary novelists who attempted to portray British society. Poovey uses Benjamin Disraeli's Coningsby and Elizabeth Gaskell's Mary Barton to show how each author misinter-
Poovey writes "as Disraeli and Gaskell exposed the limitations of political- and social-economic contributions to the condition-of-England debate, they began to adumbrate a domain conceptually adjacent" to the domains described by their contemporaries (153).

Examining Charles Dickens' *Our Mutual Friend*, Poovey argues "if the virtue men assigned to female nature proved to be only a figment of men's desire, then it might be possible that the sexed body did not guarantee moral difference" (174). Basically, the equality of women argued for by many during this period is reinforced by Dickens in the sense that gender does not define or limit morality or virtue.

In Chapter One Poovey argues that, in the nineteenth century, British society emerges as a group of similar, self-regulating individuals akin to Chambers' *Individual Responsibility*. She then makes her case through a series of essays and the examination of novels. While these selections offer a varied and detailed glimpse at an evolving British society and how it is viewed by contemporary people of different stations, the reader is left with an erratic and somewhat confused understanding of her thesis. The book ends with the eighth chapter, devoid of any concluding remarks. It would have been of great service to her thesis to spend a few pages tying all of the essays together.
Specifically dedicated to the Algerians seeking independence from France in the 1960s, *The Wretched of the Earth* is Frantz Fanon’s manifesto on de-colonization. Fanon exposes the problems of certain paths to decolonization taken by countries in Latin America. In most of these countries, the national bourgeoisie merely replace the metropolis bourgeoisie and remain dependent on foreign markets and capital after the country is “freed.” The masses of the newly created state, however, are unaffected.

In the first section of the book, Fanon argues that the solution to these recurrent problems of decolonization can only be realized through a violent uprising of the masses. Fanon arrives at this conclusion by defining colonial society as a Manichaean, or compartmentalized, society—a world divided in two. The good is pitted against the bad; the white against the dark; the rich against the poor; the indigenous against the foreigner; the ruling class against the others; evil “niggers” and “towel-heads” against humane whites.

This lurking division of the population creates a tension that cannot be ignored. True decolonization, therefore, will eradicate this devilish dichotomy and create a society where “the last shall be first” (2–5). How-
ever, because colonialism is only made possible through extreme violence and intimidation, Fanon reasons that violence is the only language that a colonialist society understands: “colonialism is not a machine capable of thinking, a body endowed with reason. It is naked violence and only gives in when confronted with greater violence” (23).

Fanon ridicules the notion of formal independence granted through peaceful handovers and more moderate means. Negotiation is no substitute for capitulation, and does not bring about effective decolonization. Fanon makes the Gramscian observation that the only elements of colonization that change as a result of the negotiating table are formalities. For example, Gabon gained a black, national-bourgeois president who is now received as the guest of the president of French Republic; but within Gabon the status quo realized under French colonialism continues (26–28).

Fanon’s disdain for the national bourgeoisie arises from his realization that their primary goal of decolonization is not fundamentally altering the political system and improving the situation of the majority. Rather, they wish to gain access to the wealth and social status that had previously been commandeered by the colonists. They wish to drain the peasant masses and natural resources for their selfish benefit just as the colonizers did (53).

The national bourgeoisie, defined by its European-based education and culture, is credited with founding the political parties, which give rise to the country’s future leaders and those that negotiate the terms of decolonization with the colonist country. However, the relative social and economic comfort of the national bourgeoisie prevents them from supporting a violent insurrection (which might alter their cozy scenario). In fact, “once a party has achieved national unanimity and has emerged as the sole negotiator, the occupier begins his maneuvering and delays negotiations as long as possible” in order to “whittle away” the party’s demands (73). Consequently, the party must purge itself of extremists who make the granting of concessions difficult (73).

The result of such a path to decolonization is simply a cloaked form of the former colonialism. Prior to decolonization, the “mother country” realizes the inevitability of “freedom,” and thus drains most of the “capital and technicians and encircling the young nation with an apparatus of economic pressure” (54). The young, independent nation, therefore, is obliged to keep the economic channels established by the colonial regime (56). The national
bourgeoisie, in their incomplete and inorganic state, do not have the means to provide either capital or sophisticated economic guidance to the new country, and must therefore rely on colonial financiers’ loans and advice, which all aim at forcing the new nation to remain dependent on its former colonizer just as it was during the colonial period (56–60).

The desire to end this dependence on the colonial powers leads the new country to attempt the impossible and rapidly develop an idealistic, organic, nationalist form of capitalism that is thoroughly diversified for the purpose of economic and political stability. The result is either a dictator deluded by dreams of autarky (53), or an iron-fisted authoritarian dictator determined to preserve the status quo (72).

Additionally, Fanon sees that after colonization the national bourgeoisie fill the posts once reserved for colonists from within their party ranks. Thus, the party becomes a “screen between the masses and the leadership” (115), and party radicals are neglected as the “party itself becomes an administration and the militants fall back into line and adopt the hollow title of citizen” (116).

It is only through a violent insurrection aimed at destroying everything touched by colonialism that a new species of man will be created. The religious and tribal divisions created and exacerbated by the colonists will deteriorate as the urgency of unity is realized by the masses. The individualism espoused by the colonists will succumb to the quest of the colonized for communalism. It is through this struggle that a new national culture will be defined—not a culture defined by European norms; nor a culture that harkens back to indigenous traditions of pre-colonial times—for this culture is forever lost, reactionary, and has been ruined and degraded in the psyche of the colonized through the phenomena of colonial racism and exceptionalism. The colonized must move forward.

Adopting Marxian terms, Fanon’s revolutionary theory warns that the lumpenproletariat, Marx’s definition for the lowest levels of society (e.g., landless peasants), must not be neglected in favor of the industrial proletariat. In fact, it is the proletariat who has benefited from colonialism, has deep connections to the national bourgeoisie, and is relatively well off. Rather, it is the “lumpenproletariat, this cohort of starving men, divorced from tribe and clan, [which] constitutes one of the most spontaneously and radically revolutionary forces of a colonized people” (81). Furthermore,
if the lumpenproletariat is neglected by the nationalist movement, its absence of social and political consciousness will be taken advantage of by the colonists and the class will be turned against any newly independent government (81–83). The revolutionaries must embrace the lumpenproletariat and furnish them not only with arms, but, above all, with a revolutionary education provided by Gramscianesque “peasant-intellectuals” (138).

Fanon’s work is well received and highly recommended to those who wish to gain a better understanding of the neo-colonial and bourgeois nature of contemporary politics in the post-colonial era. He reveals that it is only through viewing history from the perspective of the colonized that their current plights can be understood. It is hard, even for a citizen of the United States, to argue with his revolutionary approach based on violence, education, egalitarianism, and opportunity. Unless greed gives way to altruism in global politics, it seems the wretched of the earth will only become truly free through the use of force.