

historiae

Concordia Undergraduate Journal of History • 2020 - 2021

XIX

# historiae

Concordia Undergraduate Journal of History  
Students of History at Concordia  
Montréal, Québec, Canada  
Volume XIX  
2020-2021





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Special thanks to:

Concordia University History Department  
The Arts and Science Federation of Associations (ASFA)

### **Statement of Solidarity**

The *historiae* editing board and the Students of History at Concordia would like to acknowledge that Concordia University is on the unceded traditional territory of the Kanien'keha:ka (Ga-niyen-gé-haa-ga), a place which has long served as a site of meeting and exchange amongst nations. *historiae* and SHAC recognize and respect the Kanien'keha:ka as the traditional custodians of the lands and waters on which we meet today.

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Volume XIX

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*historiae* is published by  
Students of History at Concordia  
Concordia University  
Montréal, Québec, Canada

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## Foreword

The Students of History at Concordia (SHAC) are proud to present the eighteenth edition of the annual undergraduate history journal *historiae*. This publication provides history students with the exclusive and exceptional opportunity to earn well-deserved recognition for their independent research within the discipline. The publication process is a collaborative enterprise between the editors and the authors with the objectives of refining the prose, strengthening the argument, and enhancing the narrative of each submission. *historiae* also has the purpose of fostering interest in the past and of cultivating discipline, empathy, enthusiasm, and honesty in the future generation of historians. The essays published within this journal represent fragments of collective memory which serve to supplement and expand the existing archive of historical knowledge. This endeavor would not be a possible without the curiosity and creativity of the students, nor without the prodding and perceptiveness of the professors.

*historiae* continues the tradition of publishing histories scattered across time and space. In the pages that follow, readers will travel from Italy during the Scientific Revolution to New York during the Antebellum era, and encounter, on the way, the themes of international migration, gay rights, and nationalism. May this journey be entertaining, introspective, and informative.

The editing board spent endless meetings deliberating over dozens of submissions; these nine papers were determined to reflect the diversity of intrigues, methodologies, competencies, and writing styles among the students of history at Concordia. Indeed, we have broken with precedent this year to include a poem and an essay written in French. We have likewise endeavored to select papers which touch upon topics of contemporary relevance. Together, these narratives embody the profound passion for history shared by all our readers.

I would like to extend my thanks to everyone who submitted essays to the journal. It is regrettable that not all submissions could be included. Regardless, I encourage all students to present a paper for

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consideration next year. *historiae* is produced by and for students; it depends on and grows from your support!

Congratulations to the authors published in the present volume. This is a remarkable accomplishment. Thank you for showing an eagerness to work with our editors and to improve your writing. The pleasure has been all ours!

Thank you to Hannah Pinillia, SHAC communications coordinator, and to Anna Kiraly, former editor-in-chief. Both of you were quick to answer all of my novice emails and texts. The production of this journal was made easier by your care, professionalism, and guidance. Thank you as well to Rachel for the beautiful artwork!

To the faculty of the History Department, thank you for continuing to support *historiae* and for inspiring students to pursue history through your teachings.

Dear editors – Jasmin, Shaina, Sarah, and Miranda – to say that this year was difficult would be an understatement! We were certainly modest in number but nevertheless dedicated and animated in spirit. Each of you showed up to every zoom meeting, conceived of innovative ideas, and offered insightful editing suggestions. This journal was a success because of your patience, commitment, diligence, and talented writing skills! Thank you for being a part of this team and for reminding me of the importance of collaboration in academia.

This year represents a significant moment in history; the ongoing health crisis continues to highlight the structural inequalities embedded within global society. The experiences of unprecedented times such as these are important reminders to historians of their responsibility to use their scholarship of the past to understand change and to influence the future. The present edition of *historiae* is dedicated to the healthcare professionals and to the victims of the Covid-19 pandemic.

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Finally, I am appreciative of the opportunity to be editor-in-chief of *historiae* this year. It has truly been a fulfilling, rewarding, and educational experience for me. A sincere congratulations to Anthony-Vincent Ragusa, next year's editor-in-chief. Without a doubt, you will make us all proud!

Maire Dowdall  
Editor-in-Chief

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### **Editors' Biographies**

**Maire Dowdall** is in her final year at Concordia University, pursuing a major in Honors History and a minor in Law and Society. Her research concentration is in histories of mass violence during the twentieth century. Her recent work includes an essay on the experiences and responses of mothers to trauma during the one-child policy in China. Maire is also passionate about topics in international relations, historical revisionism, criminology, and moral philosophy. The opportunity to participate in Concordia's Jurist-in-Residence pilot program with the Court of Quebec consolidated her interest in jurisprudence; she expects to attend law school after graduation. Besides scholarship, Maire is an academic coach with the Access Center for Students with Disabilities (ACSD).

**Shaina Willison** is in her second year of the Honors Public History program at Concordia University. She is also doing a minor in Law and Society. Her area of focus is twentieth-century film and its continuing use as a political tool. Shaina is passionate about historiography and acknowledging the personal biases which affect how history is interpreted. She plans to attend law school following her degree but is also considering pursuing a career as a historical advisor on film productions.

**Miranda Rodriguez** is in her third year of a Specialization in History and an Art History Minor at Concordia University. She is interested in the Medieval and Renaissance eras, as well as global history of the twentieth century. She is passionate about making history a fun and interesting topic for all, and she hopes to inspire future historians. After graduating, she is interested in the field of research, archives, and heritage studies.

**Sarah Charlebois** is a co-op student in her final year of completing a major in Anthropology and a double minor in History and Classical Archaeology at Concordia University. She is currently working as a research assistant at the Montréal Indigenous Community NETWORK. She has a passion for advocacy, cultural affairs, and undoing historical erasure.

**Jasmin Anisa Cardillo** is a fourth-year Honors History student in the Public History/Internship option with a minor in anthropology. She has a great interest and passion for the ways in which the past is remembered, interpreted, and presented to the public. She enjoys learning about microhistories and situating them within a wider narrative. She is also interested in genocide studies, in particular the diasporas that are created in the aftermath of war and genocide. She expresses an interest in learning about stories of reconstruction and is inspired by the personal stories and testimonies of history; she believes that such narratives contain raw emotions which cannot be experienced exclusively through the pages of a book. For Jasmin, oral and public histories reveal untold and forgotten stories. Therefore, emphasizing this paradox between exceptional and ordinary in history is imperative to understanding specific events of the past. In her spare time, Jasmin socializes with her family and friends. She loves to travel and explore, but also appreciates some much-needed relaxation time on the beautiful beaches of the Caribbean.

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### **The Isle of Adamonia: A Poem**

A witty Utopian fiction, describing a Traveller's Encounter with an Island Paradise, its Inhabitants, their Way of Life, and offering contrasting Observations on the present State of Europe.

*Philippe Quartz*

Philippe Quartz is a second-year student at Concordia, pursuing a major in history. He has a special interest in the histories of early modern Europe and America, of folk culture and custom, and of language. Other interests include botany and historical linguistics. Outside of school, he enjoys vegetarian cooking, gardening, and cycling.

In writing this poem, Philippe drew inspiration from the following works: Thomas More's *Utopia*, Tommaso Campanella's *The City of the Sun*, and Francis Bacon's *The New Atlantis*. *The Isle of Adamonia* is intended as a mixture of irony and solemnity; ironic in that it mocks and satirizes the literary tropes of the Utopian genre, but likewise solemn in that it criticizes the current state of affairs in England. The poem therefore mirrors the works that pioneered the intellectual and literary culture of early modern utopian writing. Philippe thanks Dr. Ted McCormick for encouraging him to submit this piece to *historiae*.



Let me sing to thee the story of a  
Journey only recently transpired -  
Of sailing ships disrupting innocence ;  
A gentler race saved by the grace of words  
So sagely writ ; Of peace returned and love  
Relearned. A timid island folk become  
An unhid city on a hill, a-light :<sup>1</sup>  
The flame of wisdom's triumph over fear.  
Resistance to the dearth of land  
Once bounteously filled. Renewed, again  
Through work and grace to a new paradise -  
Where greed's outcast ; where justice kingly reigns,  
And faith there tranquilly remains.

Long they lived as a people untouched by  
The sin with which the world is cursed. Free, they  
Were innocent as soft spring flower shoots,  
A younger race of mortal men,  
Untouched by work or sorrow they,  
Under fruit-laden trees ate happily,<sup>2</sup>  
On quiet shoals they sat beneath the sun,  
And though they were ignorant of all the  
Ills which within the world reside, yet the  
Abundance which surrounded them led to  
An idleness, and thus the consequence -  
While simple, they were still prone to misdeeds,  
Not crimes between them, only trifleries.<sup>3</sup>  
In spite of all the good around, even

---

<sup>1</sup> Matthew 5:14.

<sup>2</sup> Allusion to 'The Golden Age of Man' from Hesiod's mythological Four Ages. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, translated by Dorothea Wender (London: Penguin Books, 1973), 62.

<sup>3</sup> While still making reference to the early modern belief that abundance leads to idleness and then to crime, I wanted to preserve the premise that these people were honest and innocent by nature. I settled on 'misdeeds' because it better represents the middle ground between the sort of *immoral* crimes which early modern writers were concerned with, and simple, petty disagreements.

The minds most pure will tend to disagree.  
'Till startling day when ships at trade, we came  
Awind our drifting sails - tainted, impure,  
By knowledge of the wicked world from whence  
We came, followed by greed aboard our ship,  
Vice was the wind that drove us across seas.  
For Sin it was a crewmate all the same,  
Our wicked nature led us to pursue  
Such callous lusts and crimes untold, for trade.  
Such was the price paid for sight of the truth.  
Such sin, we knew it well, but not yet they.

It was we who had been the ones to fell  
The pine unfallen, and on it find strange lands.<sup>4</sup>

Once landed there we descended to meet,  
Emerging from within the greenery,  
The gifts they brought us - water, fruits, and meat,  
All raw, and fresh, we ate, while they gazed at  
Their reflections in the iron we wore,  
And from their naked skin we turned our eyes,  
Away, we feared ourselves and they did not.  
For theirs was holy innocence, and ours  
Was sinful decadence. While they knew all:  
The names, the forms, all life upon that isle,<sup>5</sup>  
We had to relearn what our fathers knew.  
O, the softness of their edenic gaze,  
If there within the garden, what would I  
Tell him? O, father of all men, I pray,  
Seek no more than the fruit of those green hills,

---

<sup>4</sup> Reference to the lines "No pine had yet, on its high mountain felled/  
Descended to the sea to find strange lands." Ovid, "The Ages of Mankind,"  
*Metamorphoses*, translated by A. D. Melville (Oxford University Press: New  
York, 1986), 95-96.

<sup>5</sup> There was a widespread belief during the time of Francis Bacon that Adam  
knew all about the natural world; this passage confirms this assumption.  
(Genesis 3:20).

Beware the thorns that line the path you walk,  
For I know I've travelled that road before,  
And all the multitudes I pass, each day,  
Struggle against the snakes hidden in the grass.  
To them I extend my feeble warning;  
And O, how I hope they hear me pleading.

For saving from this lawless, unkind world  
I taught to them our language and I  
Left some books behind: His Word, of course.  
For with no papal men to lie to them,<sup>6</sup>  
In superstition boil them, to take  
Their gold come from their work; their golden souls,  
Will grow perfect. These true Christians will be,  
Ones to bring heaven's goodness unto Earth.  
But one cannot be fed on faith alone,  
For all men have their vulgar, earthly needs,  
Required they then, knowledge of the ways  
Of civil life; for guidance I gave them  
Books of the learned and the wise, the sage  
Advice of those who know best how to avoid  
Faults on which so commonly we fall.  
I gave to them some grain, since husbandry's  
The seed from which civilization grows.  
Thenceforth I left, for hope I had that these  
Might rightly steer that lonely sailing ship.

Ten Springs and Autumns came to pass before,  
The day when sighted we that hopeful isle.  
Again upon their shores our gallant ship did land,  
And hope I had that those men had learned well  
The truths of government so plainly writ -  
And yet so rarely read.

---

<sup>6</sup> A 17th century English author would most likely be Protestant, and therefore, would hold a rather cynical view of the Catholic clergy.

For joy I was not disappointed by  
The men who then did come aboard  
And bring us meat this time, and *bread* so warm,  
Our hearts they all were filled.  
But taken by surprise when we first saw  
Their size, the same people as before had  
Become so strangely small! When I asked why,  
One did explain the cause of this strange fact:  
“We were shrunk for our country’s benefit  
And for our better management. For now  
More of us can be fed by the same food.”  
And when I asked if the people had scorned  
This change, he thus politely did reply,  
“Our stature it is now resolved, but a  
Great tragedy took place at first, when we  
Were shrunk much smaller than we are today:  
For shortly after it was done a young  
Milkmaid was devoured by a spider.  
The folk they all were scared and some had doubts,  
But selflessness it overcame, the change  
Was made, we all forgave, and once again  
The path was laid for progress to begin.”  
Philosophy’s best feat here was revealed,  
Human dominion had upon nature -  
But still I must wonder, why, though  
Our knowledge had ordered another folk,  
It has yet failed to do the same at home?

“Go on,” I said, “Tell us, More, of your fair  
Country - show us your cities and your state,  
Rulers, order, and schools, laws, and learning.”  
My request he then heartily fulfilled,  
And told me of a commonwealth true to  
Its very name: wealth common to all those  
Residing there within the Isle so fair,  
A state righteous and true and free; level

As the still waters of an alpine lake.  
“Though yet,” said he, “We have no property,  
In here we’ve no such need, for treasure will,  
To us in heaven come; while this we know,  
Still ev’ry day for children’s play, we shrink  
Camels and toss them through our needles’ eyes.”<sup>7</sup>

Residing on the throne here is justice  
Fairness abounds for all these happy men,  
And likewise women too, who by the law  
Are so well kept. “However,” he went on,  
“The public good has dictated that some,  
Must in fact be changed in the other way,  
For a ruler can only rule over  
A mass if indeed he rules *over* them.

He told me of their goodly government,  
The pinnacle of thought political:  
Administering the nation there are five  
Councils composed of the most learned men,<sup>8</sup>  
Experts all within their domains, they are:  
The Council of Knowledge whose work it is  
To develop advancements for the state;  
And the Council of Husbandry who keep  
The land in health and the men on it too;  
The Councils of Society and Sea:  
The latter’s work is in its name, order,  
They bring down to the boundless realm beneath,  
The former law familial maintains,  
And of the family comprising the state;  
The Council of Justice is the highest  
Of all, for their duty is that which makes

---

<sup>7</sup> Luke 18: 20-25. KJV.

<sup>8</sup> Adapted from Plattes’ idea of five councils to govern Macaria. Combining this with the structure of State in Campanella’s *City of the Sun*, in which the most learned ascend to the highest roles in state and society. Gabriel Plattes, *A Description of the Famous Kingdome of Macaria* (EEBO: 2019), 3.

Society exactly what it is.  
And in these council halls, beneath their roofs,  
Sit at debate the largest minds, within  
The largest men. For all the councilmen  
Are scaled by height, so much so that to just<sup>9</sup>  
Speak to the high councillor of justice  
One must first ascend a stairway reaching  
Past the tops of the tallest trees, and out  
Beyond the sight of land, yonder into  
The *firmament*, to meet him at ear's height.

Within this land the law is well upheld,  
For such is simple when the laws themselves  
Can be read by all and counted in hand,<sup>10</sup>  
Though some, missing fingers perhaps, still do  
Transgress, and upon that devilish bunch,  
The High Councillor of justice lays down  
His ruling so firmly, decisively:

Pickpockets and highwaymen, ravishers,  
And knaves - all politicians, murderers,  
And lawyers just the same; corruptions of<sup>11</sup>  
The body, of a politic turned bad,  
Deserving of the fate they all shall have:  
Plucked by his giant hand and up into  
The sky, in the distance, thrown far away  
Into the sea, the sinning man he flies,  
Cast like an eye offending the whole body,  
Wisely caused to perish so, indeed

---

<sup>9</sup> Power of the state and of learning as symbolized by height. Taking the power of the body politic to be literally embodied within the bodies of the leaders.

<sup>10</sup> This is a reference to a general trend within early modern utopian writing; an approach to law and justice best summarized by Robert Burton: "Few laws, but those severely kept, plainly put down, and in the mother tongue that every man may understand." Robert Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1961), 102.

<sup>11</sup> Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 254.

His words they follow to the letter, and<sup>12</sup>  
The better them follows. For they know what's  
The fault with an excess of mercy, while  
Still clemency is a virtue, indeed,  
Tis worse for disorder to continue.<sup>13</sup>

And justice, though it reigns as intended  
By His will in creation, tis not the  
Sole benefit from learning they've taken,  
For every day projectors<sup>14</sup> there create  
Wise works that bring new change into the lives  
Of citizens and the weal-public too.<sup>15</sup>  
The Knowledge Councilmen, genius they are  
Know that truth manifest is to produce effects<sup>16</sup>

Shrinking, though good, it is not all which they  
Have caused to change, for food, as well,  
Has *increased* in its size. When at harvest,  
Each stalk of corn is like an oak to chop,  
Each grain is like a homely country loaf  
Of bread held in their tiny hands. Just one  
Barley seed is enough to feed a man  
Each dawn, noon, and evening. But oh! I weep  
For the small, hard-working farmer, when strong  
Winds blow, and let fall down a heavy grain,  
Upon his little head, like a stone hurled,  
On the condemned; oh, unkind world, where one

---

<sup>12</sup> Matthew 5:29.

<sup>13</sup> Machiavelli, *The Prince*, translated by J.G. Nichols (Richmond: Alma Classics, 2009), 48.

<sup>14</sup> 'Projectors' in the archaic sense of the word: someone who plans projects, enterprises, and schemes for the improvement of society or financial gain.

<sup>15</sup> A reference to the fictional Academy of Lagado. Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 167-170.

<sup>16</sup> Francis Bacon, "Aphorisms Concerning the Interpretation of Nature: Book One, 1-77," *The New Organon*, edited by Jonathan Bennett (Early Modern Texts: 2017): Aphorism 73, 21.

May come to be dead of his own success!

And husbandry is practiced fairly for  
All fields are common there. No thorny bush  
Lies between man and his lifegiving land.  
The Isle is only enclosed by sea,  
Their sheep are sheared only for need,  
So people eat while greed, it starves,  
Contrarily to *England's* new folly.

What is a faithless land? This I know well:  
Yea, far too frequently do self-proclaimed  
Christians act viperous as the Pharisees!<sup>17</sup>  
All these, I know, they pray with fingers crossed,  
Soldiers who before battles kneel, calling  
“Lord, grant me strength in disobedience.”  
Those rich who scorn, and starve, trample the meek,  
On their way to pray for more gold at church.  
So many perform and make show of faith,  
From blind, tempted peasants to bullish popes,  
None of these sorts do within here reside.  
No superstitions dwell upon their shores,  
None here who make vain shows of charity  
For they and theirs do truly Christians be,  
And though all those who read this in Europe  
Will know of many such foul hypocrites,  
No sinners here are quick to cast a stone.<sup>18</sup>

How sad I was when it came time to go!  
For just a day lived in that prosperous  
Land was better than one thousand lived in  
That bad old world I knew! Alas! I wept,

---

<sup>17</sup> “Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?” The Pharisees were a Jewish school of thought during the time of Christ who are often portrayed in the New Testament as being opposed to or critical of His teachings. Matthew 23:33.

<sup>18</sup> John 8:8.



No more may I live where my heart longs for  
To be! Goodbye to that spice-scented air!  
No more, your glowing visions of futures,  
Again, back to the coal that chokes my breath,  
Again, the dreadful beat of soldiers' boots,  
Again, the lies, the thieves, the blood, the fleas  
Again, the factions and their civil wars,  
Again, those who stifle the rights of men,  
Again, the chains, the whips, the tall gallows,  
Again, the vice, the crime, the running time  
Before the day foretold when Kingdom comes,  
What in our lives shall we have done? Dare I  
Ask how many cruel deeds men can commit  
Before our time when crumbling kingdoms fall?

Your apostolic faith, your Grecian pride,  
Your selflessness, your civic loyalty,  
Your innumerable virtues shall be  
Those which to you lend the heavenly keys  
On that day, when all us besides are cast  
Into the flames and float away as smoke.

No more I'll hear you sing your Sunday songs,  
Once more again I hope to shake your hand,  
Bid me farewell, your tropical birdsong  
Warm as the wind that blows o'er seas and land,

Goodbye, fair Arcady! So long to thee,  
Adamony, O true, honest and free!

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**Prescribing Civility:  
Social Reform and Metropolitan Imperialism in Central Park**

*Kari Valmestad*

Kari Valmestad is a fourth-year student studying Art History and History at Concordia University. In her research, she is interested in examining systems of heritage, public memory, and the performance of history through re-enactment and spectacle. Other areas of interest include the Victorian era, urban park reform, design histories, and the built environment. Recently, she has been considering concepts of place-making and public memorialization, ideas she has been exploring in her public history research on the Montreal neighborhood Saint-Henri. Kari is currently working at 4TH SPACE, an innovative research hub on campus. She is also this year's Editor-in-Chief of the Concordia Undergraduate Journal of Art History (CUJAH).

The American park movement, born out of the intense industrialization and urbanization of nineteenth-century American cities, swiftly took hold of the socio-political agendas of middle- to upper-class Americans in the Antebellum era. Fueled by Victorian ideas regarding public ethos and the overall improvement of society, the urban reform movement spurred the creation of numerous metropolitan parks and green spaces throughout the nation. Most notable of these new parks was the development of New York's Central Park in 1857. Conceived of and orchestrated by the city's elite, Central Park's materialization aimed to address the mounting health concerns New Yorkers faced due to the city's over-populated and condensed urban areas. The metropolitan park was strategized to provide sanitary relief for the city's feeblest population while also granting the upper classes a euphoric environmental refuge. Though public health was a weighted factor within the bourgeois' push for a public park, their determination for the park to serve as an antithesis to the city's socio-economic class divide and act as a cultural refining and moral-indoctrinating tool to the lower classes significantly outweighed the objective of health reform. In the nineteenth century, it was commonly believed that society's comprehensive morals and ethics could be enhanced through the cultural "enlightening" and "civilizing" of lower classes by establishing more public recreational facilities, institutions, and green spaces.<sup>1</sup> As urban elites typically viewed the working class, especially immigrants and Black people, as "degenerate," "sinful" and as posing a threat to the order of society, they believed it to be their duty to educate and bring up the proletariat to a middle-class standard of living to resolve their "immoral" behaviors.<sup>2</sup> In conjunction with moral reform, the objectives for Central Park were also bathed in nation-building ideas that had come to dominate New York's cultural and commercial spheres.

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<sup>1</sup> John Evelev, "Rus-Urban Imaginings: Literature of the American Park Movement and Representations of Social Space in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Early American Studies*, no. 1 (2014): 179.

<sup>2</sup> Dorceta E. Taylor, "Central Park as a Model for Social Control: Urban Parks, Social Class and Leisure Behavior in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of Leisure Research*, no. 4 (1999): 441.

Examining the American park movement and the “civilizing” missions launched by New York’s urban elite in the latter half of the century, this essay will elucidate how Central Park served as a spatial embodiment and facilitator of bourgeois principles that sought to reconstruct the moral make-up of the city’s lower classes. Additionally, this text will consider how the objectives for Central Park were infused with discourses surrounding American nationalism and the fortification of the metropolitan “Empire.”

### 1.0 Central Park: An Overview

Situated in between the Upper East and West sides of Manhattan and spanning over fifty-one streets, Central Park effortlessly stands out among the architectural marvels of New York City. Consisting of 843 acres, the park stretches from Midtown Manhattan all the way up to Harlem, and from Fifth Avenue on the East Side to Eighth Avenue on the West Side. Central park’s picturesque landscape, with its pockets of woodland, pastoral fields, winding footpaths, and large reservoirs, conclusively fulfill its metaphor of being the city’s scenic gem. Designed by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux, Central Park park’s pastoral and rural cemetery-like design are landscaping elements of their “Greensward” plan, which they submitted to the Central Park Commission’s design contest in 1857.<sup>3</sup> Upon successfully winning the competition, the park’s construction began in that same year, with the first section opening in 1858. However, due to the outbreak of the Civil War, it would take two more decades for the park to be completed.

The land selected for the erection of Central Park was historically home to the lower-class community of Seneca Village, a predominantly Black settlement that had developed in the mid-1820s and totaled approximately 1,600 residents by the mid-century.<sup>4</sup> Despite keeping to themselves and being agriculturally and economically self-sufficient, their presence irritated New York’s white elite, causing them

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<sup>3</sup> Colin Fisher, "Nature in the City: Urban Environmental History and Central Park," *OAH Magazine of History*, no. 4 (2011): 28.

<sup>4</sup> Diana Dizerega Wall and Nan A. Rothschild, “The Seneca Village Project Working with Modern Communities in Creating the Past,” in *Places in Mind*, ed. Paul A. Shckel, Erve J. Chambers (New York: Routledge, 2004), 103.

to disseminate racist rumors about the village's inhabitants as being criminals and land dwellers.<sup>5</sup> When municipal officials scanned New York's landscape for possible locations for a public park in the 1850s, it was easy to suggest Seneca Village as the new urban park site (Fig. 1).

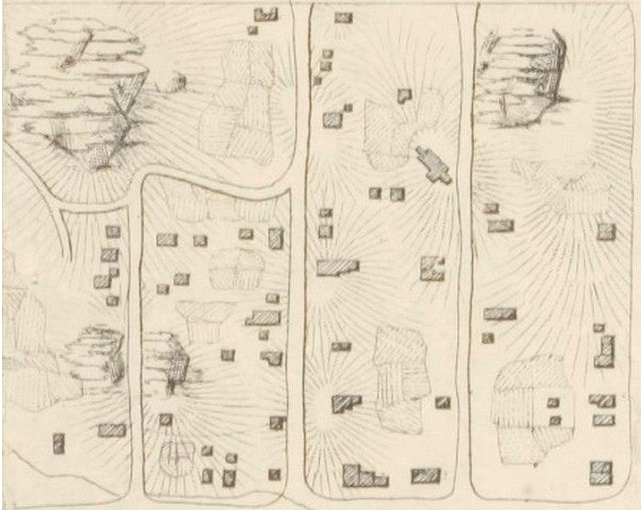


Figure 1. Viele, Egbert Ludovicus. *Survey for Central Park showing map of Seneca Village.* (crop). 1856. Wikimedia Commons.

Not only would the land's location serve their purposes to have the park centralized within the city, but it would simultaneously eradicate the

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<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth Blackmar and Roy Rosenzweig, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (London: Cornell University Press, 1992), 68. Blackmar and Rosenzweig's book is one of the few analyses published expressing the history of Seneca Village. Prior to its publishing in 1992, there was next to no mention of Seneca Village and its inhabitants in the historiography of Central Park. With more scholars taking an interest in the village's history and excavations and archeological digs taking place, there has been much advancement in the scholarship surrounding Seneca Village by scholars such as Diana diZerega Wall, Nan A. Rothschild and Cynthia Copeland.

lower-class Black and white inhabitants of the village, easing the collective fears of New York's elite.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, in 1856 city officials ordered the villagers' removal from their homes so the residential area could be razed and prepared for the establishment of the new urban park.<sup>7</sup> Although recently having garnered scholastic attention, Central Park's racist origins have, for the majority, been left out of the park's narrative and public memory. Indeed, Seneca Village's history remains a little-known fact.

## 2.0 Proposing an Urban Park

The proposal for Central Park was conceptualized in a climate that saw New York's civic structures and resources severely tested by its rapidly increasing urban population. Between 1800 and 1850, roughly over 600,000 immigrants of European descent arrived in New York, tripling the city's population.<sup>8</sup> Since most of the immigrants were of the working-class, they were forced to take up residence in poorly constructed houses and later on in tenement buildings, congested housing complexes. Due to the unsanitary and cramped living conditions, disease and sickness flourished among the city's lower classes. In their 1839 report, the American Medical Association's Committee commented on the dire circumstances and remarked how "deficient drainage, street cleaning, supply of water, and ventilation; together with improperly constructed houses, and the various kinds of nuisances incident to populous places, occup[ied] prominent positions" within the "destruction of human life" in many American urban cities, most significantly in New York.<sup>9</sup> Acknowledging these critical public

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<sup>6</sup> Diana di Zerega Wall, Nan A. Rothschild and Cynthia Copeland, "Seneca Village and Little Africa: Two African American Communities in Antebellum New York City," *Historical Archaeology*, no. 1 (2008): 98.

<sup>7</sup> Di Zerega Wall, Rothschild and Copeland, "Seneca Village and Little Africa: Two African American Communities in Antebellum New York City," 91.

<sup>8</sup> Yoko Ogawa, "Landscape of American Nationalism: The Making of Central Park, New York in Euro-American Relations," 一橋研究, no. 3 (1992): 114.

<sup>9</sup> American Medical Association: Committee on Public Hygiene, first report of the Committee on Public Hygiene of the American Medical Association, read at the Annual Meeting, Boston, May 1849, with an appendix containing sketches of the sanitary condition of the cities of Concord, Portland, New York,



health concerns plaguing New York's society in the Antebellum period, health reformers vocalized for the insertion of an urban park so that the city's confined inhabitants could acquire "clean" air while also developing good hygiene and sanitary practices. Even though some modest parks and public spaces existed before Central Park, such as Tompkins Square (1833) and Madison Square (1837), they could not provide the necessary sanitary relief physicians and health activists believed New York's citizens desperately needed.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, due to the massive arrival of European working-class immigrants within the city, a sense of urgency was placed onto municipal officials to find these individuals work in New York's industrial factories, workshops, and civic development projects.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, when talk of establishing a public park became widespread, white immigrant workers became the optimal choice for Central Park's construction—a recurrent practice in the United States where white industrial workers were hired to build parks and greenspaces on the land of evicted and displaced Black and lower-class white residents.<sup>12</sup> The proposed public park would thus serve as "the lungs of the city," supplying good ventilation, and healthy leisure and recreational opportunities for citizens in addition to providing thousands of lower-class immigrants with work.<sup>13</sup>

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1849, Philadelphia: American Medical Association, London School of Hygiene & Topical Medicine Library & Archives Service, <https://archive.org/details/b21366160/page/432/mode/2up>, (accessed April 2020), 431-432.

<sup>10</sup> Morrison H. Heckscher, "Creating Central Park," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series, 65, no. 3 (2008): 89.

<sup>11</sup> Taylor, "Central Park as a Model for Social Control," 451. Due to the influx of immigrants arriving into the city, there was an enormous unemployed populace resulting in numerous protests and rallies throughout the 1850-1860s. The most famous was in 1857, when 15,000 unemployed people gathered in Tompkins Square in Brooklyn demanding work.

<sup>12</sup> The use of the word "white" in this context encompasses immigrants coming from Italy, Ireland, etc. who in the nineteenth century, were not considered to be "white"; Taylor, "Central Park as a Model for Social Control: Urban Parks, Social Class and Leisure Behavior in Nineteenth-Century America," 439.

<sup>13</sup> John L. Crompton, "The Health Rationale for Urban Parks in the Nineteenth Century in the USA," *World Leisure Journal*, no. 4 (2013), 339.

The proposition for an urban park was also nurtured in a period that saw the rise of an influential bourgeoisie class. Merchants, landowners and businessmen, originating from all over the country, had flocked to the Northeast to share in the great capital and national commerce blossoming in New York during the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Controlling the city's public affairs and capitalistic growth, these wealthy American men envisioned New York's cityscape as a physical apparatus capable of endorsing their ideals about public morality, social reform and nation-building. Although harboring an assortment of political beliefs, they were united on a socio-economic front, sharing common interests in the city's urban development projects.<sup>15</sup> City development for Democratic politicians and real estate investors reinforced multicultural election precincts through urban development programs and ventures.<sup>16</sup> Meanwhile, Republicans rejoiced in the agreement urbanization had with the "civic-minded capitalists," considering urban landscape growth an effective way to instill "proper" moral values into the lower classes.<sup>17</sup> The urban development basin most waded by Left- and Right-winged elites was environmental reform. Heavily influenced by the environmental reformation work occurring in Europe, New York's influential classes sought to translate these European ecological improvements into the American urban context and its nation-building processes.<sup>18</sup> They gained access to these ideas through the American park movement: a transnational environmental improvement campaign that had emerged in the 1840s. As the following section will demonstrate, the American Park movement and its philosophies were central to the envisioning and realization of Central Park.

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<sup>14</sup> David Scobey, "Introduction," in *Empire City: The Making and Meaning of the New York City Landscape* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002), 12.

<sup>15</sup> Scobey, "Metropolis and Nation," in *Empire City: The Making and Meaning of the New York City Landscape*, 38.

<sup>16</sup> Scobey, "Introduction," in *Empire City: The Making and Meaning of the New York City Landscape*, 12.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>18</sup> Taylor, "Central Park as a Model for Social Control," 425-426.

### 3.0 The American Park Movement

The American park movement was nature-centric in that it sought to implement urban parks and green spaces into the densely populated and unsanitary cities of the United States. Supported and directed by the American hegemonic class, this urban reform movement was greatly inspired by the pastoral and English-styled landscape designs of America's rural cemeteries,<sup>19</sup> and the metropolitan layouts of Europe's public parks. Andrew Jackson Downing, a prominent New York editor and writer, was the principal figure within the movement. In his writing, he frequently referred to the attractive properties of European parks, remarking in an 1848 essay "A Talk About Public Parks and Gardens," that the central park of Frankfurt was: "one of the most delightful sights in the world...with all manner of fine trees and shrubs... beds of the choicest flowers, roses, carnations, dahlias, verbenas...[and] open to every man, woman, and child in the city."<sup>20</sup> His evocative texts inspired many American municipal officials to commission landscape architects and designers to integrate *rus-urban* (Latin for "country in the city") parks into their cities. Spatially echoing the Victorian environmental ideals Downing so fondly commented on in his writings, American landscapers sought to produce the *Picturesque* and the *Sublime* — aesthetic notions that denoted the mapping of a true and exceptional production of beauty in an environmental context.<sup>21</sup> These ideals were characterized by the landscape being both "rough" and "natural," and that the land should be manipulated in such a way to enhance Nature's finest qualities<sup>22</sup> (Fig. 2).

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 429.

<sup>20</sup> A. J. Downing, "A Talk About Public Parks and Gardens," *Rural Essays*, edited by George William Curtis (New York: Leavitt & Allen, 1853), 141.

<sup>21</sup> John Evelev, "Rus-Urban Imaginings: Literature of the American Park Movement and Representations of Social Space in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Early American Studies*, no. 1 (2014): 175.

<sup>22</sup> Evelev, "Rus-Urban Imaginings," 175.



Figure 2. Anonymous, British, 18th century. Picturesque Landscape. Drawing. Sheet: 18 3/16 x 14 5/16 in. [\\_x000D\\_;](https://www.metmuseum.org/) image: 11 7/16 x 8 7/16 in. Place: [The Metropolitan Museum of Art](https://www.metmuseum.org/).

In other words, producing picturesque views in a park landscape meant presenting Nature in its most raw state, despite the park's manicured setting.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, park advocates were infatuated with notions of the “pastoral,” as these rural scenes supported the “agrarian myth:” a Victorian concept that human's most ideal features

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 175.

were figuratively located in the rural landscapes of the countryside, rather than in urban and industrial cities.<sup>24</sup>

The American park movement also accentuated the favorable effects that urban parks would have on the social and moral refinement of Americans who did not have the economic privilege to enjoy the beauties of nature and its transcending properties.<sup>25</sup> These objectives were solidified in the vast amount of literature that supported the movement, with Downing being the movement's leading theorist. He repeatedly noted how European public park systems provided a natural retreat for all of society's classes (Fig. 3). For example, after having visited a German public park, he commented:

All classes assemble under the shade of the same trees—the nobility (even the king is often seen among them), the wealthy citizens, the shopkeepers and the artisans. There they all meet, sip their tea and coffee, ices, or other refreshments from tables in the open air, talk, walk about and listen to bands of admirable music, stationed here and there throughout the park. In short, these great public grounds are the pleasant drawing-rooms of the whole population; where they gain health, good spirits, social enjoyment and a frank and cordial bearing towards their neighbors, that is totally unknown either in England or America.<sup>26</sup>

Downing believed that Europe's public parks, with their attractive natural qualities and room for pleasant outdoor activities and leisure, enunciated "civilizing" effects that educated the public masses

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<sup>24</sup> James Machor, *Pastoral Cities: Urban Ideals and the Symbolic Landscape of America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 4. The notion of the countryside being a utopian retreat from the urbanizing and industrializing cities of Europe was disseminated profoundly throughout Europe and America in the mid-to-late nineteenth century in literature, visual arts, design and landscape architecture. The global Arts and Crafts movement is a good example of this.

<sup>25</sup> J. B. Jackson, "The American public space," *Public Interest, National Affairs* (Winter 1984): 59.

<sup>26</sup> Downing, "A Talk About Public Parks and Gardens," 142.

in correct social and cultural refinement.<sup>27</sup> In the nineteenth century, the word “civilization” possessed multiple meanings; in the context of social reform, the term was used to describe the urban elite’s desire to “civilize” and morally retune the ideological framework of the ‘inferior’ population, i.e. the lower classes.<sup>28</sup> During this time, it was commonly believed that society’s comprehensive ethics could be enhanced through the “cultural enlightening”<sup>29</sup> of the working class by means of public recreational facilities, institutions and green spaces.<sup>30</sup>



Figure 3. Jean-Baptiste Oudry (French, 1686 - 1755). *Park Scene*. French, 1744. Black and white chalk on tan paper. 35.1 × 51.4 cm. 87.GB.13. Digital image courtesy of the Getty’s Open Content Program.

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<sup>27</sup> Jackson, “The American public space,” 146.

<sup>28</sup> Scobey, “Imagining the Imperial Metropolis,” in *Empire City: The Making and Meaning of the New York City Landscape*, 166.

<sup>29</sup> Taylor, “Central Park as a Model for Social Control,” 424.

<sup>30</sup> Evelev, “Rus-Urban Imaginings,” 179.

As a result, the disorderly and degenerate behavior that transpired in the urban streets of large metropolitan cities, such as money laundering, prostitution, protests and burglary, could be significantly diminished by the civilizing roles undertaken by society's urban elites.<sup>31</sup> In terms of moral refinement, the areas in which they should direct their focus to were in the cultivation of a collective aesthetic and moral taste, in the disciplines of architecture, fine art, and landscape design.<sup>32</sup> Enhancement in these areas would transpire through academic training in the arts and humanities, which in the Victorian era were seen as the fundamental elements in the fine-tuning, intellectualization and sophistication of the enlightened individual.<sup>33</sup> Victorian theorists considered this to be successfully achieved by establishing public libraries, art and history museums, as well as urban parks. Agreeing with these Victorian civilizing principles, Downing frequently expressed that urban parks were as much facilitators of higher civic morals and ideals as they were symbols of beauty and the Sublime.<sup>34</sup> For, as he stated, parks would be "better preachers of temperance than temperance societies, better refiners of national manners than dancing schools, and better promoters of general good feeling than any lectures on the philosophy of happiness ever delivered in the lecture-room."<sup>35</sup>

#### 4.0 Instigating the "Greensward" Plan

Enthralled by Downing's theories of moral enhancement and ecological sublimity, Olmsted and Vaux set out to create an urban park that could spatially induce his ideals while still abiding by the inherent urban confines and natural terrain that would dictate the park's ultimate formation. Unlike the metropolitan parks of Paris and London whose green spaces had been formerly surveyed into the city's landscape, American cities were much less built upon greenery. Hence, they did not

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<sup>31</sup> Taylor, "Central Park as a Model for Social Control," 441.

<sup>32</sup> Thomas Bender, "Cityscape & Landscape in America: Frederick Law Olmsted," in *Toward an Urban Vision: Ideas and Institutions in Nineteenth Century America* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1975), 162.

<sup>33</sup> Bender, "Cityscape & Landscape in America: Frederick Law Olmsted," 162.

<sup>34</sup> Downing, "A Talk About Public Parks and Gardens," 146.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.

have as many large public parks<sup>36</sup> in the mid-nineteenth century as their European counterparts.<sup>37</sup> As New York City was built on a grid-system – imposed onto the island of Manhattan in 1811 that divided the land into twelve north-to-south avenues and fifty-five east-to-west streets – it did not account for any large public green spaces, nor did it naturally conform to the landscape.<sup>38</sup> Working within these spatial margins and recognizing the land’s discrepancies, Vaux and Olmstead’s “Greensward” plan (Fig. 4) aimed to typographically translate the American park movement’s character into the New York urban context. This meant conforming their over 800-acre park to an already-carved out section by the city’s rapidly increasing built environment.

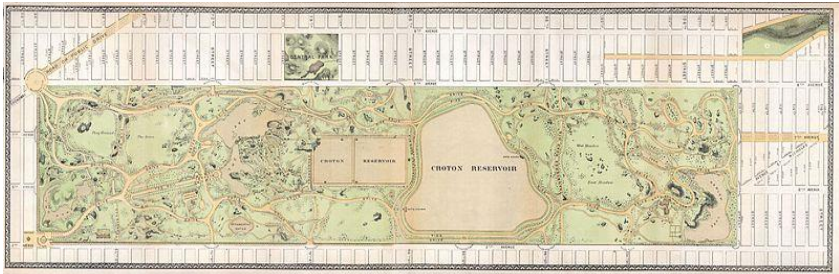


Figure 4. Sarony, Napoleon. *Vaux and Olmstead Map of Central Park and the Upper West Side, New York City*. Lithograph. 1868. 8.5 in x 30.5 in. Wikimedia Commons.

It also involved removing the approximately five million cubic yards of dirt, rock, and brush that comprised the original landscape in order to make way for the preparation of artificial reservoirs, and floral and woodland compositions that would constitute Central Park’s scenic

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<sup>36</sup> George F. Chadwick, “The American Park Movement,” in *The Park and the Town Public Landscape in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York: F.A. Praeger, 1966), 190.

<sup>37</sup> Evelev, “Rus-Urban Imaginings,” 180.

<sup>38</sup> Morrison H. Heckscher, “Creating Central Park,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series, no. 3 (2008): 8-9.



setting.<sup>39</sup> Vaux and Olmstead's *rus-urban* plan conformed to the land's natural upper and lower sections by plotting two apparent sections of the park distinguished by reservoirs, plazas and recreational zones, the Parade Ground (the parks' largest open field) and playgrounds.<sup>40</sup> They also had the park's perimeter lined with trees to aid in secreting the buildings facing the park so that the desired Nature milieu effect created through the picturesque and agrarian elements could be upheld.<sup>41</sup> Aware that New York City would continue to expand as the nation's northeast capital in years to come, the "Greensward" plan also reflected New York's sequences in population growth and movement by the construction of sunken roadways – fashioned after the "Ha-ha" recessed drop-offs characteristic of English landscape design – that would traverse the entire park east to west, crossed over the top with carriage lanes and walkways to facilitate orderly traffic flows.<sup>42</sup>

### 5.0 Social Reform and Moral Refinement in Central Park

In addition to endorsing the idealistic components of the American park movement, Central Park was to embody Downing's ideas regarding social-unification practicalities of urban parks, and to bridge together New York's split classes. Though this social reformation did not imply the *dismantling* of the capitalistic structures that sustained the city's substantial class divide, it was instead intended to *ease* social tensions by providing a natural sanctuary that every New Yorker could

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<sup>39</sup> Theodore S. Eisenman, "Frederick Law Olmsted, Green Infrastructure, and the Evolving City," *Journal of Planning History*, no. 4 (2013): 292.

<sup>40</sup> Heckscher, "Creating Central Park," 27-28.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 28; Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux, "A Review of Recent Changes, and Changes which have been Projected, in the Plans of the Central Park, by the Landscape Architects, 1872," in Frederick Law Olmsted, *Landscape Architect, 1822-1903*, Vol. 2: Central Park as a Work of Art and as a Great Municipal Enterprise 1853–1895, edited by Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. and Theodora Kimball, 3rd edition (Bronx, NY: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1970), 249, reprinted in 1922, from HathiTrust, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015006815438&view=lup&seq=298>.

<sup>42</sup> Kevin Coffee, "The Material Significance of Carriage Drives to the Design of Central Park," *IA. The Journal of the Society for Industrial Archeology*, no. 1 (2012): 80; Heckscher, "Creating Central Park," 27.

access and enjoy.<sup>43</sup> With the establishment of an urban park, lower-class New Yorkers who were financially prevented from leaving the city would now be able to enjoy the pleasurable indulgences of the rural countryside offered by Central Park. Olmsted expressed that “for the hundreds of thousands of tired workers, who have no opportunity to spend their summers in the country,” they would find peace, and pleasure in Central Park, in addition to finding “a constant suggestion to the imagination of an unlimited range of rural conditions.”<sup>44</sup>

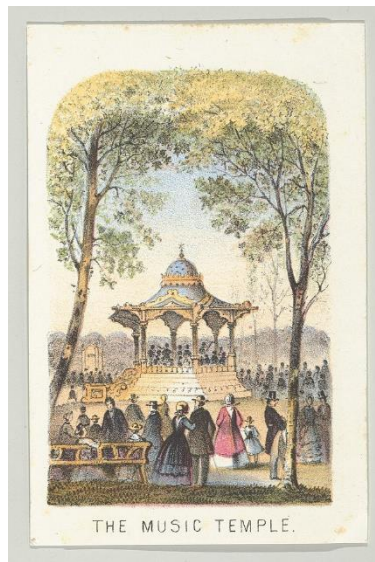


Figure. 5. Louis Prang & Co. *The Music Temple*, from the series, *Views in Central Park, New York, Part 2*. Lithograph. 1864. 4 in. x 23/8 in. Wikimedia Commons.

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<sup>43</sup> Jackson, “The American public space,” 59.

<sup>44</sup> Machor, “Organic Cities: 19<sup>th</sup> century Urban Reform,” *Pastoral Cities*, 169.

Along these same lines, Olmsted wanted the park to generate a public culture through community building and public improvement, molding New York's society into one civic body.<sup>45</sup> He aimed to achieve this by including a variety of different social and community-building activities available for park-goers, such as rowing and swimming in the lakes, visiting the park's zoo, and engaging in courteous conversation by one of the park's many meeting points landmarked by elegant fountains and structures. (Fig. 5).<sup>46</sup>

While one of Central Park's aims was to amalgamate the social classes of New York City, at the essential level, Central Park was designed to refurbish and restructure the moral compass of the lower-class individual. Vaux and Olmsted's "Greensward" design fulfilled these social-reconfiguring objectives by serving as the ideal backdrop for the urban elite's civilizing mission. The park's picturesque scenery, charming vistas and large recreational spaces operated as the perfect setting for the intellectual rewiring of a "misinformed" public. For example, the park's large walking corridors and carriage-runway paths operated in spatially coercing the gaze of the lower classes to observe and witness the social customs, gestures and public attitudes exercised by the bourgeois class (Fig. 6). As they observed how the urban elite naturally travelled through the park's environment – promenading in the green spaces or riding in their carriages along the Mall<sup>47</sup> – they would inevitably notice how the upper classes walked and kept to the paths, their public demeanors, how they never made loud talk or ensued public disturbances, and how they politely acknowledged each other as they passed by.

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<sup>45</sup> Ogawa, "Landscape of American Nationalism," 126.

<sup>46</sup> Ogawa, "Landscape of American Nationalism," 126-127.

<sup>47</sup> Coffee, "The Material Significance of Carriage Drives to the Design of Central Park," 81.



Figure 6. A comic scene in Central Park, New York City IN 1869, from a drawing by Thomas B. Worth. Brown, Henry Collins, ed. (1921) *Valentine's Manual of Old New York*, New York City: Valentine's Manual Inc., before p. 257. Wikimedia Commons.

Additionally, they would note how the elite took great pleasure and intellectual stimulation from solely walking and gazing at their surroundings, thus cultivating a sophisticated appreciation for landscape design. Observing the physical attributes and customs performed by the urban elite was considered the first method in which the lower classes could absorb and be prescribed ‘appropriate’ modes of social conduct and interaction. Olmsted believed that: “no one who has closely observed the conduct of the people who visit the park can doubt it exercises a distinctly harmonizing and refining influence upon the most unfortunate and lawless classes of the city – an influence favorable to courtesy, self-control and temperance.”<sup>48</sup> Another way the lower classes were inculcated with Victorian moral principles was through the development of their aesthetic taste and their ability to appreciate “good” design through the park’s inner and surrounding built environment.<sup>49</sup> A process believed to occur when the lower-classes observed the elegant neo-classical architecture of the bourgeois homes opposite the park, when

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<sup>48</sup> Frederick Law Olmsted, *Public parks and the enlargement of towns: read before the American Social Science Association at the Lowell Institute, Boston, Feb. 25, 1870*, (Cambridge, Mass: Printed for the American Social Science Association, at the Riverside Press, 1870), 34.

<sup>49</sup> Bender, “Cityscape & Landscape in America,” 180.

they traversed the decorative bridges and archways that brought them to each new attractive setting, or when they walked around the park's many plazas, terraces and monuments.<sup>50</sup> While Central Park's ornamental structures served to remind the park-goers that what they were experiencing was entirely due to the actions of the urban elite and fundamentally an extension of the bourgeoisie lifestyle and economic amenities, they were not to lose sight of Central Park's true importance: being an environmental sanctuary and moralizing refuge.<sup>51</sup>

An equally important motive in the goal to uplift New York's lower classes through the expenditure of Central Park was to regulate and eventually eradicate their "ill-mannered" behaviors. Perceiving the working-class recreational and social conduct to pose a risk to the moral order of "civilized" society, New York's elite implemented surveillance structures in order to keep them at bay.<sup>52</sup> This included Olmsted's insertion of a park police, whose duty was to monitor and cease any improper behavior exhibited within the park. Offences included dwindling off the paths onto the grass, picking flowers or leaves, disturbing critters and birds, and exhibiting indecent and immoral conduct.<sup>53</sup> Although finable to any park-goer, these misdemeanors specifically targeted lower-class individuals whose ordinary conduct was already deemed corrupt and distorted before stepping foot into the park. Their park presence would be routinely subjected to public supervision by law enforcement and wealthier New Yorkers as an extension of the park's moralizing mission. Surveying and policing the

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 180; Coffee, "The Material Significance of Carriage Drives to the Design of Central Park," 86.

<sup>51</sup> Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux, "Description of a Plan for the Improvement of the Central Park, "Greensward, 1858," in Frederick Law Olmsted, *Landscape Architect, 1822-1903*, Vol. 2: Central Park as a Work of Art and as a Great Municipal Enterprise 1853-1895, edited by Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. and Theodora Kimball, 3rd edition, as reprinted in 1868, (New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1922), 222, from HathiTrust, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015006815438&view=1up&seq=298>.

<sup>52</sup> Taylor, "Central Park as a Model for Social Control," 441.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 443.

working-class had merely evolved from being neighborhood and street-focused to public space-based where urban communal areas also acted as social controlling instruments. Only now, state supervision was cloaked in a foliate aesthetic, inviting and pleasing.

The urban elite's efforts to retune the public's ideological framework ironically exposed the fragility of their authority. Sensing their influence threatened by the behaviors and principles of a rapidly-growing lower-class, New York's elites quickly sought to re-educate this disorderly population out of personal fears of working-class people and life.<sup>54</sup> Surveillance measures, spatial curations and taste-cultivation aimed to govern and ethically reshape the "unruly" populations, restoring – if only temporarily – destabilized feelings of governance over the weaker classes. These moral refining processes were not prescribed to the poor out of philanthropy or actual social reform as they appeared to be but rather instigated by an anxious elite who feared the surge in working-class populations and its negative effect on New York's class structures.

## 6.0 Metropolitan Imperialism in New York

Central Park's ideological and social determinations were also conjoined with nineteenth-century American nation-building practices and the symbolic construction of New York as the state "Empire." In Antebellum America, the city had evolved from an important commercial depot to the nation's capital for its country's economic and commercial regimes.<sup>55</sup> This was largely due to Alexander Hamilton's mercantilist economy established after the Revolution which had transformed New York into the instigator of new American capitalism driven by public credit, national banks, manufacturers and financed debt.<sup>56</sup> Consequently, the municipality's urban development in the mid-century became intrinsically interwoven with American nationalism, which served to conceive of a new collective national identity.<sup>57</sup> Up until

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<sup>54</sup> Taylor, "Central Park as a Model for Social Control," 441.

<sup>55</sup> Scobey, "Metropolis and Nation," *Empire City: The Making and Meaning of the New York City Landscape*, 23.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

this point, American patriotism had been traditionally associated with the rural South, until now with the inclusion of a north-eastern American nationalism.<sup>58</sup> Additionally, New York's urban development became the principle contributor to the allegorical "Empire" trope that had come to inundate the city's civic and popular-cultural domains. A nation-building narrative that celebrated New York's role as the imperialistic initiator of the American democratic urban mission,<sup>59</sup> New York as a "metropolitan empire" envisioned the city's built environment as the nation's center for full capitalist energy and civilized order. While the empire symbol relied on the economic and commercial choices and decrees initiated by the city, it also referred to the duty of the municipal elite to cultivate and produce a national culture through the scope of landscape design.<sup>60</sup> For as historian David Scobey describes:

[The urban elite] conceived of landscape design and environment reform not as local, ameliorative ends in themselves, but as elements in a regime of political, social and moral governance. They linked the improvement of urban landscapes—of New York's landscape in particular—to the most ambitious projects of the Victorian bourgeoisie: the military and ideological consolidation of the nation, the extension of state power and class discipline over an unruly democratic polity, the creation of tutelary institutions to inculcate "civilized" values across fractured social order.<sup>61</sup>

Thus, as New York's city-building successions were imbued with the bourgeoisie's civilizing mission, they were also to symbolize the egalitarian utopian vision of an "American metropolis."<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Ogawa, "Landscape of American Nationalism," 113.

<sup>59</sup> Scobey, "Metropolis and Nation" in *Empire City: The Making and Meaning of the New York City Landscape*, 44.

<sup>60</sup> Scobey, "Introduction," in *Empire City: The Making and Meaning of the New York City Landscape*, 12.

<sup>61</sup> Scobey, "Metropolis and Nation" in *Empire City: The Making and Meaning of the New York City Landscape*, 19.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

A spatial incarnation of elite principles, Central Park acted as a malleable sign of an American national identity. Its *rus-urban* properties served in connecting the metaphorical spaces of the “rural” and “urban” – previously perceived as opposing ideas – resulting in the emblematic interpretation that New York was formulating strong connections with those outside the city center, thereby harboring a goal to create a unified national culture.<sup>63</sup> Additionally, as Central Park was America’s first large urban park, it sent a message to its global peers that New York was a metropolitan city and that it would be taking part in the state-building and urban development processes that had already infiltrated major European cities. This was an important aspect of the park’s creation as it would present New York to its global peers as a metropolitan urban hub along with the image of America being a prosperous, industrial nation. Central Park’s conveyed appearances of bourgeois urban development, environmental refinement and social reform were designed to shape New York’s image as the metropolitan Empire whose obligation was to propel the United States into an industrious and affluent Reconstruction era. Furthermore, Central Park’s creation aimed to unite the classes and subsequently produce a homogenous public that could create an ideal American individual. By promoting Victorian ideals of morality and courtesy through the laden allegorical lens of landscape design, an “intellectually sophisticated” public that harbored the same behaviors, attitudes, and mannerisms of the metropolitan elite, would *theoretically* be fostered, proving that municipal parks and urban environmental projects could conceive a desired American public and people. Hence, Central Park became recognized as a national landmark and part of an idyllic American urban condition that sought to pioneer a perfected metropolitan American image, setting an example for other municipalities while articulating an ideal American civic body.<sup>64</sup>

## 7.0 Conclusion

The establishment of Central Park revealed a strongly motivated civic effort to respond to the socio-economic problems that threatened New York’s public health and social spheres in the mid-

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<sup>63</sup> Ogawa, “Landscape of American Nationalism,” 112.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 129-130.



nineteenth century. With the severe health complications that had developed due to the increasing number of immigrants settling in the urbanizing city, Central Park served as a natural antidote to these plights, encouraging physical exercise and suitable health practices among its urban populations. While the promotion of improved health and wellness in New York's society was one of the principal objectives for creating an urban park, Central Park's main purpose was to function as a facilitator of bourgeois principles of public morality and civility. By prescribing middle- and upper-class values to the lower classes, "immoral" working-class citizens could be successfully civilized into a unified and intellectually sound populace. Their complete moral refinement could derive from the virtuous lessons urban elites believed to radiate from the park's landscape design and architecture, while their behavior was simultaneously surveyed by the park police and the upper classes. Additionally, Central Park's socially driven aims fashioned an American national identity, where every citizen exercised a role within the urbanizing and nationalist landscape in their conformance to a new American public culture. Through these mechanisms, New York assumed its imagined title as the nation's metropolitan empire and nationalized Central Park and the ideological and social processes it was designed to perform. As both a civic and national symbol, Central Park spatially curated an American condition and public through modes of covert moral programming, exercising the urban elite's goals to civilize the population, and thereby, promote New York City, and thus America, as a cohesive urbanized and modernized state.

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**Ellis Island: A Fictitious Gateway to Freedom**

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Giuseppe Suter Sardo is a second-year student pursuing a double bachelor's degree in History and Public Policy at Concordia University. His interest in transatlantic immigration to the United States originated in the story of his grandparents who immigrated from Italy. After graduation, Giuseppe would like to pursue a career as a lawyer. Outside the academic realm, he enjoys physical activity and learning about the world through documentaries of all kinds. He would also like to thank Professor Brandon Webb for his dedication to teaching American history and engaging his students.

The United States' status as a world power directly resulted from the country's history of imperialism, capitalism, militarism, and economic opportunism. From all over Europe – Ireland, Germany, Britain, Italy, Poland, Greece, and Russia – individuals and families fled from poverty, religious persecution and political oppression. Once in America, the new emigrants had hopes of greater life opportunities. However, the reality of the immigration process was that of millions of individuals who came through Ellis Island between 1892 and 1924 had suffered from an arduous journey, invasive medical inspections, and the emotional consequences associated with the possibility of separation from their families. While a lot of people came to America looking for better livelihoods and economic prospects, many later wished to return to their homelands. While analyzing the concept of return migration, the idea that people migrated to take part in the 'American Dream' breaks down thereby proving that it is an ideological framing related to the belief of American exceptionalism.

Through the examination of the Ellis Island experience, this essay will complicate the mainstream narrative subsequently formed about immigration to the United States between 1892 and 1924. From examining people's experiences of immigration to the United States, a more disruptive and less popularized reality of the Ellis Island experience is formed. This paper will also consider how the idea of the 'American Dream' was dismantled considering it was not at the forefront of migrant's minds, despite it being a large part of American mythology and the island's narratives. Although many landed on Ellis Island to flee homeland persecution, not all immigrants necessarily wanted to stay in the United States. In fact, the concept of return migration is reliant on the analysis of the 'American Dream' and is furthermore complemented by the reality of immigration restrictions and rising nativist sentiment.

The term 'American Dream' was defined by James Truslow Adams as "a dream of land in which life should be better and richer and fuller for every man, with the opportunity for each according to his



ability or achievement.”<sup>1</sup> This concept first emerged in 1931 when Adams wrote about America’s historical heritage in *The Epic of America*. In this, the American author and historian reports that early Pilgrims travelling to the United States were the first to become symbolic of the ‘American Dream’. Their trips to the wild frontier represented the early days of the ‘American dream’, as “America was not to be merely an old Europe in a cruder and less finished setting. Something new had come into being, the belief that something fine and moral, something higher than the world had ever seen, would be harvested from plowing up in earnest the interminable average fallows of humanity.”<sup>2</sup>

Ever since Adams coined the term, the latter has become associated with the mainstream narrative and has been referred to in a great number of books, movies and television shows to describe the experiences of immigrants arriving in America. This narrative promoted the idea that European immigrants, before migrating, only desired economic well-being, social prosperity, and a comfortably established life in America.<sup>3</sup> It also pictures the journey toward the ‘American Dream’ as enlightening and glorifying for migrants. Ellis Island fits perfectly into this misconception.

As the main gateway into America for decades, Ellis Island has been conceived of as a symbol of joy, hope, freedom, and opportunity.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Ellis Island offers a jaw dropping view upon arrival and was located in the second most populous city in the world at the turn of the century. Therefore, the immigrant reception center has been seen as a place where early immigrants’ dreams of living in the “Land of the Free”

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<sup>1</sup> Madeline High, "The Reality of the American Dream," *Xavier Journal of Undergraduate Research*, no.2 (2015): 1, <https://www.exhibit.xavier.edu/xjur/vol3/iss1/2>.

<sup>2</sup> James Truslow Adams, *The Epic of America*, edited by Howard Schneiderman (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2012), 326.

<sup>3</sup> Tyler Anbinder, *City of Dreams* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016), 604.

<sup>4</sup> Broughton Brandenburg, *Imported Americans* (New York: F. A. Stokes Company, 1904), 204, <https://archive.org/details/importedamerican00branuoft/page/204/mode/2up>.

began.<sup>5</sup> The popular narrative has been so widely disseminated that genuine immigrant experiences to the United States are often forgotten. When beginning to take an in-depth look at the consequences surrounding arrival at Ellis Island for immigrants, the idea of the ‘American Dream’ breaks down.

Located in the New York harbor, between New York and New Jersey, and only reachable by boat, Ellis Island is without a doubt one of the city’s most historically populous locations. The 27-acre island, now part of the Statue of Liberty National Monument attracts millions of visitors every year and is one of the most frequented of the United States’ national parks and monuments.<sup>6</sup> However, before becoming a world renowned tourist attraction, Ellis Island was, in the early twentieth century, where the largest human migration in modern history occurred.<sup>7</sup> Initially called Gull Island by the Natives, in the mid seventeenth century, the island was bought by the Dutch and named Little Oyster Island due to the large abundance of nearby oysters. Later, the island was acquired by New Yorker Samuel Ellis and sold to the State of New York. Finally, in the early 1800s, the spot was taken over by the United States federal government for military reasons. As early as 1890, the island was turned into the country’s first federal immigration station.<sup>8</sup> This proved to be a success; between 1892 and 1954, more than 12 million migrants passed through Ellis Island hoping to enter into the United States. The island witnessed over 1 million arrivals between the period of 1892 to 1924.<sup>9</sup>

In the late nineteenth century, a wave of predominantly European immigrants decided to head toward the United States. These people laid the groundwork for successive groups of immigrants who

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<sup>5</sup> Anbinder, *City of Dreams*, 603.

<sup>6</sup> Lawrence Swanson and Donald Squires, "Ellis Island, New York and New Jersey," *New York History*, no. 3 (2002): 249, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23183395>.

<sup>7</sup> Rob Perks, "The Ellis Island Immigration Museum, New York," *Oral History Society*, no. 1 (1991): 79.

<sup>8</sup> Anbinder, *City of Dreams*, 609.

<sup>9</sup> Swanson and Squires, "Ellis Island, New York and New Jersey," 250.

would decide to cross the Atlantic Ocean.<sup>10</sup> In fact, without the initial influx of German, Irish, Italian, and Jewish immigration, New York would not be the multicultural megalopolis it is today.<sup>11</sup> A combination of “push” and “pull” factors worked together in compelling millions of people to migrate to the United States. “Push” factors, such as violence and poverty, were the reasons why people decided to leave their homelands. Jews from the Pale of Settlement and Italians from the South of Italy exemplified how “push” factors were important to immigration to Ellis Island.

Firstly, for Jews in the Pale of Settlement, German city-based commercial and financial enterprises grew, undermining shtetl merchants and moneylenders.<sup>12</sup> In some shtetls, half the population became dependent on charity and most individuals were affected by the unendurable population cluster. By the early 1890s, a number of these Jews took it upon themselves to travel to America, a land that supposedly respected labor and rejected religious persecution. Also, pogroms (massacres of Jews) and policies in cities, such as Kiev, provoked departure to the United States.<sup>13</sup>

Secondly, Italians formed a major migrating force to America. Italians, like the Jews, decided to relocate because of economic and political hardship in the motherland. In Southern Italy, few rich noblemen owned the majority of lands and its assets. They accumulated a large amount of profit and prestige from peasant tenants suffering from primitive housing conditions, illiteracy, poor diets and diseases. Adding to that, the unification of Italian states into the Kingdom of Italy proved problematic for Southern Italians. Northerners dominated the unified

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<sup>10</sup> Mike Wallace and Edwin Burrows, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (London: Oxford University Press, 1998), 1112, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/concordia-ebooks/detail.action?docID=4964687>.

<sup>11</sup> Wallace and Burrows, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*, 1131.

<sup>12</sup> A shtetl was a small town with a large Jewish population in Central or Eastern Europe.

<sup>13</sup> Wallace and Burrows, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*, 1112-1114.

country, referring to those in the South as barbaric. In order to avoid further economic decline, Italians began fleeing toward America in the late 1880s. Some did so temporarily, others permanently; regardless, all shared the goal of making enough money either to send back to families in Italy or to finance their journeys to the United States.<sup>14</sup>

To migrants, both “push” and “pull” factors were important in determining where the migrants’ final location of residence would be. “Pull” factors refer to the elements that are attractive for migrants’ livelihoods when considering the United States. Individuals who chose to migrate to the United States had the opportunity for improved economic prospects, a promise of freedom from religious or political persecution, career opportunities, social mobility, and proper sustenance.<sup>15</sup> Added to these were falling migration costs, making transatlantic travels cheaper than ever.<sup>16</sup> The combination of “push” and “pull” factors brought millions to Ellis Island.

The initial wave of migrants served as a catalyst for millions of individuals and families to travel to America in future decades. The period between 1892 and 1924 was characterized by the largest waves of immigration to America.<sup>17</sup> These migrants, for reasons similar to those of their predecessors, populated Ellis Island and enriched New York historiography forever by turning the city into a world-renowned metropolis. During Ellis Island’s busiest years, an uncountable number of first and second account stories and descriptions emerged surrounding the immigration station and its harsh effects on migrants.<sup>18</sup> However, an opposing retroactive narrative has formed around immigrant experiences which will be further expanded upon in the following paragraph.

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 1121-1122.

<sup>15</sup> Anbinder, *City of Dreams*, 578.

<sup>16</sup> Ran Abramitzky & Leah Boustan, "Immigration in American Economic History," *Journal of Economic Literature*, no. 4 (2017): 1314, doi: 10.1257/jel.20151189.

<sup>17</sup> Rob Perks, "The Ellis Island Immigration Museum, New York," 79.

<sup>18</sup> Anbinder, *City of Dreams*, 29.

The narrative of the ‘American Dream’ that later emerged on the immigrant experience begins to shift when a more in-depth analysis is carried out on the immigrants’ journeys to America, the arrival at Ellis Island, experiences with medical evaluations and cases of family separation.

To begin, the voyage from Europe to America was all but easy and enlightening. For many, getting to the steamships was a complicated process, and most migrants traveling to the United States made the transatlantic voyage in overcrowded third class divisions of steam-powered ships. This voyage was typically characterized by barely human living conditions. Still, it was a highly popular option considering that those who could not afford better accommodations would be forced to dwell in the boat’s steerage sections.<sup>19</sup> In a 1911 report directed to President Taft, the United States Immigration Commission chief William Dillingham describes that,

“the unattended vomit of the seasick, the odors of not too clean bodies, the reek of food and the awful stench of the nearby toilet rooms make the atmosphere of the steerage such that it is a marvel that human flesh can endure it... Most immigrants lie in their berths for most of the voyage, in a stupor caused by the foul air. The food often repels them... It is almost impossible to keep personally clean. All of these conditions are naturally aggravated by the crowding.”<sup>20</sup>

In fact, Ellis Island only processed steerage passengers, as first- and second-class individuals were inspected before disembarking.<sup>21</sup> All in

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<sup>19</sup> Howard Markel, *When Germs Travel: Six Major Epidemics That Have Invaded America Since 1900 and the Fears They Have Unleashed* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2004), 89.

<sup>20</sup> William P. Dillingham, Reports of the Immigration Commission, Appendix B: Primary Sources, Washington DC: G.P.O., 1911, <https://info.nmajh.org/uploadedFiles/Education/5.%20Appendix%20B.pdf.>)

<sup>21</sup> Anbinder, *City of Dreams*, 16.

all, the journey to America's busiest immigration station was extremely chaotic and unpleasant.

As the Statue of Liberty came into view, immigrants' hearts dropped at the thought of debarking on Ellis Island.<sup>22</sup> Between 1875 and 1917, Congress outlined a gradually increasing list of conditions that might prevent potential immigrants from entering the United States via Ellis Island.<sup>23</sup> The list included medical complications, political views and beliefs, and employment status – all of which terrified already anxious newcomers. This list also aimed to control the flow of migration to the United States.

Disruptive medical inspections also characterized the immigrants' first hours on American soil. In fact, upon arrival, federal immigration employees thoroughly examined individuals descending the ships and detained them until they were deemed fit for entry into the country. At the time, this experience was described by Stephen Graham, author and traveler, as "the nearest earthly likeness to the final Day of Judgment, when we have to prove our fitness to enter Heaven."<sup>24</sup> For United States government officials, this process was considered extremely important as it would protect the country from newcomers who could become public charge.<sup>25</sup> Mental health examinations, physical tests and disease checkups were all part of the Ellis Island experience that threatened the turnaround of immigrants. Medical inspections were, for many, the most notorious part of the journey.<sup>26</sup> Photographs from the period depicted many government physicians who unduly invaded personal space.<sup>27</sup> This was a stressful procedure for the weary travelers whose futures in America depended on the results. One

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 606.

<sup>23</sup> Anbinder, *City of Dreams*, 606.

<sup>24</sup> Stephen Graham, *With Poor Immigrants to America* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914), 41, retrieved from <https://www.loc.gov/item/14015813/>.

<sup>25</sup> Anbinder, *City of Dreams*, 13.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 286.

<sup>27</sup> Underwood and Underwood, Copyright Claimant, *Physicians Examining a Group of Jewish Immigrants*, New York Harbor, New York, Ellis Island, ca 1907, Photograph, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2012646350/>.

notorious disease which many immigrants were not aware of was trachoma which involved a mandatory and dreadful eye examination upon arrival to Ellis Island.<sup>28</sup> In fact, immigration and government officials, doctors and lawmakers required every immigrant to be examined for trachoma.<sup>29</sup> This highly contagious disease was perceived by the United States' officials as a threat because, in the long term, it resulted in a slow and inexorable loss of vision.<sup>30</sup> Federal immigration officials responding to nativists' worries also utilized trachoma as a means of heavily restricting immigration. In fact, diagnosing an individual with trachoma meant most probably putting an end to their journey.<sup>31</sup> Alone, or accompanied by a family member, the infected person had to return to their homeland. Thinking back on his years as an immigrant translator at Ellis Island, Fiorello LaGuardia described the horrible consequences of being diagnosed with trachoma: "It was harrowing to see families separated . . . sometimes, if it was a young child who suffered from trachoma, one of the parents had to return to the native country with the rejected member of the family."<sup>32</sup> For those who successfully swayed The Board of Special Inquiry to not get sent back home, treatment in Ellis Island medical facilities were quite vicious.<sup>33</sup> The proper understanding of these first- and secondhand accounts of medical examinations counter the later, more popular narrative of a dreamy arrival at Ellis Island.

Just as trachoma would send some family members back home, family separation was a nightmarish reality of the journey to the alleged "Land of the Free". In fact, individuals who would be held in healthcare facilities on Ellis Island were, for days, weeks, or even months, separated

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<sup>28</sup> Underwood and Underwood, Copyright Claimant, *U.S. Inspectors Examining Eyes of Immigrants*, Ellis Island, New York Harbor, New York, Ellis Island, ca 1913, Photograph, <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3a10036/>.

<sup>29</sup> Markel, *When Germs Travel: Six Major Epidemics That Have Invaded America Since 1900 and the Fears They Have Unleashed*, 81.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>31</sup> Anbinder, *City of Dreams*, 620.

<sup>32</sup> Markel, *When Germs Travel: Six Major Epidemics That Have Invaded America Since 1900 and the Fears They Have Unleashed*, 79.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

from family members who would be processed in different manners.<sup>34</sup> For those who were separated, thoughts were infested by worry. Worries included concerns of family members abandoning or forgetting them.<sup>35</sup> All in all, the steamship journey, the arrival and medical experiments at Ellis Island, and family separation all paint a messy reality that differs from the widespread ‘American Dream’ narrative.

Moreover, the dominant narrative about Ellis Island and American identity is that any and all emigration to the United States from Europe was a process of purely desiring to become American. Despite immigrants wanting to enter America through Ellis Island for social, political or economic reasons, the goal of achieving the ‘American Dream’ was not necessarily at the forefront of immigrants’ minds. In fact, many ended up returning to their homelands or went back and forth for seasonal work.<sup>36</sup> The reality of the numerous immigration restrictions and the rising nativists’ sentiment additionally demonstrated why the concept of return migration was present. This is evidence that most immigrants did not think of their trip to the United States in terms of an attempt to accomplish what Adams later referred to as the ‘American Dream.’

As previously mentioned, beginning in the 1890s, immigration flows to the United States had shifted from Western and Northern to Eastern and Southern European countries. Although xenophobic attitudes were prevalent in the United States, Jews, Slavs and Italians were nonetheless some of the most common migrant groups passing through Ellis Island after 1892.<sup>37</sup> While looking into the migration patterns of these groups, we understand that return migration is often left out of the mainstream narrative surrounding Ellis Island and the immigration experience. At the time, Dr. Alfred Reed, a member of the federal Public Health Service medical team, argued that “in contrast with the earlier immigration, these [new immigrants] are less inclined to

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<sup>34</sup> Anbinder, *City of Dreams*, 644.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 645.

<sup>36</sup> Wallace and Burrows, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*, 1122.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 1114; Anbinder, *City of Dreams*, 750.



transplant their homes and affections. They come to make what they can in a few years of arduous unremitting labor, and then return to their homes to spend it in comparative comfort and ease.”<sup>38</sup> While, for some, return migration was unanticipated, for others, it was planned. Between 1917 and 1924, nearly 15 percent of immigrants arriving at Ellis Island reported an intention to return home upon arrival.<sup>39</sup> Plans of temporarily moving to the United States to accumulate savings before heading back home explained the high rates of return migration.<sup>40</sup> Indeed, nearly four million migrants boarded ships on Ellis Island headed to Europe between 1908 and 1923.<sup>41</sup>

Between 1892 and 1924 in the United States, individuals who intended to live prosperous lives in America were threatened by immigration restrictions and anti-immigration sentiments coinciding with Anglo-Saxon nativists’ fears as they believed these newcomers would be taking American jobs.<sup>42</sup> These constraints made the ‘American Dream’ impossible for newcomers. In fact, Americans, in the beginning of the twentieth century, were convinced “that new immigrants [passing through Ellis Island from Eastern and Southern Europe] were demonstrably inferior,” as explained by Dr. Reed in 1913.<sup>43</sup> While arguing that Southern and Eastern European immigrants such as the Italians threatened Anglo-Saxon Protestant civilization, Dr. Reed claimed that restrictions on immigration were “vitally necessary if our truly American ideals and institutions are to persist, and if our inherited

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 808.

<sup>39</sup> Zachary Ward, "Birds of Passage: Return Migration, Self-Selection and Immigration Quotas," *Explorations in Economic History* (2016): 17, doi: 10.1016/j.eeh.2016.09.002.

<sup>40</sup> Wallace & Burrows, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*, 1122.

<sup>41</sup> Maxine S. Seller, "Historical Perspectives on American Immigration Policy: Case Studies and Current Implications," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, no. 2 (1982): 150,

<https://scholarship.law.duke.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3656&context=lp>; Mark Wyman, *Round-Trip to America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880–1930* (London: Cornell University Press, 1993), 44.

<sup>42</sup> Anbinder, *City of Dreams*, 608.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 807.

stock of good American manhood is not to be depreciated.”<sup>44</sup> Harsh immigration restrictions stemmed from both Anglo-Saxon nativist fears, and the belief that migrants passing through Ellis Island were an accumulation of restrictions to control flows of immigration reached its peak with the approval of the National Origins Act in 1924, which partially closed the doors of Ellis Island and reduced the number of immigrants by 95 percent.<sup>45</sup> All in all, white Anglo-Saxons’ altered their entire worldview to counter immigration flows. Their belief in scientific racism contributed to numerous immigration restrictions and was a massive restraint for immigrants. This delegitimizes the idea that the ‘American Dream,’ part of American mythology, was even a possibility for those passing through Ellis Island in the early twentieth century.

When studying the history of Ellis Island, it is important to understand and differentiate between how this event is represented and how it truly unfolded. In this essay, I challenged the legitimacy of the myth of Ellis Island as the embodiment of the ‘American Dream.’ Even before the 1930s, the idea of the ‘American Dream’ has been entwined with the mainstream narrative about how immigrants came to Ellis Island. This idea connoted joy, hope, freedom, and opportunity for the individuals who made their way to the United States. However, even if the ‘American Dream’ is considered to be part of American mythology, it has played a large role in ignoring the actual immigration circumstances, newcomers’ wishes, return migration, and the period’s political frameworks. It was through looking at primary sources, such as photographs of medical examinations, and secondary scholarly sources of the period, that light was shed on a more realistic and less popularized view of immigrants’ experiences coming to the United States. Throughout the period between 1892 and 1924, Ellis Island went from an establishment that needed expansion due to high numbers of newcomers, to a building that represented racist policymaking. The stressful journey to Ellis Island, the harsh medical exams, family

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<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 808.

<sup>45</sup> Includes the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), Immigration Act (1882, 1907, 1917, 1918, 1924), Alien Contract Labor Law (1885), and the Emergency Quota Act (1921); Anbinder, *City of Dreams*, 809.

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separation, immigration restrictions, and rising nativist sentiment, highlights the meaningfulness of this location in history.

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## **The Contributions of Alchemy to Modern Science**

*Xenia Milovanova*

Xenia Milovanova is a third-year Honors History major at Concordia University. She is primarily interested in the Classical Greek world, specifically in the medical sciences and philosophy developed under Hippocrates. She credits video games for her love of history and hopes that someday those two passions might come together professionally in the form of a consulting position. In her spare time, she spoils her two greedy cats rotten and makes sure her dog lives like royalty.

Science historian Bruce Moran insisted that “the history of science does not always have to be written as a giant success story.”<sup>1</sup> Nowadays, alchemy is understood as a pseudoscience, a fraudulent practice once rampant in early modern Europe and beyond. However, prior to its repudiation from the scientific curriculum, alchemy held sway with European courts and people as a discipline concerned with transmutation and the extension of life. This paper will seek to argue that alchemy, as a proto science, cannot be removed from the scientific narrative due to its contributions to the universal fields of chemistry and medicine. In sum, alchemy was part of the history of science; it was neither a success nor a failure, but a participant in its making. An accent will be made on medicine, but its influence on metallurgy, literacy, and effects on regional states will also be discussed. Even after losing most of its luster, alchemy remained a subject of interest in respected scientific circles, pursued alongside more traditional branches of knowledge when the empiricism of the Scientific Revolution had already become the norm. To indulge alchemy’s proposed exclusion from the history of the Scientific Revolution would be to cut out a chapter entirely. Alchemy is not a story of failure but of displacement prompted by a new scientific ideology.

Transmutation was perhaps one of the greatest concerns of alchemy; or, at the very least, the most popular. By promising the refinement of baser metals into gold, alchemy found its way to royal courts of Europe and backyard charlatans alike. No matter the practitioner’s intentions, the quest for the Philosopher’s stone at the heart of transmutation undoubtedly yielded fruit for the fields of metallurgy and metalworking. More than a fanciful occupation of the educated, alchemy existed as a branch of science. Moran notes, “What we might like to call chemical technology was a part of alchemy.”<sup>2</sup> Through the use of these chemical and alchemical technologies that artisans were able

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<sup>1</sup> Bruce T. Moran, *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 7.

<sup>2</sup> Moran, *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution*, 37.



to practice and refine their craft.<sup>3</sup> Notably, Georgius Agricola's *Concerning Things of Metal (De re metallica)* laid out "specific techniques and described the ways that instruments were to be used in assaying ores and in refining metals."<sup>4</sup> Agricola also translated the workings of mining machinery and techniques into a more graspable language.<sup>5</sup> However, the methods he recorded partly stemmed from experiments alchemical in nature. Sienese metallurgist Vanoccio Biringuccio (who himself had a difficult relationship with alchemy) was fascinated by the techniques of combustion and calcination.<sup>6</sup> Nor was he alone. Alchemy's allure transcended class: the practice could be as useful to the common laborer as to a learner craftsman, like Biringuccio. A German translation of Agricola's text perfectly illustrates the utility of and demand for alchemy. Its friendly language appealed to miners, unveiling obscure alchemical-metallurgical knowledge to people who actually manipulated ores and metals, thus enhancing the skills of tradesmen.

The public's investment in uncovering the secrets of alchemical studies triggered an increase in literacy: "There was money to be made in selling books, especially if one could figure out what people wanted

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<sup>3</sup> Technical processes used by alchemists such as distillation, calcination, combustion, and dissolution that sometimes were seen crossing over into other disciplines such as chemistry. Originally, the manipulation of the first matter (starting material) into the philosopher's stone was divided into four stages: nigredo ("blackness"), albedo ("whiteness"), citrinitas ("yellowing"), and rubedo ("redness.") With time, however, there came to be twelve vital processes. For each stage to be completed, the prima materia (first matter) must go through technological processes. For example: calcination could be achieved by using mercury, but calcination itself was a process employed in metallurgy and thus not unique to alchemy. As such, a reverberatory furnace for calcining gold also utilized mercury (and salmiac) to achieve the same effect. Technologies from various fields sometimes shared their affiliations. Thus, the furnace and the process of calcination could have been used by metallurgists and alchemists alike.

<sup>4</sup> Moran, *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution*, 45.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 45.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 43.

to read.”<sup>7</sup> Most alchemical and chemical texts released between 1469 and 1536 in Europe had craftsmen as their target audience.<sup>8</sup> People were learning to read, and among these people were “artisans [who] began to make up more and more of the literate public,”<sup>9</sup> as alchemy had long been part of the European household. People *knew* of alchemy, but more than that they practiced it. It was useful, even necessary for some, and new techniques could be accessed through reading. Chemical medicines were especially important as older cures couldn’t combat new ailments.<sup>10</sup> For example, Popp’s *Chemical Medicine* of 1617 was a best seller, and its popularity inspired others to publish in search of monetary gain. Craft and household alchemy grew into popular subjects in the publishing world.<sup>11</sup> Across all social classes, reading and writing were becoming important skills to possess.

It is noteworthy the effect alchemy had on the state of countries. In Europe, at the start of the 14th century, precious metals were running low, and monarchies took to employing alchemists to fatten their coffers.<sup>12</sup> The counterfeiting of coins was condemned by the Church, but regional rulers nevertheless enjoyed rewards made available by “simple forgers.”<sup>13</sup> Their expansionist agendas did not need to be halted for lack of funds. Gold alloyed with silver, or other baser substances, could produce significantly more coins than if it remained pure and still manage to look the part. A state that could guarantee and maintain a stable income promised political and economic stability. In the Holy Roman Empire, the story was slightly different, though no less successful. There, alchemists, whether wittingly or unwittingly, also aided the ambitions of Kings and Princes yet were spared religious scorn. In England, under King Henry VI, alchemy “thereafter became economic policy,” though the English currency did end up suffering from such

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<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

policies.<sup>14</sup> The attention derived from royal patronage allowed alchemy to become a popular science and reach the wider public.<sup>15</sup> Certainly, these events preceded the Scientific Revolution, but they did shape the landscape in which it developed by providing alchemy a stage on which to flourish. Had alchemy fallen from grace and interest, none of the debates about its role in the history of science would have endured.

In core alchemical tradition, purity was at the heart of perfection. Moran insisted that “something truly celestial, pure, and life-enhancing” existed within all things and its extraction promised the production of a life-giving elixir.<sup>16</sup> Alchemy, and its concern with the attainment of this ‘fifth essence’ through distillation, benefited not only the medical field, but laid out the groundwork for modern day chemistry. Separating the pure from the impure “became an important feature of later medical chemistry,” asserted Moran, and alchemy “enjoyed rebirth as a vital component of a particular doctrine of Renaissance medicine.”<sup>17</sup> After all, alchemy’s insistence on separation was to credit for the development of the alembic which evolved into the modern retort used by chemists today. If all things possessed an unblemished core, then, keeping up with Moran’s metaphor, the world was a pharmacy – and alchemists exploited its wares.

The Swiss-German physician Paracelsus translated the human body’s inner-workings into alchemical processes. He borrowed from nature’s apothecary and purified its gifts to create remedies for those suffering from an imbalance of the three principles: Sulphur, Salt, and Mercury. In doing so, he effectively dismissed the Galenic theory of humors and its followers, the Paracelsians, who endorsed a more homeopathic treatment of illnesses. Although understanding himself to be an alchemist, Paracelsus essentially incorporated chemistry into medicine. His remedies, manufactured with alchemical equipment, were meant to assist the *archaeus*, the body’s internal alchemist, in isolating

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

the pure from the tainted.<sup>18</sup> Most importantly, the *archaeus* demanded that physicians not restrict their expertise but broaden it to learn about the world at large. The medical-chemical philosophy of Paracelsus had long lasting effects, resulting in an ideological shift in iatrochemistry, a school of thought prevalent in the 16th and 17th centuries that sought to treat medical conditions by chemical substances. Notions taken from Paracelsus and van Helmont sat well with “the most recent discoveries of observational anatomy” and supported an explanation of the workings of the body grounded in mechanical principles, providing figures of the Scientific Revolution a base upon which to develop their findings.<sup>19</sup> Not unlike how Renaissance humanists deferred to antique authority to validate their sayings. Briefly, the joining of alchemy and medicine redefined the way in which the human body was understood and treated.

The methods of the Scientific Revolution closely resembled those exercised by alchemists. Passionate alchemists approached their craft with active participation, neither shunning innovation nor fearing the physical involvement their procedures sometimes demanded. Before thinkers such as Robert Boyle or Descartes allied physical manipulation with science, alchemists were already conducting practical experiments. When Humanism was at its peak, preaching antiquity’s values and disowning novelty, the 16th century anatomist and physician Andreas Vesalius was expressing concerns about the ‘traditional’ way medicine was handled. Vesalius remained a humanist, but nevertheless lamented “the decadent state of contemporary medicine and of its decline since antiquity.”<sup>20</sup> He might not have agreed, but he was seeking the truth through division, just as alchemists were, by separating the human body from its outer shell via dissection, he was able to understand what was inside. Further, Vesalius was potentially sympathetic to the 9th century Arab-Persian physician and alchemist Rhazes. In 1537, Vesalius translated the Rhazes’ *Almansor* and found common ground with the

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 96-97.

<sup>20</sup> Peter Dear, *Revolutionizing the Sciences: European Knowledge in Transition, 1500-1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 36.

alchemist in their shared criticism of Galen.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, he aided Paracelsianism, a movement that approached medicine on the basis of the microcosm-macrocosm analogy.<sup>22</sup> Like alchemists, Vesalius worked with his hands instead of merely his mind, injecting empiricism into his endeavors. His influence persisted beyond his lifetime, impacting the development of the Scientific Revolution.

Later, the works of William Harvey, who perceived the body's circulatory functions in a manner very reminiscent of alchemy's beloved distillation, would echo the findings of Vesalius. Descartes offered a good explanation whereupon "the difference between *venuous* and arterial blood is due to the latter becoming "*rarefactus et velluti distillatus* during its transit through the heart whereby it is made more 'subtile, vivid and hot.'"<sup>23</sup> Johannes Walaeus put it even more clearly, stating, "Hence a kind of 'circulation' operates, not unlike that by means of which chemists utterly refine and perfect their 'spirits.'"<sup>24</sup> Walaeus might have expressly defined the actor of such work as a 'chemist,' but 'perfecting spirits' was a quintessentially alchemical tradition. The distillation of alcohol had been happening since before the 14th century and the technologies alchemists and chemists relied on to achieve it were closely related.<sup>25</sup> In the works of Harvey, scientific explanations employ alchemical terminology which is supplemented by research conducted with physical techniques distinctive to alchemy.

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<sup>21</sup> Abdul Haq Compier, "Rhazes in the Renaissance of Andreas Vesalius," *Medical History*, no. 1 (2012): 4-5, doi:10.1017/s0025727300000259.

<sup>22</sup> Moran, *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution*, 84.

<sup>23</sup> René Descartes, *Specimina Philosophiae: seu dissertatio de methodo recte regendae rationis et veritatis in scientiis investigandae: Dioptrice, et Meteora*. (Amstelodami [Amsterdam]: Apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1644), quoted in W. Pagel, "William Harvey and the Purpose of Circulation," *Isis*, no. 1 (1951): 24, www.jstor.org/stable/226662.

<sup>24</sup> Johannes Walaeus, *De Motu Chyli, et Sanguinis* (Lugd. Bat., 1673), quoted in W. Pagel, "William Harvey and the Purpose of Circulation," *Isis*, no. 1 (1951): 24, www.jstor.org/stable/226662.

<sup>25</sup> Moran, *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution*, 12.

Alchemy's love of secrecy was its major drawback in relation to disciplines that got to prosper through shared learning. By making knowledge accessible, sciences evolved. Restricting that spread was to lock out individuals who could have possibly achieved breakthroughs. Although unconcerned with one's social status or gender, alchemy maintained a tight grip on its teachings. Not all were eligible to receive them. Both of these features were observed in Isabella Cortese, an Italian female author and alchemist. She was a woman with "secrets to sell,"<sup>26</sup> whose book *The Secrets of Lady Isabella Cortese* offered to trade the mysteries of alchemy for coin while, ironically, preaching their hoarding. Close to Isabella's time was Marie Meurdrac, who famously proclaimed that "the mind has no sex, and if the minds of women were cultivated like those of men, and if we employed as much time and money in their instruction, they could become their equal."<sup>27</sup> However, she too, despite such an inclusive statement, advocated secrecy, reserving part of her work strictly for women. Later still, in 1609, Johannes Hartmann taught at a public laboratory, but "considered the knowledge imparted there to be privileged."<sup>28</sup> In 1610, Jean Beguin did the same by issuing a pamphlet for the eyes of his students alone. The contents would only be begrudgingly divulged to the public after they had already been pirated.<sup>29</sup> Their cases neatly relay the contradictory nature of alchemy's philosophy: all-encompassing yet restrictive. While historically alchemy did not specifically 'fail,' it also did not 'prevail' either as any field frowning upon the transmission of information is bound to stagnate. The Scientific Revolution changed the way science was practiced, knowledge was shared, and sought to facilitate the public's access to them. Meanwhile, alchemy held on to its secrets.

The ideology behind alchemy and its love of mystery undoubtedly facilitated its decline. Unlike chemistry, whose foundation

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 61.

<sup>27</sup> Marie Meurdrac, *Benevolent and Easy Chemistry, on Behalf of Women* (Paris: 1666), quoted in Moran, *Distilling Knowledge*, 64.

<sup>28</sup> Moran, *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution*, 111.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 112.

rested on empirical beliefs, alchemy had always fostered an affinity for mysticism. Alchemy was a transcendent discipline, “a sacred and magical endeavor.”<sup>30</sup> Its origins were cryptic at best, owing their roots partly to the *Emerald Tablet of Hermes Trismegistus*, an enigmatic text considered by Western and Islamic alchemists to be the foundation of their craft. Making gold or the Philosopher’s stone might have sounded like empty promises, but they were not impossible; rather, they were simply not yet achieved. Alchemy depended on belief and thrived on symbolism. Supposedly, Hermes wrote,

That which is beneath is like that which is above:  
and that which is above, is like that which is  
beneath... Thou shalt separate the earth from the  
fire, the thinne from the thicke, and that gently with  
great discretion. It ascendeth from Earth into  
Heaven: and againe it descendeth into the earth,  
and receiveth the power of the superiours and  
inferiours: so shalt thou have the glorie of the  
whole worlde.<sup>31</sup>

Chemistry never demanded such blind devotion from its followers; it either proved or disproved theories and, sometimes, made new discoveries along the way. Chemistry eventually severed ties with spirituality and religion, but alchemy never let go of its more mythical characteristics. The Scientific Revolution, as per its name, embraced the scientific method. As alchemy did not, it never found a place to belong. The new sciences, through sharing concepts and techniques with alchemy, preferred cold logic to esotericism. Alchemy could not compete with absolute results, and its obscure definitions ceased being enough.

Two of the most influential figures of the Scientific Revolution, Robert Boyle and Isaac Newton, remained interested in alchemical

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>31</sup> Michela Pereira, “Alchemy and Hermeticism: An Introduction to This Issue,” *Early Science and Medicine*, no. 2 (2000): 115-120, [www.jstor.org/stable/4130470](http://www.jstor.org/stable/4130470), quoted in Moran, *Distilling Knowledge*, 27.

transmutation, however. Boyle, a proponent of mechanical philosophy, declared he had succeeded in fashioning mercury out of quicksilver. Interestingly, he never actually revealed the contents of his quicksilver solution, echoing the alchemical tradition of secrets. On his end, Newton assembled a veritable collection of alchemical works to better discern transmutation's focal points. Alchemical notions were still used in the practice of 'newer' sciences. Boerhaave, for one, combined mechanical and Newtonian notions with traditional alchemical theories about nature.<sup>32</sup> Likewise, seeking alchemical answers through alchemical means enabled Newton "to be wakeful to hidden patterns in nature."<sup>33</sup> Although by the 18th century chemistry had become an integral part of experimental science, the questions it treated remained similar to those of 'primitive' alchemy.<sup>34</sup>

When discussing why alchemy lost its place among the sciences, it would be incorrect to simply say that chemistry merely ousted it. The latter gradually absorbed the former and appropriated some of its practices while dismissing others. The history of science cannot be understood without including the role of alchemy, and indeed chemistry owes alchemy its present respected position. Alchemy is often associated with the occult, but it went far beyond that. It was practiced by ordinary people within their households, taught at Universities, improved lives through medicine, aided nations in filling their treasuries, and stoked the public's interest in becoming literate by confining secrets to the printed word. There is little that alchemy did not touch upon, and though modern science has dismissed it, we cannot simply remove it from the historical record by citing its hermetic nature. All things have a precursor, and alchemy proved to be just that for modern chemistry.

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<sup>32</sup> Moran, *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution*, 180.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.



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**Les intersections des attitudes légales, communautaires et des ONG  
en Bosnie-Herzégovine sur les femmes survivantes de violences  
sexuelles**

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Simona Apostol is in the second year of her Honors BA at Concordia University. She studies history in the Public History/ Internship program and has a minor in Women's Studies. Her academic interests revolve around women's history, especially histories coming from the Balkan region that touch on topics of gender and sexuality. As of now, her work focuses on the various ways in which the Romanian communist regime affected women and children. She is currently employed at the Center for Oral History and Digital Storytelling at Concordia, where she works as the Assistant to the Coordinator. Lastly, she wishes to warmly thank the editors of *Historiae* for their work, as well as for giving her the opportunity to share her writing with the journal's readers.

## 1.0 Introduction

Comment le genre moule-t-il la violence et quelles sont les avenues que nous ouvrent une étude genrée du génocide? Ces questions ont commencé à être étudiées récemment, ainsi ce travail tente d'ajouter à la littérature déjà existante en traitant du sujet de la violence genrée durant la guerre en ex-Yougoslavie. Une attention particulière sera portée à l'aide fournie aux victimes par les organismes non gouvernementaux (ONG), la loi internationale, et la communauté au sens général. Avant d'entamer votre lecture, veuillez noter que certains sujets qui seront discutés présentent des thèmes potentiellement sensibles. Aucune mention graphique de violence sexuelle n'est incluse; cependant, le texte mentionne directement les thèmes de traumatisme et de violence sexuelle contre les femmes.

Ce travail traite de cinq éléments principaux. La première section donnera une description du viol génocidaire et du rôle qu'il a joué en tant que stratégie politique durant le conflit yougoslave. La deuxième section se penchera sur la réaction du Tribunal pénal pour l'ex-Yougoslavie (TPIY) vis-à-vis la violence sexuelle. La troisième traitera des réponses communautaires et intimes (des époux ou partenaires) face aux violences sexuelles découlant du génocide. La quatrième section discutera du rôle des ONG et les obstacles que ceux-ci posent au rétablissement des victimes, notamment en adoptant une approche centrée sur le financement et des idéaux surnommés occidentaux. Finalement, une formulation des analyses des intersections des éléments plus haut sera complétée. Pour ce faire, je vais utiliser la notion de « victimisation secondaire,» qui représente la formation d'un deuxième traumatisme par les institutions en contact avec les survivantes de violence sexuelle et celle de « réparation,» qui représente des mesures appropriées pour le traitement psychologique, physique et social des victimes. Afin de représenter ses conséquences concrètes, non seulement sur les victimes, mais sur les attitudes des intervenants qui ont été en contact avec elles après la guerre, la propagande (genrée) diffusée par le gouvernement de Président Slobodan Milošević est soulevée dans plusieurs sections du texte, car celle-ci était centrale au projet de nettoyage ethnique.

L'argument central de ce texte avance que les différents degrés de marginalisation posés par les corps légaux, culturels ou intimes sont tous entremêlés dans la formation de « victimisation secondaire. » En conséquence, l'obtention de « réparations » ne peut pas se faire sans changements sur tous les fronts mentionnés ci-haut.

Mon argument n'a pas pour but de déclarer que la loi internationale, la communauté des survivantes ou les ONG sont à blâmer pour toutes les difficultés que les survivantes doivent surmonter dans leur rétablissement. L'intérêt de ce texte est plutôt de regarder les différents aspects négatifs pour arriver à les éviter dans le futur. Autrement dit, je tente de reformuler certains des objectifs des réparations en situation de crise tout en étant charitable au travail qui a été fait dans le passé. Guidé par une approche féministe, ce texte se penche majoritairement sur la condition et l'expérience féminine. Malgré cela, je ne désire pas ignorer les hommes victimes de violences sexuelles ni sous-entendre que leurs expériences sont moins importantes que celles des femmes, plutôt prioriser la femme dans mon analyse considérant certaines implications discutées plus bas.

## 2.0 En guerre contre la femme

La guerre en ex-Yougoslavie figure des nombres représentant les pires atrocités en Europe depuis la Seconde Guerre Mondiale. Entre 100,000 et 250,000 personnes, majoritairement des Bosniaques musulmans, sont décédées entre 1992 et 1995. Environ 60% des domiciles, la moitié des écoles, un tiers des hôpitaux ont été démolis, et environ 2,2 millions de personnes ont été déplacées, dont 1,2 million de réfugiés.<sup>1</sup> De plus, entre 20,000 à 50,000 femmes ont été victimes de différentes formes de violence/terrorisme sexuelles.<sup>2</sup> La grande majorité des victimes de ces violences sexuelles étaient musulmanes et les femmes étant à plus haut risque de se faire viser par ces agressions étaient soit adolescentes ou des jeunes adultes. Cela dit, il est important de

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<sup>1</sup> Sabiha Husić et al., «We Are Still Alive » *Medica Zenica* (June 2012): 23, [https://www.medicamondiale.org/fileadmin/redaktion/5\\_Service/Mediathek/Dokumente/English/Documentations\\_studies/141128\\_Research\\_We-Are-Still-Alive\\_CR-Medica-Zenica\\_medica-mondiale.pdf](https://www.medicamondiale.org/fileadmin/redaktion/5_Service/Mediathek/Dokumente/English/Documentations_studies/141128_Research_We-Are-Still-Alive_CR-Medica-Zenica_medica-mondiale.pdf).

<sup>2</sup> Husić et al., «We Are Still Alive, » 23.

mentionner que ces violences n'étaient pas exclusives à un seul groupe ethnique.<sup>3</sup>

Vu le fait qu'une étude de l'histoire complète de la Yougoslavie n'est pas possible dans le cadre de ce travail, regardons ce que révèle la propagande genrée serbe sur le génocide. Dès 1981, les forces serbes ont commencé à renforcer des politiques nationalistes en avançant, lors du soulèvement pour l'indépendance des Albanais de Kosovo, que ces derniers avaient entrepris des mesures violentes, incluant des viols contre la population serbe du Kosovo.<sup>4</sup> Ces messages ont permis à Slobodan Milosevic de gagner du pouvoir politique, et il s'est dépêché à développer un plan pour la formation de la Grande Serbie, un projet nationaliste qui s'avéra destructeur.

En 1992, lorsque le peuple bosniaque et croate se déclaraient indépendants dans le contexte de la division de la Yougoslavie, les forces serbes ont commencé à diffuser des discours de plus en plus problématiques. À la télévision, la population se faisait présenter des images de femmes serbes en train de se faire violées par des Bosniaques et des Croates. En réalité, ces images étaient produites et tournées par les autorités serbes à des fins de propagande.<sup>5</sup> Dans un document intitulé « Lying Violent Hand on the Serbian Woman, » Milosevic exprime ceci à la population:

By order of the Islamic fundamentalists from Sarajevo, healthy Serbian women from 17 to 40 years of age are being separated out and subjected to special treatment [raped]. According to their sick plans going back many years, these women have to be impregnated by orthodox Islamic seeds

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>4</sup> Todd A. Salzman, « Rape Camps as a Means of Ethnic Cleansing: Religious, Cultural, and Ethical Responses to Rape Victims in the Former Yugoslavia, » *Human Rights Quarterly*, no. 2 (1998): 352, <https://muse-jhu-edu.lib-ezproxy.concordia.ca/article/13620>.

<sup>5</sup> Salzman, « Rape Camps as a Means of Ethnic Cleansing: Religious, Cultural, and Ethical Responses to Rape Victims in the Former Yugoslavia, » 353.

in order to raise a generation of janissaries on the territories they surely consider to be theirs, the Islamic republic. In other words, a fourfold crime is to be committed against the Serbian woman: to remove her from her own family, to impregnate her by undesirable seeds, to make her bear a stranger and then to take even him away from her.<sup>6</sup>

Il est vrai que plusieurs femmes ont été attaquées durant cette période, mais ce sont en fait les forces serbes qui ont entrepris le projet décrit par Milosevic. Cela dit, il nous reste à réfléchir sur ces deux questions : Pourquoi s'attaquer aux femmes musulmanes? Pourquoi la violence sexuelle? Il est clair que la violence sexuelle génocidaire ne possède pas de cause unique; on peut la retrouver dans un désir de revanche, dans des tactiques de nettoyage ethnique, dans la destruction des familles, dans le désir de domination nationale et dans la confirmation de celui-ci par la soumission sexuelle.<sup>7</sup>

Le corps de la femme devient alors un *territoire*. Il nécessite soit une protection, soit, du point de vue de l'ennemi, d'être conquis. Robert M. Hayden, anthropologue, définit cette attitude comme étant une « géographie sexuelle de l'ethnicité. »<sup>8</sup> Il explique que lorsque les conflits interethniques sont liés à une division de terres, cette stratégie fonctionne de manière à exclure les personnes violées de leur lieu d'origine.<sup>9</sup> Hayden donne comme exemple la violence sexuelle en

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 353.

<sup>7</sup> Lisa S. Price, « Finding the Man in the Soldier-Rapist: Some Reflections on Comprehension and Accountability, » *Women's Studies International Forum*, no. 2 (2001): 225, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-5395\(01\)00157-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-5395(01)00157-1).

<sup>8</sup> Huma Haider, « Gender and Conflict in the Western Balkans, » *Knowledge, Evidence, and Learning for Development* (2017): 2, [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5b9bb0bced915d6f1c574968/K4D\\_HDR\\_Gender\\_and\\_conflict\\_in\\_the\\_Western\\_Balkans.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5b9bb0bced915d6f1c574968/K4D_HDR_Gender_and_conflict_in_the_Western_Balkans.pdf); Robert M. Hayden, « Rape and Rape Avoidance in Ethno-National Conflicts: Sexual Violence in Liminalized States, » *American Anthropologist*, no. 1 (March 2000): 32, <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.2000.102.1.27>.

<sup>9</sup> Hayden, « Rape and Rape Avoidance in Ethno-National Conflicts: Sexual Violence in Liminalized States, » 32.

Croatie. Après le conflit, les autorités croates évitaient de parler des femmes croates qui ont subi de la violence sexuelle, car ceci constituerait une reconnaissance du « corps » de la Croatie est devenu impur. En Serbie, une stratégie différente fut employée. La médiatisation misait sur les femmes serbes qui ont été violées à l'extérieur du pays, soulignant l'état de victime de la Serbie et justifiant la violence sous un prétexte de revanche.<sup>10</sup>

Pour revenir à la question initiale, regardons des exemples concrets de propagande. Sous les paramètres de propagande serbe en place, la maternité forcée est en fait une stratégie de nettoyage ethnique; l'enfant né du viol prend automatiquement la nationalité du violeur vu la tradition patriarcale.<sup>11</sup> L'Armée populaire yougoslave, majoritairement composée de Serbes à partir de 1980, fit une étude sur le « comportement des communautés musulmanes » dans le cadre du plan Ram, une opération militaire.<sup>12</sup> L'étude leur indiqua que le moral des soldats serait détruit par le viol de « leurs » femmes, ce qui mènerait à leur départ du territoire et à la formation de la Grande Serbie.<sup>13</sup> L'étude, écrite entre autres par des experts en psychologie et en guerre psychologique, cite:

Our analysis of the behavior of the Muslim communities demonstrates the morale [can be] undermined only if we aim our action at the point where the religious and social structure is most fragile. We refer to [young] women... decisive intervention on these social figures would spread

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>11</sup> Jovanka Stojavljevic, « Women, Conflict, and Culture in Former Yugoslavia, » *Gender & Development*, no. 1 (1995): 39, <https://doi.org/10.1080/741921762>.

<sup>12</sup> Selon Beverly Allen, le terme « Ram » se traduit à « tissage. » Le nom « Plan Ram » signifiait donc le tissage de la population serbe dans des territoires non-serbes. Beverly Allen, « Rape Warfare in Bosnia-Herzegovina: The Policy and the Law, » *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, no. 1 (1996): 316, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24590426>.

<sup>13</sup> Salzman, « Rape Camps as a Means of Ethnic Cleansing: Religious, Cultural, and Ethical Responses to Rape Victims in the Former Yugoslavia, » 356.



confusion among the communities, [causing] fear and then panic... We must add a wide propaganda campaign to our well-organized, incisive actions so that panic will increase...<sup>14</sup>

Il est clair que les atrocités subies par les femmes avaient pour but de briser le tissu social bosniaque. Lisa S. Price, spécialisée en études féministes et en violence contre les femmes, explique que le nationalisme en place ne justifiait pas la violence, mais plutôt la *demandait*. Les hommes qui résistaient étaient considérés comme des traîtres et leur masculinité était remise en question. Ils deviennent, dans les mots de Price, « sissies and queers. »<sup>15</sup> Un jeune homme serbe témoigne de ce fait:

They said I wasn't a real Chetnik and now I would have to prove to them if I was at least a real man... I was supposed to rape the women... The soldiers told me I should rape her, and the others too... The soldiers said, 'You guys aren't real Serbs at all; but don't worry, we'll show you how it's done'<sup>16</sup>

Ce passage démontre que la nationalité et l'appartenance au groupe sont basées sur la violence sexuelle. La propagande n'est pas uniquement un message diffusé par la radio ou par l'État, le viol est transmuté en condition pour la virilité des soldats. Les valeurs patriarcales de l'armée serbe fait de l'homme un chasseur et de la femme sa proie.<sup>17</sup>

Le groupe féministe *Women in Black Against War* cite dans une lettre datée de 1995 que le point commun entre les différents acteurs du

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<sup>14</sup> Beverly Allen, *Rape Warfare: The Hidden Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 57, <https://archive.org/embed/rapewarfarehidde00alle>.

<sup>15</sup> Price, « Finding the Man in the Soldier-Rapist: Some Reflections on Comprehension and Accountability, » 222.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 215.

<sup>17</sup> Haider, « Gender and Conflict in the Western Balkans, » 4.

conflit demeure la haine des femmes.<sup>18</sup> Ainsi, des politiques natalistes furent imposées sur les femmes serbes, alors que les femmes musulmanes étaient accusées par les autorités serbes de « unreasonable] reproduc[tion] and threaten[ing] [of] the Serbian people. »<sup>19</sup> Le groupe argumente que les femmes serbes se firent forcer à avoir des enfants pour un projet nationaliste, haineux et raciste: « the limitations of abortion rights recently proposed by the Serbian Parliament are part of this misogynist, racist logic. »<sup>20</sup>

Various legislative initiatives that reduced women's identities to solely the roles of mothers and wives were proposed. [Serbian] women were asked to return to 'home and family' and to make their bodies available for reproducing and expanding the Serbian nation. This propaganda was constantly repeated by the worldly and spiritual 'fathers of the nation,' the regime, church authorities, and the nationalist opposition parties.<sup>21</sup>

La propagande ne vise pas seulement le corps de la femme « ennemie, » mais aussi « leurs » femmes, qui se doivent d'avoir des enfants pour la préservation de la race.<sup>22</sup>

### 3.0 La violence sexuelle comme politique de guerre

Selon la résolution 780 de l'ONU, cinq aspects ou tendances particulières reviennent à travers les cas de violence sexuelle. C'est entre autres la détermination et la présence de ces cinq caractéristiques qui a aidé à persécuter le viol en tant que politique de guerre. La première

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<sup>18</sup> La lettre fut écrite par *Women in Black in Belgrade*, une organisation internationale, qui fut fondé en 1991, en réaction au régime politique serbe.

<sup>19</sup> Women in Black Against War, « Militarism, Nationalism, and Sexism Always Go Together, » 1995, <http://zencm.org/en/23-aktivnosti/feminizam/1563-militarism-nationalism-and-sexism-always-go-together>.

<sup>20</sup> Women in Black Against War, « Militarism, Nationalism, and Sexism. »

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

tendance implique des petits groupes de personnes qui agressaient les femmes dans leurs domiciles après avoir pillé leurs biens. Ceci était un phénomène qui arrivait souvent avant l'émergence d'un conflit armé dans une région ou un village et avait pour but d'intimider les victimes. Le deuxième aspect est celui des assaillants qui violaient les femmes en conjonction avec les attaques sur une région.<sup>23</sup> Lors de ces occurrences, les femmes étaient souvent violées en public. Les femmes étaient souvent violentées en groupe de huit à dix et il était courant que les familles des victimes soient témoins de leurs viols. Cette pratique servait à la formation de « victimes secondaires, » ce qui pointe au fait que les violences avaient pour but de maximiser l'humiliation de la victime, des familles et de la communauté musulmane.<sup>24</sup> Le troisième aspect est l'accès aux victimes. Lors d'une attaque sur une région, la majorité des hommes étaient tués et les femmes se faisaient transporter dans des camps où les soldats les brutalisaient sexuellement.<sup>25</sup> Le quatrième aspect est que les assaillants détenaient les femmes afin de les terroriser et les humilier.

L'ONU rapporte que 80% des cas de viol rapportés ont eu lieu dans un contexte où la victime était détenue.<sup>26</sup> De plus, la CIA établit en 1993 que trente-quatre établissements étaient en place où, à un moment ou un autre, des femmes ont été gardées captives et agressées sexuellement; certains de ces camps ont été maintenus même lorsqu'il n'y avait pas de conflit actif dans une région.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> United Nations, *Final Report of the Commission of Experts Established Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 780*, Boutros Boutros-Ghali/S/1994/674, Security Council: 1994, PDF, 58, <https://undocs.org/pdf?symbol=en/S/1994/674>.

<sup>24</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, « Rape as an Instrument, » (Directorate of Intelligence, 1993), 3, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/1993-04-02.pdf>; Il y a une distinction entre une victime secondaire (une personne additionnelle victimisées) et la notion de victimisation secondaire (qui représente un nouveau traumatisme).

<sup>25</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, « Rape as an Instrument, » 3.

<sup>26</sup> United Nations, *Final Report of the Commission of Experts Established Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 780*, 56.

<sup>27</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, « Rape as an Instrument, » 1.

Plusieurs des camps étaient considérés comme petits selon la CIA, c'est-à-dire qu'environ cent femmes ou moins y étaient détenues.<sup>28</sup> La taille relativement petite des camps faisait en sorte qu'ils étaient faciles à déplacer en cas d'une inspection.<sup>29</sup> Dans ces camps, les victimes étaient détenues pendant de longues périodes afin d'assurer qu'elles ne puissent pas se faire avorter une fois enceintes. Une survivante anonyme témoigne que le groupe de femmes avec qui elle était détenue était souvent sujet à des vérifications afin d'assurer que ces dernières n'usaient pas de moyens contraceptifs: « she reported being told by guards at the facility that the women were being kept to make chetnik babies. »<sup>30</sup>

Le dernier aspect est les femmes détenues dans des hôtels; ces dernières, contrairement à celles détenues dans les camps, n'ont souvent pas eu la chance de s'échapper vivantes, elles étaient dans la majorité des cas agressées et ensuite tuées.<sup>31</sup>

Même s'il est certain que certains agresseurs ont agi en tant qu'individus et non sous des ordres, l'ONU conclut que ces aspects récurrents suggèrent l'existence d'une « politique de viol systémique » en place dans certaines zones de guerre. L'importance des éléments soulevés ci-dessus se trouve dans le non-respect de la Convention de Genève, ce qui permet de charger les assaillants.<sup>32</sup>

#### 4.0 Réaction du TPIY: avancées et éléments stagnants

La réaction du Tribunal pénal international pour l'ex-Yougoslavie (TPIY) vis-à-vis les victimes de violences sexuelles fut sans précédent: « The great achievement of the 1990s to the 2000s was the modern enforcement of rape as a war crime, a crime against humanity

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>31</sup> United Nations, *Final Report of the Commission of Experts Established Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 780*, 59.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 55.

and sexualized violence within the meaning of genocide. »<sup>33</sup> Dans le passé, le viol était catégorisé comme une conséquence inévitable de guerre. Par exemple, pas une seule survivante n'a été interpellée pour témoigner lors du Tribunal militaire international pour l'Extrême-Orient concernant les vingt mille cas de viol dans la ville de Nanjing au Japon.<sup>34</sup> Richard J. Goldstone Hon, Procureur général du TPIY, explique que le Tribunal pénal international pour le Rwanda (TPIR) et le TPIY ont été des changements de paradigme en loi.<sup>35</sup>

Malgré des avancées considérables, le tribunal n'était pas sans failles. Amy E. Ray explique qu'une faute possible lors de discussions autour des femmes victimes de temps de guerre est de les dénommer seulement comme des victimes de viol.<sup>36</sup> Il serait donc imprudent de fragmenter l'expérience féminine de violence de manière à seulement centrer le viol. Plutôt, il est essentiel de considérer non seulement les viols, mais aussi le reste des atrocités qu'elles ont subi, ce qui n'a pas été fait sous le TPIY. Ray propose donc la notion de « terrorisme sexuel, » qui inclut la torture, la prostitution forcée, la grossesse forcée, la maternité forcée, les répercussions sur la santé sexuelle, etc.<sup>37</sup> Ici, nous voyons une contradiction entre l'ONU et le TPIY, car la résolution 780

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<sup>33</sup> Paterson, Kerry K, « When Rape Became a War Crime (Hint: It's Not When You Think), » Women's Media Center, last modified July 13, 2017, <https://www.womensmediacenter.com/women-under-siege/when-rape-became-a-war-crime-hint-its-not-when-you-think1>.

<sup>34</sup> Richard J. Goldstone Hon, « Prosecuting Rape as a War Crime, » *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*, no. 3 (2002): 279, <https://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1461&context=jil>.

<sup>35</sup> Richard J. Goldstone Hon, « Prosecuting Rape, » 279.

<sup>36</sup> Amy E. Ray, « The Shame of It: Gender-Based Terrorism in the Former Yugoslavia and the Failure of International Human Rights Law to Comprehend the Injuries, » *American University Law Review*, no. 3 (1997): <http://dx.doi.org/10.21533/epiphany.v4i1.31.g32>, 800.

<sup>37</sup> Ray, « The Shame of It: Gender-Based Terrorism in the Former Yugoslavia and the Failure of International Human Rights Law to Comprehend the Injuries, » 801; Ces éléments sont aujourd'hui inclus sous le Statut de Rome de la Cour pénale internationale.

de l'ONU souligne la maternité forcée comme étant centrale au projet de nettoyage ethnique.

Une autre faille du droit international fut la suppression d'expériences fondamentalement féminines sous des catégories neutres de genre:

To fail to explicitly include gender-based human rights violations among war crimes provisions is to deny the full humanity of the principal victims of this war. Human rights law acknowledges the part of women that is like men but not the part of them that is uniquely woman.<sup>38</sup>

Les différentes définitions légales, essentiellement basées sur des expériences, sensations, et souffrances masculines, laissent les femmes vulnérables à une interprétation incorrecte de leur réalité. Hilary Charlesworth, spécialiste féministe en droit international explique:

...the "new" [TPIY et TPIR] international criminal law engages sexual violence only when it is an aspect of the destruction of a community... [R]ape is wrong, not because it is a crime of violence against women and a manifestation of male dominance, but because it is an assault on a community defined only by its racial, religious, national or ethnic composition. In this account, the violation of a woman's body is secondary to the humiliation of the group.<sup>39</sup>

Cette mauvaise conceptualisation de leurs souffrances place les femmes dans une position où elles sont d'autant plus éloignées de

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 801.

<sup>39</sup> Janet Halley, « Rape at Rome: Feminist Interventions in the Criminalization of Sex-Related Violence in Positive International Criminal Law, » *Michigan Journal of International Law*, no. 1 (2008), 71, <https://repository.law.umich.edu/mjil/vol30/iss1/1>.

l'obtention d'une quelconque forme de justice; le viol et la violence sexuelle *doivent* être considérés comme des crimes en soi afin de centrer les victimes et non leurs communautés.<sup>40</sup> Sans vouloir injustement comparer le TPIY à de la propagande génocidaire, il reste important de souligner que certains des paramètres légaux en place reviennent à ceux des conceptions patriarcales de la propagande serbe mentionnée plus haut. La femme est sous ces définitions une arme, un instrument à travers lequel la violence est perpétuée sur sa communauté. Hayden soulève ce même argument lorsqu'il explique que la persécution du viol risque, paradoxalement, de renforcer le « message collectif de l'opposition ethno-nationale » coupable des violences sexuelles.<sup>41</sup>

Il est clair que des changements positifs ont été apportés au niveau de la persécution des crimes sexuels en loi internationale, mais un biais masculin persiste dans la catégorisation de ces crimes. La classification légale des survivantes sur une base d'expérience singulière pousse leur individualité aux marges afin de prioriser le groupe ou la communauté. Les multiples facettes de la violence et des atrocités subies par les femmes n'ont simplement pas été considérées sous le TPIY.

## 5.0 Réponses communautaires et intimes

Un autre élément considérable dans la victimisation secondaire des survivantes se trouve dans les attitudes communautaires et les relations personnelles. Plusieurs histoires et rapports invoquent une stigmatisation accrue. Par exemple, des médecins croates ont témoigné que certaines survivantes refusaient d'avouer qu'elles avaient été victimes de violence sexuelle même lorsque les preuves médicales démontraient le contraire. Une survivante atteste cette expérience:

After my release from a concentration camp I underwent one medical examination. Because of all the fear I have not told the doctor what was really the matter with me. After a couple of days,

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<sup>40</sup> Halley, « Rape at Rome: Feminist Interventions in the Criminalization of Sex-Related Violence in Positive International Criminal Law, » 71.

<sup>41</sup> Hayden, « Rape and Rape Avoidance in Ethno-National Conflicts: Sexual Violence in Liminalized States, » 35.

my uncle came to pick me up. Immediately after greeting me he told me that he would prefer to kill me now. Because of his rudeness I did not tell my family about anything that happened to me. Even so, after twenty days they kicked me out.<sup>42</sup>

Todd A. Salzman, spécialisé en théologie, sexualité et éthique, soulève que les survivantes de viol font face à différents degrés d'aliénation. Premièrement, plusieurs femmes refusent de partager leurs expériences en raison d'humiliation causée par la stigmatisation qu'elles vivent. Venant de leur famille ou de leur communauté, ces attitudes empêchent l'obtention d'un environnement où les survivantes peuvent se rétablir émotionnellement, physiquement et psychologiquement. Même dans les cas où la famille d'une survivante est aidante et la soutient dans son rétablissement, il arrive que la personne reste hésitante à partager son expérience par peur d'être ostracisée par ses voisins ou amis.<sup>43</sup> De plus, certaines femmes conseillent à leurs pairs de ne pas partager leur histoire par peur d'être associées par intérim aux victimes, ceci causerait une aliénation qu'elles préfèrent éviter. Outre cela, Salzman remarque que plusieurs personnes ont développé une suspicion vis-à-vis les femmes bosniaques, à savoir si elles n'inventent pas des histoires.<sup>44</sup>

Pour Ray le phénomène d'aliénation est aussi dû à « l'honneur » des hommes, car la femme serait l'objet à travers lequel le caractère de l'homme est mesuré.<sup>45</sup> À l'échelle intime, la réponse du mari d'une

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<sup>42</sup> Ray, « The Shame of It: Gender-Based Terrorism in the Former Yugoslavia and the Failure of International Human Rights Law to Comprehend the Injuries, » 805.

<sup>43</sup> Erin Jessee, « Inscribed Intent: Genocidal Symbolic Violence and Social Death in the Aftermath of the Rwandan and Bosnian Genocides, » (PhD diss., 2010), 260.

<sup>44</sup> Salzman, « Rape Camps as a Means of Ethnic Cleansing: Religious, Cultural, and Ethical Responses to Rape Victims in the Former Yugoslavia, » 370.

<sup>45</sup> Ray, « The Shame of It, Gender-Based Terrorism in the Former Yugoslavia and the Failure of International Human Rights Law to Comprehend the Injuries, » 805.



victime peut poser un problème. Dans certains cas, lorsque l'homme apprend que « sa » femme s'est fait agresser, il y a trois réponses négatives courantes. Soit la femme risque de se faire abandonner, soit de se faire violenter physiquement, soit tuer. Le sentiment associé à l'échec, plus particulièrement au fait que le mari n'a pas été en mesure de protéger « sa » femme, par un processus paradoxal, se transforme parfois en violence contre elle. Les raisons derrière ce type de réaction sont complexes et sans raison fixe. Toutefois, nous pouvons assumer que le mythe de l'homme protecteur, conception qui n'a pas de région ou de culture déterminée, est ancré dans le concept patriarcal de « possession de, » plutôt que de relation avec la femme.<sup>46</sup>

#### 6.0 Les conséquences des ONG

Une lettre écrite par le *Zagreb Women's Lobby* décrit, entre autres, que certains ONG encouragent des victimes à s'exprimer publiquement sur leurs expériences avec de fausses promesses d'aide et de compassion. Ici, la lettre critique les pratiques journalistiques sensationnalistes qui ont brimé la santé mentale des femmes, au point où plusieurs d'entre elles ont tenté de s'enlever la vie après leurs échanges avec les médias.<sup>47</sup> Jovanka Stojšavljević argumente que la publicisation du viol en ex-Yougoslavie est basée sur son rôle dans les campagnes de propagande:

She merely becomes the victim or object of her own experience; her rape is seen as important only because it is committed by a man or men from an alien ethnic group, and not because rape is a crime of violence against her.<sup>48</sup>

Cette mentalité est la même que celle soulevée lorsque nous avons délimité les paramètres de la propagande genrée serbe et celle de la persécution du TPIY. Stojšavljević explique que la marée de journalistes et d'ONG qui se sont présentés en Bosnie-Herzégovine

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<sup>46</sup> Salzman, « Rape Camps as a Means of Ethnic Cleansing: Religious, Cultural, and Ethical Responses to Rape Victims in the Former Yugoslavia, » 371.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 372-3.

<sup>48</sup> Stojšavljević, « Women, Conflict, Culture in Former Yugoslavia, » 40.

(BiH) après le génocide demandant des entrevues avec les « victimes de viol » ou de les « traiter » ont, entre autres, comme but de prouver qu'une « race » d'hommes est l'agresseur et qu'une autre ne l'est pas.<sup>49</sup>

Une femme surnommée Jana, dans une entrevue avec Jessee, mentionne que ses expériences avec certaines des organisations pour les survivants de Sarajevo furent négatives. Elle sentit qu'elle s'est fait utiliser à des fins financières.<sup>50</sup> Étant très jeune, Jana s'est souvent fait interpeler pour témoigner de son expérience comme survivante de viol. En échange, elle demandait de l'aide psychologique pour elle et sa mère, mais ses efforts furent finalement rejetés. Jana sentit qu'elle n'avait pas le droit de se rétablir selon ces organismes, car son bien-être représenterait la résolution des problèmes sur le viol en BiH, donc la fin du financement international.<sup>51</sup>

Un autre exemple donné par Jessee concerne trois femmes qui travaillaient avec des survivantes. Celles-ci ont mis de la pression sur leurs supérieurs pour fournir de la thérapie individuelle aux femmes, mais ils ont refusé.<sup>52</sup> L'impression des trois femmes fut que la thérapie de groupe était moins efficace, car elle causait l'internalisation de traumatisme entre les participantes. La victimisation secondaire des participantes apportait plus de dons internationaux vu qu'elles n'avaient pas nécessairement la chance de se rétablir.<sup>53</sup> Les donateurs de ces différentes organisations décidaient ultimement de la direction de l'aide apportée sur le terrain. Ceci posait un obstacle additionnel au rétablissement, car les objectifs des organismes pouvaient varier chaque année.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>50</sup> Jessee, « Inscribed Intent: Genocidal Symbolic Violence and Social Death in the Aftermath of the Rwandan and Bosnian Genocides, » 263.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 263.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 263.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 263.

<sup>54</sup> Janine Natalya Clark, « Helping or Harming? NGOs and Victims/Survivors of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Bosnia Herzegovina, » *Journal of Human Rights*, no. 2 (2019): 248.

Dans un article qui explore la relation des ONG avec la voix des survivantes, Janine Natalya Clark, spécialisée en justice transitionnelle, droit international et genre, présente la notion de traumatisme comme un « vase brisé. » Elle dit que même si on répare le vase, les craques resteront toujours visibles: « those who accept the breakage and build themselves anew become more resilient and open to new ways of living. »<sup>55</sup> Clark est d'avis que les ONG ne considèrent pas la possibilité que plusieurs survivantes aient accepté ce bris. Ainsi, elle propose que l'on se concentre sur la résilience plutôt que l'état de victime.<sup>56</sup> Une des sources de ces attitudes serait les donateurs, qui ne sont pas intéressés par une « transformation », mais plutôt des résultats et des nombres.<sup>57</sup> Cette classification, combinée avec les paramètres légaux de ce que constitue une victime, crée une pyramide de victimes.<sup>58</sup> L'absence de choix pour les femmes qui se font classer dans des ONG sur une base d'expériences de vie singulières, comme leur ethnicité ou leur état de victime, maintient les hiérarchies de race, de classe et de sexe globales, nationales et locales. Clark raconte l'histoire d'une survivante des camps qui a créé sa propre ONG, ayant pour but de rassembler différentes femmes de son village:

She deeply resents the way NGOs frequently speak about victims/-survivors of sexual violence as if they are all « traumatized, fragile, and miserable. » She has also expressed anger and frustration that some NGOs purport to speak on behalf of women like her to and decide when it is appropriate for them to tell their stories, and to whom.<sup>59</sup>

Une autre femme a eu une expérience similaire. Elle avait offert son témoignage lors du TPIY, mais se retira des procédures du fait que son expérience, ainsi que la mort de sa mère ont été exploitées pour des

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<sup>55</sup> Clark, « Helping or Harming? NGOs and Victims/Survivors of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Bosnia Herzegovina, » 247.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 247

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 248.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 248.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 250.

objectifs hors de la délimitation des siens. Elle maintient que son point de vue et son histoire furent ignorés et modifiés et que sa sécurité fut mise en danger. Selon elle, il est important que les femmes bosniaques puissent elles-mêmes raconter leurs histoires.<sup>60</sup>

Plusieurs femmes ont subi de la violence sous de nombreuses formes, comme la perte de proches, ou même d'un enfant. Tabiha, une survivante du camp Omarska, raconte que les émotions qu'elle vit vis-à-vis les agressions sexuelles qu'elle a subies ne se mesurent pas à celles que le meurtre de son fils aîné a provoquées. Cependant, lorsqu'elle s'est fait approcher par des ONG, tout ce qui les intéressait était sa « catégorisation » en tant que victime de viol. Une autre femme, lors d'une conférence sur la reconstruction de la BiH en 1993, dit qu'elle trouvait que l'emphase internationale sur le viol était inappropriée, car toutes les femmes bosniaques étaient victimes: « they lost their homes, their sons, their husbands, their jobs, their lives, and whether they had been sexually assaulted or not [is] not really the most important problem. » La hiérarchisation discutée plus haut positionne les survivantes de violence sexuelle comme « l'autre », elles reçoivent, de manière paradoxale, un traitement qui les place à la fois au-dessus d'autres survivantes et dans un état perpétuel de victimisation.<sup>61</sup>

La mentalité anti-industrielle et anti-consommatrice de certaines ONG ne reconnaît pas certains des désirs et les besoins des femmes bosniaques. La centralisation des donateurs et de la thérapie de groupe a laissé plusieurs personnes déçues de l'aide qui leur a été offerte. De plus, la voix de plusieurs survivantes a été utilisée sans qu'elles soient prises en compte. Quel que soit le médium pour l'obtention de soins, ce qui semblerait plus juste et important est de proposer des emplois, occupations et thérapies qui s'alignent, *avant toute autre chose*, avec les aspirations des femmes bosniaques.

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<sup>60</sup> Hayden, « Rape and Rape Avoidance in Ethno-National Conflicts: Sexual Violence in Liminalized States, » 35.

<sup>61</sup> Clark, « Helping or Harming? NGOs and Victims/Survivors of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Bosnia Herzegovina, » 254.

## 7.0 Analyse des intersections des différents corps intervenants

Afin de fournir une analyse des différents éléments discutés précédemment, je propose la notion de « victimisation secondaire » et celle de « réparation ». D'abord, je vais expliquer ce qu'est la victimisation secondaire. Rebecca Campbell et Sheela Raja, dans un article sur l'assistance légale, médicale et mentale des victimes d'agression sexuelle, argumentent que la « victimisation secondaire » est souvent imposée par les institutions qui sont en contact avec des survivantes d'agression sexuelle.<sup>62</sup> La victimisation secondaire fait référence à des réponses telles que le refus de reconnaître l'expérience d'une survivante, une conduite intrusive par les médias ou les autorités, des procédures judiciaires qui ne prennent pas en compte la perspective de la survivante, etc.<sup>63</sup>

Secondary victimization is the unresponsive treatment rape victims receive from social system personnel. It is the victim-blaming behaviors and practices engaged in by community service providers, which further the rape event, resulting in additional stress and trauma for victims.<sup>64</sup>

Bien que l'étude de Campbell et Raja vise les cas criminels où une seule personne subit un acte de violence sexuelle et non les cas de violence de masse, il est pertinent de regarder quels sont les problèmes associés à une deuxième victimisation et les causes de celle-ci dans le cas d'une intervention de large échelle. Elles notent que face à un cas de viol, les différentes institutions, comme les tribunaux ou les hôpitaux,

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<sup>62</sup> Rebecca Campbell et Sheela Raja, « Secondary Victimization of Rape Victims: Insights from Mental Health Professionals Who Treat Survivors of Violence, » *Violence and Victims*, no. 3 (1999): 261, <https://lib-ezproxy.concordia.ca/login?url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fdocview%2F20855581%3Faccountid%3D10246>. Leur étude a été conduite avec un questionnaire visant un échantillon de 14,119 professionnels en santé mentale américains.

<sup>63</sup> The Canadian Resource Centre for Victims of Crime, *The impact of Victimization* (Octobre 2005), 6, <https://www.crcvc.ca/docs/victimization.pdf>.

<sup>64</sup> Campbell et Raja, « Secondary Victimization of Rape Victims: Insights from Mental Health Professionals Who Treat Survivors of Violence, » 261.

prennent un de deux cadres possibles, « sensible » ou « insensible. »<sup>65</sup> Dans le cadre sensible, la pratique inclut une priorisation de la victime sous le cadre légal. Cependant, celui-ci est rarement utilisé. Dans le cas insensible, la priorité est donnée aux organisations, comme les hôpitaux et les tribunaux. Souvent, les besoins des victimes sont ignorés.<sup>66</sup>

Trois facteurs principaux causent une victimisation secondaire. Premièrement, un traitement insensible comme blâmer les victimes ou penser qu'ils ou elles mentent ensuite. Deuxièmement, un déni d'assistance, que ce soit au niveau légal ou mental. Finalement, l'aide qui est reçue est inappropriée, ce qui cause des frustrations additionnelles.<sup>67</sup> Je vais utiliser, entre autres, ce cadre analytique pour évaluer les conséquences des différents types d'interventions et de réparations qui ont visé les survivantes de violence sexuelle en Bosnie.

Ensuite, j'établis ce qu'est une réparation. Cette section permettra la formation d'un prisme à travers duquel il sera possible d'évaluer les différentes réponses, réactions et réparations qui ont été offertes aux victimes. Amnesty internationale décrit le terme « réparations » en quatre points: par une restitution; ce qui inclut le rétablissement d'une situation avant l'acte de violation, une compensation; qui comprend entre autres le paiement monétaire des dommages occasionnés, une réhabilitation; soit des soins psychologiques ou physiques et une satisfaction; celle-ci devrait inclure des mesures symboliques qui prennent en compte les victimes et une garantie que l'évènement ne se reproduira pas, comme des mesures concrètes qui assurent aux survivantes qu'elles ne subiront pas le même crime deux fois.<sup>68</sup> En ce qui attrait de ce travail, les notions de compensation et de mesures symboliques seront omises, car elles concernent l'État plutôt que des acteurs « externes. » Cela dit, la notion

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 262.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 262.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 263.

<sup>68</sup> Amnesty Internationale, « When Everyone Is Silent: Reparations for Survivors of Wartime Rape in Republika Srpska in Bosnia and Herzegovina, » 2012, 4,

<https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/24000/eur630122012en.pdf>.

de réparation, dans le contexte de ce texte, va être considérée comme l'opposé de celle de victimisation secondaire.

Que ce soit à l'échelle locale ou internationale, plusieurs efforts sont mis en place aujourd'hui afin d'offrir un traitement légal sensible pour les survivantes de violence sexuelle. Ce travail est loin d'être complet, ainsi, dans les années 1990, il ne faisait que commencer. Si l'on considère les informations présentées sur le TPIY, on peut observer un effort clair vers l'entreprise d'une migration du traitement légal « insensible » vers le « sensible » dans le traitement des victimes par les différentes règles mises en place que j'ai présentées plus haut. Toutefois, lorsqu'on regarde les ONG, la centralisation de la valeur monétaire des victimes correspond à deux des facteurs causant la victimisation secondaire d'une personne, notamment un déni d'assistance et un traitement inapproprié. Ainsi, bien qu'il soit improbable que tous les ONG travaillant avec des survivantes de violence sexuelle aient des motivations sournoises et capitalistes, la relation que certaines d'entre elles entretiennent avec leurs donateurs peut poser des problèmes psychologiques graves, donc entraver le rétablissement des femmes.

Pour suivre, au niveau des réparations, il reste difficile d'offrir une restitution aux victimes. Par exemple, même si le TPIY a réussi à accuser de nombreux hommes responsables de violence sexuelle, plusieurs femmes, lorsqu'elles retournent chez elles après avoir été déplacées, se voient vivre à quelques rues de leur agresseur. Quelles que soient les réformes féministes apportées (ou pas) au TPIY, le fait reste que plusieurs agresseurs n'ont pas été reconnus coupables; Branka Antic-Stauber, un docteur qui travaille avec les survivantes, témoigne de ce fait:

Four men who raped eight girls, gang raped them, the women pointed to the men in court and said it was them, and there's no doubt these women went through sexual abuse, but that's not enough evidence to prosecute the perpetrators so they were released. Now they live just 20 kilometres from the men, just 10 minutes by car, and they know them

because they're just in the neighbouring town, but still these men were released to return to their homes...<sup>69</sup>

En ce qui concerne la réhabilitation, considérant les témoignages des femmes présentés plus haut, il va sans dire qu'une amélioration en matière de soins est requise.

Finalement, il est important de noter qu'un obstacle additionnel se présente lorsque la famille, le mari, ou la communauté d'une survivante n'est pas réceptif à son vécu, surtout dans le cas où sa sécurité est à risque.

Nous pouvons assumer que les buts des différents acteurs que j'ai présentés sont l'obtention de justice, de réparations, et plus généralement l'obtention du bien-être pour les survivantes d'actes de terrorisme sexuel dans le génocide en ex-Yougoslavie. Pour expliquer ma thèse, qui cite qu'une aide appropriée venant de tous les fronts est nécessaire, je propose deux exemples fictifs; même si ces cas ne sont pas « réels, » ils ne sont pas hors du domaine de possibilités.

Premièrement, si une survivante se présente à son tribunal et gagne son procès contre son ou ses agresseurs, mais que sa famille l'apprend et la renie, car elle « souille » l'honneur des hommes, la femme en question risque tout de même un traumatisme additionnel. Dans ce cas, une sensibilisation des membres de la famille est nécessaire en plus de la justice juridique.

Un deuxième exemple serait celui où une survivante reçoit une aide inappropriée d'une ONG. Si la personne possède un bon système de support, elle risque probablement un impact moins grave. Cependant, si elle a perdu la majorité de ses proches en raison du génocide, les impacts d'un mauvais traitement pourraient être dévastateurs. Cela dit, les

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<sup>69</sup> Sue Turton, « Bosnian War Rape Survivors Speak of Their Suffering 25 Years On, » *The Independent*, 21 juillet 2017, [https://www.independent.co.uk/news/long\\_reads/bosnia-war-rape-survivors-speak-serbian-soldiers-balkans-women-justice-suffering-a7846546.html](https://www.independent.co.uk/news/long_reads/bosnia-war-rape-survivors-speak-serbian-soldiers-balkans-women-justice-suffering-a7846546.html).



conséquences d'un mauvais traitement peuvent dépendre de facteurs externes. Le but d'exemplifier ces situations est donc de démontrer les différentes intersections que doit naviguer une survivante.

## 8.0 Conclusion

Ce travail a analysé trois obstacles potentiels au rétablissement des victimes de terrorisme sexuel dans l'ex-Yougoslavie: la loi internationale (TPIY), les réponses communautaires, et les ONGs. Je reconnais que d'autres éléments ont eu un rôle dans le rétablissement des femmes en Bosnie, par exemple l'État ou le système de santé, ainsi, cette étude n'est qu'un point de départ.

En loi internationale, nous pouvons constater des progrès majeurs. Le simple fait que le viol ait été considéré comme un crime et non une conséquence de guerre constitue une avancée considérable. Les mesures qui ont été prises afin d'instaurer de nouveaux règlements qui assurent une persécution juste furent notables. Toutefois, deux critiques principales ont été soulevées. Premièrement, la classification de crimes genrés sous des catégories fondamentalement masculines. Deuxièmement, la considération du viol comme le seul crime contre les femmes, sans prise en compte des autres atrocités qu'elles ont subies. Notamment, plusieurs femmes ont soulevé leur mécontentement envers le fait que l'état de victime de viol était priorisé, alors que d'autres femmes qui ont perdu leurs famille et domicile étaient mises de côté. Au niveau des réponses communautaires et intimes, l'idée « d'honneur » a mené dans certains cas à de la violence à l'encontre des femmes ou à leur rejet. L'aliénation qu'ont subie plusieurs femmes les a placées dans une position où il était difficile de partager leurs expériences. Finalement, au niveau des ONG il a été déterminé que les intérêts des donneurs étaient centrés au lieu de ceux des femmes. Les deux concepts analytiques utilisés furent ceux de la « victimisation secondaire » et de « réparation. »

L'argument principal proposé est que les différents degrés de marginalisation posés par plusieurs corps légaux, culturels ou intimes sont tous entremêlés dans la formation de « victimisation secondaire ». En conséquence, l'obtention de « réparations » ne peut pas se faire en

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changeant uniquement la structure des ONG. Les exemples fournis plus haut démontrent que si l'un des acteurs présentés pose des actes qui causent de la victimisation secondaire, le travail d'un autre est indirectement brimé. Si l'on veut offrir des opportunités durables pour le rétablissement des survivantes, des mesures doivent être entreprises sur *tous les fronts*.

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**Opposing the Sublime Porte and the Maghlab**

*Eric Gagnon*

Eric Gagnon is in his third year at Concordia University as a History undergraduate student. His interests center around the Ottoman Empire and Islam. Through this following paper, Eric wishes to display the complexity of the often-misunderstood Islamic law. He seeks to further his studies in Islamic modern history and publish in various other journals. He is also an avid map enthusiast as well as a vexillologist. Eric would like to thank Professor Michael Ferguson, as well as Swarnika Ahuja and Liam Slattery, for their indispensable help.



The Ottoman Empire was a state composed of complex central bureaucracy and widespread autonomous territories. The most prominent example of this bureaucracy and autonomy was the way in which non-Muslims held significant cultural and socio-economic freedoms so long as they recognized the Sublime Porte and paid their taxes.<sup>1</sup> Legal matters in the Ottoman Empire were also thought to be quite centralized, given that the *kānūn*, the secular code of law, was issued by the sultan, and that the *Ḥanafī* school of thought became the official *madḥab* of the empire.<sup>2</sup> Whilst this does demonstrate an accentuated effort in legal and religious centralisation within the Empire, the *kānūn* and the *madḥab* allowed local practices of their conquered territories, including their secular or religious laws. In this paper, I will examine the religious school of thought. In particular, I will argue that the concept of *madḥab*, and more generally that the *sharīʿah*'s interpretation has been used, whether intentionally or not, as a means to oppose the Sublime Porte.<sup>3</sup>

The nineteenth century offers three cases of opposition via the *madḥab* worth exploring: the Senusiyya Sufi order, Shaykh Muḥammad Majdhūb and Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb.<sup>4</sup> Although they each have differences specific to them, their religious opposition to the Ottoman *sharīʿah* has led to clear political rupture with the Porte.<sup>5</sup> The Senusiyya and the Wahhabis formed a state of their own in Cyrenaica

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<sup>1</sup> The Sublime Porte refers to the central government of the Ottoman Empire. It includes the Sultan and other positions of authority within the Empire.

<sup>2</sup> The *madḥab* refers to different methodologies used to interpret the Islamic religious law. The *Ḥanafī* is one of the four major school, the others being Maliki, Hanbali and Shaʿfi. This term is interchangeable with “school of thought.”

<sup>3</sup> *Sharīʿah* is Islamic religious law, traditionally administered by independent Islamic scholars.

<sup>4</sup> Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb lived in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but his influence in Islam was simply too important to ignore in this research. Despite his death, the Wahhabi school continued to be a prominent actor in Arabia up to this day.

<sup>5</sup> This opposition should not be conflated with the rise of nationalism and with the Age of Ayans. Although there are similarities from the Sultan’s point of view, the use of religion as an opposition derives from a distinct theological background.

and Arabia respectively. The Senusiyya had enjoyed a relatively peaceful coexistence with the Ottoman Empire whilst the Wahhabis allied with the house of Su'ūd and incited an intervention from Egypt's Muḥammad 'Alī. Majdhūb's legacy was less impactful, but his case still allows us to understand the intellectual current in Islamic legal discourse at the time. It is important to note that the Senusiyya, Majdhūb, and 'Abd al-Wahhāb not only rejected the Ottoman legal system, but also the traditional methods of jurisdiction. Whilst the Ottoman system promoted Ḥanafī over other schools, there was a healthy plurality of schools as can be shown in Egypt and in the Levant. Legal courts of any school of thought were able to function according to their own beliefs, in full legality, as long as they followed the orthodoxy of their own school, as well as its accepted methodology. The difference between the Senusiyya, Wahhabis and Majdhūb comes within their teaching methodologies, however, they similarly all rejected the way the shari'ah functioned and wished to correct it. The Senusiyya are a special case since they asked for all schools to blend together into one, rather than reject all of them, unlike 'Abd al-Wahhāb and Majdhūb.

To understand how the madhhab can be used to oppose the Sublime Porte, we must first understand the Islamic legal structure of the Ottoman Empire of the nineteenth century, whose origins can be traced to the mid-sixteenth century. The Islamic legal structure of the Empire begins with the appointment of Ebussuūd Efendi in 1545 as the first Ṣayḥ al-Islām, or chief mufti, by the sultan. A mufti is a learned scholar, who has received credentials by a certain college or teacher. It is through this new position that the centralization of religious law in the Ottoman Empire arises. As a recognized scholar, the mufti is then able to issue opinions, or fatwa, on a wide range of legal or religious issues. The influence of the mufti resides purely in his popularity and his legitimacy.<sup>6</sup> The Ṣayḥ al-Islām is the highest rank of mufti. His authority is considered above all else in the Ottoman Empire, but his power is not absolute. Since muftis were well educated on legal and religious matters, their opinions were influential in courts and thus the fatwa could be used

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<sup>6</sup> Although the existence of female mufti is debated, I will use masculine pronouns since all the prominent muftis in the Ottoman Empire are currently believed to be male.

in jurisprudence.<sup>7</sup> This is relevant for two reasons; first, the Šayḥ al-Islām had a significant influence on the sharī‘ah’s interpretation in the Ottoman Empire, and second, as we shall examine later in this paper, the muftis who gained regional recognition could also shape the sharī‘ah.

Let us return to the Šayḥ al-Islām, whose title alludes to the highest level of authority, as the Šayḥ of the entirety of Islam. This position was *created* and *appointed* by the sultan. This established a certain hierarchy among the mufti, and further initiated the tradition of appointment by the ruler. It also enabled the Ottomans to embrace a specific maḏhab and enforce it through the Šayḥ al-Islām. It is important to note that although the position of Šayḥ al-Islām was intrinsically related to the sultan, it was also an autonomous position in its decision-making<sup>8</sup>. In addition to this position, the sultan appointed a mufti in each region of the empire. The appointed muftis were all scholars from Ottoman built and administered colleges, which represents another centralization effort by the state.<sup>9</sup>

When the Ottoman Empire conquered Mamluk Egypt, it encountered a legal and religious challenge. Egypt and the Arabic provinces of the Levant were pluralist and did not have a concrete hierarchy. A city like Damascus for example, could have several

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<sup>7</sup> Guy Burak, *The Second Formation of Islamic Law: The Ḥanafī School in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press), 170.

<sup>8</sup> This did not stop the sultan from influencing them and the sultan did appoint them, but there are cases where the two did not see eye to eye. Burak, *The Second Formation of Islamic Law: The Ḥanafī School in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*.

<sup>9</sup> A similar process can be observed for qadis, the actual jurist in courts; These measures were not however unique to the Ottoman Empire, as similar events can be seen within the Mughal Empire as well as in the steppes of Central Asia. This centralization is a legacy of the Mongol Empire, which held almost complete absolute legal power in previous centuries. Burak, *The Second Formation of Islamic Law: The Ḥanafī School in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*.

unofficial, but legitimate, muftis of different maḏhab.<sup>10</sup> The Ottomans thus responded to this challenge by leaving the current system in place, while also instituting Ḥanafī supremacy over the pluralistic courts. Thus, in theory, the appointed Ḥanafī mufti held more influence than other muftis, but locals could also still obtain their own credentials or diploma, known as a ijaza, and become mufti without interactions with the Porte.

The Porte also came under scrutiny from some Arab Ḥanafis, who debated its legal position. Each maḏhab had a fairly dynamic scholarly debate, the shari‘ah’s interpretation has always been heterogenous.<sup>11</sup> It is critical to understand the dynamic nature of the shari‘ah in Islam in order to properly understand how the nineteenth century differs from earlier. Let us take the examples given by Judith Tucker in *In the House of the Law*.<sup>12</sup> She observes the case of Khayr al-Din in Ramli in the seventeenth century, Ḥāmid ibn ‘Alī al-‘Imādī in Damascus in the eighteenth century and ‘Abd al-Fattaḥ al-Tamīmī in Jerusalem in the eighteenth century. All three of these individuals were Ḥanafī muftis who practiced different methodologies. Al-‘Imādī was an official mufti, and he was accustomed to categorically explaining and quoting each of his decisions. Al-‘Imādī ultimately lost his position of official mufti but still retained considerable influence, as the people of Damascus continued to consider him as a legitimate mufti. As Tucker points out: “appointment alone did not guarantee legitimacy,” in that al-‘Imādī official appointment was in no way a position of power, but it did come with a salary and with prestige, which could enhance its legitimacy, but not *create* it.<sup>13</sup> Al-Tamīmī’s case is more straightforward, since he appears to have recycled other muftis fatwas without providing further explanations. His connections helped him obtain work in the local court, but he never held much influence despite issuing fatwas. Khayr al-

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<sup>10</sup> Burak, *The Second Formation of Islamic Law: The Ḥanafī School in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*; Judith E. Tucker, *In the House of the Law* (Berkeley: University of California Press); John Voll, “The Non-Wahhabi Hanbalis of Eighteenth Century Syria,” *Der Islam*, no. 2 (November 1972): 277-291.

<sup>11</sup> Burak, *The Second Formation of Islamic Law*, 175.

<sup>12</sup> Tucker, *In the House of the Law*.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

Din offers a much more interesting case. Having studied in Ramli and in the prestigious al-Azhar university, he became a very learned man who earned respect without any official title. His fatwas included *ijtihād*, his own personal interpretation of the *sharī'ah*, and his authority “took precedence over that of the officially appointed qadi: a fatwa from Khayr al-Din could override a local court decision.”<sup>14</sup> Interestingly enough, Khayr al-Din is also reported to have instructed some plaintiffs that different school of thought could offer a more favorable decision for particular cases.<sup>15</sup> From the examples discussed, we can acknowledge that certain debates existed within the Ḥanafī school. We can also observe that different schools of thought were not necessarily rivals, and in some cases, the plurality of different schools of thought offered an opportunity to overcome legal obstacles.<sup>16</sup> The examples given also show how convoluted the officialdom of mufti and their legitimacy could be. These complex relationships within the *sharī'ah* can show that while new interpretations were common, muftis were still bound to the traditions of the school of thought.

Eighteenth century Islamic academia was marked by its radical shift from this flexible system. It is mainly in the Hijaz that the influence grew, but John Voll argues the whole of Islam was affected.<sup>17</sup> Mecca and Medina did not have prestigious institutions comparable to al-Azhar in Cairo or the Ottoman administered colleges, but the holy cities attracted various scholars from all over the world of Islam during the Hajj. It is through this interconnecting hub that various prominent scholars laid

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<sup>14</sup> A qadi is a judge, its position is often intertwined with the mufti, but only the qadi is allowed to issue official legal decisions; Tucker, *In the House of the Law*, 32.

<sup>15</sup> Tucker, *In the House of the Law*, 83.

<sup>16</sup> Khayr al-Din could have performed *ijtihād* to grant justice as he saw fit, but he instead referred to different schools of thought. Whatever the reason, it is clear that the existence of diversity was something Khayr al-Din appreciated and respected.

<sup>17</sup> John Voll, “Muḥammad Ḥayyā al-Sindī and Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab: An Analysis of an Intellectual Group in Eighteenth-Century Madīna,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, no. 1 (1975): 39.

their influence, often done through somewhat informal teachings.<sup>18</sup> Since this research focuses on Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, Muḥammad Majdhūb and Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Sanūsī, only their teachers will be examined. These teachers should instead be seen as a mere fraction of a vast intellectual movement.

Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb’s teacher was Muḥammad Ḥayyā al-Sindī, who came from the province of Sindh in the Mughal Empire. Although his fame (or infamy) is not as great as al-Wahhāb’s, Muḥammad Ḥayyā al-Sindī was an extraordinary teacher whose students also included a variety of members, such as an important member of the Khalwatiyya order, the founder Sammāniyya order, a prominent Ḥanbalī scholar, and various important Naqshbandiyya members including an important Ḥanafī mufti in Damascus.<sup>19</sup> The common thread amongst all of al-Sindī’s students and Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb is their adherence to the Sunna over the medieval maḍhab.<sup>20</sup> Adhering to the Sunna instead of the maḍhab would have been in direct opposition to the Ottoman Empire, which valued the maḍhab system over all others. Al-Sindī’s teachings also contained particular emphasis on the usage of ijtihād and on the orthodoxy of Sufism, while additionally being against the worship of saints and against any sort of “innovation,” also known in Arabic as bid‘ah.

There are many similarities between Muḥammad Ḥayyā al-Sindī and Ahmad Ibn Idris al-Fasi, who taught both al-Sanūsī and Majdhūb. Much like Muḥammad Ḥayyā, Ahmad Ibn Idris was a foreigner to the Hijaz. He came from Morocco where he learned much of his knowledge. He lived roughly half a century later than Muḥammad Ḥayyā, but his main objective was also to promote the Sunna and

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<sup>18</sup> Given the lack of scholarly institutions, the teaching was done rather privately. The teachers were all recognized scholars from different regions, many of them holding the title of shaykh.

<sup>19</sup> Voll, “Muḥammad Ḥayyā al-Sindī and Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab: An Analysis of an Intellectual Group in Eighteenth-Century Madīna,” 36-37.

<sup>20</sup> The Sunna refers to the life of the prophet Muhammad, whilst it was always considered holy, its importance becomes paramount for al-Sindhi and his students.

ijtihād.<sup>21</sup> He was also influenced by Sufism and eventually founded his own order, the Idrisiyyah, which had influence in a number of countries. However, his teachings did not appear to be against the maḍhab per se, nor did they directly condemn innovations, or the worship of saints.

Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, who lived from 1703 to 1792, was born in a Hanbalī jurist family in the Arabian desert and studied in Medina under Muḥammad Ḥayyā al-Sindī, as previously mentioned.<sup>22</sup> Shortly after his return to inner Arabia, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb formally made an alliance with the ruler of ad-Dir’iyya, Muḥammad ibn Sa‘ūd. Bedouin Arabian society at the time was an extremely fragmented region, composed only of small tribes with no organized state, nor any hegemony.<sup>23</sup> The Ottoman Empire had exerted considerable influence in the Hijaz, but it had not ventured into Central Arabia. Very few people ventured into central Arabia and trade in the region went outwards rather than inwards. Production was also scarce, given the arid climate. Thus, the main economic activity of Arabia was the raiding of neighbors and occasionally pilgrims, who performed the hajj.<sup>24</sup> When ‘Abd al-Wahhāb allied himself with ad-Dir’iyya, he convinced its ruler, ibn Sa‘ūd, to adopt his interpretation of Islam. His interpretation was significant, since it classified any Muslim who refused to join as an “infidel,” or *kāfir*.<sup>25</sup> It was no longer a question of maḍhab or Sunna, his message was the only legitimate one. Furthermore, in order to “correct” Islam, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb offered teachings to anyone who asked, while extending offers

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<sup>21</sup> John Voll, “Two Biographies of Ahmad Ibn Idris Al-Fasi (1760-1837),” *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, no. 4 (1973): 637.

<sup>22</sup> Although Hanbalis are often linked with Wahhabism, there was a circle of moderate Hanbalis in Damascus in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This circle coexisted peacefully within the Ottoman system. Voll, “The Non-Wahhabi Hanbalis of Eighteenth Century Syria.”

<sup>23</sup> Ad-Dir’iyya will be used when referring to the First Saudi State.

<sup>24</sup> The Ottoman Empire usually sent tribute to assure the security of the pilgrims, but it could not be impervious. Alexei Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia* (New York: New York University Press, 1998): 48.

<sup>25</sup> *Kāfir* is traditionally used to classify non-Muslim, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb thus was classifying most Muslims as non-Muslim. Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia*, 78.

to neighboring Bedouins, as well as to the governor of Hijaz. The governor of the Hijaz labeled ‘Abd al-Wahhāb a heretic on multiple occasions, which ignited ad-Dir’iyya’s long journey of jihād against those who defied ‘Abd al-Wahhāb.<sup>26</sup> Ultimately, ad-Dir’iyya did emerge as the hegemon of Central Arabia. They then openly defied the Porte, first by raiding Karbala, in Iraq, and then, by attacking pilgrims and even conquering the Hijaz. These attacks were eventually met with Ottoman confrontation roughly at the same time as the French occupation of Egypt. The Hijaz only returned to Ottoman control in 1813, when Muḥammad ‘Alī launched a campaign against the Wahhabis. It should be noted that although Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb died in 1792, his sons have continued to work with the house of Sa‘ūd, even in the present.

It was in the early nineteenth century that both Muḥammad Majdhūb and Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Sanūsī traveled to Makkah and Madinah. Al-Sanūsī was influenced by the Maliki school of thought as well as many Sufi orders. He founded his order in Hijaz, but local officials were worried about potential conflict given their recent history with the Wahhabis. Although al-Sanūsī respected every school of thought and non-Muslims, his attitude appeared rather orthodox and rigid.<sup>27</sup> Under coercion, al-Sanūsī left for his natal Maghreb. However, the French by this time had invaded Morocco proper, which halted his return. He also considered Egypt to be off-limits given Muḥammad ‘Alī’s growing power. Thus, he settled in between the two, in the remote village of Cyrenaica, in modern day Libya, where his teachings were

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<sup>26</sup> Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia*, 91; Interestingly enough, the Wahhabis infamy quickly spread and also became a derogative in contemporary Yemeni and Omani academia. Traditional scholars considered ‘Abd al-Wahhāb to be a heretic and his teachings to be tyrannical. From Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia*, 106; Bernard Haykel, “Reforming Islam by Dissolving the Maddhabs: Shawknani and his Zaydi Detractors in Yemen,” in *Studies in Islamic Legal Theory*, edited by Bemard G. Weiss (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 360; In this context, the term jihād refers to a religiously motivated military campaign. This allowed the house of Saud to launch campaigns with the religious class legitimizing it.

<sup>27</sup> E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), 4.



accepted quickly by the locals. Al-Sanūsī explicitly requested his Sufi order to forbid the discussion of politics, and he quickly gained the support of anybody who was wary of either the Porte or the West, namely the French. The Senusiyya, the name of Al-Sanūsī's order, founded a university in Jaghub, in Cyrenaica and it soon became the most important university in Northern Africa, except for the prestigious al-Azhar.<sup>28</sup> The location of Cyrenaica proved to be quite beneficial, even if the area was rather barren. Multiple oases served as key stopping points for traders and pilgrims who came across the Sahara, his teachings were thus able to spread through Sub-Saharan regions as well as some areas of Egypt and Sudan. The Senusiyya order had built their legitimacy purely through intellectual work and they did not have to use force or discrimination against others. This was the main difference between the Senusiyya and the Wahhabis, otherwise these two orders were quite similar. The Wahhabis even noted that the Senusiyya practiced the right kind of Islam, free of any innovations.<sup>29</sup> The Ottoman Empire tolerated these orders since they did not pose any threat politically or economically. Cyrenaica was barely controlled by the Porte, so they eventually accepted the Senusiyya. Their coexistence lasted until independence.<sup>30</sup>

Lastly, Muḥammad Majdhūb, the Sudanese Shaykh of Suakin, studied in Medina and Mecca around the same time as al-Sanūsī. His education was primarily of Shāfi'ī orientation, but he is said to have learnt all four schools of thought. Much like al-Sanūsī and 'Abd al-Wahhāb, he sought to find the truth through the Sunna. He followed 'Abd al-Wahhāb in denouncing the schools of thought and he "declares his interpretation as the authoritative one"<sup>31</sup>. Similarly, there are no records

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<sup>28</sup> Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, 14.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, 1.

<sup>30</sup> The Senusiyya ultimately held political control over Cyrenaica for decades. They even held the title of King of Libya. They appear to still be active and important in present-day Libya, but information is somewhat scarce and dubious given the civil war.

<sup>31</sup> Albrecht Hofheinz, "Transcending the Madhhab - In Practice: The Case of the Sudanese Shaykh Muhammad Majdhūb (1795/6-1831)," *Islamic Law and Society*, no. 2 (2003): 242, <https://doi.org/10.1163/156851903322144961>.

of Majdhūb using force either, instead his legitimacy came from his sheer eruditeness. It should be noted that a few years before Majdhūb's return to Suakin, Muḥammad 'Alī had deposed a Shāfi'ī qadi to impose a Ḥanafī in Suakin, as the Porte had instructed. Suakin was a relatively important, although tiny, port city on the Red Sea, since its strategic position allowed it to serve as an important stop along the Indian trade route, as well as a stopping ground for those making their pilgrimage to the holy cities of Makkah and Madinah. It also proved to be the easiest port to control in the region, compared to the other port cities located in Yemen. Its importance should not be overstated, it was never a major trading port for the Ottomans, but it held a significant strategic use and the Sublime Porte insisted on having some degree of control over it, confirmed by records found within buildings of Ottoman officials.<sup>32</sup> There seemed to have been a strong bond between the citizens, who unified under the goal of autonomy from the Sublime Porte. Even the local garrison and the Janissaries stationed in the city had become integrated within the local population.<sup>33</sup> This collective identity proved to be an inconvenience for the Porte, however Suakin's fractious community was not deemed a priority for the Empire at the time. Thus, the locals were quick to accept Majdhūb, who once and for all, eliminated the local maḏhab dispute. Although Majdhūb used his own methodology and rejected other schools of thought, his teachings coincided with Shāfi'ī jurisprudence.<sup>34</sup> This meant that the local population recovered the Shāfi'ī jurisprudence they had just lost without identifying as such. In this way, the local Suakin population were able to favor local aspirations while still opposing the Ottoman Empire, at least during Majdhūb's lifetime. Majdhūb's death came early at 36 years old, but during this very short life he managed to gain a considerable

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<sup>32</sup> Michael Mallinson, Laurence Smith, Colin Breen, Wes Forsythe, and Jacke Phillips, "Ottoman Suakin 1541–1865: Lost and Found," in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, edited by A. C. S. Peacock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 476.

<sup>33</sup> A.C.S. Peacock, "Suakin: A Northeast African Port in the Ottoman Empire," *Northeast African Studies*, no. 1 (2012): 39.

<sup>34</sup> Peacock, "Suakin: A Northeast African Port in the Ottoman Empire," 43.

following and his legacy would eventually reach the Sudanese heartland.<sup>35</sup>

The Ottoman Empire would eventually only consider the Wahhabis as a threat to their legitimacy and power, but it was a significant threat. There was no shortage of trouble in the nineteenth century for the Ottoman Empire and their attention on the desolate area of Central Arabia holds particular importance. However, as seen in the lives of al-Sanūsī and Majdhūb, the issue was not necessarily one of law or religion but was an issue of military conflict with the Wahhabis and the protection of the holy cities. This later point may also explain the incursion of Muḥammad ‘Ali in Suakin, given his proximity to the holy cities. However, there are numerous examples of the Ottoman Empire allowing local scholars to perform their own *ijtihād*. Al-Sanūsī and Majdhūb would fit under this traditional unappointed mufti role in the empire, a position that was still accepted in provinces closer to Istanbul, such as in Syria. Since these two figures gained legitimacy through their knowledge and intellect, they had full rights to be considered legitimate, whereas Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Wahhāb instead used force when he was disapproved by the Islamic scholars of the Empire. It is also interesting to note that all three figures ended up shaping in some way national identities in Saudi Arabia, Libya and Sudan.<sup>36</sup> We can see through the lives of Majdhūb, al-Sanūsī and ‘Abd al-Wahhāb a recurring theme. They each faced the *maḏhab* and changed how the religious law operated. This caused great ire to the Sublime Porte, but neither Majdhūb nor al-Sanūsī wished to openly confront the Ottoman Empire.

It is important to remember that these cases are not isolated, but rather part of a much larger revivalist movement that occurred throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Islam as a whole. This Islamic revival is still relevant to this day, as it can be observed in

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<sup>35</sup> The Mahdist movement in Sudan was influenced by Majdhūb’s life and teachings. John Voll, “Two Biographies of Ahmad Ibn Idris Al-Fasi (1760-1837),” 640.

<sup>36</sup> See footnotes 28 and 33. Whilst political power does not always equate to national identity, it has now become clear how popular these three figures were in their respective regions.

various Islamic schools such as al-Huda in Damascus, al-Qubaysiyyat and al-Huda in Pakistan.<sup>37</sup> Debates about the shari‘ah are not new, but it has entered into a new polemic in the nineteenth century. The world system of Islam changed at that time, the plurality and flexibility of the various schools of thought has been codified and “purified” or reformed to fit the Sunna, as interpreted by these new reformists.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> For more information, see Sara Omar, “Al-Qubaysiyyāt: Negotiating Female Religious Authority in Damascus,” *The Muslim World*, no. 3 (2013): 347-62; Sadaf Ahmad, “Al-Huda and Women's Religious Authority in Urban Pakistan,” *Muslim World*, no. 3 (2013): 363-374, <https://doi.org/10.1111/muwo.12019>.

<sup>38</sup> The interpretation of Islamic law and theology is still debated and renewed to this day, even in completely different and innovative ways. Amina Wadud, *Inside the Gender Jihad: Women's Reform in Islam* (Oxford: OneWorld, 2006).

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*historiae*

**Radicalism vs. Conservatism:  
Gay Representations and Visibility of the Stonewall Inn Riots  
(1969-1980)**

*Romina Rojas*

Romina Rojas is a fourth-year student in History at Concordia University. She is interested in understanding interconnected forms of systemic oppression, including capitalism, imperialism, colonialism, patriarchy, racism. She often wonders if decolonizing academia is even possible but nevertheless seeks out the voices of Black, Indigenous, and people of color (BiPoC) in this space. She believes in queerness as a radical force for change and intends, with this paper, to remind herself and others of this.



In the summer of 1969, riots against the police raids of gay bars began at the Stonewall Inn in Greenwich Village, Manhattan. The Civil Rights and anti-war activism of the 1960's would come to shape these riots into an astounding mobilization of gay rights activism across the country. Despite this mobilization, the gay community at the time could not be described as homogenous or united. Generational divides within the community, gender divides, and racial divisions were present, and as a result some groups were erased from the social memory of the Stonewall Inn riots as well as from the gay rights movement as a whole. Cis white gay men who championed for marriage equality became the prominent face of the movements towards gay rights, while other groups, such as people of colour, bisexuals, lesbians, and transgendered individuals, were hardly recognized for their advocacy despite being just as involved in the mobilization for their rights. Understanding how middle-class white gay men became the face of the gay rights movement is an important topic to discuss within the context of queer history, as it seeks to amplify the voices of marginalized gay community members who have too often been silenced or ignored.<sup>1</sup> The objective of this paper is therefore to explore which divisions already existed within the gay community at the time of the Stonewall Inn riots, and how the impact of these riots eventually came to accelerate the mobilization towards queer activism, while also accelerating the pre-existing group divides within the LGBTQ+ community.

The history of the gay rights movement precedes the Stonewall riots, but the Stonewall riot was the culmination of historical activist

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<sup>1</sup> The diversity of queer individuals represented in the LGBTQ+ community were not recognized nor given the same amount of visibility or space in the 1960's-1980's compared to gay men and lesbian women during this period. The term 'LGBTQ+' and 'queer' will be used within this essay to recognize the diversity of these individuals— even if within this time frame, this diversity was not openly recognized. This lack of recognition, not only within the larger hetero-normative society, but also within the gay community itself, represents the conservative stance of the gay community at this time, and prominent desire among many queer individuals to fit into hetero and mainstream institutions or spaces.

movements at the time, including the Civil Rights Movement and the Women's Rights Movement, that marked renewed radical activism within the gay community. Some key social sources that shaped the movement were the U.S. Homophile movement, the treatment of queer individuals in the United States military, increased awareness of the harassment and discrimination against the LGBTQ+ community, and the social activism of the 1960's.<sup>2</sup>

From the 1870's to the 1930's, industrialization and urbanization created in urban centers, such as New York City, offered queer individuals the freedom and space to be independent and to create their own communities and identities within their marginalized group. Spaces such as gay bars, gay clubs, and gay bathhouses emerged in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, where they existed as hidden spaces for subcultures. Then, small organizations began to emerge; the first was the Society for Human Rights in Chicago in 1924.<sup>3</sup> These small groups consisted of queer individuals who would meet to discuss the harassment, discrimination and the conditions that affected them, which was no small feat, considering that being queer could cost people their livelihoods, family and community. The treatment of gay people in the U.S. military during both world wars shaped the gay rights movement as well. It exposed queer individuals to urban life, the international gay scene, and it also provided a network for the LGBTQ+ community to meet and exchange stories and ideas. This mistreatment in the military helped to further the ideas of civil and equal rights within the larger societal discourse. The U.S. military was concerned about sexual orientation and made many dishonorable discharges to those suspected of being gay or queer. Many were forced into coming out or outing others. Gay veterans chose to fight their dishonorable discharges along with the black civil rights activists, since both subjugated groups felt unified under the notion

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<sup>2</sup> Cynthia Cannon Poindexter, "Sociopolitical Antecedents to Stonewall: Analysis of the Origins of the Gay Rights Movement in the United States," *Social Work*, no. 6 (1997), 610.

<sup>3</sup> Poindexter, "Sociopolitical Antecedents to Stonewall: Analysis of the Origins of the Gay Rights Movement in the United States," 611.

that they were taxpayers and citizens who could demand rights and engage in protests.<sup>4</sup>

Tracing the radical history of the gay rights movement shows where and how the divisions in the gay community were further cemented through activist strategies. The Gay Rights Movement was in its beginnings founded by members of the Communist Party, who refuted the idea that homosexuals were psychologically disturbed. They argued that they were an oppressed group, “under a sexist and heterosexist society that regulated gender identity and sexual orientation through institutions such as the nuclear family.”<sup>5</sup> However, during the Cold War and under McCarthyism in the 1950’s, the prosecution of queers became more rampant. The narrative used by the state to justify such arrests were that gay individuals were more likely to be blackmailed, to betray the military, or to join the Communist Party.<sup>6</sup> This led the leaders of the Gay Rights Movement to reject any left leanings or Communist affiliations as a strategy to avoid state prosecution. This new leadership became less accommodating and sought out acceptance through compliance and adherence to heterosexual structures, rather than continuing with its previous strategy of radically critiquing the state.

The Stonewall Inn bar was raided in the early hours of Saturday June 28<sup>th</sup> of 1969, sparking the gay rights movement with new energy to protest and fight against state oppression. Accounts of this event were varied, but even so, the identity of the participants was consistent, mostly working-class gay men. The Village Voice on July 3 stated that the riot began as a raid that quickly and unexpectedly, even for the crowd, turned into a confrontation with the cops.<sup>7</sup> The section 887 (7) of the New York Code of Criminal Procedure stated that people should have at least three

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 612.

<sup>5</sup> Colin P. Ashley, “Gay Liberation: How a Once Radical Movement Got Married and Settled Down,” *Labor Forum*, no. 3 (2015), 29.

<sup>6</sup> Poindexter, “Sociopolitical Antecedents to Stonewall: Analysis of the Origins of the Gay Rights Movement in the United States.”

<sup>7</sup> The Village Voice was a news and culture paper for the creative community in New York City. It ran from 1955 to 2017, with its archived pieces accessible online.

pieces of clothing appropriate to their gender. Therefore, anyone who cross-dressed or did not adhere to gendered clothing norms could be arrested.<sup>8</sup> That same night, as patrons were arrested and led outside for defying the 877 (7) section laws themselves, a crowd gathered and cheered for them. One account suggests that things escalated after a “d\*ke dressed in men’s clothing” resisted getting into the paddy wagon.<sup>9</sup> However, reports of this arrest are contested, since no individual came forward or was identified. Nonetheless, this event is supported by early coverage in *The Village Voice* that “the next person to come out was a d\*ke, and she put up a struggle – from car to door to car again.”<sup>10</sup> This account also signals that the confrontation between the cops and the protestors continued to escalate from that point. The following night the crowd returned to protest and began chanting in the street, displaying their right to publicly express themselves, while also denouncing the discrimination and harassment they were subjected to. *The Village Voice* also described the riot as having a “quasi-political tone,” as it was the first instance of queer individuals taking to the streets to display pride and lack of fear.<sup>11</sup> This violent response to the first set of raids by police reflected the need and will of the community to engage in radical activism.

The Stonewall Riots and proceeding protests were further motivated by the social activism of the 1960’s, the counterculture, and particularly the influence of the Black Civil Rights movement, the Women’s Rights movement, and the student movement; these movements all pushed for people’s “civil rights, equal opportunity and fair treatment.”<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Martin Duberman and Andrew Kopkind, “The Night They Raided Stonewall,” *Grand Street*, no. 44 (1993).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>10</sup> Lucian Truscott IV, “Gay Power Comes to Sheridan Square,” *The Village Voice*, July 3, 1969.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Cynthia Cannon Poindexter, “Sociopolitical Antecedents to Stonewall: Analysis of the Origins of the Gay Rights Movement in the United States,” 613.

Despite a strong and quick gathering of the gay community after the injustices encountered at the raids, the gay community was still divided along class and generational lines. Wealthier gays were not active community members and often avoided protesting or rioting since they were often vacationing on Fire Island or in the Hamptons— both common weekends get-a-way spots for the white upper classes of New York to escape to. These individuals were also not regular patrons at the bar, and therefore they did not mobilize or rally behind the Stonewall riots upon their return, further reflecting their attitude towards the lower-class patrons of the bar as “stoned, tacky queens.”<sup>13</sup> This absence of the upper-class gays during the riots or protests combined with negative attitudes towards lower class gays only perpetuated tensions and created further divides between the upper and lower classes within the gay community.

Generational divides were also present in the clientele of the bar, as most Stonewall Inn patrons were in their late teens to their early thirties, and the club therefore mainly catered to the same age demographic.<sup>14</sup> Older gay men from the West Side Discussion Group<sup>15</sup>, were recorded siding with the cops, and referred to the people involved in the riot as criminals.<sup>16</sup> The Village Voice, which published the first set of reports after the riots written by Lucian Truscott IV, noted that “the generation gap existed even here.”<sup>17</sup> In the following demonstrations occurring days and weeks after the raid, some of the “older boys had strained looks their faces and talked in concerned whispers as they watched the up-and-coming generation take being gay and flaunt it before the masses.”<sup>18</sup> This generational disagreement over how to protest and advocate for gay rights began due to the prosecution of gay

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<sup>13</sup> Duberman and Kopkind, “The Night They Raided Stonewall,” 129.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>15</sup> The West Side Discussion Group was made up of older and more conservative folks that met weekly as an alternative to the gay bar scene in New York City.

<sup>16</sup> Duberman and Kopkind, “The Night They Raided Stonewall,” 124.

<sup>17</sup> Lucian Truscott IV, “Gay Power Comes to Sheridan Square,” *The Village Voice*, July 3, 1969.

<sup>18</sup> Truscott IV, “Gay Power Comes to Sheridan Square.”

individuals by is shaped by the prosecution of the state during the 1950's, which ultimately shifted the Gay Rights Movement to a more conservative stance – since the older generation had become accustomed to hiding any flamboyancy to avoid getting prosecuted.

Another factor that shaped the response of the community to this raid were mass communications, facilitated by the technologies of the time. The abundance of social movements generated the normalization of news coverage of social demonstrations; the Stonewall Inn riot was merely one among many social movements that had been broadcasted and covered by many different types of media. Gay activists had created a network by which to share information and mobilize community members through “newspapers, magazines, health clinics, churches...social organizations” which helped to not only share information on current events, but also to quickly mobilize the community.<sup>19</sup> In the following weeks after the raid, community organizing gained momentum as gay protestors continued to gather around the area to demonstrate for their rights. Journalist Jonathan Black from *The Village Voice* covered one such demonstration two weeks after the raid, in which 500 people marched from Washington Square to the Stonewall Inn, which later became known as the Washington Square demonstration.<sup>20</sup>

Gay women also took part in the activism that emerged from the early aftermath of this event. Martha Shelley from the Daughters of Bilitis, a Lesbian Civil and Political rights organization, called it “the city’s first gay-power vigil.”<sup>21</sup> She went on to express that; “we’re tired of being harassed and persecuted. If a straight couple can hold hands in Washington Square, why can’t we?”<sup>22</sup>

The Washington Square demonstration to protest the Stonewall police raids had more of a political tone to it, as it included activist

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<sup>19</sup> Poindexter, “Sociopolitical Antecedents to Stonewall: Analysis of the Origins of the Gay Rights Movement in the United States,” 610.

<sup>20</sup> Jonathan Black, “Gay Power Hits Back,” *The Village Voice*, July 31, 1969.

<sup>21</sup> Black, “Gay Power Hits Back.”

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

speeches, the distribution of ribbons and arm bands to participants, and the verbalization of grievances towards the government and its institutions. A year later, *The New York Times* reported on a gay protest rally in Central Park, where people gathered “to protest laws that [made] homosexual acts between consenting adults illegal and social conditions that often [made] it impossible for them to display affection in public, maintain jobs or rent apartments.”<sup>23</sup> This rally, occurring a year after the Stonewall riots, shows a steady continuation of rallies concerned for gay rights.

Another example of the groups emerging since the riots and raids of the previous year is the Gay Liberation Front, founded by 29-year-old Michael Brown. One attendant said that this rally expressed that it “serves notice on every politician in the state and nation that homosexuals are not going to hide any more. We’re becoming militant, and we won’t be harassed and degraded any more.”<sup>24</sup> Political strategies and community consciousness were forming, as gay protestors now made demands to the state to respect their rights as citizens. In sum, the Stonewall riot was the catalyst that galvanized community organizers towards radical forms of activism once again.

The divergence in opinion among gays about the portrayal of the Stonewall riot reflects the continuity of divisions within the gay community. For instance, for the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the raid, there were disagreements amongst the New York city gay community on how to properly commemorate the event. Some complaints were that “the event’s political significance [had] succumbed to commercialism, and they say the people who were at Stonewall on the night of the raid, many of them transvestites, have been excluded from the planning so as to make the event more palatable to mainstream gay marchers.”<sup>25</sup> These

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<sup>23</sup> Lacey Fosburg, “Thousands of Homosexuals Hold a Protest Rally in Central Park,” *The New York Times*, June 29, 1970.

<sup>24</sup> Fosburg, “Thousands of Homosexuals Hold a Protest Rally in Central Park.”

<sup>25</sup> The term ‘transvestite’ is considered today to be an outdated and derogatory term. ‘Crossdresser’ or ‘androgynous’ are more acceptable and modern terms; “Remember Stonewall! But How? Gay Groups Clash Over Commemoration of Riot in 1969,” *The New York Times*, May 6, 1994.

complaints addressed the erasure of some of the historical figures and groups that were involved in the riots. Moreover, “many gay people, including some who say they were at the Stonewall that night, have complained that those who squared off with the police officers at the bar on 53 Christopher Street have been ignored in the planning of the commemoration.”<sup>26</sup>

By the 1990’s then, it seems a less militant leadership representing the gay community had transformed this event into one that could fit within the hetero-normative mainstream of binary gender, sexuality, and attire, based on their rejection of transgender representation. Activist leader, Carolyn Riccardi, argued that the commemoration was offensive and reductive towards transgender individuals “Stonewall was a rebellion of transgender people, and this event has the potential to reduce our whole culture to an Ikea furniture ad.”<sup>27</sup> This claim is important, as earlier accounts did not mention transgender folks as key actors in the riots. Furthermore,, people who were referred to as ‘drag queens’ or ‘cross-dressers’ could have been apart of the trans-community that Riccardi mentions, since they were the ones to most likely to get arrested, policed, or targeted for their clothing and appearance. Disagreement was thus present within the gay community on how to commemorate the riots and on what kind of activism strategies should follow, as illustrated by the criticism towards transgendered individuals being excluded from the 25th Stonewall riot anniversary commemoration, for fear of their representation being too radical for mainstream media coverage.

The 1960’s and 1970’s saw more radicalization within Gay Rights demonstrations, in large part due to the influence drawn from many of the social movements that emerged during that time, such as the Black Civil Rights movement, the Women’s Rights movement and the Anti-war movement. Gay Liberation was born and made through these movements, making connections between them to challenge existing

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<sup>26</sup> “Remember Stonewall! But How? Gay Groups Clash Over Commemoration of Riot in 1969.”

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*



forms of power and control from the state. However, the AIDS crisis in the 1980's hit the community hard and many of the radical leaders were lost. Survival was once again at the forefront. In 1994, during the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the riots voices of former leaders with more radical strategies were amplified, but the divide between the emerging mainstream narrative tied to marriage equality, and acceptance and the community leaders critiquing state institutions was ultimately ingrained, as shown by the lack of representation for transgender or other non-binary individuals during the event.

In recent memory, marriage equality has been at the forefront of the gay rights movement. However, this cause barely reflects the more radical history of the community for most of the 20th century and leaves out far too many members of the community, since it only represents the interests of a select few. Making marriage the focus of the Gay Rights movement ignores the historical criticism towards the institution of marriage as a source of oppression towards the community. It can even be counterproductive, as author Alan Sears has expressed, since “gains in cultural visibility or civil rights can situate queers more deeply inside systems of power.”<sup>28</sup> That is why the earlier Gay Liberation movement, Women’s movement or other left leaning movements critiqued marriage for “its relationship to the state, its economic underpinnings, and for the ways in which it has institutionalized women’s oppression.”<sup>29</sup> The movement’s focus on marriage equality inevitably highlighted a clear division within the community, since “the narrowness of the marriage equality struggle, and its self-depiction as a middle-class, mostly white struggle for mere acceptance, forgoes the chance of solidarity with movements like Black Lives Matter or the Fight for \$15.”<sup>30</sup> This furthered the already existing divisions within the community that were based upon class and race. The less ostracized of the community, those with gender, class and race privileges, were the ones that benefited through this activism strategy. This rhetoric policed queerness and

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<sup>28</sup> Alan Sears, “Queer Anti-Capitalism: What’s Left of Lesbian and Gay Liberation?” *Science & Society*, no. 1 (2005), 94.

<sup>29</sup> Ashley, “Gay Liberation: How a Once Radical Movement Got Married and Settled Down,” 28.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

sought to portray a ‘good gay subject,’ one which “increases queer precarity for racial others, poor and homeless queers, and transgender and gender non-conforming individuals.”<sup>31</sup> This curated image “mostly excluded blacks, Latinos, the poor, and transgender people.”<sup>32</sup> The gay marriage equality effort is reminiscent of the “more moderate reform-oriented movements, both before Stonewall and since, [that] have emphasized respectability, entrance into the established institutions of power and assimilation into an expanded conception of the family.”<sup>33</sup> The mainstream facets of the Gay Rights movement thus rendered visibility useless, as it did not challenge the homophobic and transphobic attitudes that were challenged within more radical forms of activism.

Furthermore, capitalist markets have increased the division between the most financially marginalized of the community and those who were wealthy. Because access to queer spaces depended on wealth – spaces such as bars, restaurants, shops, and cafes – they remained inaccessible to the poor. This rendered poor queers invisible and made wealth a determining factor of queer visibility and representation. Class division within the Gay Rights movement was also gendered. Women have and continue to make less money compared to men, and they were therefore not the main representative consumer demographic for the gay community; instead, white, wealthy, gay men were targeted. Queer spaces as private for-profit spaces thus prevented and continue to prevent solidarity and inclusion of the community’s most vulnerable, the poor, transgender, and queers of color.

In sum, the Stonewall Inn raids and riots were heavily influenced by the social movements of the 1960’s and 70’s. In the following decade, a leadership that was more conservative and willing to work within the confines of mainstream media filled in the leading roles of those who once radically occupied those spaces. By the forces of advertisement and big media, the struggle for marriage equality and

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<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>33</sup> Sears, “Queer Anti-Capitalism: What’s Left of Lesbian and Gay Liberation?” 96.

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the long history of radical activism and demonstrations of the queer community became entwined. Marriage equality was proclaimed by its leaders as the heir to the Gay Liberation struggle, creating a more mainstream and narrower image of the gay community that did not reflect the needs of the majority. The shortcomings and exclusionary nature of the mainstream marriage equality movement doubly reflect the class, gender, and racial divisions that were present since that night at the Stonewall Inn bar in 1969, as seen by the heightened representation of wealthy, white, cis gay men within the Gay Rights Movement in mainstream media, and the deficit of representation for gay women, people of colour, transgenders, non-binaries, or other individuals who do not fit within the gender binary.

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**Contesting the Legitimacy and Utility of the Scientific Revolution  
as a Historical Narrative**

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*Artisan/Practitioners and the Rise of the New Sciences, 1400-1600* by historian Pamela O. Long examines the symbiotic relationship between the skilled and learned in fifteenth and sixteenth century Italy. Long explains that the skilled and learned exchanged, combined, and subsequently altered specialized knowledge through interactions that she describes as “trading zones.”<sup>1</sup> Long argues that these interactions between the skilled and learned demonstrate that artisanal knowledge and practices were an antecedent for the new sciences in the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, these interactions reveal that the dichotomies that typically characterize the transitions of the Scientific Revolution distort how natural knowledge existed and was experienced on the ground.<sup>3</sup> The alchemical treatises of Pseudo-Geber and Paracelsus both support Long’s assertion that artisans influenced the rise of experimental science.<sup>4</sup> These treatises demonstrate that artisans possessed the same values and practices – such as instrumentation, method, empiricism, experiment, and discovery – that would later characterize the new sciences. Moreover, an examination of several artisanal treatises and other practical writings proves that the traditional dichotomies of the Scientific Revolution narrative – including scholars and craftsmen, *episteme* and *techne*, public and private knowledge, nature and art, and science and art – are inaccurate.<sup>5</sup> This reinforces Long’s categorization of dichotomies as distortions. Despite undermining many of the transitions and distinctions that define the Scientific Revolution, Long adheres to the Revolution narrative and situates her narrative as a prequel to it. This is a weakness in Long’s narrative. The artisanal precedent for the new sciences and subversion of traditional dichotomies of natural knowledge nullify the validity of the Scientific Revolution as a historical narrative.

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<sup>1</sup> Pamela O. Long, *Artisan/Practitioners and the Rise of the New Sciences, 1400-1600* (Oregon State University Press, 2011), 8.

<sup>2</sup> Long, *Artisan/Practitioners and the Rise of the New Sciences*, 3; 129-30. The new sciences refer to experimental science.

<sup>3</sup> Long, 7.

<sup>4</sup> “Pseudo-Geber” refers to the author of a series of thirteenth century alchemical treatises that were attributed to the eighth century alchemist Geber.

<sup>5</sup> *Episteme* and *techne* are Greek terms that refer to theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge, respectively.



In their alchemical treatises, Pseudo-Geber and Paracelsus both demonstrate practices and ideas that would later define the new sciences. Pseudo-Geber's thirteenth century treatise *Of the Sum of Perfection* emphasizes the importance of specific instrumentation for alchemy.<sup>6</sup> For example, Pseudo-Geber discusses the "vessel Aludel" that is used for sublimation and must "be made of thick glass, for other matter is not sufficient."<sup>7</sup> Pseudo-Geber also describes the use of a "slice," which is a utensil used to remove the skin from the top of molten metal during calcination.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, Paracelsus' early sixteenth century treatise *Of the Nature of Things* explains the methodology for transmutation. Paracelsus describes transmutation as requiring seven steps: "Calcination, Sublimation, Solution, Putrefaction, Distillation, Coagulation, Tincture."<sup>9</sup> He further explains how to conduct each step. Paracelsus also promotes empiricism by praising the practices of "Spagiricall Physitians" who spend their time "busied about the fire [...] to learn the degrees of the science of Alchymie" and produce medicine.<sup>10</sup> Finally, in the early sixteenth century work "Alchemy, Art of Transformation," Paracelsus situates alchemy as an experimental, discovery-oriented discipline. Paracelsus contends that "[t]he great virtues that lie hidden in nature would never have been revealed if alchemy had not uncovered them and made them visible."<sup>11</sup> In this passage, Paracelsus depicts alchemy as discovering the inner workings of nature through direct manipulation. These alchemical treatises were written a century or more before the new sciences developed yet reflect the same values and

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<sup>6</sup> Geber, *Of the Sum of Perfection: The First Book*, in *The Alchemy Reader: From Hermes Trismegistus to Isaac Newton*, edited by Stanton J. Linden (Cambridge University Press, 2003), 80.

<sup>7</sup> Geber, *Of the Sum of Perfection*, 87.

<sup>8</sup> Geber, 90.

<sup>9</sup> Paracelsus, *Of the Nature of Things*, in *The Alchemy Reader: From Hermes Trismegistus to Isaac Newton*, edited by Stanton J. Linden (Cambridge University Press, 2003), 157.

<sup>10</sup> Paracelsus, *Of the Nature of Things*, 161.

<sup>11</sup> Paracelsus, "Alchemy, Art of Transformation," 1520s-1530s, in *Science in Europe, 1500-1800: A Primary Sources Reader*, edited by Malcolm Oster (Macmillan Education, 2001), 100.

practices – instrumentation, methodology, empiricism, experiment, and discovery – as the new sciences. This demonstrates the influence that artisans had on the formation of the new sciences and reaffirms Long’s argument.

Furthermore, sixteenth century artisans and craftsmen used theoretical or learned knowledge and this weakens the dichotomies of scholar and craftsman and of *episteme* and *techne*. In many cases, learned knowledge was considered supplementary to, or required for, artisanal disciplines. For example, in his 1556 metallurgical treatise *De Re Metallica*, Georgius Agricola argues that being a skilled miner requires a grasp of various learned disciplines. Agricola states that “there are many arts and sciences of which a miner should not be ignorant” and enumerates philosophy, medicine, astronomy, surveying, and arithmetic as required to be a qualified miner.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, in his 1563 dialogue *On Nature and Experience*, Bernard Palissy asserts that “there is no art in the world that requires more philosophy than agriculture.”<sup>13</sup> Palissy contends that philosophical knowledge facilitates the adoption of effective agricultural techniques, and gives the example that farmers would take better care of their dung piles if they understood its importance for restoring nutrients or “salt” to their depleted fields.<sup>14</sup> Finally, in *De Architectura*, Vitruvius insists that architecture requires both practical and theoretical knowledge. Vitruvius states: “the mere practical architect is not able to assign sufficient reasons for the form he adopts; and the theoretic architect also fails [...] [h]e who is theoretic as well as practical, is therefore double armed.”<sup>15</sup> According to Vitruvius, the learned disciplines that a qualified architect should be familiar with include: optics, arithmetic, physics, music, and astronomy.<sup>16</sup> Though written between 30-15 BCE, Vitruvius’s work was influential amongst

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<sup>12</sup> Georgius Agricola, *De Re Metallica*, 1556, in *Science in Europe, 1500-1800: A Primary Sources Reader*, edited by Malcolm Oster (Macmillan Education, 2001), 97.

<sup>13</sup> Bernard Palissy, *On Nature and Experience* (1563), 574.

<sup>14</sup> Palissy, *On Nature and Experience*, 575-576.

<sup>15</sup> Vitruvius, “What Architecture is: and of the Education of an Architect,” in *Ten Books on Architecture* (30-15 BCE), 1.

<sup>16</sup> Vitruvius, “What Architecture is: and of the Education of an Architect,” 1-2.

the skilled and learned in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>17</sup> Agricola, Palissy, and Vitruvius all emphasize that artisans and craftsmen valued, required, and used theoretical knowledge to inform and facilitate their practical endeavors. These instances exemplify a fluidity rather than a polarity between the realms of contemplative scholars and hands-on craftsmen.

This fluidity is also exemplified by practical treatises that were aimed toward, and were at times written by, the learned, which demonstrates that scholars were interested in, and benefited from, practical knowledge. Long identifies practical treatises as a “trading zone.”<sup>18</sup> Long asserts, for example, that Francesco di Giorgio’s late fifteenth century treatise on architecture and engineering, *Trattato II*, was a practical work that was aimed at a learned audience.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, Long formulates an identical assertion in regards to Michael of Rhodes’ 1430s book on shipbuilding, astrology, math, and navigation.<sup>20</sup> Bruce T. Moran and Peter Dear discuss similar treatises that prove the legitimacy of this “trading zone.” In the context of metallurgy, Agricola’s *De Re Metallica* – which was written in Latin with Latin terminology for the procedures described and sought to imitate the humanist writing of Columella – was produced for a scholarly audience.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, Moran contends that Agricola’s treatise, as well as Vanoccia Biringuccio’s 1540 metallurgical treatise *Pirotechnia*, were both read by the learned.<sup>22</sup> Moran also discusses the popularity of “books of secrets” in the sixteenth century, which consisted of recipes, instructions, and techniques for crafts like alchemy; these were aimed at

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<sup>17</sup> Long, *Artisan/Practitioners and the Rise of the New Sciences*, 64-65.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7; 95.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 41; 44.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 101-104.

<sup>21</sup> Bruce T. Moran, *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution* (Harvard University Press, 2005), 45; Peter Dear, *Revolutionizing the Sciences: European Knowledge in Transition, 1500- 1700*, 3rd edition (Princeton University Press, 2019), 61; Long, *Artisans/Practitioners and the Rise of the New Sciences*, 111.

<sup>22</sup> Moran, *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution*, 46.

craftsmen as well as the broader public.<sup>23</sup> However, the learned also read these books and used them as models to write their own practical “books of secrets” for the leisured class.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, the learned physician William Gilbert, published his treatise on magnetism, *De Magnete* in 1600. *De Magnete* was written in Latin for other scholars but borrowed heavily from the attestations of sailors. Moreover, Gilbert explicitly indebted his work to the knowledge of seamen and navigators.<sup>25</sup> The various connections that these practical works had to the learned further attest to the fluidity between the spheres of the learned and skilled, and those of *episteme* and *techne* prior to the new sciences.

Although Long does not discuss the dichotomy between public and private knowledge, her categorization of dichotomous thinking as a distortion similarly applies to it. The Scientific Revolution conventionally includes the transition of natural knowledge or “science” from a private phenomenon in courts and universities to a public one, epitomized by the creation of the Royal Society of London in 1660.<sup>26</sup> Sixteenth century astrological practitioners challenge this polarized transition. The practitioners Simon Forman and Richard Napier both had astrological practices in England starting in 1592 and 1597 respectively.<sup>27</sup> According to their casebooks, Napier and Forman’s clientele consisted of both men and women of all ages and social class.<sup>28</sup> For example, on 26 February 1599, Napier had a consultation with Agnes Astill, who was impoverished enough to be given “physick gratis.”<sup>29</sup> However, Napier also had members of the gentility as clients such as the Countess of Hertford and Duchess of Lennox, Mrs. Frances Howard who

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>25</sup> Dear, *Revolutionizing the Sciences: European Knowledge in Transition, 1500- 1700*, 64-66.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 102; 104; 118.

<sup>27</sup> Lauren Kassell et al., *A Critical Introduction to the Casebooks of Simon Forman and Richard Napier, 1596–1634*, accessed December 5, 2020, <https://casebooks.lib.cam.ac.uk>.

<sup>28</sup> Kassell et al., *A Critical Introduction to the Casebooks of Simon Forman and Richard Napier, 1596–1634*, sec. “Patients.”

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. “A Day with the Astrologers.”

became a very frequent client of Napier's beginning in 1597.<sup>30</sup> This broad demographic of English society that Forman and Napier served attests to the widespread acceptance and importance of astrological practices. Furthermore, the diversity of issues that Napier and Forman's services were sought for further situates astrological practitioners as a significant social resource. Richard Web, who consulted Forman on 26 February 1599, exemplifies the above-mentioned notion. Web sought medical treatment for an ailment that Forman noted was "of moch collar & water with the blod & he swells in his hands."<sup>31</sup> In the same visit, Web also sought travel advice regarding if it was "best to goe into Ireland."<sup>32</sup> Astrological practitioners were an important, popular, and diverse public resource.

The implication of these practitioners for the public-private dichotomy depends on what definition of "science" or "scientist" is adhered to. Forman and Napier were considered irregular practitioners, whose expertise was derived from experience rather than official education and were therefore considered inferior by licensed, learned physicians.<sup>33</sup> Dear suggests that only the learned – with some exceptions – can be constituted as "scientists" and only learned disciplines qualify as "science."<sup>34</sup> Astrology had been part of the university curriculum for physicians since the thirteenth century and continued to be an important part of learned and empirical medicine into the sixteenth century and beyond.<sup>35</sup> Astrology and astronomy were also considered interchangeable in the sixteenth century, and all astronomers practiced it.<sup>36</sup> Therefore, Dear's learned definition qualifies astrology as "science," but excludes practitioners like Forman and Napier from his definition of "scientist." Yet it seems arbitrary to re-categorize the same knowledge

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. "Person 3941."

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. "A Day with the Astrologers."

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. "A Day with the Astrologers."

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. "Early Modern Medicine."

<sup>34</sup> Dear, *Revolutionizing the Sciences: European Knowledge in Transition, 1500- 1700*, 8-9; 104.

<sup>35</sup> Kassell et al., *A Critical Introduction*, sec. "Early Modern Astrology."

<sup>36</sup> Dear, *Revolutionizing the Sciences: European Knowledge in Transition, 1500- 1700*, 18.

depending on the social status of who is producing it or interacting with it. Lauren Kassell, Michael Hawkins, Robert Ralley, and John Young argue, “the boundaries between regular and irregular practitioners and between formal and practical knowledge were fluid.”<sup>37</sup> This is congruent with Long’s argument regarding the overlap between the learned and skilled. Notably, Long avoids the anachronistic term “scientist” altogether.<sup>38</sup>

The term “scientist” did not exist in the sixteenth century; it is a term that has been assigned to the period by historians to facilitate historical understanding. As Long indicates, this anachronistic term can impede historical understandings of how knowledge was categorized and experienced on the ground.<sup>39</sup> Alternatively, if the terms “science” and “scientist” are not to be completely discarded, perhaps they can be expanded to allow fluidity to exist within their boundaries. These terms can be redefined as referring to any discipline that hinges on interactions with natural knowledge. Arguably, this broader definition – though the terms remain anachronistic – restores some degree of accuracy and historical utility to these terms by making room for greater complexity.<sup>40</sup> Indeed, following these revised definitions of “science” and “scientist,” Forman and Napier’s practices can be categorized to some degree as “science.” Thus, their practices, as widely accepted and regularly solicited public resources, are significant because they weaken the public-private dichotomy of the Scientific Revolution narrative.

The polarity of art and nature, as well as that of art and science are diminished by Paracelsus in two of his alchemical texts. In “Alchemy, Art of Transformation,” Paracelsus describes alchemy as completing nature or facilitating its completion. Paracelsus states: “For alchemy means: to carry to its end something that has not yet been

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<sup>37</sup> Kassell et al., *A Critical Introduction*, sec. “Early Modern Medicine.”

<sup>38</sup> Long, *Artisans/Practitioners and the Rise of the New Sciences*, 7; 34; 92.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 34; 143.

<sup>40</sup> This definition of “science” and “scientist” will be used for the remainder of this paper.

completed.”<sup>41</sup> This suggests that alchemy can accelerate natural processes or “hurry nature along.”<sup>42</sup> Additionally, this passage situates alchemy as the final step in nature’s development. This idea is further advanced when Paracelsus asserts: “Things are created and given into our hands, but not in the ultimate form that is proper to them [...] [t]his is true of everything that grows in nature.”<sup>43</sup> Paracelsus describes nature as – rather than antithetical or dichotomous to art – intrinsically connected to, and in some cases dependent on, alchemical art. Paracelsus further connects art and nature by drawing parallels between them in *Of the Nature of Things*. In this treatise, Paracelsus implicates the alchemist as analogous to other generative and transformative forces in nature. This is evident when Paracelsus discusses the procedure of metallic coagulation, which is the sixth step of transmutation. Paracelsus explains: “Coagulation [...] is made by an Artificial and Gradual Fire of the Alchemists [...] The other Coagulation is done by the Aetnean and Mineral Fire in the Mountains, which indeed the Archies of the Earth governs and graduates not unlike to the Alchemists.”<sup>44</sup> Paracelsus compares the alchemist to the *Archies* – which is a force that generates metals in the earth — positioning the alchemist as emulating natural processes.<sup>45</sup> Paracelsus’ texts emphasize an affinity between nature and art. This affinity defines alchemy as interacting with nature and therefore producing natural knowledge. This degrades the distinctions between science and art and suggests that alchemists are in some ways doing science – which reaffirms the revised definition of science.

The fluidity between these traditional polarities calls into question the validity of the Scientific Revolution. The subversion of the dichotomies of scholar and craftsmen, *episteme* and *techne*, public and private knowledge, nature and art, and science and art in these artisanal treatises and other writings legitimize Long’s categorization of dichotomies as distortions. Moreover, the fluidity revealed by these

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<sup>41</sup> Paracelsus, “Alchemy, Art of Transformation,” 100.

<sup>42</sup> Moran, *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution*, 29.

<sup>43</sup> Paracelsus, “Alchemy, Art of Transformation,” 101.

<sup>44</sup> Paracelsus, *Of the Nature of Things*, 159.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

subversions reinforces Long's contention that artisans influenced how the learned understood natural knowledge and thus contributed to the formation of the new sciences.<sup>46</sup> Long omits the term "Scientific Revolution" from her narrative and solely refers to transitions in natural knowledge in the seventeenth century as the development of the new sciences.<sup>47</sup> This suggests some ambivalence towards the Revolution narrative. However, Long ultimately adheres to the Revolution narrative by situating her narrative as a prequel to it.<sup>48</sup> Yet Long's diminishment of dichotomies and depiction of artisans as antecedents for the new sciences undermines many of the stark changes that tend to characterize the Revolution.

Dear's narrative exemplifies some of the main transitions that typically define the Scientific Revolution. Dear characterizes science in the sixteenth century as taking place primarily in universities and conducted by scholars who valued contemplative, theoretical knowledge based in humanism and Aristotelianism. Dear describes the seventeenth century as a transition from these characteristics to an operational, Baconian model that was still practiced by the learned – and now leisured – elite and valued method, experiment, empiricism, discovery, and instrumentation.<sup>49</sup> As aforementioned, experimental science is also characterized as more public in its purpose – which was to ameliorate society – and in its sites of operation like the Royal Society and the proliferation of scientific societies that it inspired. In this way, the Scientific Revolution narrative is dependent on the polarities mentioned above. These sharp distinctions and their relatively sudden diminishment by Baconian, experimental science is what makes the Revolution revolutionary. Long's arguments contradict such a sudden, stark transition by depicting the new sciences as an appropriation of already well-established artisanal values and practices by the learned, rather than the creation of an unprecedented set of ideas.<sup>50</sup> Therefore, Long's

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<sup>46</sup> Long, *Artisans/Practitioners and the Rise of the New Sciences*, 130.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>49</sup> Dear, *Revolutionizing the Sciences: European Knowledge in Transition*, 10-13; 31-2; 63; 102; 142-150; 170-171.

<sup>50</sup> Long, *Artisans/Practitioners and the Rise of the New Sciences*, 130-131.



narrative and its subversion of polarities represents not a prequel to the Revolution, but a nullification of the validity of the Revolution narrative. Long's failure to make this conclusion is a weakness in her argument.

This is not to claim that no significant transition happened during this period. As Long explains, though these stark polarities are inaccurate, the social categories of learned and skilled were still well defined, separate spheres in the early modern period.<sup>51</sup> Thus, the rise of the new sciences nonetheless equates a novel transition in which the practices, goals, and values of artisanal disciplines were assimilated into learned culture to an unprecedented degree. But it was a much more subtle and gradual transition than what is depicted in the Scientific Revolution narrative.

Long's elucidation of artisanal antecedents for the new sciences and refutation of the traditional polarities that define the Scientific Revolution nullifies the legitimacy of the Revolution narrative for explaining transitions in early modern science. The procedures, goals, and values depicted in the treatises of Pseudo-Geber and Paracelsus mirror those of the new sciences and demonstrate the validity of Long's argument that craftsmen and artisans influenced the rise of experimental science. Moreover, the promotion of theoretical knowledge by Agricola, Palissy, and Vitruvius, and the various *techne*-oriented treatises written for or by scholars, reveal the fluidity between the categories of scholar and craftsman and *episteme* and *techne*. The casebooks of Forman and Napier exemplify – with a revised definition of “science” and “scientists” – a public facet of science prior to the rise of scientific societies in the mid seventeenth century. This undermines the typically polarized transition from science as a private endeavor to a more public one. Finally, Paracelsus' texts emphasize an affinity, rather than opposition, between nature and art that implicates alchemy as science. These examples all affirm Long's rejection of dichotomy and situate it as a strength in her narrative.

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<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

However, by positioning her narrative as a prequel to the Revolution, Long fails to fully unravel the implications of her arguments. Indeed, Long's arguments, and their proven accuracy, eradicate the validity of the Revolution narrative. Long's refusal to fully reject the Revolution narrative despite her evidence against it attests to the hegemony of this narrative for interpreting early modern science. The Revolution narrative is not intrinsically counterproductive to understanding transitions in natural knowledge during this period, it still holds merit for tracking the progression towards modern science. In the context of understanding how natural knowledge was understood and experienced on the ground, though, the Revolution narrative is – like the polarities that define it – a distortion. Early modern science cannot be fully deciphered until it is separated from the Scientific Revolution.

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**The Volk's Visualization:  
German Identity and Nazi Propaganda**

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Javier Gavidia is a fourth-year history undergraduate student at Concordia University. His major interest is in studying transnational history that focuses on the study of movements of people and/or ideas rather than of nation states. His other major academic interest is studying leftist movements and their ideologies. These two intertwined interests give him the conviction that history can be an emancipatory and therapeutic discipline for the alienated. In the future, whether he pursues further education or self-learns independently, he hopes to share his knowledge to the public. Besides history, his other passions in life are music, jogging, cooking, and video games. He wishes to thank *Historiae* for publishing his submission.

Governments and their sympathizers play a fundamental role in the creation of a country's national identity. National identity and its associated values are then expressed in many forms of media. Nazis had political and ideological motivations in promoting a new German identity for its people. Nazi's wide-scale propaganda project embraced visual culture and print, including photographs of urban landscapes, children's books, films, postcards, art, and school textbooks. Nazi propaganda's omnipresence raises the question: what did Nazi Volk identity want to portray and what was the end goal of instilling such values? In other words, how was the idea of the Volk ("the people") portrayed in Nazi propaganda? Additionally, how do Nazi depictions of the Volk further our understanding of the Holocaust?

### 1.0 The Volk

The representation of the Volk is divided into many different themes. Broadly speaking, German Volk identity attaches the people to a mythical past with racialized connotations. Moreover, the Volk has a gender dimension where men and women are valued for gendered reasons. Likewise, The Nazi imagining of Jewish identity is inseparable from Nazi visions of German Volk identity. Portrayals of Jews in Nazi propaganda illuminate how Nazis viewed themselves and the biased images they wanted to project onto themselves and others. Analysis of Nazi propaganda and its effects confirms that propaganda's importance is not only about indoctrinating others, but also to confirm previously held biases. Volk propaganda that confirms biases eases the target group into accepting and performing violent actions. Put differently, Nazi propaganda incited genocidal violence.

To begin, we must first question: what is the Volk? Various researchers explored the underlying themes of Volk identity during, and prior to the rise of Nazi Germany. Historian Joachim Whaley reveals that the meanings of the Volk vary according to the demands or circumstances of the era.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, the Volk must be considered as an

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<sup>1</sup> Joachim Whaley, "'Reich, Nation, Volk': Early Modern Perspectives," *The Modern Language Review*, no. 2 (2006): 442-443.

ever-evolving term across time and space. In his 1964 book, *The Crisis of German Ideology*, historian George L. Mosse identifies key themes in Nazi Germany's vision of the Volk derived from past Volkisch thought. The Volk has a mystical quality where it links the human soul with the "essence" of nature.<sup>2</sup> The Volk and its people become intertwined with their natural habitat. The Volk's characteristics are regionalized, thus increasing the racial distinctions made between people.<sup>3</sup> Mosse highlights the significant implications of regionalized Volks for German imaginations of the Jewish people. Ideas of the "natural origin Volk" linked Jewish people to a desert landscape devoid of life, creativity, and spirituality.<sup>4</sup> In other words, the Volk emphasized the connection of people with nature and their ancestral origins.

Mosse also suggests that the Volk is tied to a fascination with the distant past such as the Medieval.<sup>5</sup> Nazi idealization of the medieval period made it the setting of their utopic vision for the German Volk.<sup>6</sup> The main audience for Volkisch thought were the disenfranchised members of the middle class being pushed out of their wealth and status due to the Industrial Revolution.<sup>7</sup> Mid 1800s Volkisch thinkers such as Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl saw the uprooted proletariat and the big city as the antagonist of the Volk. However, at the turn of the century, Volkisch thinkers replaced the proletariat with the Jewish people as their main antagonist.<sup>8</sup> Mosse identifies that the formulation of the Jewish enemy can be seen in Nazi slogans from 1921 and 1938, such as "Berlin is the city of Jews" and "cities are the tombs of Germanism."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> George L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1964), 4.

<sup>3</sup> Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich*, 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.



Nazi's Volk identity also emphasized national unity. In his 2012 book, *Hitler's Volksgemeinschaft and the Dynamics of Racial Exclusion*, historian Michael Wildt examines how Nazi Germany formulated its idea of the Volksgemeinschaft, the people's community. Prior to Nazi Germany, the people's community emphasized the national unity of the German people. Wildt discusses the "Spirit of 1914" which compelled Social Democrats and German Jews to support the war in hopes of being integrated into the German Volk.<sup>10</sup> Comparatively, National Socialists viewed the Volksgemeinschaft as an exclusionary movement whose unity was achieved by denoting who were and were not Germans, namely Jews.<sup>11</sup> Adolf Hitler's idea of the Volksgemeinschaft came as early as 1920 in a speech titled "Why Are We Anti-Semites?" which distinguished Nordic Races from the others.<sup>12</sup> The speech denotes that the German Volk must be kept racially pure from the Jews who were not a race and can only be parasites towards other races. Wildt argues that fears of racial mixing facilitated persecutions over those accused of racial defilement.<sup>13</sup> Historian David Welch highlights in "Nazi Propaganda and the Volksgemeinschaft: Constructing a People's Community" that Nazi images of the Volk emphasized work. Welch observed that propaganda targeting workers emphasized labor as an ennobling act, a source of pride and patriotism.<sup>14</sup> Nazis hoped that propaganda would ease the assimilation of workers into the factory community and subsequently into the national community.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, accepting Nazi Volkisch identity enabled national unity and a common purpose according to Nazis.

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<sup>10</sup> Michael Wildt, *Hitler's Volksgemeinschaft and the Dynamics of Racial Exclusion: Violence Against Jews in Provincial Germany, 1919-1939*, translated by Bernard Heise (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 17-18.

<sup>11</sup> Wildt, *Hitler's Volksgemeinschaft and the Dynamics of Racial Exclusion: Violence Against Jews in Provincial Germany*, 35.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>14</sup> David Welch, "Nazi Propaganda and the Volksgemeinschaft: Constructing a People's Community," *Journal of Contemporary History*, no. 2 (2004): 221.

<sup>15</sup> Welch, "Nazi Propaganda and the Volksgemeinschaft," 222.

German Volk identity further embodied gendered and racial values. The importance of race and the gendered connotations of the German Volk was explored in historian Cynthia Eller's article "Matriarchy and the Volk." Ernst Bergmann influenced Nazi ideology in its formative years regarding Nordic Motherhood and women's role in the movement.<sup>16</sup> For Bergmann, Nordic motherhood symbolized the ideal mother who bore children with "the carriers of the best genes."<sup>17</sup> Additionally, Bergmann believed that the ideal Nordic mothers' usage of selective breeding displayed the superiority of the matriarchy in safeguarding the racial purity of the German Volk.<sup>18</sup>

In sum, these visions of the Volk contain key themes for Nazi German identity. The Nazi German Volk had a fascination with the medieval era. It projected a mystic quality where the spirit of the people was imbued through Germany's natural surroundings and landscapes. The Volk emphasized national unity, the duty of labor, the ideal vision of the peasant and the utopic village. It privileged a vision of gender roles assigning women to breed only with racially pure Germans to safeguard the Volk. Lastly, German identity was intertwined with anti-Semitism, which portrayed Jews as the main enemy of the German Volk.

## 2.0 Nazi Propaganda

This section examines the representation of the German Volk in propaganda media. Nazi propaganda takes many forms, but perhaps one of the most omnipresent were the cities themselves. Cities are depicted as the symbolic re-establishing of the German Volk community against the supposed Jewish influence. As explained previously, Volkisch thinkers thought cities were tied to Jews and the evils of modernity. The Nazi re-visualization of German cities can be seen in Adam Kraft's collection of photos from 1940 titled *Großdeutschland: Die Städte*. These photos are said to portray relatively normal circumstances of life in Nazi Germany. The photos depict German cities

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<sup>16</sup> Cynthia Eller, "Matriarchy and the Volk," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, no. 1 (2013): 205.

<sup>17</sup> Eller, "Matriarchy and the Volk," 204.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 202-203.

with Nazi flags hanging off of prominent buildings.<sup>19</sup> Given that cities were identified with Jewish influence among Nazi and Volkisch thinking, the implanting of the Nazi flag is a symbolic gesture for the German Volk in hopes of re-establishing its roots in the urbanized German communities. The flags may also highlight the birth of a new political order in Germany, and it may further energize people to join the Nazi movement. Furthermore, an emphasis is put on the cathedrals in the photos of Naumberg.<sup>20</sup> Cathedrals serve as a symbol of religious communities and the spirituality of the medieval past. Magdeburg and Frankfurt are framed through town halls, which serve as the outlet for citizens to communicate with politicians.<sup>21</sup> Graz is shown through a market square with people present across the photo, and Saxony is shown during a festival with bountiful Nazi flags and people. By implicitly putting an emphasis on communal relations, whether through religious, political, economic, or cultural channels, these photographs are a clear embodiment of the Nazi Volksgemeinschaft (the people's community).

## 2.1 City Photographs

City photographs also featured laborers and national unity. Zwickau's city photo shows a choir of miners singing in front of the town hall (see figure 1).<sup>22</sup> The presence of Nazi flags is an inescapable presence in the landscape. It also features a flag with hammers symbolic of labor. The combination of flags and miners singing illustrates the Nazi link between labor and the nationalist movement. The combination of miners singing to the town hall and children shows the Volkisch thought of national unity. The photo frames itself where the center focus is not on the miners, but on the children listening to their singing. It thereby amplifies the theme of national unity as miners perform for the Nazi regime by singing next to the town hall and provide exemplary behavior for the children. Historian Ulrich Prehn's "Working Photos: Propaganda, Participation, and the Visual Production of Memory in Nazi Germany" examines how similar photography, centered on the German working

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<sup>19</sup> Adam Kraft, *Großdeutschland: Die Städte* (Carlsbad und Leipzig: Adam Kraft Verlag, 1940).

<sup>20</sup> See photograph of "Naumberg" in Kraft, *Großdeutschland: Die Städte*.

<sup>21</sup> See photograph of "Magdeburg and Frankfurt," Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> See photograph of "Zwickau," Ibid.

class, was a widespread part of Nazi community-building processes.<sup>23</sup> Thus, the photograph of miners singing and children listening was a representation of the Volksgemeinschaft envisioned by the Nazi party.



Figure 1. *Photograph of Zwickau*. Photograph from Adam Kraft. From *Großdeutschland: Die Städte*. Carlsbad und Leipzig: Adam Kraft Verlag, 1940. Accessed through the German Propaganda Archive from Calvin University. <https://www.bytwerk.com/gpa/nazocities.htm>.

However, several photos' topic deviates from the image of the people's community. The city of Augsburg instead focuses on a monument of ancient Roman Emperor Augustus.<sup>24</sup> Cities like Eßlingen, Kolberg, and Naumberg put an emphasis on German buildings and on churches. These cities do not only show the religious unity of Germany. They emphasize the German character of the landscape and its ties to

<sup>23</sup> Ulrich Prehn, "Working Photos: Propaganda, Participation, and the Visual Production of Memory in Nazi Germany," *Central European History*, no. 3 (2015): 366-86, [www.jstor.org/stable/43965176](http://www.jstor.org/stable/43965176).

<sup>24</sup> See photograph "Augsburg," in Kraft, *Großdeutschland: Die Städte*.

ancient religiosity. The photo of Linz, Hitler's hometown, emphasized the entire city framed by the sky. The framing has the effect of not restricting the viewer's gaze to only buildings, but the entire city landscape in all its magnificence.<sup>25</sup> The photo of Linz accentuates the vastness and wealth of the German Volk through displaying ample amounts of cars and buildings. The aerial view also heightens the appearance of the vast landscape and gives Hitler's birthplace a prosperous "essence" further propagandizing the dictator's splendor. Putting these photos together, we have a view of a Germany tied to the distant past with Augustus and churches, and the distinct German Volk symbolized through German buildings. Essentially, the photographs of cities emphasized the German landscape and national unity through symbols of the people's community. Nazi propaganda's notion of the Volk can be seen influencing how German cities and the landscape are viewed.

## 2.2 Children's Books

Volkisch identity and the exclusion of Jews are also present in children's books. One example is the 1936 children's book, *Trust No Fox on his Green Heath and No Jew on his Oath* created by Elvira Bauer, an 18-year-old art student. The book was used in many schools and printed around 100, 000 copies for the public.<sup>26</sup> Circulated within German schools at the time, the book was one of three anti-Semitic children's books published and printed by Julius Streicher: the founder for the Nazi Germany newspaper *Der Sturmer* and *Sturmer* publishing company. The book indoctrinates children with anti-Semitic beliefs through a series of poems telling the fictitious origins of the Jews and their ties to the devil. The propaganda book declared that Jewish people supposedly arrived in Germany with the help of the devil where "like thieves they stole into our land, hoping to get the upper hand."<sup>27</sup> The book also ties Jews to the

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<sup>25</sup> See photography "Linz," Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Elvira Bauer, *Trau keinem Fuchs auf grüner Heid und keinem Jud auf seinem Eid* (Nuremberg: Stürmer Verlag, 1936), accessed online through German Propaganda Archives, <https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/fuchs.htm>.

<sup>27</sup> See sec. "The Father of the Jews is the Devil" in Bauer, *Trau keinem Fuchs auf grüner Heid und keinem Jud auf seinem Eid*.

death of Jesus Christ in “The Eternal Jew.” It claims that they are a nomadic people with no homeland who settled across all of Europe.<sup>28</sup> The belief is especially important for Volkisch thinkers who saw the ties of people to homeland and landscape as vital elements for their racial character. If Jewish people never had a homeland or an original soil, then the only conclusion would be that they are not a people and are not human. Jews belonging and being allies with the devil further dehumanizes them as monsters without morals. These tropes possess a racial dimension where Jewish people are a threat to the purity of the German race and are omnipresent in German society. The book attempts to proselytize the notion that Jewish people are disguised as Germans who adopt new names.<sup>29</sup> The propaganda book is explicit with its racist message that Jewish Germans are not pure Germans for “Once a Jew, always a Jew.”<sup>30</sup> The chapter contends that Jewish character is an inescapable racial distinction. The book concludes with depicting members of the Hitler Youth as the true Germans and the deportation of Jews as retribution for German persecution. The bulk of the book is thus centered on caricaturing Jews as untrustworthy.

Moreover, Nazi Volkisch identity was expressed through the drawings of the book, *Trust No Fox on his Green Heath and No Jew on his Oath*. The first drawing emphasises the connection between races and their landscape (see figure 2). The top left of the drawing depicts the Nazi image of “Aryans.” The bottom center contrastingly illustrates Jewish people as slaves to the Pharaoh.<sup>31</sup> The Aryans’ environment portrays a “German type” nature that accentuates beauty and vitality. The German landscape is more welcoming than the Jewish landscape’s inhospitable desert. The drawing also underlines the supposed alien origins of Jewish people in the pristine German environment. The drawing’s landscapes express the Volkisch beliefs on nature symbolizing the spirit of the people. The Germans live in a high-spirited home while Jews live in a lifeless desert contrasting their spirits. The next drawing of the book

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., sec. “The Eternal Jew.”

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., sec. “Jewish Names.”

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., sec. “Once a Jew, always a Jew.”

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., sec. “The Father of the Jews is the Devil.”

purposefully shows the racist distinction between true Germans and the Jewish people. The hunched over Jewish person is a typical anti-Semitic caricature of a businessmen with over exaggerated facial and body features.<sup>32</sup> The German is a miner standing proud personifying the working men that Nazis wished all German men to become.<sup>33</sup> The drawing holds an implicit message. The less physically demanding work is tied to Jewishness while labor-intensive work is linked to true Germanness. The constant Jewish caricature dehumanizes them into ugly creatures and the anti-type of the “civilized” German people.



Figure 2. “The Father of the Jews is the Devil.” By Elvira Bauer. *Trau keinem Fuchs auf grüner Heide und keinem Jud auf seinem Eid*, Nuremberg: Stürmer Verlag, 1936. Accessed through the German Propaganda Archive from Calvin University. <https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/fuchs.htm>.

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

The book also played into the racial anxieties of Nazis in the story “The Servant Girl.” The story is about a countryside German girl who wants to make a living in the city. The girl finds work for a Jewish person and is subsequently preyed upon by the Jewish employer.<sup>34</sup> In the third drawing of the story, she changes her appearance. She abandons her traditional clothing and wears instead an urban style dress. The angry father notices her changing demeanor and asserts his distress of seeing his daughter waste the pure bloodline by being with a Jewish man for money and dresses.<sup>35</sup> The story and accompanying drawings show the racial anxieties of Nazis to keep the German bloodline pure from “foreign blood.” The cartoon implies that young girls are expected to preserve the purity of the German race by reproducing only with pure Aryan men. These drawings also demonstrate the connection made with the urban city and Jewishness. The Nazi imagination of cities under evil Jewish influence is symbolized with the traditional German girl corrupted by the Jewish man. His influence in the city soon assimilates the girl into the urban city culture, racially coded as morally corrupt Jewish culture.

“The Servant Girl” chapter is followed with drawings highlighting the power of Nazi leadership and of allies such as the *Der Sturmer* newspaper. Their power was the ability to get rid of supposed Jewish influence in schools and the countryside.<sup>36</sup> The book glorifies Julius Streicher in “The Jewish Doctor” as the man whom “we owe our deepest thanks [...] He’s let them feel the German spirit, Twixt Jew and us he’s shown the difference. That is Streicher!!”<sup>37</sup> The poem elevates Streicher’s position as the discoverer of Jewish deception and the messenger of the truth to the people. In doing so, he and true Germans regained control of Germany from the Jews. The book’s drawings also depict the Hitler Youth. They have the German landscape at its most natural state distancing themselves from urban landscapes that comprise most of the book’s background.<sup>38</sup> The visual message is that true

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., sec. “The Servant Girl.”

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., sec. “The Jewish Doctor.”

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., sec. “The Führer’s Youth.”



Germans are members of the Hitler youth and know how to live within the uncorrupted nature in Germany. The implicit message being that “Jewish influenced” big cities degrades the purity of Germans. The children’s book demonstrates the Hitler Youth’s glorification of nature and the ideal vision of Germans connected directly with the Volk’s landscape. It also shows the interconnectedness of German identity and anti-Semitism whereby protecting the German Volk meant deporting and removing Jewish people and their influence.

### 2.3.1 Film: *Triumph of the Will*

Likewise, Nazi formation of German identity is found in movies. Nazi Germany’s most popular film *Triumph of the Will* directed, produced, edited, and co-written by Leni Riefenstahl exemplifies German Volk identity. Nazi leadership saw the potential of film in producing German Volkisch identity. Propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels spotted the ability of films to influence people. Historian Peter Longerich in his biography of Goebbels mentions Goebbels description of *Battleship Potemkin* that “Anyone without a solid ideology might be converted to Bolshevism by this film.”<sup>39</sup> He wanted German films to follow the example of *Battleship Potemkin*’s power to influence people’s ideologies. However, instead of provoking Bolshevism, Goebbels wanted German films to have strong Volkisch themes and greater realism that German citizens could relate to.<sup>40</sup> Goebbels viewed *Triumph of the Will* and was initially cynical over its potential reception, but later praised the film during its 1935 premier.<sup>41</sup>

*Triumph of the Will* contains Goebbels wish of German films that highlights the Nazi imagined realities of the world. The thesis of the film is the rebirth of Germany from its decline since World War One. The film’s introduction explicitly declares “sixteen years after the start of the German suffering, nineteen months after the start of Germany’s

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<sup>39</sup> Peter Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography*, translated by Alan Bance, Jeremy Noakes and Lesley Sharpe (New York: Random House, 2015), 216.

<sup>40</sup> Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography*, 216.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 274-275.

rebirth.<sup>42</sup> The sixteen years alludes to Germany's defeat in World War One while nineteen months refers to the Nazi Party's political ascension in 1933. German rebirth is visually demonstrated in many ways throughout the film. Massive crowds cheer the arrival of Hitler during the 1934 Nuremberg rally. The happiness of the German people throughout the film is a visual contrast with the political realities following World War One and the 1929 economic crash. The film essentially transforms into a weeklong parade with speeches from Nazi figureheads Julius Streicher, Joseph Goebbels, Rudolf Hess and Adolf Hitler preaching the birth of a new Germany.<sup>43</sup> Riefenstahl shows footage dedicated to reviewing the German army with its many horses, cars, and artillery. Hitler also reviewed the capabilities of the labor service, and the SA and SS paramilitary organizations who pledge their allegiance to the Nazis.<sup>44</sup> These visual images are synchronized with triumphant music that serves as a musical symbol of Germans regaining their faith and strength despite the injustices of World War One and Versailles. Hitler's speech in the closing ceremony expresses the sentiment of injustice. He exclaims the once persecuted Germans and the marginal voice of the Nazi party gained political strength and has transformed Germany into a powerful nation.<sup>45</sup> The film therefore becomes an instrument to declare that the leadership of Hitler and the Nazis caused the recovery of Germany and Germans.

*Triumph of the Will* is also an expression of the Nazi German Volk identity. The Volk is conveyed through the portrayal of the German people throughout the film. Hitler's various speeches throughout the film claims that German unity strengthened the nation. German unity is visually shown in various ways. The citizens cheering Hitler's arrival were so numerous that any sense of individualism dissipates, and the people morph into one unit. Uniformity is even more apparent with Hitler reviewing the labor service. German laborers announce from

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<sup>42</sup> *Triumph of the Will*, directed by Leni Riefenstahl (1935; Nazi Germany: Universum Film AG), accessed online through Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/TriumphOfTheWillgermanTriumphDesWillens>

<sup>43</sup> *Triumph of the Will*, "Congress Hall of the NSDAP," 00:24:00.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, "SA and SS review," 01:07:00.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, "Closing Ceremonies," 01:38:00.

which German city they came from and are united with the objective of cleaning the swamp.<sup>46</sup> The scene is supplemented with a speech from Hitler proclaiming that labor “will no longer be a dividing concept, but one that unites all.”<sup>47</sup> The speech illuminates Nazi perceptions of physical labor being looked down upon. Hitler’s statement brings into question what he meant by the division between the types of labor. The division is alluded as between the German physical labor and the less physically demanding Jewish labor of business. The racialization of labor was already showcased in children’s books. Hitler’s speech fits the racialized narrative of regaining the German Volk’s place in Germany devalued due to “Jewish influence.” The racialized outlook on labor demonstrates how Nazi propaganda attached German identity with hard physical labor. Hard labor tied to German identity is again emphasized through the march of young and old farmers in traditional costumes.<sup>48</sup> The farmer’s march concludes with a harvest offering to Hitler. The march exposes the value Nazis put into physical labor but also to traditions embodied through traditional clothing. The bountiful harvest shown is a symbol for the good fortunes for the German people since the ascension of the Nazi party. The harvest can also be a symbol for the reversal of bad times since the economic crash and the even earlier World War One defeat.

Food as a symbol of abundance was displayed earlier in the film through the Hitler Youth and the German Youth encampment outside of the Nuremburg rally.<sup>49</sup> The inclusion of this scene is striking as everything else in the film is directly tied towards the 1934 Nuremburg rally or Hitler’s cult of personality. The aerial view of the encampments stretches far into the horizon showing the vast extent of the Hitler Youth’s popularity. The encampments and life in it are cheerily represented as the members play games and smile. The men are also hard at work with preparing the plentiful food for the Hitler Youth. The encampment scene illustrates that joining the Hitler Youth is a positive

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., “Reich Labor Service Review,” 00:32:30.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., “Reich Labor Service Review,” 00:36:28.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., “Farmer’s March,” 00:18:00.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., “Youth Encampment,” 00:16:00.

experience, which could incite Germans to join. It is also another manifestation of Nazi Volkisch identity tied towards hard physical labor and a militarized lifestyle.

The film is also concerned with the role of youth for the Volk. Besides the aforementioned Hitler Youth, children are present throughout the parades as spectators and as participants such as in the farmer's march. Early in the film, the camera shows a woman with her baby giving a bouquet to Hitler.<sup>50</sup> The scene is followed by a series of close-ups of children smiling. Combining these imageries with the Hitler Youth encampment scene, the film reveals the Nazi party's emphasis on the role of youth in German society. The importance of youth is blunt in Hitler's closing ceremony speech. He describes youth as a pillar of the movement by continuing the work of older generations.<sup>51</sup> The centrality of children has important implication for the Nazi movement. The need for children necessitates the implicit role of women represented by the woman holding a baby while giving a bouquet to Hitler. That role is to produce children for the Nazi state. The bouquet scene shows how Volkisch identity regards German women as the reproducers of a "pure race." The goal of racial purity is delivered explicitly in Julius Streicher's speech about racial preservation.<sup>52</sup> Racial preservation, Nazi motherhood, and the importance of children are visually shown together through mothers bearing children for the Hitler Youth and the Nazi party.

### 2.3.2 Landscape in *Triumph of the Will*

Landscape tied to Volkisch identity is emphasized in *Triumph of the Will*. The film's scene of an aerial view of Nuremburg and the Hitler Youth encampments encapsulates this sentiment.<sup>53</sup> The aerial view of Nuremburg is accompanied with triumphant music. Nuremburg itself is filled with Nazi flags like the photographs of Nazi cities. The Nazi flag and swastika have a constant presence throughout the film. The flag is at its most superior midway in the film where the camera is angled

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., "Motorcade," 00:06:22.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., "Closing Ceremonies," 01:40:00.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., "Congress Hall of the NSDAP," 00:28:50.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 00:02:40 00:14:00.

looking upwards to the line of swastika flags. The angle gives a sense of reverence towards the Nazi flag and subsequently to the power of the Nazi party.<sup>54</sup> The closing ceremony features flag bearers holding the names of German cities such as Holstein and Westerwald.<sup>55</sup> The implantation of Nazi flags across Nuremberg, the ceaseless military parades and marches, the accompanying triumphant music, and crowds cheering the arrival of Hitler convey the impression of a military triumph over an occupied land. Given Nazi Volkisch beliefs of cities as Jewish controlled territory, the Nuremberg rally and its ceremonies are reinterpreted as the triumphant return of German power and national spirit. The excessive presence of Nazi symbols in cities becomes an announcement that alleged Jewish influence in the German landscape is going to be removed.

The cultural removal goes beyond Nuremberg. The closing ceremony visualizes the removal of Jewish culture through the flag bearers carrying the names of German cities. Ideas of the German Volk retaking its place in the landscape are again expressed through Hitler's speech. He proclaims that Germans are a persecuted group and need to remove the elements in Germany that have become bad.<sup>56</sup> What is specifically "bad" is left unspecified in the film but upon closer inspection refers to the unwanted German people such as Jews. The idea of persecuted Germans is explicit in the film's ending with the Nationalist Socialist German Worker's Party (NSDAP) hymn lyrics of "comrades shot by the Red Front and the Reactionaries, March in spirit together in our columns."<sup>57</sup> The film's last sentences by Rudolf Hess stresses that "Hitler is Germany as Germany is Hitler."<sup>58</sup> The army and civilians hailing Hitler throughout his appearance in the film visually represent Hitler as a manifestation of Germany and the Nazi party. Nazi ideology and Hitler's leadership becomes the embodiment of German Volk identity. The identity is intertwined with the Nazi party's image of "the true German."

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 01:12:10.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 01:32:25.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 01:44:00.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 01:43:25.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 01:43:09.

## 2.4 Postcards

Propaganda of the “true German” identity is even found in everyday objects. Nazis used postcards to highlight their ideological views. The Nazis documented their 1934 Nuremberg Rally with films, but also through the creation of Nuremberg rally postcards. A 1933 Nuremberg rally postcard depicts Hitler as a messianic figure.<sup>59</sup> He is accompanied by anti-Semite propagandist Julius Streicher and Nuremberg mayor Willy Liebel. While readers' eyes would be transfixed to Hitler, they will also notice the German people depicted in Holy Roman Empire military outfits. It includes a medieval knight and military men in more traditional military clothing in the far right.<sup>60</sup> The soldiers are following the flag bearer who carries the Nuremberg flag. The postcard, while meant to be a letter sent without much thought, actually includes symbols of Volkisch beliefs. It contains depictions of the distant past and of Germans as noble warriors. Additionally, the postcard ascends Hitler's position into a divine figurehead akin to Medieval kings.

Fascination with an idealized past is seen in another postcard for the 1934 Nuremberg rally. While simpler than the previous example, it contains the same essential elements. The postcard dates itself with the 1934 Nuremberg Rally at the bottom of the card, but what is most interesting is the German figure at the center (see figure 3).<sup>61</sup> He is depicted as a generic knight of the Medieval period standing straight and proud. The knight holds a sword and an anachronistic shield depicting the swastika.<sup>62</sup> The anachronistic shield is not a meaningless drawing. The goal of the Swastika shield is to tie Nazis to the German past, specifically Medieval Germany. The anachronistic German knight signifies that the Nazi party is the inheritor of German tradition and identity. The postcard equates being a loyal follower of Nazi ideology is by proxy respecting the German ancestors and their legacy. The advertising scheme of Nazis as inheritors of the Medieval past is

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<sup>59</sup> Randall Bytwerk, *Nazi Postcards*, German Propaganda Archive, Website maintained by Calvin University, <https://www.bytwerk.com/gpa/postcard.htm>

<sup>60</sup> Bytwerk, *Nazi Postcards*

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

unambiguous with the choice of having Nuremberg as the key rally event. Nuremberg has a historical link with the Holy Roman Empire period, a precursor of Germany.<sup>63</sup> The symbolic linkage to the past elevates Hitler's position as not only an elected leader, but also as a Germanic king with divine rule. The entire ceremony of the Nuremberg rally shown in *Triumph of the Will* is a testament to the religious connotations throughout the rally. The film demonstrates that the SA and SS have pledged their allegiance to Hitler who embodies both the Nazi party and country.<sup>64</sup> As such, these postcards show that the Volkisch identity is shown even in the mundane everyday objects. They emphasize the Nazi Volk's fascination with the Medieval German past and elevate Hitler's position into those of Medieval kings and messianic figures who will lead their people into a paradise envisioned by Nazi ideology and identity.

Figure 3. Postcard from 1934 Nuremberg Rally. Collected by Randall Bytwerk. *Nazi Postcards*, Accessed through German Propaganda Archive from Calvin University.



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<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> *Triumph of the Will*, "SA and SS review," 01:07:00.

## 2.5 Political Art

Nazi political art focused on the belief of the “persecuted German.” One of the 1933 political art from *Deutschland erwacht* depicts a Nazi prior to their 1933 election. The art is a depiction of a meeting hall battle (see figure 4).<sup>65</sup> Given the context, the art shows how Nazis perceived their political history. The art represents the meeting hall battle as a military confrontation. The Nazi holds a chair like a weapon elevating the battlefield metaphor in the meeting hall.<sup>66</sup> The abundant use of aggressive warm colors transforms the meeting hall into a room in flames representing the heated battle for Nazis. Nazis used these visual symbols to portray their political struggle before they usurped power in 1933. Nazis viewed themselves as a marginal group battling with German society symbolized by the art’s display of their political confrontation; an implicit message that Nazi beliefs were not mainstream. The art reflects Nazi ideas of themselves as persecuted German valiantly fighting many enemies who want to weaken Germans. Thus, Nazi ideology used the rhetoric of the persecuted German to fit their ideology.

Nazi political art also depicted German identity as self-sacrificial exemplified with the second artwork of *Deutschland erwacht* (see figure 5). The central image is that of a dead Nazi with his living comrade looking from a distance.<sup>67</sup> The painting is mournful as the face of the Nazi is filled with sadness over his dead friend. The man is also visibly angry given his body language with one hand being clenched into a fist and the other holding tightly the Nazi flag.<sup>68</sup> The flag itself is not standing proudly and is instead hanging there almost as if it too is mourning the death of the Nazi. The visualization of the angry mourning Nazi communicates that Germans must ensure the death of comrades are not in vain. To ensure their deaths are not in vain, Nazi followers must fulfill the ideological goal of ensuring the prosperity of the “true

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<sup>65</sup> *Deutschland erwacht* (Hamburg: Cigaretten- Bilderdienst Hamburg-Bahrenfeld, 1933), accessed online through the German Propaganda Archive. <https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/politart-thumb.htm>

<sup>66</sup> *Deutschland erwacht*.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.



Germans.” The dead Nazi also gives the perspective of unjust German subjugation. He thereby symbolizes not only a fallen comrade, but also the persecution of all Germans past and future.



Figure 4. S.A Man in a meeting hall battle. From *Deutschland erwacht*. Hamburg: Cigaretten- Bilderdienst Hamburg-Bahrenfeld, 1933. Accessed the German Propaganda Archive from Calvin University. <https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/politart-thumb.htm>

Figure 5. Nazi looks down on a fallen comrade. From *Deutschland erwacht*. Hamburg: Cigaretten- Bilderdienst Hamburg-Bahrenfeld, 1933. Accessed through the German Propaganda Archive from Calvin University. <https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/politart-thumb.htm>

Political art propaganda reflected the desire of national unity explicitly in an artwork edited by Julius Streicher depicting the 1934 Nuremberg Rally. The artwork is an aerial view of the commemoration ceremony of past president Hindenburg and the subsequent oath of fealty

to Hitler (see figure 6).<sup>69</sup> While Nazi soldiers and Hitler are at the front of the painting, the rest of the Germans are depicted as one big blob comparable to an aerial view of countryside farms.<sup>70</sup> The aerial view transforms Germans into a unified bloc with the same ideological cause. The depiction of Germans as a unified bloc also suggests that German Volk and identity are necessarily homogeneous. It equally shows one central tenet of the Volkisch belief where the people are intrinsically connected with the landscape. The art shows that the German people attending the Nuremberg rally are part of the landscape and united with nature. German connection with nature is further emphasized with the inclusion of trees and the sky in the background with Nazi flags penetrating the scenery. The artwork typifies the belief of German Volk identity tied to national unity and the natural landscape.

Political artworks are similarly devoted in envisioning the German Volk and Volksgemeinschaft exemplified by the artwork “The Wool Collection at a Munich Local Group” from *Kunst dem Volk*. The people are united to the common cause of collecting and using wool for Germany (see figure 7).<sup>71</sup> The painting includes young, old, man, and woman all waiting to get clothing. Both men and women are working to provide wool clothing to the community. In concurrence, an older man appears to be mentoring a young boy.<sup>72</sup> The mentorship indicates the Nazi belief that all German people have a place to work for the larger national community. It similarly shows the importance of training the young to ensure the future of Germany. The artwork is a visual statement: all people must help to preserve the Volk and the people’s community through work and educating the young.

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<sup>69</sup> 1934 volume on the Nuremberg Rally, edited by Julius Streicher, accessed online through the German Propaganda Archive.

<https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/politart-thumb.htm>

<sup>70</sup> 1934 volume on the Nuremberg Rally, , edited by Julius Streicher.

<sup>71</sup> *Kunst dem Volk*, September 1942, accessed online through the German Propaganda Archive. <https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/politart-thumb.htm>

<sup>72</sup> *Kunst dem Volk*.

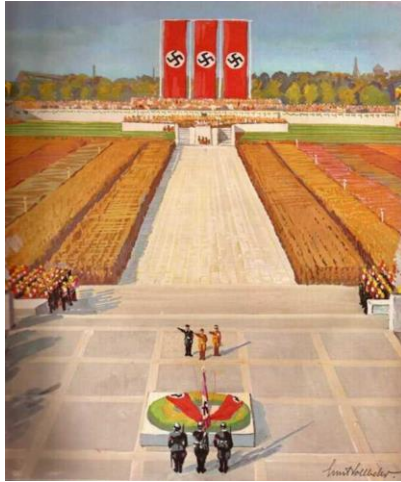


Figure 6. Painting of the 1934 Nuremberg Rally. Edited by Julius Streicher. Accessed through the German Propaganda Archive from Calvin University. <https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/politart-thumb.htm>.



Figure 7. *Kunst dem Volk*, September 1942. Accessed through the German Propaganda Archive from Calvin University. <https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/politart-thumb.htm>.

## 2.6 Education and the Textbook

Nazi education shows the connection of German identity with race and gender exemplified with Alfred Vogel's 1939 youth education textbook *Erhlehre, Abstammungs- und Rassenkunde in bildlicher Darstellung*. The book focuses on Nazi racial doctrine with a clear message on preserving the German race.<sup>73</sup> While the information is shown textually, the young readership can understand the racial beliefs visually. The textbook establishes the migration of German people since the 19<sup>th</sup> century towards urban areas. Urbanization is portrayed negatively because inner-city people are exposed to terrible living conditions and are thus "fertile soil for Bolshevism."<sup>74</sup> Importantly, the textbook states that German birth-rates among all social classes have been decreasing since 1870. Lower birth rates are visually denoted as a bad thing through the past birth rate colored neutrally grey and the contemporary birth rate colored with an alarming red. The use of red signifies the anxiety of the Nazi party on the decreasing births.<sup>75</sup> The visual message for young readers is that Germany must increase its population.

The textbook also denotes that Russia is a threat to Germany. The birth rate image is followed with a map showing the populations across Europe (see figure 8). Eastern Europe, especially Russia, is presented with a higher population colored in red compared to Germany colored in yellow. The title "Germany is threatened" is an explicit denunciation of Russia's population as a menace to Germany's security.<sup>76</sup> The textbook conditions young readers to view the highly populated Eastern European countries as a threat to Germany. The book also condemns aiding the genetically ill who are viewed as a monetary waste. The text overtly asserts that housing working class people is more beneficial than the mentally ill because "the genetically ill are a burden

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<sup>73</sup> Alfred Vogel, *Erhlehre, Abstammungs- und Rassenkunde in bildlicher Darstellung*, 2nd edition (Stuttgart: Verlag für nationale Literatur Gebr. Roth, 1939), accessed online through the German Propaganda Archive. <https://www.bytwerk.com/gpa/vogel.htm>

<sup>74</sup> Vogel, *Erhlehre*.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

for the people.”<sup>77</sup> While the text declares that the sick are a burden, it offers no conclusion with what to do with them if kicked out of their homes. The text is an incitement of the violent removal of the sick and helpless. Nazi German identity centers on the removal of who were considered unwanted and weak. Volk identity also focuses on stopping enemy populations such as Eastern Europe to overtake Germany in sheer numbers. The textbook thereby reinforces the duty of women to produce the next generation of pure and strong German people to preserve the German Volk’s strength and intelligence. Fears of birth rates and population openly highlight the dangers of Eastern Europe, specifically Russia. These countries are perceived as a military threat that can only be beaten if Germany’s population is increased significantly before a military confrontation. The foreign threat assigns gender roles for Nazi German identity. German women are the mothers to enhance the size and purity of the German Volk, while men are soldiers needed for Germany’s protection.

As it is explained, propaganda, in all its forms, played a big role in justifying the Nazi’s reign of terror. Through city photographs, children’s books, film, postcards, political artworks, and education, Nazi’s were depicted as victims in their own country. Therefore, these propaganda tactics tried to push forward their version of what constitutes a “true German.” They used these tactics to defend their honorable title, and to justify their genocidal actions.

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

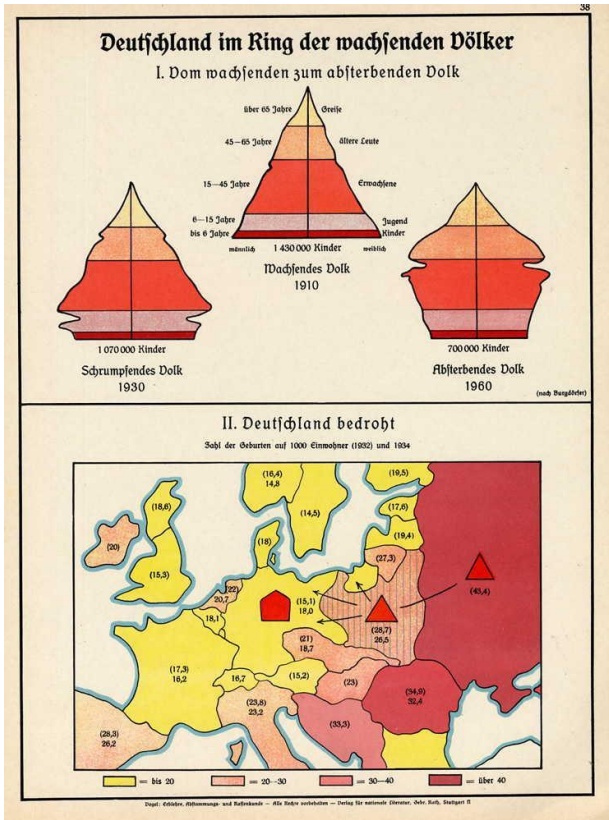


Figure 8. “Germany is surrounded by growing peoples.” From Alfred Vogel. *Erhlehre, Abstammungs- und Rassenkunde in bildlicher Darstellung*, 2nd edition, Stuttgart: Verlag für nationale Literatur Gebr. Roth, 1939. Accessed through the German Propaganda Archive from Calvin University. <https://www.bytwerk.com/gpa/vogel.htm>.

### 3.0 Nazi propaganda as part of genocide studies

Nazi propaganda and confirmation bias have lasting consequences. Nico Voigtländer and Hans-Joachim Voth show this in their article, "Nazi Indoctrination and Anti-Semitic Beliefs in Germany." The article reveals that people who grew up in Nazi Germany held more anti-Semitic beliefs than people whose formative years were before or after the Nazi regime.<sup>78</sup> They argue that Nazi indoctrination through school, propaganda, and youth organizations strengthened anti-Semitic beliefs among the youth in the 1930s.<sup>79</sup> The study confirms the need of pre-existing biases and indoctrination for the spread of anti-Semitism and accepting genocidal behavior. They quote Goebbels' argument that "propaganda can only be effective if it is broadly in line with preexisting notions and beliefs."<sup>80</sup> Predrag Dojcinovic in *Propaganda, War Crimes Trials and International Law* notes that Hitler spoke of the power of propaganda to make civilians believe "heaven as hell and also make them consider heavenly the most miserly existence."<sup>81</sup> Dojcinovic also points to Julius Streicher who firmly believed his own propaganda about a Jewish conspiracy. Propaganda is thus a reflection of the beliefs and values of those who make it. Propaganda in turn indoctrinates the highly susceptible such as the young and those with pre-existing anti-Semitic biases.

The various forms of propaganda shown helped provide a moral foundation that justified and incited genocidal violence. Viewing propaganda through only one medium is not enough to understand the full effect of its indoctrination. Historian Stephen Lee mentions in *Hitler and Nazi Germany* that the propaganda medium dictates its usage. In other words, propaganda's effectiveness and its usage differed according to medium. Lee examines the Nazis varying success using radio and film. He suggests that radio propaganda was successful as it was the most

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<sup>78</sup> Nico Voigtländer and Hans-Joachim Voth, "Nazi Indoctrination and Anti-Semitic Beliefs in Germany," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, no. 26 (2015): 7932.

<sup>79</sup> Voigtlander and Voth, "Nazi indoctrination," 7933.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 7935.

<sup>81</sup> Predrag Dojcinovic, *Propaganda, War Crimes Trials, and International Law: From Speakers' Corner to War Crimes* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 2.

direct way for Hitler to communicate with the public.<sup>82</sup> In contrast, film had to also entertain and be more subliminal in its messaging if it were to successfully indoctrinate people. Lee concludes that Nazi films only became an effective indoctrination tool later in the war compared to radio.<sup>83</sup> Press and newspapers were seen as a preventive propaganda tool rather than a creative one.<sup>84</sup> While newspapers focused on censorship, films and radio created content for Nazi ideology. Visual art was also utilized to instill basic Nazi values; art considered un-German was censored.<sup>85</sup>

My examples of Nazi propaganda touched upon multiple mediums. The mediums display propaganda's multi-faceted and omnipresent nature within German life. Propaganda and Volkisch identity were exhibited through the cities, photographs, children's books, films, postcards, art, and textbooks. The examples focused on the visual aspect of Nazi propaganda. Lee shows that Nazis used radio and music to enhance their messaging to the German people. Nazi propaganda was not only visual but also utilized sound for greater effect shown by *Triumph of the Will* including rallying cries, speeches, and music in the film. Brett Silverstein in "Toward a Science of Propaganda" would categorize omnipresent Nazi propaganda as "Integration Propaganda." Integration propaganda means that leaders and influential figures of the nation used channels of communication such as newspapers and adjusted their messaging accordingly to validate the ideals and biases of the people.<sup>86</sup> Historian David Welch notes that Hitler and Goebbels wanted to reflect moods and opinions of regular Germans to maintain good public opinion.<sup>87</sup> Welch's study helps explain why Goebbels wanted films to be more realistic. "Realistic films" allowed Germans to connect

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<sup>82</sup> Stephen Lee, "Indoctrination, Propaganda and Terror," in *Hitler and Nazi Germany* (London: Routledge, 1998), 32.

<sup>83</sup> Lee, "Indoctrination, Propaganda and Terror," 33.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>86</sup> Brett Silverstein, "Toward a Science of Propaganda," *Political Psychology*, no. 1 (1987): 50, doi:10.2307/3790986.

<sup>87</sup> Welch, "Nazi Propaganda," 215.



with the film and be more receptive to Nazi indoctrination.<sup>88</sup> Propaganda highlighted the reification of Nazi's beliefs in German Volk identity and was omnipresent in German life. But the material that Nazis wanted to propagandize must also fit with the general opinions of the populous. I conclude that Nazi propaganda is not only a reflection of the beliefs of the Nazi elites. Nazi propaganda needed to confirm the biases of the German public. In other words, propaganda shows how the masses and the Nazi elite viewed themselves and their beliefs on Jewish people.

Briefly analyzing other examples of ethnic cleansing rhetoric can further illuminate propaganda's power to influence genocidal actions. Susan Benesch notes that speech and propaganda can incite violence without needing to be explicit. Her article "Words as Weapons" speaks of the power of language to communicate violent ideas to large groups. She observes various cases of incitement of violence through the media.<sup>89</sup> Kenya's disputed 2007 election caused some Kenyan politicians to give inflammatory speeches purposefully in their own mother tongue to exclude the wider Kenyan populace.<sup>90</sup> As a result, Kenya had heightened tension and violence. Benesch also observes in "Inciting Genocide, Pleading Free Speech" that the "Media trial" of the Rwandan Genocide was a landmark case in international law.<sup>91</sup> It recognized that three prominent media leaders caused the death of innocents without physical weapons. Put differently, the trial concluded that propaganda incited killings and genocide. Benesch observes "The Media trial" was a departure from Julius Streicher's Nuremberg conviction, as the crime was not codified into law at the time.<sup>92</sup> This next section precisely debates the issue of whether Nazi propaganda can be viewed through the framework of incitement of violence.

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<sup>88</sup> Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography*, 216.

<sup>89</sup> Susan Benesch, "Words as Weapons," *World Policy Journal*, no. 1 (2012): 10, [www.jstor.org/stable/41510486](http://www.jstor.org/stable/41510486).

<sup>90</sup> Benesch, "Words as Weapons," 10.

<sup>91</sup> Susan Benesch, "Inciting Genocide, Pleading Free Speech," *World Policy Journal*, no. 2 (2004): 62, [www.jstor.org/stable/40209919](http://www.jstor.org/stable/40209919).

<sup>92</sup> Benesch, "Inciting Genocide, Pleading Free Speech," 64.

Nazi propaganda follows similar patterns of violent rhetoric prevalent among other case studies. For example, Hutu propaganda and Nazi propaganda are concerned with the portrayal of the “other” and how it is tied with the identity of the perpetrators of genocide. The “other,” in these cases, refer to the Tutsis and the Jews, respectively. David Deutsch and Niza Yanay’s article “The Politics of Intimacy: Nazi and Hutu Propaganda as Case Studies” highlights how spatial proximities with the “Other” form’s identities.<sup>93</sup> What is central besides the fear of the other is “violent intimacy.” “Violent intimacy” means how close proximity with the “Other” arouses horror and fascination.<sup>94</sup> Both Nazi and Hutu propaganda’s language convey hidden desires within the “the excessive violence and hatred that cover of the anxiety of intimate phantasies.”<sup>95</sup> Hatred and opposition toward Jews was a means for Nazis to achieve self-knowledge and identity.<sup>96</sup> Nazis concluded that knowing Jews was the primary duty of the German Volk who in their minds controlled the world and held absolute dominion over the world.<sup>97</sup> Conspiratorial beliefs are the source of bitterness for anxious Germans who believe in their persecution since the treaty of Versailles. However, German envy was also intertwined with the fear of Jews being too integrated in German society. Given Nazi notions of unassimilable Jewish people, the only solution for German minds was the total cleansing of the “Jewish Spirit” in Nazi Germany.<sup>98</sup>

Nazi fascination and hatred of the Jews is shown throughout the propaganda examples. The Jews are depicted in children’s books as ancient people with ties to mystical forces such as the Devil. They are highly powerful as expressed with the anti-Semitic speeches of Nazi figureheads in *Triumph of the Will*. The entire Nazi German identity is founded over the idea that they are a persecuted group fighting against

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<sup>93</sup> David Deutsch and Niza Yanay, “The politics of Intimacy: Nazi and Hutu Propaganda as Case Studies,” *Journal of Genocide Research*, no.1 (2016): 25, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2016.1120461>.

<sup>94</sup> Deutsch and Yanay, “The politics of Intimacy,” 22.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 29-30.

“Jewish Bolshevism” which caused all their problems. The entire roles of German men and women espoused in Nazi propaganda are entirely devoted into usurping the power of the Jews and their allies. As such, taking back power from the supposed corrupting forces of the Jewish people was the Nazi’s end goal. Jewish people were paradoxically seen as both a danger to the German Volk identity, but also necessary to give Nazi identity any coherent meaning. Therefore, Nazi German Volk ideology cannot be understood without understanding their anti-Semitic foundational beliefs.

Nazi propaganda laid the moral groundwork to incite people to commit atrocities against Jews and other unwanted peoples. Benesch’s studies can be used to analyze similarities with Nazi propaganda and its incitement of violence. The visual examples underline the rhetoric of violence against invading Jews omnipresent in the Nazi cultural landscape. Children’s books speak of the unchanging and unassimilable evil nature of Jewish people. Nazi textbooks demonstrate racial anxieties among the population due to birth rates and photos of cities, thereby emphasizing the need to secure the German Volk from impurities and from perishing at the hands of other massive nations. Political art and postcards show the chivalry of the German people and the need to energize their defense against foreign threats. Art and film invoked national unity among Germans for the common goal of defending the homeland. These propaganda media contain the need of Germans to defend the homeland from a threat with the implication of violence being needed. Inciting violence is unambiguously found in children’s books that talk of the deportation of Jews. Violent rhetoric prompted bloodshed towards Jews and unwanted groups with unquestionable genocidal outcomes.

#### 4.0 Conclusion

In conclusion, visual Nazi propaganda contains the essence of Nazi Volk identity. Propaganda visual culture was used so extensively that it became an omnipresent part of German life. Nazi Volk identity emphasized multiple ideas. Volkisch beliefs had a fascination with the past as shown by Nazi propaganda’s enchantment with the Medieval period. It stressed the connection of the German Volk with the

environment. It emphasized the importance of maintaining national unity in service for the country. German identity centered around the glorification of work and servitude to the Volk. Nazi Volkisch thought carried gendered connotations. Men were valued as soldiers to defend Germany and women were valued as reproducers of a racially pure German Volk. Gender roles highlight the racial aspect of the Nazi Volk. Nazis believed that German racial purity was under constant threat from Jewish people and their allies. Propaganda served to create the identity of the persecuted German. According to Nazi Volkisch thought, the “victimized German” must protect the Volk from foreign influence if they want Germany to prosper again. Nazi propaganda in turn claims that the best way to preserve the Volk was by obeying the Nazi party and following Hitler’s leadership. The significance of Nazi propaganda and Volk identity is its incitement of genocidal violence. Propaganda provided the moral justification for the killing of Jewish people as an act of protecting the German Volk. In other words, propaganda worked in tangent with other Nazi institutions to facilitate the Holocaust. Nazi propaganda can also be analyzed through broader frameworks of genocidal studies. My analysis of Nazi propaganda can be viewed through frameworks of incitement of violence that compelled genocidal activities.

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