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Table of Contents

Letter from the Editors	iv
Intersections of Education and Female Monasticism in Byzantium	1
Cassia Bennett	
Temperance Textbooks: The Power of the Press in Education	13
Katherine Denzin	
Political Education: A Brief History of History Textbooks Since the Civil War.....	25
Lee Ferris	
Broadening Context: A Study of Social and Political Contexts in American Revolutionary Historiography	38
Emmett Flannery	
The American Schoolroom as Frontier: Geography School- books from the War of 1812 to Reconstruction	46
Anna LePage	
Manumission and Resistance in Brazilian Slavery as Observed by Travel Writer Henry Koster in Brazil (1817)	71
Christopher Vos Jr.	
Bull Headed & Brave: Major General Israel Richardson's Leadership During the Civil War	83
Jonah Wiegand	
Pirates and their Privates: An Examination of Emotions in the Performance of Gender in the Golden Age of Piracy (1550-1700)	98
Kaya Wilske	

**Almanacs and the Coexistence of Traditional and
Enlightenment Thought 115**
Rebecca Yeomans-Stephenson

**Emotions of Mozartian Music & Opera in 1780s-90s
Vienna and Prague..... 136**
Brandon Loy

Letter from the Editors
Anna LePage and Trey Davis

This year, we are thrilled to present the 10th Volume of the Michigan State University Journal of History. This edition will be the first to be published since 2017, as various circumstances have prevented its publication in the years since. We inherited the articles in this edition from the previous editors, Kaya Wilske ('24) and Avery Underwood ('24). They laid the groundwork for the ultimate publication, reviewing submissions and making first-round edits and suggestions to our authors during the 2023-24 school year.

The wonderful work done by the former editorial board and the authors appearing in this edition should not go unnoticed nor unappreciated. Consequently, we—Trey Davis ('25) and Anna LePage ('25)—were eager to take up the job. We had little previous experience in publishing, but we were supported immensely by Dr. Ethan Segal, the faculty advisor to the Journal for the 2024-25 school year. We each did several rounds of edits, reached out to the authors (some of whom had graduated) to obtain their permission to publish, and steadily, our vision became more real.

We are therefore thrilled to publish Volume 10 of the Michigan State Undergraduate Journal of History. We believe that this is the first step in reviving the journal. It is our sincerest hope that the journal will live on under new editors in the future, as we recognize that opportunities for publication in history as an undergraduate are not easy to come by. This is the first publication for many of the authors in this volume. In a graduate and professional context shaped considerably by publication history, we see the MSU Undergraduate Journal as a stepping stone to these competitive postgraduate environments.

The ten papers featured in this edition display the breadth of historical disciplines of the Michigan State University History Department and the diverse interests of undergraduate students at the University, ranging from female monasticism in Byzantium to political and moral education in the early American republic. An outsized number have to do with the Civil War, reflecting the fact

that this subject is among the most considered in the field, rather than any selection bias or personal persuasions. Many of the papers were written in upper-level courses, under the tutelage of our wonderful faculty.

We would like to thank Cassia Bennett, Katherine Denzin, Lee Ferris, Emmett Flannery, Anna LePage, Brandon Loy, Christopher Vos, Jr., Jonah Wiegand, Kaya Wilske, and Rebecca Yeomans-Stephenson for their scholarly contribution to the journal. We would also like to thank Dr. Ethan Segal for his tireless support in this process amidst a busy schedule of teaching, researching, and supervising graduate students.

We were helped immensely by Dr. Gillian MacDonald in the LEADR Lab, the digital humanities hub run jointly by the History and Anthropology departments. From a .pdf to a .docx and back (a couple of times), formatting was a significant hurdle for us—and would be even more so without the technical savvy and digital publishing expertise we received there. And we are grateful to Julie Taylor in the MSU Main Library Publishing Section who provided invaluable guidance as we worked toward publishing the print edition.

Finally, we would like to thank the Department of History and Chairperson Dr. Michael Stamm for supporting this project. We are pleased to be able to offer our journal online and in-print, thanks to the generosity of the department. We would also like to thank you, reader, for checking out this revival edition of the MSU Journal of History. May it be the first of many to come.

Sincerely,

Two handwritten signatures in black ink. The first signature on the left is 'Trey Davis' and the second signature on the right is 'Anna LePage'.

Trey Davis and Anna LePage

Intersections of Education and Female Monasticism in Byzantium

Cassia Bennett

Abstract

This article explores the educational backgrounds and statuses of women connected to monasteries in the Byzantine Empire. Drawing on charter documents, typika rituals, and hagiographies, as well as secondary sources from contemporary scholars, it argues that some female saints had access to educational opportunities that many women (and men) in those times lacked. Some higher administrative roles within monasteries were reserved for the highly learned woman. However, being educated or literate was not a prerequisite for joining a convent, nor for becoming a highly regarded representative of the faith. In fact, monasteries did not provide a systematic education for nuns, although the private education that a select few received in their formative years allowed them to start new convents and take on high administrative roles within those existing. The relationship between education, gender, and religion is therefore more complex and context-dependent than is often assumed.

Introduction

Life in the Byzantine Empire revolved significantly around Christianity, with a common way of expressing religious devotion being monasticism. Women in Byzantium, being under strict and harsh patriarchal rule, were for the most part overlooked: they were seen as inferior, especially prone to sinful behavior, and given little to no individual freedom. One of the few ways women were allowed to express themselves was through religion and therefore, living a monastic life. Through an analysis of female convents, one of the few near-exclusively female pockets of Byzantine society, a reader can get an idea of what women valued when they were free from the control of men. The general understanding that monasteries were centers of literary activity in Byzantium has inspired scholarly curiosity about education within these institutions, and what it looked like if there was any. I hope to explore this in the convents of (mid-to-late) Byzantium, investigating whether they were involved with education and, if so, to what extent. By examining the typika of a female monastery and the vita of a holy woman, I look closer into the more personal aspects of the lives of nuns. Trying to understand Byzantine women's relationship with religion and its contemporary religious practices of the day could illuminate aspects of Byzantine history that haven't been given enough attention.

Hagiography was a very common practice of recording saints' lives to be read for inspiration, edification, and commemoration. Through it we can see a type of biographical text that is written about holy women, their lives, and accomplishments. These could show us what actions and attitudes religious figures at that time deemed valid to name a woman holy or a saint as well as what women were rewarded for. The vita I'm going to analyze was written by an anonymous monk after the saint's death, adding a layer of nuance when the saint was a woman as texts were written, copied, translated, and read mainly by men. This obviously impacts the accuracy and presentation of information on female activity as men had warped expectations and understandings of women. Nevertheless, we can attempt to pick out the raw content of her life from insights of the author. The writing of charter documents for monasteries that functioned as a constitution was also a very popular and common practice in Byzantium. They give clear rules on what the residents were not allowed to do, and what they were supposed

to do. They outline daily life of the nuns, responsibilities and elections of administrators, and feast and commemoration instructions, to name a few. The typika are meant to serve as the supreme law outlining the operations of the convent. This could show even clearer the expectations of nuns and their general environment. These two perspectives, while not always directly, can show great insight to what life as a nun looked like and to what extent education was a part of that. Secondary sources used in this paper from contemporary Byzantine scholars help to fill in the gaps left by the primary sources and give a much wider understanding of the research topics. I mainly looked at published articles written on Byzantine women, monasticism, and education. In this research I greatly utilized the work of Alice-Mary Talbot using three of her articles on Byzantine women in religious context, most notably, “Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium.”¹ Another piece that greatly aided in my research was Athanasios Markopoulos article, “Education in Constantinople During the Byzantine Period.”² Together with a few other contemporary sources, these provided important context for the events described in the primary sources and elaborated the concepts found in them.

Education in Primary Sources

While reading the Life of St. Athanasia of Aegina,³ attempting to understand education within the convent and convent life more generally proved to be interesting. In the introduction written by the translator Lee Francis Sherry, he explains that her saintly qualities had manifested in her life in teaching and leadership among other virtues.⁴ We can see the leadership of Athanasia in her being elected mother superior after only three to four years in the convent with her fellow pious women of Aegina she had gathered, and in her assembling the nuns at the convents years later

¹ Alice-Mary Talbot, “Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium,”

Harvard Ukrainian Studies, no. 7 (1983): 604-618.

² Athanasios Markopoulos, “Education in Constantinople During the Byzantine Period,” *History of Istanbul*, no.8 (2020): 20-29.

³ Lee Francis Sherry, “Life of St. Athanasia of Aegina,” In *Byzantine Saints’ Lives in Translation*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996), 137-158.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 137.

convincing them to move to a more secluded area on a mountain.⁵ Unlike with leadership, examples of her teaching or further explanation isn't as clear but is most likely spiritual teaching or guidance supported by evidence of her knowledge of theology as well as being a leader within a monastery. We know of her high intellect from a description that Athanasia learned psalter and studied all Holy Scriptures by the age of seven.⁶ When at the time it was normal for women to be illiterate, being able to read by seven might be a sign of genius not to mention her already having studied all her religious texts. This to me seems like the author was trying to emphasize her deep understanding of Holy Scripture, again suggesting that the teaching referred to was sacred. She is also recorded reading scriptures to the poor as an act of charity and "directing them to fear and desire the Lord."⁷ This description suggests that she was not merely reading the Bible but explaining it to guide others to salvation. It is worth noting that she was able to get such an early formal education to be literate as a young person. Because she came from a noble family, the option of a formal education was open to her, unlike most of the peasant class, as you had to pay.⁸ Since her education is not further elaborated upon, we can't know the means of her education from this text—whether her parents chose to send her to school, educate her at home by themselves, or hire a private teacher. Throughout the rest of the text, we are given little-to-no information about anything involving scholarly or intellectual activity in her life, beyond studying scripture and psalms in depth for salvation. Interestingly, she seemed to have taken a particular liking to the psalms of David, studying them in her free time and trying to live in accordance with a verse of his.⁹ This could be interpreted as her having an area of interest within her realm of study and pursuing further education herself on it. Other notable aspects of Athanasia's vita were her visions of God speaking to her from the clouds, as well as her healing powers, especially the

⁵ Ibid., 144-146.

⁶ Ibid., 142.

⁷ Lee Francis Sherry, "Life of St. Athanasia of Aegina," In *Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996), 144.

⁸ Athanasios Markopoulos, "Education in Constantinople During the Byzantine Period," *History of Istanbul*, no.8 (2020).

⁹ Lee Francis Sherry, "Life of St. Athanasia of Aegina," In *Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996), 146.

powers of her relics.¹⁰ She was also repeatedly praised for her meekness and humility throughout the text, and at the end, the monk asks for her guidance and protection.¹¹ While these don't mention anything about her intellect, they show how she was viewed by her community: as a healer, selfless and patient, and someone who God has bestowed with wisdom. Regarding her education and scholarly activity, we can conclude she received at least some education or schooling, and was reading and studying scripture at seven years old. She was also a figure for spiritual guidance, as Mother Superior of the convent, and she educated herself on areas of interest in her free time. This shows there was likely no formal education system, and scholarly activity was rare and self-motivated.

In looking at the typika of the female convent Kecharitomene, written by Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene, I hope to explore whether education was present and had any impact on the lives of the nuns.¹² In the introduction, Empress Irene makes it clear that her education was of a high quality, studying with a teacher “under the finest principles and habits,” not only taking the time to boast about an education but about how she received the highest quality.¹³ This comment showed that the Empress valued education, which is further supported by one of the rules she devised later for the convent. Interestingly, she dictates that “two girls should be reared in the convent, brought up and educated and prepared to be tonsured.”¹⁴ Nothing more was stipulated about their education requirements, leading to the assumption that education only involved reading and writing. Education was rare beyond that, even for aristocratic women who went to school. Illiteracy was so common among women that most of them had their husbands or a male religious figure sign documents on their behalf, and the women who did sign their own name often badly misspelled it.¹⁵ These two facts make it even more interesting that there were to always be two

¹⁰ Ibid., 138, 148-150, 157.

¹¹ Ibid., 138, 143, 146, 149, 157, 158.

¹² Robert Jordan, “Kecharitomene: Typikon of Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene for the Convent of the Mother of God Kecharitomene in Constantinople,” In *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, ed. John Philip Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), 649-724.

¹³ Ibid., 665.

¹⁴ Ibid., 671.

¹⁵ Alice-Mary Talbot, “Searching for Women on Mt. Athos: Insights from the Archives of the Holy Mountain,” *Speculum*, no. 87 (2012): 1000.

young girls being raised and educated probably stemming from the Empress's own pride in her intellect. As Athanasios Markopoulos summarized, a high education wasn't usually required but highly regarded especially in administration roles.¹⁶ Another rule of Kecharitomene states that the Empress wished for the two priests to be able to read scripture, which seems to be the only educational requirement for positions in the convent. The requirement here appears to focus solely on practical matters. As the priest is only required to read his Bible, there is no expectation for him to be educated or intelligent—he simply must be able to read. This contrasts with the previous ideas about Empress Irene's value of education, as intelligence isn't ever used to distinguish people like selflessness or leadership was. This begs the argument, easily seen through another point of view of Markopoulos, that "Christianity could never entertain the idea that people should be educated in order to embrace the faith."¹⁷ The empire and institutions couldn't make it an expectation that one had to be literate to be Christian, because even that basic level of learning wasn't available to most of the peasant class; if they did they would lose most of their followers. It remains that education, besides being literate, was only hinted at or the Empress mentioning how amazing her instructor was. The main contents of the charter focused on practical matters, like the administration positions, feasts and commemorations, and basic provisions such as food, water, and property.¹⁸ The few mentions of education reveal that it was not a significant part of life for many, highly valued or not. This reinforces the earlier claim that nuns and monks were there to peacefully worship, rarely ever with the intention of receiving any secular education.

Further Reading

Through looking at secondary sources in the same manner as the primary sources, while reading and taking note of anything

¹⁶ Athanasios Markopoulos, "Education in Constantinople During the Byzantine Period," *History of Istanbul*, no.8 (2020).

¹⁷ Athanasios Markopoulos, "Education in Constantinople During the Byzantine Period," *History of Istanbul*, no.8 (2020).

¹⁸ Robert Jordan, "Kecharitomene: Typikon of Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene for the Convent of the mother of God Kecharitomene in Constantinople," In *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, ed. John Philip Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), 669, 672, 673, 676, 677, 702, 707.

that mentions education, I was able to find much more background on what education and that of women looked like generally in this society. Formal education was only open for the rich or elite as you had to pay either the school your child attended or the private teacher that would come to the house to teach.¹⁹ Primary schooling usually started at 6-8 years old and lasted 3-4 years, generally consisted of reading, writing and basic arithmetic, often taught by members of clergy and possibly even held in the courtyards of monasteries.²⁰ Secondary education usually started at 12-14 years old and lasted at least 4 years; this period was the most intensive, including Ancient Greek and Roman literature, arithmetic and geometry, rhetoric and grammar, philosophy, astronomy, and music.²¹ Many girls' education was forestalled, however, by early marriage; girls were allowed to get married at the age of 12, and many did. The effects can more clearly be seen in a later example. It was also the clergy who started providing the infrastructure of higher education—the closest equivalent then to college—in Constantinople for the first time after 1204, before this ancient cities like Athens and Alexandria held this role.²² It does seem like these practices were open to girls of wealthy families as educated women being doctors to female patients and daughters of aristocratic families attending schooling have been referenced.²³ Judith Herrin argues that women who made their mark were involved in church life and attended to their kids' education among other things.²⁴ The fact that the education system was completely voluntary, private, and only open to the wealthy made the number of people involved very small to begin with. Alice-Mary Talbot might suggest that women were at a disadvantage when attempting to access education; this is believable due to the almost complete absence of references to women in texts concerning education in Constantinople.²⁵ It is made clear with examples that certain schooling opportunities were open

¹⁹ Athanasios Markopoulos, "Education in Constantinople During the Byzantine Period," *History of Istanbul*, no.8 (2020).

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ "Women in Byzantine society," *Macedonian Heritage*, February 12, 2013. <http://www.macedonian-heritage.gr/HellenicMacedonia/en/D2.5.html>.

²⁴ Judith Herrin, "In Search of Byzantine Women," in *Unrivalled Influence: Women and Empire in Byzantium*, (Princeton University Press: 2013), 14.

²⁵ Alice-Mary Talbot, "Searching for Women on Mt. Athos: Insights from the Archives of the Holy Mountain," *Speculum*, no. 87 (2012): 998.

to aristocratic girls if they wanted to attend but how accessible it was to all that could pay and to what extent noble parents educated their daughters is not clear.

Looking at individual monasteries is more productive than looking at education throughout the whole empire because it allows us to avoid wide generalizations. It would make sense to see some education or teaching system within monasteries, as scriptoriums and scribes were usually at or from these institutions. Both female and male monasteries sometimes admitted children for schooling and even housed them at times, though this practice was uncommon and was discouraged by convents for fear of the effects of outside influence on the sisters.²⁶ The education is only specified in terms of being able to be a choir sister referencing an earlier statement that choir girls were usually required to be able to read, interestingly followed up with an example of a choir mistress being required to teach her novices to read and chant psalms by rule of a typikon.²⁷ This shows some initiative to educate the nuns, but only out of convenience, so the sisters didn't have to memorize every song. Illiteracy of nuns was commonly shown through typika rules giving different instructions to women who could read and those who couldn't. Women who could read were to partake in the chanting of the office, while those who couldn't were expected to pray. In their free time, literate women were encouraged to read scripture and pray, while those who couldn't might pray or recite any psalms they may have memorized.²⁸ Illiterate nuns memorized psalms through them being read aloud during many times of the day including church services, working hours, meal times, and commemorations.²⁹ I believe a large reason why texts were read aloud at such frequency was for the people who couldn't read, showing this was a normal issue that had to be catered to. Interestingly, literate nuns were called upon once by Neilos Damilas, a scribe who opened his own

²⁶ Alice-Mary Talbot, "Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, no. 7 (1983): 609; Athanasios Markopoulos, "Education in Constantinople During the Byzantine Period," *History of Istanbul*, no.8 (2020).

²⁷ Alice-Mary Talbot, "Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, no. 7 (1983): 609.

²⁸ Alice-Mary Talbot, "Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, no. 7 (1983): 608.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 608.

monastery, to teach their illiterate sisters how to read and write.³⁰ While education was required for certain positions in monasticism like priests, abbesses, and record keepers it seems to be only for practical matters, so they efficiently do their job without relying on anyone.³¹ Monasteries devoted little-to-no space for education or scholarly activity as their main purpose and use was for women to peacefully worship away from outside world.³² This suggests that there was an expectation that people were joining without much intention to study and learn. Most still had some sort of library usually including only liturgical and patristical works some centuries old under very good care and some being copied by scribes at that monastery.³³ From this evidence it seems education was only scantily applied in monasticism and when it was it was from a personal appreciation for learning or necessity to independently complete one's responsibilities. Illiteracy was accommodated for and not seen as an issue that should be solved, those who did try advocating and educating the illiterate were very few and of little impact.

Because education and learning weren't a priority to much of the Byzantine Empire, we must look at the few specific examples of women in hopes of finding similarities that can be applied more generally. Some prominent scholarly women of the day included Theodora Raoulaina, a wealthy widow who opened her own monastery in the late thirteenth century and was an active scribe, hagiographer, book collector and trader, scholar, and patron of the arts.³⁴ Daughter of Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene, Anna Komnene was a renowned historian writing a famous book on the history of her father's rule.³⁵ Also well renowned at her time for her intelligence was Irene Choumnaina, daughter and student of prominent contemporary scholar Nikephoros Choumnos, who had to

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., 605.

³³ Ibid., 614.

³⁴ Alice-Mary Talbot, "Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, no. 7 (1983): 605, 606.

³⁵ Robert Jordan, "Kecharitomene: Typikon of Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene for the Convent of the mother of God Kecharitomene in Constantinople," In *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, ed. John Philip Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), 649.

end her education at the age of 12 to marry.³⁶ Nikephoros Choumnos, in one of his letters of correspondence to Theodora Raoulaina, referred to her as “most wise and discriminating soul.”³⁷ This shows that there was a level of acceptance to women being scholars and having a place in that field. After Irene’s husband’s death four years later in 1307 she became a nun and opened up her own monastery.³⁸ Later scholars however have pointed out how her writing does not match her reputation as it contains many grammatical and spelling mistakes and no classical allusions, attributed to her having left education early to marry.³⁹ Holy Thomais is also worth mentioning as her intelligence on scripture was so renowned it reached the emperor and patriarch, adopted and educated by the mother of a well-known writer, Nicolas Cabasilas at the turn of the fifteenth century.⁴⁰ Studying later with Palaiogina, also noteworthy as she was the only nun in the late Byzantine period to write religious poetry as well as her predecessor Kassia who did the same but set her verses to music in the ninth century.⁴¹ These women expressed their intellectual curiosity and prowess through owning, collecting, donating, writing, copying, and trading texts, correspondence with spiritual teachers, and personal study and research. Two of these women were educated by their parents, Irene Choumnaina and Holy Thomais, while the rest of their education before self-motivated studying is unknown from these texts. Also notable is that two of these women opened their own monasteries, a common way for aristocratic women to express their passion for religion instead of simply joining one. These cases were some of the most outlying cases of women and represented a very small fraction of women throughout the empire as education wasn’t written about commonly to begin with nevertheless that of a woman. These women do, however, show some patterns that reflect what we have seen: namely, that education was not a top priority and was rarely

³⁶ Alice-Mary Talbot, “Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium,”

Harvard Ukrainian Studies, no. 7 (1983): 606.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Alice-Mary Talbot, “Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium,”

Harvard Ukrainian Studies, no. 7 (1983): 606.

³⁹ Ibid., 607

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

translated into a system. Most of these women were of a high social class, received some type of formal education (though the means are barely explained), and were writers of some type and active with other scholarly characters at the time.

Conclusion

In looking at documents from the mid to late Byzantine period searching for clues to the education of women within convents, it was clear learning was not heavily or commonly instituted at these monasteries at all. The title of being intelligent did mean something, though, and was highly respected especially for those in positions of power, including women. We know from contemporary scholars that a formal schooling system with a primary and secondary level in Constantinople and at least some schools for girls existed. We could also see that some women were accepted into the sphere of scholars and getting praise for their literary accomplishments. In most documents, scholarly activity might be mentioned a handful of times not only making it difficult to reconstruct an idea of how the Byzantines learned but, also showing that it wasn't of much importance or focus. Education was not needed for the average person and inaccessible for most making the population of those getting any education very small. Within that small circle, however, we saw that monasteries have some ties to education though they aren't strong. Sometimes they were used as a boarding school and rules in typika stipulating if anyone should be educated. The scholarly women of the time, however, were nuns and had close ties to monasteries, with some even opening their own. Of those who had the opportunity to live freely and seek an education, those who desired one could pursue it; however, everyone else would be lucky to be literate. Those who pursued education long-term did so through writing letters of friendly conversation on theology, poetry and music, hagiography, and trading texts. Illiteracy was common and normal for women as texts would be read aloud frequently and the practice of a man signing for a woman on documents was regular.

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Temperance Textbooks: The Power of the Press in Education

Katherine Denzin

Abstract

The Temperance and American Prohibition Movements harnessed the power of the press and education to establish the movement in popular culture. Specifically, legislation championed by the Women's Christian Temperance Union requiring alcohol education in the public school curriculum and the subsequent textbooks printed in response brought the Temperance Movement to American schoolchildren in the late nineteenth century. In the context of increased attendance at public schools and the lack of centralized curriculum, the textbook industry grew in influence and sophistication. In this paper, I explore textbooks in the Michigan State University Rare Books and Special Collections published before and after legislation.

Introduction

Temperance in the United States was a controversial and wide-reaching movement that harnessed the power of print. From small presses distributing Sunday school books and stories for children to academic textbooks in public schools published by large, growing companies, temperance activism solidified a trend of printed materials being used to guide the morality of children. In particular, grassroot activism and legislation, especially championed by women, furthered the development of the textbook industry.

Temperance Publishing Before Textbooks

Two schools of thought emerged related to Temperance as the movement progressed. Some believed that individual morality was key; they held that if people converted to abstinence, society would be better off. Others, however, believed that it was the environment itself (saloons, bars, etc.) that was the root of the alcohol problem, leading these activists to call for legal prohibition.¹ The children's stories and school textbooks that emerged in the late nineteenth century followed the former trend of championing individual choices.

Temperance activists used evangelical presses to spread their ideology, especially directed at children. They used publishing, stories, and the American school system to recruit the new generation to their cause. Early Temperance stories were aimed at children and specifically pulled from moral and religious righteousness that emphasized the children's own responsibility to the Temperance cause. Lucy E. Bailey, a researcher at Oklahoma State University, analyzed a set of children's books titled the *The Temperance Readers* (1889-1893).² She found that the books idolized democracy, temperance, and women and children's agency in the fight against the drink while combining the stories with rhymes, math, and spelling lessons.³

¹ Zimmerman, Jonathon., *Distilling Democracy: Alcohol Education in America's Public Schools, 1880-1925* (1999) Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press. 2.

² Bailey, Lucy E., "Keeping Men Off Barstools: Children's Activism In 19th Century Temperance Schoolbooks" (2009) *Journal of Philosophy & History of Education*.

³ Ibid.

One significant early publishing house called The National Temperance Society and Publication House was founded in 1865 in New York and circulated primarily literature focused on Temperance for a wide audience.⁴ An example of religious publications produced by the National Temperance Society was a children's book of stories called *The Pitcher of Cool Water and Other Stories* by T.S. Arthur, published in 1875.⁵ The first story tells of a carpenter who has fallen to the influence of drink and drawn the attention of the neighbors. The neighbor's child proceeds to intercept the carpenter on the way to the tavern with a pitcher of cool water. Both the child's pleading and the water itself convince the carpenter to give up the habit of drink. Arthur clearly states his intended message to the children reading the book: "Let me lift your thoughts higher, dear children who read this. God's love and pity for the poor drunkard had flowed into the child's heart and moved her to do just what she did. So, it was God acting through her; just as he acts through every one of us when we try to do good to others."⁶ Children were first incorporated into the Temperance Movement through small religious publications such as *The Temperance Readers* and Arthur's *Pitcher of Cool Water*.⁷

Temperance stories and tales were further present in adult fiction, often echoing sentiments of individual morality in abstaining from alcohol. In a novel paired with a second section about the effects of alcohol on the body, T. S. Arthur writes of a lawyer whose status suffers due to his drinking habit, even landing him in jail at one point. Mr. Granger, the disgraced lawyer, eventually is put in a reformatory home, joins the Temperance cause, and gets his life back on track, especially with the help of the main protagonist, Mr. Lyon, who advises, "'God helps those who help themselves; who use in right and orderly ways the strength He gives to every man.'"⁸ Throughout the text, Arthur emphasizes the importance of family and individual fortitude, with the help of the religious community, in quitting drinking habits. Much of the printed Temperance activist

⁴ "Guide to the National Temperance Society and Publication House Records," Presbyterian Historical Society. Last Modified 2021.

⁵ Arthur, T. S., *The Pitcher of Cool Water and Other Stories* (1875) The National Temperance Society and Publication House.

⁶ Ibid., 22

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Arthur, T. S., *Strong Drink; The Curse and the Cure* (1877) Hubbard Brothers. 25.

material before the 1880s centered on stories with religious overtones, largely directed at children or centering narratives of healthy, happy families when the influence of alcohol is gone.

Shift to Science

Distinct from the religious themes of Sunday school and fiction books were the proper textbooks used in American schools as health texts. The change marks a shift towards science as a major pillar of the general Temperance Movement as well as an expansion into the school system rather than reliance solely on religious communities. American public high schools were growing in the mid-to-late-nineteenth century and textbooks became a pillar of the curriculum and the primary vehicle for distributing white, Northern morals at the time. Science, chemistry in particular, in an age of social change and enterprise after the Civil War established itself as practical and industrial knowledge that should be taught in schools.⁹ Thus, scientific education became the new target of the temperance movement.

The Women's Christian Temperance Movement's newly formed Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction (STI) was responsible for the creation and distribution of physiology and hygiene textbooks that directly addressed alcohol and other narcotics along the moral lines championed by The Temperance movement.¹⁰ One person in particular, Mary Hanchett Hunt, was responsible for the success of the movement. Hunt joined the WCTU in 1879, five years after it was founded. She was appointed the chairperson of the scientific temperance committee that would eventually become the Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction. After failed attempts at petitioning local school boards to teach scientific temperance, Hunt and her department focused on passing mandatory laws requiring the subject be taught in public schools, the first passing in Vermont in 1882.¹¹ By 1901, every state in the U.S. mandated Scientific Temperance Instruction, a sweeping victory for the proponents of temperance and made possible by consistent grassroots

⁹ Reese, William J., "American high school political economy in the nineteenth century" (1998) *History of Education*.

¹⁰ Mezvinsky, Norton., "Scientific Instruction in the Schools" (March 1961) *History of Education Quarterly*.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 48-49.

advocacy.¹² The movement had high levels of support, especially in the early years. In both 1882 and 1886, the American Medical Association supported mandatory STI in public schools.¹³

It is easy to trace the impact of STI legislation on the topics covered in general physiology, anatomy, and health textbooks meant for youth. For example, an 1873 revision of an 1867 book titled *The Elements of Physiology and Hygiene; a text-book for educational institutions* by Thomas H. Huxley and W. M. Jay Youmans acted as a reference book for teachers and schools to teach physiology and hygiene.¹⁴ There is not a mention of alcohol or tobacco in the entirety of the book; nor is there anything about fermentation or distillation (besides informing the reader that boiling water will distill it).¹⁵ In stark contrast, a similar textbook meant for educational institutions called *A Treatise on Physiology and Hygiene for Educational Institutions and General Readers* by Joseph Hutchinson, published in 1896, takes a different approach.⁵⁷ Much of the content of the book is similar in structure to *Elements* except for the addition of alcohol. The preface to the book, a revised edition, explicitly acknowledges the reason for the additions. “Such slight changes have been made in the text as were necessary to meet the requirements of the laws of the several states with respect to the influence of alcohol and narcotics.”⁵⁸ In the beverage section of the hygiene part, the text goes on to discuss the history of alcohol, how it is made, and its negative effects on society. *Treatise on Physiology* warns against drinking, even in moderation, and declares alcohol to be a poison. Although the addition is only a few pages in length, it clearly displays the influence of the temperance movement on educational publishing generally.

The content of the textbooks endorsed or created because of STI clearly show a shift of the temperance movement towards science. Similarly, textbooks were evolving from simple memorization techniques towards engagement and inductive thinking.⁵⁹ One of the best examples is *Our Bodies and How We Live, revised edition: An Elementary Text-book of Physiology and Hygiene* by Albert F. Blaisdell, published in 1893, which includes

¹² Zimmerman, Jonathon., *Distilling Democracy: Alcohol Education in America's Public Schools, 1880-1925* (1999) University of Kansas Press. 7.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 120.

¹⁴ Thomas Huxley and W.M. Jay Youmans, *The Elements of Physiology and Hygiene; a text-book for educational institutions* (1873) American Book Company.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

experiments after the text.⁶⁰ After proclaiming that “Alcohol is A Poison” and “Beer is responsible for many crimes,” Blaisdell provides a large section of experiments to engage students in the content of the book.⁶¹ One such experiment strangely involves fermenting fruit to create alcohol while another encourages students to purchase liquor from the drug store to conduct experiments with it.⁶² *Pathfinder No 2, Physiology for Young People*, edited by A. B. Palmer and published in 1888, also includes experiments at the end, including a figure explaining and encouraging distillation of cider to understand how alcohol is made.¹⁶

Pathfinders and Fear Tactics

There is no shortage of physiology and hygiene textbooks from the late nineteenth century, either created or revised in response to STI legislation. Mary Hunt and the Department of STI were involved in publishing and producing one series in particular, titled *Pathfinders*. Mary Hunt herself wrote in *The Pathfinder or National Plans for Securing Scientific Temperance Education in Schools and Colleges*, a booklet printed by A. S. Barnes & Co. in 1885, that:

[...] the responsibility of providing for the publication of suitable textbooks on Physiology and Hygiene, with special reference to alcoholic drinks, stimulants, and narcotics, for school use, in accordance with legislation, devolves upon the National Superintendent (Mary Hunt), whose endorsement [...] will be put upon such books as the department approves.¹⁷

The booklet goes on to recommend two books in the series that were ready and approved by the WCTU for school use, *Pathfinder No. 2* and *No. 3*. The first for primary schools “with less physiology and more temperance,” and the second for academic grades that contained more information relating to physiology.¹⁸ Not only was the Department of STI involved with the legislation requiring Temperance education, but the group also supported the publication

¹⁶ Palmer, A. B., *New Pathfinder No. 2 Physiology for Young People* (1888) American Book Company.

¹⁷ Woman's Christian Temperance Union Department of Scientific Instruction, *The Pathfinder* (1885) A. S. Barnes and Company. 6-7.

¹⁸ Ibid.

of a specific series and endorsed books in a similar vein, extending their reach beyond advocacy and into curriculum.

In particular, the schoolbooks endorsed or revised by Mary Hunt and the WCTU STI employ fear tactics to convince children that alcohol and other narcotics were quite literally poisonous, often incorrectly. *Physiology for Young People*, or *Pathfinder No. 2*, immediately addresses alcohol in the second chapter, after covering food. It declares: “any substance whose nature it is to injure health or destroy life, if absorbed into the blood, either in large or small quantities, is called a poison.”¹⁹ The book goes on to explore aspects of the body including digestion, circulation, and the skeleton, with most of the chapters concluding with how alcohol influences that specific part of the body. The last portion of the text addresses how alcohol affects the mind and future generations. “Over in the poorhouse, is a man who does not know so much as most children four years old. He cannot learn to read or write; he is an idiot. And this is because he is the child of drinking parents whose poisoned lifeblood tainted his own.”²⁰ The book claims that drinking, even in moderation, can lead to insanity and inflict mental disease upon future generations. *Pathfinder No. 3, Hygienic Physiology*, by J. Steele and published the same year, is more timid and indeed contains more content related to the study of the human body outside of the influence of alcohol.²¹ One section in particular conflates all types of alcohol to the same level of danger: “In other words, the poisonous nature of alcohol, and the effects which result when it is taken into the stomach, are definite and immutable facts, which are not dependent upon any particular name or disguise under which the poison finds entrance.”²² The *Pathfinder* series is the first series to be approved by the WCTU and is one of the most notoriously misinformed and manipulative.

The content and structure of *Pathfinders* spread to other books in the years to follow. Many of the textbooks include a standard description of alcohol as a colorless liquid with a sharp taste that will burn without smoke accompanied by information about how alcohol is distilled, what fermentation is, and how it negatively affects the mind and body. *Our Bodies How We Live* by Albert F.

¹⁹ Palmer, A. B., *New Pathfinder No. 2 Physiology for Young People* (1888) American Book Company. 17.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 158.

²¹ Steele, Joel Dorman., *Hygienic Physiology* (1888) American Book Company.

²² *Ibid.*, 139.

Blaisdell was revised by Mary Hunt.²³ The moral and political stances of the editors were clearly stated, declaring that “entire abstinence is the only safeguard against forming the alcoholic appetite, and the only cure for it when it is formed.”²⁴ This type of rhetoric and fear tactics lasted well into the 1890s. Frank Overton’s *Applied Physiology*, published by the American Book Company in 1898, follows a very similar structure to others of its type. Many of these books also warned against the use of tobacco, although with less vigilance. “About 1/30 of each tobacco is a strong poison. This poison is called *nicotine*. A drop or two of it, or as much of it as is in a strong cigar, will kill a man.”²⁵ The textbooks produced in accordance with the Department of STI’s example often used dramatic, scientific, fear-inducing rhetoric to warn children of the negative effects of alcohol and other narcotics, often citing death as a consequence of consuming them.

The Textbook Industry

Textbooks began to become commodified in the late 19th century as the textbook market grew, certainly not hindered by required scientific Temperance instruction in schools. In a brief history of textbooks in America, researcher Ian Westbury wrote, “the marketplace represented by the school system is necessarily the major force influencing what the textbook publishing industry develops in its role as the principal national curriculum development agent, and how the development is undertaken.”²⁶ There were not many constraints on localities, so therefore curriculum was largely influenced by local opinion and the textbook companies.²⁷ The grassroots legislation and subsequent publishing of temperance textbooks through major, quickly merging publishing companies certainly align with these trends. The American Book Company (ABC), for example, was the largest producer of textbooks by 1870.²⁸ In 1890, five publishing houses joined ABC, including A. S.

²³ Blaisdell, Albert F., *Our Bodies and How We Live* (1893) Ginn & Company.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 87.

²⁵ Overton, Frank., *Applied Physiology* (1898) American Book Company. 31.

²⁶ Westbury, Ian. "Textbooks, textbook publishers, and the quality of schooling" (1990) *Teachers College Record*. 11.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

²⁸ Wakefield, John F., “A Brief History of Textbooks: Where Have We Been All These Years?” (1998) *Education Resources Information Center*. 23.

Barnes & Co., the publisher of the original pathfinder series that partnered with the WCTU. ABC also published Overton's *Applied Physiology*.²⁹ Another prominent publisher, Ginn & Co., published *Our Bodies and How We Live*.³⁰ The STI laws created a demand for health textbooks with special regard to narcotics which presented an opportunity for the growing textbook industry to meet the demand.

Marketing became a component of textbook publishing, including aesthetically pleasing illustrations that engaged readers.³¹ The consistent covers of the pathfinder series demonstrate the development of a brand, set with the American Book Company logo on the back. Illustrations were also featured in many of the textbooks, displaying experiments, scenic landscapes, and anatomical renderings to make the books more interactive and attractive to buyers, who were educators, schools, parents, and students. Although these physiology and hygiene textbooks were not the first to be widely published or used in the school system, the power of print, name recognition of the publisher and endorsers, and the laws requiring them contributed to the growing textbook industry and the control over public school curriculum.

Conclusion

As written by researcher David Perlmutter, "the school system has always been a battleground for the control of public culture." In modern times, textbook publishing is a delicate industry, balancing the desire to appeal to educators, students and parents while choosing what content to include, knowing that nothing will appease everyone, especially in the social sciences.³² The Temperance Movement of the mid to late nineteenth century took their morals to the press in the form of fiction, stories, Sunday school books, and finally mandatory educational textbooks. Laws targeting school curriculum presented opportunities for the expanding textbook industry to create books that staunchly supported the Temperance Movement and followed a general historical trend of morality, individualism, and political causes

²⁹ Overton, Frank., *Applied Physiology* (1898) American Book Company.

³⁰ "The American Book Company" (December 7, 1899) *The Journal of Education*. 381-382.

³¹ Westbury, Ian., "Textbooks, textbook publishers, and the quality of schooling" (1990) *Teachers College Record*. 10.

³² Perlmutter, David D., "Manufacturing visions of society and history in textbooks" (1997) *Journal of Communication*. 69-71.

infused into the public education system.

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Political Education: A Brief History of History Textbooks Since the Civil War

Lee Ferris

Abstract

As the framers recognized, an educated citizenry is vital to the success of a democratic republic. This article explores how this imperative to provide free standardized education has been interpreted through time. It analyzes history textbooks, regulatory standards, and the charged discourses that these subjects tend to generate in American society, from the Civil War to the present day. While debates surrounding syllabi and course content are fresh in recent memory, the politicization of public education is far from a new phenomenon.

Introduction

All who have meditated on the art of governing mankind have been convinced that the fate of empires depends on the education of youth.

-Aristotle

By the words of Aristotle, education was reduced to a source of utility, a mechanism used to sustain society as it exists. Its value does not rest in its means, but in its outcomes. Aristotle's words were quoted in an 1837 edition of the *American Annals of Education*, a report intended for educators detailing the current state of education and solutions to addressed issues.¹ These are the ways in which the dead Greeks have seeped into American Education. The Greeks' rhetoric has been found to come out of the mouths of American elites on the topic of education, such as Benjamin Franklin and Horace Mann. These men held that a Protestant morality be both taught and be the primary outcome in education. Neither the moral philosophy nor the Christian religion was questioned; rather, they were laid as a foundation to establish social normality.²

This normality was used to unify society and maintain its structures. This has been present in North America prior to the creation of the United States in praying towns, or communities dedicated to Christianizing the Indigenous people. In his narrative of the founder of Dartmouth College Reverend Eleazar Wheelock, Reverend Nathaniel Whitaker included: "And if it pleases God to inspire them [the Indigenous people] with the genuine spirit of Christianity, it will soon appear that the best Way to *Civilize*, will be to *Christianize* them."³ The leaders of the praying towns of the American colonies, while asserting that civility is needed for all members of society, correlates civility with Christianity. It becomes

¹ "Teachers, and Teachers' Seminaries," *American Annals of Education and Instruction* 7, no. 2 (1837): 53.

² Michael Watz. "An Historical Analysis of Character Education." *Journal of Inquiry and Action in Education* 4, no. 2 (2011): 37-43.

³ Nathaniel Whitaker, *A Brief Narrative of the Indian Charity-school, in Lebanon in Connecticut, New England: Founded and Carried on by that Faithful Servant of God, the Rev. Mr. Eleazar Wheelock*, London: J. and W. Oliver, 1766, 89-90.

necessary within colonial education, then, to instill morality and social normality for the survival of the colonial community. This ideology has manifested itself in American society and lingers to this day. Calvin Coolidge is noted as stating, ““Those who believe in America, in her language, her arts, her literature, and her science, will seek to perpetuate them by perpetuating the education which has produced them.””⁴ Within the twentieth century, we see the ideology of societal preservation in education by nationalistic interest groups, such as the Gablers, focused on altering U.S. history textbooks to instill patriotic and unifying values. Prominent educational theorist E. D. Hirsch, who praised the work of classic Greek philosophers, perpetuates this ideology in his emphasis on teaching “cultural literacy,” or the knowledge to be able to effectively communicate within society through cultural means. This inevitably leads to a reduction of diversity and a rise in acculturation. Hirsch states that “all human communities are founded upon specific shared information [...] the basic goal of education in a human community is acculturation, the transmission to children of the specific information shared by the adults of the group or polis.”⁵

Our society is one built upon and sustained by oppression. If education is to be a means to maintain society in its present state, then education is also to be inherently oppressive. The goal of this paper is to illustrate the current state of U.S. history textbook curriculum, regulation, and manufacture as an entry point to discuss the purposes of education.

Interest Groups

The current crisis of textbook curriculum can be traced back to early postbellum America. Immediately following the Civil War, the country faced a crisis of values. The beliefs of the Confederacy were abhorrent to the northern Union, regardless of how racist both institutions were. Education, therefore, was torn between two ideologies: the Confederacy and the Union. Which set of values was to be adopted in education and used as a mechanism for social unity?

⁴ Theodore Christianson, “An Answer to Pessimism,” *Journal of the National Education Association* 15, no. 1 (1926): 4.

⁵ E.D. Hirsch, Joseph F. Kett, James Trefil, *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know*, New York: Random House, Inc., 1988, xv-xvi.

This was the question that concerned early education interest groups in postbellum America.

The United Confederate Veterans (UCV) and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) were organizations that arose to defend the historical perception of the Confederacy. Both advocated for an education of the Lost Cause: teaching that the Civil War was about states' rights, leaving the Union was honorable, omitted the relevance of slavery, and portrayed the Antebellum South favorably. They argued that the Lost Cause narrative was impartial, unlike narratives produced by the North, and therefore more truthful. Not only was this an attempt to maintain culture, but it was ideologically supported by a desire for truth and justice. To the UCV and Southerners alike, their truth of events was "... of more value to the South than all the property lost in that struggle [the Civil War]."⁶ The UDC, an ongoing yet diminished organization, similarly advocated for the Lost Cause. Composed of and led by women in the American South, the group quickly became vital in influencing education. The group was largely responsible for erecting and maintaining Confederate memorial statues and creating biased educational resources in order to keep "... alive the sacred principles for which Southern men and boys fought so bravely."⁷ The UDC created the Children of the Confederacy (CC) chapters, in which children and teenagers would be taught the history of the Confederacy in conventions and with catechisms. Historical catechisms were not new to education, dating back to the early-to-mid-nineteenth century. Catechisms utilized rote memorization of historical facts that were often based on preserving the American myth and its social structures.⁸ The catechisms of the CC were no different; however, they emphasized the themes of the Lost Cause narrative. The war and antebellum life were romanticized, slavery was discussed through paternalist portrayals, and the Union was perceived as authoritarian. This was a manufactured narrative with the obvious goal of generating southern nationalism in its readers.

⁶ Fred Arthur Bailey, "The Textbooks of the 'Lost Cause': Censorship and the Creation of Southern State Histories," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 75, no. 3 (1991): 512, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40582363>.

⁷ "Meet the Founders," United Daughters of the Confederacy, date accessed March 20, 2024. <https://hqudc.org/caroline-meriwether-goodlett/>.

⁸ Barry Joyce, *The First U.S. History Textbooks: Constructing and Disseminating the American Tale in the Nineteenth Century*, Lanham: Lexington Books, 2015, 48-49.

These catechisms would be compiled and revised by the CC into the 1990s.⁹

The UCV and the UDC urged educators across the United States to only teach history favorable to the Lost Cause narrative. Any other narrative was considered inaccurate and, perhaps more importantly, perverse. These groups would themselves censor textbooks and encyclopedias for various reasons, such as depicting Jefferson Davis negatively, depicting Abraham Lincoln positively, or preferring the subject of John Brown over John C. Calhoun. If a school or educator were to violate their censorship, these groups urged boycotts upon the school, forcing the narrative of history into their submission. In 1898, the UCV History Committee in Charleston recommended that states create their own committees to prevent anti-Lost Cause textbooks from entering schools.¹⁰ Although many states would follow the UCV's strong recommendation, it would take many years for them to do so. For example, Texas permitted the state to purchase textbooks in 1917 and created the State Board of Education in 1949, which today determines what books are appropriate for Texas schools.¹¹ The vast majority of textbook adoption states are southern and western states, states that benefit from Lost Cause education.

Interest groups that influence history narratives in school are not restricted to legacy organizations of the Confederacy. As standardization within education policy grew more prevalent in the 20th century, a diverse array of interest groups arose, both progressive and conservative. The latter, however, are responsible for maintaining the Lost Cause narrative and American-Christian nationalism in current classrooms. In the second half of the 20th century, Mel and Norma Gabler became the icons of the conservative movement in education. The married couple began their movement against the supposed anti-patriotic liberal agenda within textbooks once they noticed omissions of Christian references and values in their son's education. After years of attending school board meetings and making formal complaints, Mel Gabler finally formed the non-profit Educational Research Analysts (ERA). The

⁹ Edmund L. Drago, *Confederate Phoenix: Rebel Children and Their Families in South Carolina*, New York: Fordham University Press, 2008, 125-126.

¹⁰ Bailey, 514-518.

¹¹ "An Overview of the History of Public Education in Texas." Texas Education Agency, date accessed March 20, 2024, <https://tea.texas.gov/about-tea/welcome-and-overview/an-overview-of-the-history-of-public-education-in-texas>.

ERA was dedicated to reviewing textbook material for any removal or deviation from conservative narratives. The Gablers and the ERA reviewed a wide variety of textbooks, from history to sex education to mathematics. Like the UCV and the UDC, this was portrayed as a search for truth, removing liberal or progressive bias.¹² In their perspective, the Gablers were eliminating the “humanist religion” (i.e. secularism) from textbooks, just as secular education removed Judaism and Christianity. According to the Gablers, “No religious leader ever spoke more dogmatically than humanists speak. Yet in the name of church-state separation humanists have largely censored from textbooks all religious doctrines but their own.”¹³ Along with secular humanism, the ERA targeted textbooks that discussed communism, asked students to think critically of the United States Government, or claimed that not all rebellions were “wrong.”¹⁴

A core tenet of the ERA’s ideology was a rejection of John Dewey’s claim that education is best when built around the pre-existing knowledge of each individual student. Rather, the Gablers understood education to be a tool to instill obedience and dogma, a tool they believed was used by secularists and communists. The mind of a child was malleable rather than formidable.¹⁵ The Gablers must have understood themselves to be on a biblical crusade against the evils of modernity, and they were worshiped for it. Decades after the ERA began, the values of the organization are still present in required topics in history textbooks within Texas. These topics include teaching traditional gender roles, advocating for a limited government and a capitalist free market, incorporating Christian and patriotic values, among others.¹⁶ Conservative interest groups have and continue to hold power within public education, forcing the institution to be a political one.

¹² Abbie Strunc, “The Politics of Culture: A Discourse Analysis of the Texas Social Studies Curriculum,” *Journal of Culture and Values in Education* 2, no. 1 (2019): 72.

¹³ Mel Gabler and Norma Gabler, 1987. “Humanism in textbooks (secular religion in the classroom).” *Communication Education* 36, no. 4 (1987): 362. doi: 10.1080/03634528709378688.

¹⁴ Angela Valenzuela, “Review of *The Great Texas Social Studies Textbook War of 1961–1962*, by Allan O. Kownslar,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 124, no. 2 (2020): 239–240. doi:10.1353/swh.2020.0096; Gabler, 363.

¹⁵ Gabler, 239–240.

¹⁶ Strunc, 75.

Government

Education became a target of the indoctrination aims by not only interest groups, but also by the government itself. Students and teachers in the 20th century saw a rise in government intervention in schools, specifically for standardization. Although education in antebellum America was highly valued, it was still an individual process. Textbooks were left to be purchased by individuals and families, teachers were in high demand, and often were farmers looking for pay in the winter, and the mass movement of people under westward expansion made any sort of standardization difficult.¹⁷ But, as mentioned, the Civil War brought a conflict in ideology, a conflict that was capable of ripping the country apart. Standardization in educational content became vital for postbellum America, and it is a process that has dominated education to this day.

Textbook standardization was a popular solution to the variability in education throughout the 1900's. According to a 1985 study, state-wide textbook adoption was created to lower costs for school districts, to create "statewide uniformity in curriculum," and to "to protect local school districts from textbook controversy."¹⁸ Adoption states create committees that review textbooks and either adopt or reject them based on criteria created by the state. These criteria could range anywhere from addressing factual errors, the readability of the book, the historical narrative chosen by the book, and any moral assertion of the book. If adopted, the schools within the state are permitted to buy that book, whereas rejected books are prohibited. Although the number of states which follow these criteria has declined, there are 19 which remain. These include heavily populated states such as Florida, Texas, and California. These three states differ in many ways, one being that California currently only mandates K-8 schools to acquire adopted books, whereas Texas and Florida have control over K-12 schoolbooks. All three states have their own review committees and give interest groups and individuals the ability to address their complaints or praise.

Government standardization is just as interested in maintaining historical narratives as the Gablers or the UCV. Florida

¹⁷ Joyce, 29, 42-46.

¹⁸ Michael A Tulley, "A Descriptive Study of the Intents of State-Level Textbook Adoption Processes," *American Educational Research Association* 7, no. 3 (1985): 295, doi:10.3102/01623737007003289.

routinely criticizes the use of Critical Race Theory (CRT), Common Core, and Social Emotional Learning (SEL) in textbooks. Their Benchmarks for Excellent Student Thinking (B.E.S.T.) Standards permit them to reject any textbooks that incorporate any of these elements. In 2022, Florida rejected 41% of all bids for math textbooks for these reasons, the highest rejection rate in Florida's history. 21% of these books were specifically rejected on the basis of including CRT. Additionally, the majority of these books that were rejected were made for K-5 education, where only 29% of them were adopted overall. In response to the mass censorship, Florida Governor Ron DeSantis stated in a press release that, "It seems that some publishers attempted to slap a coat of paint on an old house built on the foundation of Common Core, and indoctrinating concepts like race essentialism, especially, bizarrely, for elementary school students."¹⁹ DeSantis, like the Gablers, perceives education as a tool for indoctrination, run by an elite, secular, progressive entity. This attitude towards education is popular among conservatives today, as the phrase "CRT" has become code for liberal propaganda.

Texas has followed suit in its textbook review, approving only 10% of physical health materials in 2022.²⁰ They reversed one rejection after the publisher removed "... references to gender fluidity and [started] emphasizing abstinence over contraception," demonstrating conservative bias.²¹ In 2018, the state approved only one out of the three social science textbooks that were reviewed.²² Physical health and social science education show some of the highest rejection rates in Texas, both being subjects that involve discussions on racism, gender, sex, and politics.²³ California, alternatively, has adopted policy to make education more inclusive and factual. In 2011, the FAIR Education Act was signed, which created guidelines for districts to include LGBTQ2IA+ history in

¹⁹ "Florida Rejects Publishers' Attempts to Indoctrinate Students." Florida Department of Education, 2022, <https://www.fldoe.org/newsroom/latest-news/florida-rejects-publishers-attempts-to-indoctrinate-students.stml>.

²⁰ Emily Schmidt, "Required reading: How textbook adoption in 3 states influences the nation's K-12 population." APM Research Lab, 2022, <https://www.apmresearchlab.org/10x-textbook-adoption>.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

social science education.²⁴ A decade later, the state Governor Gavin Newsom signed Assembly Bill 101, which requires all students to take one semester of an ethnic study course to receive a high school diploma.²⁵

The Industry

Textbook adoption states do not only affect the education of students within their own borders, but all students nationally. Although these states represent a minority, they educate roughly 50% of the nation's student population.²⁶ As students within these states represent a major source of revenue for textbook manufacturers, it is more profitable to make textbooks that are able to be adopted in the most populous of these states, and sell those same books to non-adoption states.

To appease adoption states and interest groups, textbooks commit self-censorship. Publishers will exclude "controversial" (yet often important) material in order to have a product that sells. This is evident in their guidelines for writers, which clearly identify which phrases, ideas, and narratives are prohibited. And, as noted in the state of Texas, publishers are willing to alter their texts to meet requirements, such as omitting gender fluidity. Moreover, textbooks are frequently authored by a group of writers in development houses, whose names rarely appear in or on the textbook. These writers are not necessarily encouraged to write factually, or with an understanding of how history should be told, but instead encouraged to write a profitable book, a book that meets the publisher's guidelines.²⁷ Once education becomes commodified, it only progresses to increase profits, not for the benefit of students.

²⁴ "About the FAIR Education Act," Teaching LGBTQ History: Instructional Resources for California Educators, Students, and Families, Our Family Coalition and ONE Archives Foundation, date accessed March 20, 2022, <https://www.lgbtqhistory.org/about-fair-education-act/>.

²⁵ "AB 101 Pupil Instruction: High School Graduation Requirements: Ethnic Studies," Open States, date accessed March 20, 2024, <https://openstates.org/ca/bills/20212022/AB101/>.

²⁶ Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Company, 10-K Annual Report, SEC EDGAR 2019, https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc=/Archives/edgar/data/1580156/000156459020007003/hmhc-10k_20191231.htm.

²⁷ Melissa N. Matusevich, "Strange Bedfellows: Censorship and History Textbooks," *Social Studies Research and Practice* 1, no. 3 (2006): 361-362.

The uniformity of textbooks also allows publishers to upscale production, resulting in something close to an oligopolistic market. There are three main K-12 textbook publishers, those being Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, McGraw Hill Education, and Savvas Learning Co. (formerly Pearson Education, Inc.). Each holds a large portion of total textbook sales, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt making up 9% of the market alone.²⁸ In the past few decades, these companies have absorbed smaller firms, and their size increases barriers of entry for new publishers.²⁹ Not only do textbooks lack diversity in content due to the influence of government and interest groups, there is also a lack of diversity in publishers. The absence of smaller publishing companies reduces the experimentation of historical narratives and suppresses marginalized voices that may find platforms in these firms.

Conclusion

As a nation, we have been counting on education to solve the problems of unemployment, joblessness, and poverty for many years. But education did not cause these problems, and education cannot solve them.

—Jean Anyon³⁰

The content within our education is not just a result of academic elites determining what is best for students. It is the product of multiple social systems that exist outside of education, such as organizations, governments, and businesses. As education is the convergence of these systems, to alter education requires altering these systems. This is in direct opposition to Aristotle, who has influenced American educators since the genesis of American public education. Whereas he reduced education to a means to achieve a social end, Anyon understands it to be a product of social intervention, a product that has value within itself. Under Aristotle's approach, education is inherently political. If its value lies in what it

²⁸ McGraw Hill Education, 2019 Annual Report, 2, <https://investors.mheducation.com/financial-information/company-reports/default.aspx>; Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 10-K Annual Report.

²⁹ Gilbert T. Sewall, "Textbook publishing," *Phi Delta Kappan* 86, no. 7 (2005): 499.

³⁰ Jean Anyon, *Ghetto Schooling: A Political Economy of Urban Educational Reform*, New York: Teachers College Press, 1997, 181.

can do for the government or empire, then it must be political and nothing else.

And in doing so we neglect the true value of education. Our students do not go to school to pursue knowledge or to study our surrounding world and the people within it for its own sake, but rather to maintain a society that functions on exploitation and oppression. By engaging with education through a pure sense of wonder and empathy, we learn to find meaning within our community and within ourselves. In political education, finding meaning is irrelevant at the least, prohibited at the most. Political education suppresses the voices of the marginalized by suppressing their ability to express their wonder and empathy, by suppressing their humanity.

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**Broadening Context:
A Study of Social and Political Contexts in American
Revolutionary Historiography**

Emmett Flannery

Abstract

Historiography of the American Revolution changes as America changes socially and politically. This paper examines the important relationship between monographs and the wider historiographical field of the subject. It argues that in studies of the American Revolution specifically, authors are greatly influenced by America's greater sociopolitical context. In the face of national and global change, each monograph studies the American Revolution in search of links between revolutionary and modern America. Whether it is searching for American exceptionalism during the Cold War; understanding nationalism in post-9/11 America; studying the origins of American women's political history during third wave feminism; or synthesizing the far reaching, polarizing, and isolating sociopolitical consequences of America's founding in the twenty-first century, Gordon S. Wood, François Furstenberg, Rosemarie Zagarri, Maya Jasanoff, and Alan Taylor are all influenced by the sociopolitical context of their times.

Introduction

The American Revolution remains a widely, passionately debated event in American history. Since the late eighteenth century, the event and its historical consequences have been subject to countless debates. Different schools of thought have been born in response to the study of the Revolution.

From the mid-twentieth century to today, various schools have worked to understand the significance of the revolution and its historical consequences. The “Consensus School” of post-World War II argued the revolution was conservative, stressing that Americans from the beginning had core, universal beliefs of democracy, free trade, and liberalism. “New Social Historians” and “neo-Progressives” studied the Revolution through an expansive, class-based lens, straying from histories that prioritized intellectualism. They argued the collective colonial population had a vast influence on the Revolution. Political and cultural histories of the “New, New Political History” studied the Revolution through the expressive social and cultural actions of colonists.

These schools and their authors converse and respond to each other. Gordon S. Wood’s *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* responds to Consensus and Progressive historians, arguing that the Revolution was a radical, intellectual, and social revolution.¹ François Furstenberg’s *In the Name of the Father* expands and nuances Wood’s work, arguing the Revolution caused a canonization of George Washington, the growth of American nationalism, and the institutionalization of slavery.² Rosemarie Zagarri argues in *Revolutionary Backlash* that the Revolution was transformative for women, too, expanding and studying a perspective that was unrepresented in Wood’s book.³ She argues women’s political role was important and widely debated in the nation’s first decades. Maya Jasanoff’s *The Other Side of Revolution* studies loyalists in post-revolutionary America, a diaspora not

¹ Wood, Gordon S. *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*. 39th Printing. New York, NY: First Vintage Books, 1993.

² Furstenberg, François. *In the Name of the Father: Washington’s Legacy, Slavery, and the Making of a Nation*. Paperback. Penguin History of American Life. New York: Penguin Books, 2007.

³ Zagarri, Rosemarie. *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic*. Early American Studies. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

widely studied throughout history.⁴ Alan Taylor's *American Revolutions* synthesizes much of what all these works discuss, crafting a broad, comprehensive analysis of the Revolution's geographically, politically, and culturally expansive consequences.⁵

Each monograph represents important, field-changing moments in the historiography of the American Revolution. Their importance is seen in their conversations with previous work. Expansions and critiques of past work are essential to these authors' arguments and the field's development; but with these processes comes controversy. Wood's work has been criticized as an unrepresentative history of the American Revolution. It is an intellectual history, focusing on important intellectual leaders of the time and how their enlightened principles were foundational to future American social movements. He ignores claims focused "on what the Revolution did not accomplish," such as the abolition of slavery, saying they "miss the great significance of what it did accomplish."⁶ To Wood, the Revolution made the abolitionist and suffragist movements possible.⁷ Subsequent monographs, such as Furstenberg's and Taylor's, simply state that Americans were not, as Wood says, "the most democratic" people in the world if millions of them were enslaved.⁸

This paper outlines the important relationships between various monographs and the existing historiography of the American Revolution. But in studies of the American Revolution specifically, authors are also greatly influenced by the world around them. As the world changes, so do the subjects, perspectives, and sourcing of American Revolutionary histories. In the face of national and global change, each monograph studies the Revolution to find links between early and modern America. Whether it is searching for American exceptionalism in the face of the Cold War; understanding nationalism in post-9/11 America; finding the origins of American women's political history during third wave feminism; or synthesizing the far-reaching, polarizing, and isolating consequences

⁴ Jasanoff, Maya. "The Other Side of Revolution: Loyalists in British Empire". *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 65, no. 2 (April 2008): 205–32.

⁵ Taylor, Alan. *American Revolutions: A Continental History, 1750-1804*. First Edition. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016.

⁶ Wood, *Radicalism of the American Revolution*, 7.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Wood, *Radicalism of the American Revolution*, 7.

of America's founding, Wood, Furstenberg, Zagarri, Jasanoff, and Taylor are all influenced by the sociopolitical context of their times.

Wood (1993)

Wood's *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* was published in March of 1993, almost fifteen months after the end of the Cold War. Throughout his decades of writing, he sought to completely rethink what the American Revolution meant to historians. He explicitly responded to both Progressive historians who examine the Revolution as a class conflict and Consensus historians who view the Revolution as a conservative "colonial rebellion".⁹ He argues that the American Revolution was the most transformative, social, and radical revolution ever. To Wood, it was a "momentous upheaval" of social and political change that transformed the social construction of colonial society, making Americans "the most liberal, the most democratic, the most commercially minded, and the most modern people in the world."¹⁰

His book is intellectually minded, frequently citing John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Thomas Paine, among many others. He studied these men throughout his years of writing, searching for principled intellectuals and leaders to support a claim greatly influenced by American Exceptionalism. Wood's argument works in tandem with the popular, nationalist belief that America is the greatest and most democratic country in the world. By framing the Revolution as inherently transformative, social, and principled, he echoes centuries-old beliefs of American exceptionalism.

Furstenberg (2007)

Furstenberg nuances the social and radical aspects of Wood's argument, writing of the development of nationalism, institutionalization of slavery, and Americanization of consent. His monograph uses George Washington's life and legacy to argue that "civic texts" such as textbooks, biographies, speeches, sermons, and pamphlets "produce[d] a nationalism that promoted consent to the constituted political authorities and a sense of mutual political obligation."¹¹ Civic texts canonized Washington to create a

⁹ Ibid., 4.

¹⁰ Wood, *Radicalism of the American Revolution*, 5,7.

¹¹ Furstenberg, *In the Name of The Father*, 20, 21.

“paternalist ideology of nationalism” that accredited America’s “paternalist ideology of slaveholding”.¹² He identifies the hypocrisy of the Founding Fathers who believed in individual autonomy and owned slaves. Civic texts propagandized “individual autonomy” and “grounded both citizenship *and* slavery in tacit consent” to justify slavery.¹³

Furstenberg primarily focuses on how popular writings manifested and maintained the “political project” of nationalism in post-Washington America.¹⁴ He intentionally defines it as a political project given that American Nationalism evolved as the nation did. Additionally, he defines two levels of American Nationalism: One being the individual’s responsibility as an “autonomous agent” to their country, the other being the population’s collective responsibility to be unified under the same nationalist goal.¹⁵

The monograph examines what nationalism—misunderstood, diluted principle “at the very core of America’s political traditions”—meant to the new nation.¹⁶ Published six years after 9/11, the signing of the Patriot Act, and the beginning of the War on Terror, Furstenberg writes from within a nation largely united under a vengeful, retributive, nationalist campaign fought in the name of American freedom and democracy.

Furstenberg is aware of this context, acknowledging that the core principles of American Nationalism, founded in tacit consent, had remained engrained in the nation’s consciousness. In closing, he asks: “By persuading future generations to live by the will of dead fathers, and to do so *by their own choice*, had civic texts ultimately turned Americans—is people so proud of its individual achievements, so prepared to live free or die—into slaves?”¹⁷ The monograph explores how the citizens of a nation so radically founded on liberal principles of individuality and freedom could be so committed to a political project canonized by intellectuals and leaders of the past. It is an exploration into understanding how nationalism, promoted through propaganda, literature, and civic texts, maintained its dependence on Washington and the Founding Fathers throughout history and into the twenty-first century.

¹² Ibid., 75, 21.

¹³ Ibid., 23, 220.

¹⁴ Furstenberg, *In the Name of the Father*, 22.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., 23.

¹⁷ Ibid., 231.

Zagarri (2007)

Zagarri's monograph, published in 2007, is an "intersection of political history, women's history, and gender history", analyzing the political struggle for women's representation in early nineteenth-century America.¹⁸ She argues that post-Revolutionary America was a nation where women's political roles were real and relevant, straying from past histories that do not study women as autonomous political participants. The Revolution redefined women's roles in politics and "initiated a widespread, ongoing debate over the meaning of women's rights".¹⁹ But throughout the subsequent decades, "a years-long patriarchal counterrevolution" closed all political doors for women by the Jackson Administration.²⁰

The monograph was written near the end of third wave feminism: a moment where women's representation and image in business, politics, and popular culture became increasingly prevalent and valued. Zagarri creates new historical perspectives of early American women, responding to historians who write of them as "parallel to the main narrative" of the Revolution.²¹ It is a field-changing study that highlights how early nineteenth-century understandings of women as political participants differed from their portrayal in modern histories of the era. Zagarri redefined the historical portrayal of nineteenth-century American women as third wave feminism redefined the social, political, and cultural roles of twenty-first-century American women.

Taylor (2016) & Jasanoff (2008)

Taylor and Jasanoff's broad studies of the Revolution synthesize previous histories. Written in 2016 and 2008, respectively, they are both field-defining and expansive studies of undervalued, isolated, and unique perspectives from the era. Both depart from historical views of the American Revolution as "good, orderly, [and] restrained"; specifically, histories that "Prematurely find a cohesive, national identity" by pitting all Americans against

¹⁸ Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 182.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

Britons.²² Each work reminds historians that “the story of American independence cannot be confined within the borders of the nation.”²³

Taylor argues the American Revolution was not only a consequential and radical event, but a messy and divisive one, too, that “spawned new tensions and contradictions rather than neat resolutions” through far-reaching geographical, social, and political contexts.²⁴ Jasanoff argues “the American Revolution really was a civil war” that, in its immediate aftermath, displaced one in forty colonists, many of whom were loyalists.²⁵ They study broad subjects that provide important, far-reaching, and global perspectives for historians to consider.

Both authors wrote during a transformative period for American political and public thought. Published as American politics began to rapidly polarize, Jasanoff studies an isolated, forgotten diaspora of the era, highlighting the important perspectives loyalists offer to historians. Taylor’s study, both longer and broader, further examines the prevalent internal conflicts of the Revolution, portraying it as darker, bloodier, and more polarized than any previous work. *American Revolutions* also offers more geographically, politically, and demographically diverse perspectives of the event. In a time of domestic and political uncertainty, both works study important but undervalued perspectives of the American Revolution to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the era.

Conclusion

In recent decades, histories of the American Revolution have increasingly represented the important perspectives that come from voices that demographically, geographically, and politically differ from colonial patriots and the Founding Fathers. Although Wood’s field-changing study of the Revolution is immensely important to the historiography, subsequent histories have nuanced and expanded much of its unrepresentativeness into works that remain just as relevant and important. There is still so much perspective to be discovered in studies of the Revolution. Future research, through widening the demographical, geographical, and

²² Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 3, 4.

²³ Jasanoff, *The Other Side of the Revolution*, 210.

²⁴ Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 8.

²⁵ Jasanoff, *The Other Side of the Revolution*, 207.

political lenses through which its history is studied, can make immensely valuable developments into how we understand the founding of America and its consequences.

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**The American Schoolroom as Frontier:
Geography Schoolbooks from the War of 1812 to Reconstruction**

Anna LePage

Abstract

For the better part of the nineteenth-century, the United States was in a process of rapid growth and territorial expansion. This prompted the creation of literature aimed at raising national consciousness and consolidating American power, while such concepts were still nascent. Geography texts for schoolhouses were an especially effective intervention, as they rationalized the project of settler-colonialism and communicated the myth of Manifest Destiny. Through mimicry of other popular literary genres, such as the catechism and the travel epic, geography schoolbooks irresistibly blurred the lines between entertainment and education. Drawing on analysis of seven geography schoolbooks published between 1812 and 1872, this article argues that the form and content of geography schoolbooks in three key periods—the war of 1812, the 1830's, and the Civil War—shaped, and were shaped by, emergent socio-spatial imaginaries. These texts are treated not only as repositories of information but also as ordinary objects: how does the materiality of a work constrain and/or enable its intellectual content, and vice versa?

Introduction

In the twenty-first century, geography education has been relegated to subsidiary status in national curriculum standards. As of 2021, only thirteen U.S. states mandate some geography instruction to obtain a high school diploma. Of those thirteen, ten roll geography into general social science curricula, where it is treated as a footnote in a crowded agenda of civics, economics, and history.¹ Concern about declining geographic literacy is hardly a new phenomenon, however. In the first years of the republic, educators and policymakers lamented the dangers of subpar geography education.² A thorough spatial understanding of the United States was not only practical but deeply ideological. It could foster sentimental identification with a notion as abstract as a nation-state, and project a misleadingly definite image of an indefinite contest of territory. This was a task for geography schoolbooks, which held the potential to connect students from disparate areas through what they were reading about being American.

Geographic works were enormously popular by the turn of the nineteenth century, not only in classrooms, but also in homes. In a study of reading habits and literacy in rural New England from 1787 to 1830, geography schoolbooks were the fourth most widely-read category among those with home libraries—outsold only by bibles, dictionaries, and psalters.³ Pioneers of the genre, like Jedediah Morse and Samuel G. Goodrich, achieved minor celebrity status for their distinctly American geographies, which stood in contrast to those imported from Britain (a commonplace in the colonial period).⁴ While most printing was concentrated in the urban centers of New England, books made their way to more rural and remote areas. The diffusion of schoolbooks was particularly effective. Curriculums could be somewhat standardized and quality-controlled, since the majority of printing occurred in places like Boston and Philadelphia, but these copies were distributed far

¹ Zadrozny, “Social Studies and Geography Survey,” Table 1.

² Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America*, 146.

³ Gilmore, *Reading Becomes Necessity of Life: Material and Cultural Life in Rural New England (1780-1835)*, 64.

⁴ Monaghan, “Educating the Citizenry,” in *A History of the Book in America* (Vol. 2), 304.

and wide.⁵ In this way, schoolbooks—like Reverend Blake’s *American Universal Geography* (1833) (see Appendix, fig. 1)—constituted a proto-national literature, made possible through emergent networks between printers, booksellers/publishers, and schools/consumer markets. This was crucial for impressing a shared and enduring identity upon the new nation.

But the accessible and populist character of these texts had another effect: the blurring of pleasurable and didactic literature, of aspirational and descriptive accounts. As a result, they were suffused with ideological messages about the ever-encroaching territoriality and mobility of “the people.” Print was a formative technology, not only in its capacity to unify, but to exclude and marginalize; accordingly, it exposed the fault lines in American society. Geography texts mapped these divisions onto the physical landscape, as overdetermined products of the environment and of providence. The form and content of geography schoolbooks corresponded to three key developments in the American socio-spatial consciousness. First, through descriptive gazetteers and catechisms, they asserted American sovereignty during the War of 1812; next, through value-laden narratives and epics, they naturalized expansion through the 1830s; and finally, through highly stylized cartographies, they intimated American prowess amidst the Civil War and Reconstruction.

Sacred Geographies in the Early National Period

Geography schoolbooks of the early national period held two concerns in common: financial constraints related to the production process, and pedagogical concerns about the facile memorization of facts. The abridged gazetteer and catechism responded to both of these. The former packed as much information as possible into a condensed space, and the latter coaxed students into “learning” or, more accurately, rehearsing the facts of their country. Consequently, they produced a rather overdetermined and even providential picture of the young republic (fig. 2). Rather than prescribing a grand imperial or expansionary agenda, they settled on (re)asserting American sovereignty and emphasizing its distinction among all nations of the world. This general current will be examined within Jedidiah Morse’s *A Geography Made Easy* (1812), Elijah Parish’s *A New System of Modern Geography* (1812), and

⁵ Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America*, 148.

Nathaniel Dwight's *A Short but Comprehensive System of the Geography of the World* (1813).

It is necessary to situate these texts in the political context in which they were produced. Simmering tensions between the United States, Britain, France, and their indigenous allies in the years leading up to the War of 1812 gave impetus to reprint geography schoolbooks that were originally produced in the 1780s. For instance, *A Geography Made Easy* (1812) was the third abridgement of the fifteenth edition of the original, published in 1789.⁶ *A New System of Modern Geography* was a second edition, and *A Short but Comprehensive System* was a sixth edition of a 1795 text.⁷ These “new” editions resembled the originals to a considerable extent. This was no accident; in a time of war against Britain, geography schoolbooks drew on the past experience of revolution to illuminate their present situation.

Their authors were notable not only for their creation of school texts but also for their witness to and involvement in actual nation-state building. Jedediah Morse (1761-1826) came of age during the American Revolution and became a Congregationalist pastor not long after. He predictably developed an interest in geography, and his *Geography Made Easy* was the first of its kind in the young nation—an achievement which earned him the nickname of “the father of geography.”⁸ Less is known about Elijah Parish (1762-1825), but he appears to have followed a similar path to Morse, delivering sermons and publishing a range of geographical and religious texts; or even collapsing these categorizations, as his *Sacred geography, or, A gazetteer of the Bible*, suggests.⁹ Lastly, Nathaniel Dwight (1770-1831) was among the first school-keepers in the United States who, in addition to *A Short but Comprehensive System of the Geography of the World*, penned *Sketches of the lives of the signers of the Declaration of independence*.¹⁰

The preface to Morse's *A Geography Made Easy* expresses the desire to establish an American geographical consciousness,

⁶ Morse, *Geography Made Easy*, iv.

⁷ Parish, *A New System of Modern Geography*, Preface; Dwight, *A Short but Comprehensive System*, Preface.

⁸ New York Public Library: Archives and Manuscripts, Jedediah Morse Papers, 2023.

⁹ Ockerbloom, “Elijah Parish,” 2023.

¹⁰ Dwight, *A Short but Comprehensive System*, Preface; Ockerbloom, “Nathaniel Dwight,” 2023.

distinct from that inherited from Britain (fig. 3).¹¹ Though written as the preface to the original in 1789, the message was still considered relevant to audiences in 1812. Morse simply tacks a small postscript onto the end, acknowledging the “numerous changes which have taken place in the world, in this eventful period,” to be noted throughout the text as needed.¹² Dwight’s *A Short but Comprehensive System* makes *no* additions to the original 1795 preface.¹³ The overwhelming continuity of these works produces a static and myopic sense of the country, designed only to legitimize its standing as a sovereign nation and draw parallels between the Revolutionary Era and the events leading to the War of 1812.

The form and content of the ensuing texts elaborate this theme. The descriptive gazetteer, of which Morse’s and Parish’s works are examples, is essentially a geographic encyclopedia: a compendium of facts and figures arranged in a hierarchical fashion. Abridged gazetteers were designed specifically for schools and academies. They alleviated financial pressures by packing as much information as possible into a condensed space and presenting only the “most entertaining and interesting parts” of their unabridged forerunners.¹⁴ When paired with the catechism method of recitation, as in Nathaniel Dwight’s gazetteer, these works would be “much more comprehensive and more easily understood” by the young audiences for which they were intended.¹⁵

Gazetteers for schools also operated on an ideological level; they privileged a distinctly national conception of sovereignty. For one, they followed a predictable structure, ordering divisions of the world in descending order, based on political jurisdiction. They typically began with “astronomical” or “celestial” geography, and then transition to continents, then countries, and further subdivisions come last. This permits authors like Morse and Parish to locate sovereignty in the nation-state, and to render “American” a meaningful signifier. The United States is described as a whole—a “grand national republic under *one* general government”—and this precedes descriptions of particular states.¹⁶ Morse and Parish even

¹¹ Morse, *A Geography Made Easy*, Preface.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Dwight, *A Short but Comprehensive System*, Preface.

¹⁴ Ibid.; Morse, *Geography Made Easy*, iv.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Morse, *A Geography Made Easy*, 88-89.

begin their divisions of the world with the Western hemisphere, counter to European convention and “old-world/new-world” logic.

The catechism mode of question-and-answer committed such facts to student memory, but it also greatly limited the scope of American dominion. Catechism was a popular pedagogical method lifted from churches and seminaries by authors like Morse, Dwight, and Parish, all of whom were reverends as well. While this may have been done to reproduce a familiar context, it also imbued ostensibly secular geographies with a sacred quality. Each of the three schoolbooks incorporate this exercise, but Dwight’s is the only one that self-identifies as a catechism. The questions are rather banal, with equally uninspiring answers (fig. 4). This results in a constrictive and particularly time-bound picture of the United States, which was fit to reassert the nation’s sovereignty, but not to embellish upon it. By reciting pre-written answers, students were externalizing abstract concepts (like the-nation state) and affirming their reality. Perhaps linguistic mastery could also confer a sense of ownership over extant American land, which was caught in the crossfire of a larger European imperial struggle.

However, the myopia—and to some degree, retrenchment—of the geographical catechism ultimately forecloses on American expansion, at least for the time being. Ironically, this foreclosure is belied by a subsequent omission within the text. Two full pages have been carefully cut, including most of the passage responding to “How are the United States bounded?” (visible in the previous photograph). The remaining part of the answer drew the western frontier along the Mississippi River—a striking refusal of the incorporated territory beyond the Mississippi. Because catechism was content with delimiting the extent of American dominion in 1812, later users took it upon themselves to excise these strictures.

In depictions of the whole country, whether cartographical, written, or spoken, internal divisions are minimized. This is demonstrated on the only map included in Morse’s *A Geography Made Easy* (fig. 5). The striking lack of state boundary lines, and the haphazard assortment of city and state names with no means to distinguish them, reveals a national bias. When subnational divisions are brought up, they are couched in disclaimers, such as a footnote in Parish’s work (fig. 6).¹⁷ Morse echoes this judgment: “these divisions are merely *nominal* and may be liable to some objections” (emphasis

¹⁷ Parish, *A New System of Modern Geography*, 44.

added).¹⁸ By naming these as artificial and arbitrary, the nation is made—by way of contrast—real and rational. Altogether, these features of early geography schoolbooks convey the apparent permanence and stability of the young Republic: an appealing image for a nation embattled by its recent colonial “parent and sovereign.”¹⁹

The Schoolbook as Compass: Geographical Epics in an Era of Expansion

Schoolbooks of the 1810s embraced a top-down approach, starting with a Platonic ideal of the nation-state. Those of the 1830s reversed this arrangement, as professedly inductivist works.²⁰ These came at a point of inflection in American history, driven by expansionary imperatives such as those contained in the Monroe Doctrine (1824) and the Indian Removal Act (1830). Geography schoolbooks took on a story-book character, blending narrative and pictorial devices. These portrayed American expansion as a dramatic confrontation between “savagery” and “civilization,” where the triumph of the latter was a foregone conclusion (fig. 7).²¹

Schoolbooks didn’t just immerse students in literary fantasies of the frontier, though. Through their inductive approach, they aimed to make the world smaller and to rouse an adventurous spirit in the reader. Educational texts, like John Blake’s *American Universal Geography* (1833) and Samuel Goodrich’s *A System of School Geography* (1835), could just as easily be read as travel companions. Whether schoolbooks materialized in actual exploration or not, they promoted an experiential form of learning which took students out of the classroom and into the world.

These texts are more meaningful when taken as part of the larger oeuvres of their authors. Reverend John Lauris Blake (1788-1857), who wrote *American Universal Geography*, was a clergyman and pioneering figure of romantic and nationalistic literature.²² Among his other titles are *The Beauties of American History*, *The boys’ book of Indian Battles and Adventures*, and *The farm and*

¹⁸ Morse, *Geography Made Easy*, 89.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 103.

²⁰ Goodrich, *A System of School Geography*, Preface.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Frontispiece.

²² Dartmouth Library: Archives and Manuscripts, “Blake, John Lauris,” 2023.

fireside; or, The romance of agriculture.²³ Samuel Griswold Goodrich (1793-1860), who sometimes published under the name Peter Parley, was a celebrated author of children's literature, natural histories, and other didactic texts.²⁴ Alongside *A System of School Geography* were *The Adventures of Billy Bump on the Pacific Coast* and *What to Do, and How to Do It: or, Morals and Manners Taught by Examples*, to name just two.²⁵ Evidently, it was not uncommon for schoolbooks to emerge from broader literary ecologies, which frequently blurred the line between the educational and amusing, the magisterial and folksy.

Both *American Universal Geography* and *A System of School Geography* begin with remarks about the unique and necessary additions they offered to an oversaturated market. The 1830s certainly marked a shift in the form and content of school geographies, but those published within the decade are more similar to each other than their self-congratulatory prefaces let on. Two clear patterns emerge. First, the aforementioned inductive method of instruction, which was supported by the idea of traveling for improvement; and second, a romantic rendering of western settlement, which was instrumental in constructing a national mythos of the pastoral. In this narrative, settlers—often New Englanders, who were portrayed as a particularly enterprising people—would take a sacrificial journey to the formless, undivided West, nobly bestowing civilization upon the land and Natives.²⁶ The result would be a middle-ground between rugged wilderness and the “tame uniformity” of settled life (fig. 8 & 9).²⁷ This was as much a quest for moral purification and material gain as it was about improving the land.

Unlike the schoolbooks of the 1810s, those of the following generation were preoccupied with the local and familiar, and designed to be self-contained. Blake lauds his *American Universal Geography* for including only the “most interesting parts” of a genuinely universal system—“particularly of our own country.”²⁸ It would not be rarefied geographical theories, but the “cities and

²³ Ockerbloom, “John Lauris Blake,” 2023.

²⁴ Ashworth, “Samuel Griswold Goodrich,” 2019.

²⁵ Ockerbloom, “Samuel Griswold Goodrich,” 2023.

²⁶ Goodrich, *A System of School Geography*, 30.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 81.; Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, 23.

²⁸ Blake, *American Universal Geography*, 2.

towns” that would exert the “strongest claim on our attention.”²⁹ Representing cities and towns was a task for copperplate and stereotype maps. Blake triumphantly announces that these maps are incorporated into the relevant text instead of being tacked on at the end, or worse, relegated to a separate atlas (fig. 10). This overcame two closely related challenges in geography instruction: the available textual space vis-a-vis the high costs of textual space, as well as the disjuncture between reading about space and actually navigating it.

The “convenient and portable size” suggests mobility: as if the book could enable the obvious commute from home to schoolhouse, but also withstand, and itself equip, more arduous journeys. Indeed, *American Universal Geography* deliberately models itself after a traveler’s guide, claiming that the inclinations of the traveler are a “good compass for the student in geography at school.”³⁰ Goodrich’s *A System of School Geography* champions a similar ethos, beginning with immediate surroundings and radiating outward from there: “The pupil is made to begin with the spot where he lives; he is called upon to describe first the place and the objects which have been familiar to him from infancy.” Only then is he “qualified to *enter upon* (sic) the survey of foreign countries,” beginning with the other territories of North America.³¹

Such designs made the world smaller and, both literally and figuratively, more legible. In notes preceding its map exercises, *American Universal Geography* proclaims that “very young children will soon as well understand the different parts of a map as they do the doors, ceiling, windows, and floors of their houses.”³² The overt message is that geography will become second nature to students. The language of domesticity, however, connotes ownership or entitlement—that land claims are extensions of the household, the primordial economic unit. The notion that a map can be apprehended like a home seems to open up a world of possibilities. Or, more accurately, it reflected an ongoing state of affairs: the piecemeal expropriation of “public land” and the speculative crazes which followed. Land was a form of currency and a *tabula rasa* upon which the ambitions of a people could literally be stamped. This quasi-public, quasi-private scheme was the *topos* of westward expansion.

²⁹ Ibid., 1.

³⁰ Ibid., 2.

³¹ Goodrich, *A System of School Geography*, Preface to Second Edition.

³² Blake, *American Universal Geography*, 7.

Maps were one way to represent mastery over land in schoolbooks. Historical sketches, some with elaborate illustrations, were another. These furnished geography with a sense of direction and chronology; that is to say, they historicized it. In *American Universal Geography*, Blake attests that “so obvious is the connexion between geography and history, that the most distinguished writers of the former bring in outlines of the latter.”³³ It is unclear to which he assigns primacy, but his phrasing suggests that geography shapes history, not the other way around. This is consistent with *A System of School Geography*, which depicts various landscapes and climates, and ties these to the supposed dispositions of their inhabitants. Goodrich belabors the value of such illustrations in an address to teachers, urging that students exhaustively describe them, and even devise accounts of their own.³⁴ This seems a task fit for a composition class, not geography.

In effect, these schoolbooks were urging a narrativization of space itself. This was facilitated by stark environmental determinism and the consolidation of regional character “types,” like the Yankee.³⁵ Under the “Historical Sketch of the United States,” Blake says of Americans in general: “[they] seem *worthy of a land* which has already *produced* some of the greatest and best men who have ever lived” (emphasis added).³⁶ Although he’s singing the praises of Americans, he seems to attribute agency to the land itself. Goodrich performs a similar maneuver, but with particular states and regions. For example, he extols the bravery of the “Green Mountain Boys,” Connecticut’s revolutionary-era militia, in the same breath as he does the rugged landscape. Connecticut is characterized by mountainous terrain, punctuated only by “clusters of neat houses, bearing the mark of cultivation,” which nevertheless occur in the “same view with scenes of great wildness.”³⁷ Paired with the engraving (fig. 11), the character of the soldiers ostensibly derives from their physical surroundings.

In Kentucky, the first “gateway to the west,” there was the pastoral homestead, with its rolling fields and livestock, and its civilizing mission (fig. 12). Revealingly, the Southern states are treated first as a whole region. This “flat country” is redolent of

³³ Ibid., 2.

³⁴ Goodrich, *A System of School Geography*, Suggestions to Teachers.

³⁵ Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America*, 170.

³⁶ Blake, *American Universal Geography*, 16.

³⁷ Goodrich, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America*, 18.

leisure and wealth and thus reflects a then-common objection to slavery as promoting sloth among the white population (fig. 13).³⁸ “Depending upon slaves to perform their labor, they differ from those who labor for themselves [...] [those] who depend upon their ingenuity and industry to obtain more.”

Though these examples cover disparate portions of the country, they each tell a story about America through its land. They impose a sense of momentum on geographical facts; they align social progress with territorial expansion. Whether slave labor (the South), Christian conversion (Kentucky), or actual battle (Connecticut), the actors and happenings are never divorced from their immediate physical context. The overall impression is one of an implacable advance of the American frontier—equal parts dominion, displacement, and dispersal. *A System of School Geography* concludes with a prophetic vision: “civilization is rapidly encroaching upon the wilderness, and before many years, the whole of these immense regions will be inhabited by civilized men.”³⁹

Continental Geographies in a Nation at War

As the nation expanded, so did its geography schoolbooks. But the sheer extent of the land also jeopardized national unity. As in the War of 1812, the Civil War provided renewed impetus to produce a cohesive geography curriculum. J.H. Colton’s *American School Geography* (1864) and Monteith’s *Comprehensive Geography* (1872) were the products of a nation at war. But they sought to expunge this from, if nothing else, the geographical record. In many ways, they elaborate on earlier themes, following the inductive approach and the general tenets of environmental determinism.⁴⁰ However, they innovated in two crucial ways: the quality, quantity, and variety of maps included within the works, and the addition of “internal improvements” and extensive transportation routes.⁴¹ These features produced a durable and integrated picture of the United States. At the same time, they debuted a new international face for the country as a formidable industrial empire.

The next wave of geography pedagogues and writers were more interested in elaborate cartographies. Indeed, both of the

³⁸ Ibid., 58.

³⁹ Ibid., 74.

⁴⁰ Colton, *American School Geography*, v.

⁴¹ Ibid., 205.

figures mentioned above were cartographers by trade. Joseph Hutchins Colton (1800-1893) is best known for founding a map and guidebook company, one of the first of its kind in America. Some of his other publications include *Colton's Western tourist and emigrant's guide* and *Colton's General Atlas*.⁴² Capitalizing on the times, he specialized in railroad maps and then Civil War maps in the mid 19th-century.⁴³ James Monteith (1831-1890) was a schoolteacher in New York. He's most notable for experimenting with comparative and global cartographies and building peripheral data into his maps.⁴⁴ Monteith's and Colton's careers were concurrent with major ruptures in the geographical consciousness, and the American sense-of-self in the world.

J.H. Colton's *American School Geography* (1864) and Monteith's *Comprehensive Geography* (1872) depicted the United States at an exaggerated scale, whether in literal extent or in commercial preeminence. *American School Geography* begins its section on the United States with a symbolic nod to American progress (fig. 14).⁴⁵ The image seems to tell a story through time, from right to left. The cityscape on the left side, complete with a railroad and other progressive signifiers, inaugurates a new industrial age. This is borne out later, when Colton discusses manufacturing as the chief enterprise of the nation. He then attributes American "ingenuity [and] inventive talent" to the "liberal granting of patents on mechanical improvements." The excellence of homegrown manufactures and inventions is unparalleled by "any other part of the world."⁴⁶ Monteith's *Comprehensive Geography* (1872) shares in its emphasis on industry, especially in comparison to other countries. One map takes the United States and overlays them with the names of similarly sized countries (fig. 15).⁴⁷ The reader is left with a sense not merely of geographical extent, but of its political overtones. It is as if to take sheer land mass as a stand-in for global hegemony.

The real key to wealth, however, was not so much the production of goods as it was their transportation from coast to coast. This was only possible through transcontinental railroads. Along with interstate commerce and travel, the railroad system engendered

⁴² Ockerbloom, "J.H. Colton," 2023.

⁴³ Barry Lawrence Ruderman, "Antique Maps by Joseph Hutchins Colton," 2023.

⁴⁴ Rhodes, "James Monteith: Cartographer, Educator, and Master of the Origins."

⁴⁵ Colton, *American School Geography*, 190.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 204.

⁴⁷ Monteith, *Comprehensive Geography*, 104.

a sense of interdependence among the various states—if not amicably, at least in cold economic calculation. While railroad construction had been ongoing since the 1830s, it accelerated dramatically by the middle of the century, particularly in the west. Colton reports that, between 1850 and 1860, “there were here built more than 11,000 miles of railroad (over half in the United States), costing upward of \$400,000,000.”⁴⁸ Monteith’s schoolbook, written nearly a decade after Colton’s, takes this a step further. He includes a two-page display of railroad passages, from Maine to Arkansas (fig 16).⁴⁹ Despite their impressive span, railroads were still unfinished business, as indicated in the map key.

Monteith and Colton fail to mention the Civil War or slavery directly. Still, the presentation of a grandiose, unified image of the nation perhaps revealed more about recent experience than they intended. For one, railroads were vital in the war effort itself, shuttling people and provisions to remote battlefields. But they were also lasting symbols of industrial prowess and, during Reconstruction, a means to reincorporate the estranged states. Geography schoolbooks facilitated this process through their complex and comparative cartographies, which—by harmonizing the domestic and international—foreshadowed a Pax Americana to come.

Conclusion

Much as they can today, geography schoolbooks of the nineteenth century functioned as valuable rhetorical and ideological tools. In both form and content, they were reflective of the context in which they were produced. Geographies of the 1810s were often reprints of revolutionary-era ones, minimally edited or updated. As such, they stressed American sovereignty vis-a-vis Britain and obliquely cast the War of 1812 as a reprise of an earlier colonial struggle. The second generation of school geographies, by applying an inductive approach, reversed the structuring principle of their predecessors. This approach also placed the student at the center of the world, enabling them to see themselves as connected to a larger historical movement: the project of westward expansion, which was righteous and ineluctable. The final wave of geography texts, published during and after the Civil War, boasted the wholeness of a

⁴⁸ Colton, *American School Geography*, 277.

⁴⁹ Monteith, *Comprehensive Geography*, 95.

nation recently threatened by dissolution. They did so through an array of sophisticated and comparative maps, a reliance on industrial might as a unifying force, and an imbrication of national and international affairs. In other words, they recouped American identity through a common economic interest in global dominance.

Taken together, these schoolbooks paint an episodic picture of formative moments in American history. Yet they are not history books, but geography—and the latter entered curricula before the former. As told in *A Short but Comprehensive System* (1813), “Geography and chronology are the two eyes of history. Without these helps, your reading would be a confused mass, without light, order, or perspicuity.”⁵⁰ Geography schoolbooks from the War of 1812 to Reconstruction embraced this higher calling. Exceeding their immediate subject matter, they became boundless orienting mechanisms for a country in flux.

Appendix

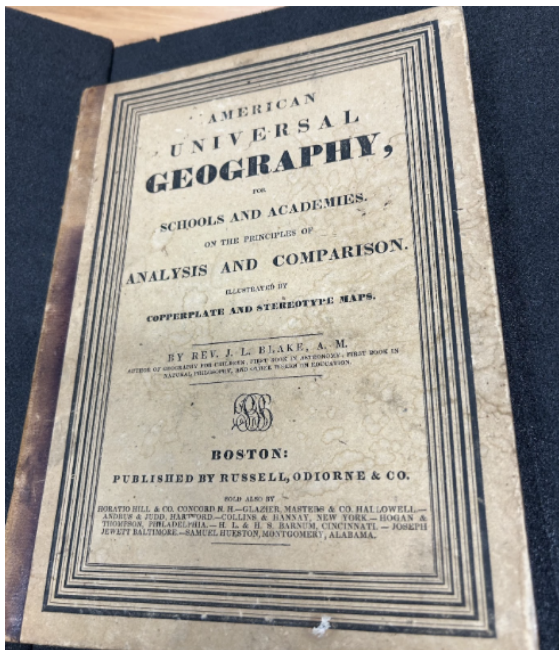


Figure 1, from *American Universal Geography* (author's image)

⁵⁰ Dwight, *A Short but Comprehensive System*, Frontispiece.

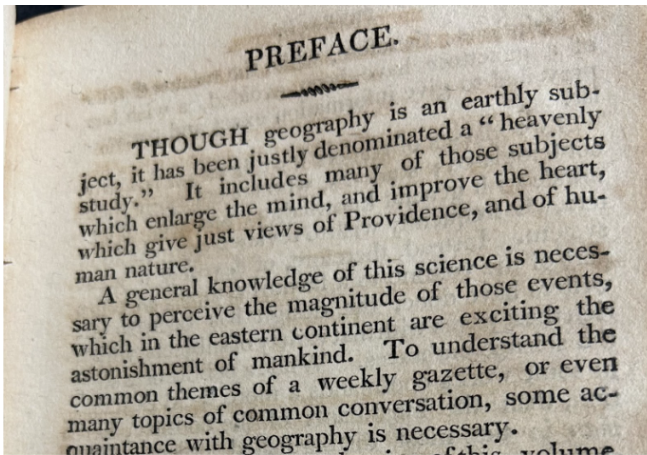


Figure 2, from *A New System of Modern Geography* (author's image)

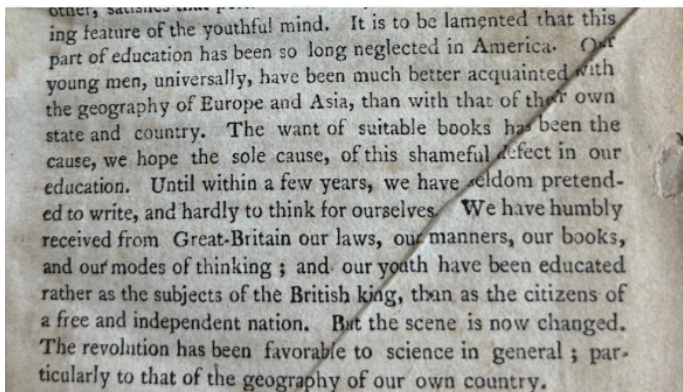


Figure 3, from *Geography Made Easy* (author's image)

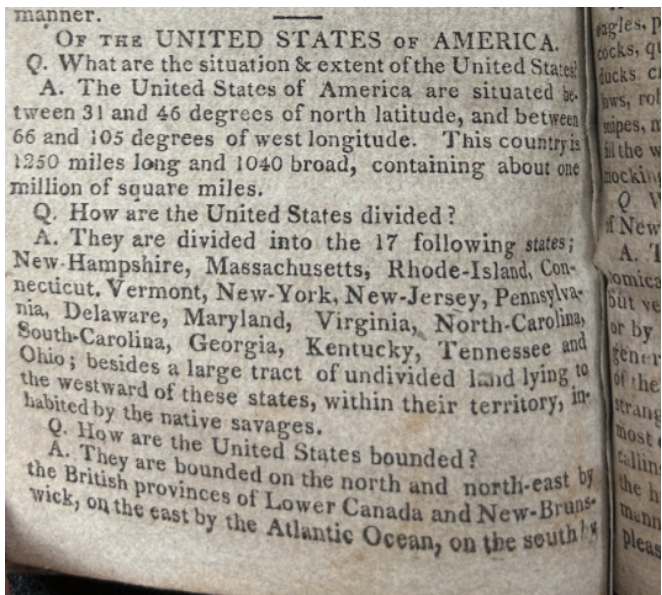


Figure 4, from *A New System of Modern Geography* (author's image)



Figure 5, from *Geography Made Easy* (author's image)

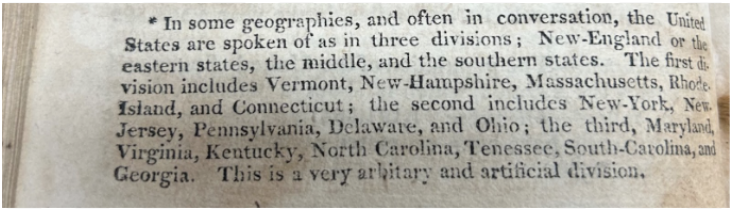


Figure 6, from *A New System of Modern Geography* (author’s image)

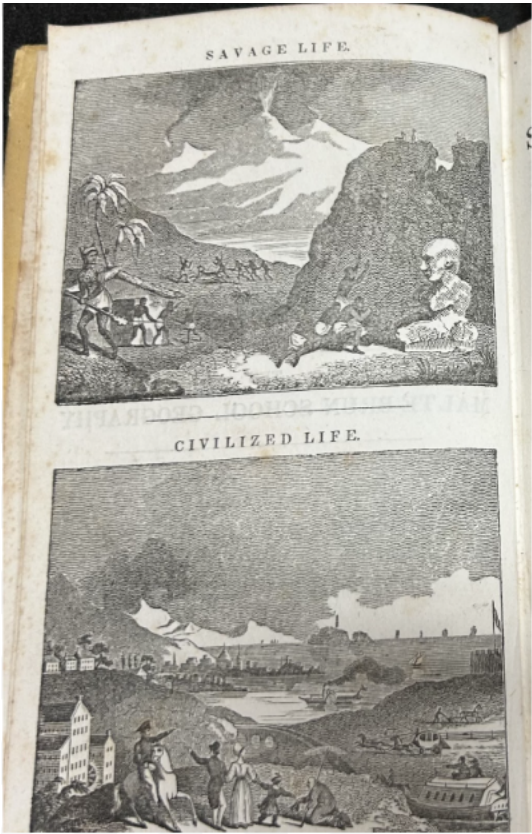


Figure 7, from *A System of School Geography* (author’s image)

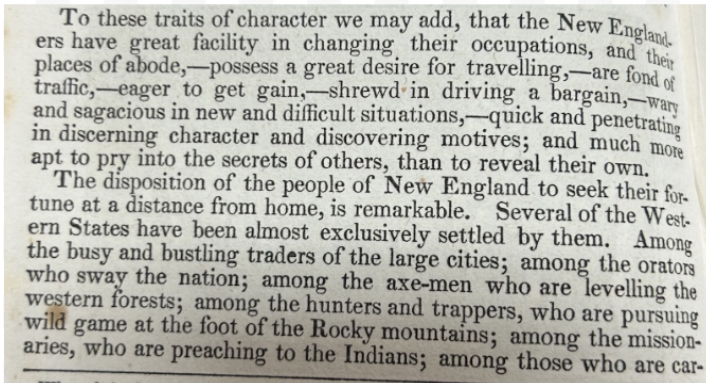


Figure 8, from *A System of School Geography* (author's image)

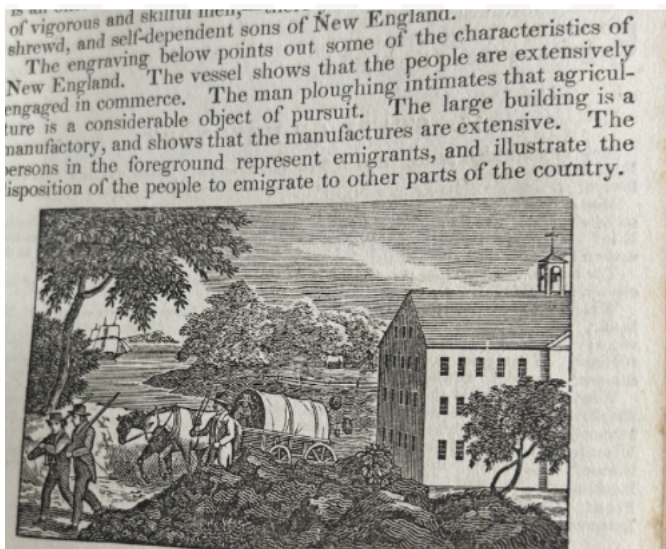


Figure 9, from *A System of School Geography* (author's image)

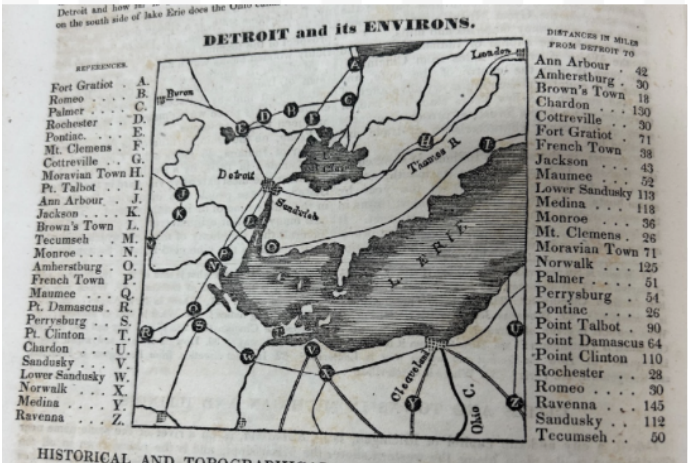


Figure 10, from *American Universal Geography* (author's image)

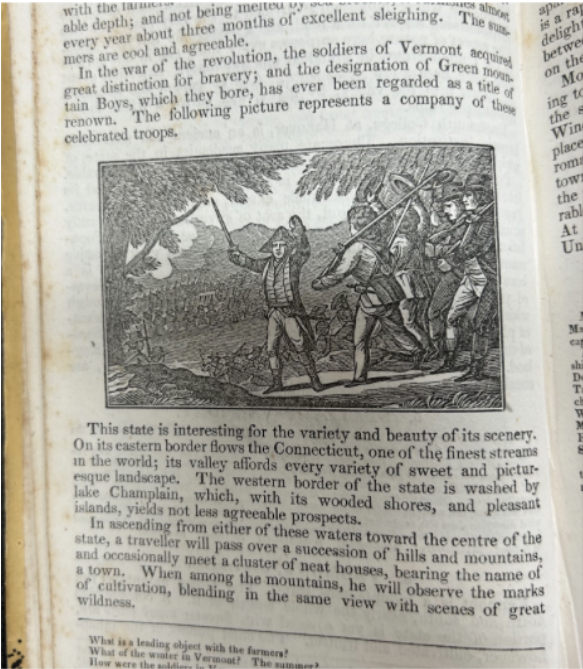


Figure 11, from *A System of School Geography* (author's image)

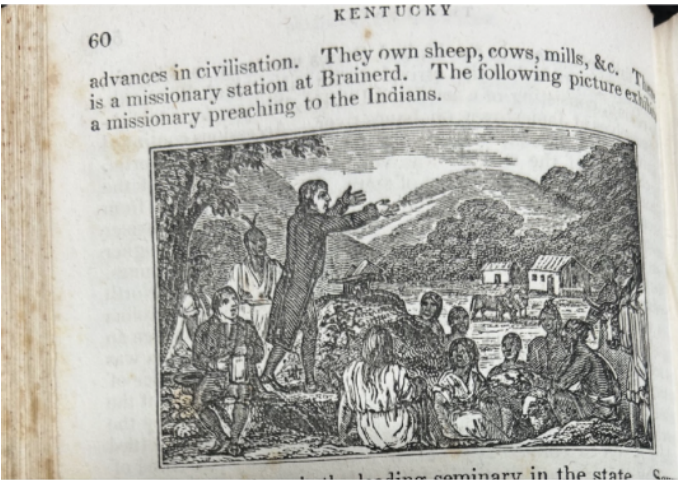


Figure 12, from *A System of School Geography* (author's image)

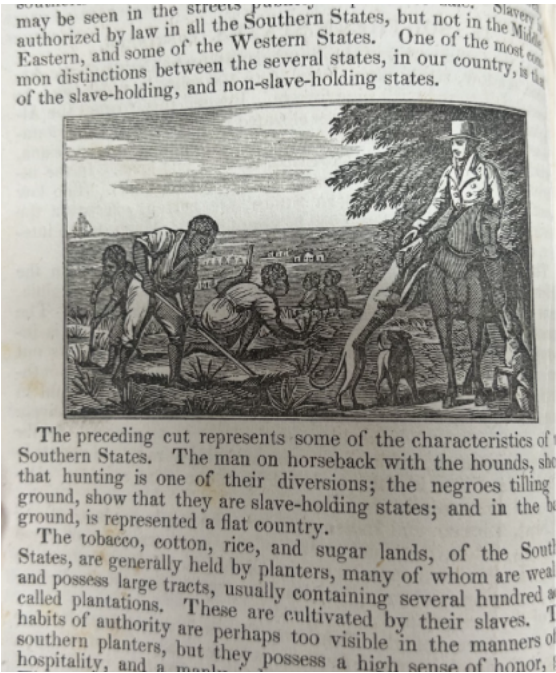


Figure 13, from *A System of School Geography* (author's image)

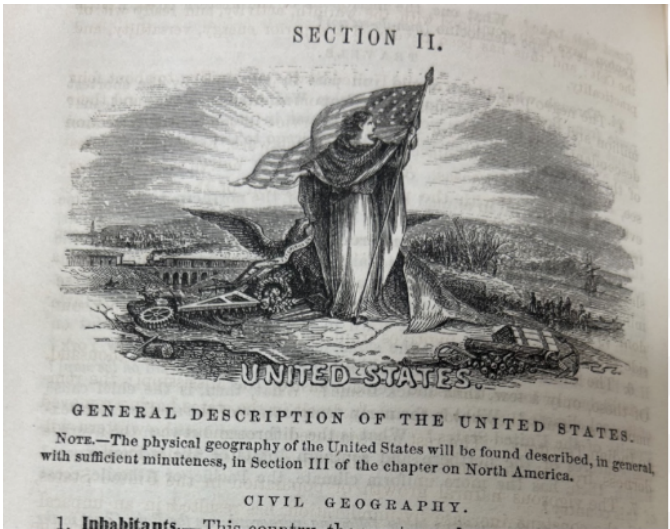


Figure 14, from *American School Geography* (author's image)



Figure 15, from *Comprehensive Geography* (author's image)

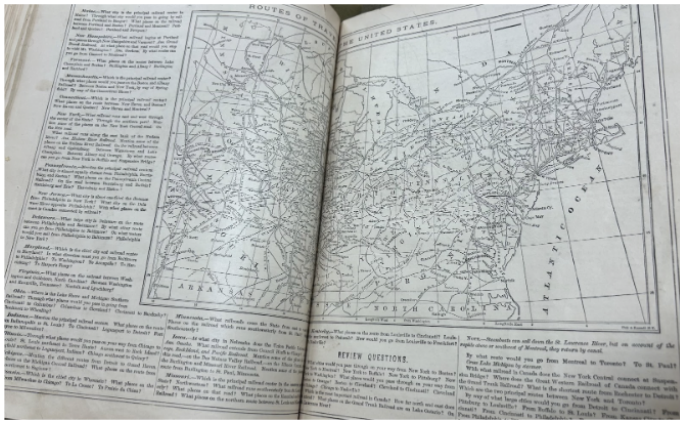


Figure 16, from *Comprehensive Geography* (author's image)

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**Manumission and Resistance in Brazilian Slavery as Observed
by Travel Writer Henry Koster's *Travels in Brazil* (1817)**

Christopher Vos Jr.

Abstract

Travels in Brazil, written by Henry Koster in the early nineteenth century, provided its intended audience with one of the earliest first-hand accounts into the lives and culture of Brazilians, including different aspects of coercive labor. Among other topics, Koster discusses the importance of ethnicity, different avenues of manumission, and the lives of newly freed slaves. This paper compares Koster's observations to the work of contemporary historians, analyzes the validity of his claims, and explores the potential biases influencing his perspective.

Introduction

One of the benefits of studying travel literature is that since the person writing is an outsider to the region they are writing about, they often focus on things that a local may overlook as being unimportant. This is the case in Henry Koster's *Travels in Brazil*. Koster was the son of a sugar merchant; he moved to Pernambuco in 1809. This move to Brazil is very significant because Brazil at the time was still a colony of Portugal. But shortly after King João VI moved the Portuguese Court from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro to escape Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Iberia, João opened Brazil's ports to direct foreign commerce for the first time and Brazil began to welcome British citizens like Koster whose presence had previously been restricted. Beginning in 1812, Koster traveled through Brazil, writing accounts of his experiences and later publishing them in London. He provided British readers one of the earliest first-hand accounts of the lives of Brazilians whose culture, economy, and practices were largely unknown outside of Portugal. Being an outsider who spoke fluent Portuguese, Koster provides unique details about life in Brazil in the early 19th century.

This essay examines Koster's depiction of how Brazilian slaves could obtain their freedom through numerous avenues of manumission. Koster shows the ways in which slaves in Brazil were able to take advantage of the legal and economic systems to earn freedom. His observations also give insight to the lives of the manumitted slaves: what they would do, where they would go, and how they adapted to their environment after manumission. Koster also has the unique perspective of having spent time in the British sugar islands of the Caribbean. His observations about the system of slavery in Brazil are clearly influenced by his experiences in the Caribbean, as multiple times in his writings he makes comparisons between slavery in the British empire and slavery in Brazil. Koster, a slave owner himself, also claimed to be an abolitionist. Therefore, a noticeable conflict exists in his writings as he tries to come to terms with the system of slavery that exists in Brazil.

The goal of this essay is to analyze Koster's writings about manumission and the lives of manumitted slaves he meets or who his local informants make him aware of, to better understand the systems that led these slaves to win freedom from their masters. This essay will also analyze how some of these newly manumitted slaves navigated the social order and achieved, in some rare cases,

impressive economic mobility after manumission. Although it was still uncommon for Brazilian slaves to be manumitted,¹ when compared to the rest of the new world, Brazil is unique in the number of slaves that were able to achieve freedom. This uniqueness is what helps Koster give good insights into manumission and the social mobility of freed slaves.

The Importance of Ethnicity

To understand slavery and manumission in Brazil, one must first understand the ways in which Brazilians in the 19th century would categorize persons of color. Koster uses four different ethnic distinctions to categorize slaves.² The first category is the African slave, or slaves born in Africa who were brought over and sold in Brazil. The second category is the Creole slave, or a slave born in Brazil. Third, Mulatto, or slaves that have African and European ancestry. Finally, Mestizo, or slaves that have black and indigenous parents. Records kept in 19th century Brazil use these four distinctions as Koster does, but many also go further. For example, some documents that include African slaves also include country of origin.³ Throughout his writing, Koster takes great care in almost every instance to note the ethnicity of the person, or people, about whom he is talking. Most likely this is because he is writing for a European audience that would be unfamiliar with the idea of a society with such a large population of free people of color. His emphasis on the ethnicity of the individuals that he interacts with also indicates how important these ethnic distinctions continued to be within Brazil. Census records from this time took great care to indicate the ethnicity of slaves and freed persons. In Bahia, for example, one of the reasons they added country of origin to the census was to make sure they could distinguish which slaves came from Africa, as there had been revolts previously and the leaders of these revolts tended to come from specific ethnic groups.⁴

¹ Kiernan, James Patrick. "Baptism and Manumission in Brazil: Paraty, 1789-1822." *Social Science History* 3, no. 1 (1978): 56.

² Koster, Henry. *Travels in Brazil*. Longman, 1817. 386-387.

³ Nishida, Miko; *Manumission and Ethnicity in Urban Slavery: Salvador, Brazil, 1808-1888*.

Hispanic American Historical Review 1 August 1993; 73 (3): 377-378.

⁴ Barickman, B. J. "Reading the 1835 Parish Censuses from Bahia: Citizenship, Kinship, Slavery, and Household in Early Nineteenth-Century Brazil." *The Americas* 59, no. 3 (2003): 300.

Self-Purchase

During his travels, Koster observed one of the most common ways slaves obtained their freedom: through self-purchase. While visiting a plantation near the city of Jaguaribe, Ceará, Koster wrote: “One man, who was a fisherman by trade, had obtained the manumission of his wife, though he was still a slave himself, with the intent that if she should still have any more children, they might be free; and he proposed afterwards purchasing his own freedom, and that of his young ones.”⁵

Koster’s observation is a prime example of how slaves worked to obtain freedom for themselves and their families. This fisherman understood that if he was able to first get his wife out of slavery, then he would be able to keep his future children out of slavery because the mother’s civil status determined the civil status of her child.⁶ The fisherman held onto the hope that he would be able to one day free himself and his current children. Women and children also tended to be much cheaper than male slaves.⁷ This difference in cost made buying the freedom of female slaves and children much easier than of a more expensive male slave. Freed women also had a good path of employment, generally working as domestic servants. The money they made, although generally much less than a freedman, would help them purchase their husband or other children out of slavery. Koster points out that slaves purchasing their freedom is common on this specific plantation, but what about the rest of Brazil? In Salvador, for example, between 1808 and 1888, there are over 3,000 surviving letters of liberty from slaves who worked with their masters to purchase freedom or were helped by a third party to do so.⁸ This is also the case in Rio de Janeiro where there are over 900 surviving documents from between 1807 and 1831 where masters confirmed the freedom of former slaves.⁹ These documents give validity to Koster’s observation from this plantation but also expand on it, showing that, in fact, this

⁵ Koster, *Travels*. 228.

⁶ Cantisano, Pedro Jimenez, and Mariana Armond Dias Paes. “Legal Reasoning in a Slave Society (Brazil, 1860–88).” *Law and History Review* 36, no. 3 (2018): 473.

⁷ Karasch, Mary C. *Slave Life In Rio De Janeiro, 1808-1850*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987: 345.

⁸ Nishida, *Manumission*. (3): 363.

⁹ Karasch, *Slave Life*. 336.

practice happened in multiple regions of Brazil in the 19th century. It is also important to note that in both examples, the majority of the slaves that were able to gain their freedom were women.¹⁰ This trend also backs up Koster's story since it is likely that women received freedom under the same pretense that their future children would be born free.

Koster expands his argument by saying that slaves like the fisherman mentioned above on this plantation are "as happy as persons in a state of slavery can be."¹¹ He makes this argument by claiming that slaves at this plantation have a strong desire to be free and that since the owners give them an avenue to do so, they work harder and are happier. It is not surprising that Koster, who himself was a slaveholder, paints the owners of this plantation in such a positive light. But are these owners really that benevolent? Although it may seem that these masters are making a sacrifice by letting these slaves purchase themselves, in reality, they are using this system for their economic benefit. Slave masters understood that the value of a slave went down as they aged, and many times would let slaves purchase themselves to get a return on their original investment. In some cases, rather than care for aging or sick slaves, masters would simply let them go free.¹² Koster's narrative suggests that if a slave wanted their freedom, all they had to do was work hard and it would be granted. It is a common misconception of foreign travelers to Brazil that masters had to honor a slave's desire to purchase themselves, and that may have been the case on the plantation he was visiting, but the reality is that many owners would refuse the desire of slaves to purchase themselves and force the enslaved to try and find legal assistance in the matter.¹³ The price of a slave was also set by the master and, in many cases, had little to do with their true inherent value. Factors such as the slave's ethnicity, gender, age, and profession all came into play, and the master, in the end, decided the value that the enslaved had to pay.¹⁴ Although Koster tries to

¹⁰ Nishida, *Manumission*. 375.

¹¹ Koster, *Travels*. 228.

¹² Karasch, *Slave Life*. 355-356.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Nishida, *Manumission*. 380-381.

sugarcoat it, the practice of self-purchase was very much in favor of the slave master.

Death of the Master

Koster's rather rosy depiction of Brazilian slavery continues in his depictions of slaves freed through their masters' will and testament. When Koster visited a sugar plantation near Recife, he reported, "Thus, by the death of four individuals, who are now approaching old age, will be set free about sixty persons, men, women, and children."¹⁵ The manumission of slaves from their masters through their final wills and testaments is the second most common form of manumission after self-purchase. The idea that a master dies and the slave is simply then free is an oversimplification and rarely the case. In the majority of instances, there was some form of obligation that a slave had to fulfill to get their freedom. Many masters wanted to be sure that their slaves would take care of them in their old age, so they would promise their slaves that if they served faithfully, they would be able to gain their freedom after they died.¹⁶ In other instances, masters would also require the slaves to make some form of payment to the masters or the heirs of the estate, and not until this payment was met would the slaves finally be free.¹⁷ Koster later tries to argue that the slaves did not fear that the papers of manumission they received could be revoked before the master's death, but that is not the case. If a slave did not serve faithfully or fulfill the obligations of their manumission, the master could, and in many instances would, revoke the promise of freedom.¹⁸ Even after a slave was finally free, up until the passage of the 1871 Free Womb Law that regulated *cortação* or self-purchase, masters could take back the freedom that the former slave earned if the former slave did something that they felt was disrespectful.¹⁹ Another very important variable in the future manumission of these slaves is the heirs of these deceased masters being willing to accept the loss of the potential property. Although most heirs tended to keep the wishes of the deceased master, many would fight tooth and

¹⁵ Koster, *Travels*. 195-196.

¹⁶ Karasch, *Slave Life*. 352-362.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ De Carvalho, Marcus J.M. *Liberdade Rotinas e Rupturas Do Escravismo No Recife, 1822-1850*. 2nd ed., UFPE, 2010. 226.

nail to undo the promised freedom or at least force the slave to give them some form of payment. In some instances, it could take years for these cases to be litigated, and during that time, the slave continued in servitude.²⁰ This was not helped by the fact that many masters would wait until the last minute while they lay dying on their deathbed to promise a slave their freedom. Many masters feared that their slaves would abandon them or that they would not give them quality care in their old age, so they decided to only give them freedom on death's door.²¹ Again, most heirs honored the wishes of their masters, but as mentioned above when the freedom is only promised by word of mouth, heirs would at times refuse to give the slaves their promised freedom.

Koster misleads his readers about the terms of conditional manumission in Brazil when he observed: "To some, the deeds of manumission have been already passed conditionally, obliging them to serve as slaves until the death of the individual to whom they are subject. These papers cannot be revoked."²² Koster is implying in this section that when a master decided to offer a slave his freedom in writing, that it was set in stone and unchangeable, but this is not the case. For example, masters could claim to the law that the slave was being ungrateful, and using this argument, they could revoke the promised freedom. In some cases, masters would use this possibility to make sure that slaves stayed in line and continued to labor at the same capacity even when they knew they soon would be free.²³ Koster also tries to argue that the masters did not fear the possibility of slaves not working as hard, but as mentioned above, that is untrue. Masters had a constant fear of this happening and took steps to make sure that the slaves they planned on freeing continued laboring diligently.²⁴

The final observation Koster mentions is the demographic breakdown of the soon to be freed slaves. He writes, "Of the slaves in question, only a few are Africans, the major part being mulattos and creole negroes."²⁵ Does this observation hold up? Does his breakdown of ethnicities match documented manumissions? In Recife, from what documents of manumission remain, it can be

²⁰ Karasch, *Slave Life*, 352-362.

²¹ Karasch, *Slave Life*, 352-362.

²² Koster, *Travels*, 195-196.

²³ Karasch, *Slave Life*, 352-362.

²⁴ Koster, *Travels*, 195-196.

²⁵ Ibid.

estimated that about 80% of manumitted slaves are creole or of mixed-race background, while the remaining 20% are of African descent.²⁶ This data supports the accuracy of Koster's assertion and again demonstrates his particular attention to detail in distinguishing the ethnic background of the people he interacts with for his European audience.

Runaway Slaves

Koster's writings also give examples of slaves that decided to run away instead of pursuing legal routes of manumission. One such example comes from his time in São Luiz, Maranhão. Here, Koster learns a story that piques his interest and helps illustrate the understanding that slave and master had of a slave's economic value. Before expanding on the story, it is important to mention that there is no historical evidence that it is true because Koster does not mention who tells him this story, and Koster's bias tends to simplify and sugarcoat situations that may be more complex. These factors could lead to this story not being completely factual. That being said, whether true or not, the themes it presents give good insight into the relationship between slave and master. The anecdote begins with a mulatto who had run away from his master, and during this time as a runaway, had become a wealthy cattle driver. After many years, the former master of this runaway happens upon him and asks to speak with him. The former master, living through hard times and recognizing that he cannot reclaim the former slave, asks for some form of payment, admitting that he was at the will of the mulatto. The mulatto obliged his former master by giving him over several hundred oxen from his herd and sending his men to help him reach the market.²⁷

The interaction between this mulatto and his former master gives insight into the mindset of slaves and masters, and how this mindset contributes to the ways manumission takes place. The main observation of this story is that the slave—even though he had escaped his master for some time—still felt as though he needed to pay for the cost of his escape, as the master would have faced a significant economic blow from the loss of one of his slaves. This story illustrates that slaves in Brazil had a great understanding of their worth, and in this example, the mulatto shows his willingness,

²⁶ De Carvalho, *Escravidão No Recife*. 230.

²⁷ Koster, *Travels*. 183-184.

even after his escape, to settle what he sees as debt to his former master. The several hundred oxen that the slave gives to his former master also shows how much the mulatto values his freedom, as he is willing to part with a significant piece of his herd to fully secure his freedom.

Unfortunately, Koster's interactions with escaped slaves have not always ended with the slaves being able to retain their freedom. During his time in Recife, Koster was the witness to a family of slaves caught in a terrible predicament. The mother and father of this family were escaped slaves that had been living free for over 17 years while having five children. During a visit to Recife, their former master recognized them, captured them, and sold them away. This included the five children that the master claimed as his own because the parents were not legally free when their children were born. Koster shows a lot of sympathy for the children, writing, "These poor creatures had been brought up until this period of their lives with the idea that they were free; and thus, a young man of sixteen, and his sister of fourteen years of age, were at the season of joy and gladness to commence a life of misery."²⁸ It is interesting that Koster, a slave owner himself, sympathized so much with the slave children. If the slaves were his, would he have let them go free? It is doubtful he would let an economic opportunity like that pass by. This story also shows how the system was stacked against freed persons, as Koster makes the point that he never learned how their master was able to prove that this family was not legally free. Furthermore, this story illustrates the inner conflict Koster faces during his travels. On one hand, he is a slave owner who wants to take advantage of the system to grow his own personal wealth, but he also understands the evils that the system of slavery requires for it to be able to function. Koster tries to make himself seem more benevolent than most slave owners, but the fact that he still holds slaves while fully acknowledging the evils of slavery reveals which of his values ultimately prevail.

The Lives of Freed Slaves

Koster also depicted the lives of manumitted slaves in his writings. One of the opinions he shares is about where slaves tended to go after they gained their freedom. He writes, "the manumitted African generally continues to reside in the neighborhood of the

²⁸ Koster, *Travels*. 441.

estate upon which he has served as a slave.”²⁹ He goes on to say that the reason behind them staying close to their former plantation is to make sure that they do not raise suspicion of being a runaway. This observation is mostly true, as African slaves tended to stay closer to their former plantations because of a fear of re-enslavement,³⁰ but it is very simplistic to argue that is the only reason. Many of the slaves who had fought tooth and nail to be able to purchase their freedom did not have much recourse after they finally paid for it. To avoid being left destitute, some would stay with their former masters and sell their services as freed persons.³¹ This relationship goes further than Koster observes because the freed persons were still dependent on their former masters for a place to stay and for help advertising their services to others. Koster continues his observations by arguing that former creole slaves are different from African slaves because they tend to move away from their former masters.³² He argues that a creole, unlike an African, has the capacity to make it seem as if they were always free and hide their former enslavement. Again, like with his comments on freed Africans, Koster’s observation, although partially true, is too simplistic. It is true that former Creole slaves did, in theory, gain full citizenship after freedom, but there were many restrictions. For example, a freed Creole who wanted to vote in just the first stage of Brazilian elections had to be at least 25 years old and meet the minimum income requirements.³³ It is also true that freed persons did have a higher level of mobility. However, creoles, like their African counterparts, faced the same possibility of being re-enslaved if they did not have someone to vouch for their freedom, and in many instances, this advocate was their former master. It is also important to note that a former master vouching for a former slave’s freedom is potentially a conflict of interest.

It is difficult in essence to truly call these people “free” as there are so many restrictions placed upon them by society. Therefore, how does a former slave move away from this new form of bondage? Koster hints at this in his observations about freed mulattos. While describing the relationship mulattos have with white Brazilians, he says, “Still the inferiority which the mulatto feels is more that which is produced by poverty than that which his color

²⁹ Ibid., 440.

³⁰ Karasch, *Slave Life*, 366.

³¹ Ibid., 362-366.

³² Koster, *Travels*, 440.

³³ Barickman, *Census*, 299.

has caused.”³⁴ Here, Koster is insinuating that the biggest barrier to the mulatto freed person is not their skin color, but rather the amount of money that they have. In Brazil, there is a famous phrase that is translated to mean “money whitens.” This is what Koster is starting to argue without fully realizing it. He seems to focus more on mulattos when talking about this since they have mixed race parentage. While it is easier for a mulatto to pass off as a white person, and having money helps them in this endeavor, this goes further than money.

Koster had a conversation with a mulatto man in his service, and during this conversation, he asked the man about a *Capitam-mor* who clearly had the features of a person of color, but according to Brazilian law, a person of color could not hold that rank. Koster asks if the *Capitam-mor* in question was not a mulatto man? The response by his companion to that question does not give him any more clarity, as the man says, “he was, but is not now.”³⁵ Koster's companion is insisting that because of the new rank that the mulatto obtained, his race had become “white”, implying that not only money whitens, but also rank or title. This clearly perplexes Koster as he goes on in this section of his book to mention other instances of the same thing happening in the military, claiming that when it comes to white regiments, “very little pains are taken to prove that there is not mixture of blood.”³⁶ These experiences Koster shares show the level of social mobility that existed for freed slaves in the first half of the 19th century since even the race that they were identified as could be changed by the acquisition of money and titles.

Conclusion

Koster's experiences he records in *Travels in Brazil* give his European audience unique insights into Brazilian society that they never had before, including the importance of ethnicity in Brazilian society, the avenues in which slaves were able to gain their freedom, and how wealth and power could influence society's perception of a person of color. Because Koster spoke fluent Portuguese and was able to experience Brazilian society as a travel writer, he was able to make observations that a native Brazilian might not have noticed.

³⁴ Koster, *Travels*. 391.

³⁵ Koster, *Travels*. 391.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 392.

His observations on manumission, whether it be through self-purchase, the death of the master, or other means, illustrate to his European audience the level to which manumission was a part of Brazilian society in the early 19th century. That being said, Koster's personal biases as a slave owner himself are undeniable. Koster's writings also demonstrate a clear internal conflict as he reaps the benefits of his personal slave ownership while simultaneously claiming to be an abolitionist and sympathizing with many of the slaves and freed persons he comes across. Given Koster's unique background, it seems like he makes many assumptions about freed persons not always backed by evidence, such as where they would live and the level of autonomy that they enjoyed. Koster tends to paint a more optimistic view of manumission and the lives of freed persons in Brazil that, after analysis, does not fully match reality.

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**Bull Headed & Brave:
Major General Israel Richardson's Leadership during the Civil War**

Jonah Wiegand

Abstract

Major General Israel Bush Richardson was a key figure in the American Civil War, rising from humble beginnings to become a respected leader. Known for his bravery and unorthodox leadership, Richardson clashed with General McClellan during the Peninsula Campaign. Despite challenges, his dedication and commitment earned him the admiration of his troops. Through analysis of primary sources as compiled by Jack C. Mason, this paper traces the life and contributions of Major General Israel Richardson.

The qualities that made up the man, adorned the soldier, they were one and inseparable; in that, his greatness consisted.

—Dr. J. H. Taylor, *Philadelphia Press*

Introduction

The American Civil War featured myriad unique and varied individuals on both sides, perhaps most prominently among the ranks of the military leadership. Be they untested green boys newly graduated from West Point or weathered veterans with experience in command, the leadership of the Union and Confederate armies included men of incredible historical stature. Honored or abhorred, they were the men who led the nation during that terrible war. General Israel Richardson was just one such character. A man of upstanding bravery, capability, and personality, Richardson is known through his writings and the impact he had on those who knew him personally.

Early Life and Military Training

Though Israel Bush Richardson is one of Michigan's great heroes of the Civil War, he did not originate from that state. Born in Vermont in 1815, Richardson grew up far from the place he would later call home. His family was of prominent social standing, his father an accomplished lawyer, and so the youth of the Richardson family was one of relative promise. The United States was a new nation at this time and growing up after generations who fought in the French and Indian War and the American Revolution, young Israel dreamed of following in the footsteps of his heroic predecessors. Richardson pursued an appointment to the United States Military Academy and, after first being turned down when he was 16, earned his admission to West Point at age 19.¹

Young Richardson's time at the academy was fraught with difficulties. As a cadet, he suffered dreadfully in mathematics and even failed his examinations, which led him to redouble his efforts and focus on bettering his performance. From that point on, however, Richardson's character kept him on track and in the

¹ Jack C. Mason, *Until Antietam: The Life and Letters of Major General Israel B. Richardson*

(Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2009), 1-5.

academy rather than his academic aptitude. After being allowed to continue his education and training due to his fair conduct and responsible personality, Richardson finally graduated from West Point in 1841 after studying for over five years. At graduation, Richardson ranked above the bottom quarter of his classmates; not a legendary accomplishment, but it was a modest feat considering his academic shortcomings.²

As a West Point graduate, Richardson received a commission as an acting second lieutenant. Initially, he was only an acting second lieutenant, primarily because the United States had not yet established a system for promotion among officers. Without a retirement system in place, advancement relied on filling existing positions for military officers. Thus, the entire officer corps relied on an archaic form of seniority. This system routinely caused Richardson great vexation throughout his career and much incompetence and suffering when men obtained promotions for seniority over merit. Even still, Richardson was assigned to command the 3rd US Infantry Regiment and given orders to travel to Florida to partake in the military's war against the Seminoles.³

Military Service in Florida and Mexico

Richardson spent an uneventful time in Florida. The vast majority of his time was spent in camp and on patrols in the inhospitable Florida wilderness, contracting sickness and attempting to stay dry in the tropical showers. Minor incidents of insubordination and drinking among his enlisted troops offered opportunities to learn how to best discipline his men. He didn't often have to resort to harsh measures. What was of great benefit to him was living among his enlisted army regulars. Jack Mason notes that Florida imparted to Richardson a formative experience for "this first year of soldiering was the perfect building block for the rest of his career in the army. In Florida he learned the importance of taking care of his personal health, as well as that of his men. In the future, he would lead his men as he was taught by the old regulars from the 3rd Infantry: by example, with firm standards, but with care and compassion."⁴ These qualities gained in Florida grew during Richardson's time in Mexico.

² Ibid., 7-9.

³ Ibid., 9.

⁴ Ibid., 12.

Richardson's time in Florida didn't offer much martial experience. It was, however, a chance to ingratiate himself among enlisted soldiers and begin the long trek towards becoming a strong leader of his men. He lived among them and suffered the same unsuitable conditions. He was not overly harsh in his discipline, yet he expected his men to follow his commands and proved he was capable of disciplinary action. It wasn't a long stint in Florida before his regiment moved to Missouri. Richardson continued training his men as he weeded out the rabble-rousers and cleaned up their act. From Missouri, his men got assigned to Texas, stationed on the Mexican frontier primed for war.⁵

The Mexican-American War played a role in influencing how the Civil War unfolded, primarily in how the various officers in the United States interacted and grew close during that conflict. Union generals in particular were able to draw on their experiences in Mexico, as evidenced in Richardson's case. For Union military leaders, an offensive military campaign into hostile enemy territory in Mexico was analogous to how the North later needed to lead an invasion if it hoped to crush and occupy the Rebels. Richardson's experience in the campaigns in Mexico will not only bear witness to the first of his many battles but will also be the setting in which Richardson establishes his strategic ethos for the conflict to come. Mexico's geography is a logistical nightmare, and the United States had not fought a large war since 1812.⁶ All this and more shaped the experiences of Union and Confederate leaders, all of whom were fighting in close proximity and many on friendly terms.⁷

Richardson, present on the field at the Battle of Palo Alto, played a minor role and observed the American victory without seeing combat. He then saw limited fighting at the Battle of Resaca de la Palma, a battle that led to an enemy rout. From there, however, Richardson moved with General Zachary Taylor and saw action at the Battle of Monterrey, one of the war's bloodiest engagements. It was at Monterrey that many Civil War leaders operated together. Richardson served with men commanded by Colonel Jefferson Davis in the assault on Monterrey. The battle was hard-fought, with hundreds dying on both sides, but in the end, General Taylor secured the Mexican surrender.⁸

⁵ Ibid., 14-15.

⁶ Ibid., 38.

⁷ Ibid., 25.

⁸ Ibid., 21-27.

Renowned for his bravery and aggression, it was during the Battle of Monterrey that Israel Richardson first started to receive recognition for these traits. Breveted twice to captain and major, Richardson joined the few remaining officers and rebuilt the Regiment from the losses suffered during the fight.⁹ At the Battle of Cerro Gordo, Richardson led an assault up rough terrain to take an enemy position, capturing a cannon and turning it on the enemy. Richardson's actions were viewed favorably by commanding general Winfield Scott. After the fighting, General Scott conferred the nickname "Fighting Dick" on Richardson, a name that stuck.¹⁰

In pursuing the enemy to Mexico City, the Americans came to a fortified position on the road, and Scott decided to use engineers to find a different route. Captain Robert E. Lee (an engineer at that time) found a preferable passage, so Scott gave Lee resources to build a new road for the army. Richardson and his men were sent to support and protect the new building project. Many of the leaders of the Civil War were gathered in that place and time: Lee and McClellan, Richardson and Magruder, Beauregard and Bee. So important were these early interactions that Ulysses S. Grant later said that "all the older officers, who became conspicuous in the rebellion, I had served with and known in Mexico. The acquaintance thus formed was of immense service to me in the War of the Rebellion[...]"¹¹ Such was the proximity in which these men were operating with each other and thus did the experiences of the officers who fought in the Mexican-American War directly influence how they acted and led during the Civil War. With the capture of Mexico City, the war came to a close. The final engagements of the Mexican War cost about one-fifth of Richardson's graduating class from West Point. Even so, Richardson was breveted twice during the war for merit. Brevets being honorary promotions, Richardson did not retain his rank after the conflict. Nevertheless, for heroism in combat, he ended his time in Mexico as a brevet major.¹²

After the Mexican War, Richardson moved to frontier duty, an altogether mundane and loathsome charge. He was stationed around the Southwest in the newly annexed lands from Mexico. During his time in Texas, he worked closely with James Longstreet, with whom he developed a firm friendship. He met and married his

⁹ Ibid., 37.

¹⁰ Ibid., 48-49.

¹¹ Ibid., 50-51.

¹² Ibid., 61.

first wife, Rita, the daughter of an El Paso rancher, in 1850, and he was soon stationed in New Mexico to establish a fort in Apache territory. Richardson's wife had stayed in El Paso, and while he was on a short leave to visit her, she gave birth to a son. Richardson didn't have much time, so he immediately made his way to New Mexico. Just after he left, she passed away after giving birth to a baby boy. Richardson was devastated by the loss, but God chose to inflict crueler suffering as Richardson's newborn son passed away just six months later.¹³

Return to Civilian Life and the Second Michigan Infantry

After waging war in Mexico, frontier guard duty proved a dull affair, building forts and going on small patrols. Richardson experienced strife with the local Apache, but nothing on the scale of prior or future engagements. Pulling away from communications, Richardson was stricken with melancholy. With his wife and son both dead, and a military career that led him to the middle of nowhere, Richardson contemplated resignation. Looking ahead at his future career was disheartening, and Richardson had become disenchanted with peacetime military bureaucracy. He retired in 1855, settling in Pontiac, Michigan, where most of his family had since relocated.¹⁴

Israel Richardson lived as a farmer in Pontiac for a few years. During his time after retiring, he started writing a memoir while enjoying a social life in his new community. When the drums of war again began to beat, Richardson immediately offered his services to the State of Michigan. He was raised to colonel and given command of the newly formed Second Michigan Infantry regiment. His background as a veteran and West Point graduate were attractive to Union leadership who were seeking capable commanders. Being made a colonel initially overwhelmed Richardson, and he declined the position. The Governor of Michigan overruled him upon the recommendation of the commander of the 1st Michigan, Colonel Wilcox, who vouched for Richardson due to his status as a West Point graduate and time in Mexico.¹⁵

In stepping up and taking charge of a newly created regiment, Richardson became a local celebrity, greatly honored by

¹³ Ibid., 62-72.

¹⁴ Ibid., 74-78.

¹⁵ Ibid., 78-79.

the people of Michigan. The men under his command admired his experience and stern discipline and were amazed by his unique character. People often described him as an eccentric or odd man, and maybe he was, for he had little interest in military pomp and dress, choosing instead to go about wearing farmers' clothes and an old straw hat. Richardson did as he pleased, cursing profusely, wearing casual attire, and marrying a woman he had never met after breaking up with his fiancé. Richardson ostensibly got into a disagreement with his betrothed, who didn't want him to go on campaign for three years, and so they ended their engagement. He then offered himself to a woman on the street he scarcely knew who promptly accepted, and they got wed within the fortnight. His new wife, Frances, then traveled on campaign with him.¹⁶

Richardson's spirits improved after his marriage, and more broadly, his life had changed drastically from where it had been a few years before. He suffered alone in New Mexico, losing all his family, leading him to resign from the only life he knew. Now, he was marching off to war with renewed cause and purpose, with men eager to learn from him and a new wife ready to accompany him anywhere. His men even respected his ability to drill and train them vigorously. So much was he becoming renowned for his ability to train his men that the 3rd Michigan invited him to teach them at drill, only for Richardson to beat them down for hours and exhaust them. So devoted to Richardson was the 2nd Michigan that they followed and respected his ability to train them hard to the point of excellence.¹⁷

Richardson's new wife, Frances, exerted her influence on the camp to a great degree. Men of the 2nd Michigan remarked that Frances was the true authority in the camp and that it remained that way for a long time. Still, it remained Israel Richardson giving the commands, and it was he who walked through the camp and raised the men's spirits. He made himself unimposing as he went about dressed like a farmer, and he put the concerns of his men first, working with them to build them up to be the best that they could be. Richardson saw volunteers as a different kind of soldier to army regulars, drill worked nicely on everyone, but the volunteer was fighting for his brothers on the line and the admiration of his leader on the field. Richardson knew this; he talked to his men often and

¹⁶ Ibid., 79-81.

¹⁷ Ibid., 81-82.

made himself available to them, and they saw him as a father.¹⁸

Richardson, as a colonel, served under General Tyler during First Bull Run. At the beginning of the battle, Richardson nearly got killed by a musket shot that flew just past his cheek as he was giving orders. A bit startled, he shrugged in response and pressed on. Richardson needed to get his men across a river ford, defended by his old friend James Longstreet who had since become a general in the Rebel army. Richardson sent in his skirmishers with support from the 1st Massachusetts. They were well-positioned as they came down a wooded slope leading to the ford, enemy shots firing at them as they came down. They returned fire on the Confederates, and after a few volleys, it looked as though the enemy line would break, but Longstreet reorganized his men on the bank of Bull Run. The Rebels pushed back, sending the Federals back. The back and forth continued for the rest of the battle as neither side could get an advantage. Though no ground changed hands, this skirmishing kept the enemy from joining the main attack—a small victory for Richardson's men in a battle that was a Federal defeat.¹⁹

Leadership and Confrontation at Bull Run

Richardson came into a great deal of trouble at Blackburn's Ford when the Union Army was setting up positions near Rebel forces. The trouble was not of Confederate making, however, as it was an issue of command on the Union side. Richardson received a command to establish defensive positions and set about doing just that, ordering the 3rd Michigan into a defensive position before moving on to other regiments. At that time, Colonel Miles ordered the 3rd Michigan out of the position it had just been sent to, causing Richardson to protest vehemently. The lieutenant claimed he did not know, but also that he didn't trust Colonel Miles on account of him being drunk. Richardson then went to work reordering his troops and undoing Miles' orders, leading to a confrontation between the two men. Richardson openly charged Miles with drunkenness, which led Miles to arrest Richardson, but Richardson bluntly refused to comply.²⁰

This direct confrontational episode ended when General McDowell arrived, relieving Colonel Miles of command after a

¹⁸ Ibid., 85.

¹⁹ Ibid., 90-92.

²⁰ Ibid., 101-102.

quick look and judgment of character. McDowell then promptly put Richardson in command. Richardson proceeded to immediately repel an enemy attack due to the positioning of his troops. The army then withdrew from that position, leaving Bull Run and Blackburn's Ford entirely. In finally returning from the frontlines, Richardson and his men were met with praise from President Lincoln and his cabinet. Richardson's men had been the vanguard leaving the capital for the front, and they returned as the rearguard after keeping a quarter of the enemy forces at bay at Blackburn's Ford during First Bull Run. Richardson was heralded for his bravery in leading his men on the frontlines. Nearly killed at Bull Run, his survival only bolstered his image as an untouchable hero.²¹

The confrontation with Colonel Miles led to a court of inquiry over misconduct with the potential to clear him of slanderous charges. Richardson testified to all that he had seen and upheld that he thought Miles was drunk while issuing orders. Miles, rather than seeking to disprove Richardson, sought to prove ill motivations due to their past interactions together (Richardson and Miles had known each other during Richardson's time in New Mexico). Richardson called on twenty-eight witnesses who all described Miles as appearing drunk the night of the incident. The court agreed that Colonel Miles was drunk but took no action against him due to the loss of critical leadership and the public scandal when news got out of the affair his removal would affect. Thus, issues of public opinion and a failure of bureaucracy (as Richardson saw it) left Miles at his station. The higher up Richardson ascended in the army, the more he had to maneuver people of immense position and status. Colonel Miles was a minor dispute, but it wouldn't be long before Fighting Dick found himself against an altogether more impressive opponent.²²

Rise in Rank and Political Influence

For recognition of his service at Bull Run, Colonel Israel Richardson was promoted to brigadier general. General Richardson was honored and praised as an unflinching commander and disciplinarian, someone who had a ferocious desire to pursue the enemy. Good qualities all, but qualities not shared by Richardson's commander, General McClellan, general of the Army of the

²¹ Ibid., 101-103.

²² Ibid., 108-109.

Potomac. With his rise in rank, Richardson once again found himself ablaze in popularity as he had been when he offered his service to the Governor of Michigan. Richardson's rise in the army led him to be an excellent discipliner and challenger, but in his new role, those personality traits often manifested in him criticizing other generals; his new peers. Richardson was a man of action, who had risen to the top by leading by example, and he expected as much from others. Richardson's aggressive martial spirit and bluntness in criticizing his peers made him a fast friend of the Radical Republicans, who sought to force the Lincoln administration into a more aggressive approach to the war. In particular, the Radical Republicans wanted to oust McClellan from his command, and Israel Richardson became a prime personality to espouse their values.²³

Senator Zachariah Chandler of Michigan was one of the most bellicose Radical Republicans, and he formed a personal friendship with Richardson. Richardson began to grow ever tired of McClellan's reserved strategy. Richardson communicated with McClellan directly and relayed information on enemy positions, always requesting permission to attack and exploit certain weaknesses he had discovered. Every time he was turned down. After routinely being denied a chance at the enemy, Richardson was finally given leave from McClellan to attack, but when Richardson and his men arrived at the location, where they thought the Rebels had been, they discovered they were too late, and their delays led to the enemy retreating to safety. It was at this point that public opinion began to turn against the reserved strategy of the Lincoln administration and McClellan. Seizing the politically advantageous timing, Senator Chandler created a powerful joint congressional committee to investigate the conduct of the war. The committee immediately invited McClellan to testify on the pursuit of the war. McClellan never showed up. The committee then invited Richardson, who accepted and arrived with another general. They both testified and were critical of General McClellan's manner in pursuing the war. Though the committee generated press and flared passions, McClellan retained his position as General of the Army of the Potomac.²⁴

The episode with Zachariah Chandler demonstrates the increased influence, prestige, and popularity conferred on Israel Richardson with his rise to brigadier general. Despite his rise to

²³ Ibid., 110-112.

²⁴ Ibid., 117-119.

prominence among the interests in Michigan and Washington, Richardson remained close with his men of the 2nd Michigan. In the retreat from Bull Run and the ford, Richardson lost his sword. He attempted to contact the Confederate General Bee (whom he knew from Mexico), who had occupied Richardson's old ground but got. Later on, during the conflict, the men of the 2nd Michigan gathered up money from among them and bought him a fine new saber as a gift. Charles B. Haydon, a soldier in the 2nd Michigan, recounted the event in his war journal:

December 7 We presented Gen. Richardson to day with a sword & sash which cost \$75. It was a present from the officers of the Mich. 2d. If I could have had my way I would have waited till another pay day & then have bought a better one. The Gen. knew nothing about it till we came in on him. He acted as funny & embarrassed as a boy with a new hat. He expressed his thanks in his usual dry blunt style & called on Col. Terry who was present to help him out by a speech which he did quite handsomely.²⁵

The 2nd Michigan loved their old commander, and the happy bluntness that Richardson showed his men illustrates perfectly the relationship shared between them.

The Peninsula Campaign and Critique of McClellan

The Peninsula Campaign began with McClellan's attack on Virginia in an attempt to isolate and capture the Confederate capital of Richmond. General McClellan quickly changed course when he thought he had the bulk of the Rebel army trapped in Yorktown and began a siege that allowed the enemy time to recuperate and launch a counterattack. General Richardson was leading men under McClellan during the campaign and got to work aiding the siege of Yorktown. Before an assault on the city could be accomplished, the Confederate forces withdrew in the night, fleeing up the Peninsula and rejoining their comrades. After taking Yorktown and resting for a time, the Union army was again on the move, inching over towards Richmond every day. The slow pace of the advance began to rekindle resentment for McClellan's cautious ways, with Richardson wholeheartedly against the slow maneuvering. As they inched

²⁵ Charles B. Haydon, *For Country, Cause, & Leader: The Civil War Journal of Charles B Haydon*, ed. Stephen W. Sears (New York: Ticknor & Fields, 1993), 143.

toward Richmond, fighting began, and in time Richardson readied to again lead men into battle. Richardson and his men arrived for battle after night fell but were met with the fog of war. The battle was over, but chaos ruled as injured men lay screaming into the night.²⁶

More than one battle was fought during the Peninsula Campaign, but the final result was a brutal exchange of corpses and the Union withdrawal from the Peninsula. McClellan came under incessant political attack from Radical Republicans who despised and blamed him for the Federal failure in the campaign, and Israel Richardson helped feed the flame when he published a report heavily criticizing McClellan's leadership. Richardson came back to Washington a hero, after leading his men at the Chickahominy River. He was supported and praised for his leadership and aggression and held up as a foil to General McClellan's strategic losses. Senator Chandler gave speeches on the Senate floor, lambasting McClellan's every move since taking command. With Richardson's rise to prominence following his leadership during the Peninsula Campaign, he was once again promoted, this time rising to Major General; the position he would hold until his death.²⁷

Glory at Antietam and Wounding

Richardson's division was stationed in Washington and missed Second Bull Run. The Federal defeat at the battle (again led by General McClellan) sent the Army of the Potomac into disarray and led Abraham Lincoln to question McClellan's leadership. No more than three weeks after Second Bull Run, McClellan led the assault on General Lee and his Army of Northern Virginia at the Battle of Antietam near Sharpsburg, Maryland. Richardson led his division at the center of the attack at Antietam, charging at the Sunken Road where his men and the Confederates exchanged fire, eventually gaining the upper hand, and destroying the remaining Rebels, leading to a buildup of carnage in the depression. The bloodbath earned the location the name Bloody Lane.²⁸ After securing the position, Richardson began directing his forces and artillery when shrapnel from an enemy cannonade wounded him in his left shoulder. While being taken off the field for his wound to be inspected, he ordered a message be taken to McClellan saying, "I

²⁶ Mason, 140.

²⁷ Ibid., 165.

²⁸ Ibid., 171-188.

have been doing a Colonel's work all day, and I'm now too badly hurt to do a General's."²⁹

Fate played an ugly game as James Longstreet commanded opposite his old friend Richardson on the field, and it was Longstreet's order that led to Richardson's injury. The Confederates seized the opportunity to reform their line and shore up their defensive position as they were teetering on the edge of collapse by the Federal advance. According to James Longstreet, they were saved only by "artillery shots that cut down Colonel Barlow ... and General Richardson himself at his culminating moment."³⁰ Richardson got a room in McClellan's headquarters at the Philip Pry Farmhouse, and his division went to General Caldwell, who promptly stopped Richardson's advance and took up defensive positions, halting any opportunity to seize ground from the enemy after Richardson's gains at Bloody Lane. General Hancock soon replaced Caldwell and swiftly upheld his predecessor's order to stay put and defend the division's gains.³¹

Richardson's wound was inoperable, and he suffered tremendous pain from the shrapnel's deep penetration of his flesh and proximity to his lungs. His wife joined him at the Pry House and stayed by his side throughout his turbulent health. Richardson's dear friend and division medical director, Dr. Taylor, became his physician as it seemed his health began to improve slowly. Though not many were allowed to visit Richardson in his weakened state, Dr. Taylor allowed an exception for the officers serving under Richardson in his most loved brigade. President Lincoln toured the battlefield and met with various veterans of Antietam, making a special visit to Richardson himself. Lincoln undoubtedly commended Richardson on his feats in battle, but the President also brought Richardson his criticisms of General McClellan's pursuit of the war. The President's visit primarily serves as a commendation of the respect Richardson won on the battlefield.

Final Days and Legacy

As time progressed, Richardson's condition began to worsen, and his wife Frances stayed by his side at every moment, bringing him comfort as his body waned in strength. After long

²⁹ Ibid., 189.

³⁰ Ibid., 191.

³¹ Ibid., 189-190.

months of trial and pain, Major General Israel Bush Richardson's wounds ultimately proved fatal as he passed away on November 3, age forty-six, in the company of his wife and in the middle of the war to which he devoted all of himself.³²

Jack Mason notes that some historians think Lincoln offered Richardson, his aggressive general, a promotion to replace McClellan as leader of the Army of the Potomac. However, the topics discussed between the two men aren't fully known, and any assertion that Richardson would replace McClellan would he have lived is a counterfactual claim without direct contextual evidence.³³ Richardson's aggressive strategy during the war won him praise and promotion. However, the care he showed his men, the relationships he tended, his attitude, and his proclivity for honesty and humility saw him nobly through his part of the war. An enlisted man under Richardson wrote after his death that:

It was with a feeling of a personal loss that we that we parted with General Richardson. He was not a fuss and feather soldier. He usually wore a soft hat and fatigue dress, and looked oftenest like a uniformed farmer. But a study of his features revealed intelligence, determination, and a quiet force of character and fatherliness that made his men believe he was one of them.³⁴

Israel Richardson lost his life, but the lives of his men and those who had the privilege of being close to him were made whole, enriched, and validated by the presence and guidance of his leadership.

Richardson's body was transported to Pontiac, but not before a memorial was held in Detroit, attended by Senator Chandler and hundreds of other mourners. The memorial regaled his exploits in battle and aggressive warrior spirit, and he laid in state in Pontiac for residents to visit and pay their respects. Following the burial, Richardson's name began to fade. He led his men for the first year of a four-year war, and many other generals would rise to prominence in the battles to come. Richardson's memory survived through his men and peers, though many did not survive themselves. His division was strong and served through the war's end, but it was heavily depleted and unrecognizable just a year after his death.³⁵

³² Ibid., 192-196.

³³ Ibid., 195.

³⁴ Ibid., 190.

³⁵ Ibid., 198-201.

Writing after his death, Richardson's friend and physician Dr. Taylor wrote of him, "The qualities that made up the man, adorned the soldier, they were one and inseparable; in that, his greatness consisted."³⁶ The Civil War was hellish, but at times the best characteristics of men are brought out under fierce trial, and Israel Richardson showed his character throughout the struggle, the struggle that cost him his life.

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³⁶ Ibid., 202.

Pirates and their Privates: An Examination of Emotions in the Performance of Gender in the Golden Age of Piracy (1550-1700)

Kaya Wilske

Abstract

This research explores the emotional communities of pirates from 1550-1700. The study asks questions including: How are gender and emotions tied together? How do the emotional communities of pirates differ from the emotional community of nation-states such as England? To answer these questions, the study presents a case study of femininity and masculinity through two female pirates, Anne Bonny and Mary Read.

Introduction

The sixteenth-to-eighteenth centuries saw many successful efforts by Western Europe to colonize the Americas. In the exponential rise of colonization, England's sovereign, Queen Elizabeth I, established the duties of a "privateer" to utilize piracy and reap the rewards of the "New World." Shortly after the fall of the Spanish Armada (1588), privateering was criminalized in the Treaty of London (1604).

The infrastructure of England could not support former privateers in other capacities, so many turned to piracy. Various communities were constructed in the era of piracy that allowed individuals like pirates Anne Bonny and Mary Read to thrive despite their sex. This scholarship utilizes theories from the history of emotions subfield to Early Modern England piracy and the ways that Anne Bonny and Mary Read impacted the development of gender ideology. The emotional communities developed by pirates as an alternative to English society challenged societal constructions of gender ideology. This unprecedented take on gender presentation in history opens new avenues for gender and queer theory research in Early Modern Colonies and their impacts in the broader world.

The role of man and woman in Western cultures are typically defined through religion and interpretations of the biological sex-to-gender model. For instance, Ancient Greece followed a one-sex model. Thomas Laqueur defined the one-sex model in *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* as the idea that women and men shared the same anatomy, but female genitals were inside the body instead of out.¹ The Greek one-sex model contributed to the development of western gender ideologies. The model's particular gender roles decreed men as active and women passive in society.² This system spread to other western cultures and the binary gender system became "normalized."

The Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) saw colonial pursuits divided between Spain and Portugal. However, England was left out of that agreement. After ascending the throne in 1558, Queen

¹ For more information on the exact shift from the one-sex to two-sex model, Laqueur discusses the change in detail here: Thomas Walter Laqueur. 1990. *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

² Karras, Ruth Mazo. "Active/Passive, Acts/Passions: Greek and Roman Sexualities." *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 4 (2000): 1250–65. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2651412>.

Elizabeth I struggled with political insecurity due to Mary Queen of Scots' claim to the English throne. As a result, Queen Elizabeth I worked to include England in colonial practices that would shape social developments of race, gender, and economics. Despite this, the Treaty of Tordesillas did not include England in the division of the "New World," limiting the power of Queen Elizabeth I.³ As she was unable to outright attack Spanish ships heading to the "New World," Queen Elizabeth I instead hired pirates under the new title of "privateers."⁴

Privateers, also known as "Sea Dogs," would actively attack Spanish ships returning with plunder and provide these goods to the English Crown.⁵ "Sea Dogs" created opportunities for many people who wanted to take to the seas and make their wealth in a "legal" fashion. For instance, Sir John Hawkins (c.1532), Sir Martin Frobisher (c.1535), Sir Francis Drake (c.1540), and Sir Walter Raleigh (c.1552) are described as members of Queen Elizabeth I's "Sea Dogs."⁶ After the Anglo-Spanish War ended, the privateers were no longer needed and the position was criminalized once more. Those who depended on privateering became frustrated with their fiscal instability and some decided to continue pillaging and risk piracy charges.

Previous scholarship has focused on social class and gender dynamics in piracy magnified by two specific pirates: Anne Bonny and Mary Read. These women have captured the attention of historians because they thrived in a world that was otherwise against them due to their sex. In *But of Their Own Free-Will and Consent: Anne Bonny, Mary Read, and the Women Pirates in the Early Modern Times*, Ryann Schulte explores how multiple women went to the sea and expressed masculinity and femininity. Anne Bonny and Mary Read are centered for their consistently shifting gender presentation. This is apt for an emotional analysis of gender conceptualization in Early Modern England.⁷ Thus, this case study

³ Treaty of Tordesillas - UNESCO Mediabank," 1494

⁴ Snyder., A. J. *The Politics of Piracy: Pirates, Privateers, and the Government of Elizabeth I, 1558-1588*, (2006) University of North Carolina at Wilmington

⁵ Bicheno, Hugh. "Elizabeth's Sea Dogs: How England's Mariners Became the Scourge of the Seas."

⁶ The History Press | Queen Elizabeth I's Sea Dogs. n.d. www.thehistorypress.co.uk. <https://www.thehistorypress.co.uk/articles/queen-elizabeth-i-s-sea-dogs/>.

⁷ Ryann Schulte, (2016) "But of Their Own Free-Will and Consent": Anne

on Anne Bonny and Mary Read will expand on the social and gender norms regarding expressions of masculinity and femininity in the Early Modern world.

Additional scholarship emphasizes Early Modern Literature and how Anne Bonny and Mary Read performed their gender. This paper is highly influenced by the writings of John Knox and his negative texts on Early Modern Women. Additionally, there are references to female writers who either actively defended their sex or joined with Knox's claims of female inferiority.⁸ Where previous scholarship focused on how Bonny and Read used femininity and masculinity to their advantage, this paper introduces theories of emotions.⁹

While gender and emotion theory are strong on their own, the combination of them provides a complete story on gender presentation. The primary theories of emotions that will be explored are Rosenwein's "emotional communities" and Reddy's "emotives." Emotional Communities explain how culture dictates expression and the interpretations of emotions. Further, the theory demonstrates that multiple communities, or ways of interpreting and feeling emotions, can exist at any given time.¹⁰ Pirates believed they belonged to no state; here, they are a prime example of an emotional community formed at the same time as the pre-existing community of mainstream Early Modern England.¹¹ However, Reddy's work examines emotions as *emotives*, which is the concept that people are acting on their emotions. For example, "a flight attendant who feels grumpy may just have to try out cheerful behavior anyway to see if it works and a better mood gels, even if only for a while."¹² This paper

Bonny, Mary Read, and the Women Pirates in the Early Modern Times," *Armstrong Undergraduate Journal of History*: Vol. 6 : Iss., 1 Article 2.

⁸ Alletta Brenner, "„The Good and Bad of that Sexe”: Monstrosity and Womanhood in Early Modern England," *intersections* 10, no. 2 (2009): 161-175.

⁹ Hernandez, C. M. (2009). Forging an Iron Woman: On the effects of piracy on gender in the 18th century Caribbean. *Vanderbilt Undergraduate Research Journal*, 5.

¹⁰ Rosenwein, Barbara H. 2007. *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

¹¹ Land, Isaac. Review of Eighteenth-Century Masculinity, by Hans Turley, Netta Murray Goldsmith, and George E. Haggerty. *Journal of British Studies* 39, no. 4 (2000): 518–26. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/175861>.

¹² Reddy, William. *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 72, No. 1, New Work on the Old Regime and the French Revolution: A Special Issue in Honor of Francois Furet. (Mar., 2000), pp. 109-152.

explores the cases of Anne Bonny and Mary Read to answer how these women entered the emotional community of piracy and to test Reddy's hypothesis on "emoting."

Gender theory is utilized throughout to expand on the definitions of gender and gender expression. The primary gender theory is Judith Butler's "Undoing Gender" which defines gender as a "practice of improvisation within a scene of constraint."¹³ Essentially, gender is a social construct that is associated with certain imagery and behavior indicating that everyone performs their gender to a certain degree, whether consciously or subconsciously. Early Modern England and the surrounding powers of Scotland and Ireland saw multiple reforms of "woman" as a category. These powers brought upon concepts of sexuality and gender that were inextricably linked with the belief that the female or male reproductive system translated to woman and man respectively.¹⁴ Contrary to contemporary gender theory regarding masculinity and femininity as a sliding scale, early modern individuals would likely have perceived masculine and feminine presentation as inherent to gender identity. In the stage of pirate and English emotional communities, this paper reflects on how emotions contribute to the performance of gender through the theory of emotives.

In this work I have greatly considered the connotations of referring to historical actors in the two-sex model. Currently there is wide debate developing in the historiography as historians of sexuality try to navigate what to call historical actors who in contemporary times may fall into certain LGBTQ+ categories. Throughout the study I refer to Anne Bonny and Mary Read as women with she/her pronouns despite their contradicting gender presentations. Bonny and Read alike engaged in switching their gender presentation through their clothing and had multiple forms of sexual expression. Both were raised to dress in masculine clothing; however, they continued to dress femininely when they chose to. At the time, historical actors did not have words like "transgender," "genderqueer," or "non-binary." As I was unable to find any written accounts in the sourcework that spoke to the actors identifying other than their assigned gender at birth, I continue the paper utilizing "she/her" pronouns and "woman" terminology.

¹³ Butler, Judith, 1956-. *Undoing Gender*. New York :Routledge, 2004.

¹⁴ Land, Isaac. Review of *Eighteenth-Century Masculinity*, by Hans Turley, Netta Murray. Goldsmith, and George E. Haggerty. *Journal of British Studies* 39, no. 4 (2000): 518–26. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/175861>.

This paper asks questions to connect gender studies with the theories of emotions. I explore how pirates contribute to the history of emotions and gender theory. The emotional community of masculinity valued tact in situations based on a birthright to masculinity and a communal fear of being duped by femininity. I analyze how Read and Bonny posed a threat to the emotional community in England and perpetuated fears of cuckoldry. In my first section, “The Cuckold of the Sea,” I will explore Anne Bonny and Early Modern femininity. My major argument here is that Bonny, who utilized feminine expression more than Read, was able to subvert the expectations of femininity placed on her by navigating the emotional community of pirates. In my second section, “Machiavelli's New Prince” I will explore what it means to be masculine and how Read expertly traversed those expectations. I argue here that Read’s masculine performance can be analyzed through a Machiavellian Framework centered on *The Prince*. This paper furthers the use of gender theory in history and demonstrates the usefulness of considering emotions as an extension of gender presentation and performance.

If The Hook Fits



Anne Bonny (Left) Mary Read (Right)

Two of the most notable pirates of the 18th Century were Anne Bonny and Mary Read. These women took to the seas and followed the post-Anglo Spanish war rise of piracy. Their paths eventually crossed, and both spent time aboard Captain Rackham’s

ship where Captain Charles Johnson noted they were lovers.¹⁵ Both pirates defied gender norms of femininity and masculinity. By dressing femininely, these women cuckolded the fabric of masculinity and their masculine gender performance aligned them to Knox's assertion that masculinity is the pinnacle of gender identity.

The Cuckold of the Sea

On October 22nd, Read and Bonny were attacked by a governor they had recently stolen from.¹⁶ Dressed in traditional masculine clothing, the women would have appeared as wicked women to the governor's sailors. Amidst the fighting, accounts alleged Read shouted "If there's a man among ye, ye'll come up and fight like the man ye are to be!"¹⁷ The active role Read took in the fighting and commanding of men would've been seen as a cuckoldry of the crew's "inherent superiority" over the two women. While certain pirate emotional communities were open and accepting of women taking a dominant role on the ship, the same could not be said for the emotional community of England. Bonny and Read's refusal to adhere to feminine standards made these women appear as Scolds and cuckolders, ready to "hornify" every man they interacted with.¹⁸

¹⁵ It should be noted as Captain Charles' is the main primary source for this paper, that he is an unreliable narrator. While he divulges interesting and helpful information, it is difficult to discern how much he's stating is true or how much has been stretched. Nonetheless, Johnson's narrative does provide a unique insight into how pirates viewed their communities and other pirates, which for the purpose of this paper is served well by his resource. Captain Charles Johnson. *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pyrates*. London: T. Warner, 1724. (166-172).

¹⁶ Smithsonian Magazine, "If There's a Man among Ye: The Tale of Pirate Queens Anne Bonny and Mary Read," Smithsonian.com (Smithsonian Institution, August 9, 2011), <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/if-theres-a-man-among-ye-the-tale-of-pirate-queens-anne-bonny-and-mary-read-45576461/>.

¹⁷ Captain Charles Johnson. *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pyrates*. London: T. Warner, 1724.

¹⁸ *University of Oxford*, 2003, *Cuckolds haven: or, The marry'd mans miserie who must abide the penaltie of being hornify'd: hee unto his neighbours doth make his case knowne, and tels them all plainly, the case is their owne. To the tune of, the Spanish gipsie.*, *Oxford Text Archive*, <http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12024/A19681>.

In the Early Modern era, the West saw an increase of publications discussing the status and position of women. While there were some defenders of femininity and the active female position, a resounding amount of literature proclaimed women as inferior. Sir Nicholas Le Strange is quoted explaining that women were always defective, as evidenced in folk tales, and as such, the inferiority of a woman stabilized social order and gender roles.¹⁹ Early Modern England also believed that how a woman dressed was significant in reinforcing her sexual difference as seen through the public chastising of women, or scolding, of those who acted outside of their proper role.²⁰ However, in the case of Anne Bonny, her gender performance directly contrasts that norm.

Bonny was born illegitimate, though her father favored her and dressed her as a boy to keep her in his household. However, when the secret of Anne's sex was revealed, Bonny's father left his wife so he could continue to raise Anne.²¹ Her father prepared a marriage match for the young Bonny but she, sticking to her budding reputation as a turbulent and troubling teenager, married a young man of her own choice. This act effectively disowned her. While Bonny initially wore masculine attire, she dressed femininely after her father left his wife. Bonny is credited with wearing feminine clothing while on Captain Rackam, her lover's ship, and only wearing masculine clothing when committing acts of violence. This idea is perhaps a perpetuation of the feminine as soft, naive, and unable to commit atrocities whereas the masculine is only capable of the ability to commit acts of violence.

One of society's biggest fears was the woman who acted outside her role with dominance over man. *Cuckolds Haven*, published in 1638 London, features the phenomenon of cuckolds with descriptions such as: "Not your Italian Locks, which comes a paradox, can kape these hens from cocks, till they are paid with a p—So long as they can goe or ride, They'l haue their husbands hornify'd."²² This excerpt highlights the concept of being

¹⁹ Mendelson, Sara H. 1998. *Women Early Modern England 1550 - 1720*. Oxford University Press (February 24, 2000). 60

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 59

²¹ Captain Charles Johnson. *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pyrates*. London: T. Warner, 1724. (166-172)

²² University of Oxford, 2003, *Cuckolds haven: or, The marry'd mans miserie who must abide the penaltie of being hornify'd: hee unto his neighbours doth make his case knowne, and tels them all plainly, the case is their owne*. To the

“hornified” which is the literal attachment of horns on men in woodcuts and illustrations to represent that they have been cuckolded by their wives. *Cuckolds Haven* featured images that fit this description demonstrated below:



University of Oxford, 2003, *Cuckolds haven: or, The marry'd mans miserie who must abide the penaltie of being hornify'd: hee unto his neighbours doth make his case knowne, and tels them all plainly, the case is their owne. To the tune of, the Spanish gipsie.*, Oxford Text Archive, <http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12024/A19681>.

Bonny utilized her femininity and actively provoked fears of cuckoldry and the hornification of men. In another case of utilizing the theory of emotives, Bonny incited fear in her enemies by presenting as a sort of dominatrix and subverting conceptualizations of gender to achieve her own desired response; essentially, she altered her gender presentation to get the best results.

tune of, the Spanish gipsie., Oxford Text Archive, <http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12024/A19681>. An additional article that provides analysis on cuckoldry is Joseph Moorhead's "Cuckoldry in Early Modern England" which is well worth the read and was a reference guide for my own analysis throughout my research. Moorhead, Joseph. Cuckoldry in Early Modern England | Forum." 2022. September 19, 2022.

<https://blogs.unimelb.edu.au/shaps-research/2022/09/19/cuckoldry-in-early-modern-england/>.

In her performance of masculinity, Bonny was able to curtail men's power by dominating her crew and enemy ships that belonged to the English State. For Bonny, pillaging created an opportunity for fluid gender expression; femininity could be violent in its allure whereas masculinity substituted personal violent acts. Though gender fluidity was acceptable in the emotional community of piracy, on land, Bonny was confined to stricter gender ideology. This restricted gender expression is likely the result of misogynists like John Knox who is quoted as expressing:

The Proposition. To promote a Woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion or empire above any realm, nation or city is Repugnant to nature. Contumely to GOD. The subversion of good order, of all equity and justice. Men illuminated only by the light of nature have seen and determined that it is a thing most repugnant to nature, that Women rule and govern over men. Woman in her greatest perfection was made to serve and obey man, not to rule and command him.²³

In Knox's opinion, women ruling in their own right was the ultimate cuckoldry of Scotland and England. He believed that living in a world with two major female monarchs, Queen Elizabeth I and Queen Mary of Scots, was the ultimate sin against nature. Therefore, the superiority of masculinity as active and dominant over femininity was incredibly important for the emotional community of England. According to these writers, the largest threat to masculinity was a man's failure to remain virtuous and active, making him a victim of cuckoldry both in his bed and as subject to a female head of state. By dressing in feminine clothing and retaining a dominant presence aboard a pirate ship, Bonny demonstrated a direct contradiction to the expectations of femininity in Early Modern England.

Machiavelli's New Prince

Mary Read demonstrates Butler's theory of gender as a performance or practice. Read's mother had lost her son and thus decided to raise her daughter, Mary Read, as a son. This choice confirms that Read's mother knew presenting as masculine would

²³ Knox, John, approximately 1514-1572. *The Political Writings of John Knox : The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women and Other Selected Works*. Washington : London :Folger Shakespeare Library ; Associated University Presses, 1985.

allow her family to reap certain fiscal benefits that only a son could achieve.²⁴ Read appeared to accept growing up in a masculine presentation as Bonny did, and she continued the practice well beyond adolescence. Captain Johnson reflected on Mary's childhood explaining "the Mother gained her Point, she bred up her Daughter as a Boy, and when she grew up to some Sense, she thought proper to let her into the Secret of her Birth, to induce her to conceal her Sex."²⁵ Read was taught to hide her sex and was raised to live life as a man, which she continued even outside of her mother's care.

The performance of Read's gender was incredibly masculine. In childhood she pursued jobs that would only be available to men; she was a foot-boy, sailor, and eventually enlisted in the military.²⁶ Read only assumed femininity after falling in love with her comrade.²⁷ After revealing that she was a woman, Read quickly assumed and presented a feminine identity. Read and her husband were renowned for being an oddity as they were two masculine soldiers who fell in love. Why did Read feel the need to dress femininely after marrying her husband? Following the previous narratives associated with femininity and masculinity, this is perhaps because she believed the feminine was only capable of a gentle form of love, whereas the masculine was only capable of a violent and demanding love. Or maybe the only way Read could feel totally vulnerable was in her feminine form. Regardless of why Read decided to shift her gender presentation after meeting her husband, the fact that Read changed her gender presentation at all aligns with the concept of emotives. Read made a firm decision in changing her expression that resulted in her marriage. She acted on "feminine emotions" to get the results she wanted. Shortly, Read was made a widow and no longer had a high standing in the world or money as a woman. These circumstances propelled Read to present masculine once again.²⁸ Read's masculine presentation became an enhancement

²⁴ Early Life · Mary Read and Anne Bonny: Two of England's Most Notorious Pirates · Gallery." n.d. Gallery.lib.umn.edu. Accessed April 26, 2023.
<http://gallery.lib.umn.edu/exhibits/show/mary-read-anne-bonny/mary-read/mary-read--early-life>.

²⁵ Captain Charles Johnson. *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pyrates*. London: T. Warner, 1724 (158).

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ At the time of writing, Read's husband's name is not known in the source material.

²⁸ Ibid., 161.

of her gender performance and a symbol of her social and economic insecurity.

Read actively looked at her situation and, finding a lack of power, she created her own through gender performance. Read's use of masculinity when experiencing financial and social insecurity only reaffirms the apparent obsession of masculinity in Western Early Modern society. In *The Prince*, an advice treatise written by Machiavelli and dedicated to Lorenzo de Medici, Machiavelli laid out the concept of "Virtù." Virtù is how a prince must hold onto his power, a set of characteristics that he has to readily tap into.

I've mentioned, but it's absolutely imperative that he seem to possess them. I'll go so far as to say this: if he had those qualities and observed them all the time, he'd be putting himself at risk. It's seeming to be virtuous that helps; as, for example, seeming to be compassionate, loyal, humane, honest and religious. And you can even be those things, so long as you're always mentally prepared to change as soon as your interests are threatened.²⁹

Machiavelli tried to stress the importance of adjusting to the situation and having the flexibility needed to perform different characteristics that would better serve the prince. Read takes the idea of "performing" to heart. When she experienced a threat to her interests, Read physically shifted her qualities just as Machiavelli advised. Her strategic use of masculine apparel demonstrates an understanding of masculinity that the Early Modern English culture instilled in men: masculinity is power. Read's appearance altered the way she was treated by the world and how she acted. Further, Read used masculinity for her benefit, whether it was to take charge of a ship more firmly or to have a more prosperous economic situation. The clear fluidity of Read's gender presentation habits demonstrate a firm alignment with Reddy's theory of emotives and advice of Macchiavelli. When there was a threat to her position, Read selectively presented masculine to reap the economic and social benefits.

Gender presentation didn't appear to matter in the pirate emotional community as strictly as it did in England. Read presented masculine at sea and kept her sex a secret. She only revealed her identity to two pirates, Anne Bonny and Captain Rackam, who both

²⁹ Machiavelli, Niccolò, 1469-1527. *The Prince*. Harmondsworth, Eng. ; New York, N.Y. :Penguin Books, 1981.

agreed not to say anything.³⁰ While at sea, Read fell in love with another man but continued to present as masculine and even engaged in duels on his behalf. It seemed that, on this pirate ship, it didn't particularly matter to the "head of the state" how Mary presented. Despite courting another man, she didn't revert to a feminine presentation as she previously had done. Instead, Read lived a masculine life at sea with her new lover.³¹ Therefore, it is clear that gender performance and dynamics did not matter as much in piracy as on land.

Back on land, the emotional community of England was vulnerable to the manipulation of femininity. After finally being caught and arrested by the authorities, Read was sent to trial. Throughout this process, Read utilized the perceptions of femininity provided by the state to postpone her execution: She utilized her pregnancy, as England could not execute a pregnant woman.³² She could have continued her masculine presentation, or denied being pregnant at all, continuing her gender performance as a man to the end. Instead, Read understood how to take advantage of the English emotional communities' interpretation of femininity and womanhood to prolong her life. Once again, Read utilizes the Macchiavelli tactic expertly.

Overall, the story of Mary Read explains the state of masculinity in Early Modern England. To be a man could guarantee a better chance of power, leadership, and stability. To be a woman only inspired shortfalls, but when expertly wielded, it could overcome legal jeopardy. Mary Read was able to overcome the challenges in her life with the performance of gender. The moments in her life when Read chose to retain masculinity are incredibly important for the understanding of Early Modern gender. The emotional communities of land and water were either adaptable or fixed in their gender ideologies, allowing for many individuals like Bonny and Read to experiment with their gender performance and their sexual expressions, as seen with Read's multiple lovers.

³⁰ Captain Charles Johnson. *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pyrates*. London: T. Warner, 1724. (162-163)

³¹ *Ibid*

³² *Ibid.*, 164-165.

Conclusion

As a case study of Early Modern England's gender ideology, Anne Bonny and Mary show how gender presentation and theories of emotions can impact interpretations of history and provide new context for the iron-grip conceptualizations of masculinity and femininity of the time. This paper explored these women and their personal journeys with gender performativity and how they directly impacted the culture of piracy and England. Viewed as oddities, or perhaps scolds in the perspective of John Knox, Bonny and Read challenged the limiting social constructs of their time.

Both pirates came of age without a female monarch. Queen Elizabeth I had died roughly eighty-seven years before Mary Read was born. Regardless, the shadow of Queen Elizabeth I and Mary, Queen of Scots' precarious relationship and the marks of misogynists like John Knox haunted the world they grew up in. The Jacobite Era was a wary place for women who acted out. With more attention to prosecuting witchcraft, Read and Bonny learned how to navigate the world and found solace at sea. The disillusionment to rising nationalism in England, Spain, and Portugal demonstrated a need for former privateers to find community with each other. The new community inspired radical acceptance of sexual expression and gender presentations that Read and Bonny were able to become immersed in. In using the rigidity of England's perceptions of gender, Read and Bonny were both able to manipulate their society for their own benefit. Although the two women may not have intended to make a statement with their gender presentation, perhaps they were simply wearing what was comfortable that day? However, their habitual practice of wearing men's clothing at a time where they could be burned as heretics has provided clear evidence of the distinct emotional communities of pirates.

Future research should continue analysis on the long-lasting impacts of piracy's challenge to state control and England's response to further encourage strict gendered lines. Pirates have long been called a "true democracy," and much can be learned from their gender and sexual tolerance as a result. Despite the commercialization of pirates and how they have been depicted in contemporary media, the community's piracy developed hosted an interesting space for sexual and gender expression that the historians of sexuality and gender theorists would be mistaken to ignore. Additionally, piracy and their emotional communities relate directly to the field of women's history. Anne Bonny and Mary Read were

not the only female pirates during this time. For instance, Ching Shih or Zheng Yi Sao, commanded a large fleet of pirates in the early 19th Century.³³ In historian's efforts to provide a more intersectional and global telling of history, early modern piracy offers a fantastic and nuanced source of globalization and colonization that deserves further analysis.

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³³ "Rebel Women - Female Pirates : Zheng Yi Sao (Aka Ching Shih)." n.d. www.rmg.co.uk. <https://www.rmg.co.uk/whats-on/online/rebel-women-female-pirates-zheng-yi-sao-aka-ching-shih>.

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Almanacs and the Coexistence of Traditional and Enlightenment Thought

Rebecca Yeomans-Stephenson

Abstract

Almanacs printed between the late 1700s and mid 1800s circulated the United States reaching nearly every home in the country. This vast social influence directly affected the diverse perspectives of many social groups and established almanacs as a consistent form of general education. Almanacs had significant influence in everyday life and offered opportunities for accessible Enlightenment thinking, comparable only to that of the Bible. As almanacs emphasized the need for intellectual thought and discovery, the public was introduced to Enlightenment concepts that extended beyond their traditional religious thought. This paper utilizes Michigan State University Special Collections to examine a detailed assortment of almanacs from Post-Revolutionary Boston, to illustrate the ways in which these Boston almanacs utilized their diverse influence to introduce Enlightenment thought in the areas of agriculture, science, and politics to the public.

Introduction

“Between 1776 and 1800 more than a thousand almanacs were published in the United States of America.”¹ Traditionally, almanacs were small books including a calendar and basic astronomical information that were intended to be used for a short period of time before disposal. By 1800, 125 annually printed almanacs circulated the United States, making it into nearly every home in the country.² With this vast social reach, it was not long before almanacs held influence “broad enough to encompass the diverse perspectives of many groups.”³ As common people with differing perspectives adopted almanacs as a consistent form of general education, the use of the almanac far surpassed its original purpose as a calendar. As Timothy Feist details in his book *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, “Utility defined the almanac genre so that, in common usage, the term came to signify not just a calendar but a compendium of information useful for orienting one’s life to the annual rhythms of commerce, government, and the physical world.”⁴ Public dependence on almanacs continued to grow until it was compared in importance to the Bible in regard to influence in everyday life.⁵ Enlightenment thinking, schools of thought that had existed within the United States but had not always been accessible to the public, were exemplified within almanacs during the late 1700s through mid 1800s. As almanacs began to emphasize “intellectual inquiry and discovery,” the public was introduced to Enlightenment concepts that extended

¹ Robert K. Dodge, *Access To Popular Culture: Early American Almanacs*, vol. 25 (Bowling Green, KY: Kentucky Folklore Record, 1979), 11.

² Daniel Winik, “‘INFORMATION OF THE UNLEARNED’: THE ENLIGHTENMENT IN EARLY AMERICAN ALMANACS, 1650-1800,” “INFORMATION OF THE UNLEARNED”: THE ENLIGHTENMENT IN EARLY AMERICAN ALMANACS, 1650-1800, accessed December 6, 2021, <https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.174.4554&rep=rep1&type=pdf>, 161.

³ Ibid, 162-163.

⁴ Timothy Feist, “Almanacs,” in *The Stationers' Voice: The English Almanac Trade in the Early Eighteenth Century (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society)* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2005), pp. 15-24, 15.

⁵ Winik, “INFORMATION OF THE UNLEARNED,” 1.

beyond their traditional religious thought.⁶ Examining in particular Post-Revolutionary Boston, Michigan State University Special Collections provides a detailed assortment of almanacs printed between the late 1700s and mid 1800s, exhibiting the influence the almanacs had on public thought. This paper serves to illustrate the ways in which these Boston almanacs utilized their diverse influence to introduce Enlightenment thought in the areas of agriculture, science, and politics to the public.

Michigan State University Special Collections' Almanacs

Michigan State University Special Collections holds a wide variety of almanacs; however, this paper aims solely to study those printed in Boston between the late 1700s and mid 1800s. The almanacs examined all had a very similar layout and therefore had complementary purposes within society. Almanacs typically were produced in octavo format, however editions of *The Farmer's Almanack* were made using quarto in 2s, additionally these almanacs were made with less expensive paper, evident in their torn and worn appearance. These almanacs were not typically bound with covers, with the exception of some additions of *The Farmer's Almanack* but were instead loosely sewn together. Additionally, a small string loop was often sewn into the upper left-hand corner of an almanac enabling it to be hung, for example by a fireplace. Examining the title pages of each almanac, a pattern in appearance is evident. The title of the almanac stated the intended audience, as well as occasionally the author's own name. Typically, the year was printed in large type, while the author and publication information were much smaller. These title pages included an image in the middle of the page typically representative of the almanac, however occasionally a different woodcut in celebration of an event would be utilized. Almanacs were designed to catch the eye of a reader; therefore, the big year and elaborate illustration were considered more important than secondhand information such as the author's name, publisher, or place of publication. Within the almanac, writing was broken into distinct sections, including "a calendar, weights and measures, interest tables... of postage, value of foreign coins, legal holidays, tide tables... list of eclipses, and the inevitable lunar

⁶ "The American Enlightenment: Treasures from the Stanford University Libraries," Spotlight at Stanford, accessed December 6, 2021, <https://exhibits.stanford.edu/american-enlightenment>.

phases,” figure 1, see Appendix⁷. Additionally, these almanacs typically included short stories, reports, anecdotes, or poems at the end as an additional source of entertainment for the targeted audience. Each of Special Collections’ almanacs examined contained an elaborate illustration on the title page that was representative of the almanac, however occasionally images would also appear throughout the text. This may have included diagrams such as “The Anatomy of Man”, figure 2, see Appendix, or astronomical projections. In the case of *Parley’s Almanac* printed in 1837, there were a large number of pictures included throughout the text with the intent of teaching younger readers about natural history. Finally, these almanacs, while heavily used, determined by their appearance, do not include provenance. Many almanacs, while utilized during their year of relevance, served as a source of entertainment or interest rather than something to be analyzed and commented on, therefore resulting in a lack of documented notes.

The almanacs selected for this paper cover a range of dates and topics of interest, emphasizing the development and establishment of both traditional and Enlightenment thought as coexisting ideologies in almanacs. In introducing each almanac, it is important to proceed by date, as the remainder of the paper addresses them for their topics rather than order of publication. Beginning with *Bickerstaff’s Boston Almanack* printed in 1788 (*Bickerstaff’s*, 1788), this was a third edition printed by E. Russel. It consists of 24 pages at a height of approximately 17 cm and is very worn with loose stitching. This almanac contains a scarce woodcut celebrating the adoption of the Federal Constitution, as it was published just following the Constitutional Convention in 1787. The next two almanacs examined were *Thomas’s Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, Newhampshire & Vermont Almanack* printed in 1797 (*Thomas’s*, 1797) and *Isaiah Thomas’s Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, Newhampshire & Vermont Almanack* printed in 1799 (*Thomas’s*, 1799). Both editions were 48 pages with a height of 18 cm. These almanacs were printed at Worcester, Massachusetts by Isaiah Thomas and were sold individually for 10 cents. Thomas noted his almanacs to be “Of Matters Curious, Useful and Entertaining,” and proceeded to include an image of “The Anatomy of Man” in his 1799 edition. While the

⁷ Louise L. Foster, “The Nineteenth-Century American Pocket Diary,” in *Suave Mechanicals Essays on the History of Bookbinding*, ed. Julia Miller, vol. 3 (Ann Arbor, MI: The Legacy Press, 2016), pp. 281-299, 283.

1797 edition was in good condition with untrimmed pages and original stitching, the 1799 edition was very worn. Finally, the 1797 edition included President George Washington's farewell address on pages 35-45. The next four almanacs examined were editions of *The Farmer's Almanack* printed in 1810, 1816, 1821, and 1827. Each almanac was written by Robert B. Thomas, while the 1810 copy was printed for John West & Co, the 1816 copy was printed for West and Richardson, and the 1821 and 1827 copies were printed for Richardson & Lord. Each copy of *The Farmer's Almanack* had 48 pages at a height of 17 cm, with untrimmed pages, loosely sewn paper covers, original binding, a string loop in the left-hand corner, and was sold for 12 ½ cents. The next almanac studied was *Parley's Almanac* printed in 1837. This well-maintained almanac contained 80 pages at a height of 17 cm, and was printed by Otis, Broaders & Co. This almanac was targeted at both younger and older audiences, with a number of plates focusing on scenes from natural history. The following almanac was the *The New England Anti-Slavery Almanac for 1841* that was printed in 1841 (*Anti-Slavery*, 1841). This almanac published by J. A. Collins was 36 pages at a height of 18 cm and was kept in very nice condition. This almanac in particular was unique for its targeting of antislavery audiences. The final almanac examined was *Dr. Wistar's Free Almanac* printed in 1848 (*Wistar's*, 1848). This almanac was published by Seth W. Fowle and was 24 pages at a height of 20 cm. This almanac was in very nice condition, with untrimmed pages, loose binding, and appears to have not been heavily handled. This almanac's intent was to gain an audience surrounding the field of popular medicine.

Almanacs: Traditional and Enlightenment Thought

Among the largest realm of almanacs are those dedicated to agriculture and science, as agriculture was a field of work many common people of the post-revolutionary era understood. Within almanacs' presentation of agriculture, the beginnings of scientific thought were introduced, subtly changing people's outlook on the agricultural world during the Enlightenment period.⁸ As agriculture and science relate directly to one another, the adoption of science within the farming industry helped bring about recognition of scientific thought within other aspects of life. Within an era heavily influenced by religious thought, almanacs provided "readers with

⁸ Winik, "INFORMATION OF THE UNLEARNED," 162.

both the new precepts of Enlightenment science and comfortable, traditional thought.”⁹

Agriculture during the post-revolutionary period was a vastly growing industry and was therefore an essential part of common life. As illustrated through the many editions of *The Farmer's Almanack*, common citizens wanted to learn useful knowledge regarding farming techniques, as well as life inside and outside of the home.¹⁰ Demand for knowledge is evident in the examination of several editions of *The Farmer's Almanack*.

During the Enlightenment period, *The Farmer's Almanack* made considerable strides in adopting science as it relates to agriculture. These almanacs, aside from the traditional calendar, provide “hundreds of valuable receipts or recipes for improving the land, increasing the yield of specific crops, or for curing diseases in livestock.”¹¹ These methods of improvement, when paired with the adoption of new scientific techniques, enabled farming to transcend its previous limits and establish more advanced practices. Beginning with an analysis of a copy printed in 1810 for John West & Co. in Boston, the reader is introduced to a plentiful amount of agricultural information. This specific almanac begins with an analysis on the “Culture of Potatoes,” providing detailed information to new farmers regarding how to successfully maintain potato crops throughout the year. The author speaks of a trial-and-error process where the information being provided to the reader has been confirmed as the best means for growing potatoes. This reliance on trial-and-error methodologies “represent a genuine attempt at the establishment of a science of farming.”¹² Furthermore, in an almanac printed in 1816 for West & Richardson in Boston, this technique of trial and error is transferred to work within the home. The author discusses the practice of cheese making, traditionally considered women's work, and describes methods and tricks they discovered throughout their own practice, and how they remedied issues that may have arisen in the past. This transfer of agricultural science practices to roles both in and outside of the home determines its relevance to the learning and understanding of common citizens as they attempt to better their

⁹ Ibid, 174.

¹⁰ David Jaffee, “The Village Enlightenment in New England, 1760-1820,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 47, no. 3 (July 1990): pp. 327-346, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2938091>, 328.

¹¹ Dodge, *Access To Popular Culture*, 12.

¹² Ibid.

own farming techniques.

Aside from the adoption of trial-and-error methodologies, *The Farmer's Almanack* editions printed during the Enlightenment period show a growing interest in scientific thought infiltrating other aspects of farming. As illustrated through an edition printed in 1821 by J.H.A. Frost for Richardson & Lord in Boston, a growing interest in crop rotation was being experienced by the public. In a section titled "Philosophical Observations," the author details the impacts of crop rotation on the improvement of working land. While this technique had been utilized by some, it had not been widely adopted, therefore making it a potential means of scientific advancement in the field of agriculture. Additionally, in an edition printed in 1827, also by Frost for Richardson & Lord in Boston, the readers are introduced to a lengthy comparison of the different aspects of large and small farms, as well as a detailed analysis by the author in order to determine if one is a good or poor farmer. While these methods are more comparative in nature, they still serve as practices that furthered scientific advancements. Readers, who had the ability to determine their strengths and weaknesses as farmers, were provided with a plentiful number of resources through *The Farmer's Almanack* that could be utilized to refine their agricultural practices. Just as can be determined by the adoption of trial-and-error practices, almanacs provided solutions and shortcuts that saved agricultural workers time and money. As readers of *The Farmer's Almanack* determined the potential their farm life had both in and outside of the home due to the adoption of science in farming, the demand for farming education only increased. This resulted, as exemplified by all issues of *The Farmer's Almanack*, in an interest in the gathering of knowledge on topics such as increasing fertility of soil (1810), how to care for stock (1821), reduction of insects that cause damage to crops (1827), and the development of household materials (1821).

Bridging the gap between agriculture and science, it is worth noting a particular article printed in the 1827 edition of *The Farmer's Almanack*. In the article titled "Leaden Vessels Poisonous," the almanac details a Dr. James Anderson whose scientific studies have determined the proper method for keeping milk and butter. The article indicates the health risks of keeping dairy products incorrectly, and places great emphasis on potential sickness. As this single article indicates, public interest and want of knowledge ultimately led to the blending of agriculture, science, and medicine. As readers sought to learn more, the importance of curing

“human disease as well as preparation and preservation of food, and customs” was solidified.¹³ As increased interest in medicine occurred, a greater number of almanacs began to include informative articles on health and wellness. It was these almanacs in particular that “Played a leading role in disseminating astrological health information.”¹⁴ *Wistar’s* 1848 almanac was a completely medicinal reading source. The almanac informed readers on potential natural cures for diseases and illnesses such as consumption. This almanac, much like *The Farmer’s Almanack*, placed great emphasis on natural remedies and medicines that could be made from herbs grown in a home garden. It is likely however, that while *The Farmer’s Almanack* targeted both male and female audiences, *Wistar’s* 1848 almanac was more likely directed at women as caregivers. Within *Wistar’s* 1848 almanac, readers were introduced to doctor testimonies, in which medical doctors suggested manufactured medicinal concoctions such as “Wistar’s Balsam of Wild Cherry,” as a remedy and supposed cure of asthma, liver problems, and consumption. Additional almanacs, such as *Thomas’s* 1799 almanac, indicate early interest in medicinal understanding, providing supposed cures for cancer, stones, and sore heels, further detailing the importance of scientific advancement in the field of medicine.

While agriculture and the adoption of greater scientific thought ultimately furthered interest in medicine, other aspects of science began to infiltrate almanacs as well. Almanacs introduced new concepts relating to scientific thought, while maintaining a balanced relationship with traditional religious ideas during Post-Revolutionary Boston. However, as the Enlightenment period reached its height, new ideas that conflicted with religious ideology were introduced. As is illustrated by *Parley’s Almanac* published in 1837, interest in the science of astronomy was vastly growing. This particular almanac, containing the traditional calendar, goes into greater depth regarding the field of astronomy. Rather than simply stating solar and lunar measurements, *Parley’s Almanac* includes intricate diagrams, figures 3 and 4, see Appendix, explaining heliocentrism, a school of thought that had gained little momentum prior to the Enlightenment period. As the Enlightenment period progressed, ideas about astronomy and astrology changed with it,

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Thomas A. Horrocks, *Popular Print and Popular Medicine: Almanacs and Health Advice in Early America* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 15.

and ultimately these new ideas were presented to the public through almanacs.¹⁵ *Parley's Almanac* not only provided information regarding the heliocentric model but also addressed scientific understanding of the planets' orbits around the sun. Furthermore, this almanac provided detailed definitions that furthered the common understanding of the movement of objects both in the sky and around the sun. Almanacs served to condense "broad Enlightenment philosophies to simple and practical discourses for their common audience," therefore people had the potential to grow their understanding of scientific thought in a way that complimented their own values and religious ideals.¹⁶

A considerable number of almanacs have provided a combination of agricultural and scientific thought, therefore enabling readership to establish and adopt their own ideas regarding these fields. As the Enlightenment period progressed in Post-Revolutionary Boston, the ways in which the public adopted new knowledge changed, creating an environment where new Enlightenment thought could coexist with traditional religious thought. Almanacs became an outlet for the combination of these schools of thought, where people's outlook on various topics were subtly altered.¹⁷ Aside from almanacs' dedication to agriculture and science, politics and current events were also highly valued.

Post-Revolutionary Boston almanacs took great care in reviewing politics and current events, as they were of great importance to readers. People historically have been fascinated by government happenings, therefore almanacs ensured to include what the people truly wanted, essentially political gossip.¹⁸

Almanacs spanning the late 1700s and early 1800s indicate public interest in a number of political happenings both at the national and local levels. *Bickerstaff's* 1788 almanac is one such example of public interest in politics. This specific almanac contains an allegorical woodcut frontispiece picturing President George Washington and Benjamin Franklin seated together in the Federal Chariot holding the Federal Constitution, figure 5, see Appendix. This image in honor of the establishment of the United States of America's Constitution illustrates public interest in political happenings of the time. This picture would have been the first thing

¹⁵ Winik, "INFORMATION OF THE UNLEARNED," 163.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid, 162.

¹⁸ Dodge, *Access To Popular Culture*, 14.

all readers saw before opening the almanac, therefore establishing it as central to the almanac's writing. Aside from the frontispiece of George Washington and Benjamin Franklin, *Bickerstaff's* 1788 almanac included a copy of "The Grand Constitution or the Palladium of Columbia: A New Federal Song," figure 6, see Appendix. The intent of this song was to increase patriotic support among readership and increase political awareness, therefore distributing knowledge regarding politics of the day to a broader audience.

Aside from *Bickerstaff's* 1788 almanac, references to politics and current events were published in *Thomas's* 1797 almanac. On a national level, Thomas's almanac ensured the publication and mass distribution of George Washington's Farewell Address, figure 7, see Appendix. This provided the public with their own copies of the President's farewell speech, tying them to relevant politics of the day and increasing patriotism throughout the nation. On a more local scale, *Thomas's* 1797 almanac detailed information about bills that had been passed in Massachusetts in 1796. These notes enabled readers to become more involved within the political environment of the day, as well as develop their own ideas regarding the topics being discussed. Examining *Thomas's* 1799 almanac depicts a similar pattern of political information. This particular issue included abstracts of acts passed by Congress detailing political thoughts on the price of using vellum or parchment, as well as direct taxes on slaves, houses, and land. As political issues were relevant to public interest, almanacs ensured that the common people were receiving the information necessary to formulate their own opinions. As almanacs encouraged individual thought, Enlightenment ideals became more relevant in the political sphere.¹⁹

As a final example of almanac involvement in the political sphere, the *Anti-Slavery* 1841 almanac is essential to consider. Enlightenment period Boston, as exemplified through the *Anti-Slavery* 1841 almanac, presented a variety of political positions on slavery. This particular almanac provided extensive articles discussing "Prejudice Against Color," the "Abolition of Negro Slavery," "Abolitionism," "Compensation," "'Prejudice Against Color' - A Pro-Slavery Falsehood," and "Colonization." Each article served as an attempt to rally the public against the slaveholders and the South. By providing detailed articles in terms the public could

¹⁹ Robert A. Ferguson, *The American Enlightenment, 1750-1820* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 38.

understand, the *Anti-Slavery* 1841 almanac attempted to educate common people who may not truly understand the issue of slavery, as depicted by the cover of figure 8, see Appendix. This anti-slavery movement, paired with new Enlightenment thinking, established a political community in which issues of race could be openly discussed, and in which the public could grow their understanding of political issues of the day. On the most fundamental level, “Enlightenment begins in the political arena.”²⁰

Almanacs of the late 1700s through the mid 1800s took great care in presenting political content and current events. As Enlightenment thinking became more prominent during the early 1800s, almanacs adjusted their presentation of politics in an attempt to educate the public on issues of the day in greater depth than would have previously been accessible. Almanacs therefore provided base level understanding of political issues, that with public support had the potential to change. While the traditional calendars and almanacs were of great importance to the public, it was the additional elements of agriculture, science, and politics that ultimately informed their opinions of current issues. Essentially, almanacs served to provide the public with education in science and politics in order to gain a “general understanding of [the] common world.”²¹

While almanacs took great care to advance new ideas in Post-Revolutionary Boston, they also maintained aspects of traditional thought in order to appease readers. It was these traditional aspects that connected writers to the common reader, and taught lessons of religious importance that complemented various aspects of everyday life. Sometimes this included short stories, poetry, religious lessons, prayers, or anecdotes. While each of the prior mentioned almanacs has taken great care to illustrate Enlightenment thinking and connections to aspects of agriculture, science, and politics, they each include more traditional aspects of thought. Therefore, almanacs served to further new schools of thought as well as recognize traditional ideals in order to inform and maintain readership.

Each almanac, while emphasizing strides in Enlightenment thinking, recognizes the public’s religious roots. In the 1816 edition of *The Farmer’s Almanack* a story titled “The Good Peasant” is included, illustrating the expectations of a good countryman that will result in being rewarded by God. While this almanac made great

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid, 28.

effort in introducing scientific methods of trial and error in the home, it also ensured the inclusion of material that would educate the public on religious matters. Almanacs' compatible inclusion of both Enlightenment thinking and religious thought was difficult to accomplish, however it established an understanding of schools of thought in which religion could coexist with new modes of thinking. Further illustrated in *Thomas's* 1797 almanac, alongside the President George Washington's Farewell Address, was a copy of Old Spanish Proverbs attempting to connect the readers back to God. Almanacs served to educate the public on enlightened ideals, while continuing to advance traditional thought.²² This furthering of traditional thought, in partnership with Enlightenment thinking, helped ease tension between religious common people and strong Enlightenment thinkers.²³

Additional examples of religious teaching are found in *Parley's Almanac* printed in 1837. This particular almanac contained both pictures, figure 9, see Appendix, and short stories that helped connect with readers of all ages and provide general advice on a variety of topics such as housekeeping, food preparation, romance, and animal identification. While not necessarily religious in its intent, *Parley's Almanac* contributed to traditional ideas on practices within society, and shaped public understanding of what was and was not acceptable. Examining *Thomas's* 1799 almanac, the public is met with a considerable amount of traditional material. This included ideas regarding education and virtue, issues about alcohol's negative impacts on religious virtue, and concepts of ideal behaviors as a neighbor and as a couple. Each of these short writings, while not the main content of the almanac, helped the public connect back to their religious roots, while still furthering non-traditional Enlightenment thought.

By examining once again the *Anti-Slavery* 1841 almanac, the combination of Enlightenment and traditional thought is evident. While the author challenges political ideas regarding slavery in the United States, the incorporation of religious concepts was meant to further public support. Inclusion of articles such as "Was God the Founder of the 'Negro Seat'" and "Prayers for the Slaveholders," the public was asked to reflect on their religious values and determine the rightful course of political action. Additionally, the poetry of the Quaker Poet William Howitt was utilized to illustrate in a way that

²² Winik, "INFORMATION OF THE UNLEARNED," 163.

²³ Ibid.

was relatable and informative for the common people the issues of slavery compared to the oppression of English peasants. The *Anti-Slavery* 1841 almanac sought to discuss politics as it relates to religion and traditional thought, making it far easier for common people to understand and formulate their own opinions regarding the issues at hand.

Conclusion

Almanacs were created as a means of education and communication for people of all classes.²⁴ As is illustrated through analysis of these particular almanacs from Post-Revolutionary Boston between the late 1700s and mid 1800s, public thought was heavily manipulated by almanac publication. These almanacs were widely circulated, and therefore as Enlightenment thought began to be introduced, these new concepts were spread widely throughout the public.²⁵ Almanacs “advocated reading as a source of enlightenment,” and because people sought them out as a means of gathering knowledge on topics such as agriculture, science, and politics, the common individual was introduced gradually to ideas that may have been considered conflicting with traditional thought if they had been presented in a different manner.²⁶ As Thomas A. Horrocks illustrates in his book *Popular Print and Popular Medicine: Almanacs and Health Advice in Early America*, “By attracting a readership that included men and women, the affluent and the poor, the learned and the semi-literate, the artisan and the farmer, and the urban as well as the country resident, almanac makers, like American printers in general, were, in many ways, acting as cultural mediators.”²⁷ Almanacs established the groundwork for the adoption and coexistence of traditional and Enlightenment thinking, for without their gradual incorporation of new ideas into the public mindset, advancement and acknowledgment of new ideas may never have occurred.

²⁴ Ibid, 162.

²⁵ David D. Hall and Hugh Amory, *A History of the Book in America : Volume I: The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, vol. 1 (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press., 2007), 242.

²⁶ Jaffee, “The Village Enlightenment,” 329.

²⁷ Horrocks, *Popular Print and Popular Medicine*, 7.

Appendix

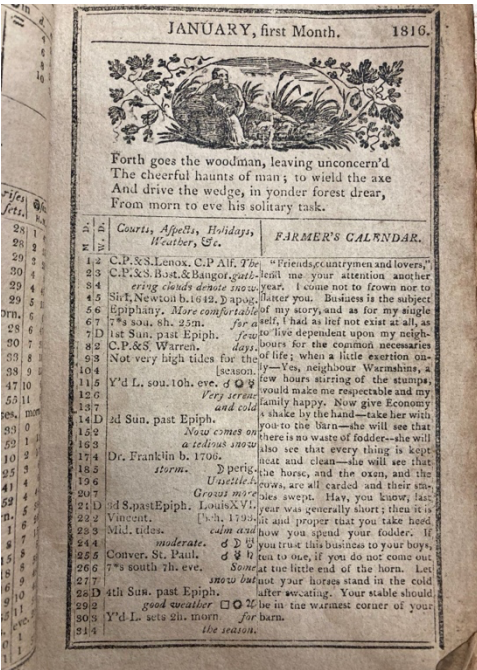


Figure 1, *The Farmer's Almanack*, 1816. Image courtesy of Rebecca Yeomans-Stephenson.



Figure 2, *The Farmer's Almanack*, 1816. Image courtesy of Rebecca Yeomans-Stephenson.

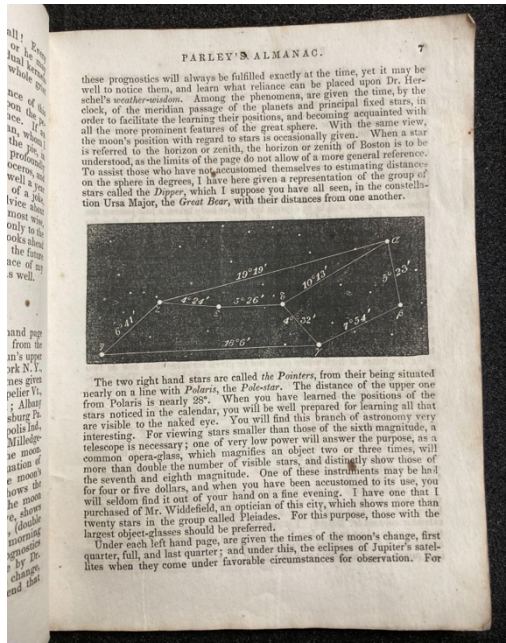


Figure 3, *Parley's Almanac*, 1837. Image courtesy of Rebecca Yeomans-Stephenson.

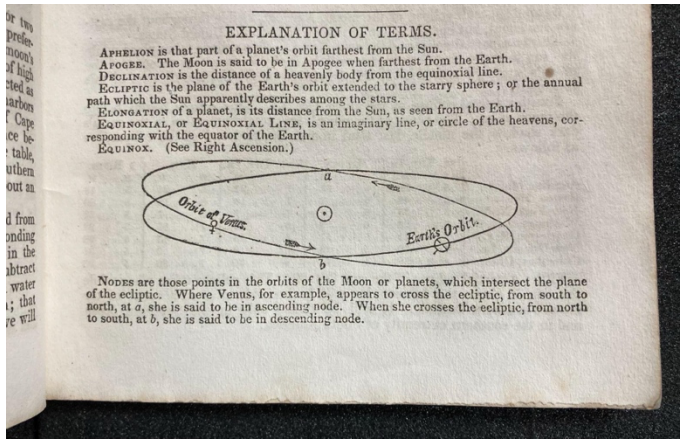


Figure 4, *Parley's Almanac*, 1837. Image courtesy of Rebecca Yeomans-Stephenson.



Figure 5, *Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack*, 1788. Image courtesy of Rebecca Yeomans-Stephenson.

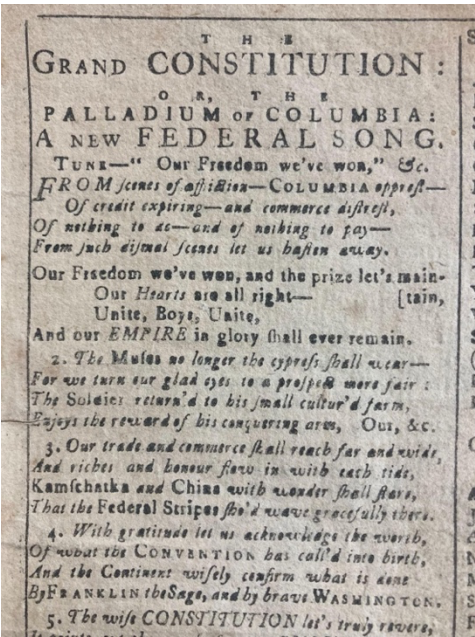


Figure 6, *Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack*, 1788. Image courtesy of Rebecca Yeomans-Stephenson.

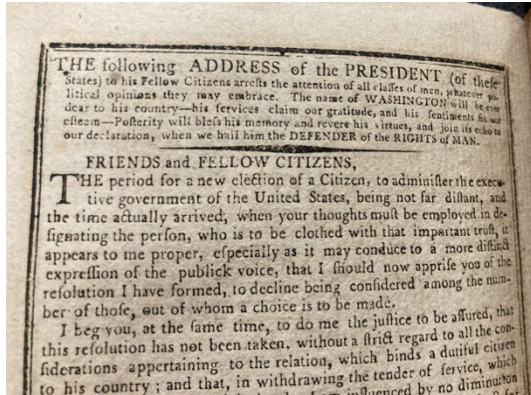


Figure 7, *Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, Newhampshire & Vermont Almanack*, 1797. Image courtesy of Rebecca Yeomans-Stephenson.

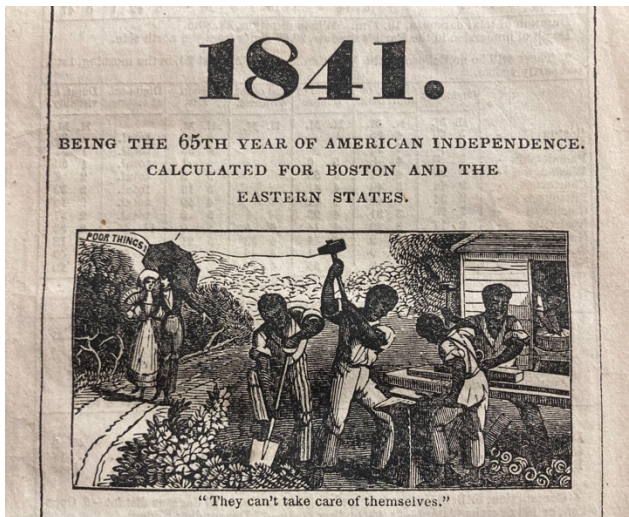


Figure 8, *The New England Anti-Slavery Almanac*, 1841. Image courtesy of Rebecca Yeomans-Stephenson.

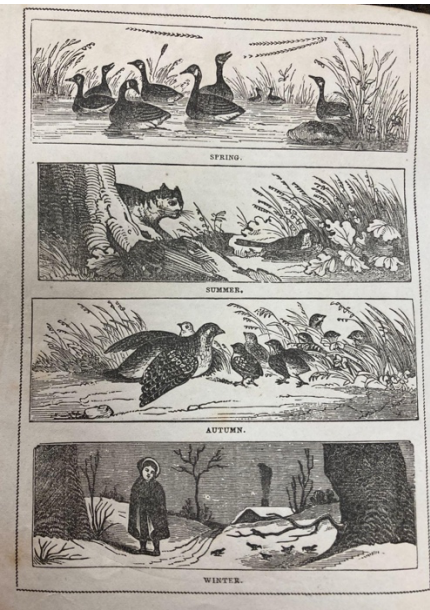


Figure 9, *Parley's Almanac*, 1837. Image courtesy of Rebecca Yeomans-Stephenson.

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Call Numbers of MSU Almanacs

The New England Anti-Slavery Almanac for 1841 printed in 1841:
E449 .N54

Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack printed in 1788: Uncatalogued

*Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, Newhampshire
& Vermont Almanack* printed in 1797: Uncatalogued

*Isaiah Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island,
Newhampshire & Vermont Almanack* printed in 1799: Uncatalogued

The Farmer's Almanack printed in 1810: Uncatalogued

The Farmer's Almanack printed in 1816: Uncatalogued

The Farmer's Almanack printed in 1821: Uncatalogued

The Farmer's Almanack printed in 1827: Uncatalogued

Parley's Almanac printed in 1837: Uncatalogued

Dr. Wistar's Free Almanac printed in 1848: Uncatalogued

Emotions of Mozartian Music & Opera in 1780s-1790s Vienna and Prague

Brandon Loy

Abstract

In the last decade of his life, Mozart moved from his home city of Salzburg to the Habsburg imperial capital of Vienna. Mozart made a name for himself in the city almost overnight due to his exceptional piano-playing skills and the hosting of several public concerts during his first years of living in Vienna. Throughout 1781 and into 1782, Mozart composed one of his first mature operas, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (*The Abduction from the Seraglio*), which made him famous not only in the eyes of the public of Vienna but also in the eyes of the Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II. Using these connections and the emperor's love for the arts and music, Mozart became a household name in Vienna by the mid-1780s. After partnering with Venetian Court poet Lorenzo da Ponte for his opera *Le Nozze di Figaro* (*The Marriage of Figaro*), he traveled to the Bohemian capital of Prague in late 1786, where the opera saw great success, and the city adopted him as one of its own, leading the way for more mature masterpieces. Mozart's music had a profound impact on the citizens of both Vienna and Prague during the last decade of Mozart's life.

Introduction

On a late winter night—a night by all accounts for those who were in Vienna at the time that was one of frigid temperatures and immense snowfall—the 11th of February 1785, Leopold Mozart and his friend Otto Heinrich von Gemmingen-Hornberg arrived from their trip across the snow-capped Austrian Alps from Salzburg to the imperial city of Vienna. It would be the first time Mozart and Leopold had seen each other in person after several years. The visit was to be a surprise. On the 11th of February, the elite of Vienna gathered in Mehlgrube Casino to hear a new work by Austria's leading virtuoso pianist, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Among those in the Viennese nobility's crowd were the composer's estranged father, Leopold Mozart, and the Holy Roman Emperor, Joseph II. In a lengthy letter written between the 14th and 16th of February 1785, Leopold wrote to Nannerl Mozart (Mozart's Sister), stating,

I...had the great pleasure of hearing so clearly all the interplay of the instruments that, for sheer delight, tears of pleasure came into my eyes. When your brother left the platform, the Emperor waved his hat and called out, “Bravo, Mozart!”³¹¹

The work to which Leopold was referring was the piano concerto no. 20 in d-minor (K466), a piece which is considered to be one of the darkest works that the composer wrote during his brief thirty-five years; it was also one of only two piano concertos he wrote in a minor key (the second work is the piano concerto no. 24 in C Minor (K491)).³¹² Mozart is

³¹¹ Cliff Eisen, and Stewart Spencer. *Mozart: A Life in Letters*. London; New York: Penguin Books, 2006. p.500.

³¹² The Köchel catalog is the chronological catalog of compositions written by Mozart. Placed in order by year. Starting at K.1 and going to K626. Named after Austrian musicologist Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, who began working on the list during the mid-19th century, it marked K1-K6; this shows what edit to the catalog the edit was added to. The main issue with the first catalog was it left no room to expand the strictly sequential numbers. For example, the K3 update done by German musicologist Alfred Einstein in 1937 has been added to

known for his happy and joyful pieces, such as the opera *Le Nozze di Figaro* (K492) and his most famous work, *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik* (A Little Night Music) (K525), which are both written in primary keys. However, some of his most passionate and influential works were written in minor keys, such as the aforementioned piano concertos or the ever-famous Requiem Mass (K626) that Mozart never finished due to dying while writing in the last decade of his life. This essay explains how Mozart influenced the music culture of Vienna and Prague and the emotions that Mozart's music got out of the first audiences who heard the works over two hundred and fifty years ago.

Mozart Before Vienna

At age 25, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was employed by Archbishop Hieronymus von Colloredo as his court composer. While in his service, Mozart wrote several of his symphonies, all five violin concertos, and several serenades. He was, however, dismissed from the position due to frequent absences. Mozart had written letters several times to his father and friends about how much he hated working for the Archbishop, the dry and lackluster music culture of the Archbishop's court and feeling trapped in Salzburg. For example, Mozart wrote in a letter to Padre Martini in 1776, "I live in a country where music leads a struggling existence."³¹³ Similarly, in a 1778 letter to Abbé Bullinger, written while Mozart was searching for a permanent position in Paris, he wrote,

the list. Works such as the K413/387a have marks that show there are multiple for that assigned number, works that are incomplete. Works listed as K297/K297b (anh,c 14.01), for example, show copies by Mozart of works that were written by other composers (Anh. A) works by Mozart that were transcribed by other composers (Anh. B) and finally works that are unlikely to be by Mozart listed as (Anh. C) with the breakdown going further with (C.1-10) being vocal works and (C.11-30) being instrumental works. K297b is a sinfonia concertante for Four Winds that Mozart wrote in 1778 in Paris, but it is now lost. K297 is Symphony no 31 in d major, nicknamed the Paris.

³¹³ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, and Robert Lewis Marshall. 1995. *Mozart Speaks: Views on Music, Musicians, and the World: Drawn from the Letters of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Other Early Accounts*. New York: Schirmer Books; London. p.110.

How I detest Salzburg—and not only on the account of the injustices which my dear father and I have endured there, which in them would be enough to make us wish to forget such a place and blot it out of our memory forever! But let us set that aside... I have far more hope in living pleasantly and happily in another place... Salzburg is no place for my talent.³¹⁴

In a series of letters written from the period of 1776-1781, Mozart further expanded upon his feelings toward his hometown, employer, and position that he grew to resent:

To tell you my real feelings, the only thing that [was] discussed [with] me about Salzburg is the impossible of mixing freely with people in the low estimation and which the musicians are held there -and- that the Archbishop has no confidence in the experience of intelligent people who have seen the world.³¹⁵ If only the **a**ss who smashes a **r**ing, and by doing so cuts himself a **h**iatu**s** in his **b**ehind so that **I** can hear him shit like a castrato with **h**orns, and with his long ear **o**ffers to caress the foxes **p**osterior were not so...³¹⁶

As the reader can detect, the bolded letters spell out “archbishop.” At Colloredo and Mozart’s last falling out, Colloredo dismissed Mozart with these words: “He should just go then; I don’t need him!”³¹⁷ Mozart, in a letter to Leopold, wrote

If they don’t want me—that’s fine by me—instead of Count Arco accepting my petition or obtaining an audience for me to send it in later or persuading me to let the matter rest and think it over, *Enfin*, whatever he wanted—no, he throws me out of the room. He gives me a kick up the backside. Well, in plain language, this means that, as far as I’m concerned, Salzburg no longer exists.³¹⁸

With that, Mozart had little reason to remain within Salzburg, so he moved east to the capital of the Holy Roman

³¹⁴ Mozart Speaks p.110

³¹⁵ Ibid., p.112

³¹⁶ Ibid., p.130

³¹⁷ Ibid., p.418

³¹⁸ Ibid., p.419

Empire, Vienna. Even in the 1780s, Vienna had a long history of influencing composers and a rich and diverse music culture that Mozart would extensively exploit. In Vienna and traveling to Prague's Bohemian capital, Mozart developed his craft and became one of the two cities' crown jewels.

Music Culture in Vienna Early 1780s and Mozart's First Years in Vienna 1781-85

In the early 1780s, at the time of Mozart's arrival, Vienna was a city alive with a flourishing cultural and artistic scene. In the realm of music, Vienna, the capital of the Habsburg Empire, saw much patronage for music and the general arts coming from the imperial court. Emperor Joseph II was nicknamed the "Musical King" due to his significant influence and patronage of the arts and music. Joseph, like other monarchs of the time, such as Frederick the Great of Brandenburg Prussia or Catherine the Great of Russia, wanted to promote Enlightenment ideals that greatly impacted musicians and artists throughout their lands. Composers and musicians sought favor from the imperial court to get financial support and opportunities to showcase their works. Empress Maria Theresia, Joseph's mother and co-ruler till 1780, had been a prominent patron of the arts during the time of her rule in the 1750 and 1760s but, after the death of her husband, Emperor Francis I, she considerably withdrew from public life, having Joseph take over affairs at court. Joseph significantly reduced the funds for the arts at this time. In the late 1770s and into the early 1780s, more funding for music at court would be granted.

Joseph II was an accomplished musician, and his tastes informed musical life in Vienna during the 1780s: he was partial to German opera and opera buffa, *Harmoniemusik* (music for wind bands), and simple, accessible church music; he disliked elaborate court music, opera seria and ballet.³¹⁹

³¹⁹ "Mozart & Material Culture." Joseph II (1741-1790), Holy Roman Emperor (1765-1790) | Mozart & Material Culture. Accessed November 7, 2023. <https://mmc.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/entities/person/joseph-ii/>.

Over the next several years, Emperor Joseph became a patron of Mozart and commissioned several operas and opera buffets. After being in Vienna for several months in early 1781, Mozart wrote two letters to Leopold, one dated 4th April 1781; “I can say with truth that I was very well pleased with the Viennese public yesterday when I played at the concert for the widows in the Kärnrethor Theater. I had to begin all over again because there was no end to the applause.”³²⁰ Mozart wrote in the second letter to Leopold dated 8th April 1781,

I told you about the applause in the theater, but I must add that what delighted and surprised me most of all was the amazing silence—and also the cries of “Bravo” while I was playing. This is certainly an honor enough in Vienna, where there are such numbers and numbers of good pianists.³²¹

The next two years, Mozart used his popularity playing the piano in several public outings to get commissions for new pieces, which paved the way for the subscription-based piano concerto concerts that came in the following years in a letter written on 12th March 1783 Mozart wrote.

My sister-in-law, Fräulein Lange, gave a concert yesterday at the theater, and I played a concerto [K175]--- The theater was full, and the local public again received me in so gratifying manner that I have every reason to feel pleased.- I’d already left, but they wouldn’t stop clapping— so I had to repeat the Rondo; [K382] there was a veritable torrent of applause.³²²

Piano Concerto No. 5 [K175] was one of Mozart’s favorite pieces. While performing in Mannheim several years before, the work was welcomed with great applause, and the updated Rondo movement was done to please the tastes of Viennese audiences. Mozart had been in Vienna for two years

³²⁰ Ibid., 92.

³²¹ Ibid., 93.

³²² K175 Concerto for piano and orchestra in D major No. 5 composed in Salzburg in 1773 when Mozart was 17. K382 was a replacement for the Allegro movement for the piano concerto no 5. The Rondo for Piano and Orchestra in D Major was composed in 1782 as a replacement for the original concerto. The rondo itself is broken into 3 parts. Ibid., 82.

and continued making a name for himself, seeing great success with his piano and chamber music, and he had seen public audiences. It also had the success of a German opera that premiered the year before, drawing significant crowds to hear and see performances. Starting in 1782, Mozart began to host public subscription concerts, which saw immense popularity with those in attendance. This series of concerts saw the composer write several Klavierkonzert (piano concerto) published and performed between 1782 and 1786; the first of these works that saw performance are K413/(387a), K414/(385p), and K415(387b).³²³ Mozart wrote to his father, Leopold, on 28th December 1782 about the success of the public performances and the mass crowds they were drawing:

There are still two concertos waiting to make up the series of subscription concertos. These concertos are a happy medium between what is too easy and too difficult; they are very brilliant, pleasing to the ear, and natural without being vapid.³²⁴

In writing these concertos, Mozart went to great lengths to challenge the pianist who played them. Some of his concertos are more difficult than others, each with a distinct a tone. Mozart's three concertos were a set of pieces performed and offered to sell for four ducats for the cost of subscription tickets. His interest in finding the public purchase of these works was to see the general balance between a work far too easy to play and one far too complex to play. The concertos became extremely popular, and Mozart, in a letter written to Leopold on 12th April 1783, detailed the concert that was performed on 30th March, for which Emperor Joseph was in attendance.

I was asked to play my first concerto [K415(387b)], which I played at the concert. I was asked to repeat the rondo. So I sat down again, but instead of repeating it, I had the conductor's rostrum removed and played alone. You should have heard how

³²³ K413 Concerto for Piano and Orchestra in F major No.11, K414 Concerto for Piano and Orchestra in A Major, No. 12 and K415 Concerto for Piano and Orchestra in C Major. No. 13.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 287.

delighted the public were with this little surprise.³²⁵

The following three concertos that were published,³²⁶ concerto K450, K451, and K453,³²⁷ were also subscription concerts in which Mozart wrote to Leopold on May 16th, 1784,

The concerto Herr [Georg Friedrich] Richter praised to her [Nannell] so warmly is the one in B-flat [K450], the first one I composed [dated 15, March 1784] and which he praised so highly to me at the time. I really cannot choose between the two of them, but I regard them both as concertos, which are bound to make the performer perspire. From the point of view of difficulty, the B-flat concerto beats the one in D [K451][dated 22, March 1784].³²⁸

This period saw several noteworthy works for piano performance, such as the Piano Concerto No. 14 in E-flat Major. [K449], piano concertos no. 15 in B-flat and no. 16 in D major.³²⁹ Within this trio of concertos, a composition Mozart considered to be one of the greatest works he had ever written, was completed in a letter written to Leopold dated 10 April 1784; Mozart wrote,

³²⁵ Ibid., 83.

³²⁶ K450 Concerto for Piano Orchestra in B-Flat Major No. 15. K451 Concerto for Piano Orchestra in D Major No.16 K453 Concerto for Piano and Orchestra in G major No.17.

³²⁷ Mozart had a pet European Starling, a bird that is known for being able to mimic sounds. The starling picked up the central melody for the rondo movement of K453, with the starling raising the ninth note of the opening few measures from a G nature to G#. The starling died in the Spring of 1787, and Mozart wrote a poem about the bird's death.

³²⁸ Ibid., 288.

³²⁹ K449 Concerto for Piano and Orchestra in E Flat major no .14 [The First Ployer] was written for one of Mozart's pupils, Barbara Ployer, the second concerto written for her was K453 Concerto for Piano and Orchestra [The Second Ployer] in G Major. No 17 Mozart called the G Major concerto a grand one. The only portrait of her is a hand-drawn picture Mozart drew of her in a copy of the manuscript of K448(375a) Sonata for two pianos in D Major. K448(375a) was written for and performed by Austrian pianist Josepha Barbara Auernhammer, K365/316a Concerto for two Pianos and Orchestra in D Major were first both performed in 1781.

I have composed two grand concertos [K450,451] and then a quintet which called forth the very greatest applause. I myself consider it to be the best work I have ever composed. It is written for one oboe, one clarinet, one horn, one bassoon, and the pianoforte. How I wish you could have heard it! And how beautiful it was performed!³³⁰

The quintet for four winds and piano in E-flat has a joyous tone that allows the listener to get extraordinarily involved and relaxed while listening to it, and it also gets excellent applause when there is a performance of the work. Mozart had become so popular on the piano that he dropped two opera projects, *L'oca del Cairo* (Cairo's Goose) [K422], and *Lo Sposo Deluso ossia La rivalità di tre donne per un solo amante* (The Deluded Bridegroom, or The Rivalry of Three Women for One Lover), [K430]. The piano subscription concertos continued until 1786, with several of the concertos being performed multiple times per week, some of which Mozart used his piano for the following three concertos that were published: K456, K459, K466, K467, followed by K482, K488 and finally K491.³³¹ The D minor piano concerto is considered one of the darkest and most moving of all of Mozart's exquisite piano concertos. Leopold added in the letter from 16th February 1785 that on the 15th, Mozart had performed that “your brother played the grand new concerto again.”³³²

Viennese music culture at this time also saw the high reaches of the classical style, with composers such as Christoph Willibald Gluck, Antonio Salieri, Marianna Martines, Maria Theresia von Paradis, and Franz Joseph Haydn, all of whom interacted with Mozart or were great friends with him. Haydn, who was a great friend of Mozart, saw Mozart compose six

³³⁰ Spaethling, Robert. 2005. *Mozart's Letters, Mozart's Life*. W. W. Norton & Company, 366-67.

³³¹ K456 Concerto for Piano and Orchestra in B-Flat Major No. 18. K459 Concerto for Piano and Orchestra in F major, No. 19. K466 Concerto for Piano and in D minor No. 20. K467 Concerto for Piano Orchestra in C major No. 21. K482 Concerto for Piano and Orchestra in E-Flat Major No. 22. K488 Concerto for Piano and Orchestra in A Major No. 23. K491 Concerto for Piano and Orchestra in C-Minor. No. 24.

³³² *Ibid.*, 500.

string quartets, nicknamed the “Haydn Quartets.”³³³ Within the same letter that details the first performances of the D Minor concerto in February 1785, Leopold had written about how Hadyn confused Leopold about his son's gift by saying,

I swear before God and as an honest man that I consider your son the greatest composer of whom I have ever heard; he has taste and possesses a thorough knowledge of the art of composition.³³⁴

Haydn, like several other composers, has innovative chamber music and symphonies. Around this time, the thriving music culture in the city saw an increase in public concerts ranging from chamber music concertos to opera. In mid-1786, the public concertos ended; in one of the final concerto concerts in December 1785, Leopold wrote to Nannerl in a letter dated 13th January 1786. “That he had composed a new piano concerto in E-flat [K482], in which (a rather unusual occurrence!) he had to repeat the Andante [second slow movement of the concerto].”³³⁵ As was detailed in the writing about [K175] and [K415(387b)], the repeating of the allegro and rondo movements for the piano concertos was quite a common occurrence for Mozart performances, and those who had heard the music had enjoyed what they had heard. Between 1781 and 1785, Mozart made a massive name for himself in Vienna, and his popularity would get more extensive and more significant with each public event he hosted.

Die Entführung aus dem Serail (The Abduction From the Serial) K384 1781

Before Mozart was let go from the Archbishop's court in mid-1781, he traveled to Munich, where he was commissioned to write the opera *Idomeneo, re di Creta* (

³³³ Haydn Quartets ranging from String Quartets No.14-No.19. No.14 K387 in G major nicknamed (Spring), No. 15 in D minor K421/417b, No. 16 in E-Flat Major K428/421b, No 17 in B-Flat Major. K458 nicknamed (The Hunt) No. 18 in A major K464 No.19 in C Major K465 nicknamed (Dissonance). Mozart based this set of quartets on six quartets: Hadyn wrote in 1782 Op.20 nicknamed (“The Sun”).

³³⁴ Ibid., 501.

³³⁵ Ibid., 84.

Idomeneo, King of Crete) (K366), which was performed in January 1781. The opera was met with great success and fanfare and is regarded as Mozart's first mature opera. The success of *Idomeneo* paved the way for the commissioning of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* at the end of 1781.³³⁶ The predecessor to the *Serail* was written in 1779 while Mozart was still in Salzburg. The opera *Zaide* (K344) is the predecessor to the *Serail*. *Zaide* was based on a famous plot line for opera to follow at the time, and this was the rescuing of enslaved Westerners, mainly from the Balkans and central Europe, from the courts of the Ottoman Empire.³³⁷

Arab pirates preyed on shipping and were a constant threat to sailors on the Mediterranean. If caught, they would be forced into slavery. *Zaide*, the main character, falls in love with Gomatz, a slave in the Sultan's court; this causes the Sultan to become enraged due to his affections for her. Gomatz, after her capture, chooses a free life with *Zaide* rather than a life of pleasure in the court of the Sultan. Allazim, an advisor to the Sultan, encourages him to view Gomatz as a man, not a slave. The surviving unfinished manuscript suggests that in the third act, *Zaide* is punished or faces execution. Like *Zaide*, *Serail* was produced with the contemporary European interest in the Turkish culture of the Habsburg enemy (i.e., the Ottoman Empire) in mind. The opera follows the hero Belmonte and his servant Pedrillo on a rescue mission to save his beloved. Konstanze and her maidservant Blonde, Pedrillo's lover, from the Pasha, Bassa Selim, the opera includes a Westernized version of Turkish music and is based loosely on a theme from a Turkish Janissary band. The opera is about certain aspects of Orientalism and depicts the Pasha harem as a place of repressed sexual libertinage. The opera cuts back on Turkish stereotypes and despotism, as the opera's climax with the Pashas saw him enacting a selfless act of forgiveness by the Pasha.

³³⁶ Mozart had written to a friend in mid 1777 about how the city had a German opera theater and how he wished Salzburg had one.

³³⁷ *Zaide* is missing an overture, and third act.

In 1778, Emperor Joseph set up a company, Nationalsingspiel (National Singspiel), that focused on the production and performance of German opera as opposed to the Italian style of opera that was extremely popular in Vienna. It was through this company that Emperor Joseph commissioned the opera *Serail*, which was to be an opera for the fatherland (Germany) composed of the best men and women singers and music. Mozart wrote to his father on 19th September 1781,

I'm composing an opera [*Die Entführung aus dem Serail*]. Those portions that I have finished have one extraordinary applause on all sides. I know this nation— and I have reason to think that my opera will be a success. It is that I shall be as popular in Vienna as a composer as I am on the kleavier.³³⁸

With other eighteenth-century themes of the Enlightenment and reformist monarchies, the call for a successful opera theater in Vienna is based on early nationalist sentiments for more German-based opera within the city. The opera caused a great deal of talk within Vienna. After it premiered at the Burgtheater on 16th July 1782, with the opera playing the main stage of a national German opera, Franz Xaver Niemetschek wrote in the first-ever bibliography of Mozart's life in 1798:

The opera [*Serail*] caused a great stir and, and the cunning Italians soon realized the *Serial* as man might be a menace to their childish tinkling. Jealousy now reared its head with the typical Italian venom: “The monarchy, who at heart was charmed by this deeply stirring music, said to Mozart nevertheless, “Too beautiful for our ears and an extraordinary number of notes” ...[Mozart replied] “Just as many, your Majesty, as are necessary.”³³⁹

³³⁸ Ibid., 123.

³³⁹ Niemetschek, Franz. 1956. *Life of Mozart*. Translated by Helen Mautner. Holly Hill London: Leonard Hyman p.32. The likelihood of this quote having actually been said has been called into question several times. As referenced in the film *Amadeus*, it is often taken as fact and seen as Joseph being unfair. Although there is much criticism that can be levied on Emperor Joseph, this is not one of them.

Italian opera held a firm grip on the public and elites of Vienna in the 1780s, with the opera seria reigning supreme. This type of opera, characterized by its dramatic and severe nature, was the epitome of Italian opera. The 1780s marked a significant period of influence for Italian opera on Viennese musical culture, with its emotional intensity, ritual, and beauty resonating with all Vienna residents. However, this era also witnessed a slow but steady rise of German opera, led by composers like Mozart and his contemporaries Georg Christoph Wagenseil and Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf. Despite their efforts, the lack of a national German opera theater was a constant source of frustration, as Mozart's letter to a friend on 5 February 1783 reveals: "Every nation has its own opera, and why not Germany?" "Is not German as singable as French and English?" "Is it not more so than Russian?" "Very well, then!"³⁴⁰

The Nationalsingspiel project, initiated in 1783, was a significant but unsuccessful attempt to establish a German opera theater in Vienna. Despite its failure, the project did produce several successful works, mostly a series of translated operas. The most notable success was *Serail*, which resonated with the general population of Vienna. However, the popularity of the Italian opera buffa proved a formidable obstacle for the project, leading to its closure in 1783. It was reopened in 1785, but the struggle to compete with Italian opera continued, leading to its final closure in 1787. Nevertheless, *Serail* allowed Mozart to make a name for himself in Vienna, becoming one of his greatest successes.

Opera in Vienna and Prague and *Le Nozze di Figaro*.

In the last five years, Mozart wrote several of his most famous operas, symphonies, and chamber works. 1786 saw the first of three masterclass collaborations in Vienna and Prague; Mozart had met with Venetian court poet and opera librettist Lorenzo Da Ponte. This team would work together on three of Mozart's most significant operas. *Le Nozze di Figaro* (K492) debuted in 1786 at the Burgtheater in Vienna; the next was *Don Giovanni* (K527), debuting in 1787 at the Estates Theatre in Prague, and finally, *Così fan tutte* / *Ossia La Scuola degli*

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 123.

Amanti, (*Women Are Like That, or The School for Lovers*), (K588) debuting in the in 1790 at the Burgtheater in Vienna. These three operas would be in fan favor. At their first meeting in 1783, Da Ponte and Mozart were not the biggest fans of each other. Mozart had approached Da Ponte after Serail's success, hoping to work with him. This chance would come again three years after the successful but banned play *The Marriage of Figaro* circulated in Europe. The play *Figaro* was based on a trilogy of plays by Pierre Beaumarchais, the second of which was *The Barber of Seville*, which had been turned into an opera by Giovanni Paisiello in 1782; this is not to be confused with Gioachino Rossini's version of the opera with the same name that came out some 30 years later. Beaumarchais' *Figaro* was banned by Emperor Joseph due to the theme of class consciousness and status that it covered.

The piece was objectionable and controversial. The Austrian censor had initially forbidden the play's production, but after some convincing, Da Ponte convinced Emperor Joseph to approve an opera version of *Figaro* in Vienna. After premiering at the Burgtheater on 1 May 1786, the opera only saw a meager nine performances in the city. The opera's opening night saw mixed results, with the audience meeting it with applause on the first night. A review from a local newspaper, *Wiener Real Zeitung*, from 11 July 1786, showed the public was unsure how to react on the first night. It was reported that many bravos were heard from the audience. The opera got mixed coverage in Italian journals and reviews. According to *Bayreuther Zeitung*, on 16 May 1786, two weeks after the premiere, the connoisseurs deemed improvements necessary and quickly executed by Mozart, which saw several acts cut due to the opera's length. Several months later, the opera was moved to the Bohemian capital of Prague, opening at the Estates Theater on 12 January 1787, a smashing success within the city. Mozart wrote to his friend Baron Gottfried von Jacquin on 15 January 1787, "Here nothing is spoken of but "*Figaro*." Nothing played, blew, sung, or whistled but "*Figaro*" and forever "*Figaro*." Certainly, a great honor for me.³⁴¹ In Bohemia, as in all other European places, Mozart's

³⁴¹ Keefe, Simon P. 2018. *Mozart in Vienna: The Final Decade*. Cambridge, United Kingdom New York: Cambridge University Press, 369.

works were recognized and appreciated. With *Figaro's*, tunes echoed through the streets and the parks; even the harpist on the alehouse bench had to play "*Non-piu andria*" if he wanted to be heard."³⁴² While the opera saw some success in Vienna, the success of the opera *Figaro* started Mozart's love relationship with the city of Prague. Prague took Mozart in as their own, unlike his home city of Salzburg, which took several decades after his death to recognize him as one of their own. In Prague, the audience adored and appreciated Mozart and his works as they saw the brilliance and craft of the work presented to them.

Don Giovanni and Prague 1787

Mozart returned to Prague in February 1787, where discussions of a new operatic project were in the air. Throughout the Spring and Summer of 1787, Mozart and Da Ponte composed Mozart's darkest opera. Da Ponte chose to base the opera on the legend of Don Juan. The story of Don Juan had at that point been a Spanish legend that dated back centuries, about a man from Spain seducing as many women as he could. The 17th century playwright Tirso de Molina in his 1630 play *El burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra*. (The Trickster of Seville and the Stone Guest). Mozart's adaptation of the story of Don Juan to opera would be the eighth time the story had been set to music. At the opera's end, the Commadore tells Don Giovanni to change and repent for his sins, or he will go to hell. When Don Giovanni refuses, the Commadore sends him to hell. The opera debuted at the Estates Theater (Stavovské divadlo) on 29 October 1787, a date the Bohemian people eagerly awaited. The choice of Prague as the premiere venue was not by accident but a strategic decision that became a crucial factor in the opera's success. The anticipation and excitement of the Bohemian people, who held a special place in their hearts for Mozart, added to the event's historical significance. In a typical Mozart fashion, he had procrastinated until the night before the opera premiered to write the overture, a testament to his genius and the challenges he faced during the premiere. This was after several days of

³⁴² Ibid., 35.

delays due to problems at the Estates Theatre and sick cast members. Even after several days of waiting, Mozart wrote to his friend Baron Gottfried von Jacquin on 4 November 1787,

My opera *Don Giovanni* had its first performance on October 29th and was received with the greatest applause. It was performed yesterday for the fourth time... Perhaps my opera will be performed in Vienna after all! I hope so.³⁴³

Mozart had created "the favorite opera of the elite of Prague," a work that filled the Bohemians with pride and honor.³⁴⁴ The joy and pride of the Bohemians when the opera was performed in their city was palpable, creating a sense of mass joy and happiness in the town. While *Don Giovanni* was a smashing hit in Prague when the opera took the stage in Vienna later that year and into early 1788, several changes were made to the opera, a testament to its evolving popularity and influence. The opera and some of its parts have been completely changed or rewritten. In his memoirs, Da Ponte wrote about the opera's failure when it first came to Vienna.

[In Vienna] Don Giovanni did not please! And what did the emperor say? He said: That opera is divine; I should even venture that it is more beautiful than *Figaro*. But such music is not meant for the teeth of Vienna!" I reported the remarks and Mozart, who replied quietly: "Give them time to chew on it". He was not mistaken. On his advice, I strove to procure frequent repetitions of the opera: at each performance, the applause increased, and little by little, even Vienna of the dull teeth came to enjoy its savior and appreciate its beauties and place *Don Giovanni* among the most beautiful operas ever performed on stage.³⁴⁵

While not as popular in his home city, his operas would grow in the hearts and minds of people living within and outside the Habsburg Empire. Mozart had solidified himself in both cities with legendary works of music and unforgettable operas.

³⁴³ Ibid., 269.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 38.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., 123-24.

Emotionology

Throughout his life, regardless of where he was in Europe, Mozart gathered crowds of people to hear his music. During the grand tour of Europe in 1762, the Mozarts were invited to the court of Empress Maria Theresa at Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna. While there, a six-year-old Mozart almost fell on the polished floor but Marie Antoinette caught him; the young Mozart then kissed her and said, "I'll marry you someday."³⁴⁶ The two never met again. Years later, when Marie Antoinette was queen of France, she reportedly yelled at her musicians for not performing any Mozart at a party. While not remembering their encounter several decades earlier, the influence Mozart had over the European continent and colonial America was known. Thomas Jefferson became a fan of his music after coming across it in Paris in mid-1775. Even in his early years, Mozart and his music were well known and had lasting reactions from audiences; a mass mix of emotions was gathered from his music. Whether that be the mass waves of applause that were given for his music to tears of other joy and delight as mentioned in Leopold's letter to Nannerl regarding [K466], or the dark, mysterious, and melancholy tones of later works written for the glass harmonica K356/K617a.³⁴⁷ In 1791, Mozart composed the piece for blind virtuoso Marianne Kirchgessner, which she had performed at the Burgtheater on 10 June 1791 and second at the Kärntnertheater on 19 August, where:

The Mozart quintet for the piece was first played. The glass harmonica was lauded for its sound quality: 'heavenly and pure,' with 'soft tones' and 'fantastic chimera' and exquisitely refined... when touched with delicacy and skill. Moreover, 'this instrument... exceeds all other musical instruments in melodious sound. Indescribable feelings that it excites attacks so violently the nerves of listeners and even more the players that tender and sensitive people are unable to endure it for long.'³⁴⁸

³⁴⁶ Timms, "When Mozart Met Marie Antoinette?" Royal Central.

³⁴⁷ K356 is an Adagio for Glass Harmonica in C Major while K617a is a Adagio and Rondo for Glass Harmonica, Flute, Oboe Viola, and Cello in C-Minor.

³⁴⁸ Mozart in Vienna: The Final Decade.p.567.

Kirchgeßner, in her treatment of the instrument, covered several emotions from the 19 August advertisement for the concert, writing "that the glass harmonica [excites] not melancholy and sad, but happier, gentler and higher feelings."³⁴⁹ She described Mozart's work as 'entirely new and extremely beautiful.'³⁵⁰ It was a personal favorite work of hers, performed several times till her death in 1808. Mozart's music drew an emotional reaction from people. Adding factors of themes/events the music was written/performed for, what major or minor keys the music was written in, and what the scoring and instrumentation were for the piece, along with a long list of several factors, determined audience reaction. The idea of emotionology presented by Stearns & Stearns helps show how emotions and audience reactions to Mozart's music in Vienna and Prague during the mid-1780s and the 1790s. The ideas of emotionology focus on "the attitude and standards that society, or a definable group within a society, maintains basic emotions and expression."³⁵¹

After leaving Salzburg, Mozart was self-employed and worked as a freelance composer in Vienna and Prague. This was done in the hopes of getting a permanent position at the court of Joseph II as a court composer, a venture he briefly succeeded in. While in Vienna, Mozart struggled with finances, and things did not look good after the death of Emperor Joseph in 1790, who, unlike his brother Leopold II, was a big supporter of Mozart and art. Things improved in April 1791, mere months before Mozart's death, when he was given tremendous news: the 61-year-old Kapellmeister Leopold Hoffman, who had held the role of top Kapellmeister at Saint Stephen Church in Vienna, was extremely ill, and Mozart was offered an unpaid position to help fill in for the job. With Hoffman stepping down due to health issues, Mozart would have gotten the job as lead Kapellmeister for Saint Stephens. This would have significantly changed Mozart's finances and led to a permanent position. The music he composed left a lasting impact on those who heard it.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 567.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., 567-68.

³⁵¹ Stearns and Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards."

Compared to his contemporaries in Vienna and Prague at the time, such as Gluck, Salieri, and others, there is a noticeable difference in style, depth, and emotion drawn from Mozart's music.

These differences will show you how profoundly different his music was. While very popular then, Mozart's music was criticized as it contained too many melodies, was significantly and unnecessarily complicated, and contained too many harmonies and a wide range of other criticisms. His later operas dealt with what was seen as extreme material and were offensive primarily to members of the court and aristocracy. The most prominent example is the reactions following *Le Nozze di Figaro*, a work of Enlightenment-era literature that heavily criticizes the aristocracy. After *Figaro*, his operas were still performed in Vienna but did nowhere near as well as in Prague. While in Prague, Mozart gave a piano recital at the Estates theater, which was so full of unanimous enthusiasm that patrons were awoken by his heavenly playing.

We did not, in fact, know what to admire, whether the extraordinary compositions or his extraordinary playing; together, they made such an overwhelming impression on us that we felt we had been bewitched. When Mozart finished the concert, he continued improvising alone on the piano for a half hour. we were beside ourselves joy and gave vent to overwrought feelings in enthusiastic applause.³⁵²

Stearns & Stearns add that changes in emotional standards can reveal many other aspects of social change and may even contribute to such changes.³⁵³ Mozart, using the changing music style in Vienna, created his revolutionary style. Using Enlightenment-era themes, Mozart forever changed the world of music and paved the way for the deep emotions and style found in the works of Beethoven and Schubert, composers of the next era of classical music: Romanticism.

³⁵² Niemetschek, *Life of Mozart*, 36.

³⁵³ Stearns and Stearns, "Emotionology," 813.

Conclusion

In the early 1790s, after the success of *Così fan tutte* and *Die Zauberflöte* [The Magic Flute] [K620] were both hits in both Vienna and Prague, *Die Zauberflöte* was performed outside of the royal opera house and was an opera meant for the general public, and it was so popular that it was performed every night for weeks. Mozart's last opera, "*La Clemenza di Tito* (*The Clemency of Titus*) [K621], opened in Prague on 6 September 1791, written for the coronation of Emperor Leopold II as king of Bohemia. The citizens of Prague, their enthusiastic selves or the opening of this opera, before his death, Mozart left the world with two more gifts: the legendary clarinet concerto and the unfinished Requiem mass. Mozart would die less than three months later, on the 5th of December 1791. Using the letter of Mozart and those around him, this essay sought to explain the emotions that Mozart's music brought to the audiences that first heard his music over two hundred and fifty years ago. The author of this essay has had a deep connection to the instrumental works and opera of Mozart for the vast majority of his life. Some of his earliest memories of his music are him falling asleep to the Adagio movement of K622, a concerto for clarinet and orchestra in A major, and returning to the concerto Leopold called grand [K466]. It is a concerto to which the author of this paper has a deep emotional connection due to past struggles in his life. The concerto draws on emotions of impact, fiery passion, nostalgia, mortality, and other layered emotions that can be drawn from this piece of music. "In 1806, a writer for the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* contrasted a certain Mr. Stein's fiery performance of the D Minor piano concerto K466 with Mozart's performance: Mozart himself delivered this concerto with more seriousness and imposing dignity. With him, the profound, rich spirit of the composition was more notable; with Stein, more the brilliant execution of the virtuoso."³⁵⁴ As the examples I have highlighted in this paper reveal, the music of Mozart has significantly impacted the lives of millions with its emotions and raw creativity.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 369.

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