

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

One of the first goals of the History Association, when I revived the organization back in 2012, was to revive the journal. A few of our members spent 2013-2014 digitizing the previous editions of the journal while working to bring the journal back to life. I am so pleased with how far the journal has come and looking forward to see what it will grow towards. I believe that Volume 9 continues on the path of the department's previous academic journals as well as recognizing excellent undergraduate work. These following papers uphold the high caliber of intellect that the department prides itself on. After receiving many submissions, it is my pleasure to introduce the following five papers, with a wide variety of topics these papers also showcase the variety of the department.

I am incredibly thankful to my two editors, Erik Rujan and Alistair Poole for their dedication and commitment to this journal. This has been the smallest board of editors the journal has seen and even though we had some minor setbacks, without the two of you, we would not be publishing Volume 9, so my utmost thanks to you both.

On that note, I want to extend my congratulations to Erik Rujan who has been elected to serve as Editor-in-Chief for Volume 10 of the academic journal. Erik's drive and dedication to the journal and the association provides me with the confidence that he will help the journal continue to succeed and grow in new directions.

Special thanks to Elyse Hansen, for her help on all technology. The journal would not succeed without you and I want to take the time to recognize all the work you do for the department and for the students.

I have hopes that in the future years, the journal will continue to expand upon its web presence and form a greater collaboration with the department as well as seeking out other departments to encompass a wider range of students submitting work related to history. I look forward to the future of the journal. Please enjoy Volume 9, and thank you.

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EXPRESSIONS OF POLISH IDENTITY IN RESISTANCE TO NAZI OCCUPATION

Abstract:

This paper examines the role of Polish cultural identity and Polish Catholicism as a means of resistance against Nazi occupation during World War II. Poles used culturally coded signs and symbols to subvert Nazi authority and build morale for the armed resistance movement. This paper focuses especially on visual symbols of Polish identity such as posters, shrines, and statues.

On September 1, 1939, Nazi Germany invaded Poland. The Poles fought back against their foreign oppressor through active resistance, but also through culturally coded signs and symbols in the form of graffiti, shrines, and other public displays. Some symbols, like the Kotwica (anchor), carried ethnic and religious meaning, while other symbols, like the image of a turtle, had more practical purposes (organizing a work slow-down, in this case). The impromptu creation of shrines at sites of Poles murdered by Nazis was a widespread practice throughout Poland, which served to memorialize conflict between the Germans and the Poles, in order to further the dichotomous construction of their ethnicities. Much of Polish resistance was organized around ideas of Polish culture and nationalism, many of which were informed by the Catholic Church. Polish expressions of national identity in reaction to Nazi occupation shaped Poland's wartime experience.

The two resistance groups I will examine in detail are the Underground State and the Home Army (*Armia Krajowa*), in terms of their forms of cultural resistance to Nazi occupation, as well as examining the actions of supposedly unaffiliated individual Poles. The Home Army was the military branch of the exiled Polish government in London.¹ The Underground State was the resistance government still clandestinely operating from within Poland. Polish resistance groups and their members and supporters were highly regarded by the general public, in fact "it was just as dangerous to serve the Germans as it was to join the resistance".² Both groups ran programs of cultural resistance which included patriotic displays of Polish identity, and whenever possible I will identify which group carried out which actions. Due to the anonymous nature of many of these representations, necessitated

¹ István Deák, *Europe on Trial: The Story of Collaboration, Resistance, and Retribution During World War II* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2015), 145.

² Deák, *Europe on Trial*, 147.

by the constant threat of Nazi reprisal, not every image, symbol, and action I will examine can be clearly attributed to a specific resistance group.

Displays of Nationality and Resistance

Graffiti is a visual representation of power, territory, and identity, and thus it held an important position in cultural resistance to German occupation. Although the anonymous nature of graffiti provided some protection for members of the resistance, there was real danger in using this method to communicate. High-ranking Nazi officials, including Hitler himself, paid close attention to “cultural policy” because they recognized the threat to their regime from free construction of national identity.³ Operations in Poland depended on day-to-day collaboration, which was only possible if Poles did not see their identities as fundamentally opposed to constructions of German identity. The imagery occupying public spaces defined and controlled narratives of occupation, so graffiti and the removal of German posters were considered crimes punishable by death.⁴ Some graffiti was spontaneous, but much of it was organized under the Home Army through the Bureau of Information and Propaganda (henceforth the BIP).⁵ The BIP separated propaganda by its aims, into three categories: positive propaganda, aimed at those already engaged in active resistance; counterpropaganda, meant to negate German propaganda; and written propaganda, which covered everything from graffiti to broadcasts.⁶ Under the BIP, the Directorate of Civil Resistance implemented programs to “depress and dishearten the

³ Alan E. Steinweis, “German Cultural Imperialism in Czechoslovakia and Poland, 1938-1945,” *The International History Review* 13, no. 3 (1991): 466.

⁴ Mordecai Paldiel, “Poland: The Historical Setting,” *Frontline*, 2014.

⁵ Stefan Korbonski, *The Polish Underground State: A Guide to the Underground, 1939-1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 66.

⁶ *Ibid.*

Germans” through “demonstrations of patriotic feelings”.⁷ One of the Directorate’s most successful programs, Action N, headed by Tadeusz Zencyzykowski under the pseudonym Kania, consisted of small-scale actions like the making of graffiti⁸ as well as larger, more disruptive resistance.⁹ The BIP also produced pamphlets which were passed out to Poles sympathetic to the resistance (who were not necessarily officially involved in the movement). One set of pamphlets contained fifty thousand stickers with the image of a white eagle, Poland’s national symbol.¹⁰ Stickers were easy to quickly, and thus safely, place around Polish cities to create public, visual displays of Polish nationalism and undermine ideas of German authority and control. Official Underground State graffiti served practical purposes, too. For example, depictions of turtles let workers know that there was an organized work slow down in order to undermine German war efforts.¹¹ Graffiti allowed the resistance to produce large-scale, public communications, as well as to construct a Polish identity as the antithesis to German identity.

Nazi Responses to Polish Cultural Resistance

Graffiti and other forms of propaganda did not exist in a vacuum. Germans and Poles responded to each other through these media, so we must examine these interactions as a form of communication as well as a way to display identity and promote in-group morale. One common form of German-Polish interplay in propaganda was the defacing of German

⁷ Korbonski, *The Polish Underground State*, 81.

⁸ Korbonski, *The Polish Underground State*, 95.

⁹ Halik Kochanski, *The Eagle Unbowed: Poland and Poles in the Second World War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 272.

¹⁰ Korbonski, *The Polish Underground State*, 68.

¹¹ Longina Jakubowska, “Political Drama in Poland: The Use of National Symbols,” *Anthropology Today* 6, no. 4 (1990): 11.

slogans on posters to change the meanings. For example, it was easy to take the phrase *Deutschland siegt an allen Fronten* (“Germany wins on all fronts”) and replace the “s” in *siegt* with an “l”, changing the meaning to “Germany is flat on her face on all fronts”.¹² Posters featuring SS General von Model were also commonly displayed, and Poles quickly edited his last name to read *Mörder*, or “murderer”.¹³ The Germans deployed similar tactics against Polish resistance, too. A Minor Sabotage Unit of the Underground State wrote the word “October” on thousands of walls and houses to commemorate the anniversary of German defeat in World War I.¹⁴ The German response was to paint “26” before “October” and add *vier Jahre des GG*, to change the meaning of the full phrase to “October 26, four years of the *General Gouvernement*”. The Poles responded in kind, editing the message once more by adding “and not a day longer”.¹⁵ Another common expression was *Deutschland verloren*, or “Germany is lost”.¹⁶ Its audience is clear, because it is written in German – the message was a tactic to intimidate the occupying force. Much of the battle for power and control was fought on city walls. Graffiti like this was everywhere, and served either as a reminder of German oppression or hope in the resistance, and neither message served the Nazis well.

¹² Korbonski, *The Polish Underground State*, 94.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Korbonski, *The Polish Underground State*, 94; Stanisław Likiernik, *By Devil’s Luck: A Tale of Resistance in Wartime Warsaw* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 2001), 88.

¹⁵ Korbonski, *The Polish Underground State*, 94.

¹⁶ See Image 1.

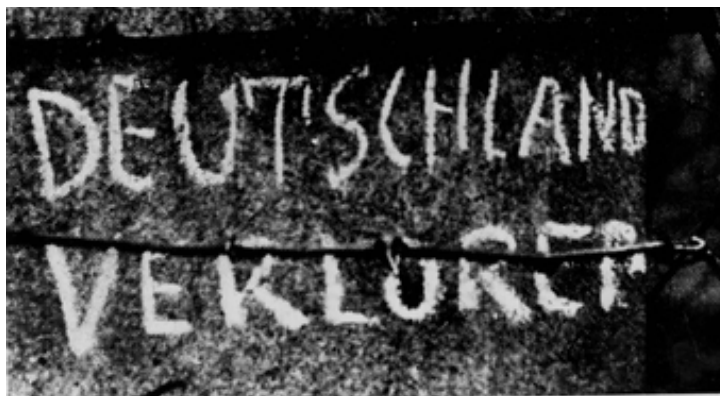


Image 1: Graffiti declaring “Germany is lost”. Photograph submitted to Yad Vashem archives by Alexander Bernfas.

Polish resistance and Nazi officials had a significant exchange over representations of Polish figures memorialized as statues, too. The plaque beneath a statue of Nicolaus Copernicus, the Polish astronomer and mathematician, was replaced by the Germans in 1942 with a plaque claiming that Copernicus was German.¹⁷ Some members of the resistance removed the sign. In response, the Nazis ordered the removal of a statue of Jan Kiliński, a leader in an eighteenth-century uprising against Russian rule. The Kiliński statue was hidden in the Polish National Museum, but once the resistance learned of its location, they wrote on the walls of the museum “People of Warsaw, I am here. –Kiliński”. The Nazis suspended food rations to Warsaw Poles for a week, only to find that a sign had been posted from “Nicolaus Copernicus” declaring a reprisal of an additional two months of winter on the eastern front – and, in fact, winter did last unusually long that year.¹⁸ The statue of Copernicus was of no tactical importance to the Underground State or the Home Army, but

¹⁷ Kochanski, *The Eagle Unbowed*, 274.

¹⁸ Ibid.

his rebranding as German threatened the movement's power to define for themselves what was Polish and thus became a flashpoint in Polish cultural resistance.

One significant way that Polish resistance responded to Nazi ordinances, which were publicly displayed, was to change them in ways that were harmful to the Germans, either in credibility, morale, or concrete tactical ways. These imposter orders were mostly organized by the BIP and carried out through Operation N.¹⁹ One set of false orders, requiring the registration of Polish cats, was posted and had begun to be carried out before Nazi officials realized they were following forged commands.²⁰ In addition, posted delivery schedules were changed by the BIP, which caused havoc for the administration and created considerable obstacles for the German war effort.²¹ To the same effect, notices were posted around Warsaw announcing that May 1, 1942 would be a paid holiday. Many Germans were deceived, and despite official Nazi efforts to enforce Polish labor, factories remained closed, and the German military manufacturing lost a full day of production.²² The BIP also circulated pamphlets purported to be written by German officials which contained satirical representations of Nazism. One, for instance, promoted Auschwitz's practicable and "humanitarian" methods of extermination.^{23,24} This type of resistance publicly undermined the authority of the Nazi leadership in Poland through their inability to identify orders of their own regime.

In planning cultural resistance to foreign oppression from the Nazis, the Polish resistance used Polish holidays to firmly plant the resistance movements as a part of Polish

¹⁹ Kochanski, *The Eagles Unbowed*, 272.

²⁰ Korbonski, *The Polish Underground State*, 94.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Kochanski, *The Eagle Unbowed*, 273.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Korbonski, *The Polish Underground State*, 94.

national identity. On May 3rd, 1943, Poland's Constitution Day, which had been characterized by patriotic demonstrations prior to occupation, the Directorate of Civil Resistance seized control of the loudspeakers placed along the streets of Warsaw to play the Polish national anthem and other patriotic works. So many people gathered in the streets to listen that the Germans grew "anxious [and] slunk away quickly".²⁵ Nationalist displays did not always end so peacefully, however. Early in the occupation, on Polish Independence Day, November 11, 1939, Poles placed celebratory posters around Kraków. Hans Frank, Germany's Governor-General of Poland, ordered that one man should be executed from each home that displayed a poster. SS Chief Otto Wächter deemed this action insufficient and took one hundred and twenty hostages to ensure there were no further displays for Independence Day. He continued to take hostages for the same purpose in subsequent years.²⁶ Both the Poles and the Nazis understood the galvanizing force of a national holiday.

Catholicism as a Representation of Nationality

Even before Nazi occupation, many Poles used Roman Catholicism as a way to differentiate their political and national identities from other groups around them. In the year 966, King Mieszko I accepted Christianity from a papal envoy.²⁷ Because he did not accept the Orthodox Christianity of neighboring Russia, Poland's religion became a form of political distinction, especially after neighboring nations adopted Protestantism after the Reformation.²⁸ After the partition of 1795, Poles used Catholicism as a way to express national identity, and it was viewed as "a form of resistance to foreign domination and

²⁵ Korbonski, *The Polish Underground State*, 81.

²⁶ Kochanski, *The Eagle Unbowed*, 112.

²⁷ Kochanski, *The Eagle Unbowed*, 1.

²⁸ Jakubowska, "Political Drama in Poland," 11.

oppression by non-Catholic powers”.²⁹ Nazi officials understood the Church’s importance. Hans Frank kept a diary during occupation, and in an entry from 1940, he wrote, “The Church is a central rallying point for Polish minds, which radiates in silence and therefore functions as a perpetual light.”³⁰ Because of this, although Nazi policy towards expressions of patriotism were generally harsh, their policy towards expressions of religion was more lenient and strategically implemented. However, only parts of Polish identity which benefited the German regime were allowed to be expressed, which extended to expressions of Catholicism.³¹ The Nazis put out propaganda proclaiming Judaism as the absolute opponent of Christianity, using statements from the Pope and other Catholic leaders to lend credibility to their statements.³² The Nazis also fully recognized how dangerous expressions of Catholicism could be to their regime. Although they attempted to direct Catholic sentiment to become anti-Semitic, they also banned prayer books to try to quell additional nationalist passions among the Poles, though the press of the Underground State continued to print and distribute them.³³ Banning certain forms of worship and religious expression certainly furthered the dichotomy between Polish and German identities, and made Catholicism into even more of a political belief. Polish religiosity became greater during occupation, and every night at curfew, Catholics living in Warsaw would stand in their

²⁹ Mirella W. Eberts, “The roman Catholic Church and Democracy in Poland,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 50, no. 5 (1998): 818.

³⁰ Małgorzata Oleszkiewicz-Peralba, *The Black Madonna in Latin America and Europe: Tradition and Transformation* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 42.

³¹ Klaus-Peter Friedrich, “Die deutsche polnischsprachige Presse im Generalgouvernement (1939-1945). NS-Propaganda für die polnische Bevölkerung,” *Publizistik* 45, no. 2 (2001): 163.

³² Friedrich, “Die deutsche polnischsprachige Presse im Generalgouvernement”, 178.

³³ Jan Karski, *Story of a Secret State: My Report to the World* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2013), 258.

courtyards with candles to say prayers and sing hymns.³⁴ Nazis recognized the cultural importance of Catholic traditions, and used them to punish Poles who aided Jews, by purposely burying their bodies in unconsecrated ground.³⁵ It didn't take long for expressions of Catholicism to become nearly synonymous with expressions of national resistance.

Polish resistance manipulated traditional forms of Catholic cultural expression to naturalize ideas of resistance as inevitably stemming from Polish Catholic identity. The Underground State's press printed and distributed the "Polish Lord's Prayer", which was learned by "thousands of boys and girls" in secret schools.³⁶ It contained all of the original prayer, with added lines about Poland's martyrdom. Lines like, "And forgive us our trespasses. Forgive us, Oh, Lord, should we be too weak to crush the beast. Strengthen our arm lest it tremble in the hour of revenge. They have sinned against Thee, they have trespassed on Thine eternal laws. Do not let us sin against Thee with weakness as they sin with criminal debauch"³⁷ entered into everyday religious ceremonies and observances. This enforced the idea of resistance as an extension and duty of religion. Saying the Lord's Prayer would have already been a ritual in the lives of Catholic Poles, so the integration of nationalist sentiments became a *natural* part of an already-familiar cultural expression. The use of shrines allowed Poles to perform their politicized religious identity in a public way, as well as to promote representations of German cruelty. On All Saints' Day of 1940, citizens of Krasnóbród crowded in the cemetery, where several hundred Polish soldiers who had died in the 1939 campaign were buried. They laid wreaths and candles on the graves, put up Polish flags with the white eagle, lit red and white lamps, and placed rifles on the

³⁴ Bernard Goldstein, *Five Years in the Warsaw Ghetto* (Oakland: Nabat Books, 2005), 180.

³⁵ Paldiel, "Poland: The Historical Setting".

³⁶ Karski, *Story of a Secret State*, 256.

³⁷ Ibid.

graves of important officials. Nazi officials watched, but did not step in to prevent the display.³⁸ However, the majority of shrines were placed, primarily by women, spontaneously at the sites of executions.³⁹ They would leave flowers, candles, and religious artifacts where Poles had been killed by Nazis, then sit and pray. This drew attention to the deaths, and further painted Germans as cruel and murderous. Aware of the way these shrines were perceived and the way they functioned in resistance, at the sight of a large shrine, a German patrol “sprayed [the praying women] with machine-gun fire, leaving many dead and wounded”.⁴⁰ It is unlikely that this improved the image of Nazi cruelty.



³⁸ Kochanski, *The Eagle Unbowed*, 117.

³⁹ Jack Bell, “Street shrines in Warsaw Mark Nazi Atrocities,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, July 20, 1946.

⁴⁰ Likiernik, *By Devil’s Luck*, 108.

Image 2: The Black Madonna depicted with the white eagle. Image taken from The Black Madonna in Latin America and Europe.

The Black Madonna of Częstochowa is a specifically Polish Catholic symbol, placing her image well within the bounds of national identity rather than the denoted religious identity. The Black Madonna is an image of Mary, holding the baby Jesus⁴¹, and this specific representation is considered the Queen of Poland⁴², which was officially sanctioned by King Jan Kazimierz in 1656.⁴³ Furthermore, she was “crowned” by Pope Clement XI in 1717 as “Queen of the World”⁴⁴. She is called the *Matka Polka* and the *Matka Polska*, Mother Pole and Mother Poland, and she is often called upon in battles against foreign oppressors.⁴⁵ Her legend claims that her icon saved Poland from an invasion by the Swedes in 1655, which led to her 1656 coronation, and performed various other miracles to protect Poles from outsiders.⁴⁶ In the traditional poem *Strażniczko granic*, she is described as the “Vigilant Queen of the outskirts and of the camps”, “dressed in the glory and metal brilliance of white eagles” who will “let not the enemy wound the Motherland”.⁴⁷ The Black Madonna’s role is much larger than that of a religious figure, then. She is used to represent Poland itself, symbolizing “the power of the weak”⁴⁸ through the intersection of her gender and important role in Christian doctrine. It must also be noted that the appeal of

⁴¹ See Images 2 and 3.

⁴² Oleszkiewicz-Peralba, *The Black Madonna in Latin America and Europe*, 3.

⁴³ Oleszkiewicz-Peralba, *The Black Madonna in Latin America and Europe*, 42.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Oleszkiewicz-Peralba, *The Black Madonna in Latin America and Europe*, 39.

⁴⁶ Oleszkiewicz-Peralba, *The Black Madonna in Latin America and Europe*, 18.

⁴⁷ Oleszkiewicz-Peralba, *The Black Madonna in Latin America and Europe*, 39.

⁴⁸ Jakubowska, “Political Drama in Poland,” 12.

the Black Madonna transcends traditional social strata, unlike many Catholic holy figures, which allows her use as a symbol of all Catholic Poles.⁴⁹



Image 3: The Black Madonna with scenes of Polish resistance and text “Holy Virgin, Thou who defend the bright Częstochowa”. Image taken from The Black Madonna in Latin America and Europe.

The BIP printed posters of several saints and religious figures, including the Black Madonna and Saint Barbara, which held political meaning and made visual representations more practicable for the individual Poles who received them. Much like the white eagle stickers, these posters made participation in public visual resistance easily accessible to officially unaffiliated Poles. Saint Barbara, according to Catholic tradition, was beheaded by

⁴⁹ Ibid.

her father after refusing to renounce her faith.⁵⁰ Catholicism in Poland almost always meant an identity which opposed the Nazi invader, so Barbara's maintenance of her faith symbolized the Poles' maintenance of the struggle against Nazism. Saint Barbara is also the patron saint of miners⁵¹, which in this context can be seen as the patron of those underground – the Underground State. Thus, when the public places of Warsaw were plastered with posters of Saint Barbara, she represented something far more political than religious.

Visual Displays of Religion, Nation, and Resistance



Image 4: The Kotwica. Photo submitted to Yad Vashem by Alexander Bernfas.

⁵⁰ *Medieval Art: A Topical Dictionary*, 30.

⁵¹ Peter Murray, Linda Murray, and Tom Devonshire Jones, "Barbara, Saint," *The Oxford Dictionary of Christian Art & Architecture* (2013).

One of the predominant symbols of Polish resistance is the “Kotwica” (literally “anchor”), an image that holds an explicit political meaning and an implicit religious meaning. The icon consists of an anchor made from the letter “P” connecting to the letter “W”, an acronym sometimes used alone and sometimes spelled out fully to read *Polska Walczaca*, or “Poland Fighting”.⁵² Anchors have long been a symbol of Polish Catholicism, too, similar to other Catholics’ symbolic use of fish scales, representing persecution of Christians.⁵³ Further symbolism can be found in the anchor imagery: an anchor’s purpose is to stay in place, to resist movement – just like the Underground State and Home Army were resisting the Nazis.



⁵² See Images 4 and 5.

⁵³ Jakubowska, “Political Drama in Poland,” 11.

Image 5: The Kotwica can be faintly seen beneath the bottom-right window panel on this storefront. Photograph taken by Guenther Schwarberg.

Graffiti showing scenes of Jesus' crucifixion was common, as was increased use of the crucifix in other settings. It holds an elevated political meaning based on Polish narratives of religion and nation. Not only is Christ's death central to Christian religion, the crucifixion narrative of both sacrifice and death *and* resurrection was meant to mimic Poland's own subjugated state, and the inevitability of its return. Even before Nazi occupation, Poland had been referred to as "the Jesus Christ of Nations", a comparison dating back to its 18th century patriots.⁵⁴ This representation is largely based on an unstated understanding of religious symbolism as it functioned politically, because this symbol would be impossible to separate from Christianity, which gave it a covert power in the everyday lives of Poles.

Under Nazi occupation, Poles used their religious and national identity to create cultural representations of resistance and to construct a new identity in opposition to German oppression. The Underground State, Home Army, and individual Poles risked their lives to protect their definitions of what it meant to be Polish. In Poland, the Catholic Church played a crucial role in the construction of a rebel identity during the Second World War partly because of its history in previous partitions. Cultural resistance should be taken seriously as an impediment to foreign regimes through its use as a means of intimidation, communication, and its ability to galvanize the public to act.

⁵⁴ Jakubowska, "Political Drama in Poland," 12.

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Abstract:

This paper analyzes the build-up of the Norman Conquest and the consequences of King Harold of England's death at the Battle of Hastings. Comparing the strengths and weaknesses of both the Anglo-Saxons and Normans under William the Conqueror to determine what should've been the likely result of Hastings it puts into perspective the impact of Harold's demise on the Conquest and history as a whole.

The Norman Conquest and the impact of Harold's death

The Battle of Hastings sparked the end of the Anglo-Saxon era of England with Duke William II's victory over King Harold. The Anglo-Saxon and Norman armies fought in what would be one of the largest single battles in European history up to that point. William's victory over Harold was decisive but by no means guaranteed. William and Harold were both strong generals, and both the Anglo-Saxon and Norman armies had strengths and weaknesses in their positions. Yet when King Harold died in battle, the Anglo-Saxon force broke, leading to William winning the battle and England itself soon after with little conflict. Without such good fortune for the Normans, what would've been the outcome of the conquest is far harder to judge. Had Harold not died, the answer to Hastings and the conquest as a whole would shape up far differently compared to the reality. Assessing the events that set the stage for the battle, the military strength of both sides, and what happened at Hastings itself will judge what would've been the most likely result had Harold lived.

English and Norman situations prior to the invasion

The Duchy of Normandy directly prior to the conquest of England was a strong and secure local power that was in a prime position to launch an overland invasion of England. When William the Conqueror first took charge of the duchy around a young age the duchy was very unstable and attempts on the on the young duke's life were rampant. William persevered through these early struggles, staved off several threats to Norman territorial and government stability, and expanded Norman territory where he could. William won his first major battle at Val-es-Dunes in 1047 against a rival lord, and also defeated a rebellion led by his uncle William of Arques, supported by King Henry I of France in 1053. Further coalitions against William supported by Henry and other enemies were defeated in both 1054 and 1057 by William's firm

opposition.¹ True security would not come to Normandy until 1060 with the deaths of Henry I and Geoffrey Martel, William's most significant enemies, within a few months of each other. It was the fortunate deaths of these two at the time that would be the greatest boon in securing the duchy from future threats during the invasion of England. King Henry was replaced by the child Philip I, whose court signed peace with William shortly after ascending. William would face no great external threat to his rule up to the invasion of England, and would expand and fortify Normandy's borders in conflicts with neighbors such as Anjou, Maine and Brittany.² Further consolidation of William's rule and the expansion of the Norman military during these years of conflict would play a great part in preparing the Norman duchy for what would become the invasion of 1066.³

The Norman invasion of England itself was built up over a long period of positive and negative relations along with William's massing of forces by 1066. Normandy and England had grown increasingly tied together up to William's own birth with the marriage of Ethelred II to the daughter of a Norman duke in 1002. William of Jumieges wrote that William's father Robert planned an invasion of England to support Edward the Confessor's claim to the throne against Cnut in the early 11th century.⁴ Edward, upon assuming the throne, introduced Normans into the aristocracy and church ranks of England, and at one point may have designated Duke William as his heir to the throne based on a distant relation in 1051. The strengthening of William's position in Normandy at the start of the 1060s followed the bolstering of his claim to take the throne of England with the death of Count Walter of Maine, Edward's nephew, as another claimant.

¹ Jim Bradbury, *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Warfare* (London, and New York: Routledge, 2004), 144.

² David Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, (London, and New York: Longman, 1982), 81.

³ *Ibid.*, 85-86.

⁴ David C. Douglas, "William the Conqueror: Duke and King," in *The Norman Conquest: Its Setting and Impact*, by Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas, Charles H. Lemmon and Frank Barlow, 45-76, (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1966), 58.

Harold, at the time the Earl of Wessex, made a famous visit to France in 1064 and swore an oath to support William's claim to the English throne as portrayed by the Bayeux Tapestry.⁵ However, when Harold later seized the throne for himself after King Edward's death, this triggered the long build-up towards a direct Norman intervention in English affairs. William coerced his vassals into supporting an invasion and giving more than their standard obligations to provide for ships in the invasion.⁶ Diplomatically, William was supported by many sides across Europe for an invasion of England with Guillaume de Poitiers chronicle's reporting that the Papacy supported the Norman invasion and showed that possibly in the form of a papal banner that is still a contested issue over the nature of its existence. Poitiers also wrote that William enjoyed the friendship and support of Emperor Henry of the Holy Roman Empire.⁷ Through these relations William built up a powerful coalition of internal and foreign support to seize the throne of England for his own with added legitimacy. This allowed him to work off the past century of Anglo-Norman relations and finally connect Normandy with England irrevocably.

To compare, King Harold and the Anglo-Saxon monarchy also suffered domestic instability solved by strong leadership. Harold's coronation was on January 6th 1066 the day after the death of King Edward the Confessor. Edward himself only nominated Harold as his successor over his relative, Edgar Aetheling, on his deathbed with Harold having a dubious claim to the English throne through his sister. There was considerable opposition to Harold's coronation among those against his claim that would fuel narratives for decades after, with the historian William of Malmesbury writing a half a century later that the people of Northumbria

⁵ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁶ Marc Morris, *The Norman Conquest: The Battle of Hastings and the fall of Anglo-Saxon England*, (New York: Pegasus Books, 2013), 145.

⁷ Sten Körner, *The Battle of Hastings, England, and Europe, 1035-1066*, (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1964). 218-219.

initially refused to accept Harold as king. The C version of *the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* also notes that there was little quiet in England when Harold took the crown.⁸ While the threat of revolt against Harold's new reign was considerable, Harold worked quickly to neutralize the largest domestic threat. The two strongest vassals of the crown brothers Morcar and Eadwine, earls of Northumbria and Mercia respectively, were appeased by Harold with prior arrangements. Eadwine and Morcar, weeks before Harold's ascension, had led a rebellion against Harold's brother Tostig. Harold led negotiations with the two that led to Morcar replacing Tostig as earl of Northumbria. By early 1066, Harold also married the Earls' sister Ealdgyth in a political match-up to secure their loyalties further.⁹ Through his decisive leadership Harold could prevent his strongest vassals from turning on him when an invasion of the island was to occur.

The external threat to England was known to Harold who prepared to fight off a foreign threat to the throne. William of Poitiers wrote that Harold had spies in Normandy who forewarned him of an invasion and the general build-up of William's forces would've indicated a coming invasion. Unfortunately for Harold, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* reported a comet came over England upon arriving at Westminster from a trip to York. According to the Chronicle, 'a portent such as men had never seen before was seen in the heavens.'¹⁰ This caused a great deal of fear in England over grave portents coming soon which many interpreted as coming true in the form of William's invasion. A hostile fleet did arrive in England shortly after, but instead of being the expected Norman force, it was a raid led by Harold's exiled brother Tostig. This raid was followed by an invasion of the north led by Norwegian King Harald Hardrada who forged an alliance with Tostig in hopes of conquering England in vein of the King Cnut. Hardrada's army

⁸ Morris, *The Norman Conquest.*, 140-141.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 136-137.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 146.

made good progress initially in defeating Earl's Edwin and Morcar at Fulford dealing great damage to their levies. Harold moved to stop the Norwegian attack after this defeat and fought them decisively at Stamford Bridge near York on September 25th, killing Hardrada and Tostig in a bloody battle. The Norwegian survivors left England after swearing an oath to Harold never to return with the north now being secure from invasion. It was only a few days after Stamford Bridge that William finally made his move and landed an invasion force at Pevensey in southern England.¹¹ Harold rushed south to confront the invading Norman army leading to the battle of Hastings between him and William.

Military Power and Skill in the Conquest

The Anglo-Saxon army at the time of the Conquest was a strong force with a long, successful military history. Going back to the reign of King Alfred during the height of the Viking Age raids on England, Alfred instituted a number of reforms to combat the Norsemen. These reforms included putting some of the army on horseback and the expansion of the English navy.¹² Anglo-Saxon England had suffered its share of defeats up to Hastings but its military had a score of impressive victories including under Cnut who used English forces to conquer Norway in 1026 and Edward the Confessor who from 1052 to 1058 saw the most successful invasion of Wales since Roman times. The Welsh victory was noticeable, as it showed how the English army could sustain a long and detailed campaign without suffering in military ability.¹³ England's army was not invincible, as the continuing threats of Scandinavian and later Norman invasion show. but it was not unprepared for these threats either. The C text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 165.

¹² M.K. Lawson, *The Battle of Hastings: 1066*, (Stroud, Gloucestershire, and Charleston, South Carolina: Tempus Publishing, 2002), 124-125.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 127

notes that in 1066 Harold ‘gathered greater land and naval forces than had ever been seen before.’¹⁴ This reflected the scale of preparations Harold made against invasions to claim his precarious throne and showed the unusual extent of England’s own military might at the time of the conquest.

Upon arrival at Hastings, The Anglo-Saxon army was weakened and impaired compared to its standard capabilities. Exact numbers for the Anglo-Saxons at Hastings are hard to come due to differing accounts, with primary sources such as one monk sent from Harold to William stating there were 1,200,000 men in the English army as the high end of such guesses.¹⁵ Among modern historians, the numbers range anywhere from 6,000 to 25,000 depending on the source.¹⁶ No matter the exact amount, the losses the Anglo-Saxons had suffered at Fulford and Stamford Bridge no doubt hurt their military capacity. Harold hastened to confront William directly and ordered the mobilization of his southern levies and rushed south with the remainder of his housecarls to blockade the Normans at the Hastings peninsula to cut them off from supplies by the time of winter.¹⁷ Harold in his fast and responsive attempt to cut off the Normans was attempting to replicate his decisive victory at Stamford Bridge and win the war quickly and possibly to prevent the humiliation of William occupying the southern lands that were mostly in Harold’s domain. This led to Harold’s army having only a minimal amount of time to stop in London for supplies and some troops before enacting a fifty-seven mile forced march to Hastings. William of Jumieges, William of Poitiers and Orderic Vitalis all wrote that Harold intended to take William by surprise, possibly even by night attack. This haste had material

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 128.

¹⁵ Körner, *The Battle of Hastings*, 268.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 128

¹⁷ Bernard S. Bachrach, “Battle of Hastings” in *Medieval England: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Paul Szarmach, M. Teresa Tavormina and Joel T. Rosenthal, 106-107. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 106.

disadvantages as the troops would likely be fatigued and all the levies might not have arrived with the E version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* stating that Harold had fought William ‘before all the army had come.’¹⁸ This swift movement also deprived the Anglo-Saxon force of many troops beyond the standard axe-wielding levies with no large amount of cavalry troops along with a lackluster number of archers.¹⁹ This would have given the Anglo-Saxons a compositional weakness and many newly-arrived peasant levies would likely be poorly trained and equipped as a result of how fast-paced Harold wanted to respond.²⁰ The composition of his army and how fast he attempted to block William pushed Harold into fighting on defense at Hastings where his infantry army would be at the best advantage given the setbacks he had to endure, not because it was the standard of the Anglo-Saxon army at the time.²¹

The Norman army at Hastings was a more well-rounded force in terms of origin and army composition. The conquest army was a cosmopolitan force consisting of men across modern-day France. Guy of Amiens’ *Carmen* speaks of William addressing men from Francia, Brittany, Maine and Normandy itself before Hastings with Orderic Vitalis included Flemings in the army.²² This reflected the appeal William’s invasion had to many warlike men and his reputation as a good commander and generous lord caused many such men to join in hopes of land and booty. It is hard to know from sources how many non-Normans comprised the army but it is likely that many of William’s men were experienced soldiers who would be more well-equipped than the standard English peasant levy. Excerpts from the Bayeux Tapestry showing

¹⁸ Allen R. Brown, “The Battle of Hastings,” in *Anglo-Norman Warfare*, ed. Matthew Strickland, 161-181 and 273-277. (Woodbridge, Suffolk, and Rochester, New York: The Boydell Press, 1992), 168.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 171.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 173.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 171.

²² Lawson, *The Battle of Hastings*, 161.

Norman archers not wearing armor and possibly much of the infantry do show this did not apply to the army as a whole. The Norman duchy did have many mailed knights among its vassals that William had access to.²³ It is impossible to know how much mailed knights proportionally made up the Norman army even with their prominent role in the Bayeux Tapestry. But it is certain that the Normans had far more archers than the Anglo-Saxons at Hastings along with their mounted knights.²⁴ The mounted knights would give the Normans the ability to have mobile assaults at Hastings against their English opponents as a source of support to generally well-armed infantry.

William and Harold were skilled commanders of their time but both lacked experience for a single decisive large-scale battle. The battle of Hastings was a large-scale battle that neither of the two were greatly familiar with due to the rarity of such battles at the time. Prior to Hastings William had never engaged his army in a set battle against a large enemy force and instead when on the offense sowed terror in enemy lands by seizing and destroying important infrastructure whether they be vineyards or castles.²⁵ Harold himself had a history of fighting rebels to the English throne prior to becoming king and Stamford Bridge provided some context of a larger battle yet his assumption of William's approach to battle may have influenced how he approached Hastings. During 1064 William launched a campaign against Brittany that was accompanied by Harold and the 'cautiously conducted' war of attrition as William of Poitiers describes it may have influenced how Harold judged William's maneuvers.²⁶ William was not confined to that style of warfare alone but the Brittany campaign was a standard campaign that resembled many under the Duke. Harold's decision to confront William and face him as he did

²³ *Ibid.*, 176.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 178.

²⁵ John Gillingham, "William the Bastard at War," in *The Battle of Hastings: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. Stephen Morillo, 95-112. (Woodbridge, Suffolk, and Rochester, New York: The Boydell Press, 1996), 102.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 109.

Hardrada may seem rash but given the constraints of holding an army up in wartime and the thought that William would attack anywhere if he stayed solely on the defensive makes this decision understandable in context.²⁷ Given the history of both commanders Hastings was a relatively new encounter for both which showed in how they acted in the battle itself.

Hastings: What happened and what could've been

Harold and William met on the field near Hastings in a position initially favorable to Harold. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* D section writes that at first 'William came upon him [Harold] unexpectedly, before his army was set in order.' William's scouts had prevented Harold from sneaking up on the Normans entirely but William could not ambush Harold either so both sides rushed to arms.²⁸ After William and Harold committed their pre-battle speeches to their armies, the Anglo-Saxons seized a nearby hilltop and after abandoning what horses they had formed a in the 'shield-wall' formation with Harold at the center of the thick line. William's force stood at the foot of the hill in three lines. The first consisting of foot soldiers armed with arrows and crossbows, the second consisted of mailed men-at-arms and the third was the cavalry.²⁹ After the trumpets were sounded on both sides the Norman infantry advanced with support of archers that poured arrows on the Anglo-Saxons forces. Despite killing many Englishmen the shield-wall held and the Norman infantry floundered as the cavalry took their place.³⁰ The steep slopes on the ridge of the hill and south of Harold's own position along with the roughness of the uncultivated ground according to the *Camden* made the area unsuitable for cavalry. According to William of Poitiers 'the English weapons easily penetrated shields and

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 110.

²⁸ Lawson, *The Battle of Hastings*, 176.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 179.

³⁰ Morris, *The Norman Conquest*, 180.

other protections' which allowed the Anglo-Saxons to fend off the cavalrymen.³¹ The initial assaults failure led to the Bretons and other auxiliaries on the Norman left to fall back which triggered other movements spurred by rumor that William was killed already. Harold had chosen a position that made it extremely hard to outflank him by cavalry showing a strong adaptability to William's tactics which put the early parts of the battle in his favor.³²

The tide of the battle was against the Normans but the leadership of William and the Norman's military discipline allowed them to persevere until Harold's death sold victory to the Normans. The rumor that William was dead was quickly quashed by William himself running towards those leaving and lifted his helmet revealing himself telling them he was alive.³³ The *Carmen* tells that this was a planned feint to lure the Anglo-Saxons out of the shield-wall that went wrong while William of Poitiers says it was a true rout. After this the knights committed another assault that was unsuccessful leading to what Poitiers described as an actual feigned flight afterwards. Whether there was one flight or two and if they were planned or not makes little difference as the result was that substantial numbers of Anglo-Saxons abandoned the shield-wall to chase the retreating Normans down and were cut down and compromised the integrity of the shield-wall. The breaking of the shield-wall and the continued Norman ranged assault on the Anglo-Saxons inflicted severe damage on their forces and position.³⁴ By the time nightfall was arriving to the battle news spread throughout the Anglo-Saxons that Harold had died as possibly depicted by the Bayeux Tapestry through an arrow to the eye. The Anglo-Saxons broke at this news afterward and retreated disorderly. The end result was a great amount of death as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle D* stated there were severe casualties for both Normans

³¹ *Ibid.*, 181.

³² Lawson, *The Battle of Hastings*, 192.

³³ Brown, "The Battle of Hasting," 174.

³⁴ Morris, *The Norman Conquest*, 183.

and Anglo-Saxons but that ‘the French *remained masters of the field*.’³⁵ William had persevered and rallied his forces and Harold’s death was just what William needed to ensure total victory of not just the battle but the war itself.

Thesis and Conclusion

If Harold had not died, then it is likely that no matter if he won the battle or lost it he would’ve won the war overall. Harold and a substantial portion of Saxon leadership including Harold’s brothers Earl Gyrrh and Leofwine died at the battle. Even with the massive losses in the Anglo-Saxon upper class William still received no direct surrender from the remaining upper class until a month after Hastings after making threatening moves towards London. The attempt of remaining nobles to get Edgar Aetheling on the throne was no salve to the defeated English yet William still feared a great resistance led by the potential claimant reportedly.³⁶ If Harold were to have not been killed at Hastings the potential for stiffer Anglo-Saxon resistance to William is easy to imagine. A victory at Hastings is easy to imagine if the tables were turned and William was killed in one of the bloody charges while Harold remained safe or if the parts of the Anglo-Saxon line held against the feint flight. Or any number scenarios where the strong Anglo-Saxon infantry barely edges out against the combined Norman infantry and cavalry under Harold when he would’ve been dead in our world. That would get the hard fought yet decisive victory Harold had achieved against Hardrada earlier that was likely plausible to Harold himself. Even if Harold could not win at Hastings if he could survive and retreat to raise new forces and rally his vassals William would have faced a far longer and more taxing campaign.³⁷

³⁵ Sten Körner, *The Battle of Hastings*, 267.

³⁶ Morris, *The Norman Conquest*, 194-195.

³⁷ Stephen Morillo, “Hastings: An Unusual Battle,” in *The Haskins Society Journal*, v. 2, ed. by Robert B. Pattinson, 95-103. (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1990), 103.

William's victory in the war would be incredibly precarious given he does not achieve the decisive victory he aimed for against the Anglo-Saxon monarchy. William's forces were likely fighting for loot and plunder as much as they served William's own interest. A spectacular failure of a major battle at the start of the campaign could kick the legs out from under the Norman army. Any support William had achieved from forces such as the Papacy or Flanders would likely be abandoned after a period if the writing's on the wall of his campaign. William's best hope in the case of an indecisive victory or at worst defeat at Hastings would be a continuation of his continental warfare, ravaging and seizing important points in the land in order to force a peace. If Harold simply waited William out at that point or stops his attacks with an Anglo-Saxon army that would be able to resupply and restock on men far easier than William's maritime supply routes would be able to. The Anglo-Saxon navy could also in such a scenario completely cut off the Normans from the mainland as English naval superiority was a concern of some of William's vassals prior to the invasion.³⁸ William's enemies on the mainland including rival lords or his own vassals may take advantage of this to take pieces of Normandy for themselves further incentivizing a possible retreat from England in this scenario. In any world where Harold lives at Hastings the likelihood of William winning the war even if he wins the battle becomes incredibly unlikely.

It can be said that Hastings and its aftermath was decided mainly on the fates of the two men leading either side. The Anglo-Saxon and Norman leaders ruled strongly through tumultuous times and led armies hardened by war after years of conflicts. The experiences and conditions William and Harold endured prior to and during Hastings influenced their decisions that would ultimately decide the fate of Hastings. Strong military discipline and leadership

³⁸ Morris, *The Norman Conquest*, 143.

pushed events to happen the way they did as the initial tide of the battle shifted from Anglo-Saxon to Norman edge. The sheer fortune, or misfortune, of Harold dying at the right time for William, and the wrong time for the Anglo-Saxons, finally pushed what was a lead for William into the only victory he needed to secure his conquest of England. Without Harold's death, even a victory at Hastings for William would not lead into a scenario nearly as favorable to him for the remaining war, no matter what occurred. To summarize, while the events of Hastings show that William 'should've' won the battle, most likely the war itself would almost certainly end in Harold's favor had he not died on the field of battle that day.

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Printers of Michigan's Capital Cities:
Newspaper Magnates & State Printing In Detroit and Lansing

Abstract

A printing press first reached Detroit in 1785, but it was not until 1808 that materials were actively printed. In Michigan's 1835 Constitution, the need for a state legislative printer was established. This essay explores the complex connection between the Michigan State Legislature and partisan newspaper publishers in Michigan's capital cities, Detroit and Lansing, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. While most frequently selected by lowest sealed bid to the legislature, the state printer was once popularly elected. The resources in MSU Rare Books and Special Collections were the primary sources for this research.

HST 475: History of the Book
Professor Brockey
Fall 2016

The vast topic of the history of the book is rich with a variety of subtopics. Governmental printing which hinges largely on record-keeping for states and municipalities is an important and often overlooked aspect of book and print history. The State of Michigan has a fascinating story to tell on the topic and this study follows printing in the region from its earliest settlers, through statehood, print's movement from Detroit to Lansing along with the change in the seat of government, and the various methods by which Michigan employed official state printers throughout the nineteenth century. Throughout, the relationship of the Detroit and Lansing's early newspaper publishers to the state legislature and the state printing contract is also explored, supported by the resources and collections available in the Michigan State University Library's Rare Books and Special Collections.

EARLY SETTLEMENT & PIONEER PRINTERS

The first European men to see present-day Michigan were French explorers who arrived in the northern parts of the state, near Sault Ste. Marie, circa 1620. The French, just as many had done before, were moving westward in an attempt to find a water route through the continent in order to reach the Indies. The French established a permanent settlement within about forty years of discovering the region. Shortly, explorer Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac and his party of soldiers and workmen founded a new French colony on the river in 1701, the settlement would later be known as Detroit.¹

Nearly a century passed before a printing press reached Detroit. In 1785, Alexander and William Macomb ordered a press from London. Along with the press, the Macomb brothers ordered English and Great Primer roman typefaces from William Caslon's catalog. Caslon was a

¹ Willis F. Dunbar, *Michigan: A History of the Wolverine State* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1970), 47-71, 83.

well-known English printer and typefounder. The Macombs had one large oversight in their printing press order – nobody in Detroit knew the art of printing. This lack of knowledge stymied Detroit’s first press. The press, unused for many years, was eventually sold by the Macomb brothers to John Askin. It then made its way to James May, who engaged a Canadian printer, John McCall, for his printing skills in the summer of 1796. Shortly thereafter, in 1800, May sold Detroit’s first and only printing press to Silvester Tiffany of Niagara, Canada, sparking an era without print in Detroit.²

In 1808, Reverend Father Gabriel Richard decided that Detroit needed to print its own materials and its reliance on scribes, imported books and town criers only hindered the city’s forward progress. Richard brought a small Ramage press to Detroit after a trip to the East. The press’s original purpose was to print devotional works for the French-speaking population of Detroit. Richard also brought a printer from Utica, New York, James Miller, to operate the press. Miller started Detroit’s first newspaper, the *Michigan Essay*. Later, during the War of 1812, the press, then-operated by Aaron Coxshaw, served the American and British administrative and military needs for printing. After the war, Coxshaw’s apprentice, Detroit’s first native printer, Theophilus Mettez, took over operation of the press until 1817.³

Miller’s 1809 newspaper was the first printed in Michigan. Father Richard’s press introduced the region to the art of printing and the materials printed on it, like Miller’s newspaper, ignited a printing culture in the state by showing the possibilities of a local printing press for spreading news, the large production of religious texts, and an array of other uses. The *Detroit Gazette*, published by John P. Sheldon and Ebenezer Reed, was founded in 1817. Since

² Garnett McCoy, *Printers and Presses in Early Detroit* (Detroit: Junto Private Press, 1962), 1-3, Michigan State University Main Library.

³ McCoy, *Printers and Presses*, 3-7.

then, there has been continual printing throughout the region, largely in the form of newspapers, though books and many other print materials were produced. Throughout the 1820s and 1830s, nine different newspapers were published in Detroit – one being the *Democratic Free Press and Michigan Intelligencer*, which is the “lineal ancestor” of the current *Detroit Free Press*. During those two decades, approximately a dozen newspapers were established throughout the state in towns such as Monroe, Ann Arbor, Pontiac, Kalamazoo, and others. The motivation of printers to establish newspapers throughout the state was the ever-growing population, which was sparked by the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825.⁴ The printers were not alone in recognizing the population increase throughout the 1820s and 1830s, the territorial government had also been paying attention.

MICHIGAN JOINS THE UNION & EARLY STATE PRINTERS

By the early 1830s, the Michigan Territory had gained enough residents to be eligible for statehood. In 1833, Michigan was authorized by Congress to hold a constitutional convention. The convention convened in May 1835 and the state’s first constitution was drafted. In October, voters approved the proposed constitution that had been drafted. Several years passed, however, until Michigan was admitted to the Union. President Andrew Jackson would not approve Michigan as a state until the boundary conflict between Michigan and Ohio was resolved. In 1836 Michigan agreed to give up the Toledo strip in exchange for the Upper Peninsula, which proved to be rich in natural resources. President Jackson approved the solution to the boundary conflict and on January 26, 1837 signed the bill that made Michigan the twenty-sixth state.⁵

⁴ Dunbar, *Michigan*, 291-293.

Clarence M. Burton, ed., William Stocking, ed., Gordon K. Miller, ed., *The City of Detroit Michigan* (Detroit: S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1922), 794-827.

⁵ Dunbar, *Michigan*, 301-316.

Starting with the Constitutional Convention in 1835, the government saw the need for an official printer to the state. In the period from 1835 through 1842 the state printer was appointed by the Legislature.⁶ A book in the collection of MSU Rare Books and Special Collections dates to 1835 and was “printed by order of the convention” by Sheldon McKnight. The 1835 McKnight book was the “Appeal by the Convention of Michigan to the People of the United States: with other Documents, in relation to the Boundary Question, between Michigan and Ohio.” The book contains the debates from the 1835 Constitutional Convention regarding the border with Ohio, mostly concerning the Toledo strip.⁷ Also in the back of the book is the Constitution that was drafted at the Convention. Because of its contents, the book was likely published after the convention concluded and the information was compiled. The volume in MSU’s collection belonged to Caleb F. Davis, an early statesman and Detroit resident whose name is written across the title page.⁸ It was donated in 1873 to the State Agricultural College Library by W.S. George, a prominent Lansing resident who later became a printer to the state.

Sheldon McKnight, the printer of the 1835 convention book, was a nephew of John P. Sheldon, the founding publisher of the *Detroit Gazette* in 1817. McKnight was the publisher and editor of the *Democratic Free Press and Michigan Intelligencer*, which eventually became the *Detroit Free Press*.⁹ McKnight’s status in the Michigan newspaper industry clearly made him a stand-out in the world of printing because of his experience and knowledge of the press. The

⁶ Wiley J. Williams, “The Years of a Popularly Elected Public Printer in Michigan, 1850-1851,” *Journal of Library History* 5, no. 3 (1970): 257, <http://ezproxy.msu.edu.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/docview/1307337107?accountid=12598>.

⁷ “Appeal by the Convention of Michigan to the People of the United States: with other Documents, in relation to the Boundary Question, between Michigan and Ohio” (Detroit: Sheldon M’Knight, 1835). Michigan State University Rare Books and Special Collections (XX F572.B7 M6 1835).

⁸ Burton, Stocking, Miller, *The City of Detroit*, 1510.

⁹ Burton, Stocking, Miller, *The City of Detroit*, 812-813.

selection of McKnight to publish a work for the 1835 Constitutional Convention led to a long line of newspaper proprietors as printers to the state. In a 1970 article on Michigan state printers, Wiley Williams, a historian and professor of library science, asserted:

All of the chosen printers, it should be noted, were editors and/or publishers of partisan newspapers, and obtaining the state's printing contract was patronage. In return, the printers used their papers as vehicles for espousing and defending the views of the party or faction in office and for furiously attacking the arguments of opponents.¹⁰

From 1836 through 1839, John S. Bagg was the printer to the state as appointed by the Legislature.¹¹ The *Democratic Free Press and Michigan Intelligencer*, which had gone daily in 1835 and been changed to the *Detroit Daily Free Press*, was purchased by Bagg and L. Legrand Morse from Sheldon McKnight in 1836. By 1837, however, Bagg was the sole owner. After a devastating fire, John Bagg and his brother Asahel became partners. John left the *Free Press* partnership in 1840.¹² In 1841, Asahel Bagg was joined by John H. Harmon, one-time editor of the newspaper, as partial owner.¹³

After 1842 the state changed the method by which the state printer was selected. The state "advertised for sealed bids and awarded the contract to the lowest responsible bidder." The bidding system lasted until 1849.¹⁴ Annually, the state Legislature published the "Manual, Containing the Rules of the Senate and House of Representatives, of the State of Michigan, and Joint Rules of the Two Houses, and other matter" which would have been, in most cases,

¹⁰ Williams, "Popularly Elected Public Printer," 257.

¹¹ Williams, "Popularly Elected Public Printer," 258.

¹² Burton, Stocking, Miller, *The City of Detroit*, 812-813.

¹³ Z.L. White, "Western Journalism," Harper's New Monthly Magazine 77, no. 461 (1888): 690, <https://books.google.com/books?id=PnC AAAAIAAJ&pg=PA690#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

¹⁴ Williams, "Popularly Elected Public Printer," 257.

property of state representatives and senators for each respective year. Tracking the printer of the annually published “Manual” eases the process of identifying the printer to the state.

In 1842, Asahel Bagg and John Harmon were contracted as printer to the state. They again received the contract, 1844-1848. In 1847, John Bagg returned to the *Free Press* and the partnership with his brother and Harmon. As printer to the state, the Bagg and Harmon firm printed several editions of the “Manual.”¹⁵ Bagg and Harmon’s 1847 “Manual,” a copy which belonged to C.P. Bush, a state senator from Livingston County, is among the Rare Books in MSU’s Special Collections. Printed in Detroit, the book contains a copy of the state constitution, rosters of the state Legislature, and various other information vital to Michigan’s state representatives and senators.¹⁶ The “Manual” accompanies the 1847 “Acts of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, Passed at the Annual Session of 1847, with an Appendix. Containing the State Treasurer’s Annual Report, &c.,” also printed by Bagg and Harmon in Detroit under their 1847 contract. The 1847 “Acts of the Legislature” book in MSU’s collection belonged to Henry Chamberlain, the founder of Three Oaks, Michigan and state representative from Berrien County in 1847. The edition contains acts of the 1847 state legislature and the laws of the state of Michigan. It would have been not only a record book of the acts passed in 1847 but also a reference guide to the state’s legislators and executives. Chamberlain’s copy, housed in MSU Special Collections, likely came to Michigan State in 1952 when the museum in Three Oaks, Michigan was entirely gifted to the Michigan State Museum. The Three Oaks museum was housed in Chamberlain’s home and held all of his personal effects, there are other books in MSU Special Collections with his name inscribed, which indicate that they came directly from him,

¹⁵ Williams, “Popularly Elected Public Printer,” 266.

¹⁶ “Manual, Containing the Rules of the Senate and House of Representatives, of the State of Michigan, and Joint Rules of the Two Houses, and other matter” (Detroit: Bagg and Harmon, 1847). Michigan State University Rare Books and Special Collections (JK5830 .A15).

likely through the Three Oaks acquisition.¹⁷ Chamberlain would have had many copies of state legislative Manuals and the Acts of the state legislature, as he was heavily involved in the early state government. The state government had a lot on their plate in 1847, as that was the year when a major decision about the seat of state government was made.

A NEW CAPITAL & MIGRATING PRINTERS

The 1835 Constitution of the State of Michigan, Article 12, Section 9, stated “The seat of government for this state shall be at Detroit, or at such other place or places as may be prescribed by law, until the year 1847, when it shall be permanently located by the legislature.”¹⁸ When the 1847 legislature convened, the topic of the state capital was at the center of discussion. There were many suggestions for the permanent state capital while the topic was under immense discussion, including Marshall, Jackson, and Ann Arbor. However, those cities were aggressively campaigning to be the seat of government. Marshall went so far as to build a home for the governor. The decision was made to locate the state capital in the entirely undeveloped and inaccessible township of Lansing. The key benefit of Lansing was its central location and that none of the campaigning cities would be antagonized by the decision. Even with Lansing’s undeveloped state, the Legislature saw its positives as outweighing its negatives and passed the bill designating Lansing as the permanent state capital.¹⁹ Governor William Greenly signed the bill on March 16, 1847 designating the state capital’s permanent location as the Township of Lansing.²⁰

¹⁷ Lynne Swanson and Val Berryman, “Chamberlain Memorial Museum Collections Gifted to Michigan State College Museum,” *MSU Museum*, 2009, <http://museum.msu.edu/?q=node/405>.

¹⁸ *Lansing and Its Yesterdays* (Lansing: The State Journal Company, 1930), 12.

¹⁹ Dunbar, *Michigan*, 391.

²⁰ *Lansing and Its Yesterdays*, 14.

Lansing was entirely wilderness when it was chosen as the capital, so the proposition of building new infrastructure immediately was difficult. A temporary building was not constructed until December 1847. The new capital city did not even receive the name “Lansing” until extensive debate by the state legislature in 1848. Throughout 1847 and 1848, the city was known as “Michigan,” though it was located in the township of Lansing.²¹ The transition of the seat of government was rough, not only for the state government, but also for the state’s printers.²²

Because the state printer had been established for many years in Detroit and there were no printers in Lansing, someone with knowledge and equipment of printing would need to move to the new capital city. However, the proposition of moving so quickly was not feasible, especially since the printer to the state at the time, Bagg and Harmon, were also publishing Detroit’s *Free Press* newspaper. The 1848 “Manual,” the subsequent edition to the 1847 book, was still printed in Detroit by Bagg and Harmon while the seat of government was transitioning to Lansing.²³

In 1848 the first newspaper was printed in the new state capital. The Lansing *Free Press* was first printed on January 11, 1848. Bagg and Harmon, the publishers of Detroit’s *Free Press* and printers to the state, were the printers of the first Lansing paper.²⁴ Bagg and Harmon’s work in Lansing was likely an attempt to save their contract with the state and display their dominance in printing throughout the region. That attempt may have been in vain, as the 1849 legislature put significant debate into the 1849 state printing contract and Bagg and Harmon were not the sole bidders.

²¹ Dunbar, *Michigan*, 391.

²² Dunbar, *Michigan*, 389.

²³ “Manual, Containing the Rules of the Senate and House of Representatives, of the State of Michigan, and Joint Rules of the Two Houses, and other matter” (Detroit: Bagg and Harmon, 1848). Michigan State University Rare Books and Special Collections (JK5830 .A15).

²⁴ *Lansing and Its Yesterdays*, 26.

Munger and Pattison, the founders of the *Detroit Commercial Bulletin* in 1848, submitted their bid for state printer in 1849. Their primary competition was Bagg and Harmon, who had held the contract for several years. The legislature, who had clear opinions about the state printer because of the printers' political stance and influence on the general public through their newspaper publications, debated their options for 1849 printer. A legislator submitted Bagg and Harmon's "lowest bid" for the contract, which was an attempt to undercut Munger and Pattison's bid. After a significant debate, and the widespread feeling that Bagg and Harmon had too long been supported by the state, the legislature passed the bill "granting Munger & Pattison the rate it had requested."²⁵ After Munger and Pattison were given the contract, John S. Bagg left the Bagg and Harmon partnership. Munger and Pattison printed for the state in 1849 and had also purchased the *Michigan State Journal* in Lansing from John H. Harmon, as Harmon no longer had an interest in Lansing without the state printing contract. Munger and Pattison's proprietorship of the Lansing paper continued the longstanding tradition of the printer to the state as a newspaper publisher.²⁶

The 1849 "Manual," printed by Munger and Pattison, is in the collection of MSU's Rare Books and Special Collections. This edition of the "Manual" was printed in Detroit while the legislature convened in Lansing, presumably due to the legislature's lack of familiarity with Lansing press and the printing scale which could not yet be met by a Lansing printer. MSU's copy of the 1849 edition was property of Henry Chamberlain, a state representative from Berrien County, as his name is embossed on the cover. Munger and Pattison, as state printers, also

²⁵ Williams, "Popularly Elected Public Printer," 258-259.

²⁶ Douglas C. McMurtrie, *Early Printing in Michigan, With a Bibliography of the Issues of the Michigan Press, 1796-1850* (Chicago: John Calhoun Club, 1931), 291, Michigan State University Rare Books and Special Collections (Z209.M59 M2 1931a).

Williams, "Popularly Elected Public Printer," 266.

printed the “Acts of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, Passed at the Annual Session of 1849, with an Appendix. Containing the State Treasurer’s Annual Report, &c.” The 1849 “Acts of the Legislature” book in MSU’s collection has various marks of ownership, including the names of A.M. Brownell, dated 1849, and G.M. Valentine. MSU acquired the book in 1962 according to a note written inside.²⁷ The Munger & Pattison vs. Bagg & Harmon bidding conflict of 1848 with the state legislature led some to propose the idea of a popularly elected printer to the state – an idea which came under serious debate the following year.

AN ELECTED STATE PRINTER & CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

While Munger and Pattison began the printing contract early in 1849, the state legislature had great debate after granting the contract. Both houses of the state legislature discussed the undercutting of bids which result in desperately low contracts which ultimately hurt the contractor’s business. The particularly difficult situation between Munger & Pattison and Bagg & Harmon in 1848 resulted in a debate over whether the bidding system was most appropriate or an alternative option would be best for employing a printer to the state. The state legislature, after extensive debate, passed a bill calling for the election of a state printer to be held every other year and setting the rate of pay to the printer, thus eliminating the bidding system. The first election for state printer was scheduled for November 1849.²⁸

As a result, for the 1849 election, in addition to nominating gubernatorial candidates, each party also nominated a candidate for state printer. The Whig-Free Soil Party (a coalition formed between the established Whigs and the Free Soil third party, a movement which included Democrats who sought change and were considered radical) nominated Hubbard H. Duncklee

²⁷ “Acts of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, Passed at the Annual Sessions of 1849, with an Appendix. Containing the State Treasurer’s Annual Report, &c.” (Lansing: Munger & Pattison, 1849), Michigan State University Rare Books and Special Collections (KFM4225 .A3 1849).

²⁸ Williams, “Popularly Elected Public Printer,” 258-260.

for printer to the state. Duncklee was the publisher of the *Detroit Daily Advertiser*. The Democratic Party nominated Rensselaer W. Ingals for state printer. Ingals was the publisher of the *Adrian Watchtower* and a pioneer printer in Lenawee County, Michigan. Also on the ballot for 1849 was the question of a constitutional convention, which had been on the table for a while.²⁹

A point of note in MSU's Special Collections lies within the aforementioned 1848 Legislative "Manual." Throughout the edition, many newspaper clippings are pasted and notes are penciled. Inside the back cover is a small flyer which lists the Democratic Ticket for the 1849 state ballot. The list includes Rensselaer W. Ingals for state printer. The hierarchy of the list is telling of the importance of the state printer, Ingals is listed just beneath the candidates for governor and lieutenant governor. The "Manual" into which the flyer is pasted also includes many penciled notes. A note that reads "printing" is written next to the list of standing legislative committees, which includes "a committee of printing."³⁰ The newspaper clippings and notes included indicate that perhaps the book belonged to a state legislator who sat on the printing committee. The inclusion of materials relating to the 1849 election in the 1848 "Manual" also indicates that perhaps the book belonged to a legislator who held office in 1848 but not in 1849.

The 1849 election resulted in Rensselaer W. Ingals' election to the post of printer to the state. Additionally, the voters of the State of Michigan voted in favor of a Constitutional Convention.³¹ After his election, Ingals, in addition to his role as publisher of the democratic *Adrian Watchtower*, purchased the *Michigan State Journal* in Lansing in 1850 from the firm

²⁹ Williams, "Popularly Elected Public Printer," 261-264.

³⁰ "Manual, Containing the Rules of the Senate and House of Representatives, of the State of Michigan, and Joint Rules of the Two Houses, and other matter" (Detroit: Bagg and Harmon, 1848). Michigan State University Rare Books and Special Collections (JK5830 .A15).

³¹ Williams, "Popularly Elected Public Printer," 264-265.

Munger and Pattison, the previous printer to the state. Ingals' purchase of the Lansing paper established his presence in the city as a printer and continued the tradition of newspaper proprietors as printer to the state. After his election, Ingals brought the first steam printing presses to Lansing, which were presumably used for both his newspaper and state printing.³²

Ingals' election to the post of state printer and the call for a convention by voters in 1849 made for the perfect match. Ingals began his two-year-term as state printer in January 1850. Among the materials Ingals printed for the state was the "Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Michigan" of 1850. Ingals printed the book in Lansing, one of the first printings for the state done in the new capital city, likely due to the steam presses Ingals had introduced to the city. The edition of the 1850 convention journal in MSU's collection has been in the library since at least the 1870s as proven by its Michigan State Agricultural College Library book plates, stamps, and notes. The title page of the book also notes "Printed by order of the Convention, under the supervision of John Swegles, Jr., Principal Secretary of the Convention." The book follows the format of a standard journal, each section begins with a date, time, and place and goes on to detail the discussions of the day. It is likely that the book was published using minutes and notes from the convention. The 1850 Constitutional Convention also covered issues concerning state printing.

"The delegates [to the state constitutional convention] met at Lansing on the first Monday in June, 1850, and drew up a new constitution which was adopted by the voters in November of that year."³³ Delegates to the convention had state printing on their mind while drafting the new constitution. Article 4, Section 22 of the 1850 state constitution read as follows:

³² Williams, "Popularly Elected Public Printer," 266.
McMurtrie, *Early Printing in Michigan*, 291.

³³ Ferris E. Lewis, *My State and Its Story* (Hillsdale, Michigan: Hillsdale School Supply Company, 1950), 227.

The legislature shall provide by law that furnishing of fuel and stationery for the use of the state, the printing and binding the laws and journals, all blanks, paper and printing for the executive departments, and all other printing ordered by the legislature, shall be let by contract to the lowest bidder or bidders, who shall give adequate and satisfactory security for the performance thereof. The legislature shall prescribe by law the manner in which the state printing shall be executed, and the accounts rendered therefor; and shall prohibit all charges for constructive labor. They shall not rescind nor alter such contract, nor release the person or persons taking the same, or his or their sureties, from the performance of any of the conditions of the contract. No member of the legislature nor officer of the state, shall be interested directly or indirectly in any such contract.³⁴

Ingals' position as printer to the state was held for two years, which he had commenced in 1850. Ingals finished his two-year-term as state printer even with the decision by the Legislature to eliminate the election system in favor of the bidding system which had been the norm prior to 1849. Over the course of his two years in office, Ingals' firm printed many volumes and documents for the state. Ingals' 1851 "Acts of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, Passed at the Annual Session of 1851, with an Appendix. Containing the State Treasurer's Annual Report, &c.," includes the recently revised state constitution, resolutions and act of the state legislature, and the laws of the state. The 1851 edition, like its 1847 and 1849 predecessors in MSU's collection, would likely have been property of a state official. The 1851 copy was, at one time, property of the Michigan State Law Library, but has no apparent provenance prior to its acquisition by the library.³⁵

At the end of 1851, R.W. Ingals' term as Michigan's only popularly elected state printer came to an end. Starting in 1852 the state printer was selected by the terms presented in the 1850

³⁴ "Constitution of Michigan of 1850," *legislature.mi.gov*, accessed December 1, 2016, <http://www.legislature.mi.gov/documents/historical/miconstitution1850.htm>.

³⁵ "Acts of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, Passed at the Annual Sessions of 1851, with an Appendix. Containing the State Treasurer's Annual Report, &c." (Lansing: R.W. Ingals, 1851), Michigan State University Rare Books and Special Collections (KFM4225 .A3 1849).

constitution, the lowest capable bidder would receive the contract. Ingals had a natural edge, having been the state printer for the prior two years. The 1851 Legislature was tasked with receiving bids and naming the printer to the state for 1852. Ingals received the state printing contract for 1852.³⁶ During that year, the *Michigan State Journal*, Lansing's democratic paper, got a new owner, George Washington Peck.³⁷ With Peck's ownership of the *Michigan State Journal*, he put in a bid for state printer for 1853 – Peck received the state printing contract. For 1853, Geo. W. Peck printed the Legislative "Manual," which mirrored its predecessors as a guide to the state's legislators, including the state constitution, standing committees, rosters of the legislature, and more. The 1853 "Manual" in MSU's collection was property of Henry Chamberlain, like many of the other aforementioned Legislative books, the edition is also signed by Michigan's Secretary of State William Graves. There was an addition to the 1853 "Manual" which added a useful aspect to the book. This copy has two fold out maps included. In the front of the book is a map which shows the layout of the Senate Chambers in the state capitol including the senators' names. In the back of the book is a map showing the layout of the Committee Room in the state capitol.³⁸ This addition not only made the books more useful to the Legislature but also emphasized the competency of the state printer.

One noteworthy change throughout the years with the respect to the Legislative "Manual" printed annually is its size. The evolution of size shown through MSU Rare Books and Special Collections' collection of the Michigan Legislative "Manuals" mirrors the growth throughout the state. The state's growth throughout the 1840s and 1850s correlates directly to the growth in size

³⁶ Williams, "Popularly Elected Public Printer," 226.

³⁷ *Lansing and Its Yesterdays*, 27.

³⁸ "Manual, Containing the Rules of the Senate and House of Representatives, of the State of Michigan, and Joint Rules of the Two Houses, and other matter" (Lansing: Geo. W. Peck, 1853). Michigan State University Rare Books and Special Collections (JK5830 .A15).

of the “Manuals.” As population expands, so too does the amount of representation in the state Legislature. The growing size of the “Manuals” also signifies the persistent importance of the state printer to the Legislature and state government as a whole.

A CHANGE IN PARTY CONTROL & A NEW ERA OF PRINTERS

As the need and importance of the state printer persisted, a new era in state government and state printing was sparked by a shift in party control in the state. In 1854, the Republican Party was formed in Jackson, Michigan and the State of Michigan was the first state in the union to nominate a gubernatorial candidate from the new party. Kinsley S. Bingham was nominated for governor in 1854 and won the election, becoming Michigan’s first Republican governor and one of the first Republican governors in the nation.³⁹

Henry Barns, an editor of the *Detroit Tribune*, moved to Lansing in 1855 due to Bingham’s election. Barns’ reason for moving to the capital city was to launch a new partisan newspaper in the city, the *State Republican*. With the Republicans’ rise to prominence in the state government came the shift and favoritism toward the Republican press in Lansing and for state printer. By 1857, the state printer was Hosmer and Finch, the then-proprietors of the *State Republican*. The proprietorship of the *State Republican* by Rufus Hosmer and George A. Finch lasted between 1855 and 1857.⁴⁰ Hosmer and Finch printed the 1857 Legislative “Manual,” which held the standard contents that its predecessors had, and followed the trend of growth that had been noticeable in every edition. MSU’s copy of the 1857 “Manual” belonged to C.K.

³⁹ Dunbar, *Michigan*, 419-424.

⁴⁰ Albert E. Cowles, *Past and Present of the City of Lansing and Ingham County, Michigan* (Lansing: The Michigan Historical Publishing Association, 1905), 112.

Carpenter, a state representative from Oakland County, it was donated by his sons to the State Historical Society.⁴¹

In 1857, George Finch retired and his portion of the business was sold to John A. Kerr, an early Lansing resident, mayor, and wealthy businessman, resulting in the Hosmer and Kerr firm. By 1859, Hosmer and Kerr had received the state printing contract. Their 1859 Legislative “Manual” is among the books in MSU’s Rare Books collection. Like the 1857 edition, this copy belonged to Representative C.K. Carpenter. Both the 1857 Hosmer and Finch “Manual” and the 1859 Hosmer and Kerr “Manual” contain fold-out maps like the 1853 book. The former containing a map of the House of Representatives chamber and the latter with maps of the chambers of both houses of congress. These maps are more elaborate than their 1853 counterpart, including decorative script and the state coat of arms.⁴²

Hosmer & Finch and Hosmer & Kerr were the first among many *State Republican* proprietors who held the state printing contract. After Rufus Hosmer’s death in 1861, John A. Kerr maintained the proprietorship of the *State Republican* independently.⁴³ Throughout the 1860s, Kerr maintained the contract as printer to the state. Kerr printed the 1865 Legislative “Manual,” as nearly every state printer did.⁴⁴ But by 1867, the state was up for another constitutional convention due to a provision in the 1850 constitution which required a revision be submitted every sixteen years. Rather than a general revision, the matter was put up for a vote. In

⁴¹ “Manual, Containing the Rules of the Senate and House of Representatives, of the State of Michigan, and Joint Rules of the Two Houses, and other matter” (Lansing: Hosmer and Finch, 1857). Michigan State University Rare Books and Special Collections (JK5830 .A15).

⁴² “Manual, Containing the Rules of the Senate and House of Representatives, of the State of Michigan, and Joint Rules of the Two Houses, and other matter” (Lansing: Hosmer and Kerr, 1859). Michigan State University Rare Books and Special Collections (JK5830 .A15).

⁴³ Cowles, *Past and Present of the City of Lansing*, 112.

⁴⁴ “Manual, Containing the Rules of the Senate and House of Representatives, of the State of Michigan, and Joint Rules of the Two Houses, and other matter” (Lansing: John A. Kerr, 1865). Michigan State University Rare Books and Special Collections (JK5830 .A15).

1866, the voters of the State of Michigan approved a new constitutional convention. The delegates convened in Lansing in May 1867, a new constitution was drafted but rejected. After the constitution was rejected, a Constitutional Commission was formed and offered a revision to the constitution in 1874 which was also rejected. A new constitutional convention for Michigan was not held until 1908.⁴⁵

John A. Kerr, still the printer to the state, printed “The Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Michigan Convened at the City of Lansing, Wednesday, May 15th, 1867” in two volumes. The 1867 convention proceedings books is set up like a journal, similar to the aforementioned 1850 constitutional convention journal. Each section is dated and the arguments are set up like dialogue to present the “debates” portion. Included in the volumes is a large section covering the debate of the state printer. A motion was presented in an effort to eliminate the section on printing which had been included in the 1850 convention. After approximately seven pages of debates in Volume 2, the delegates decided to include the printing portion and leave it as it was written in 1850.⁴⁶

The current state capitol building in Lansing was constructed in the 1870s, and an event that momentous would naturally yield a printed publication. By the 1870s, W.S. George, the proprietor of the *State Republican*, was printer and binder to the state.⁴⁷ The new title of “binder to the state” was likely added to the printing contract so the legislative publications, which were growing in size, were not only printed but also bound for use by the state Legislature. In 1879, George printed the “Inaugural Proceedings, at the Dedication of the New Capitol of Michigan, at

⁴⁵ Dunbar, *Michigan*, 425-246.

⁴⁶ “The Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Michigan Convened at the City of Lansing, Wednesday, May 15th, 1867” (Lansing: John A. Kerr, 1867). Michigan State University Rare Books and Special Collections (JK5825 .A4).

⁴⁷ *Lansing and Its Yesterdays*, 31.

the City of Lansing, On the First day of January, 1879.” This publication, which is housed in MSU’s Special Collections, is a pamphlet that George printed under his capacity as state printer. On the title page George does not list himself as the state printer, however. On the reverse of the title page, the resolution that requested the pamphlet’s printing is included. It reads, “the Secretary of the Board of State Building Commissioners be requested to compile and publish, without delay, 3,000 copies of the inaugural proceedings at the Capitol on the first day of January, 1879, for the use of the two Houses.” The state Legislature passed the joint resolution to request the printing by the state printer. Its purpose was, as listed in the resolution, for use by the two houses, as all state printings were.⁴⁸ George retained the printing contract until the mid-1880s.

In 1886, Darius Thorp and Frank Godfrey became owners of the *State Republican*.⁴⁹ As a result, their firm, Thorp and Godfrey, got the state printing contract. As with their predecessor W.S. George, Thorp and Godfrey were “state printers and binders” implying that they also bound the works they printed for the state. A book printed by Thorp and Godfrey in 1888 was “Historical Collections. Collections and Researches made by the Pioneer and Historical Society of the State of Michigan.” The Pioneer and Historical Society was an early predecessor to the Michigan Historical Commission, which today advises the state Department of Natural Resources and its members are appointed by the governor.⁵⁰ As an appointed board that reports to the state, the Pioneer and Historical Society’s publications were printed by the state printer.

⁴⁸ “Inaugural Proceedings, at the Dedication of the New Capitol of Michigan, at the City of Lansing, On the First day of January, 1879” (Lansing: W.S. George, 1879). Michigan State University Rare Books and Special Collections (F574.L2 M5 1879).

⁴⁹ *Lansing and Its Yesterdays*, 32.

⁵⁰ “Michigan Historical Commission,” *michigan.gov*, accessed December 10, 2016, http://www.michigan.gov/mhc/0,4726,7-282-65121_61084_62918---,00.html.

These “Pioneer Collections” were produced annually for forty years and provide insight into the state printing contract over that period.

Thorp and Godfrey dissolved in the late-1880s with Frank Godfrey’s retirement. The 1889 “Pioneer Collections” were printed by Darius D. Thorp, printer and binder to the state. Thorp retained the contract, he also continued his proprietorship of the *State Republican*.⁵¹ In 1891, Michigan elected its first democratic governor in four decades, Edwin Winans.⁵² With Winans’ election came a new state printer, which may have been a deliberate change due to the shift in party power. The Robert Smith Printing Co. of Lansing received the contract in the 1890s and retained it for about a decade. Granting the Smith Co. the printing contract ended the streak of *State Republican* proprietors as state printers, at least temporarily.

Around 1896, the Robert Smith Printing Co. became the owner of the *State Republican*.⁵³ This revived the tradition of a newspaper publisher as state printer. The Smith Co. remained as state printer through the turn of the twentieth century, and published Lansing’s premier newspaper for many decades following. A new firm, however, received the state printing contract in 1901 – Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co. The new firm held the contract for well over a decade and presented a change in tradition for the contract. Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co. did not publish any newspapers, little is actually known about the firm or proprietors other than their work as state printer.⁵⁴

⁵¹ *Lansing and Its Yesterdays*, 32-33.

⁵² George Weeks, *Stewards of the State: The Governors of Michigan* (Ann Arbor: Historical Society of Michigan, 1987), 64.

⁵³ *Lansing and Its Yesterdays*, 33.

⁵⁴ “Michigan Historical Commission, A State Department of History and Archives, Bulletin No. 4, Proceedings of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society for 1912 and 1913” (Lansing: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1914), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015071127040;view=1up;seq=3>. “Historical Collections, Collections and Researches made by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Vol. XXXI,” Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society (Lansing: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1902), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uva.x004332346;view=1up;seq=9>.

Republicans dominated Michigan's state government for seventy-eight years, from 1854 through 1930, and so too did the *State Republican*.⁵⁵ In his book *Pioneer Recollections: Semi-Historic Side Lights on the Early Days of Lansing*, Daniel Mevis, a pioneer of the area, noted "the Lansing Weekly State Republican... did the state printing by contract for over 50 years."⁵⁶ Mevis's claim is a gross generalization, placing all proprietors of the *State Republican* into one group. However, he is not altogether wrong, in that the majority of state printers in the second half of the nineteenth century were proprietors of the *State Republican*.

The aforementioned 1908 state constitution, which was the first successful revision since the 1850 constitution, retained the section on printing with the same wording as had been drafted in 1850.⁵⁷ The history of state printing beyond Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co. is not clear. The Robert Smith Co. remained publisher of the *State Republican* for several decades after it lost the printing contract, indicating that the dominant local newspaper publishers were no longer involved in state printing after the turn of the century. In 1911, the Smith Co. merged the *State Republican* and the *Lansing Journal*, its democratic counterpart, forming the *State Journal*, which is today the *Lansing State Journal*.⁵⁸ The *State Journal* after 1911, then Lansing's dominant newspaper, did not have a particular political affiliation therefore the tradition of the state contract going to a partisan newspaper publisher ceased.

Books printed and bound for the state beginning in the 1920s no longer included a mention of the printer's name. A 1929 book printed for the Michigan Historical Commission

⁵⁵ Dunbar, *Michigan*, 525.

⁵⁶ Daniel S. Mevis, *Pioneer Recollections: Semi-Historic Side Lights on the Early Days of Lansing* (Lansing: Robert Smith Printing Company, 1911), 120.

⁵⁷ "Constitution of Michigan of 1908," *legislature.mi.gov*, accessed December 1, 2016, <http://www.legislature.mi.gov/documents/historical/miconstitution1908.htm>.

⁵⁸ *Lansing and Its Yesterdays*, 34.

includes the state seal, which is a marker in itself.⁵⁹ According to the Michigan Department of State, the state seal has not changed since 1911 and the Great Seal Act, which went into effect in 1963, states: “No facsimile or reproduction of the Great Seal can be used in a manner unconnected with official functions of the state.”⁶⁰ While the Act came much later than the 1929 book, it can be assumed that use of the state seal was regulated from its inception as it provides an official stamp on anything in which it is printed.

The state of Michigan again held a constitutional convention in 1961 in Lansing. The constitution, which was drafted and approved by 1963, contains no reasonable mention to printing. The absence of a section on printing, as had been included in the 1850 and 1908 constitutions signifies, perhaps, less demand for a state printer in the twentieth century. Legislation and laws were, however, still printed after the 1920s, perhaps just with less direct control by the Legislature and more so through state departments. This was also perhaps a time when the government was less inclined to favor a particular newspaper or printer because of more visibility and the growing immediacy of media.⁶¹

CONCLUSION

The history of state printers throughout the nation varies from state to state but offers insight into how Michigan’s story fits into the broader puzzle of print history across the United States. Michigan’s attempt at an elected printer only lasted through one election before the Legislature restored the contract system, but states like Kansas, for instance, were able to sustain an office of the state printer. Kansas had an elected state printer for seventy years, abolishing the

⁵⁹ “Michigan Historical Collections, Vol. XL, Documents Relating to Detroit and Vicinity, 1805-1813” (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1929), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112049815845;view=1up;seq=9>.

⁶⁰ “Use of the Great Seal,” Michigan *Department of State*, accessed December 10, 2016, http://www.michigan.gov/sos/0,4670,7-127-1638_8731-22832--,00.html.

⁶¹ Dunbar, *Michigan*, 646.

office in the 1970s.⁶² Nevada, though, has a different story. Its state printers were selected by lowest bid for the state contract, but each state printing contract lasted for several years opposed to just one year like Michigan's contracts.⁶³ California has yet a different method by which its state printings are furnished. California still maintains an Office of State Publishing, housed in its Department of General Services. The director of the Office of State Publishing holds the State Printer title, a unique system which has been sustained in California since 1850.⁶⁴

Every state in the Union has needs for printing that are met by whichever method is found to be appropriate in each state – Michigan has tried several approaches of employing a state printer, generally finding contracts by lowest bidder to be the best fit for the state. State printing contracts, as often held by successful partisan newspaper publishers, fit comfortably into book history. Legislative printing offers a unique perspective on the purpose of a book as well as its production. The Legislative “Manuals” and the “Acts of the Legislature” are necessary forms of record keeping and often have a very clear intended audience. The books were printed for the Legislature, therefore the state Legislators were the audience for which the books were intended. Naturally these books would find homes with collectors and in libraries as reference books of state history and as historical artifacts. Additionally, works printed by state printers are easily identified by their title pages which almost always include the printer's name. Michigan's trend of contracting newspaper publishers as state printer gives insight into the printing operation in

⁶² “Kansas State Printers,” *Kansas Historical Society*, accessed December 11, 2016, <https://www.kshs.org/p/kansas-state-printers/10999#McNeal>.

⁶³ Robert D. Armstrong, *Nevada Printing History: A Bibliography of Imprints & Publications, 1858-1880* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1981), 1875, https://books.google.com/books?id=IAkpHpPpdsK&pg=PA2&lpg=PA2&dq=history+of+state+printers&source=bl&ots=cSzqvk2a6D&sig=h9w_u1bd1Q4Q2cKpNQxgJoFicIU&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjCoKW06vLQAhXBJiYKHsUAPYQ6AEIRzAG#v=onepage&q=contract&f=false.

⁶⁴ “Office of State Publishing,” *California Department of General Services*, accessed December 11, 2016, <http://www.dgs.ca.gov/osp/home.aspx>.

which the works are printed. The audience of Legislative printings is perfectly clear and their purpose is just as apparent.

Unlike popular books of the nineteenth century, works printed for the state Legislature had an explicit purpose which was to compile and document information for the state's government officials. A question often raised in book history is, just because a book was produced does not mean it was read; were these Legislative printings actually read? The success and competency of the Legislature would provide some idea of whether the state Legislators read the information presented in their printings. It is safe to conclude, because of the notes, folded corners, and various materials pasted into the editions in MSU's Special Collections, that the books were well-read necessary printings that aided in Legislators' understanding of the state government and their duties within the Legislature. It seems these books were not simply printed because it was something that began in the 1830s with the state's birth, rather they were printed because they are vital to the conveyance of information to Legislators and throughout the state government.

State printing is a unique topic which can be often overlooked in the grand scheme of the history of the book and history of printing, though it does hold tremendous value in the discipline. While it is a niche and very specific topic within greater book history, it tends to be well-documented and allows for research and analysis on a national and international level – countries have printing needs that mirror state printing. Governmental and Legislative printing ties political history into the history of the book, especially in Michigan's case. The State of Michigan's long history of contracting partisan newspaper magnates as state printer highlights a deeply rooted system of conflicts of interest and signifies the importance of newspapers in the dissemination of information and influence of nineteenth century America. This study barely

scratched the surface of one state's winding journey of state printing, there are forty-nine other equally interesting studies to be done which would tell an important story of governmental influence on newspapers as an influential medium and printing as a necessary record keeping device as opposed to a business producing works for devotion or entertainment. Michigan proved to be an astounding example of the Legislature's influence on nineteenth century partisan newspapers and the publishers taking advantage of their influence to keep particular party control in the state government so as to keep their contract with the state. The interwoven connections of newspapers and the state government through the state printing contract is immensely important and directly links political history and the history of the book.

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The Efficiency of Networking in Social Movements through the Case of the Korean Council and
South Korea's Comfort Women Issue

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MC 493: Global and Local Struggles for Freedom, Power, and Social Justice

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Abstract

If it was not for international networking, the world may have never known about the existence of the comfort women system during World War II and how Japan was all behind it. In my research, I have found how essential networking is for social organizations in order to invoke change. The Korean Council used networking to gain strength and recognition for the Japanese to be brought to justice and to correct history on the national and international level. Teamwork across borders aids social movements in becoming more capable of reaching towards their goal or towards the betterment of the world.

Networking is a powerful resource that enables organizations and movements from different regions and countries to overcome challenges in their fight for change. In South Korea, the Korean Council for Women Drafted for Sexual Slavery by Japan, also known as the Korean Council, used networking as their primary tool to force Japan to take responsibility for the crimes they committed against hundreds of thousands of women. In order to aid their movement, they built international and national connections to create awareness to a broad range of individuals through non-violent protesting. Andrew Walder theorizes that non-violent protests are successful and produce more support because this kind of protest draws in sympathy. This led the Korean Council to obtain a large audience in which they were able to voice their stories and allegations against the Japanese's war crimes that they have committed and had gotten away with. Beth Caniglia and JoAnn Carmin as well as Margret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink attribute the success of networking to its ability to gain more supporters and for gathering information. Networking and non-violence empowered the Korean Council with the international and national support needed to not only reveal the history of the comfort women hidden by the Japanese but to combat the Japanese governments' attempts to avoid cooperation.

The reason for the Korean Council started with the creation of the comfort women and the comfort women system. "Comfort women" is the translation of the Japanese word *ianfu*, and it is a euphemism for "prostitute" (Soh). Despite its name, these "comfort women" were sex slaves who were abused and tortured by the Japanese Imperial Army (Soh). As the Japanese Imperial Army grew its empire throughout Asia, they started to set up comfort stations, or brothels (Asia-Pacific Journal). Figure 1 on the appendix page on page 23 shows the map of the territories and countries that the Japanese colonized spreading from Korea all the way down to

the Dutch-colonized Indonesia (Smethurst). The Imperial Army set up these comfort stations for four reasons: to prevent the spread of venereal diseases, to create an “escape” or “leisure” for the Japanese soldiers, to prevent the rape of civilians in Japanese colonies, and to use the women to check for espionage within the Japanese military (Orreill 134-136). With this, the Japanese hoped for stability and obedience amongst their soldiers while preventing uprising from locals from their colonized territories due to rapes (Orreill). Therefore, the Japanese Imperial Army started to kidnap women throughout the territories they colonized (Soh). These women were kidnapped through various methods, with some being tricked into thinking they were going to go work or dragged away due to debt (Asia-Pacific Journal). They were forced to live through unspeakable hardships, and the Japanese government went unpunished until decades later. In South Korea, the surviving comfort women came together along with supporters for their cause for justice to create organizations Korean Council

For Korea, the colonization and oppression of the Japanese happened a lot earlier than most Asian countries. In 1910, Korea and Japan signed a Japan-Korean Annexation Treaty, in which Korea felt like they were coaxed into signing (Japan Times). Under this treaty, Japan would have complete control over Korea “in order to maintain peace and stability...promote the prosperity and welfare of Koreans, and at the same time to insure the safety and repose of foreign residents” (“The Annexation of Korea to Japan”). Japan’s paternal and colonial ideology shaped the way the Koreans were met with oppression as Japan ruled them from 1910 until 1945, when they lost all of their territories and colonies once they lost the war (Asia for Educators). Under Japan, the Koreans suffered hardships which included discrimination, inhumane treatment, and enforced labor in Japanese factories (Asia for Educators). Koreans were taught that they were inferior to the Japanese, and they were forbidden to speak Korean and sometimes discouraged

from using Korean names (Orreill). The Koreans faced cruel oppression, and at times death, during the 35 years under Japanese colonial rule, which made it easier for the Japanese Imperial Army to kidnap young women for their comfort stations.

Hundreds of thousands of girls were taken across countries to be placed at a comfort station. It is estimated of about 200, 000 girls were a part of this system (Mohideen). About 80% of that number is said to be Korean (Murayama). These girls were forced to travel all over Asia, even near the front lines, to get to and serve at the comfort stations where they were starved, dehumanized, and repeatedly raped (Orreill). In a BBC article, Yi Ok-seon shared her story when she was taken when she was 15 years old when she was working away from home to help provide for her family: ““I felt really violated...It was like a slaughterhouse there-not for animals, but for humans”” (Williamson). She is one of thousands who were abused by Japanese soldiers, left untreated for any sort of abuse or illness, could have been killed if attempted to escape, and left to die.

South Korean women were not only had their lives stolen from them but they had their identities and culture taken away as well. In addition to this abuse, the young Korean girls were prohibited from speaking Korean, and if they did, they would be severely punished (Orreill). Some of them were taught Japanese, but just the words used as if someone was serving a customer such as *irashaimase* or “welcome” (Orreill). Furthermore, they were stripped of their identities: many of the women were forced to take on Japanese names or numbers instead of names, and they were tattooed on their bodies to show ownership and used as a way to keep track of them in case they escaped (Orreill). They had little access to proper medical care and nutrition. If any of the girls were found with a venereal disease or any kind of illness, some were killed off so that it would prevent the spread to the Japanese soldiers (Mohideen). By the end of

the war, once the Japanese surrendered, the Japanese were unsure of what to do with them. As a result, many of the girls were either killed, or left to defend themselves in countries far from their home (Orreill). The comfort women underwent an immense abuse of human rights that would later go unheard for decades to come.

In fact, how the Korean Council found its voice and came to be started in Japan. In 1982, Japanese feminist and journalist, Matsui Yayori, did an interview with a Korean comfort woman living in Thailand, who had remained anonymous as she was afraid of the backlash (Nozaki). Despite publishing in a popular newspaper in Japan, there was little reaction to her piece (Nozaki). However, Matsui's research on comfort women grabbed the attention of a South Korean professor, Yun Chung-ok, and they met up in the late 1980's and exchanged information on what they knew about comfort women (Nozaki). Yun used her newfound information to create a series of reports in a Korean newspaper in 1990 (Nozaki). Her reports took South Korea and Japan by storm: in South Korea, people were enraged and called for redress from the Japanese government and in Japan, it sparked women's organizations and political parties as they began to call for government inquiry (Nozaki). The result of Matsui's and Yun's networking was the catalyst to the creation of the Korean Council.

While demands for answers increased, Japan finally answered to some of the movements formed in South Korea and Japan as a result of the reports. The Diet, the name for the Japanese parliament, session of the government of Japan in June of 1991 concluded that there was no involvement of its military in the case of the comfort women (Nozaki). The Japanese government, again, denied the existence of the comfort women as well as their crimes. Fueled by anger and the growing support of social injustice organizations, a former Korean comfort woman, Kim Hak-Sun, broke her decades-long silence to the public to convey her testimony

against the Japanese (Murayama). She shared her story and her real name to the world, and demanded Japan to take responsibility for their actions by undergoing a lawsuit (Murayama). Through her story, the world became aware of the lives of comfort women and the crimes committed against them by the Japanese army and government. A fellow supporter contributed Kim's public testimony to the smaller movements already underway: "One of the main reasons that Kim Hak Sun broke her silence is the development of the women's movement in Korea. Before this, the women could not speak of their experiences because they would be treated as pariahs" (Mohideen). Kim's courage to stand up against the Japanese government along with the comfort that there are supporters who have her back led to more and more former comfort women coming out of their silence and providing their own stories to the public.

In conjunction with the supporter's statement, Keck and Sikkink also have a theory on why networking and using information from other countries enables movements to progress and strengthen their movement. According to Keck and Sikkink: "foreign influences or transnational linkages often provide the spark, but that spark only catches and sustains fire with domestic kindling and fuel" (39-40). This means that even though it is important to have international ties to fall back onto, having support in the country where the movement originated takes precedence. A movement is only effective as its support from the activists and resources in its own nation.

This theory is applicable of the collaboration of Japanese journalist Matsui and Professor Yun. Matsui had the information that Professor Yun needed to create her reports, which later sparked international awareness. With Matsui's and Professor Yun's teamwork and the uprising of South Korean and Japanese social movements, Kim felt empowered to share her secret that she had kept hidden for decades in fear of social backlash as so many of the surviving comfort

women feared. Kim's public testimony furthered the spark by strengthening other surviving comfort women to come out of hiding and testify against Japan (Peaceboat). Once the surviving comfort women came out publicly with their own stories, they had their communities in support of them and carry on their movement.

Upon the growing number of testimonies from the former Korean comfort women, the effects of networking were underway. When hearing Kim's testimony, a Japanese history professor, Yoshiaki Yoshimi, underwent research about the comfort women system under the Japanese Imperial Army in World War II (Soh). He found war documents at the Library of the National Institute for Defense Studies in Tokyo that officially states that "the imperial army was involved in both establishing and operating the comfort stations" (Soh). The Japanese government could no longer deny their involvement in the creation of the comfort women system and the kidnapping of young girls to be used as sex slaves. Due to Kim's international testimony, Yoshimi was able to know about her and her situation and with his skills and resources, he was able to back her testimony against the Japanese. This led to further support for the former comfort women and the assurance of a proper investigation so that the surviving comfort women could get the justice they deserve.

Official investigations were made into the situation, but as the documents surfaced and more and more comfort women reveal themselves, the truth was evident. This led to various Japanese government officials like the Prime Minister at the time, and the government itself issuing apologies throughout 1992 (Soh). Before the Prime Minister's apology, smaller social movements, a surge of supporters, and the former comfort women and their families came together to create a larger organization and named themselves called Korean Council for Women Drafted for Sexual Slavery by Japan, or the Korean Council for short. The non-governmental

organization was created in March of 1992 (Soh). The Korean Council started peaceful protests across from the Japanese embassy every Wednesday in 1992 to express their frustrations and demand recognition by not only from the Japanese government but by the world as well (Ahn). These protests still continue to this day, every Wednesday at noon (Ahn). This became famously known as the Wednesday Demonstrations and was named the world's oldest rally with a single theme by Guinness Book of Records (Limon). After the conclusion of the official investigation, in August of 1993, the Chief Cabinet Secretary Yohei Kono made his famous statement to sum it all up:

“Undeniably, this was an act, with the involvement of the military authorities of the day, that severely injured the honor and dignity of many women. The Government of Japan would like to take this opportunity once again to extend its sincere and remorse to all...who suffered immeasurable pain and incurable physical and psychological wounds as comfort women.”

(Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan)

The Kono statement became the turning point of Japan's amends for the comfort women as this was the first time a government official as outwardly apologized about the comfort women issue. At that point, Japan seems to have finally recognized the crimes committed against the comfort women after decades of hiding official documents and denying the claims. Yet, after this, not too much was done. In spite of the statement and apologies, Japan did not end up taking on other responsibilities for aspects involving the comfort women issues although it tried to tackle some of the issues.

Eventually, Japan started to take its first step to “try” to amend with the South Korean to fix some of the issues they have failed to recognize in the past. This included apprehending those

that got away for the crimes against the women, reparations to the surviving comfort women, compensation for the financial assistance for the surviving comfort women, and appropriate inclusion of the events in Japanese textbooks. In 1994, the Korean Council drew together a list of charges against those who and the list of requests for the Public Prosecutor of the Tokyo District at that time (“COMPLAINT”). The first request was to further look for the facts around the ‘Military Comfort Women’ issue (“COMPLAINT”). The Korean Council wanted an official investigation to be done and properly. It was best to not only look for more official documents in case they were to “disappear” but to gather all of the stories of the former comfort women while possible too. This was essential especially since most of the comfort women left were reaching old age or passing away. The surviving comfort women wanted the truth as well as their stories be known to the world after decades of remaining silent.

The second request was for NGOs and the United Nations. They stated that Japan had to work not only with international human right NGOs but with the United Nations and other international organizations in order to resolve what they called the ‘Military Comfort Women’ issue (“COMPLAINT”). The second request highlights the importance of international networking in order to resolve issues in which more than one country would connect to other countries affected by the Japanese Imperial Army. Not to mention, since this was an international crime, the international community and organizations should be involved, to some degree, with the investigation, and the investigation and information surrounding it should be made aware to the public in order to prevent history from repeating itself.

Since their history was ignored for decades, the surviving comfort women wanted historical recognition. The third request was for the accurate education in school and for the public as well as for the publication of the history of the comfort women and their stories

("COMPLAINT"). This request was not only for the Japanese youth to learn accurate history but to further understand one of the reasons the relationship between South Korea and Japan tends to be tense (Oi). The third request wants the truth to be taught to the Japanese, and a lesson for the world so that this atrocity would never happen again.

Proper aid and assistance to the survivors were mentioned as well. The fourth request was the support for the surviving victims ("COMPLAINT"). When the women that found their way back or returned back to South Korea, they were faced with humiliation and ostracizing. South Korean women at the time were expected to marry and have kids. Since the comfort women were raped, they were seen in their society as "unfit" for marriage (Orreill). Moreover, the abuse and diseases that affected these women prevented them living a healthy life or from having children (Orreill). Most lived without the aid of family members, though many sought refuge in group homing for former comfort women (Williamson). The surviving comfort women did not realize the struggles coming home after an unspeakable experience.

With that in mind, along with the societal difficulties the women faced, the Korean Council made a final request. It was for the compensations and fund raising for financial assistance of the surviving women ("COMPLAINT"). Many of the women had no financial means and sometimes no family to help them as they grow older and need more help in their daily lives. Also, the abuse these women underwent caused lifelong physical and psychological damage in which medication is needed as well as the funds to pay for the medication. These were the goals that the Korean Council set out for as they protested and sought out international allies.

In response to the Korean Council's protests and their letter to the Public Prosecutor, the Japanese government put forth an organization that would attend to the needs of the surviving

comfort women. The organization was called *Kokumin Kikin* (“People’s or National Fund”) in Japanese, which is also known as the Asian Women’s Fund, or AWF, in English (Soh). The AWF would bring in private funds and fundraising and use the money to give as compensation to the surviving comfort women (Murayama). They did projects based on other countries affected by the Japanese Imperial Army, including the Netherlands for some of their women were taken during the time where Dutch colonies became Japanese (Murayama). Yet, the Korean Council was not satisfied. They felt that the Asian Women’s Fund received funds from private donors, meaning that the Japanese government was not paying for their compensation and, thus, the Japanese government was not owning up to their crimes (Soh). Although this turned out to be not true because though private funds went to AWF, the Japanese government was “financially responsible for the operation of the fund” (Soh). Nonetheless, the apology and creation of Asian Women’s Fund with its compensation did not stop the Korean Council from protesting every Wednesday.

The Korean Council’s movement brought members at a domestic level and at a international level to come together to testify against another nation. This can also be related to Caniglia’s and Carmin’s theory on networking. Caniglia and Carmin both believe that networks “establish a means by which information and ideas are communicated.” (204). People can pass on methods of protesting or ways of gaining supporters that were effective or not to other groups and organizations. Improving upon one’s social movement could mean the success or failure of the movement or an organization. In addition, with passing along information to other groups, social organizations also connect and bring along more members for their cause. They view networking as a resource for recruiting new members and supporters for social movements (Caniglia and Carmin 204). Not only did was the Korean Council made up of smaller

organizations from other social organizations and movements, but its origin could even be rooted to the networking of Matsui and Professor Yun. Moreover, the help of the Japanese history professor, Yashimi, found the documentations after Kim's international testimony that placed Japan in a position to no longer deny the truth. He gave the Korean Council, as well as the surviving comfort women, an upper hand in pushing for the Japanese government to meet their demands and for the recognition of their crimes. Networking gave the Korean Council a foundation and the support group needed to kick start its organization.

Accompanying the international and national networking of the Korean Council are their connections and alliance with the United Nations and other international organizations to help push Japan for its cooperation. Organizations like the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Commission on the Status of Women, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Economic and Social Council, and Committee Against Torture have all issued reports on Japan on the comfort women issue ("Fact Sheet on Japanese Military 'Comfort Women'"). Along with their reports, they also highly recommended that Japan should do some, if not all, of the demands the survivors have asked for ("Fact Sheet on Japanese Military 'Comfort Women'"). This was a big push forward for the Korean Council because the investigations and reports of these international organizations meant that the world took the accounts of the surviving comfort women seriously and wanted the Korean Council to succeed. Moreover, allies essential to Japan and other countries have pressured Japan to comply with the demands of the surviving comfort women (Sang-Hun and Peace Boat). Japan's allies were not going to condone ignoring horrid crimes done against the women and not listening to their international counterparts could mean relation troubles for Japan. International pressure forced

Japan to take the demands of the surviving comfort women more seriously because they knew the whole world was watching Japan's every move.

Furthermore, networking brought a unity among the countries affected by the Japanese Imperial Army. One of the most recent was the 12th Asian Solidarity Conference for the Issue of Military Sexual Slavery by Japan in Tokyo, Japan from May 31st to June 3rd of 2014 (Peace Boat). They state that though the United Nations and other international organizations have recommended that Japan should acknowledge the comfort women issue, the Japanese government has continued to ignore them and the resolutions passed by "various national parliaments" around the world (Peace Boat). Comfort women survivors and supporters from South Korea, China, Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Timor Leste, and the Netherlands created an international conference to create their own resolution to present to Japan (Peace Boat). This would show Japan that people are still fighting for the comfort women, especially in places like South Korea.

The conference was also an important opportunity to connect and use individual skills and resources. People from these countries and organizations met with NGOs, legal and policy makers, Japanese parliamentarians, media during the time span of the conference (Peace Boat). The conference is highly significant because not only is this a non-violent solution to the Japanese government's reaction, but it is a network. Plethora of people from different backgrounds and specialties are working with the former comfort women, social organizations, and supporters. Working with those who are skilled in a variety of areas brings a vast amount of knowledge and experience, which can be used to do things like build stronger cases against Japan and push for policies that will aid the comfort women. Also, organizations like the Korean Council would be able to improve upon their groups as well as gain more members. People are a

valuable resource to use for organizations in order for them to progress and reach their goal as a group.

During the three-day conference, all of the social organizations, supporters, surviving comfort and countries came up with a resolution. This resolution brought another voice to the demands of the surviving comfort women because the document was created by other surviving comfort women from other countries affected by the Japanese Imperial Army besides the Korean Council. Also, the conference has brought everyone together to create a document for the Japanese government made by grass root organizations. The resolution called out the Abe Administration, which they felt has intervened in how Japan and Japanese history is perceived in their history books and media (“Resolution”). Meddling with history would be “attempting to turn back history” on the comfort women issue (“Resolution”). Shinzo Abe is the current Prime Minister of Japan, and he has stated in the past that no further apology or work is needed since the Kono Statement in 1993, which has sparked a lot of international and national backlash (ARIRANG NEWS). These countries and groups came together to empower each other to demand change from the reluctant Japanese government through the aid of networking.

As a result of their teamwork and connecting, they formed a list for goals for Japan to commit to and goals for these groups. They placed a list of demands that they wanted the Japanese government fulfill such as complying with the recommendation of the United Nations and to strengthen their efforts to resolve the comfort women issue to the best of their abilities (“Resolution”). Additionally, they made a pledge for all those who participate in a resolution to follow to carry on the awareness of the history of the comfort women, the activeness geared towards promoting that demands are met, and much more (“Resolution”). When international organizations, like the United Nations, do not place the pressure needed to make change,

networking enables grass root organizations and countries affected by the Japanese to work together to overcome the social injustices and bring change.

Individuals and organization continuously and regularly participate in the Wednesday protests to show their support in helping the Korean Council and the surviving comfort women. Many of these people and groups come from other countries to work with the Korean Council and show their support and assistance. In a video called *Nihongun "ianfu" mondai no kaiketsu wo negatte*, which roughly translates to "Hoping for a Solution to the Japanese Military 'Comfort Women' Issue", an American women's organization joins South Koreans to show their support and solidarity for the comfort women issue (okamura keisuke). The American women showed their alliance by creating a flag for their organization that used the same colors as the official colors representing the comfort women issue (okamura keisuke). Although the Wednesday Demonstrations started years ago, the Korean Council, the fight of the surviving comfort women, and protests still provide encouragement for other social movements around the world to tackle issues. Moreover, these organizations are being influenced by the methods of the Korean Council and their courage to overcome the injustice committed by another country. Despite Japan's difficult cooperation throughout the years, the Korean Council's use of non-violent and use of networking has strengthened their movement.

Between the Wednesday Demonstrations and the various meetings going underway, the Korean Council and surviving comfort women will not stop their fight for their demands to be met. Even though they have oftentimes been met with hardship, the Korean Council has overcome obstacles and gain international support through their methods of nonviolence. They have never used force during their protesting and have obtained more support because of it. Andrew Walder believes that the success of a social movement depends on the kind: non-

violent protests are more likely to generate “sympathy and external support” (403). It is the mindset that if people see a peaceful and cooperating organization seeking change, the Korean Council, up against an oppressive force, the Japanese government, then more people would appeal to the Korean Council.

Having more appeal would thus lead to more supporters and collaborating organizations, both domestically and internationally. This happens because if the Korean Council did use violent tactics to protest the Japanese, then the Korean Council would be met with international, and domestic, backlash (Walder 403). Not to mention that any repression from the Japanese government would seem acceptable to some part of the public eye (Walder 403). Hence, the Korean Council’s tactics of non-violence has gained its organization the advantage it needs to sway Japan into due to its massive number of support and alliances with international and national communities.

The continuation of the protests and conferences are essential because the Japanese government has not been cooperating with the Korean Council or any other organization pertaining to the comfort women. Since the Kono statement in 1992, Japan has done little of anything else to aid the surviving comfort women besides the compensations (Nozaki). Moreover, the Asian Women’s Fund closed down in 2007 after they had felt they had done all that they could have done (Murayama). Therefore, funds are no longer given out to the surviving comfort women around the world anymore (Murayama). Therefore, international communities, like the creation of the Asian Solidarity Conference, and the Korean Council’s Wednesday Demonstrations keep pushing reminders at Japan that the survivors are still not pleased with the results.

Even after the release of stories by the comfort women and the military documents, many Japanese people still do not believe the claims. A lawmaker in Japan stated that the “comfort women ‘were prostitutes by occupation’ and that the people have been ‘heavily misled by propaganda work treating them as if they were victims’” (Snyder). Even though the lawmaker was forced to apologize for his statement, many Japanese share similar views on the comfort women matter (Snyder). Some people go off of the fact that these were called “comfort women” and were paid, though they barely saw the money, to believe there is evidence to the claim that the survivors are faking their experiences (“Fact Sheet on Japanese Military ‘Comfort Women’”). The “payment” is mistaken for the fact that comfort women were “paid” but the money was always confiscated to repay debts that they never had as well as pay for “living expenses (“Fact Sheet on Japanese Military ‘Comfort Women’”). It is not just citizens believing the severity of the comfort women issue but higher officials, like Prime Minister Abe, as stated before, showed no interest in the comfort women issue (ARRIRANG NEWS). His attitude towards the subject conveyed almost a national lack of interest in it and, therefore, Japan would not hold up its end of the Korean Council’s demands.

Therefore, not all reparations that were asked for still not have been met. The Korean Council’s request for an accurate depiction of what happened to the comfort women in Japan during World War II in school textbooks have been ignored (Williamson). By 1997, (Nozaki). For example, one said “[M]any women, such as Korean women, were sent to the front as comfort women serving in the war” (Nozaki). The author from where the previous quote derived from defends the vague sentence by saying that it is “a legitimate window through which teachers can students could address the issue in classrooms” (Nozaki). This is actually a problem because it relies upon teachers and faculty to dive into the complex history of the comfort

women, which is something that not school can enforce. Not to mention that the vague sentence ignores the hardships, pain, and that the comfort women had to endure for so long because of the Japanese.

Furthermore, some attribute the lack of talking about the war atrocities committed by the Japanese to the large exam they must take to get into a good high school or university. Japanese history is covered on these exams, and the students “have no time to dwell on a few pages of war atrocities” (Oi). Saying that Japanese students must only focus on the “historic importance” in Japanese history while leaving out other bits of history means that atrocities, like the comfort women system, are then not “important” in Japanese history, which is hinting that the Japanese system focuses on nationalistic views rather than the facts. As one university student puts it they “learn what happened a long time ago, like the samurai era” (Oi). A former history teacher and scholar, Tamaki Matsuoka, commented on how the Japanese educational system made “young people who get annoyed” with what China and South Korea keep talking about war atrocities because “they are not taught what they are complaining about” (Oi). She is worried because many young people then “resort to the internet to get more information and they start believing nationalists’ views that Japan did nothing wrong” (Oi). The lack of information taught in schools leads to this cycle of misinformation.

Argument over the textbooks in Japan and what they are teaching convey why it has been so difficult for the surviving comfort women to meet their demand. There are even history book publishers in Japan, and approved by the Japanese government, who believe that atrocities like the comfort women issue does not exist. One such is Mobukatsu Fojioke, who believes that that the comfort women “were paid prostitutes” and that the Rape of Nanjing in China was “fabricated” and China hired actors and actresses pretending to be victims (Oi). One scholar

states that Fujioka believes that the “inclusion of ‘lies’ in history books...is acceptable for certain purposes, for instance, to make the story ‘colorful’.” (Nozaki). Fujioka has even gone as far to say that “[t]o write [a history] based only on verified truths...[it] insipid and dry” and felt that he “had no choice but to write from my own imagination to a great extent.” (Nozaki). He, like other historians and government officials like Prime Minister Abe, want to write about a past “that children can be proud of” (Oi). With ideology like that makes it difficult to change when many still believe that the comfort women issues, among other, do not matter in the history and learning of people. This gives fuel for the Korean Council who will continue to fight for their demands until they are met to their approval.

Decades long fight may be discouraging but the Korean Council has still kept fighting. Yet, there is a fear of losing personal stories and the motivation to keep protesting as the surviving Korean comfort women get older and are starting to pass away (Williamson). The most recent article to date talks about the number of surviving comfort women left state that 44 of the 238 South Korean women that came forth are still alive (Padden). Yet, old age does not stop these women. During an interview, one survivor recounted a time when a reporter asked her if she was tired with travel from telling her story so often: “I am a soldier fighting our battle, I cannot afford to get tired.” (WilsonHoang VIETTV). These women feel like they cannot give up the fight to be heard and to receive proper act towards true amendments by Japan, like the comfort women issue being told accurately and without bias. Surviving comfort women still hold interviews with various news stations like the BBC and still attend events like the Asian Solidarity Conference and the Wednesday Demonstrations (Williamson, Peace Boat). It has not stopped surviving comfort women like Gil Won-Ok, who “delivered 1.3 million signatures urging the Secretariat of the UN Human Rights Council to act” on the comfort women’s behalf,

from taking international action into their own hands (Ahn). These women have been the driving force of organizations like the Korean Council and have empowered other to strive for the truth and change in the face of adversary.

The Korean Council's connections and endless fighting did cause some sort of change during recent years. On December 28th, 2015, Prime Minister Abe finally made an apology to the surviving comfort women after ignoring the pleas of the international community and to the protesting of the Korean Council (Sang-Hun). His apology came with a compensation of what is about \$8.3 million in USD for the care of the surviving comfort women (Sang-Hun). Some of the surviving comfort women welcomed the apology and compensation with the finalized deal while others saw the compensation as an insult for a sensitive issue and would not be silenced by money (Kishmore). However, what adds more to the frustration is that some say that the Prime Minister Abe and South Korean President Park held negotiations on the surviving comfort women's behalf without their consent (Padden). Angry that their message was still not getting across, the women were not afraid to take action as 12 surviving women filed a lawsuit against the South Korean government later in 2016 (Jiji). The lawsuit was for the South Korean government for signing a deal with Japan even though they refuse to "acknowledge formal legal responsibility" (Jiji). The women asked for about \$90, 000 for compensation (Jiji). Although they asked for compensation, the act of the lawsuit conveys the disapproval for the actions taken for them when the surviving comfort women were not aware. Even when government officials believe they are helping, does not mean they have a right to speaking for the oppressed.

South Korea and Asian women have a strong position in the role of organizations and support for the comfort women. Although non-Asian women, like the Dutch, were kidnapped and underwent similar abuses as comfort women, when the comfort women's issue came to light,

they were not center stage. Since the majority of comfort women were Asian, it would make sense that highly held organizations like the Korean Council that worked with international communities would give credit to the people in charge: Asian women (Oreill). The Wednesday Demonstrations and conferences like the 12th Asian Solidarity Conference were started by Asian comfort women and Asian-organized organization though they have always been inclusive with international supporters (Okamura Keisuke and Peace Boat). International ties are essential for the battle against injustice, but countries, like South Korea, can still remain in charge during the fight; their fight for change does not become anyone else's and, thus, they are able to keep their sovereignty as an organization.

The Korean Council has brought hope to domestic as well as international organizations fighting for change. Even decades after being forced into oppression and silence, the surviving comfort women found their voice and will to fight through networking. Matsui's and Professor Yun's meeting and research on the comfort women issue brought in the support, and supporters, needed for Kim to feel encouraged enough to voice her story as a former comfort woman. The Korean Council had international organizations like the United Nations accessible at hand for helping in pressuring the Japanese to comply with them. Furthermore, the Korean Council's non-violent tactics through the use of protesting and peaceful gatherings for meetings and conferences have brought international aid and swapping of human resources and intel, but they have also gathered empathy and worldwide news coverage. Even though Japan has made the process to getting respected, recognized, and their demands fulfilled difficult, the Korean Council's use of non-violence and networking granted them allies, information, and connections that will allow the truth of the comfort women to never go diminished.

Appendix



Figure 1: A map of the Japanese Empire from 1870 until 1942

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- ☐ A highly recommended page limit of 10-20 pages
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- ☐ 12 point, Times New Roman font
- ☐ Doubled spaced
- ☐ 1 inch margins
- ☐ No identifying marks to ensure confidentiality
- ☐ Pagination on the bottom right corner
- ☐ Submitted as a Word document
- ☐ Abstract of 100 words or less

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