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Assertions of Monastic Identity and Power in the Cloister and Nave of St. Gall

John D. Treat

In *Purity and Danger*, anthropologist Mary Douglas famously defined dirt as “matter out of place,” meaning that one person or object could contaminate another should they enter into contact outside of appropriate cultural context.¹ For monks of the ninth century, laity within the monastic enclosure constituted just such matter out of place. As monasteries of the Carolingian world became increasingly important economic, educational, and pilgrimage centers, what the Rule of St. Benedict had called “a school for the Lord’s service” found itself in uncomfortable proximity to the world. Laymen of the period were, to be sure, coreligionists, but represented an ever-present danger of pollution as the Rule made clear in its elaborate proscriptions for monks leaving and reentering the enclosure.² The Carolingian monastery lived in an unresolved tension between the purity of separation from the world and the benefits to be gained from secular engagement.

To confront this dilemma, the parts of the monastery received new layers of symbolic meaning, opening some spaces to lay penetration while shielding others more securely. Here I will examine the monastic cloister and the nave of the abbey church as instances of these two ten-

¹ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Psychology Press, 2003), 41.

² See Prologue and Chapter 67, Saint Benedict, *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes*, ed. and trans. Timothy Fry (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1981), 288–9.

dencies. In the words of French sociologist Henri Lefebvre, two pieces of what had been vernacular spatial practice became propagandistic representational spaces formed by ever more codified liturgical gestures and localized symbol systems, and finally entered the dialectic of lived space in which monastics and the different classes of the laity and secular clergy contested their power roles.³

Using the plan of the Abbey of St. Gall (ca. 830), various commentaries upon the plan, and the liturgical texts of the period used by the monks, I propose that in the Carolingian era, the nave, formerly a much less status differentiated place in the church declined in status while the cloister, originally a functional secular space rose to a status arguably higher than that of the church itself. The cloister increasingly became a masculine fortress and foretaste of heaven for the elect while the nave became a feminized containment zone for the weakness of the laity as monks sought to clarify both the spaces and hierarchical relationship of the lay and clerical spheres.

Art historian Paul Meyvaert saw cloisters as idyllic spaces for contemplation interspersed with the rhythms of daily life.⁴ Carolingian historian Richard Sullivan, surveying the idealized plan of the Abbey of St. Gall, saw a synthesis of the spirit of the desert and the demands and opportunities of the wider society. Sullivan saw the plan as “a pioneering statement ... addressing the relationship between the cloister and the world,” recognizing the desire for separation represented by the cloister, but failing to recognize both the depth of monastic anxiety contained in this transition and also the hierarchical judgment represented by the plan.⁵ While monks from the time of the desert fathers and mothers had always interacted with the larger society, that interaction had previously been rooted in the periphery with the monk and monastery placing themselves at the edge of the desert. In the Carolingian era, the monastery sought to maintain its claim to apartness by now asserting that it stood between heaven and earth with the monastic community claiming the right to mediate between the society and God and the saints. The old horizontal axis of distance became a vertical axis of sanctity. To create this Jacob’s Ladder, where heaven touched

³ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 32–33, 38–39.

⁴ Paul Meyvaert, “The Medieval Monastic Claustrom,” *Gesta* 12, nos. 1/2 (1973): 58.

⁵ Richard Sullivan, “What Was Carolingian Monasticism? The Plan of St. Gall and the History of Monasticism,” in *After Rome’s Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 283.

earth with monks ascending and descending between, Benedictines reshaped existing architectural forms.⁶

Henri Lefebvre might have characterized these new spaces and the tensions they represent as artifacts of a battle between central and peripheral spaces. In Lefebvre's taxonomy, the cloister, as the locus of monastic identity and power claims, is a central space which "organises what is around it, arranging and hierarchising the peripheries," while the nave is a peripheral space for the dominated.⁷ The center/periphery dichotomy neatly encapsulates monastic anxiety about pollution and status. For Lefebvre, the "centre attracts those elements which constitute it...but which soon saturate it... It excludes those elements which it dominates (the 'governed', 'subjects' and 'objects') but which threaten it."⁸ The periphery remains a dangerous, active part in the dialectic which may overwhelm the center.⁹ In contrast to the first monastic communities, which had critiqued society from the periphery of the desert, Carolingian monks made a bid to define themselves at the social center.

The origins of the cloister are obscure. Some have seen it as rising from the courtyard of the late Roman villa, while others have seen parallels in the construction of Roman forts. The villa gives us the example of an arcaded interior space. The fort evokes a foursquare space with controlled points of entry. Both types of structures provided shelter to early monasteries and, as monks adapted these existing structures to their purposes, they no doubt brought the villa into dialogue with the fort, synthesizing the two to meet practical needs as community life evolved and adapted itself to various locales.¹⁰ The first "fully-developed" cloisters do not appear until the early ninth century at the

⁶ Saint Benedict, *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict*, Chapter 7, 193 uses the image of Jacob's ladder in just this way. The image of the monastic ladder was further popularized in the 12th century by Guigo II of the Grande Chartreuse in "The Ladder of Monks."

⁷ Henri Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism: Reproduction of the Relations of Production* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1976), 17.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁹ In his discussion of the periphery and the center, Lefebvre is speaking of capitalist societies, but says that this relationship is a product "of the previous struggles of classes and peoples," so it seems fair to apply it to social relationships in the Carolingian era. *ibid.*, 17.

¹⁰ This historical overview of the cloister's antecedents is drawn from Charles McClendon, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe, A.D. 600-900* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 150-52.

abbeys of Reichenau and Lorsch, and even here, it is uncertain how they were used.¹¹ Lefebvre would say that even contemporary planners “cannot produce a space with a perfectly clear understanding of cause, effect, motive, and implication.”¹²

However the spatial practice of linking principal buildings with covered arcades took shape as a monastic form, the text of the sixth-century Rule of St. Benedict provided material with which to construct layers of meaning to contextualize the space for the complex interaction of the lay and clerical spheres in the ninth century. The Rule is an anonymous document that had existed for more than 200 years as one rule among many in the West until being decreed the official rule for monasteries by the Carolingians.¹³ The language of the Rule balances the tensions between the ideal of monastic humility and withdrawal with the idea of monks as an elite fighting force, as seen in the prologue’s image of the monk armed, “armed with the strong and noble weapons of obedience to do battle for the true King, Christ the Lord.”¹⁴ However the author of the Rule had intended for this martial language to be heard, in the Carolingian era, this sense of the monks as an elite, disciplined force in a lax world would find particular resonance. The monastery would become a camp for spiritual warriors who battled flesh and the devil and the cloister would represent both the heart of their earthly encampment and also a realized piece of the kingdom for which they fought, as when the monk who has ascended the 12th step of humility is cleansed of sin and lives in “love for Christ, good habit and delight in virtue.”¹⁵ These two forceful images are balanced by the fact that the cloister was also a fortress under siege, central and yet vulnerable to the periphery as more and more parts of the monastery were invaded by growing lay traffic.¹⁶ This sense of siege and of an inner sanctum for the elite also speaks to internal tensions and fears. The cloister was a

¹¹ McClendon, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture*, 152.

¹² Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 37.

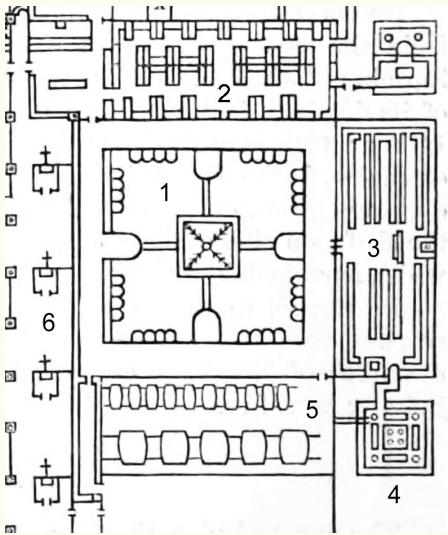
¹³ Saint Benedict, *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict*, 73–9, 121–4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, see Chapter 7, 191–203 and the opening of the Prologue, 156–7.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Chapter 7, IX, 203.

¹⁶ For a complete description of the buildings surrounding the cloister, see Walter W. Horn and Ernest Born, *The Plan of St. Gall: A Study of the Architecture & Economy of & Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979), I, 241 (accessed September 29, 2012, http://www.stgallplan.org/horn_born/index.htm).

space for monks in their prime, with boys, novices, and the infirm occupying their own spaces. This new emphasis on the martial aspects of the Rule should be read as much as a counterstrategy for anxiety as of growing confidence. One sees this conundrum in the layout of the cloister. In Figure 1 of the Cloister of St. Gall, the dormitory, refectory, stores and all of the basics of the monks' life are contracted around this space with entrances only from the narrow parlor at the lodge of the master of the hospice and from the church's chapel of St. Andrew, which lay out of bounds for the laity.¹⁷



1. Cloister.
2. Warming room and dormitory.
3. Refectory and vestiary.
4. Kitchen.
5. Cellar and larder.
6. South aisle of the church.

Figure 1: The cloister of the Abbey of St. Gall, after James Fergusson's *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture*, 1859.¹⁸

If the cloister was a redoubt in a period of encroachment, it was also a foretaste of paradise. About the year 1000, St. Romuald would advise his followers to "Sit in the cell as in paradise. ... place yourself in the presence of God ... like someone who stands in the sight of the emperor."¹⁹ The cloister becomes the place par excellence of *otium*, holy

¹⁷ *ibid.* For a diagram showing restrictions on the flow of of lay movement in the Church, see *ibid.*, I, 130.

¹⁸ James Fergusson, *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture: Being a Concise and Popular Account of the Different Styles of Architecture Prevailing in All Ages and All Countries*, 2nd ed. (London: J. Murray, 1859).

¹⁹ Romuald is quoting an older desert tradition, but his quote shows the transmission of the idea to the West; Camaldolese Hermits of MonteCorona, "St. Ro-

leisure that opens the self to the contemplation of God in reading and mental prayer and the opposite of *negotium*, business and busyness, no doubt a growing anxiety represented by the monastery's growing economic complexity.²⁰ With the low parapets between its columns separating the garth from the space under the arcades, the strolling monk looked not merely upon a relic or even the consecrated Host, but into heaven itself in the central garden.²¹ In the paths that often intersected in its center at a fountain or well, he saw the rivers dividing the heavenly city of Revelation 21:2. In the case of St. Gall, where the plan specifies a Savin tree, a medicinal evergreen, in the center of the courtyard, we return to the New Jerusalem of Revelation 22:2 where, beside the rivers, "stood the tree of life ... And the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations."²² In the cloister's 100 by 102 foot perimeter, one sees the same vision's "city foursquare" echoing both the early Christian image and the Roman idea of *quadrari*, meaning both four-squareness and uprightness.²³

In one of his most beautiful passages, Lefebvre himself comments on the cloister as a "gestural space [that] has succeeded in mooring a mental space ... to earth."²⁴ To examine a particular instance of Lefebvre's insight that the cloister "connects a finite and determinate locality ... to a theology of the infinite,"²⁵ one need only look at how the Carolingian cloister becomes a place of enactment through liturgical procession. In festal processions, the monks walking in formation around the cloister act out their realized eschatology, imitating the heavenly host in the praise of God. In penitential processions, they draw on martial imagery, fighting back the devil and his disorder in the chanting of the litanies. Processions to the altars in the abbey church revolved

muald's Brief Rule," accessed October 3, 2012, <http://www.camaldolese.org/pages.php?pageid=4>.

²⁰ The concepts of "otium" and "negotium" can be traced at least as far as the writings of Cicero, but are transformed via ascetic practice into the active and contemplative life.

²¹ Description of garth and parapet from Horn and Born, *The Plan of St. Gall*, I, 248–9.

²² *Ibid.*, I, 246–8.

²³ Concept of *quadrari* from Lynda Coon, *Dark Age Bodies: Gender and Monastic Practice in the Early Medieval West* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 216–46; Cloister measurements from Horn and Born, *The Plan of St. Gall*, I, 246.

²⁴ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 217.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

around paying honor to the saints, whose altars were stational stops. The church processions might be thought of as mere social calls when compared to the claustral processions in which the monks acted out both the warrior band and heaven, two images dear to the monastic heart.²⁶ The anthropologist Victor Turner might well call the cloister an example of liminal space, where the specially prepared initiate is removed from the normal bounds of culture and time and enters into *communitas* with his fellow initiates under the supervision of a master.²⁷

Contemporary cosmology and humor theory come into play in the dialectic creating this complex representation of space. The screened off monk's choir of the church is a hot and dry masculine space for the fire of the church's principal lights and the air of sacred speech, while the cloister, walled off from even the gaze of the laity, is open to the sun and wind. The nave is a cold and wet feminine space, housing women saints, murdered infants of ambiguous soteriological status, and the watery font with its perils and attendant anxieties.²⁸ Above all, the nave is a place of silence unless a voice descends from a more privileged area to speak on behalf of those who present themselves there.

In earlier Christian basilicas, an apse held the altar, the bishop's throne and possibly semicircular benches for the presbyters with the hall of the nave for the community. In the newly conceived monastic church, the monk's choir interposes itself between altar and nave, arguably becoming the new nave of the monastic community while the nave of the laity is screened away from the sacred action. The features of the nave in the Plan of St. Gall show it to be an ambiguous space, fraught with peril for the monastic community, a textbook example of the dangerous periphery.

In a monastic church, the font is a sign of contradiction. In what should be garrison of those who have given themselves to the celibate life, the font's very association with the baptism of infants can be read as a symbol of the unregenerate in the midst of the monastery. Unlike a

²⁶ Processions of the Blessed Sacrament, the processional *ne plus ultra*, were a much later development.

²⁷ Victor Turner, "Liminality and *Communitas*," in *A Reader in the Anthropology of Religion* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 326–39.

²⁸ For a succinct overview of the mapping of humor theory onto male and female bodies from Aristotle to Isidore of Seville, see Thomas W. Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 34–41.

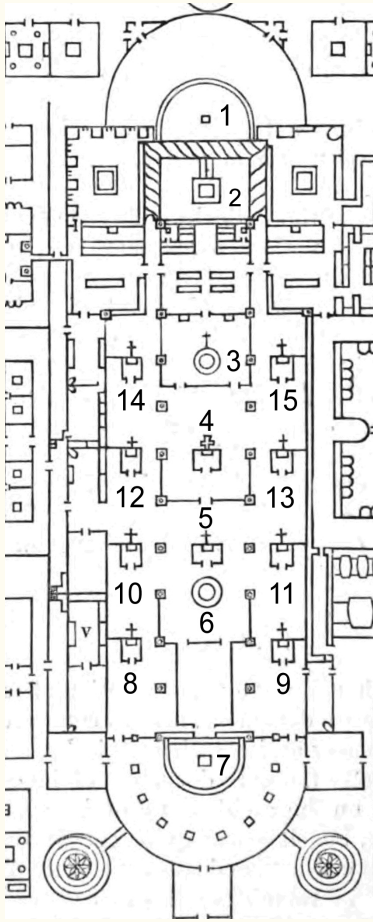
cloister well or fountain, evoking the waters that flow beside the throne of God, the prayers associated with the font evoke images of the primordial chaos of the waters of creation, the flood, the womb, and lurking devils.²⁹ In the plan of St. Gall, the font sits outside of the holy places just as the bronze laver for the purification of the priests did in the Hebrew temple. By being a place where one is made pure, it signals that it sits in a place that is open to those who are impure.

The Gregorian Sacramentary (ca. 785) gives us important clues to these assumptions in its contrast of the blessing of the new fire and paschal candle and the blessing of the font in the Easter Vigil. Though the new fire is aspersed and censed, it is essentially welcomed and has its virtues extolled in the presbytery. The font, on the other hand, is treated much more elaborately in the ceremony known as the *fructificatio*, the making fruitful. In the blessing of the font, the paschal candle, with its imagery of the purity and industry of bees, is brought down from the presbytery. The celebrant exorcises the font by blowing on it four times as he chants an anaphora recalling how God has controlled and used the chaos and death of water, then thrusts the bottom end of the candle three times into the font. If the explicit sexual and fertility language and gestures of the rite touched on a key monastic anxiety, they also assured those present of the superiority of the male over the female, with the fire from the penetrations of the candle and the air in the insufflations of the priest each doing its work to subdue and transform the cold and the wet, the feminine and unregenerate, which would in turn wash away the original sin of children produced by lay concupiscence and cleanse the laity aspersed with it.³⁰

The altars of the nave, shown in Figure 2, also speak to its low status. At the westernmost and least honorable positions we find on the north side the altar of Ss. Lucy and Cecilia and, on the south side, Ss. Agatha and Agnes, the only altars in the church dedicated to women, other than that of the Virgin. These lesser virgins are placed as far as possible from the monks' choir. The opinion given them in the liturgy of the period is seen in the Gregorian Sacramentary's collect for the Mass of Virgins, which says, "O God in your miraculous power, you unite even

²⁹ Biblioteca apostolica vaticana. MS. (Reg. Lat. 337), *The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great*, trans. Henry A. Wilson (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1915), 56.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 56–7.



1. Altar of St. Paul
2. Altar of Ss. Mary and Gall
3. Ambo.
4. Altar of the Cross.
5. Altar of the Holy Innocents.
6. Font.
7. Altar of St. Peter.
8. Altar of Ss. Lucy and Cecilia.
9. Altar of Ss. Agatha and Agnes.
10. Altar of St. John.
11. Altar of St. Sebastian.
12. Altar of St. Martin.
13. Altar of St. Mauritius.
14. Altar of St. Stephen.
15. Altar of St. Laurence.

Figure 2: The church of the Abbey of St. Gall, after James Fergusson's *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture*.

the fragile sex with the victory of martyrdom.”³¹ This stands in sharp contrast with the four altars at the easternmost portion of the nave, where we find altars dedicated to St. Martin on the north and St. Maurice on the south. Both of these are high status men who, though proven warriors, laid down their arms to battle for Christ. While these were certainly two popular saints, the position of their altars may be read not only as an indication of their superior status to that of the “fragile” virgins, but also as their forming a bulwark to protect the purity of the

³¹ *Ibid.*, 182.

monks, their metaphorical comrades who “fight under a rule.”³² Further east, at the entrance to the choir, we find the altars of Stephen and Lawrence, deacons who watched over the needs of the laity forming a final barrier. Only beyond this point do we find the altars of apostles and, tellingly, monks.

The placement of the Altar of the Holy Innocents in the center of the nave is a similarly ambivalent sign. While they came in plentiful supply, the Holy Innocents of Bethlehem were a troubling conundrum for the church in that their blood was shed during Herod’s hunt for the Christ child, but they were not baptized Christians or strictly martyrs, since they had not freely accepted death for the faith, thus complicating any attempt to claim for them baptism by blood. Like the laity, they exemplified an indeterminate and intermediate state.

The Altar of the Savior at the Cross, placed two-thirds of the way into the nave, gives its own clues. The same altar was placed in this location in abbeys of Centula, Fulda, and Corvey, so clearly this placement held some particular resonance.³³ Rather than being seen as giving the laity access to a particularly privileged altar, the location of the Altar of the Cross should be seen as a powerful boundary marker between the laity (and secular clergy for that matter) and the monks. Mary Rambaran-Olm has pointed out that the Anglo-Saxon poem, “The Dream of the Rood,” portrays both Christ and the cross as warriors in combat against evil.³⁴ Seen in this light, the Savior and the cross are warriors interposing themselves between nave and choir. Liturgically, this message is revealed in the *Improperia* at the veneration of the cross on Good Friday, when the cantor would sing “O my people, what have I done to you? ... With great strength I raised you up and you have hung me on the gibbet of the cross.”³⁵ The nave is a battleground where Christ yet contends for supremacy among the faithless, while beyond in the choir and cloister, the strife is past. The plan itself lends further evidence to this interpretation with its caption of “Altar of the Holy Saviour at the Cross/Pious Cross: Life, Health, and Redemption of the wretched

³² Saint Benedict, *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict*, Chapter 1, 168–9.

³³ Horn and Born, *The Plan of St. Gall*, I, 136.

³⁴ Mary Rambaran-Olm, “Major Theme,” *The Dream of the Rood: An Electronic Edition*, accessed September 29, 2012, http://www.dreamofrood.co.uk/frame_start.htm. Lines 33–41 of the poem provide a sample of this language.

³⁵ Prosper Guéranger, *The Liturgical Year: Passiontide and Holy Week* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1870), 490–2.

world.”³⁶ The very schematics of the plan reinforce the cross as boundary between secular chaos and monastic sanctity in that the cross rises ten feet above the altar with a span of 7.5 feet.³⁷ Later eras would use screen surmounted by a cross to divide the choir from the nave; here the rood itself serves as screen.

Finally, watching over the nave, we have the ambo, a tower within the church raised on its parapet, where the abbot or preacher could both survey and instruct the laity. The ambo thrusts itself into the nave, staking a claim to the space, but its wall makes it a part of the choir. The two lecterns within the same enclosure would have been used at the monks’ night office and, possibly, for the gospel at solemn Masses at the high altar with the readers facing away from the nave.³⁸ These two places for speaking had nothing to say to laics beyond what they might overhear, while the ambo provided them with a voice from a higher realm with its mass and height representing not only the personal authority of the speaker, but also the authority of his state.

These monastic assertions in space would not go uncontested. The lesser nobility would use the tower with its halls and private audience chambers to create their own forms in which to enact rituals of courtly power. The aristocratic Gerald of Aurillac, if we are to believe Odo of Cluny, would make his own body that of a model monk and his court superior to a lax monastery.³⁹ The monks might have struck early with an unequalled coherence of space and gesture, but, by the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, Camoldolese, Cistercian and Carthusian reformers would declare the battle lost and make a last stand by attempting to abolish a lay nave from their churches entirely, but even these reformers could not make the monastic center hold. In the end, the peripheral space of the nave and the classes it represented could not be withstood.

³⁶ Horn and Born, *The Plan of St. Gall*, I, 136.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ It would not likely have been lost on the monks that when the celebrant or deacon read the gospel facing the “heathen north,” he would be chanting directly toward the guesthouse and lay school at a Mass at the Altar of the Cross and at the Abbot’s house at Masses at the Altar of Ss. Mary and Gall.

³⁹ Pamela Marshall, “The Great Tower as Residence in the Territories of the Norman and Angevin Kings of England,” in *The Seigneurial Residence in Western Europe AD c. 800–1600* (British Archaeological Reports, 2002), 27–8, 34; Odo of Cluny, “The Life of St. Gerald of Aurillac,” in *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints’ Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1995), 293–362.

English King and German Commoner: An Exploration of Sixteenth Century Clothing and Identity

Bradley Moore

Then the Magnifico Giuliano said: 'Now that you mention those who are so ready to associate with well-dressed men, I wish you would show us, messer Federico, how the Courtier ought to dress, and what attire best suits him, and in what way he ought to govern himself in all that concerns the adornment of his person. For in this we see an infinite variety: some dressing after the French manner, some after the Spanish, some wishing to appear German; nor are those lacking who dress in the style of the Turks; some wearing beards, some not. It would therefore be well to know how to choose the best out of this confusion.

— Baldassare Castiglione, *Il Libro del Cortegiano*, 1528¹

There is perhaps no other external article which is more closely tied to one's sense of identity than clothing. With a quick glance, one can readily gauge a person by their dress. So too, in the sixteenth century; clothing was used to construct identity, and in some cases to deconstruct it as well. This paper seeks to explore how identity and clothing are in many ways, inseparable. Concepts of religiosity, gender, nationalism, and "the other"² were all intimately tied to dress and fashion.

¹ Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. Charles S. Singleton (1528; New York, NY: Anchor Books, 1959), 120.

² "The other" refers to how a person or society defines its "self"; "the other" representing ideological constructs which assist in defining the self through a series of negations; i.e., "I am not that". Edward Said's work *Orientalism* attacks the is-

During the sixteenth century, perhaps even more strongly than now, clothing could be read like a book in order to divine a person's social standing, religious affiliation (Catholic/Protestant, Jew, or Muslim), indeed, even the nation, state, or city they were from.

The role of clothing in history has often been downplayed or dismissed; being so ubiquitous as to be beneath consideration for most. Existing in the liminal spaces between disciplines, this research seeks to draw garments out of historical obscurity, and use them to explore new ways of seeing the self and other in context. Using clothing as a particular lens, or perhaps a typeface, if you will, we will explore why the cut or fit of things can shape the outcome of history. As a sort of outer layer of the body, clothing functions as an exoteric symbol for a wide range of concepts, including wealth, gender, power, and place.

This paper is broken into three major sections. The first will lay the ground work for the place of clothing and textiles in the early sixteenth century. This section will cover both the material culture of the fabrics themselves, and the ways in which garments would have been made (*et ergo*, how they would affect the wearer). It is important to understand how our perceptions of clothing and textiles have changed over time.

The next section will cover the fashion lives of Henry VIII and Matthäus Schwarz. Henry VIII will represent the exoteric creation of identity. The Wardrobe Book of the Wardrobe of the Robes prepared by James Worsley in December 1516 and The Inventory of the Wardrobe of the Robes prepared by James Worsley on 17 January 1521³ (referred to from here as the Great Wardrobe) are two extant manuscripts detailing the garments owned by King Henry VIII, which along with The Inventory of King Henry VIII, completed in 1547,⁴ will act as our guide to the garments and textiles which King Henry VIII owned during his reign. By examining the sartorial lives of a very fashion forward king and his court, sumptuary legislation, gifts of clothing and/or textiles, a view emerges of how identity was at times created by other people,

sue head on, "much of it having to do with Islam and the Arabs on one side, "we" Westerners on the other". Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1978), xvii.

³ The Great Wardrobe is a collection of two sixteenth century works transcribed by Maria Hayward, in *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII* (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2007), 369–436.

⁴ David Starkey, Maria Hayward, and Philip Ward, *The inventory of King Henry VIII* (London: Harvey Miller for the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1998), 1: The Transcript.

their expectations, and the desire to “be like him (Henry VIII)”. Matthäus Schwarz, on the other hand, will be considered to see how, in the same time period, a single person might create or shift his own identity within the social structure being inscribed upon him. Schwarz’s *Kleidungsbüchlein*⁵ or *Book of Clothes*, written between the years 1520 and 1547 will be the basis of discussion of our German commoner. The original manuscript is housed in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig (Kunstmuseum des Landes Niedersachsen). A copy of the manuscript is in the Bibliothèque National, Paris. The facsimile edition based on the copy in Paris, by Philippe Braunstein, was used in this paper.⁶ Not content to remain a burger-craftsman like his father, Schwarz actively used clothing to advance his station, and moreover, we have this social and sartorial mobility captured in a dual media; images created by an artist, and the journal Schwarz himself scribed upon the paintings. Schwarz is at once dancing with the self-created by others, and the self he has himself designed; we are witness to a synthesis and metamorphosis of identity which takes place over the course of a lifetime.

The two preceding sections will lay the groundwork for the third. This final section will integrate the prior portions of the work by examining the creation of identity through dress. Conceptions of identity will include the formulation of the self and the other, as well as those of place, the body, masculinity, and religiosity, to name a few. As a “Final Fitting” I shall bring together these ideas into a smartly tailored finish; much as a tailor would hold his sketches and measurements in order to craft a bespoke creation.

Cloth, Clothing, and the Modern Historian

The Renaissance saw the development of the individual and the discovery of what he called, ‘the full, whole nature of man’ this happened largely because man attached himself in a dynamic and creative way to things.

— Jacob Burckhardt, 1860

Before beginning a study of textiles and clothing, one must put them into a historical context. It is important to step back and take a look at

⁵ Philippe Braunstein, *Un banquier mis à nu: Autobiographie de Matthäus Schwarz Bourgeois d’Augsbourg*, facsimile (Paris: Gallimard, 1992).

⁶ *Ibid.*

the way in which clothing was understood within the period of focus, separate from current trends and contexts. Some groundwork is necessary to make this topic fully accessible to the modern reader; as you will find, textiles and clothing take on a decidedly different meaning in the sixteenth century. It can be rather difficult for a person of the twenty-first century to understand the importance of clothing in this period without some background in the material culture of the day.

Our custom of owning a large variety of garments, in a wide range of styles and uses, is a great departure from that of the sixteenth century. For the average person “workout clothes”, “play clothes”, and the like would not have existed. In fact, the idea of owning outfits for specific purposes (like riding garments for equestrians) is only just beginning in the sixteenth century, and arguably would not trickle down to the middling sort until the Victorian era.

A series of English labourer’s⁷ inventories from Oxfordshire between 1550 and 1596 indicate that the average man would have owned only a few articles of clothing, which would have a total worth of only a few shillings to a pound. The typical wardrobe “comprised a pair of leather breeches, a coat, a waistcoat, a couple of shirts, stockings, shoes, and a hat”.⁸ Some paupers would have had access to even fewer articles of clothing, though a small number of the poorest individuals would have had garments ritually presented to them by the king or another aristocrat during specified feast days or other holy days like Maundy Thursday in Tudor England.⁹ Of course the wealthy had more disposable income, and access to more articles of clothing, but these men and women typically constituted less than one percent of the total population.¹⁰ It is also important to note that most clothes were bespoke, or made to measure. One didn’t simply go down to the store and pick something out. First one had to buy cloth from a fabric merchant, then one found a tailor, and consulted with him on what article or articles were desired, and how these were to be constructed, negotiating all the while. It is in this period that off the rack clothing began to become available, but largely it would have been a trade in used cloth-

⁷ Caroline Johnson, *The King’s Servants: Men’s Dress at the Accession of Henry VIII* (Lightwater, Surrey: Fat Goose Press, 2009), 7.

⁸ Ninya Mikhaila, *The Tudor Tailor: Techniques and Patterns for Making Historically Accurate Period Clothing* (Hollywood, CA: Quite Specific Media Group, 2006), 46.

⁹ Johnson, *The King’s Servants*, 7.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

ing.¹¹ The majority of what one wore would have been made by a tailor or perhaps someone in your family for poorer individuals.¹²

It was not uncommon for clothing to be torn apart and made into something new as styles changed, when something was outgrown, or began to appear worn. This is important to note, because cloth was considerably more expensive during the sixteenth century than it is today. As an example, in *An Acte for Reformacyon of Excesse in Apparayle*, passed down by Henry VIII in 1533, a man whose income was £4 a year could legally spend one third of that amount for a single cloth gown.¹³ Imagine spending one third of your total yearly income for one very modest, unlined coat.¹⁴

The fabrics which were available to a person were also of great importance. Linen was the most common fabric, and was worn by all, rich and poor alike. “Nearly everyone began and ended their life wrapped in linen of some kind”.¹⁵ Because it can be washed easily, linen typically comprised the layer of clothing worn next to the skin. Babies were swaddled in linen, and it was used as a diaper of sorts, as well. Most people owned at least a couple of shirts or shifts, so they could be changed and laundered, preventing outer garments from being dirtied by oils from the skin.¹⁶ While linen can be quite coarse when first woven, it wears like iron, and grows softer with each wearing. Linen could be spun and woven into fabrics which were quite fine and sheer, and was made into things like veils, smocks, shirts, and even gloves. Sebastian Guistinian, the Venetian Ambassador to King Henry VIII from

¹¹ Clothing was so valuable that it could even be used as security for a loan, or pawned to raise funds quickly. Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 110.

¹² Interestingly, most undergarments (shirts, shifts, and drawers) were crafted by one's wife or mother, or by a seamstress. Other garments such as doublets, jackets, or gowns were crafted by tailors, and hosen (fitted trousers) were made by hosiers (tailors and hosiers typically being men).

¹³ Johnson, *The King's Servants*, 7. “Single Cloth” refers to an unlined garment, consisting only of the outer fabric, with no other lining.

¹⁴ It is important to note here, that for a man, even of the middling sort to be considered fully dressed to go out in public he would wear the following layers: a shirt, hosen (fitted trousers), a doublet (a jacket interlined with canvas, to give it body, and to support the hosen), a jerkin (a sleeveless or often short-sleeved over jacket, often having bases or skirts which hunt to mid-thigh or the knee), and a gown (a large, often fur lined coat, coming to the knees or even to the ankle for older men), and a hat or cap to top it off.

¹⁵ Mikhaila, *The Tudor Tailor*, 15.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

1516 to 1519 described the King playing tennis as the prettiest thing in the world, “his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture”.¹⁷ Of course, the finer the thread or nicer the weave, the more expensive the cloth; the linen worn next to the skin of a king would have been a far cry from that worn by a pauper. The very poorest would likely have made all of their garments from coarsely woven linen, being unable to afford woolen cloth.

After linen, the next most common cloth would have been wool. The most common sorts of wool would have been woven and then fulled,¹⁸ prior to being crafted into a garment. Most outer garments were typically fashioned of wool, although the poorest, as mentioned before, might only have been able to afford outerwear of coarse undyed linen. Woolen garments could not be laundered, thus these were typically cleaned with stiff brushes, and would have been perfumed and stored carefully in chests when not being used.¹⁹ A number of the sumptuary laws passed during Henry VIII’s reign confined the middle and lower classes to wearing wool produced in England, and forbade them to purchase or wear wool imported from the continent. While this legislation was produced largely to preserve the local economy of sheep farmers, spinners, and weavers, it also contributed to the growing identity of “Englishness” among the middle and lower classes. Wool was common even among the wealthiest individuals during this period; it had not yet been replaced as a luxury fabric entirely.

The most luxurious of cloths, including silks, velvets, brocades, cloth of gold, and furs were sharply delineated as being the provenance of the rich. Even if a merchant or other member of the middle class could afford these items, sumptuary laws prevented them from owning or wearing them without special royal dispensation. Those who flouted sumptuary legislation could be sharply fined, and risked having their finery confiscated.²⁰ Silk velvet was among the more luxurious textiles available during the sixteenth century. Patterned velvets

¹⁷ Rawdon Brown, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII: Selections of Despatches Written by the Venetian Ambassador, Sebastian Guistinian, and Addressed to the Signory of Venice, January 12, 1515 to July 26, 1519* (1854; London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1970), 312.

¹⁸ Fulling is a felting process in which the weave was tightened, and a fine nap raised on the cloth, rendering it warmer and more water resistant.

¹⁹ Mikhaila, *The Tudor Tailor*, 45.

²⁰ This is not to say that many would not take the risk; if no one flouted the law, there would be no reason for the law to exist in the first place.

with either woven ornamentation or “voided velvets” with the decoration cut into the pile had grown popular during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and this is reflected by both written descriptions and extant garments.²¹ Accounts from the Great Wardrobe of Henry VIII exhibit the King’s fondness for plain single color satin doublets, often lined with taffeta or sarsenet (light weight silk fabrics imported from Italy or the Near East) further emphasizing Henry’s wealth.²² The majority of Englishmen would have lined their garments with undyed linen, but a king could afford to splurge now and again.

The most expensive fabrics were woven of metal threads, typically gold or silver and warped with silk. During the period these textiles were most frequently referred to as “cloth of gold”, encompassing a wide variety of fabrics utilizing metal and silken threads. These textiles were limited by both cost and legislation to the king and royal family. The most valued of these metallic fabrics was tissue, incorporating “raised loops of metal thread as well as metal-wrapped threads and metal wire forming part of the ground weave and this extravagant use of the thread was reflected in its high price.”²³

Less affluent individuals could not afford these imported silks, let alone cloth of gold, and had to make do with other lower quality (though still luxurious) fabrics. Textiles called “union cloths” were created to obtain the look of a more costly material by weaving silk with a warp of linen or wool. Fustian was a sort of cloth combining wool warped with linen, and was commonly used as both an outer fabric for garments and for a lining.²⁴ Satins could be produced with a linen weft thread to lower the cost, and were commonly referred to as “Satin de Bruges” or the anglicized “bridges satin”. These inferior textiles allowed the middling sort to afford fabrics with the appearance of greater luxury, and the nobility made use of them as well. Frequently the portions of a garment which would be covered by another layer could be constructed of these lower quality fabrics in order to save money.²⁵ It was not uncommon for men’s doublets or women’s kirtles (supportive under-dresses) to be crafted from less expensive fabrics, with panels added to areas which would be seen under an over-garment. Hems,

²¹ As in Henry VIII’s Great Wardrobe.

²² *Ibid.*, 92.

²³ Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 89.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 93.

²⁵ Mikhaila, *The Tudor Tailor*, 37.

sleeves, collars and front panels could be covered in costly silk brocades, velvets, or other finery while a more conservative cloth could be used for the rest of the garment.

Color would also have been of paramount importance in the cost and quality of textile items. “Dyed garments were the most visible, widespread, and extensively used signs of social status and conspicuous consumption.”²⁶ Linen was notoriously difficult to dye, and was most commonly used in either a natural or bleached form. Bleaching was often performed at home as a part of the laundering process “using sour milk, cow dung and lye, then laid out in the sun”²⁷ to produce a white fabric. Dyestuffs could add an immense price to a given textile.

Blues were typically produced using woad (*isatis tinctoria*), a plant typically grown and cultivated in France or Thuringia. When politics interfered with the importation of woad in the 1540s it began to be cultivated more heavily in England.²⁸

Red was likewise a very important color in sixteenth century Europe. Crimson was a deeper, richer red, which would have been produced with kermes (typically referred to as “grain” in contemporary sources) while simple red would have been dyed with madder, a much less costly dyestuff.²⁹ Cochineal, a tiny insect discovered in the New World, produced scarlet, perhaps the most expensive and highly sought after red of its day. Crimson was a ubiquitous color at the Tudor court, just as it had been in earlier English dynasties. It was the color of choice for Royal Coronations, and at Henry’s accession to the throne in 1509 the Great Wardrobe issued 1,641 yards of crimson fabric for livery. This is 1,172.5 more yards than were used by Henry VII in 1485. The ceremony cost £4,750 and £1,307 of this was spent on livery. Even among servants, however there was a social distinction based on color; all men of the rank of yeoman or above received scarlet cloth while all others received red cloth.

Purple was another very popular color for those who could afford it:

²⁶ Robert Finlay, “Weaving the Rainbow: Visions of Color in World History,” *Journal of World History* (2007): 399.

²⁷ Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 92.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 97.

²⁹ Maria Hayward, “Crimson, Scarlet, Murrey, and Carnation: Red at the Court of Henry VIII,” *Textile History* 38, no. 2 (April 2007): 138.

During the reign of Diocletian (284-305), the famous Tyrian (or Phoenician) purple derived from the eastern Mediterranean murex shell fish was used to dye cloth that cost 50,000 *denarii* per pound – or the wages of a skilled craftsman for three years.³⁰

Another purple, called orchil, was produced from lichen (*roccella tinctoria*).³¹ The color black was the most difficult to produce, requiring a complex series of over-dyeing, which still would not guarantee a good final product. “Poor Black” referred to inferior textiles often more brown than black, but available at a lower price. In England “the preference for black has been associated with the arrival of Catherine of Aragon and her entourage in 1501 and the influence of Spanish fashion at court”.³² Castiglione, in *The Book of the Courtier*, states “I think that black is more pleasing in clothing than any other color; and if not black, then at least some color on the dark side”.³³ European sumptuary laws restricted the use of these colors, particularly purple, blue, and red. These strictures generally referred to colored silk and not wool, however. In England, for example, only Knights of the Garter were allowed to wear blue velvet, and blue silks and velvets would have been worn by the king during periods of mourning. “These rare uses of blue by the elite would have struck a chord with observers at court”³⁴ as blue was typically reserved for servants and livery in England.³⁵

To the modern reader it may be difficult to imagine the meaning of these various cloths to the average person in the sixteenth century. A person’s clothing would have been read like a text, transmitting knowledge to the viewer. The quality of materials and colors used in textiles would have been quite noticeable, with the man on the street reading the status of the wearer based largely on the fabrics alone. Color and cut brought in an even deeper dimension to reading a garment. In an era when a person could spend most of a year’s wages on a single suit

³⁰ Finlay, “Weaving the Rainbow: Visions of Color in World History,” 398.

³¹ Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 96.

³² Maria Hayward, “‘The Sign of Some Degree?’: The Financial, Social and Sartorial Significance of Male Headwear at the Courts of Henry VIII and Edward VI,” *Costume* 36 (2002): 3.

³³ Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, 122.

³⁴ Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 97.

³⁵ As an interesting aside: blue, the color of livery and worn by servants in England was considered in France to be the color associated with royalty, and the French Crown.

of clothes or could be fined or imprisoned for wearing cloth or finery above his station it paid to be aware of the persona he created with the clothes on his back.

The garments themselves, and the terms used to describe them are also important to understanding the sources. The shirt is the most basic garment worn by men of the period. As mentioned above, it would have been made of linen, and worn next to the skin. This first layer was of great importance to the longevity of outer garments. Braies were undergarments, and looked a bit like a modern brief with a draw string waist. Next was hosen, which were long, usually footed trousers. By the 1530s, these were beginning to divide into upper stocks, which were rather like shorts, and lower stocks that tied to the upper stocks and were, like over the knee stockings, cut from cloth on the bias to lend stretch to the fabric or a close fit. The doublet would have been worn over the shirt, and was a long sleeved garment that would have tied with points to the hosen or upper stocks. Points were ties made of leather, linen or silk cording, used to tie garments closed, to tie garments together at the waist, and to join upper and lower stocks. Over the doublet, most men would have worn a jerkin. The jerkin could be sleeved or sleeveless, and during the early 1500s, would often have had attached bases. Bases were skirts found on men's garments which would have gone to the mid-thigh or knee, with a few examples extending just past the knee. Over the jerkin and doublet most men would have worn a gown. The gown was an over-coat that could reach from mid-thigh to floor length, depending on the age, social status, and wealth of the wearer. During the summer these would have been single-cloth garments (unlined), but during winter would have been lined with the warmest, most luxurious fabric or fur the wearer could afford. These are not the only names used for these garments during the period, but they seem to be the most common in modern clothing histories and historic costuming sources for this era. These names at least give a baseline for readers to understand what is being described.

Henry VIII: A Sartorial Powerhouse

Now after the death of this noble prince [Henry VII], Henry the VIII, sonne to Kyng Henry the VII bganne his reigne the xxii daie of april, in the yere of our lorde 1509 and in the xviii yere of his bodily age; Maximian then beeyng Emperoore and Lewes the xii reigning in Fraunce. And Fernando beeyng the kyng of Arragon and Castell, and

kyng James the fourthe then ruling ouer the Scottes.
 —Edward Hall, English Historian, *Hall's Chronicle, or The Union of the
 Two Noble and Illustrate Families of Lancastre and Yorke*, 1542.

At the time of his accession to the English throne in 1509, Henry Tudor was seventeen years old.³⁶ A sense of optimism pervaded England as this tall, handsome, powerhouse took up his father's crown. During the first two decades of his reign, Henry VIII was seen as a virtuous model of the Renaissance prince. Brought up with a humanist education, he seemed ready to carry on the legacy of the House of Tudor. "Lord Mountjoy described Henry in 1509 as having no wish for 'gold, or gems or precious metals, but virtue, glory, immortality'."³⁷ A skilled jousting, avid hunter, wrestler and musician, Tudor also wrote, composed music, and played tennis with great prowess. It can be estimated that Tudor was around 6'1" tall, based on his remaining suits of armor. An average male Londoner would have stood only 5'7",³⁸ leaving the king to tower over most of his subjects by half a head. Sebastian Guistinian, Venetian Ambassador to Henry's court describes his first impression of the monarch thusly:

He wore a cap of crimson velvet, in the French fashion, and the brim was looped all round with lacets and gold enameled aigletes. His doublet was in the Swiss fashion, striped alternately with white and crimson satin, and his hose scarlet, and all slashed from the knee upwards... round his neck he had a gold collar, from which there hung a rough-cut diamond the size of a large walnut... and to this was suspended a most beautiful and very large round pearl. His mantle was of purple velvet lined with white satin, the sleeves open with a train verily more than four Venetian yards in length. This mantle was girt in front like a gown, with a thick gold cord, from with there hung large garlands entirely of gold, like those suspended from a cardinal's hat; over this mantle was a very handsome gold collar, with a pendant St. George entirely of diamonds... Be-

³⁶ Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 12.

³⁷ Even though Hall states that Henry VIII was eighteen at his accession, he was in fact seventeen years of age.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.

neath the mantle he had a pouch of cloth of gold, which covered a dagger.³⁹

Henry VIII was certainly dressing to impress his magnificence upon Guistinian, who served as the Venetian Ambassador to his court from 1515 to 1519. Every dispatch in which Guistinian describes Tudor's physical appearance is flattering, some bordering on glowing descriptions of the English king.

These descriptions left by others are our best way of knowing Henry VIII and his dress. Being such a public figure, particularly one who cuts such a larger than life swath through his reign, it is difficult to find the man under the image. Beyond written descriptions, portraiture must act as our window into a monarch's soul. "Unlike his daughter Elizabeth, Henry VIII did not pass any legislation seeking to control the production or dissemination of his image."⁴⁰ As king, he relied heavily on his image as a source of state propaganda. Maria Hayward recognized a series of seven images that represented the king throughout his reign. "The development of Henry's portrait during his reign focuses around a fairly small group of seven images or patterns which are copied during his lifetime and after his death."⁴¹ Each painting shows the king at a different stage of life, and in a particular style of clothing, contemporary to the time in which it was painted. The clothing would reflect minor differences, such as color of garments, or in the placement of embellishments, but largely was true to what is presented in the original painting. These portraits and the brief written descriptions in his great wardrobe are all we know about the appearance of the garments of Henry VIII. Aside from a hawking glove and some suits of armor, none of the king's garments remain.

As one might imagine, proximity to the king was proximity to power. This closeness to the head of the English state was often symbolized by garments or textiles from Henry VIII himself, in the form of livery for his yeomen or members of his household; while articles of his own clothing, or clothing purchased as gifts would be given to those nobles who greatly pleased him. These gifts or payments (in the case of Henry's household servants) were detailed in the Great Wardrobe, a massive document which recorded the belongings of the King.⁴²

³⁹ Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 7.

⁴⁰ Brown, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII*, 85.

⁴¹ Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 3.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 4.

The Great Wardrobe detailed expenditures and collections of cloth, clothing, hounds, jewelry, spurs, saddles; basically all of the “stuff” which Henry VIII owned. An exploration of a portion of the King’s Great Wardrobe will help to define these gifts of textiles, who wore them, and what they would mean to one who viewed them on the body.

King Henry VIII was the epicenter of English power, and the court revolved around him. This proximity was often represented by gifts of clothing to those nearest the king, whether royal favorites, or loyal servants. Each year of Henry VIII’s reign he provided clothing for his household. This included the royal family, his wife and children, and early on his sisters. Henry VIII provided an appropriate marriage trousseau for both of his sisters. Beyond the royal family, Henry also was responsible for clothing his yeomen and servants, as well as a small portion of the poorest in the country. The yeomen and servants of the king were provided different articles of clothing and different qualities of cloth based on their duties for the King. Those who were highly visible, or who performed duties in the name of the King would be supplied with garments made of higher quality of cloth than those of simple servants.

The Boys of the Leash, who were responsible for the health and keeping of the King’s hounds, are but one example of what a typical servant might receive in a year’s time from the Great Wardrobe. Each of the four was supplied for the winter season of 1509 with a gown made of tawny cloth (a heavy woolen cloth), lined with black lambskin, a doublet of camlet wool, two shirts each of linen, two pairs of hose, a hat, and a bonnet. In addition, they were each supplied with two pairs of double soled shoes (used for outdoor wear and hunting), two brace of collars, two chains and a leash for the hounds. The following summer (July of 1510), the same four men were given a light weight coat of motley (mingled-color) wool, lined with cotton (a soft, loosely woven woolen cloth), a camlet doublet, one pair of hose, a hat, a bonnet, two more linen shirts, two new pair of double soled shoes, and collars for the greyhounds.⁴³

The King also provided clothing for the poor on Maundy Thursday, as a part of the Easter celebration. As a part of an elaborate ceremony each year, the king would give out a gown and hood of russet cloth (a low quality woolen cloth) and a pair of single soled shoes to a number

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 81.

of paupers equal to the King's age. No information is given as to how these "paupers" were chosen, or who they were, but each year of his reign, Henry VIII gave out successively more garments as dictated by tradition.⁴⁴

Aside from his obligations, Henry VIII also gave away numerous gifts of textiles or garments to his favorites, ambassadors, and other members of the royal court. The largest group of those who received gifts of clothing from Henry VIII were neither family nor servants, but the King's jousting companions. These favorites, who included the likes of Nicolas Carew, regularly received items like coats, bases and boots from the King.⁴⁵ Between the years of 1516-21 alone, Henry VIII gave away ninety-one garments or sets of garments to members of the court, eighty-six items were given to men, and five to women.⁴⁶ It is important to note that while the King was giving away garments, whose cloth value would have been staggering in some cases, all embroidery, particularly gold or silver work, fur linings, velvet guards (bands of fabric to protect the hems of a garment), jewels, buttons, or goldsmith work would have been removed. These items were frequently moved from garment to garment, allowing a wide range of outfits to be remade to suit an occasion or season. If he chose, Henry VIII could wear the same gown in both summer and winter, with it being lined with silk satin in summer and a rich fur in the winter. This removal of fur, gold and ornamentation allowed a lower ranking member of the court to use the garment without breaking sumptuary laws, although in some cases with special dispensation from the King he could wear a particular garment.

These gifts of clothing were also fairly practical; even a king only had so much closet space. At one point Henry VIII ordered ninety doublets in the space of only two months. "A Parisian jeweler, Jean Langues sold Henry two garments even though 'the king says he is too old to wear them but he offers 4,000 crowns for them both'".⁴⁷ It is unknown if Henry bought these garments to wear or to give away. The king likely soon tired of garments; gifting them to another allowed him to pass them along, while remaining a fashion forerunner.

⁴⁴ Johnson, *The King's Servants*, 27.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁴⁶ Maria Hayward, "Fashion, Finance, Foreign Politics and the Wardrobe of Henry VIII," in *Clothing Culture 1350-1650* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 171.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 174.

The “Field of Cloth of Gold” is perhaps one of the best examples of the sumptuous spending and passing of gifts from Henry VIII, both to his subjects and as an act of diplomacy. From June 7 through the 24 of 1520 the Tudor king met with François I of France.⁴⁸ Both monarchs strove to outdo the other with gifts, pageantry, and feats of physical prowess. Henry’s royal guard was quite famous for their height and good looks, dressed in the king’s livery of green and white.⁴⁹ The year 1520 marks one of the largest expenditures on cloth during Henry VIII’s early reign; a total of £13,474 7s 8d was paid out for textiles and ceremonies, £10,480 8s 8d of which were for cloth. In a single year more money was lavished on clothing, revels, and ceremonies than was spent over 1516–1519 combined.⁵⁰ It makes sense financially, if for no other reason that many of these garments were given away as gifts. Henry also gifted François I with four doublets, one of which was “of cloth of gold baudkyn, the placards and sleeves wrought with flat gold and eight pairs of aglettes”.⁵¹ Endowments of clothing were not only worth monetary value, these garments were often emblematic. A connection between the king and the recipient was symbolized by the acceptance of such a gift.

Based on the descriptions of garments in *The Great Wardrobe*, it can be surmised that Henry VIII enjoyed bright colors. Garments are found in a broad range of colors, including deep blue for his garter robes, purples and violets, yellows, green for hunting clothes, orange, white and carnation. Black also played a strong role in Henry’s *Great Wardrobe*. Styling was as important as color, and Henry loved to show off. French styles were very influential in the court, as well as Swiss and German modes. English clothes are described by Ambassador Guistinian and others as having slashes, much like the garments of the continent, but were somewhat more subdued, and less exuberant. It seems

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 171.

⁴⁹ “The Field of Cloth of Gold” was a meeting between Henry VIII of England and François I of France in the summer of 1520. The meeting was arranged under the machinations of Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, in an attempt to push through a treaty of non-aggression between the powers of Europe, in his bid for the papacy. Henry VIII and François I used it as a means to display their great wealth and fashionable sensibilities.

⁵⁰ Joycelyne G. Russell, *The Field of Cloth of Gold: Men and Manners in 1520* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), 59.

⁵¹ Hayward, “Fashion, Finance, Foreign Politics and the Wardrobe of Henry VIII,” 173.

that English tailors took a nod from continental styles, but imparted a certain Englishness to the resulting garments.

Matthäus Schwarz: The Man Represented

A Modern viewer of a work of medieval art should be able to put him- or herself in the position of its original spectators, who easily recognized the extent to which the image corresponded to the world they knew. This means recognizing not only the subject and its treatment, but also the identity, occupation, and moral character of the figures, information often conveyed by their clothes, as it was in life. Today we dress more or less as we please, but in former times people were expected to wear clothes that corresponded to their position or “estate”. To dress and act according to one’s estate was believed necessary for the stability of society. Those who did not threatened the social order: their garments were confusing, and their transgression of the rules a sign of moral deficiency. Dress was thus a code, a collection of signs read by other members of society and exploited by artists as well.⁵²

Matthäus Schwarz, an Augsburg businessman (1496–1574), commissioned the *Kleidungsbüchlein*, a lavishly illuminated book consisting of 135 watercolor pictures; all depicting Schwarz and his clothing in a strangely empty, and yet recognizable Augsburg.⁵³ The book begins thusly:

1520. Today, 20 February 1520, I, Matthäus Schwarz of Augsburg, having just turned twenty-three years old, looked as I do in the above painting. Then I said that I have always enjoyed being with the old folk... And among other things we came to talk of costumes and manners of attire, that is, how they dressed everyday ... This caused me to have my apparel portrayed as well, in order to see over a period of five, ten or more years what might become of it.⁵⁴

Schwarz’s Book of Clothes was revolutionary in its depiction of a single man and his possessions from birth to death. While the book does not cover every year of Schwarz’s life, it does account for all stages

⁵² Anne H. van Buren, *Illuminating Fashion: Dress in the Art of Medieval France and the Netherlands, 1325–1515* (New York: Morgan Library & Museum, 2011), 1.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 176.

⁵⁴ Braunstein, *Un banquier mis à nu*.

of his life, from infant to elderly gentleman. This was the first time that such a record of personhood had existed, with the patron of the book depicted for his own viewing pleasure. The book was not printed on a modern printing press, but was hand illuminated by local artists, and stitch bound late in Schwarz's life. Following the death of his son, Veit Konrad Schwarz, in 1586, the *Klaidungsbüchlein* was found in the family home in Augsburg, along with a shorter book of similar subject matter created by his son, Veit Konrad.⁵⁵ There were of course other books of clothing printed during the sixteenth century. In fact, they were quite popular. Most were printed from woodcuts, and depicted a sense of regional or national mode of dress. What makes Matthäus Schwarz's *Klaidungsbüchlein* so unique is that it was not meant for a large audience, but for close acquaintances of Schwarz to view at leisure. The book documents the patron's changing views of Himself, his clothing and his body, as he comes to grips with impermanence and change.⁵⁶

Change was in the air in 1520, when Schwarz began commissioning the first images which would become the *Klaidungsbüchlein*. Carlos V had just ascended the throne, and would soon be crowned Holy Roman Emperor. Schwarz had landed a job working for the Fugger firm, after returning from his training in Venice as a bookkeeper. His father had just passed away, and on his birthday in 1520, he began what would become an anomalous masterpiece of visual autobiography. The connection which Schwarz had with his clothing is quite absorbing. In each image, it is the clothing which the viewer must use to identify Schwarz; the artist's representation is in fact, rather generic in most of the images. "Clothes create at least half the look of any person at any moment".⁵⁷

Schwarz' *Klaidungsbüchlein*, while not essentially medieval, must still be engaged with as a manuscript. A collusion of public and private, the work takes on an aspect rather like a book of hours, or other such miniscule devotional. At only sixteen by ten centimeters, the work is small enough to be carried in a pocket or girdle purse. Van Buren laments in her work, *Illuminating Fashion*, that "the potential confu-

⁵⁵ Gabriele Mentges, "Fashion, Time, and the Consumption of a Renaissance Man in Germany: The Costume Book of Matthäus Schwarz of Augsburg, 1496–1564," *Gender & History* 14, no. 3 (2002): 384.

⁵⁶ Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 78.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 40.

sion and the apparent circularity of this process has deterred art historians from considering how the figures in a work of art are dressed”.⁵⁸ The *Klaidungsbüchlein* is not a work on paper, but on parchment (calf skin), which Valentin Groebner suggests is in keeping with the Germanic tradition of making genealogy and heraldic books during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Groebner also points to small prayer books and devotionals printed by Maximilian I from 1514 to 1519, along with a series of propagandist documents. Maximilian’s book of prayer, followed by the *Theuerdank*, the *Weisskunig*, and the *Freydal*, with each work containing numerous woodcuts by the superstars of German Renaissance art, Albrecht Dürer, Hans Baldung Grien, and the like, may have been an inspiration for Schwarz to use Imperial propaganda as prototypes for his own book of clothes. “Schwarz was a close intimate of Joseph Schönsperger, the Augsburg printer in charge of these imperial propaganda projects; woodcuts from its unpublished sections soon circulated around Augsburg”.⁵⁹

Did Schwarz wish to capture and record his own little transgressions, cleverness and shrewd humor? Was the *Klaidungsbüchlein* a sort of personal propaganda for Schwarz? It is clear that at least one image was directly copied from *Der Weisskunig*.⁶⁰ The man seems intent on depicting his own ingenuity, not only sartorially, but socially in the work. This is a middle class man on the move. Firmly ensconced in the Fugger firm by the age of nineteen, Schwarz could safely depict himself running away from home at age nine, trampling his school books at the age of fourteen, and outsmarting travelers on the road to Milan. Each of these little memories served to set Schwarz apart, to make him his own man, distinct from his thirty-two siblings as well as his coworkers in the Fugger firm.⁶¹ This makes the unpopulated images of the *Klaidungsbüchlein* all the more interesting in how it represents Matthäus the man.

Sixteenth-century Augsburg was a crowded place, teeming with people. *Augsburger Monatsbilder* is the title of a collection of four monumental paintings credited to Jörg Breu the Elder in the collection of the German Historical Museum (Deutsches Historisches Museum)

⁵⁸ Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* (New York, NY: Viking Press, 1978), 314.

⁵⁹ van Buren, *Illuminating Fashion*, 2.

⁶⁰ Valentin Groebner, “Inside Out: Clothes, Dissimulation, and the Arts of in the Autobiography of Matthäus Schwarz, 1496–1574,” *Representations* 66 (1999): 107.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 107.

which depict daily life on the streets of Augsburg, circa 1531. Each image in the series shows streets teeming with life. Men and women in colorful clothing crowd together and vie for attention, dressed conspicuously in order to attract the eye of the viewer. Soldiers, merchants, burgers, and peasants all mill about together on the street; one can almost hear the din of the crowd echoing through the marketplace. Ulinka Rublack describes a “new sense of urban life as display manifested itself in a series of richly detailed paintings”.⁶²

The *Klaidungsbüchlein* is the world of one man, and how he chose to display himself to the world. Schwarz’ decision to depict himself on these same streets alone, create a wholly different atmosphere. Gone is the madding crowd, Matthäus walks the streets of Augsburg alone. In 1519, at the death of his father, Matthäus represents himself four times in the same image, wearing four different sets of mourning clothes. The picture is curious in that it appears that the four “Matthäuses” are engaging one another. Each one clad in somber black, the figure on the far left wears a traditional mourner’s cloak with hood, which completely covers the face of the wearer. The pair of figures in the background, each one also depicting Schwarz, shows him in more relaxed, if still somber attire, perhaps the garments he wore to work and to socialize in during his period of mourning. The fact that Schwarz had four complete sets of mourning clothes reveals a bit about the kind of money he was willing to spend on clothing. The color black, as mentioned previously, was notoriously difficult to achieve and therefore expensive. In Augsburg of the early sixteenth century, it was customary to mourn for six months. The image shows Schwarz wearing four different sets of mourning clothes for that six month period, standing in front of a Cathedral in Augsburg.⁶³ What was Schwarz communicating with these small pages?

Valentin Groebner suggests that the work is simply another part of Schwarz’ obsession with bookkeeping; he was after all the head bookkeeper for the Fugger firm. “Schwarz’s clothes and the manner in which he had them depicted are intrinsically linked to politics, as well as to his vocation as an accountant”.⁶⁴ The *Klaidungsbüchlein* is not only a

⁶² Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 42–43.

⁶³ Philippe Braunstein surmises that it is likely St. Ulrich’s in Augsburg. “Devant une église gothique, probablement Saint-Ulrich d’Augsbourg” (Braunstein, *Un banquier mis à nu*, 125).

⁶⁴ Groebner, “Inside Out,” 112.

manuscript, but a record of wealth, and power – a bookkeeper’s log, if you will. In this case, it seems that Schwarz may be asking the viewer to put him or herself, not simply in the position of viewing a book of curiosities, or of clothes, but a sort of visual accounting book of the life he lived. Schwarz makes careful notation of the garments and outfits which are given as gifts. In particular, he notes garments he received in Milan in 1515 (a French inspired riding costume), and a hat worn with a wedding costume in 1524 from Hans Rot, a “wealthy Augsburg Patri-cian”.⁶⁵ Another suite of gifted clothing was for the wedding of Anton Fugger:

In March 1527, he received a sumptuous complete wedding outfit in brilliant red and yellow, consisting of a doublet, trousers, and jacket with a silk ruff finish. Identical outfits were given to all Fugger employees to be worn at the occasion: Not simply a boastful display of expensive clothes but also a deliberately political gesture. Contemporaries clearly understood the allusions or demonstrative claims symbolized by these yellow trousers and red silk fringes. It was a manifestation of political, Catholic, and Fugger symbols in the religiously divided city – and it was these presentations, among others that Matthäus Schwarz obviously wished to preserve.⁶⁶

And preserve it he did; these were outward symbols of Schwarz’ connection with some of the most powerful individuals of his age. Schwarz was also placing himself into a continuum of power. By carefully maintaining relationships to his contemporaries, and recording them for posterity, he preserved a portion of his perceived self. Schwarz was careful to never step beyond the acceptable. As a book-keeper, he was intimately aware of his place between his betters and those beneath him, and was careful to represent this on his body, and on the manuscript page.

By engaging the *Kleidungsbüchlein* as a manuscript, a particular image of Schwarz begins to emerge. This was a man who was quite aware of appearances, and how they can make a man. Here too was a man

⁶⁵ Groebner, “Inside Out,” 109.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 109–110.

who was intimately aware of bookkeeping and notation.⁶⁷ By further narrowing the lens, and engaging with it as a sort of visual bookkeeping ledger, a new means of understanding Schwarz is brought to the fore. Schwarz was very careful in his *Kleidungsbüchlein* to include no costumes or carnival outfits. Most of the images focus on *öffentlich Kleidung* or “public clothes” (clothes which would have been worn for public appearances, weddings, and other events to see and be seen at). Viewed as a work of bookkeeping, Schwarz seems to make the *Kleidungsbüchlein* into an account of his public persona. This too, explains the lack of other figures in the work. An accountant would never include extraneous numeric figures in his work; it would stand to reason that neither would Schwarz. Some of his notations mention other people, including the young Dutch girl he fell in love with, his mother, and his sister, but very few represent another figure.⁶⁸ These would skew his data in recording and representing his life in pictures.

Gender and the Continuum of Power in Tudor Sumptuary Legislation

The first parliament of Henry VIII met in January 1510, and, amongst other measures, passed a lengthy sumptuary law entitled ‘An Act agaynst wearing of costly Apparrell’. This statute is evidently modelled on the acts of apparel of 1463 and 1483, and closely resembles them both in its grading of ranks and classes and in the various articles of apparel prohibited to each. It contained, however, three novel features: it prescribed in most cases forfeiture of the obnoxious apparel as well as imposing fines, it enabled any one to sue for the forfeited apparel and for recovery of the penalties, and it empowered the king to grant licences of exemption. Moreover, while the act of 1483 exempted from its operation women, save only the wives and daughters of husbandmen and labourers, the act of 1510 excluded all women, without distinction.⁶⁹

This portion of the paper seeks to explore the role of garments in determining or emphasizing wealth, power, and gender in England,

⁶⁷ Schwarz actually wrote a bookkeeping manual for the Fugger firm. Written when Schwarz was only 21 years old, it was in fact, “the first such handbook north of the Alps” (*ibid.*, 113–14).

⁶⁸ Mentges, “Fashion, Time,” 385.

⁶⁹ Wilfred Hooper, “The Tudor Sumptuary Laws,” *The English Historical Review* 30, no. 119 (1915): 433.

under the Tudor Dynasty. While King Henry will be our bedrock, if you will, other members of his court will also be examined in their sartorial relationship to him. As stated before, the clothes on a man's back could literally be read like a book in determining his social standing, his inherent masculinity, or even (or perhaps especially) his closeness to the king. A series of sumptuary laws were passed between the years of 1510 and 1542. These stringent legal codes limited the garments, fabric choices, and colors available to men of a certain class (women are mentioned only once in the legal codes set down by Henry VIII). These laws of fashion will be explored in an effort to understand the relationship of textiles to power and gender in this period. This work will also explore how garments could define or strengthen the perceptions of gender and masculinity during this period. Likewise, ideas about "Englishness" or what it was to be an Englishman in the sixteenth century, and how dress could represent an evolving national identity will be examined. Foreign clothing was nothing new to the royal courts of England, but during the sixteenth century, a new awareness of an English identity was rising, and the use of non-English clothing and textiles could mark a man or uplift him socially, according to their use.

Gender history is a complicated subject in any era, and that of the sixteenth century is no exception. For many years the term "gender" in a historiographic context meant "women". Since the mid-1990's, however, the focus of the genre has evolved to include genders beyond the feminine, and the study of masculinities has grown into a sub-field of gender history. The life of a courtier in the Tudor era was lived within a largely homosocial environment, and this portion of the paper will, in part, examine the Tudor Court in light of garments and their use as objects which could define one's masculinity. It is important to understand, however, that the masculinity of the Tudor era is not the monolithic structure often presented by early feminist historians of the twentieth century. A focus on the concept of patriarchy as a means of repression of women and minorities without consideration for its hierarchical roles forced on men has given way for new insights in masculinity and gender:

In understanding gender scholars have been too ready to assume that a system of hierarchy between men and women is simply constitutive of subordinating women... [Brod] notes: "Patriarchy institutionalizes not just hierar-

chy between genders, but hierarchy within each gender as well".⁷⁰

This gendered hierarchy will be examined primarily in light of sumptuary legislation, as all of the Henrician sumptuary laws except that of 1539 exempt women entirely from their statutes.

Gendered garments first appear at around the age of six for most young men of the sixteenth century. Prior to that, boys and girls would wear the same clothes, modeled after those of their mother or older sisters. This was important in the process of potty training children. Skirted garments made sense for clean-up. While wearing skirts, boys were still encouraged to play with masculine toys, such as swords and to wear hats and doublets over their skirts in a more masculine style. At around age six, however, boys would be "breeched", or allowed to wear hose for the first time. This indicates that the primary care and raising of the boy would transfer from the care of women of the household, to that of men. "Prince Edward was breeched at six years, two months"⁷¹ and from that age would have worn the same garments as an adult male.⁷²

Gender could also be indicated by the textile from which a garment was constructed. "Leather is the most frequently specified material for doublets in the Essex wills (40 percent of 284 items)... Apart from a 'payre of bodies' of sweet leather, made for Queen Elizabeth in 1579, there appear to be no other examples of women's clothing made of leather".⁷³ Color could also be a major indicator of gender during this period. Gender rules regarding color were not hard and fast, like those regarding the cut or fabric of a garment, but the color blue was found predominantly in the wills of men, while the color red was typically found in those of women.⁷⁴

Much of the formation of gender during this period can be read by studying the sumptuary laws of the day. Sumptuary legislation dates back to the Roman era, re-appearing in the medieval period in Italy

⁷⁰ Kim M. Phillips, "Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws," *Gender & History* 19, no. 1 (April 2007): 24.

⁷¹ Mikhaila, *The Tudor Tailor*, 16.

⁷² It is important to note that garments worn after breeching still carried the connotation of youth, or of old age. Color, cut, and in particular the length of a garment said much about the age and status of the wearer.

⁷³ *ibid.*, 38.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*

in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Sumptuary legislation first appears in England in 1336, popping up periodically until all sumptuary legislation was repealed by James I in 1604.⁷⁵ Most all of the sumptuary legislation passed in England refers to the garments of men, with rare exceptions, creating an environment of homosocial elite, which control the state and one another in a sort of hierarchy of fashion. “Patriarchy institutionalizes not just hierarchy between genders, but hierarchy within genders as well”.⁷⁶ The gendered nature of sumptuary legislation of this period reveals the institutionalized hierarchy of these laws. The House of Commons, by passing legislation that controlled their own disposable income, created for themselves a twofold fail safe. Not only did they make it illegal for them to squander money on garments beyond their social standing, but they recognized their own place societally. They stood above the masses, but below the Lords. “Western social structures are organized homosocially and use of this term helps us to see the gendered nature of hierarchies. Perhaps there is no such thing as class, only struggles, alliances and compromises between men”.⁷⁷

A sort of complicit masculinity was created in this way. The House of Commons recognized and upheld the hegemony held by the noble elite of the House of Lords, while taking advantage of their own liminal status between the nobility and laborers. This created a sort of continuum of masculinity, very unlike modern ideas of manliness, where men constantly have to prove themselves as “man enough”. Early modern masculinity was more concerned with placing one’s self within this continuum and maintaining or raising that status. By giving up the right to the most luxurious of goods, these men “became models of limited eminence” allowing themselves a certain level of luxury: remaining visually apart from the gentry, but at the same time maintaining an almost bourgeois sense of respectability through the limitation of luxury.⁷⁸

Traditionally only members of the nobility would have had access to the sort of funds necessary to purchase luxurious textiles, but as the merchant class grew wealthy more members of the lower gentry and the middling sort had access to disposable income it created problems

⁷⁵ Hooper, “The Tudor Sumptuary Laws,” 448.

⁷⁶ Phillips, “Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws,” 24.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, 30.

of social identity. By limiting themselves, the men of the House of Commons not only protected their social identity midway along the continuum of masculinity; they also protected their hard earned wealth.

This continuum of masculinity exposed by the study of sumptuary laws reveals much of the mindset of the English during this period. Women are not even mentioned in the majority of the sumptuary legislation, in glaring contrast to contemporary legislation passed on the continent. The Italian sumptuary laws frequently sought to control what women wore; the English did not. The sole exception of Henrician law sought to limit the clothing allowed to the women of Ireland. Regarded largely as savages by the English, Henry VIII's edict of 1539 forbade the wearing of traditional Irish hair styles, as well as to:

weare any shirt, smock, kerchor, bendel [ribbon], neckerchour mocket [bib], or linen cappe coloured, or dyed with Saffron, ne yet to use, or weare in any their shirts or smockes above seven yards of cloth to be measured according to the Kinges Standard, and that also no woman use or weare any kyrtell, or cote tucked up, or imbroydered or garnished with silke, or couched ne layed with usker [jewels] after the Irish fashion, and that no person... shall use, or weare any mantles, cote or hood, made after the Irish fashion.⁷⁹

This legislation made illegal all manner of traditional dress in Ireland, effectively attempting to destroy the rebellious indigenous culture in favor of Anglicization. The long hair of the Irish Kerns (war chiefs), along with their saffron yellow leinte (long shirts), shaggy mantles, and such were now the mark of an outlaw. While this legislation clearly includes Irish women, no other sumptuary legislation passed during Henry VIII's reign was used to regulate the garments of women in the realm. This is telling; not only did this legislation seek to destroy the Irish cultural identity; it also emasculated the Irishman, and turned the Irish woman into something formidable; going so far as to blame them for the fact that Ireland was so difficult to control and conquer. Irish rebels, it seems, were believed to have been provoked to insurrection by their unquiet wives.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 28.

⁸⁰ William Palmer, "Gender, Violence, and Rebellion in Tudor and Early Stuart Ireland," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 23, no. 4 (1992): 699.

“Englishness” and Fashion

Cannot get a good white damask. All the good silks are sent into England. The Court here is nothing so gallant of women as our Court in England. Here are no dames that will wear whites. They be but counterfeits to our dames, so that whites, yellows, reds, blues and such fresh colours go from hence straight into England.

— Stephen Vaughan in a letter to Sir William Paget from Brussels, 16 December, 1544.⁸¹

An emerging identity of Englishness during the sixteenth century was both influenced and reflected by garments, and what those garments were made of. As mentioned earlier, in the section on King Henry VIII, the fashions of other places played a role in influencing English dress of the period. It is clear that there was by this time an “English” mode of dress, in part due to the language used to refer to garments outside that milieu. In both the Great Wardrobe of Henry VIII, and in wills, inventories, letters, and books there are references to “almain” or German-style hose, “Milan bonnets”, “Spanish” cloaks, or “Turkey” (Turkish) gowns.⁸² Spanish contributions like the “Spanish Cloak” usually referred to a cloak with a hood, and would be easily distinguished from a more English cut.⁸³ The early sixteenth century was bringing a new cosmopolitan air to cities like London, in which the English frequently rubbed shoulders with Frenchmen, Italians, and other nationalities from the continent and beyond. Many were surprised by what they found there:

In short, the wealth and civilization of the world are here; and those who call the English barbarians appear to me to render themselves such. I here perceive very elegant manners, extreme decorum, and very great politeness; and amongst other things there is this most invincible King, whose acquirements and qualities are so many and excellent that I consider him to excel all who ever wore a crown.⁸⁴

This was written by Francesco Chiericato to Isabella d’Este, following a joust hosted by Henry VIII in 1515. Another Italian, who vis-

⁸¹ Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 11.

⁸² *ibid.*, 3.

⁸³ Ruth Anderson, *Hispanic Costume, 1480–1530* (New York, NY: The Hispanic Society of America, 1979), 109.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

ited England in 1500, the secretary of Francesco Capello, described the English as “great lovers of themselves”.⁸⁵ A part of this developing national identity was expressed through clothing. The very cut of one’s garments could determine where they were from, as much as the cloth from which they were made. In 1517 Monsieur de Boughieville, a French spy, was reported to be heading to England via Calais. He had purchased English wool and had it fashioned into clothing prior to leaving France, to use as a disguise. A description of the individual and his manservant was hastily dispatched to England, and he was captured. The fabric his clothing was made of may have been English, but the distinctively French cut of the garments and use of ornamentation immediately marked him as a foreigner.⁸⁶

While the members of the Tudor Court were accustomed to wearing garments made in the continental fashion, the vast majority of Englishmen were not. “There was a certain cachet associated with wearing imported materials because they were foreign, silk fabrics had the appeal of the exotic as they were imported from Europe and beyond”.⁸⁷ The nobility made up a very small minority of the population. By some estimates, the king, nobility, and knights made up only one percent of the total population of England and Wales combined during the early years of Henry VIII’s reign. Esquires and gentlemen accounted for only two percent, and burgesses and citizens another seven percent. Sixty-eight percent of the population consisted of base laborers, and another twenty-three percent were yeomen and artificers, and less than one percent would have been considered paupers.⁸⁸ This would mean that less than ten percent of the population would have been likely to have access to high cost materials or foreign garments.

English textile producers and merchants had been in competition with those of the continent since the 1300’s when the first high quality linen fabrics would have been imported from the Netherlands, and silks from Italy. The Great Wardrobe makes note of the use of cloth of tissue and cloth of gold or silver in the making of garments for both Henry VII and Henry VIII. However, documents recording taxes and impositions on cloth do not record the import of these cloths until 1582. It seems likely that these were imported by Italian merchants who

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, 3.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, 4.

⁸⁷ Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 85.

⁸⁸ Johnson, *The King’s Servants*, 7.

“held licenses exempting them from import duty provided that the king had first sight of the shipment”.⁸⁹ It was good to be the king; Henry VIII had access to the best of everything in England. Those who were able to maintain a close relationship with him and avoid the snares of power also had access to greater wealth and power.

Weaving the Self and Unraveling the Other: Clothing and Identity in a Historical Context

Dress is a form of visual art, a creation of images with the visible self as its medium. The most important aspect of clothing is the way it looks; all other considerations are occasional and conditional. The way clothes look depends not on how they are designed or made but on how they are perceived; and I have tried to show that the perception of clothing at any epoch is accomplished not so much directly as through a filter of artistic convention. People dress and observe other dressed people with a set of pictures in mind—pictures in a particular style. The style is what combines the clothes and the body into the accepted contemporary look not of chic, not of ideal perfection, but of natural reality.⁹⁰

Self-identity can mean many things. In the context of this research, Identity is examined in the creation of the Self, as well as in the understanding of the other. The creation of the Self was not something determined solely by the individual. Much like the creation of a garment, Selfhood was established through a series of negotiations. Other people, institutions, beliefs, and material goods all contributed to the definition and formulation of who a person was, and how that person identified him or herself. The Self was not created in a vacuum, then as now. Dress was just one of a series of negotiations which helped to bring an individual identity into focus.

That look could be used to define the Self in relation to others, or to place someone outside the pale. Clothing was frequently used to identify someone as an outsider, as recorded in Sumptuary Laws and even in popular literature. Whether a person from another town, another nation-state, or another faith, exactly who the other was depended upon who was doing the observing, and when. Castiglione, in the *Book of the Courtier* states, “the French are sometimes in being over-ample, and the Germans in being over-scanty – but be as the one and the other

⁸⁹ Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 86.

⁹⁰ Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, 311.

style can be when corrected and given better form by the Italians.”⁹¹ Castiglione’s German contemporary Conrad Celtis (1459-1508) feared that southern luxuries would soften the Germanic peoples into “a sort of distinguished slavery”, giving counterpoint to how the other was formulated.⁹²

Clothing played a major role in defining one’s self, so there is no surprise that it also was used to define “the other” as well. It could be seen in the subtle cuts of garments that changed from town to town, or region to region. Specific styles of clothing were also used in the Arts to define otherness. And perhaps it was easier to define for artists like Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), as visual conventions are much easier to convey. When Dürer depicted an Irish Gallowglass and his Kerns, it was clear to a German audience that these men were “not from around here”. Strange haircuts, bare feet, and unusual clothing were easy to pick out as something “Other”.

Another common artistic convention of the day involved the use of earrings and archaic clothing styles in Italian art to identify someone as Jewish. The artist Ambrogio Lorenzetti (mid-fourteenth century) used earrings to denote the Jewishness of the Virgin, setting her apart from Christian women, and emphasizing her otherness. “Lorenzetti’s ear-rings took Mary out of the Christian society of the northern Italian city, where they seem to have been rarely worn”.⁹³ By the mid-fifteenth century, particularly in Italy, it was difficult to discern who was “Italian” and who was “Jewish”.

They spoke the same language, lived in similar houses, and dressed with an eye to the same fashions. Jews who settled in Italy from German cities were indeed shocked by the extent of assimilation among their Italian co-religion-ists, who thought nothing of buying their wine from “the uncircumcised”. Nor can the participants in marriage scenes that illuminate numerous fifteenth-century Jewish manuscripts be identified as Jewish by their costume.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, 121.

⁹² Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 131.

⁹³ Diane Owen Hughes, “Distinguishing Signs: Ear-Rings, Jews and Franciscan Rhetoric in the Italian Renaissance City,” *Past & Present* (August 1986): 10.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

This was particularly disturbing for Franciscan friars of the day, who began in their sermons to push for a re-emergence of sumptuary legislation forcing Jewish women and girls over the age of ten to wear “rings hanging from both ears, and fixed in those ears, which should be and remain uncovered and visible to all.”⁹⁵ Jewish men and boys over the age of twelve were to wear a saffron colored cloth symbol to mark them as other. This was extremely unpopular within the Jewish community, who petitioned the Pope, who finally permitted Jewish women to stop forcibly wearing earrings in 1497.

Clothing was also used to establish who belonged in a given place. Outside the nobility, it was easy to recognize an outsider based upon what they wore. A certain civic pride of place, particularly among the middle and lower classes grouped them together in appearance and clothing choices. Courtiers and nobles might fly after the latest fashions from other lands, but for common folk, non-local dress immediately marked you as an outsider.

Perhaps more than any other part of Europe, Spain struggled with its identity of self through garments. Moorish and Moorish inspired garments were considered fashionable well into the sixteenth century, among all social classes. Nobles often dressed in Moorish fashion for comfort, while commoners and peasants did so for utility’s sake. Turbans were common, and one historian describes an experience of Charles V as he rode to Valladolid. “He was met in the road by the old Marquis of Villena, wearing a *toque* like the Saracens’ and resembling one of the Wise Men of the East.”⁹⁶ It was described as being common among country folk, particularly of the older generations, “who hated giving up their old customs.”⁹⁷ Princess Juana of Castile (1479-1555) was wed to Archduke Phillip the Fair (1478-1506) in 1496. The pair was summoned to Spain following the death of Prince Miguel, finally arriving in 1502. During this trip, two different occasions are described in which the Hapsburg Duke dressed in Moorish fashion, along with his in-laws. The first was on June twenty-fourth in Toledo. Phillip was dressed in a Moorish tunic covered with Morisco embroidery, and a long cloak, most likely a burnoose (*albornoz* in Spanish – a kind of North African cloak), and a turban. A second occasion describes him

⁹⁵ Hughes, “Distinguishing Signs: Ear-Rings, Jews and Franciscan Rhetoric in the Italian Renaissance City,” 22.

⁹⁶ Anderson, *Hispanic Costume*, 44.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*

wearing Moorish clothing to watch a bullfight and tilting with reed spears (a tournament in the Moorish tradition).⁹⁸

As was mentioned in the opening quote by Castiglione, courtiers were dressing in the Turkish fashion. This trend may be observed by looking at portraiture of such august personages as Eleanor of Toledo and Henry VIII of England. Agnolo Bronzino painted Eleanor along with her son Francesco in 1549. She wears an exquisite mulberry silk satin *zimarra* (Italian overcoat) over a mulberry velvet gown. The *zimarra* is bordered with “Arabesque” embroidery, and has frog closures of silk braid, echoing the style worn by Ottoman women.⁹⁹ Roberta Orsi Landini, author of *Moda a Firenze, 1540-1580*, states that the *zimarra* is in the Hungarian style,¹⁰⁰ but when compared to another garment worn by Henry VIII, which is referred to as a Turkey (Turkish) Gown.¹⁰¹ While Henry VIII’s gown is certainly more in the English style, it still features the strong borders of “Arabesque” embroidery and a closure made to look like a frog, but instead of a cloth knot, each is buttoned with a table-faceted stone setting. Maria Hayward describes one as “a Turquey gowne of Crimsen veluett of a newe making embraudered with Venice golde and silver like vnto Clowdes lined with Crimsen Taphata faced with Crimsen satten”.¹⁰² She goes on to cite Cawarden’s store of revels in the following:

VIIJ Cootes for Turkes of Clothe of golde with works Vide-
licet purple blacke and grene garded vpon paliwise with
◁blewe▷ Sarcennet longe sleues of clothe of golde and
blewe satten thunder sleues of red & white Sarcennet
Lozengewise viiij hedde peces to the same Turkes fashion
blewe red and yellowe Sarcennette.¹⁰³

The effect which the Ottoman court of Suleiman had on European courts is unmistakable. Both gowns depicted in the portraits discussed above show a marked resemblance to a Turkish caftan, the principle garment of the Turkish courts. The pass-through sleeves on Henry

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, 15–16.

⁹⁹ Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 17.

¹⁰⁰ Roberta Orsi-Landini and Bruna Niccoli, *Moda a Firenze, 1540–1580: Lo Stile di Eleonora di Toledo e la sua Influenza* (Firenze: Pagliai Polistampa, 2005), 59.

¹⁰¹ Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 17.

¹⁰² *ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

VIII's gown in particular, show an Ottoman influence, particularly when compared with other extant Ottoman kaftans. Looking carefully at the painting of Henry VIII, the tight hanging sleeves of his coat may be discerned. The sleeve may be seen most clearly under his left arm, bent at the elbow, holding a rod. The attraction of "the other" is clearly identifiable in these portraits, and in the descriptions left to us by Castiglione and his contemporaries. While on the one hand, the European powers considered themselves to be near war with the Ottomans, the exoticism of their clothing was irresistible to those who could afford it. Nationalist narratives were both strengthened and weakened by concepts of dress. Clothing on the streets and in the courts can give the historian windows into minds of the people.

Memory and Time

Clothing is a worn world: a world of social relations put upon the wearer's body. 'I will deeply put the fashion on, /And weare it in my heart,' says Hal. Sorrow is a fashion not because it is changeable but because fashion fashions, because what can be worn can be worn deeply. That the materials we wear work as inscriptions upon us is an insight more familiar to pre- or proto-capitalist societies than to fully capitalist ones... Clothing (by which we understand all that is worn whether shoes or doublet or armor or ring) reminds. It can do so oppressively, of course. Why for instance, should women alone have to recall the dead? But, whether oppressively or not, memory is materialized. Both ring and hair necklace are material reminders, working even when what is recalled is absent or dead. And if they remind others, they also remind the wearers themselves. This is the significance of Hal's "put[ting] on" of sorrow: sorrow will permeate him only if it acts with as much force as mourning clothes.¹⁰⁴

While it may act as a window into the minds of humanity, clothing also has the inescapable stamp of memory and time. A change of outfits can place the wearer along the perceived historical continuum more quickly than perhaps any other visual or descriptive device. When one views an individual in a garment with the hoary bouquet of another era, it immediately places the wearer into a particular context for the modern viewer. This concern with the passage of time and the changing of fashions was a preoccupation of the sixteenth century, just as today. Memory plays a huge role in the first portion of Schwarz'

¹⁰⁴Ann R. Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, 2000 (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 3.

Kleidungsbüchlein. All of the images prior to February 20, 1520 were painted from memory, as Schwarz could best recall them. The first twenty-nine images from the *Kleidungsbüchlein* are from Schwarz' memories of himself, and of his parents; this fact alone lends itself to the theory that Schwarz' little book is a work of renaissance self-fashioning.

Matthäus Schwartz opens his book with a discussion he had enjoyed in the past with "the old folk", the manner of their attire, and how it has changed. This preoccupation and desire to record one's self in time is revolutionary. We are no longer in the purely medieval world, but in a liminal, transitional place. Schwartz' world is not yet wholly modern, but the ideas he is grasping to understand and record are not the ideas of a medieval person. Schwartz was, of course, not the only person struggling with these issues of impermanence and change. Artists of the day were struggling to represent similar ideas. No longer were saints or Biblical scenes placed in the timeless robes of medieval art, but in the height of the sixteenth-century mode. The use of clothing to place a scene within a temporal context was becoming more and more common.

An example of this can be drawn from *Judith Dining with Holofernes* painted in 1531 by Lucas Cranach the Elder. Holofernes is depicted as a general of the Holy Roman Empire in a coat of red velvet, cloth of gold, and a lining of the finest sable. On his head is a coif and hat of crimson, slashed and ornamented with feathers and passanterie. Judith and her maid are dressed as high born ladies of Saxony: Judith wearing a gown of cloth of gold, banded with black velvet, her hair a mass of pearled braids. Her maid wears a slightly more demure gown of crimson wool with a crisp linen apron to denote her status as a serving girl. Holofernes' men are no longer simply the armies of Nebuchadnezzar, but *Landsknechte*; the German and Swiss mercenary soldiers campaigning all across Europe, clearly identified by their slashed woolen garments. The backdrop of the painting is not an idyllic, Biblical countryside, but a war camp below a fortified German town. Clothing was the key which opened a door for a sixteenth century viewer. By witnessing a Biblical event in a contemporary setting, a new understanding of the story was revealed. Alongside this, clothing marks the fusion of historic time with biblical time by the artist. As the wars of religion began to rage across continental Europe, the fashion choices of Schwartz and his contemporaries would shift and change, as shown

in his *Klaidungsbüchlein*. Garments would be read by the viewer a person's religious affiliation, their wealth, status or social standing.

Magnificence Reflected

As I was considering what qualities would bring praise and appeal to this work of mine about the clothing of diverse nations, ancient as well as modern, which I have assembled and explained with such great effort, I selected three criteria as the most important: antiquity, variety, and richness. Any one of these by itself can arouse curiosity in the hearts of men, but even more when they are joined together.¹⁰⁵

Matthäus Schwarz and Henry Tudor were living contemporaries. Henry VIII was born on June 28, 1491 and died on January 28, 1547. Matthäus Schwarz was born on February 20, 1497 and died in 1574. When engaging these two contemporaries, a new way of seeing each individual begins to emerge. Henry VIII's magnificence may be seen as reflecting back upon the monarch by courtiers and the gifts which he as passed on to them. Matthäus' own magnificence is in turn reflected by his image on paper. In almost every image we see of Schwarz, in his *Klaidungsbüchlein*, he is represented alone, but in a particular milieu which helps to define his tale. These images create a unique hybrid state, combining the art of limning a manuscript with the growing renaissance art of portraiture, so strongly influenced by Albrecht Durer, and his contemporaries. The simple beauty of these images reminds the viewer over and over that each page of the work was meticulously hand painted. In the dawning age of the printed book, the extravagance of commissioning a tiny, hand painted manuscript of his clothing to "see what would come of it" communicates to the viewer a sense of Schwarz' feelings of personal worth.¹⁰⁶

These limnings / portraits which make up the *Klaidungsbüchlein* were a means for Schwarz to look upon in reflection of his own magnificence, in much the same way that Henry VIII of England might have gazed in satisfaction upon his court, firm in the knowledge that it was by his magnificence that his court was upraised. Many of the images are copied from earlier images, with new and appropriated garments added over a pre-existing figure.¹⁰⁷ Even though Schwarz knew the orig-

¹⁰⁵ Margaret F. Rosenthal and Ann R. Jones, *The Clothing of the Renaissance World: Cesare Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008), 50.

¹⁰⁶ Mentges, "Fashion, Time," 382.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, 386.

inal illustrator Narziss Renner personally, the figure of Schwarz himself is much less important than the garments depicted. The fluidity of his personal features lie in stark contrast to the intense detail paid to the garments that ultimately define the identity of the sitter.

In a lovely handwritten script, Schwarz makes commentary on who, what, where, and when he was, even going so far as to cross out and make corrections from time to time. His own bodily awareness is clouded, though, by the remembrance of his clothes. The man himself is a pale shade rendered as a mere hanger for the garments which defined his sense of self. While Renner and his contemporaries might miss the specifics in regards to their sitters, the attention paid to the garments of their patrons was just the opposite.

In contrast, they paid enormous attention to costume, whose ornate splendour was lovingly reproduced, causing Christopher Breward to conclude that the aesthetics of fashion in those days were primarily intended for pictorial effect. After all, it was in paintings that the finely woven patterns of damasks and silks developed their full aesthetic impact. Dress thus served as an essential means of social identification and consequently also played a central role in the cultural construction of masculinity.¹⁰⁸

Schwarz was a man, living in a man's world. This too becomes painfully apparent when viewing his *Kleidungsbüchlein*.

Women may be mentioned periodically in his meticulous notations, but they are seldom depicted in the work. Aside from images of Schwarz' mother and sister from his early childhood, women are never depicted in the work again. Unless other figures are absolutely necessary to Schwarz' narrative, he is depicted alone, even at his own wedding. He is depicted once with his employer, Jacob Fugger. Schwarz is also depicted with his children and with his page as he prepares for battle, but these figures always reflect somehow on the magnificence of Schwarz. Fugger is his link to a greater, wealthier world. Schwarz' children appear as a sort of worldly possession, gathered around their father's sick bed during an outbreak of influenza in Augsburg.¹⁰⁹ These surely are a means to further his own magnificence; these were his link

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 384.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, 386.

to the future. Schwarz would go on to encourage his son Veit Konrad to commission his own little book of clothes. Neither Schwarz nor his son ever depicted his wife in their respective books.

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of Schwarz *Kleidungsbüchlein* is its depiction of a sort of intangible, but visually manifest everyday life. The informal quality of these half-portrait / half-illuminated images presents before the viewer random glimpses into sixteenth century mundanity. Even as they reflect the magnificence of the patron, they open windows to a masculine world not often glimpsed in formal portraiture. Particularly during Schwarz' youth, the book presents images of the patron in various states of undress while fencing, practicing or competing in archery, while wearing the garments of a student or traveler, or even posing nude to capture the look of his own body as he began to gain weight in his thirties. These are images rarely captured in more formal portraiture, where a gentleman would almost always be depicted in his finest clothing. With only a few exceptions, men were depicted wearing a doublet, jerkin, gown, and hat. This is the case in many of Schwarz' pages as well, but not in all of them. Several depict him wearing a more relaxed form of partial dress, particularly without a gown or cloak. These less formal depictions are as important as the works of Pieter Brueghel the Elder and his contemporaries in their depiction of peasants in realizing a more complete view of the sixteenth century. The formal dress depicted in portraiture was only a part of the picture in regards to what people wore on a day to day basis.

It might seem strange to think of informal paintings of a man conducting himself at fencing or archery as a representation of magnificence, but these images also represent a man with time on his side. Schwarz was firmly established in the Fugger bookkeeping firm by the time he was nineteen. In his twenties he depicts himself taking up fencing, archery, hunting, and other pursuits of the gentry and nobility. These hobbies presented well-heeled youths with dress opportunities, and means of gathering together in a particular social milieu where connections and contacts could be made, as they were seeing, and being seen. Free time and the money to capitalize on it were other forms of magnificence.

This free time and money was even more apparent in the sartorial world of Henry VIII. As a king, it was necessary to emphasize his authority through his clothing. By appearing publically in dramatic dis-

plays of rich fabrics, jewels, and furs his power would symbolically emanate from his dress. In 1520, Tudor is described as dressing as Hercules when he met Francis I of France in Guisnes.¹¹⁰ This allusion to a classical demi-god was no accident. Henry VIII was relying on this image to bolster his image with the French king, and his subjects. A larger than life figure, the adventures of Hercules would have been known to the French court, and Tudor played on this knowledge with his revelry costume. “Why was clothing such a good vehicle for the expression of royal magnificence? In great part, it was the rarity of these expensive and sumptuous garments”.¹¹¹ Only a handful of the highest ranking nobles in the country could hope to afford to compete with Tudor in sartorial magnificence. One problem would have been the king’s reaction to it; likely they would have quickly become suspect of treason, as in the fate of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey.¹¹² The other was the issue of maintaining such a large expenditure over an extended period of time.

When meeting other royalty, it was important for Tudor to maintain appearances while being careful not to outshine his royal contemporaries. To do so could quickly sour relations between monarchs. During meetings with Francis I of France, Emperor Maximilian I, and later with Carlos V, Tudor was careful to maintain a sense of enriched equality, often wearing garments which matched in color, type of cloth, and in embellishment. It was important to show onlookers that he was a king, but not to create an international incident by insulting the other monarch.

Growing Magnificence: Tudor and Schwarz as Children

In the midst stood Prince Henry, now nine years old, and having already something of royalty in his demeanour in which there was a certain dignity combined with a singular courtesy.

–Desiderius Erasmus, 1499¹¹³

Record of both Henry VIII’s and Matthäus Schwarz’s childhood wardrobes exist. These make an interesting contrast in what was em-

¹¹⁰ Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 10.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*

¹¹² Surrey was a high ranking noble, with a refined and expensive sense of public display. He was put to death by Tudor on January 19, 1547, and was deeply in debt at the time, due to his constant overspending. He was incidentally Henry VIII’s last public execution prior to the king’s death on January 28, 1547.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 90.

phasized during the recollection of childhood. A drawing of the young Henry Tudor exists in the collection of the Bibliothèque de Méjanes in Aix-en-Provence, France. It depicts a chubby boy in typical clothes of the era, a square neck, probably smocked shirt, with a deeply square necked doublet. Over this is a gown or coat, tied in front. The young prince wears a coif on his head, tied below his chin. He also wears a bonnet with ostrich plumes overall. His hair is cut in an even fringe beneath his coif. The image is undated, but it appears to depict the prince at around the age of three or four. Because of the rough nature of the sketch, no details about the textiles themselves can be discerned. In an image from 1500, at about the same age as the portrait drawing of Henry VIII, Matthäus Schwarz has himself depicted in a similar outfit to Tudor's. His gown or coat appears to be a scarlet red, with a white, square necked jerkin over the top. His shirt is visible at the neckline, of the little gown, and he wears a black belt and small girdle purse. He is aged three years and six months. Schwarz is abed with a fever, most likely chicken pox.¹¹⁴ Schwarz's toy ball, and little men on horseback are on a low trestle table beside his bed. His sister sits and fans him, in an attempt to keep him comfortable.

It is interesting to note how similar the garments are for these two boys. While Tudor grew up in England, and Schwarz in Augsburg, one a prince, and one firmly middle class, the cut of their garments are quite similar. The deep square neckline is evident on both garments. Tudor's sleeves appear to be a bit more sumptuous, in a leg o'mutton style, while Schwarz's sleeves are less full, but otherwise, the cut is remarkably similar.

Early childhood accounts of Tudor and Schwarz vary somewhat, as might be expected. Our knowledge of Henry Tudor's childhood comes from the words and accounts of others, while our knowledge of Schwarz comes from the way he presents himself in the *Klaidungsbüchlein*. Tudor's childhood was much more public, seeking to establish the boy as second prince of the Tudor line. Henry VII bought several horses for "my lord Harry" in 1494; Tudor would have been two and a half at the time. By the time he was three years old Tudor was proclaimed Duke of York in a direct attempt to discredit the claim Perkin

¹¹⁴ Braunstein states that the manuscript in Paris does not mention chicken pox, that this information is found in a copy of the manuscript in Brunswick, and that in addition to chicken pox, Syphilis ("une éruption de mal français") was sweeping through Augsburg at this time. See Braunstein, *Un banquier mis à nu*, 116.

Warbeck laid to the title.¹¹⁵ On the same day, he was also made a Knight of the Bath. Loade's Chronicles states:

At about thre in the afternoon the duke of York, called Lord Henry, the king's second son, came through the city. A child of about four years of age, he sat on a courser and rode to Westminster to the king with a goodly company.¹¹⁶

The young prince was given all of the livery for his station as duke and as a knight. In 1495, the prince is honored again, this time being made a Knight of the Garter. His father supplied a tailor with silks to make his robes. He was also given a gown of black camlet lined with expensive imported lamb skin, a black satin gown, and a scarlet petticoat. In a number of the accounts from the Great Wardrobe, the actual cost of the young prince's garments is not recorded. By looking at the descriptions, however, we can note that his garments were made of expensive fabrics, but not overly so. Subtle descriptions also show that Henry's clothing was fine, but a little less so than his older brother Prince Arthur, who was in line for the throne. "Like his elder brother's Garter livery for 1499, his consisted of a blue cloth gown and a matching hood, but Henry's only has 160 garters".¹¹⁷

The young Matthäus Schwarz wasn't a prince, but he was very concerned with his appearance, even at a young age. At the age of five years and four months, in the year 1502, Schwarz remembers himself in a black schoolboy's coat, striped hosen, and a red book bag, as he practices his letters. In 1504, at the age of seven years and two months, he has himself depicted in the livery of Kunz von der Rosen, the fool of Emperor Maximilian. The image makes it clear before ever reading the text; Schwarz was quite unhappy in his job as page to von der Rosen. The saucy boy sticks his tongue out behind the back of his liege. In the text Schwarz complains about having to constantly follow him, "at all times" during the three weeks he served him.¹¹⁸ Perhaps because Schwarz's *Klaidungsbüchlein* is a more private memoir, much of his character and exuberance comes through in the image and description.

¹¹⁵ Perkin Warbeck was a pretender to the English throne who claimed to be Richard of Shrewsbury, one of the "princes in the tower".

¹¹⁶ Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 89.

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Braunstein, *Un banquier mis à nu*, 116.

It is not difficult to imagine the naughty youth who would at age fourteen years and two months, throw his school books into the street and stomp on them.¹¹⁹

Far less of Tudor's personality and character are vividly expressed in the way of Schwarz's. One must read between the lines of the entries from Tudor's youth to find something of the person he was. Tudor's love of sport begins to become apparent in 1505, when a warrant was sent out to obtain a black satin arming doublet. Arming doublets were special quilted coats to be worn under armor, in this instance, most likely for Tudor to take part in a tournament. A year later the accounts of his grandmother Margaret Beaufort list a horse, saddle and harness. "She bought him another saddle for his first public appearance jousting in June 1507".¹²⁰ While his grandmother was lavishing him with gifts, her son, King Henry VII was more concerned with being frugal, a trait his son Henry VIII would not share. A number of warrants issued by Henry VII detail garments which were repaired or reworked instead of being replaced. This trend, while not entirely displaced, was far less common in the Wardrobe of Henry VIII.

The Cult of Youth: Clothing and Ageism in the Sixteenth Century

Indeed, examined closely, it becomes apparent that Matthäus Schwarz's album is rather more than mere self-fashioning. The book captures his appearance from teenage to old age – the final image leading him to reflect sardonically on how different life seemed now from the years in his prime, when he dressed in red; not wanting to appear mutton dressed as lamb, in age he wore black. Just as today, an interest in fashion was mostly associated with youth. As a young king, Henry VIII, for example, pioneered the renaissance vogue for monocoloured splendor, throwing a lavish party with 24 young men fitted out, in the German style, in "yellow satin, hosen, shoes girdles and bonettes with yellow feathers."¹²¹

In the sixteenth century as now, youth and fashion went hand in hand. In the early sixteenth century, both Henry VIII and Matthäus Schwarz were young men, bent on dressing their best for every occasion. As Rublack states in the quotation above, modern people gener-

¹¹⁹ Braunstein, *Un banquier mis à nu*, 17.

¹²⁰ Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 91.

¹²¹ Ulinka Rublack, "Maintaining a Sense of Proportion," *CAM: Cambridge Alumni Magazine* (2011): 27.

ally associate youth with fashion. This is not a new concept, and it certainly held true in the early sixteenth century. As we continue to explore the fashion lives of Henry VIII and Matthäus Schwarz, a pattern emerges that depicts the garments of youth, adulthood, and old age. These two exemplars will not enter these stages at the same time; how could they? One is a king, and one is a bookkeeper. This does not change the fact that there was a culturally appropriate mode of dress for men of varying ages and responsibilities during this era.

Beyond wearing “age appropriate” clothing, the make-up of a sixteenth century man’s wardrobe changed as he aged based upon his activities as well. Henry VIII had special clothing set aside for tilting, the joust, and other tournament based activities. Special garments were required to wear underneath armor, both for protection from the chafing metal, and to act as an armature of sorts to attach the pieces of steel plate to. These garments had to be fitted individually to insure that the armor functioned properly. Henry VIII also had special garments for hunting and stalking game. These garments would have provided warmth or breathability, depending on the season. Hunting clothes also allowed for maneuverability for hunting on horseback and for the occasions when the chases slowed and dismount was required. Garments for tennis were also listed among Henry’s possessions early in his reign. All of the required accessories were listed as well, including various and sundry tack for horses, hawking gloves, dog collars, and leashes. “By 1547 these types of dress had almost disappeared from the king’s wardrobe because the king’s sporting activities were limited to very sedate forms of hunting.”¹²² We see a definite shift in the sorts of garments worn by both Henry VIII and Matthäus Schwarz as the two grow older. Schwarz’s clothes become more and more understated, both in style and in color. By 1535 he is wearing black clothing with only small dashes of color. The last depiction of red in his garments is in 1542. Schwarz is depicted wearing only monochromatic shades of black, gray, and brown in 1547 and after; as befitting a man of his age and station during this period. Maria Hayward calls attention to the portraiture of the aging Henry VIII in her work, *Rich Apparel*.¹²³ Hayward defines seven stages of portraiture for Tudor, each depicting

¹²² Hayward, “Fashion, Finance, Foreign Politics and the Wardrobe of Henry VIII,” 168–69.

¹²³ Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 155.

changes in the king's physical appearance, and his dress.¹²⁴In his final portrait, painted in 1542, Henry VIII wears a "turkey goun" or cassock, which is closed in front to cover his great bulk, and he holds a staff, which was necessary by that time to allow the king to walk. There is a noticeable shift in the mood of the portrait, and in the style of dress. Gone is the flamboyant, Almain-inspired crimson and gold embroidered affair; it has been replaced with a somber gown. The garment is still heavily embellished with embroidery, but in a far more understated way, more suitable to a man of Henry's age.

Age played a major role in the way a sixteenth century person was expected to dress, just as it does today. Even kings were bent to the will of time; perhaps even more than a normal man because of the need to appear wise and strong. To present one's self as a boy would undermine a king's power. Similarly, for Schwarz, to remain too long a bachelor, wearing the costume of youth would have eventually led his peers to talk. Rumors of homosexuality or immaturity would force the most free-spirited of men into marriage. At the age of 38, Schwarz was still unmarried, and pushing the boundaries of accepted youthful play.¹²⁵

A Final Fitting: Fashion in the Psychic Landscape

Nonetheless it is too simplistic to treat fashion, as the French sociologist Gilles Lipovetsky does, as an engine of Western modernity. In his view, fashion exploded tradition and encouraged self-determination, individual dignity and opinion-making. Fashion did indeed play this role to some extent in the 16th century, but not in uniform ways and directions, let alone just in the West. Clothes were already forming an important part of what we can call people's 'psychic landscapes'. Wardrobes were already storehouses of fantasies and insecurity, as well as accommodations to expectations of what a person ought to look and be like.¹²⁶

Through the use of visual and sartorial records left behind by Schwarz and Tudor, an understanding of their own "psychic landscapes" can be developed. Tudor's Great Wardrobe leaves details for the massive household which he dressed yearly. Wives, children, servants and friends, Henry VIII spent lavishly on dress. He was creating his own psychic landscape upon the backs of those who surrounded

¹²⁴ Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 155.

¹²⁵ Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 57.

¹²⁶ Rublack, "Maintaining a Sense of Proportion," 26.

him. Most everyone he saw or dealt with on a daily basis were clothed from his stores or from gifts given by him. Servants and household staff in particular were dressed according to the king's wishes. Henry could create a visual/sartorial microcosm with those around him in a public space. He is looking at himself, as worn by another. Tudor's identity as a public figure was dependent upon his court to cooperate with and create his majesty. In much the same way, Schwarz was using his *Kleidungsbüchlein* to create his identity by reflecting upon his image on the page. His world was a private one, contained within his mind, and upon the pages of his little book. This expression of the public versus the private is one of the major separating factors of Schwarz and Tudor. Both were inordinately concerned with creating his own world; Tudor's may have been on a grander scale in terms of sheer wealth and quantity, but ultimately Schwarz's private musings set him on an equal footing in regards to what we as historians are able to know about these contemporaries and their sartorial adventures.

The role of the renaissance imagination and the popular dress of the period were not as separated as we have in the modern period. Dress played a greater role in symbolizing who a person was, and what his or her role in life might be. Public performance was a part of life during this period, and clothing maintained an essential role in these performances, and in defining the psychic landscape of the observers and participants. Schwarz wore his public clothing in order to see and be seen at particular public events, just as Henry VIII did for his court (and conversely, his court did for him). Anne Hollander, author of the groundbreaking art historical work, *Seeing Through Clothes*, addresses the influence of the merging of renaissance public and private spaces in the psychic landscape in the following quote:

It is an influence on perception, one that may have some similarity to the way garments worn at public theatrical events in the Renaissance – civic processions, essentially, which marked festivals year after year in the streets and squares of European towns – were perceived. Such Renaissance street festivals were in fact moving pictures in which both spectators and performers saw themselves sharing, both dressed to see and be seen, two groups of ordinary people in festive clothes made more extraordinary by ceremonial circumstances... To make a show with clothes, without the demands of song or dance or spoken text, is a

way of permitting ordinary citizens to be spectacular performers without any talent whatsoever. Physical beauty is not necessary, either. A simple public procession of specially dressed-up ordinary people is one of the oldest kinds of shows in the world; it has probably continued to exist because it never fails to satisfy both those who watch and those who walk.¹²⁷

Hollander confines this to processions in her work, but it can be applied more broadly to the life of a courtier of the day; or an accountant, in the case of Schwarz. These opportunities to see and be seen weren't limited to festival days. The weddings, funerals, and public gatherings which Schwarz describes in the *Kleidungsbüchlein* are equally suited to this description. Courtiers to Henry VIII also engaged, at times, almost daily in a sort of dance of dress, using appropriate clothing to reflect the king's magnificence back upon him like living mirrors.

Public events like weddings and court gatherings gave people with the money to indulge in it, the opportunity to create lavish displays of magnificence. As noted in the Groebner quote above, all the employees of the Fugger firm were given matching outfits to wear to the wedding of their boss Anton Fugger.¹²⁸ In similar fashion, when Henry VIII travelled to France to meet with Francois I at the "Field of Cloth of Gold" he spent more than £10,000 on cloth alone.¹²⁹ These great expenditures were expected for a king. Magnificence was his calling card. For a man of Schwarz's social standing, less magnificence was allowable, but he still had to keep up appearances in order to maintain his position at the Fugger Firm. If he wished to move up in the company, and in society, this social movement required that he visually fit the role he aspired to.

Matthäus Schwarz was careful not to include his carnival dress in the *Kleidungsbüchlein*.¹³⁰ He did this in order to capture a true sense of his personhood without it being somehow sullied with the imaginative. It can be argued, however that imagination still played a major role in his little book of clothes, just as it did for the fashion choices

¹²⁷ Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, 240.

¹²⁸ Groebner, "Inside Out," 109–10.

¹²⁹ Hayward, "Fashion, Finance, Foreign Politics and the Wardrobe of Henry VIII," 171.

¹³⁰ Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 37.

of men across the sixteenth century. All of the clothing prior to February 20, 1520 are pulled from Schwarz's memory. It is impossible that imagination could be completely removed from the process of remembering his old clothes, particularly those from his youth, and infancy. When Schwarz appears dressed in a blue and yellow French riding livery in Milan, or when Henry VIII and his band of companions appear dressed as Germans in yellow, we have a deeper sense of the renaissance imagination at work. Even more so, when Henry VIII appears in a costume dressed as Hercules he is communicating this sense of fantasy with his clothing. There was a kind of mental alchemy at work as Tudor equated himself with a figure from myth. The figure of Hercules represented things to the renaissance imagination, and Henry VIII was actively playing on that in his choice of representation. Tudor's own larger than life stature played into bringing this mythological icon to life. At the same time, the figure of Hercules breathed a sense of otherworldly magnificence into Tudor's reign as king. The cultural influences of the day are made manifest in clothing choices. Perceptions of the self, or how one wished to be perceived were hung in layers upon the body, creating a sort of landscape in which the real and the imagined conjoin to create an identity worthy of a king, or even of an up and coming banker.

Beyond the curious admixture of mythological fantasy and garments, one must consider the place of the other in the psychic landscape of the sixteenth century. Perhaps the most vaunted representation of the sixteenth century other was Süleyman Muhtesem, better known as Suleiman the Magnificent. Suleiman rose to power in 1520, the same year that Schwarz began his *Klaidungsbüchlein*. He would reign until 1566, well beyond the end of the reign of Henry VIII, and after the last image was placed in Schwarz's *Klaidungsbüchlein* as well. The push by the Ottoman Turks into Eastern Europe had begun with his great-grandfather, Mehmet the II, but Belgrade had always eluded capture. Suleiman was determined to finish what his predecessor had started. Even as "The Great Turk" stood in opposition to European Christendom, a curious interchange was taking place. European nobles were seen wearing Turkish inspired clothing and embroidery. As mentioned earlier, "Turkey Gounes" are listed among Henry VIII's possessions in his Great Wardrobe, and he wears one in his iconic 1542 portrait.

Clothing is inseparable from the created identity in the modern era, just as it was in the sixteenth century. It was a powerful tool used for personal gain, or to plot men's downfalls. For those who had the eye for it, a good sense of fashion could mean a total shift of fortunes. As we saw with Matthäus Schwarz, our intrepid banker, his calculated use of clothing propelled him into the nobility, and our king, Henry VIII utilized clothing to project the image of "Bluff King Hal". Working within the confines of their world, these men were able to use clothing to define themselves. It cannot be said that this was an independent creation, but it is creation nonetheless. By recognizing the performative nature of dress, both men were able to utilize garments to their utmost advantage while taking part in both calculated and spontaneous public events.

It is the public nature of dress which gives it its power. There is an unspoken communication taking place; words are unnecessary, the garment speaks and the eyes hear. No one in the sixteenth century would mistake Matthäus Schwarz, the Augsburg bookkeeper, for an English king. Likewise, it would be impossible to confuse Henry VIII for a German banker. Each of these men is walking along a continuum of power, as expressed in the sumptuary laws of the day. As men of Henry's rank and power sought to limit the grandeur of those beneath them, men like Matthäus were using sartorial display as a means to gain access to higher circles of privilege.

The exploration of garments as a tool of historic study delves into the history of commerce, of gender and sexuality, of ideas, and the history of art, as well. It is a study of things; observing how possessions can take on a life of their own, and in that life, drive the lives of others.

Images of Sacrifice: Religion, Power, and Colonial Ambition in the Americas

Louise Hancox

Flemish engraver Theodor de Bry worked tirelessly to further the expansionist ambitions of the Protestant powers in the late 16th century. His illustrations of Bartolomé de Las Casas' *Short History of the Destruction of the Indies* and his own monumental nine volume series, the *Grandes Voyages*, served to justify the planting of Protestantism in the New World. Though scholars have argued that de Bry's depictions of human sacrifice and cannibalism served as proto-racist depictions through which the early Protestant colonists defined themselves, his images did not condemn the Indians but rather the Spanish Catholics who had both brutalized them and exposed them to Catholic idolatry.¹ Protestant artists visualized the indigenous Americans as Greco-Romans from their own pagan past, pagans who would be redeemed

¹ Historian Jennifer Morgan argues that early travel accounts and images such as those produced by de Bry gave early American colonists a conception of racial superiority to Indians even before they left England. Jennifer Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); see also Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Man's Burden: Historical Origins of Racism in the United States* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974).

by reformed Christianity.² De Bry used images of Aztec human sacrifice and cannibalism as the link to Catholic idolatry. Through such images Protestants visualized the Black Legend and found the axis of their colonial legitimacy. To them, Protestant settlement of the Americas was necessary to limit Spanish power and to rescue the pagan Indians from their Spanish oppressors.

However, this article will argue that Protestant use of human sacrifice images to justify imperialist expansion was not novel. They had been previously used by the Aztecs to justify war and expansion, the Spaniards to justify the conquest of Mexico, and only lastly by Protestants to pursue their own colonial ambitions. While Spanish Catholicism and the demands of the Papal Bull of 1493 worked to mediate the brutality of the Spanish Conquest and provided opportunities for profound religious syncretism with the Indians, Protestant colonists ultimately found themselves without grounds for or the need to compromise. By the end of the 17th century, the Protestants in America moved towards defining their political and religious identity in opposition to the Indians rather than the Spanish.

Human sacrifice and anthropophagy had been practiced in religious rituals in Mesoamerica long before the arrival of the Aztecs. Human sacrifices were partly payment for divine gifts and partly intended to sustain the motion of the cosmos.³ However, the Aztecs fused this religious justification for sacrifice with their political goals of expansion and conquest. In the Classic period (200–650/900 C.E.) the principal role of human sacrifice was to legitimate and sanctify individual leadership and personal power. By the Postclassic period (900/1000–1521 C.E.), the role of sacrifice was elevated to the higher plane of interpolity and regional competition.⁴ These militaristic cults of human sacrifice became social weapons justifying and even motivating political expansion. Under Aztec rule, the hungry gods demanded more war

² Thomas B.F. Cummins, “Through the ‘Devil’s Looking-glass’ Darkly: Brazilians, Peruvians, Aztecs, and Zemis in Europe; Serlio and Hercules in the Americas,” in *The Arts of South America, 1492–1850: Papers from the Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2008), 19–46.

³ Alfredo López Austin and Leonardo López Luján, *Mexico’s Indigenous Past*, trans. Bernard R. Ortiz de Montellano (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001).

⁴ Arthur A. Demarest, “Overview: Human Sacrifice in Evolutionary Perspective,” in *Ritual Human Sacrifice in Mesoamerica: A Conference at Dumbarton Oaks* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library / Collection, 1984), 234.

captives which, in turn, led them to wage war against neighboring peoples.⁵ After conquest and inclusion into the Aztec empire, conquered groups provided tribute, which supported the building of the capital city, Tenochtitlan, and added to Aztec ability to wage war.

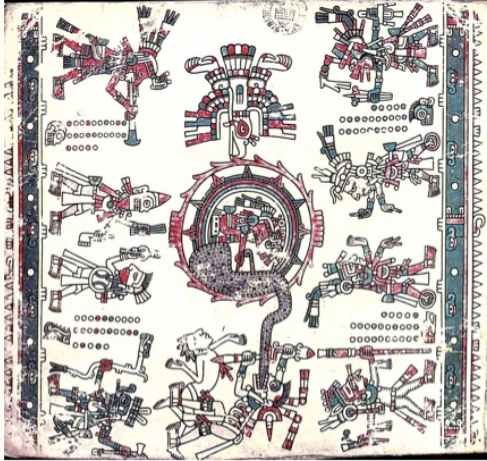


Figure 1: First page of the Codex Laud portraying the heart sacrifice to the gods, pre-Columbian Mixtec Codex, Oaxaca Region, Mexico.⁶

The Aztecs recorded their religious traditions in pictorial manuscripts known as codices. The codices are painted narratives on animal hides that are often over twenty feet long and were folded for storage and transportation. Noble families employed painters to record their connections to the gods. Some, like the Codex Borgia explain the religious need for sacrifice.⁷ Figure 1 depicts the first page of the Codex Laud, part of the Borgia Group. Here death, pictured as a figure at the lower center, is performing a human sacrifice to the four gods by extracting the victim's heart.⁸

⁵ Austin and Luján, *Mexico's Indigenous Past*, 190.

⁶ ©Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc., www.famsi.org.

⁷ The great Aztec and Mixtec libraries once held the histories and also the divinatory and religious codices. These codices revealed the centrality of human sacrifice. Only a few of the divinatory codices survive today. Only nine remain from the Mixteca-Puebla-Tlaxcala region. Seven are the Borgia Group codices and then the Aztec codices Codex Borbonicus and Tonalamatl Aubin.

⁸ Mesoamerican Codices. Online exhibit. Special Collections, University of Arizona Library. <http://speccoll.library.arizona.edu/exhibits/mexcodex/laud01.htm>.

While the codices explain the need for sacrifice, the architecture of Tenochtitlan and especially the Templo Mayor conveyed the centrality of human sacrifice to Aztec political ambitions. David Carrasco argues that the building of Tenochtitlan, founded about 1325, was “a performance of authority and war as well as a model of cosmological order.”⁹ In addition to symbolic architecture, the Aztecs used the skull as a symbol of sacrifice and their success in war. Aztec nobles wore necklaces of small skulls carved of gold or shell, representative skull racks were carved into the stone walls of the Templo Mayor, and real skull racks stood close by reminding all of the power of the great Aztec Empire.

The imperialist ambitions of the Aztecs came to an end with the arrival of Hernan Cortés and the resulting Spanish conquest. The impressive nature of the Aztec empire with its grandiose architecture and libraries full of codices was immediately apparent to the Spanish. Cortés reported in his Second Letter that

... these people live almost like those in Spain, and in as much harmony and order as there, and considering they are barbarous and so far from the knowledge of God and cut off from all civilized nations, it is truly remarkable to see what they have achieved in all things.¹⁰

Fray Francisco de Aguilar confirmed the splendor of Tenochtitlan:

...the day they entered the City of Mexico, when they saw the height and grandeur of the temples, they thought them castellated fortresses, splendid monuments and defenses of the city, or castles or royal dwelling places, crowned with turrets and watchtowers. Such were the glorious heights which could be seen from afar! Thus the eight or nine temples in the city were all close to one another within a large enclosure... How marvelous it was to gaze upon them – some taller than others, some more lavish than others, some with their entrances facing the east, others the west, others the north, others the south! All stuccoed,

⁹ David Carrasco, *The City of Sacrifice: The Aztec Empire and the Role of Violence in Civilization* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1999), 16.

¹⁰ In Lewis Hanke, *All Mankind is One: A Study of the Disputation Between Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in 1550 on the Intellectual and Religious Capacity of the American Indians* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1962), 12.

carved and crowned with different types of merlons, painted with animals, (covered) with stone figures, strengthened by great, wide buttresses! How (the temples) gave luster to the city! How they gave it dignity...¹¹

Faced with such an impressive civilization, the Spanish searched for and quickly found an ideological context in which to find their superiority over the Aztecs and assert their religious and political identity. The Papal Bull of 1493 had granted most of the New World to the Spanish but required conversion and protection of the Indians. The practice of human sacrifice confirmed that the Indians were in need of both conversion and also protection from themselves thus cementing the religious and political justification for conquest. The centrality of human sacrifice to the colonial ambitions of the Spanish is first evidenced in the map of Tenochtitlan commissioned by Cortés. The map clearly presents the Templo Mayor at the center with the caption “Templum ubi Sacrificant” in bold letters for all to see. (Figure 2)



Figure 2: Map of Tenochtitlan, prepared for Hernan Cortés, 1524.¹²

¹¹ Account of the entry of the conquistadores into Tenochtitlan recorded by Diego Durán from conversations with Fray Francisco de Aguilar and others. Fray Diego Durán, *Book of the Gods and Rites and the Ancient Calendar*, trans. Fernando Horcasitas and Doris Heyde (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 75.

¹² Photo Courtesy of the Newberry Library.

The temple where sacrifice had taken place represented the ideological axis for the conquest as religion and politics were inextricably linked together for both the Aztecs and the Spanish. The temple was quickly destroyed and replaced with a Christian church, asserting the domination of the Spanish Catholics and reassuring them of their political legitimacy.

Similarly, after the conquest, many of the codices containing references to sacrifice were destroyed as part of the widespread iconoclasm that occurred. Clergy, like the Franciscan Juan de Zumarraga, ordered the burning of painted manuscripts in order to forestall the memory of idolatrous practices.¹³ However, some of the mendicant friars sought to record the barbaric practices of human sacrifice and cannibalism in order to justify the colonial project. They also hoped to learn about Indian idolatry and replace it with Christian ritual. These friars drew upon the Aztec tradition of manuscript painting to record these practices just as the Indians had utilized the codices in the pre-Columbian period. The Codex Durán, the Florentine Codex and the Codex Magliabechiano were produced by native artists for this purpose.

The codices of the Magliabechiano group were all derivatives of a common prototype produced in the mid-16th century for use by the Spanish friars in understanding and fighting idolatry in the New World.¹⁴ The copy now known as the Codex Magliabechiano presents the eighteen monthly feasts, two moveable feasts, the pulque gods and related deities as well as a miscellaneous group of gods and customs.¹⁵ The codex also includes explicit scenes of human sacrifice and cannibalism. In this scene from the Codex Magliabechiano (Figure 3) the Indian artist graphically depicts a heart sacrifice on the steps of the Templo Mayor.

Dominican Fray Diego Durán believed that the old pagan gods of the Aztecs (the loathsome devils as he termed them) were still alive in New Spain and that the Indians persisted in their idolatry even after fifty years of contact with Spanish priests.¹⁶ While hearing the confession of a woman near death, Durán removed her head covering to discover her head shorn according to ancient custom. Children, who

¹³ Durán, *Book of the Gods and Rites and the Ancient Calendar*, 22.

¹⁴ Elizabeth H. Boone, *The Codex Magliabechiano and the Lost Prototype of the Magliabechiano Group* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 34.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, 21.

¹⁶ Durán, *Book of the Gods and Rites and the Ancient Calendar*, 12.



Figure 3: Unknown Native Artists of New Spain, Codex Magliabechiano, 16th Century.¹⁷

ran when they saw him approach, wore the feathers of wild birds attached with liquid rubber.¹⁸ He blamed clerical indifference for their lapse as the friars often failed to correct these old practices. Durán also believed that not enough had been done to record the ancient practices of the Indians in order to understand and illuminate an understanding of them.

By studying the pictorial records, Durán found many parallels between Christianity and native religion especially with reference to the Old Testament. He began to believe that the great number of similarities between the practices of the Hebrews and the Aztecs suggested that Mexican natives were of Jewish origin. Both had strict dietary practices and the god Topiltzin, just as Moses, had parted the sea to allow his persecuted people to pass through the gap.¹⁹ The ancient Hebrews also participated in animal sacrifice and had even offered human sacrifice as recorded in Psalm 106. He intended to record the Indian practices in order to design a program of conversion to eradicate them.

Durán commenced his chronicle in 1576, the same year as the Black Death came to New Spain, perhaps to punish the Indians for their idolatry. Duran believed that the conversion of the Indians rested on an un-

¹⁷ ©Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc., www.famsi.org

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 20.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, 24.

derstanding of their religion and traditions. Some criticized that depictions of idolatry would revive the practices among Indians, but Duran understood that the Indians had been careful about preserving their traditions. His work served to warn and educate. He wrote

It has not been my purpose to tell fables and ancient customs but to warn with Christian zeal the ministers of God who with such fervor practice the ministry which God gave them and for which they were chosen to fulfill their blessed works. Let them search out, let them uproot the tares which grow among the wheat. Let them be ripped out so that they not grow side by side with the divine law and doctrine.²⁰

Later, José de Acosta used a large portion of the Codex Durán in his own chronicles upon which, in turn, Theodor de Bry based his account of the Aztecs in book nine of the *Grandes Voyages*.²²

Likewise, Fray Bernardino de Sahágun understood that religion was the key to the Aztec civilization. He wrote in the prologue to Book 1 of the Florentine Codex,

in religion and the adoration of their gods, I do not believe that there have ever been idolaters more devoted to their gods, nor at such great cost to themselves as these (people) of New Spain.²³

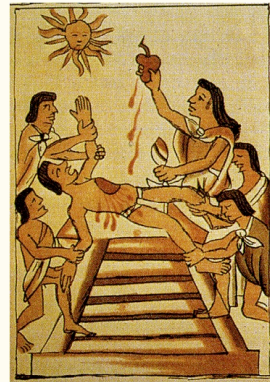


Figure 4: Unknown Artists of New Spain, Fray Bernardino de Sahágun, Florentine Codex, 16th Century.²¹

²⁰ Durán, *Book of the Gods and Rites and the Ancient Calendar*, 42.

²¹ Courtesy of Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

²² *ibid.*

²³ Fray Bernardino de Sahágun, "General History of the Things of New Spain: The Florentine Codex," World Digital Library, Accessed November 11, 2012, http://www.wdl.org/en/item/10612/%5C#search%5C_page=1%5C&collection=florentine-codex%5C&view%5C_type=gallery (Accessed November 11, 2012).

Like Durán, Sahágún was especially concerned about the practice of human sacrifice but also saw the great utility of understanding native religion in order to facilitate conversion. Figures 4 and 5 convey graphic scenes of human sacrifice common to the codex. The images depict the Aztec priests restraining sacrifice victims and removing their hearts as offerings to the gods.



Figure 5: Unknown Native Artists of New Spain, Fray Bernardino de Sahágún, Florentine Codex, 16th century.²¹

The friars' fears that human sacrifice and cannibalism persisted in secret were well founded. There is evidence that the Indians continued old religious practices including animal and human sacrifice as well as cannibalism. In 1528, one of the nobles of Cuauhtinchan was hanged for eating the flesh of a sacrificed victim. People were summoned from the area around the town for the punishment of the town's lord. The *Anales de Techamachalco* recorded the event:

13 Reed, 1531. Golden number 12. In this year a comet appeared. At this time they hanged the tlatoque of Cuauhtinchan, the deceased Uillacapitzin, Tlacochealcatl, and Tochoyotl, because they sang a *tlacatecolocuicatl* "hymn to the devil," and some women for making a human offering that killed a boy, etc. They were hanged at this time by authorization of Fray Alonso Jaurez, guardian of Tepeaca.²⁴

²⁴ Ethelia Ruiz Medrano, "The Lords of the Land: The Historical Context of the Mapa de Cuauhtinchan No. 2," in *Cave, City and Eagle's Nest: An Interpretive Journey through the Mapa de Cuauhtinchan No. 2*, ed. David Carrasco and Scott Sessions (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 105.

While the Indians continued to practice their religious practices away from the watchful eyes of the friars, they also continued to produce images of sacrifice to maintain their religious and political identity. The continuation of these practices threatened Spanish religious and political hegemony.

The codices prepared by the mendicant friars to record the practices and the idolatry of the Indians contained the most explicit images of human sacrifice. In contrast, Ethelia Ruiz Medrano argues that none of the maps or codices that were presented to colonial tribunals had overt scenes of sacrifice as the Indians were careful not to unduly antagonize Spanish officials.²⁵ However, Indians continued to use both covert and overt images of sacrifice to assert their religious and political identity. Mapa de Cuauhtinchan 2, produced in the mid-sixteenth century, presents the history of the Indians of Cuauhtinchan and how they came to settle in the region. Unlike maps presented to Spanish authorities, this map clearly presents scenes in which two Chichimec priests carry out the sacrifice of an eagle, a butterfly, a serpent and a grasshopper as well as a scene of human sacrifice. Medrano argues that this map was an exception almost certainly prepared by the Indian nobles themselves rather than presentation to the Spanish authorities.

The Codex Mendoza, prepared in 1553 under the auspices of then Viceroy Mendoza for presentation to Spanish King Charles V, contains more covert references to sacrifice. Intended as a depiction of the history and traditions of the Aztec peoples, the images of human sacrifice and cannibalism are minimized to accommodate the audience. The front cover to the codex presents a map of Tenochtitlan painted by a native artist. (Figure 6) The center image clearly displays the origin myth of the Aztecs located in the center of a map of Tenochtitlan. The eagle on the cactus growing out of the rock marks the location of the Templo Mayor, Cortés' "Templum ubi Sacrificant." The artist cleverly depicts the rock in the shape of a human heart in pre-Columbian style.²⁷ Although this clearly refers to human sacrifice as central to the Aztec city, the unknown native artist places a skull rack to the right of the rock to underscore the meaning of the image. Thus, while the Spanish attempted to suppress Aztec human sacrifice to further their own

²⁵ Medrano, "The Lords of the Land," 108.

²⁷ Carrasco, *The City of Sacrifice*, 24.



Figure 6: Unknown Indians of New Spain, Title Page to the Codex Mendoza, 1553.²⁶

colonial ambitions, the Indians continued to produce images placing the practice at the center of their own religious and political identity.

While the Spanish condemned the practice of human sacrifice and used its existence as justification for the conquest of the Americas, the Spanish view of these practices was far from unequivocal. The great defender of the Indians Bartolome de Las Casas himself found similarities between Aztec sacrifice and Christian tenets noting that “it is not altogether detestable to sacrifice human beings to God from the fact that God commanded Abraham to sacrifice to him his only son.”²⁸ Both the friars and the Indians came to recognize the connections between Catholic theology and pre-Columbian religious practices. Alessandra Russo argues that the most important of these connections was sacrifice and it was the practice of sacrifice and anthropomorphy that

²⁷ ©Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc., www.famsi.org

²⁸ Quoted in Hanke, *All Mankind is One*, 95.

made the deepest forms of cross-cultural communication and syncretism possible.²⁹

To the Indians who still considered sacrifice as central to their religious and political identity, the story of Jesus who sacrificed himself on the cross held great appeal. Their gods also had sacrificed themselves for the good of mankind. Quetzalcoatl, the feathered serpent, had sacrificed himself:

After adorning himself, he set fire to himself. It is said that when he burned, his ashes glowed so brightly that all the precious birds came to look at them. And when his ashes had been totally consumed, they saw his heart bust into flame. The old ones say that his heart became the morning star. Eight days later, the great star appeared which they called Quetzalcoatl. And they added from that moment on, he was to be looked upon as a god.³⁰

Quetzalcoatl, like the other Aztec gods, demanded to be fed by human sacrifice. During the elaborate rituals of sacrifice, those to be sacrificed wore elaborate costumes made of feathers. The feathers were gathered throughout the empire and, as a prized commodity, were only permitted for the costumes of nobles and the victims of sacrifice. During the ritual, the feathers worn by the person sacrificed became the gods themselves. As Alfredo López Austin writes, “the images do not represent the gods, nor are they symbols for the gods: they are ‘vessels for the divine essence,’ earthly containers for the emanations of the gods.”³¹

Just as the Indians could relate the sacrifice of Jesus to the sacrifice of their gods, they related the transference of the divine essence to the feathers to the Catholic practice of trans-substantiation. During Catholic Mass the host is actually transformed into the body and blood of Christ and is then consumed by the communicant in a form

²⁹ Alexandra Russo, “The Plumes of Sacrifice: Transformations in Sixteenth-Century Mexican Feather Art,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 42 (2002): 226–250.

³⁰ Codice Chimalpopoca, “Anales de Cuauhtitlan,” in *Anales de Cuauhtitlan y leyenda de los soles* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Imprenta Universitaria, 1945), 9–11, quoted in Russo, “The Plumes of Sacrifice,” 232.

³¹ Alfredo López Austin, *Tamoanchan y Tlalocan* (Mexico: Fondo de Culture Económica, 1994), 128, quoted in Russo, “The Plumes of Sacrifice,” 234.

of ritual cannibalism. The Indians understood that both the feathers and the host became metonyms for the divine. The friars, hoping that the practice and memory of human sacrifice would be replaced with Catholic practice, permitted the connection between the feathers and the sacrifice of Jesus in the expression of exquisite featherwork art by the Indians.³²

While several examples of Catholic images constructed from feathers exist, arguably the most profound expression of 16th century religious syncretism is the depiction of the Mass of Saint Gregory produced for the King Phillip II of Spain entitled the *Mass of Saint Gregory* dating from 1539. (Figure 7)

The image relates the story of Pope Gregory (590-606) celebrating mass when Christ appears on the altar surrounded by symbols of the Passion. Franciscan Fray Pedro de Gante supervised the creation of the image



Figure 7: Unknown Native Artists of New Spain, Feather Mosaic *Mass of Saint Gregory*, 1539.³³

and reported to the king that his method of teaching was particularly addressed to persuade the Indians to forget their “excessive sacrifices.”³⁴ It is unclear whether the production of featherworks reinforced or relieved the Indians of their memory or practice of sacrifice, but they understood the featherwork image of the *Mass of Saint Gregory* as not simply an image of the divine but a relic containing the divine essence itself. The practice of sacrifice continued through the production of syncretic images like the *Mass of Saint Gregory* to be central to the religious and political identity of the Indians.

While the friars were concerned with conversion they also took seriously the demands of the Papal Bull for the protection of the Indians. The early years of the conquest had been characterized by brutality and exploitation of the Indians. Friars like Bartolomé de las Casas en-

³² *ibid.*, 241.

³³ Musée d’Auch, France.

³⁴ *ibid.*

gaged in a spirited defense of the rights of the Indians accusing his fellow Spaniards of cruelty and demanding reform. He argued that the authority of the Spaniards in New Spain lay directly in their conversion and protection. By violating the Papal Bull, the Spaniards risked their political legitimacy in the New World. His efforts did ultimately produce reform in the implementation of the New Laws of 1542 that outlawed the *encomendero* system and greatly reduced the brutality of the Spaniards.³⁵

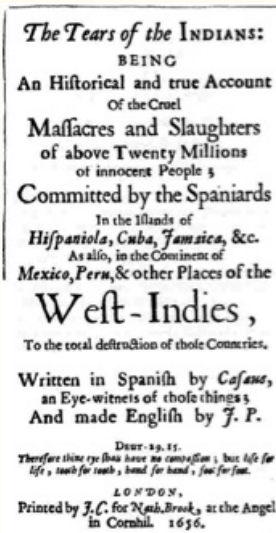


Figure 8: Title Page for Bartolomé de Las Casas, *The Tears of the Indians*, 1656.³⁶

While the writings of Las Casas produced reform in New Spain, they also attracted the attention of the Protestant powers such as England and Holland. The Protestant powers saw the success of the Spanish in the New World and the wealth in gold and silver that was flowing back to Spain and developed their own colonial ambitions. The brutality of the Spanish seen through the writings of Las Casas combined with their own political and religious distain for Spain culminated in the creation of the Black Legend. The Black Legend painted the Spanish as brutal and idolatrous and provided the basis upon which England would base her claim to the New World.³⁷ The Indians were portrayed as the innocent victims of the Spanish brutality as indicated from the title page of a version from 1656. (Figure 8)

Las Casas' work was republished in several languages including English with illustrations by Theodor de Bry.³⁸ His il-

³⁵ Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949).

³⁶ Courtesy Robert Dechert Collection, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania.

³⁷ William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment 1558-1660* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1971).

³⁸ Bartolomé de las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, trans. Nigel Griffin, with an introduction by Anthony Pagden, Penguin Classics (1552; Harmondsworth, Middx.: Penguin Books, 1992).

Illustrations splendidly illustrate the brutality of the Spanish in the conquest of the Americas. Image after image shows the Spanish killing, torturing and burning the Indians. (Figure 9)



Figure 9: Theodor de Bry, 1598, Bartolomé de Las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*.³⁶



Figure 10: Theodor de Bry, 1598, Bartolomé de Las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*.³⁶

De Bry's images both reflected the terms of their search for legitimacy and also helped to justify their colonial ambitions in the same way that the Aztecs and the Spanish had used images. De Bry's work allowed the Protestant powers to assert their claims of religious and

political superiority over both the Indians and the Spanish to justify their colonial ambitions.

In addition to his portrayal of Spanish torture, murder, rape and mayhem, De Bry also depicts the Indians engaged in cannibalism at the insistence of the Spanish conquistadors. In this image, De Bry portrays the Indians engaged in human sacrifice and cannibalism but suggests that the Spanish themselves have encouraged it. (Figure 10)

The Spanish, uniformed as conquistadores, force the Indians to consume human flesh. Within this one image De Bry succeeded in condemning the Spanish for their abuses of colonial authority and encouraging idolatry among the Indians. The doctrine of trans-substantiation was one of the key objections the Protestants had to Catholicism. Protestants believed (then and now) that the host and the wine during communion represent the body and blood of Christ, they are not transformed into the body and blood of Christ. The depictions of the Spanish forcing cannibalism onto the Indians referenced the imposition of Catholic idolatry in the New World.



Figure 11: Theodor de Bry, 1598, Bartolomé de Las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*.³⁶

In image after image De Bry provided the viewer with connections between Spanish brutality and Catholic idolatry. In Figure 11, De Bry portrays the Indians forcing gold down the throats of their Spanish oppressors. Here he condemns the Spaniards for their ruthless pursuit of gold, gold that was used both to wage war against the Protestant

powers and also to make idols, another of the Protestant objections to Catholicism. Tom Cummins argues that this image suggests the story of Moses when he comes back from Mount Sinai with the Ten Commandments and discovers the Israelites worshipping the golden calf. Figure 12 depicts a 16th century print of the golden calf. As punishment for their idolatry, Moses forced them to grind down the idol and eat the gold powder. The consumption of the gold relates to ritual cannibalism as well.³⁹



Figure 12: Jan Sadeler, the Elder, *Golden Calf*, 16-17th Century.⁴⁰

After the success of his illustrations of Las Casas, De Bry went on to illustrate the travel accounts of those who had visited the New World, pursuing his pro-Protestant agenda consistently within each. His masterpiece, the *Grandes Voyages* begun in 1594, was a masterful nine volume set that was widely-distributed and translated in several languages. Volume nine, based upon the account of Spanish friar José de Acosta, centers upon the Aztecs and continues the conflation of human sacrifice with Spanish Catholicism.⁴¹ In Figure 13 the Indians are

³⁹ Thomas B. F. Cummins, "The Golden Calf in America," in *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World*, ed. Michael Cole and Rebecca Zorach (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2002), 77–104; also Thomas B. F. Cummins, "To Serve Man: Pre-Columbian Art, Western Discourses of Idolatry, and Cannibalism," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 42 (2002): 109–130.

⁴⁰ Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Gift of Belinda L. Randall from the collection of John Witt Randall, R4865, Photo: Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College.

⁴¹ José De Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, ed. Jane E. Mangan, trans. Frances Lopez-Morillas (1590; Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002).

practicing self-mortification as also practiced as flagellation by Catholic priests.



Figure 13: Theodor de Bry, *Grandes Voyages*, Book Nine, 1602.⁴²

In his most dramatic scene of Aztec sacrifice, De Bry depicts an Indian priest conducting the sacrifice and extracting the heart of his victim. (Figure 14)



Figure 14: Theodor de Bry, *Grandes Voyages*, Book Nine, 1602.⁴²

In the background, a group of Indians await their gruesome fate, while to the left of the image, a priest battles the next victim. To the right, joyous Aztecs engage in cannibalism while tomorrow's victim

⁴² Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art Library, Bentonville, Arkansas.

waits in a cage above them. The buildings in the background are European in style connecting the viewer to the influence of the Spanish in fostering human sacrifice among the Indians.

While de Bry must certainly have read accounts of the splendors of the city of Tenochtitlan, in volume nine, he chose to present the origin story of the Aztecs to convey the sense that they are simple idolatrous rural peasants rather than the architects of a glorious civilization noted by the Spaniards. To the right of the image, de Bry presents the cactus (looking like a European tree) growing out of a rock with an eagle upon it. (Figure 15)

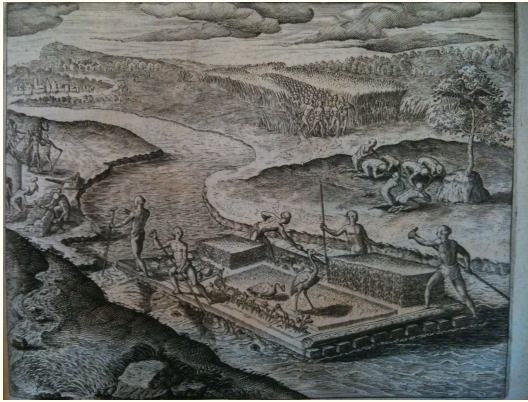


Figure 15: Theodor de Bry, 1602, *Grandes Voyages*, Book Nine.⁴²

The Aztecs are prostrate before it, worshipping just as the Catholics would worship their idols. Within the center scene, de Bry presents a pelican. The legend of the pelican piercing its breast to feed its young was well known to both Protestants and Catholics and appeared widely in prints. (Figure 16)

In this scene, de Bry depicted the pelican as a reference to the political legitimacy of the Protestant Queen Elizabeth of England who was often referred to as the Pelican Queen for her sacrifice on behalf of her subjects. In the *Pelican Portrait* painted about 1585 by artist Nicholas Hilliard, she is depicted wearing a necklace with a pelican piercing its breast. The benevolent sacrifice implied by reference to the Pelican Queen assured the viewer that England will be a superior colonial power. Thus, de Bry legitimized England's colonial ambitions by constructing a political and religious identity in opposition to both Spanish and Indian idolatry.



Figure 16: A Pelican Piercing its Breast to Feed its Young, from a Bestiary by Manuel Philes, 1566.⁴³

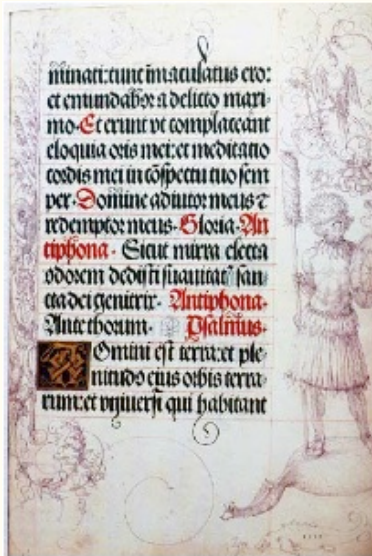


Figure 17: Albrecht Dürer, Psalm 24 with an Image of an American.⁴⁴

De Bry depicted Indians for all regions of the New World in the form more reminiscent of Greco-Roman figures than the indigenous people of the Americas. Tom Cummins argues that many European artists purposefully depicted Indians as Greco-Romans to connect them with the ancient civilizations that had been idolatrous until the

⁴³ Manuel Philè, *De animalium proprietate*, Manuscrits et archives de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms 3401.

⁴⁴ In *Gebetsbuch Kaiser Maximilians I.*, Folio 41r, Augsburg 1515, pen and ink drawing. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

advent of Christianity.⁴⁵ Figure 17 (p. 78) depicts an American Indian by Albrecht Dürer sketched in the Greco-Roman style.

Cummins argues that the classicizing of the Indian body placed the figure of America “within a recognizable genealogy.”⁴⁶ The figures of the pagan Indians were akin to the pagan body of classical antiquity from Christian Europe’s own pagan past. Though they had been corrupted by the idolatry of the Spanish, the Indians, therefore, could be transformed by the right influence into good and noble Christians.

A religious and political identity defined by its superiority to both Spanish Catholics and Indians followed the initial British colonists to Jamestown but is best exemplified by the Puritan colonies of New England. The Puritans came to America with a religious and political



Figure 18: Seal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1630.

identity constructed in opposition to Catholic idolatry. For the Puritans, even English Protestantism was too idolatrous and too close to Catholicism. Subject to persecution in England and seeking to provide an example to the Anglican Church, Puritan settlers established their colony in New England. Their political and religious identity is perfectly fused in the establishing of the “City on a Hill” a shining example of a society that would provide an example for reform of the Anglican Church. They approached the American Indians with the understanding that they would be benevolent colonizers. The seal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, with an Indian asking for help, reflects this ideology. (Figure 18)

The Puritans believed that they would help the Indians through conversion but, unlike the Papal Bull granting the Americas to Spain, the English charter granted them rights to the land that were based neither on conversion nor on just treatment of the Indians. There were early successes with conversion but, fifty years after the arrival of the colonists, most Indians remain unconvinced. The American Puritans started to feel tension about their political and religious identity. The

⁴⁵ Cummins, “Through the ‘Devils Looking-glass’.”

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 22.

Puritans remaining in England had come to power through revolution and there seemed to be no need for the “City on a hill.” Historian Jill Lepore argues that the Puritans started to worry that they were lapsing into savagery through their relationships with the Indians.⁴⁷ This tension about their identity led to a war in 1675 with the Indians known as King Phillip’s War. King Phillip’s War was as a brutal and devastating war characterized by brutality and savagery on both sides. Where scalping was a common practice by the Indians, the Puritans now engaged in it themselves. They murdered women and children and engaged in a war of destruction in a manner reminiscent of early Spanish brutality.

The Puritans ultimately succeeded in killing or capturing most of the Indians. King Phillip was killed and quartered and his body parts were dispatched to different areas of the colony as trophies of war. Many Indians, including King Phillip’s son, were sold as slaves and transported to the West Indies. After King Phillip’s War, Lepore argues, the Americans no longer derived their religious and political identity in contrast to the savage and idolatrous Spanish. Where once they had visualized the Indians as akin to their own pagan ancestors needing their assistance they now saw the Indians alone as the savage other.

By the end of the 18th Century, American identity was cemented through hatred of the Indians.⁴⁸ Colonists from north to south shared the common experience of Indian wars and violence. During the Seven Years War, the colonists no longer differentiated between enemy and friendly Indians and wreaked violence against all. The memory of the French as enemies in the war was blunted by the image of the savage Indian. This is reflected in Benjamin West’s *General Johnston Saving the Life of Wounded French Officer from the Tomahawk of an American Indian*, in which West depicts the British general rescuing his French enemy from the savage Indian.

Where once Protestant Americans had defined themselves in opposition to Catholics now even divided Europeans find a common identity through the savagery of the Indians. Perhaps nothing cements the role of the Indian to American identity as strongly as the Declara-

⁴⁷ Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Phillips’ War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1999).

⁴⁸ Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 2008).

tion of Independence in which Jefferson notes the complaints of the colonists against the King including:

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.



Figure 19: Benjamin West, *General Johnston Saving the Life of Wounded French Officer from the Tomahawk of an American Indian*, 1764-68.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ ©2013 Derby Museum.

Britain and the Mediterranean: Empire and Culture in the Georgian-Victorian Era

James Brown

On March 12, 1947, U.S. President Harry S. Truman addressed a joint session of Congress with grave news. So soon after the end of the mammoth confrontation that had committed millions of Americans to far-flung regions of Europe, Africa, and Asia, the specter of tyranny again demanded that the United States take immediate and decisive action to ensure the security of the free world. Yet this time around, the threat emanated not from the imperialist ambitions of National Socialism or Japanese fascism, but from insidious events taking place in two faraway countries most Americans would otherwise have neglected – Greece and Turkey. After conducting a successful resistance against German occupation, the Greek Communist Party had seized control of the country and now bitterly opposed the return of the government-in-exile. Preservation of democracy in Greece, the president declared, was essential not only to that nation’s future, but to the future of democracy as a whole. “The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms. If we falter in our leadership,” Truman warned, “we may endanger the peace of the world – and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our nation.”¹

¹ Harry S. Truman, “Address Before a Joint Session of Congress, March 12, 1947,” available online at http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/trudoc.asp

The Soviet Union interpreted Truman's address as the West's open declaration of the Cold War, and the chain of events it set into motion makes it one of the most important events in Cold War history. Yet its enormous impact on the conduct of American foreign policy often obscures the Truman Doctrine's impetus – the British government's announcement, in late February of 1947, that it could no longer sustain its military and financial commitments to the embattled Greek government.

Britain's withdrawal from Greece in the immediate post-WWII period represented but a single step in a longer process of decolonization. For the Mediterranean region in particular, it was the initial chapter of a story that would play out, with increasing stakes and escalating violence, in the years to come. Yet in studying the drama and enduring importance of postwar British policy, it is easy to overlook its deepest origins. In the case of the Mediterranean, the story of Britain's involvement requires consideration of foreign policy developments over two hundred years old by the time of the Cold War. Cultural roots travel even further.

In the pages that follow, I will examine the high age of British expansion into the Mediterranean – the mid- to late years of the Georgian-Victorian era – with occasional deviations from traditional periodization to consider relevant topics falling outside such a rigid chronological framework. Since Britain's imperialistic ventures were always intimately connected with domestic forces, I have chosen to divide my investigation into two main sections: the first analyzing the role of the Mediterranean, particularly Greece, in British culture and intellectual history prior to and during full-scale expansion, and the second presenting an account of Britain's Mediterranean campaigns proper. Employed in works like Thomas Metcalf's *Ideologies of the Raj* and, more recently, in Priya Satia's widely acclaimed *Spies in Arabia*, this approach, focusing on the interplay between epistemology, cultural preconceptions, and imperialism, has seldom been used to analyze British rule over the Middle Sea. In borrowing these methodologies and applying them to the study of the Mediterranean, I hope to demonstrate that British activity in the region, so often conceptualized purely in terms of empire, was in fact the product of a marriage between deep-seated cultural forces and imperialistic considerations.

Philhellenism and the British Mind

From 1947 to 1949, American graduate student Kevin Andrews traveled to Greece on a fellowship to study medieval fortresses in the Peloponnese. Despite the difficulties and dangers inherent in unguarded wanderings across a war-ravaged country – Greece, in these years, was convulsed by a brutal civil war – Andrews went on to complete his research, publish an authoritative book on Greek fortifications, and release an account of his travels, *The Flight of Ikaros*, that is widely regarded as the richest foreign perspective on the Greek civil war. After pursuing a brief and unsatisfying academic career in the United States, the young adventurer returned to Greece, where he adopted citizenship and resided until his death in the 1980s.²

By any estimation, Kevin Andrews was a Philhellene – a lover of Greek culture and history. His story is notable for its accessibility and adventurousness, its fantastic twists and turns interspersed with memorable passages detailing the sundry sufferings of everyday Greeks. It is also a primary source *par excellence*, at once travel history and a window onto a convergence of forces – Balkan political ferment, nascent American economic and military ascendancy, and the domestic divisions caused by a Cold War in its infancy. Yet the historical value of Andrews's account is not unprecedented. As this section will argue, the first great burst of modern Philhellenism – here, loosely defined as a phenomenon ranging from admiration to reverence for Greece and Greek culture and lasting from the mid-1810s to the 1830s – also represents an understudied mirror reflecting many of the broader intellectual and cultural trends of its time. In particular, Philhellenism shared important ties with three of its most influential contemporary movements as they manifested themselves in Britain: liberalism, Romanticism (and the related artistic style of neoclassicism), and nationalism.

The Philhellenic surge of the 1820s is traditionally associated with the Greek War of Independence against the Ottoman Empire, and thus with a broader trans-European 19th-century liberal movement. Classical liberalism sprung from the Enlightenment and, as encapsulated in the writings of figures like John Locke and Adam Smith, advanced

² Kevin Andrews, *The Flight of Ikaros: Travels in Greece during the Civil War* (1959; Philadelphia, PA): Paul Dry Books, 2010); for a recent biography of Andrews, see Roger Jinkinson, *American Ikaros: The Search for Kevin Andrews* (London: Riding House, 2010).

ideas revolutionary in an age of widespread political absolutism and economic restriction. Chief among these were the notions that free trade would yield greater economic benefits than mercantilism and that citizens, as individuals with innate rights, formed an essential part of a “social contract” with their governors.

Smacking of egalitarianism, such conceptions were inimical to an entrenched ruling order – and to traditional empires – whose power and very existence were predicated upon the notion of societal inequality. But they proved intoxicating to both the historically disenfranchised and a burgeoning bourgeois class, and after the outbreak of revolution in France in 1789, liberalism entered the European political stage as a formidable force. The Mediterranean was no exception. Throughout the late 1700s and early 1800s revolts in the Balkans threatened to destabilize an already tenuous Ottoman dominion. Following the outbreak of guerrilla warfare in earnest after the formation of the secret revolutionary society *Filiki Etería* in 1814, Greeks from all regions declared themselves in open revolt.³

Given its almost mythical status as the historical birthplace of Western democracy and civilization – and the fact that it sought to break away from the control of an imperial, Muslim power – Greece’s struggle for liberation was sure to attract wide attention in the aforementioned liberal atmosphere of early nineteenth-century Europe. And attract attention it did, eventually if not immediately. Initially the British response to the Greek rebellion – as well as that of the French and Russians – was guarded ambivalence. The steady deterioration of the Ottoman Empire promised far too many issues (the unremitting “Eastern Question,” which will be detailed later) for the major European powers to intervene on Greece’s behalf without long deliberation. This uncertainty turned to hostility in late 1822 when the Holy Alliance condemned the revolt outright.

But transformations in British politics and diplomacy soon wrought a sea change in Britain’s Greek policy. The replacement of Viscount Castlereagh with George Canning as the U.K.’s Foreign Secre-

³ For a concise yet solid account of the Greek War of Independence, see Timothy Boatswain and Colin Nicolson, *A Traveler’s History of Greece* (Northampton, MA: Interlink Books, 2007). More detailed treatments include David Brewer, *The Flame of Freedom: The Greek War of Independence, 1821-1833* (London: John Murray Publishers, 2001) and Peter Paroulakis, *The Greek War of Independence* (Yonkers, NY: Hellenic International Press, 2000).

tary ensconced in the British state's top diplomatic post a man deeply suspicious of Russian motives in the Near East. Fearing tsarist unilateralism, in March of 1823 Canning declared the Greeks in a state of war – tacitly acknowledging, if not directly supporting, Greece's bid for formal statehood. British political and financial elites responded quickly. Between 1824 and 1826, the Greek resistance concluded several loans with leading London financiers, making Britain's capital city, for all intents and purposes, the main source of aid for the revolution.⁴

Unsurprisingly, such an enormous transfer of funds left a trail provoking social commentary – and the domestic response in Britain was overwhelming support. British newspapers printed dramatic depictions of noble Greek warriors casting off the chains of servitude to longtime oppressors. Art – to be discussed further in the next section – cast revolutionaries as blessed, even angelic, figures illuminated in divine sunlight in contrast to enemy troops shrouded in darkness. And opinion columns regularly exhorted Britons to support the independence movement, in heart if not in deed. As William St. Clair notes in his classic account of the Greek war of independence, the British pamphlet press became the primary mouthpiece through which news – often sensationalized – reached the public. One such publication, released shortly after the 1822 massacre of Greek citizens by Ottoman troops on the island of Chios, exhorted Britons to consider the mystical historical-philosophical links between the progressivism of modern culture and the ancient canon:

Greece... spirit of antiquity still seems to linger amidst its olive groves, its myrtle bowers, and the precious relics of its splendid edifices; where both sacred and profane history unite in forming the most interesting associations; where Socrates taught the lessons of his incomparable ethics, and a still greater than Socrates disclosed the mysteries of the 'unknown God' to those that sat in darkness.⁵

⁴ Carl Brown, *International Politics and the Middle East: Old Rules, Dangerous Game* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 52–57.

⁵ Rev. Thomas S. Hughes, *An Address to the People of England in the Cause of the Greeks* (London: pamphlet printed for Simpkin / Marshall, Stationers-Hall Court, Ludgate-Street, 1822); quoted in William St. Clair, *That Greece Might Still be Free: The Philhellenes in the Greek War of Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).

But though the liberalization of British political thought explains much of Philhellenism's appeal, the sympathy of Britain's public could not have been aroused without the achievements of artistic movements, particularly Romanticism and its close relative neoclassicism.⁶ As a movement, Romanticism emphasized inspiration, subjectivity, and the primacy of the individual, especially the venerated genius whose brilliance set him apart in a world all his own. Emotionality and drama were the Romantic vogue. So was living a heroic life cut short by an equally heroic death. And though Romanticism is often characterized as a reaction against the strictness and order of classical styles, the achievements and aesthetics of the ancient Greeks engendered an explosion of Romantic creativity.

Nowhere was this more pronounced than in the United Kingdom. Britain's expansion into the Mediterranean in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, largely as a result of the Napoleonic Wars, fueled a renewed interest in orientalism and classicism as armies and statesmen came into contact with the Ottomans and their subjects. These encounters are enshrined in period historiography for their diplomatic significance, but momentous cultural cross-fertilization occurred as well. British Romantic poetry received the richest dividends of the exchange. One of the most famous poems of the period, John Keats's "Ode on a Grecian Urn," takes as its subject the timeless artistic power of an Attic vase. In its intricate designs the narrator finds a story forever engraved in the urn's stone:

Thou still unravish'd bride of quietness!
 Thou foster-child of silence and slow time
 Sylvan historian, who canst thus express
 A flow'ry tale more sweetly than our rhyme.⁷

Here, a Greek artifact is much more than a source of esoteric archaeological interest. It depicts a golden age of heroism, of unrestrained

⁶ This characterization of Romanticism and neoclassicism as "relatives" may seem careless, especially given that the order of the neoclassical style is often regarded as a reaction against Romantic expressionism. In much European art of the early nineteenth century, however, there seems to be no great tension in placing neoclassical styles alongside Romantic forms, and vice versa; this was particularly true of French paintings.

⁷ John Keats, "Ode on a Grecian Urn." Originally published in *Annals of Fine Arts* 4 (London, 1820), 638–39; reproduced online at <http://englishhistory.net/keats/poetry/odeonagrecianurn.html>

emotionality – a sentiment captured in Keats’s use of emotive, assonant musical vocabulary and flowing syntax.

But any discussion of British Romanticism and Philhellenism would be remiss to omit the towering figure of Lord Byron, whose poetry demonstrated a fiery zeal for Greece’s struggle. Bits of Byron’s lengthy narrative poem “Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage” reveal this passion:

Cold is the heart, fair Greece, that looks on thee
 Nor feels as lovers o’er the dust they loved
 Dull is the eye that will not weep to see
 Thy walls defaced, thy mouldering shrines removed.⁸

Another of the Romantic master’s poems exhibits the same motion and emotionality as those of Keats, and seems to foreshadow Byron’s own death in Greece during the War of Independence:

’Tis Greece, but living Greece no more!
 So coldly sweet, so deadly fair
 We start, for soul is wanting there
 Hers is the loveliness in death
 That parts not quite with parting breath.”⁹

In such works we see the full weight of Romantic sentiment brought to bear on the physical beauty and material legacy of the classical world – a region whose storied past and current struggle for independence made it just as appealing to Romantic artists as to liberal-minded citizens. Whether in the verses of Keats or Byron or on the surface of popular paintings like Delacroix’s *Greece on the Ruins of Missolonghi* or Scheffer’s *Greek Boy Defending his Wounded Father*, emotion, conveyed in flowing diction or the tragedy of a personified Greece standing over her dead children, is the driving force.¹⁰

⁸ Lord George Gordon Byron, “Childe Harolde’s Pilgrimage,” Canto II. Originally published 1812–1818; reproduced online at <http://knarf.english.upenn.edu/Byron/charoldt.html>

⁹ Byron, “The Giaour: A Fragment of a Turkish Tale.” Originally published 1813; reproduced online at <http://classclit.about.com/library/bl-etexts/lbyron/bl-lbyron-giaour.htm>

¹⁰ It should be noted that Eugène Delacroix and Ary Scheffer were French, not British, Romantic artists. Their works would nonetheless have been familiar to Philhellenes across the Channel.

Yet even behind such dramatic verbal and visual depictions of classicism worked deeper cultural trends that manifested themselves in Britons' everyday lives. Britain was by no means immune to the explosion of neoclassicism that swept Europe during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Best immortalized in the paintings of revolutionary artist Jacques-Louis David, the neoclassical style sought to resurrect the order and sophistication of ancient art as a reaction against the naturalism of Baroque and Rococo.

In the United Kingdom, neoclassicism manifested itself most in the works of architects like John Soane. A Royal Academy architecture professor, Soane was responsible for numerous building plans or renovations – most notably the Bank of England, but also more than thirty other major structures throughout the United Kingdom. Yet it was in the style rather than the volume of his works that Sir John made his greatest impact. Most active at the cusp of the nineteenth century, and then into its early decades, Soane designed structures remarkable for their deft use of natural lighting and simplicity of form, all modeled using classical proportions and weight-distribution techniques.¹¹ In these works, Corinthian columns with exaggerated capitals and entablatures dominate. Classical space control dictates the flow and direction of visitors as they enter and exit. Consciously or not, Britons who passed through such buildings surrounded themselves with faithful reconstructions of classical architecture. Whether they marveled at the attention to ancient detail from an educated perspective or simply admired the magnificence around them as laymen, they were undeniably and powerfully spoken to by the stylistic nuances of the classical world. And even more importantly, they made connections between that grandiloquence and the grand project of British imperialism of which they increasingly identified as a part – a project whose civilizing mission promised to bring similar sophistication to the rest of the world.

But though liberalism and Romanticism were the two primary avenues through which philhellenic sentiments directly influenced British culture, its effect on a third movement – nationalism – should

¹¹ On Soane's life, education, and professional career, Gillian Darley, *John Soane: An Accidental Romantic* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), see. For illustrated analyses of his architectural style, consult Margaret Richardson and Maryanne Stevens, *John Soane, Architect: Master of Space and Light* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2000); Ptolemy Dean, *Sir John Soane and London* (London: Lund Humphries, 2006), and.



Figure 1: Lord Byron, painted circa 1813.

not go unanalyzed. Though modern Anglo-Greek relations are cordial in strictly diplomatic terms, a significant bone of contention surrounds the status of the Elgin marbles – sections of the Acropolis dismantled and relocated to the British Museum between 1799 and 1803 by Thomas Bruce, 7th Earl of Elgin. For nearly two centuries the Greek and British governments have engaged in a war of words over the relocation, regarded by numerous Greeks (and several notable classicists) as little more than cultural theft.¹² Yet placing all moral questions aside, it should be remembered that at the time of Lord Elgin’s journeys, the symbolic power of classical imagery had much greater resonance – indeed, in the British case, it constituted an extremely efficient tool used in the construction of the national character.

As Linda Colley cogently demonstrated in her groundbreaking study of the formation of British national identity, the rise of state-funded public projects – art galleries and parks especially, but also museums – was of vital importance in forging a sense of “Britishness” among a populace whose national self-esteem had been dealt a blow by the loss of the American colonies and whose rapid imperial expansion in the latter half of the eighteenth century necessitated a more cohesive, coherent identity.¹³ The presence of the Elgin marbles in the United Kingdom’s most prominent museum – stolen or not – undoubtedly contributed to a powerful sense of nationhood among visitors. As they gazed upon artifacts of a classical past, they were able to fantasize about stories of heroism and power, to conflate the civilizing mission of British imperialism – now entering its highest phase – with the cultivation and artistic sophistication they beheld in ancient art. Whether this connection was accurate was irrelevant. That historical ties between Britain and the classical world were considerably less strong than many probably fancied was similarly unimportant. In a period that served as the crucible for the creation of national identities across Europe, appropriation of relics simply supplied another brushstroke to a canvas already colored by notions of liberal fraternity with and Romantic adoration for the Greek world.

As Priya Satia has convincingly argued, the term “Arabia,” during the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, encompassed a geographically

¹² For the story of the Elgin marbles, see William St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and his Marbles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

¹³ Linda Colley, *Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).

vague region whose real importance lay as much in its Romantic appeal in British culture as in any tangible political-strategic value. In creating a “covert empire” in the Middle East, the British intelligence community relied increasingly on the spiritual power of the Arabian region to mobilize public support for imperialistic policies in an increasingly anti-imperialist age.¹⁴ Similarly, the Mediterranean (particularly Greece) of the Georgian-Victorian imagination was far more than a mere geographic or geopolitical expression. Strongly represented in British culture, it called to mind images of historical grandeur at precisely the moment that new global forces – international competition and imperialism chief among them – seemed to suggest a new path for Britain’s future. By evoking its traditions and forms in their art, architecture, and literature – and by borrowing heavily from the ancient past to construct a cohesive nationalism – Britons forged close emotional ties with the Mediterranean even as it came to form a crucial hub of the Empire.

Of Chance, Diplomacy, and the Eastern Question

Culture had laid the foundations for a British sphere of influence in the Mediterranean Sea, but the dramatic expansion that occurred in the nineteenth century was not preordained. Indeed – as in all instances of historical retrospection – we should take care to guard against the biasing effects of hindsight lest the highly contingent nature of Britain’s physical expansion appear inevitable.

Britain’s presence in the Mediterranean began inconspicuously enough. Under the terms of the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht that ended the War of the Spanish Succession, the defeated Spanish ceded the territory of Gibraltar to the British. Over the course of the century, the small and rocky outpost, though extremely valuable as a strategic post from which the British could control much Mediterranean traffic, came in many respects to be a liability. In recurring wars, Gibraltar and its British garrisons were subjected to numerous sieges – the most famous of which took place during the American War of Independence and lasted over three years. But despite its significance as a naval base and

¹⁴ Priya Satia, *Spies in Arabia: The Great War and the Cultural Foundations of Britain’s Covert Empire in the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

as the center of Anglo-Spanish antagonism, the acquisition of Gibraltar did not spark any larger-scale regional excursions.

It was only during the Napoleonic Wars that British foreign policy shifted to more planned expansion into the Mediterranean. By the first decade of the 1800s, the French strategy of economic warfare had severely damaged British trade and threatened to strangle the U.K. entirely. Napoleon's conquest of the Low Countries precluded English access to the Scheldt River; it also boded ill for continued British navigation of the English Channel. And ever present in the mind of London officials was the dreaded possibility of the French occupying the Dutch Cape Colony, thereby cutting off the U.K. from its Indian trade.

An opportunity to counter the French threat came with developments on the island of Malta. Napoleon had requested the use of Maltese harbors as naval resupply stations en route to his 1798 Egyptian expedition. When the Knights of Malta – the *de facto* rulers of the island – refused, Napoleon feigned a desire for negotiations to open the island's ports, only to turn his cannons on the Knights once their defenses were lowered. Malta's fall was swift. Within six days the Templar garrison defending the island capitulated, and the victorious French forces began implementing highly unpopular measures to requisition Maltese resources for the war effort. The surrender of such a valuable outpost, as well as the pleas of the Maltese for assistance, galvanized British policymakers into action. Between 1798 and 1800, the U.K. enforced a blockade of the island while supplying its inhabitants with ammunition and supplies to resist further French incursions. In the words of one member of the House of Commons, Britain "was going to war for Malta – not for Malta only, but for Egypt – not only for Egypt, but for India – not only for India, but for the integrity of the British empire."¹⁵

Such sentiments were indicative of a feeling of growing imperial awareness among British policymakers. The Empire might be far-flung, encompassing North American, South Asian, and Australian domains – but because of the importance of commerce, it was intimately interconnected, with crises in one region inevitably affecting others. As a way station between the East and the British Isles, the Mediterranean was second to none. Thus as the Napoleonic threat receded,

¹⁵ Quoted in William Cobbett. 1803. *Cobbett's Political Register*, London: William Cobbett, 3: 1698; reproduced online at http://archive.org/stream/cobbettpolitica_d03cobb#page/n5/mode/2up

Britain's position in the Middle Sea grew considerably. Malta was incorporated into the Empire in 1814 and became the headquarters of the British Mediterranean Fleet. The Ionian Islands – of which Corfu was the largest and most significant – gained protectorate status in 1815. And as other European powers began to compete with the British for regional influence over the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – France's forays into Algeria and Tunisia providing the clearest example – other territories fell under the influence of the Crown: Cyprus in 1878, Egypt in 1882, and Palestine in the aftermath of the First World War.

But commercial concerns cannot by themselves illuminate greater trends in British Mediterranean policy. For this, we must consider the assumptions and conduct of European grand strategy in the 1800s. One of the great desiderata of nineteenth-century European diplomacy was the maintenance of the balance of power in the face of Ottoman decline – the famous “Eastern Question” which preoccupied foreign policy circles in courts across the continent. In Europe proper, the Congress of Vienna and subsequent arrangements had established an order of international relations, predicated on the preservation of conservative governments, which provided political stability until its disintegration in the cataclysm of World War One. But the prospect of a world order in which Ottoman power no longer played a key role promised to profoundly shake the foundations of these diplomatic maneuvers, particularly in the Mediterranean.

Like vultures circling dying prey, the European powers in the last half of the nineteenth century performed a diplomatic dance around the soon-to-be former Ottoman possessions in order to safeguard their interests – as was the case with the British – or to secure for themselves a share of the spoils. Lying at the center of such negotiations were Britain's Mediterranean holdings. Buttressed domestically by the Conservative governments of Disraeli and the Marquess of Salisbury, both of whom embraced a policy of “splendid isolationism,” British foreign policy in the Near East settled from a period of rapid imperial intake to a concern for preserving the status quo in the face of renewed great power competition. The pan-European “scramble for Africa” of the 1880s only reinforced the importance of such consolidation.

Despite the significance of commercial concerns, the Ottoman question, and imperial consolidation, they constituted but a few of several factors that drove British foreign policy elites to pursue a greater

imperial role in the Mediterranean. Yet these elements, more than any others, dictated the rate and logic of such expansion. As the nineteenth century progressed and turned into the twentieth, the emphasis of each of these considerations would shift. Maintaining strong commercial ties with India, while still of great importance, would be joined by the necessity of trade flows to and from East Africa, just as the distant threat of Ottoman collapse would be eclipsed by the much more immediate danger of a militarizing and belligerent Germany. Constant, though, were the major functions of the Mediterranean: a vital conduit for intra-empire trade, and a strategic foothold from which to protect that empire in a volatile global system.

Conclusion

By Queen Victoria's death in 1901, the Mediterranean was, for all practical purposes, a British pond. Over the course of the nineteenth century, Britain had greatly increased her naval presence in the Middle Sea. She had gained control of the strategically vital Malta, which would become an enormous asset in the first half of the twentieth century, and through skillful diplomacy had ensured the protection of trade flow from the East. Most fatefully for her future Mediterranean commitments, Britain had incorporated the geopolitically significant and ethno-religiously volatile Cyprus into her empire.

The physical dimensions of Britain's Mediterranean expansion occurred in large part as a function of opportunities arising from the diplomatic developments of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The foothold of Gibraltar, a prize of the European dynastic conflicts of the early 1700s, constituted a strategically important first step in positioning the British for further regional ventures, but only with the threat of Napoleon did Britain's Mediterranean campaigns begin in earnest with the incorporation of Malta. As the nineteenth century progressed, balance-of-power politics pushed the crumbling Ottoman Empire into the forefront of European foreign policy concerns. Along with perennial concerns about maintaining trade and communications with her overseas possessions, these strategic considerations dictated for the Empire a regional posture that lasted well into the twentieth century.

Yet as I have sought to demonstrate, despite the primacy of raw diplomatic and military machinations, the cultural foundations of Britain's expansion had already been laid by the first decades of the 1800s.

Much of this relationship falls well beyond the temporal boundaries of the current essay, encompassing the immense influence of ancient civilizations upon the course of British, and indeed European, cultural development. But even during the Georgian-Victorian period, the Mediterranean continued to exert a powerful pull in the minds of Britons. The poetry they consumed, the halls in which they banked and worked, even the quasi-mythical historical threads they wove into a grand tapestry of national heritage, were suffused with classical, especially Greek, themes. The resulting emotional and spiritual connections made physical expansion – already a strategic boon – all the easier. Just as attitudes of popular and official ambivalence toward Indian populations profoundly shaped British policy in the Raj, and just as presuppositions about the Arabian Peninsula would color the decisions of policymakers in the post-WWI Middle East, the powerful tides of Philhellenism and classical themes forged an enduring cultural connection that cannot be considered in isolation from Britain's imperial agenda in the Mediterranean. The ties may not have been articulated as explicit justifications for expansion. But the backdrop against which the grand tapestry of colonial control unfolded was one of abiding respect for and attachment with the wellspring of Western civilization – a legacy that deeply resonated with Britons on aesthetic, emotional, and even spiritual levels.

As the Victorian age came to an end, Britain was on a course toward depression, global conflict, and decolonization that few could have foreseen. In the twentieth century, British policymakers would be forced to reassess the benefits, costs, and very meanings of imperialism. They would face protracted counter-insurgencies and nationalist movements that played into international dynamics and compelled them to abandon foreign commitments. Violently or peacefully, Britain's hold on Malta, the Ionian Islands, and Cyprus would weaken or end entirely. But this story is another one altogether. For as the United Kingdom entered a new century, it held the Mediterranean firmly within its grasp – compelled by economic and political concerns to embrace dominion over a region that had already erected a dominion of its own in the British mind. Niches for further investigations into the intersection of intellectual and imperial history are bountiful. They will also prove essential in understanding a crucial period in the development of both the Mediterranean and greater Europe – entities whose current trials of identity demand attention to historical cultural consanguinity.

Humanitarian Intervention and Just War Theory

Nathaniel R. King

Since the end of World War II, the United States has engaged in a new type of warfare. No longer fighting conventional wars, the United States has begun to enter into an intervention style of warfare. From Korea to Afghanistan, Washington has intervened in the affairs of other countries when there seems to be a threat to the national security of the United States. Often, intervention occurs on humanitarian grounds, rather than for reasons of conquest, which can often lead to unwanted destruction and alienate local populations. At the same time America's military tactics shifted the world saw the resurgence of universal human rights. Increasingly included within these rights was the right to protection, or R2P. Just war theory becomes joined with humanitarianism when the action of intervening is looked at from the perspective of right to protection. The mission to protect is not always clearly defined, nor well received in a combat zone or at home in the United States. Thus, the success or failure of military intervention is always measured against the ghosts of Vietnam and Mogadishu.

The causes for humanitarian intervention vary, but commonly intervention aims to alleviate a population's suffering from natural or social disasters. Humanitarian intervention is also a weapon of war that can be used to promote human rights. Humanitarian intervention, simply put, is the entering of military forces into another sovereign country for the explicit purpose of providing relief from either natural disasters, such as tsunamis, typhoons or drought, or because a once

sovereign government has become a failed government. Humanitarian intervention is in its nature a non-combat operation; however this does not mean that combat does not occur.

Humanitarian intervention is often seen as a justifiable supplanting of another sovereign country's government in order to protect its citizens from further harm and, if necessary, rebuild the government. Human rights are the most important things that we as a society can protect and enforce, and human rights cannot always be protected through legislation and diplomacy. While humanitarian intervention does not require direct combat, often a secure environment is necessary for the mission to succeed, as well as for the protection of the populace from internal (looter, criminals) and external (neighboring countries or state-sponsored terrorist groups) forces. When internal or external belligerents attempt to undermine the humanitarian mission, this can lead to small-scale combat and to death. This need for security will lead to the deaths of individuals who seek to disrupt the humanitarian mission. When humanitarian intervention is measured within just war theory, understood via fourth-generation warfare, and measured against its failure in Somalia and success in the Balkans then humanitarian intervention can become a military means to protect human rights. This paper will use Somalia and the Balkans as examples of how a military-led humanitarian intervention can succeed. The paper will also examine the effect of intervention on human rights policy in light of the UN World Summit of 2005 declaring that "culminated with an agreement that the international community, acting through the United Nations, bears a responsibility to help protect populations from genocide and other atrocities when their own governments fail to do so."¹

Before the right to protection was cemented by the United Nations during the 2005 World Summit, governments used their militaries to undertake combat and counterinsurgency missions that often involved humanitarian missions. Historically, the British had Malaysia, France and the United States had Vietnam, and the Russians had Afghanistan. Currently, the United States and its allies are involved in Iraq and Afghanistan while Russia continues to combat a Chechen insurgency. Only Great Britain found success in Malaysia while the other countries suf-

¹ Alicia L. Bannon, "The Right to Protection: The United Nations World Summit and the Question of Unilateralism," *The Yale Law Journal* 115, no. 5 (March 2006): 1157-65.

ferred massive casualties and were either defeated or forced to withdraw. One of the changes and a new cornerstone to any counterinsurgency mission is humanitarian. Successful operations in the humanitarian sphere require some degree of force, preferably force that is being used to provide security, to win over the populace; a crucial and difficult step for local forces or leaders can have more support and begin to rebuild.

As a country the United States tempers its ability to kill with its willingness to assist people in other countries. Although historically slow to assist these countries, and not always for selfless reasons, America leads the world in humanitarian aid in the post-Cold War world (granting some thirty billion dollars).² Since the end of the Cold War, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), once a barrier to Soviet aggression, is now searching for new meaning. The United Nations, born after World War II, has served as a beacon of hope for impoverished nations hoping for a sense of equality with the superpowers. However, the UN and NATO have lost their way. As a global organization for protecting the human rights the UN lacks a realistic method of enforcement for most of its human rights charters. NATO was formed in order to combat the growing threat of communism, and to unite the United States and its allies against the Soviet Union and their “allies”. Now with the threat of the Warsaw Pact steamrolling through Europe gone, NATO is in search of a new mission and a new emphasis. Part of the answer lies in the work done by various non-governmental organizations (NGOs) who tirelessly work to see injustices brought to light and services and help brought to the lowest levels.

The lessons learnt from Vietnam permeated the highest levels of the American military, forcing changes in how it would approach small wars. The American public would no longer tolerate the United States government launching large military operations that would cost thousands in lives and billions in money. Coming on the heels of Vietnam was the collapse of the Soviet Union, leaving NATO without a defined reason for existence. However, as will be examined later, small scale conflicts requiring the intervention of US military forces sprang up throughout the 1990s and beyond, resulting in a new style of war to

² “United States Global Humanitarian Assistance.” Impartial access to data and information relating to humanitarian aid, Global Humanitarian Assistance (GHA). <http://www.globalhumanitarianassistance.org/countryprofile/united-states> (accessed November 16, 2012).

which the United States could apply the lessons of Vietnam. These lessons were quickly forgotten as the military had quick success in Grenada, Panama, the Persian Gulf, Bosnia, and Somalia. Humanitarian disasters appeared across the world and as an organization of global unity, the United Nations and to a degree NATO, stepped into this vacuum to attempt to prevent the loss of human rights, and to preserve order across the globe. Before going into detail concerning humanitarian intervention, it would be helpful to understand some of the underlying precepts, chiefly the Just War theory and the theory of Fourth Generation warfare.

In the realm of human rights it may seem like an oxymoron to discuss any theory involving “just war,” or justifying the taking of human life, but without the just war theory it is likely there would be more suffering during war than there already is. Just war theory dates back to the time of Saint Thomas Aquinas and Saint Augustine and has been applied as recently as the Presidential administration of George W. Bush. The theory sought to address growing concerns in medieval times about balancing one’s duties to God when called for military service with the quest for peace and good will among all men. Just war theory seeks to address this by laying down two main realms of thought: *Jus Ad Bellum* and *Jus in Bello*. In the *Jus Ad Bellum* there are the following principals of just cause, sufficient and proportionate cause, right intention, right authority, last resort and reasonable hope of success.

JUST CAUSE is, simply put, the country in question’s right to defend itself from either outside or inside aggression. It also recognized by both international law and custom that this is inclusive of allies that have come under attack. In regards to humanitarian intervention, this precept has been the most difficult to grasp, as sending military forces from outside the country and violating its sovereignty is contradictory to the UN Charter.

SUFFICIENT AND PROPORTIONATE CAUSE asks the question “does the cause of war, even if just, outweigh all the harm and damage that will unavoidably be caused?” This is best described by Charles Guthrie and Quinlan Michael: “The comparison should not be between taking up arms and doing nothing. It should be between taking up arms and doing the best we can by other means – diplomatic, economic, legal and the like”.³

³ Charles Guthrie and Michael Quinlan, *Just war: The Just War Tradition: Ethics in Modern Warfare* (New York, NY: Walker & Co., 2007).

RIGHT INTENTION states that the reason for going to war needs to be to help the population and be purposed to make a greater peace after the conflict, while RIGHT AUTHORITY states that the authority to declare and make war on another sovereign entity does not lie at the lower levels of government, such as a local noble in medieval times, but rather the highest, sovereign authority is the one who can make the decision to engage in warfare. LAST RESORT is the “gut check”; that warfare not be the first option to resolving issues between two belligerents, however it is also not the absolute last decision to militarily intervene in the affairs of another sovereign state, while REASONABLE HOPE OF SUCCESS is the notion that when engaging in warfare, the countries do not continue the war, and prolong the suffering of the populace for the leader’s individual reasons.

In the *Jus in Bello*, the idea of actually conducting the war is discussed. These points are important because it provides a kind of moral roadmap when coming to terms with war. Killing another human being is already an act that goes against many social beliefs held by many people around the world, but the ideas of *Jus in Bello* help provide a more defined set of guidelines for the soldier. The two major points here are Discrimination and Proportionality.

DISCRIMINATION refers to making a clear distinction between non-combatants and combatants. A non-combatant is classified as someone who is not actively engaged in combat operations, and is broken down between “innocence” and “deliberate attack”. In the case of innocence, the question has to be are they actually participating in armed conflict as either a member of the armed forces or an insurgency group. If the question is concerning workers in a factory however, then the question is not so easily answered. If the question is persons forced to serve in the armed forces, such as draftees or conscripts then the answer becomes less murky. This idea does not concern only human targets, but infrastructure as well. This was confronted during the air campaign over Kosovo, with attacks against key parts of infrastructure in order to force the population to remove and turn over Slobodan Milosevic to international authorities.

With deliberate attack, the goal is to bring to a stop the direct targeting of civilians by military forces. The aims of war cannot be to bring undue suffering on the civilian population, although it is necessary to understand that civilians will die; that is unavoidable. In the current conflicts, much like in Vietnam, there is confusion over distinguishing

the civilian populations from the actual combatants, such as Saddam's Feeydeen Saddam units in the initial push in to Iraq. In Kosovo this was also difficult due to the altitude that the aircraft flew to avoid the anti-air fire from Serb guns. PROPORTIONALITY in combat is dependent upon the situation, but in essence it states that there needs to be equal levels of force used during combat operations, similar in scope to modern laws concerning use of force by law-enforcement professionals. For example, if a humanitarian convoy is attacked by small-arms fire, then there may not be a need for the convoy to call in airstrikes to level the countryside. This would be an example of a lack of proportionality. If the same convoy was trapped in a three hundred and sixty degree ambush in which an insurgent force had them trapped, then the proportionality changes in favor of the airstrikes.

What is important, when following the precepts of just war theory, is that the destruction of the civilian population is avoided and that only armed combatants are targeted. However, in the Balkans these precepts were not practiced by the Serbs and the Croats, who went on wanton killing sprees with the singular goal of ethnic cleansing against the Bosnian Muslim population. But the precepts were followed by UN and NATO forces during the conflict. This leads back to the original question: how do humanitarian intervention and human rights fit with the Just War Theory? Here is where just war theory becomes merged with the ideas and precepts of humanitarianism when the action of intervening is looked at from the perspective of R2P. As it is stated in the theory, if the reason for war is to protect an innocent civilian population from harm, then a country or an organization such as the UN has a moral obligation to intervene. The tenets of just war theory provide a base on which NATO, as will be discussed later, can build a sort of "intervention checklist" for determining if a humanitarian intervention mission is necessary and to what degree.

Warfare is a chaotic landscape, and the environment that encompasses a humanitarian operation is no less murky. In a perfect setting the humanitarian mission will need minimal security, and that security is handled by a trustworthy local force which has the best interests of their society at heart. Warfare evolves and changes as more technology improves and countries learn what is successful and what is not from previous wars. Military-led humanitarian intervention shares many similarities with combat operations, such as the fact that humanitarian intervention operations require a force to be dispersed in too

many areas with a decentralization of command so that the person at the scene can make decisions without having to wait for approval from higher officials. Also, humanitarian operations demand that the local commander have at least a tacit understanding of the media's presence in their area. By acknowledging the role that the media plays in the success of the mission as well as in the missions' failure then the local commander can hopefully prevent actions done by the force from being misinterpreted and taken out of context by the global audience. Theories concerning how warfare is conducted and how different scenarios should be handled are often the topics of professional, peer-reviewed journals.

In an article in the October, 1989 edition of the *Marine Corps Gazette*, William Lind and others argue the theory that war progresses through stages of evolution, and he claims that warfare (as of 1989) is entering its new stage: fourth generation warfare. First generation warfare was the tactics of the musket and military forces that fought on line and were relevant because of the technology and social conditions, such as lower class conscripted troops with insufficient training with officers from wealthier families. Second generation warfare reflected a change in technology, namely the machine gun, barbed wire and barrel rifling, as well as changes in how the soldiers operated with the beginnings of fire and movement. However, as Lind notes "warfare still remained linear". In third generation warfare, ideas as much as technology became important; Germany, which is used as an example in Lind's essay, developed its *Blitzkrieg* tactics as a counter to the industrial might of its rivals France, England and Russia.

In fourth generation war, Lind writes that warfare contains most, if not all, of the following: an ideologically centered, non-national base, involvement of current, high-end technology, dispersed logistical support, attacks directed at the adversary's culture, and employing a comprehensive psychological warfare dimension, particularly through the media.⁴

Each one of these points influences how humanitarian operations are conducted. For the mission to succeed, the mission commanders will need to recognize their environment and keep the fourth generation warfare concept in the back of their mind; it is this last point that concerns humanitarian operations the most, however, as the action it-

⁴ William S. Lind et al., "The Changing Face of War: Into the Fourth Generation," *Marine Corps Gazette* (October 1989): 22-26.

self is a double-edged sword; if the United States engages in a humanitarian intervention operation it will either be seen as a brute throwing its weight around and imposing its will and morals on a lesser country; or, if the United States does not act, America is seen as indifferent to the plight of poorer countries. The biggest hindrance to a military-led humanitarian intervention will always be the global mass media. The media reports to different entities, sometimes only for ratings, as in what makes for “sexy viewing”, and other times it is for propaganda. Very often the group or force opposing the humanitarian operations will manipulate local and often global media to try and turn popular opinion against the operation.

The media is an ever-powerful force in determining policy and helping shape the course of action when concerned with warfare and intervention missions. Since the Vietnam War, when war was brought into the American living room for the first time, the public has been repulsed by the images of Americans dying. Fast forward to 1993, when Americans saw two Delta Force soldiers dragged through the streets while jubilant Somali crowds celebrated and hacked apart the bodies on CNN. The public outcry after this event pushed the Clinton administration to rapidly withdraw all US forces in Somalia and contributed to the ensuing delay in American troops assisting NATO in the Balkans. Ironically, the broadcasting and reporting of atrocities in the Balkans led to a public cry to provide aid and support to the UN mission and tacit support for the air campaigns which helped turn the tide against Slobodan Milosevic.

These two case studies serve as examples of just how dynamic and fluid the environments in a military humanitarian environment can be. In Somalia and in the Balkans, the United States faced cultural, logistical, political, and military challenges that had to be overcome if the mission was to succeed. In Somalia America was part of a greater UN humanitarian mission that ultimately failed while in the Balkans the United States was more involved with the NATO mission and achieved their mission goals. These missions have had long-lasting effects on how governments view military-led humanitarian missions. The Somalia mission – with the events of Operation Gothic Serpent – led to a desire to avoid humanitarian interventions, at least in Africa. Mogadishu not only caused the US to avoid involvement in Rwanda’s genocide, but also influenced the US in its slow engagement in the Balkans a short while later.

Humanitarian intervention missions, even in a non-combat setting, often take place in “failed states”, which are states that have failed to establish the basic structures of responsible government.⁵ This requires humanitarian operations to provide human rights protection to the populace while also reconstructing local and national government so that when the forces leave the situation does not return to chaos. In his essay “The Rise and Fall of Liberal Imperialism”, Gerald Knaus argues that there are four schools of thought in regards to intervention and nation building, applicable to Bosnia: the planning school, the liberal imperialist school, the futility school and principled incrementalism. The planning school theory states that the transformation of a country can be accounted for due to the people, money and resources that were available for long periods of time and because the planners could possibly learn from the region’s history. The liberal imperialist school is the need to give the authority to counter any who oppose the formation or re-construction of the state in question. These could be rival leaders, other countries, or warlords within the country. The futility school argues that both humanitarian intervention and nation building will always fail. Humanitarian intervention and nation building missions have too much within the country to overcome, politically and literally, and therefore will fail.

The final school on the humanitarian intervention in Bosnia is called principled incrementalism.⁶ This is the argument that brings into question the idea of any single dominating school, and simply states that success is achieved by not taking large risks and learning how to compromise with locals in order to achieve greater success. By looking at the examples of Somalia and the Balkans, the consequences of a failed humanitarian mission and the results of a successful operation come to light and the lessons that are learnt can be applied to future operations.

The United Nations Human Rights Charter lays out the rights that every person, regardless of social constructs has, and that those rights need to be respected. More often than not the humanitarian intervention mission is conducted peacefully in such a manner that the basic

⁵ Noam Chomsky, *Failed States: the Abuse of Power and the Assault on Democracy*, cited from <http://www.chomsky.info/articles/20060405.htm> (accessed December 3, 2012) (New York, NY: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt, 2006).

⁶ Rory Stewart and Gerald Knaus, *Can Intervention Work?* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 2011).

principles of just war theory are respected while the humanitarian missions where combat is involved tend to be exceptions rather than the norm. These missions, when conducted in concordance with stabilization operations, can help to pacify and begin the process of rebuilding after the event. As case studies for failure and success of humanitarian intervention, Somalia and the Balkans will be examined. Somalia has a heavy UN presence and control, while Bosnia had a large UN control but security was then taken over by the United States and NATO.

Somalia is located on the Horn of Africa and its capital is Mogadishu. Ethnically, (as of November 2012) Somalia is 85% Bantu Somalia with a 15% mixture of other ethnic groups, including some 30,000 Arabs. The primary spoken languages are Somali and Arabic, which are the official languages, with Italian and English being spoken as well. Somalia has the 6th and 8th highest birth and death rates respectively, and a life expectancy of 50.8 years. Somalia, like a large part of Africa, has been ravaged by the HIV/AIDS epidemic.⁷

Somalia gained its independence from Great Britain on July 1st, 1960. In 1969 the Army would quickly seize power, placing Major General Muhammad Said Barre in power. Barre would be in control of the country until 1991, when warring factions (Rebel Somali National Movement, United Somali Congress and the Somali Patriotic Movement) deposed him and his socialist government. In 1991 two rival warlords, Mohamed Farah Aideed and Ali Mahdi, start fighting amongst one another for control of the country. On 24 April, 1992 the United Nations would pass resolution 746 (1992) and create the UNSOM I task force, whose mission was “to monitor the cease-fire, and a 500-strong infantry unit to provide United Nations convoys of relief supplies with a sufficiently strong military escort to deter attack and to fire in self-defense.”⁸ After a breakdown in security, from rebels led by warlord Muhammad Farah Aideed, the United Nations passed resolution 794, which welcomed American assistance in providing security for a humanitarian mission. “Operation Restore Hope” was the U.S. mission’s official moniker. It was in this quagmire that the UN entered in an at-

⁷ Central Intelligence Agency. “CIA World Factbook: Somalia.” Somalia. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/so.html> (accessed December 3, 2012).

⁸ “United Nations Operation in Somalia I - (UNOSOM I).” Welcome to the United Nations: It’s Your World. <http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/unosomi.htm> (accessed December 3, 2012).

tempt to ease the suffering of the Somali people that was due to a massive famine and internal strife caused by civil war. As part of its humanitarian mission, the US sent in troops to help safeguard the aid convoys and launched missions using Army Rangers in an attempt to capture those responsible for the bloodshed. This culminated with a mission from 3–4 October to capture senior members of Aideed’s militia.

After an attack by Aideed’s militia in which 24 Pakistani soldiers were killed, the UN approved resolution 837 (1993) calling for the arrest of those responsible for the attack. In response to the killings of four American soldiers and the wounding of seven more a short time later, President Clinton would authorize the deployment of “Task Force Ranger”, which consisted of members of the United States Army’s most elite units: 3rd Battalion, 75th Ranger Regiment, Delta Force and special forces from other services such as SEAL Team 6, U.S. Air Force Pararescumen, and Combat Controllers. Not knowing his location, the task force relied on intelligence gathered from paid informants, and on 3 October 1993, the U.S. Army received information on the location of high ranking members of Aideed’s militia. The Army Rangers, Delta Force members, and Navy SEALs would launch a coordinated “snatch and grab” mission to capture them which led to the most intense and deadly close-combat that the United States military had seen since the Vietnam War, and when it was over 2 MH-60 Black Hawk helicopters would be shot down with 20 service members dead with one captured.⁹

The events of 3–4 October during the Battle of Mogadishu, in which video of the bodies of two eventual Medal of Honor Awardees, Master Sergeant Gary Gordon and Sergeant First Class Randy Shughart, would be dragged through the streets on CNN caused a visceral public response which led the Clinton administration to withdraw all US forces. And it is this so-called “Mogadishu Syndrome” that is blamed for the reluctance for the US to engage in any course of military action that could cause the placing of ground forces into another country. After Mogadishu, the United States was reminded of Vietnam and once again became leery of sending ground forces into another country for any reason, and this is partly what prevented the US from supporting any military mission to Rwanda that might involve its ground forces.

⁹ Mark Bowden. “Black Hawk Down: An American War Story”. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 16, 1997-December 14, 1997.

This is also why US forces were under a microscope during the campaign for the Balkans.

Even though the US forces tried to adhere to the precepts of just war, the armed services quickly lost sight of the lessons from Vietnam, and their mission changed from a humanitarian mission to an offensive mission. No serious attempts to win over the Somali people were undertaken and most of the aid given wound up in the hands of the warlords. The UN and Washington tried to provide the assistance that the people needed to survive, but the lack of a secure environment for relief groups resulted in continued local deaths from famine and disease.¹⁰ The structures for help were in place, but the warlords prevented this from happening and Aideed cemented his power at the expense of the Somali people.

In Bosnia, however, United State action resulted in a relatively rapid end thanks to NATO air strikes. This should have been the perfect ending, one devoid of the ill effects of Mogadishu and the legacy of Vietnam: a successful, military-led humanitarian intervention with diplomacy and no US military casualties because of combat. With Mogadishu and Somalia fresh in the minds of Americans, President William J. Clinton ensured that once the United Nations and NATO became involved in the conflict in the Balkans United States ground forces would only be involved in limited capacities. The main means of providing security was through the use of airpower, which was also used to hammer buildings and military forces of the Serbs, while light infantry and light mechanized units provided site security for distribution of aid and protection of Bosnian areas.

The Balkans today consists of countries in the Balkan peninsula of South Eastern Europe. The countries include Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Greece, Kosovo, Macedonia, Croatia, and Serbia. The people of these countries are diverse, with Eastern Orthodox Christians, Catholics, and Muslims. The civil war was not the first case of ethnic cleansing to have taken place in the Balkans. Ethnic cleansing has taken place within Yugoslavia since World War II, when the Ustasa regime, a fascist regime supported by Nazi Germany, created a racist ideology that targeted Serbs, as well as religious groups such as Jews and Gypsies, with a campaign of mass extermination within Croatia.

¹⁰ "United Nations Operations in Somalia II (UNOSOM II) - Background (Full text)." Welcome to the United Nations: It's Your World. Accessed 5 Dec. 2012. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unosom2backgr2.html>.

This group was opposed by the communist rebels led by Josef Broz or “Tito”, a communist leader whose group held the distinction of being one of the only multi-ethnic partisan groups during World War II.¹¹ For all the dislike that the United States and NATO may have had for Tito, he managed to keep Yugoslavia more or less under control during his reign. It is during this time that many of the ethnic divisions which had caused so many issues began to fade as Muslim Serbs and non-Muslim Serbs and Croats intermarried, causing a blurring of the ethnic divisions.

Tito would die in 1980, and slowly Yugoslavia began to fall apart, and with the collapse of the Soviet Union, a push for democracy swept through the country. In 1991 Croatia and Slovenia, the wealthier parts of the country, declared their independence from Yugoslavia; this was opposed by the poorer Serbia. Serbia invaded with the intention of creating a greater Serbian state at the expense of the Bosnians and the Croats. This led to a civil war and would last until the year 2000, when Slobodan Milosevic was removed from power. This war led to the death and the displacement of over a million people. The war forever scarred the landscape of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and even today there are deep political and social divisions between the various ethnic groups. The major contributing factor to this continued distrust stems from the outcome of many of the battles and from the failure of the UN to provide even the most basic forms of protection for the population within the UN “Safe Zones” such as the one at Srebrenica.

If there was any particular moment that can be characterized as a failure of UN policy it was the massacre at Srebrenica. During the war, the Serbs and Croats quickly overran Serbian Muslim towns, displacing the Muslim population. The United Nations Peacekeeping force in Srebrenica was under the command of Colonel Marcel Valetin of the French Armée de Terre (Army of the Land). The overall commander of all UN peacekeeping forces, General Philippe Morillon moved his temporary headquarters to the UN base near Srebrenica in order to better negotiate with the Serbs. As more and more Muslims fled into the city, Elizabeth Baldwin, a spokeswoman for the UN operations in the Balkans, noted in a statement to the Associated Press (*Ottawa Citizen*, 25 March 1993) how “the Bosnian snipers aimed for the wounded, the sick and members of the UN peacekeeping force”, noting “there had

¹¹ David N. Gibbs, *First Do No Harm: Humanitarian Intervention and the Destruction of Yugoslavia* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2009).

never been anything like it before”. As the Serbs and the Croats closed the around the city, UN relief convoys were kept out of the city and there was regular artillery shelling from Serbian lines. General Morillon at one point was able to negotiate an evacuation via helicopter for wounded Serb Muslim civilians in exchange for transportation for embattled Serbs.¹² This would be scrapped when the helicopters came under mortar fire at their landing zone, causing two Canadian soldiers to be injured and three Muslims killed. Canada eventually withdrew its forces, which were replaced by a Dutch battalion.

The Serbs agreed to allow Muslims to leave the city; however only on their terms. The Serbs forced Muslims to march through Serbian territory, and in front of the peace keepers, powerless due to UN orders, raped and assaulted Muslim women with impunity.¹³ Any Muslim men who were of military age (16–40) were removed from the crowds heading out of Srebrenica and executed. The UN peacekeepers were embarrassed at every turn; at one point the BBC reported Serbian militants had approached a UN check point and demanded that the soldiers lower their weapons and strip down to their underwear.¹⁴ In the end, over 8,000 Muslim men and boys were executed and thrown into mass graves, and upwards of 20,000 went missing. The UN failed in its primary mission to protect the people of Srebrenica, and stood by while scores were killed or displaced. None of the soldiers fought back, despite being well within accepted legal norms for defending either themselves, or the populace as a whole. Yet still nothing was done, and the blood of Srebrenica is on the UN’s hands as much as the Serbs’.

Ethically, in a situation such as Bosnia or Somalia, we as a country have a social and moral right to intervene in order to protect the human rights of people when their governments fail to do so. I am not advocating for the United States and NATO to intervene in any country at any time without sufficient reason and the acknowledgement of necessity by the global community. And it can be guaranteed that this decision, especially if requiring the use of American ground forces, will be unpopular, because there will always be a segment of the Amer-

¹² “Serbs to allow Muslim evacuation//In exchange, transport for embattled Serbs sought”, *USA today*, 23 March, 1993.

¹³ “Horrors revealed as survivors tell of Serb rape and murder”, *Courier-Mail*, 19 July, 1995.

¹⁴ “UN Dutch battalion rejected Serb ‘Ultimatum’ over posts”, BBC summary of world broadcasts, 11 July 1995.

ican and global population who will feel that no matter the reason one country does not have the right to intervene in another country's affairs; to a degree there is merit to the idea. The United States and many of the member nations of NATO do not have spotless human rights records. However, if a country has entered to the extremes and begins campaigns of genocide, state on citizen political violence, or some other extreme form of violence and undue suffering, then intervention needs to occur.

The United Nations has proven that while they are excellent at creating regulations and uniting the global community (at times) in the pursuit of many different causes, they are still a large, slow-acting, bureaucratic juggernaut. Many of the resolutions passed by the UN lack any real means of enforcement, and the idea of the UN having its own military wing to enforce its measures is troubling to say the least. NATO however, is strictly a military force; many of the members are member states of the UN and even the European Union. These states have excellent, well-trained professional military forces who could take charge to handle internationally led humanitarian operations. There is no possible reason that the international community can justify letting another population suffer and die. All people, no matter their ethnicity, creed, national origin or religious choice deserve not to be de-humanized and forced to suffer living without hope or concern. When a sovereign state has failed its people and cannot provide the means for a continued existence by the people, then this is the moment of action. Yet more often than not we see the exact opposite occurring, populations that are left to die, such as Rwanda or the present crisis in Sudan. There is no international mission and there is nothing on the television calling for aid. The use of military forces will always be tricky because no leader wants to place the lives of thousands of men and women in danger in order to help another county, especially if that country lashes out at the troops who are only trying to help not conquer. The populations of US, NATO and major UN countries are often skittish to engage in military-led humanitarian intervention missions because of past failures that haunt their memories. Instead of focusing on the failures, there must be a focus on the successes so that the use of military-led humanitarian missions in order to protect human rights remains a viable option. Humanitarian intervention can serve as the nucleus of a nation building or re-building mission. Most humanitarian intervention missions have a base of operations within the coun-

try, and this base can be expanded to include headquarters assets for the operation. When conducting the humanitarian and stabilization mission in Somalia, the US occupied Mogadishu Airport, and this site became a major hub for aid coming into the county, at least until the U.S. left.

What made Bosnia different? At first, because of the earlier noted “Mogadishu syndrome” the American public was against sending any kind of military force save flights of humanitarian goods. After the massacre at Srebrenica, the public was shocked, and the government of the United States took action to mobilize its allies in NATO. With the events occurring in an election year, the Clinton administration took action to avoid fallout during the campaign. The president called on the public to support the deployment of 20,000 US service members to the region as part of a peacekeeping force, and this force was on thin ice. If the US had suffered any casualties during its operations then the public would have quickly removed its support from the operation.

In a human rights context, it is up to the UN to take the lead in humanitarian intervention missions. However, the work that can be achieved by outside organizations and people cannot be dismissed. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and journalists played a crucial role in bringing to light all the atrocities that the Serbs had committed on the Bosnians, many going to the scenes of the slaughter and recording firsthand what they found and saw, descriptions such as that of David Rohde, a journalist for the Christian Science Monitor, gave to London’s *The Guardian* concerning what he saw at Nova Kasaba near Srebrenica: “I saw what appeared to be a decomposing human leg protruding from freshly turned dirt. Large empty ammunition boxes littered the fields where the ground had been dug recently. Diplomas and other personal effects of Srebrenica Muslims were scattered near the areas of disturbed earth”.¹⁵ The UN lacks an agency for enforcement and for operating the humanitarian missions; they rely on member states to provide military forces to provide the security that is required or to be impartial military observers.

¹⁵ “Witness Finds Evidence of Serb Killing Fields. The first journalist has reached the scene where mass graves are believed to hold Bosnian Muslims executed when the former ‘safe havens’ of Srebrenica and Zepa fell in July. David Rohde of the Christian Science Monitor reports on what he saw at Nova Kasaba”, *The Guardian*, 19 August, 1995.

This paper proposes that NATO cease to be a euro-centric defense force and instead focus on global defense issues, including humanitarian intervention. The UN cannot handle military intervention missions without making the situations, such as the early stages of Bosnia, much worse. By giving the power to NATO and using just war theory as the basis for ensuring that the interventions are occurring for the right reasons, then humanitarian intervention missions can occur without becoming bogged down. Many militaries, such as the United States, are forming regional specific defense commands (e.g. USAFRICOM or United States Africa Command) which would be a bonus for NATO by providing officers and senior enlisted personnel from global militaries with knowledge on specific regions in which there could be a need for humanitarian intervention missions. This force, acting as a security element while working in conjunction with UN sanctioned NGOs, would provide a humanitarian mission with the security and logistical support that would be required to execute a successful humanitarian intervention. As the failed case studies have shown, security and logistical support in the humanitarian environment is of the utmost importance. With the Cold War over, and NATO trying to find its way, re-focusing on humanitarian intervention and becoming less euro-centric would benefit NATO and its member states as a whole. The UN would then have qualified military members at its disposal, and it would possibly reduce the political discussions that can hamper the rapid deployment of a force into an area with dire humanitarian need. This would allow for specific units who could train exclusively for humanitarian intervention security missions and provide the member countries with personnel who are trained and prepared to conduct humanitarian missions.

The option to use military forces to offset human rights disasters is still a tough call for any administration to make. As of this writing in 2012, an explosive civil war taking place in Syria, an Arab Spring that has seen long standing dictatorships in Libya and Egypt dismantled, and the voices of many Arabs heard for the first time, contribute to an unstable environment that can be a breeding ground for humanitarian disasters. Although the US does not have a need to intervene in Syria militarily, it should still work with the United Nations and the Arab League to provide humanitarian assistance and protection to the Syrian people who are caught in the crossfire. Warfare will remain, humanitarian missions will continue to occur as governments change and

nature unleashes its fury, human rights will always be casualties of these calamities, and suffering will always be a constant bedfellow to war. If actions are taken by the global community to step-up and preserve the rights of humans, then at the least the suffering of the world's population can be somewhat abated. Instead of turning a blind eye, like in Rwanda and Syria for example, the world can offer a helping hand instead.

A Town Divided: Leadership at Hoxie.

Rodney W. Harris

On June 8, 1955 Winthrop Rockefeller rose to address the Urban League of Greater Little Rock. Rockefeller addressed the recent court rulings on segregation arguing that “The Supreme Court’s decisions on segregation in the schools and elimination of armed forces segregation are important stepping stones in our current progress.” Rockefeller, a recent transplant to Arkansas, had a long history with the national Urban League, both as an activist and as a financial benefactor. He went on to say, “Those things don’t just happen. People of strong beliefs eliminated those stumbling blocks to a united citizenry.”¹ Five elected School Board members, a School Superintendent, and local leaders in rural Hoxie, Arkansas, were those people of strong beliefs who in 1955 desegregated their school district. In this article, I argue that a combination of moral leadership and pocketbook concerns drove these men to oppose outside forces intervening in Hoxie, Arkansas, and that by doing so these men created a precedence of using the federal courts to uphold integration.

Arkansas possessed a mixed historical record, at times appearing to be a leader on racial issues at others lagging behind. Charleston, integrated in 1954 without opposition, the only school in the former confederacy to integrate its entire school system in 1954. Fayetteville, integrated nine students into its high school two weeks after Charleston. Previously black students from Fayetteville were bussed to both Fort

¹ *Southern School News* (June 8, 1955).

Smith and Hot Springs. This practice had proven to be cost prohibitive, costing over \$5000 per year.² Both Charleston and Fayetteville benefited from leaders, including future U.S. Senator Dale Bumpers, who were willing take moral and economic stands. Two schools in North-eastern Arkansas would integrate next. The Biggers-Reyno School Board announced they would admit two black students for the October term in 1955. On June 7, 1955 the Hoxie School Board met and discussed the segregated school in their district. Among the topics discussed were ongoing accreditation issues as well as the financial burden of bussing students to Jonesboro's Booker T. Washington High School.³ The five men who served on the Hoxie School Board stepped into a firestorm, by doing so they were also joining ranks of the leaders Rockefeller foresaw removing stumbling blocks to create a united citizenry.

Hoxie sits at the crossroads of the Frisco and Missouri Pacific rail roads in Lawrence County, Arkansas. Jerry J. Vervack described Hoxie in a relatively negative light with unpaved roads, rundown structures, and homes which were not well maintained. At the time of the integration battle, Phillip Cable, reporting for *The New York Times*, wrote of Hoxie,

It is a poor county and Hoxie accurately mirrors the poverty of which it is a part. It is a bleak collection of dingy one and two-story structures strung out thinly along the tracks of the Missouri Pacific and Frisco railroads, which intersect at the town's center. Its few streets away from the railroad tracks are unpaved, and cotton and rice fields intrude into scattered and generally dilapidated residential areas.⁴

Hoxie natives tell a different story. Ethel Tompkins, one of the black students who would integrate the school, remembered Hoxie as a small town with a lot to offer. She says people were friendly and open. Furthermore, Tompkins says residential areas were not segregated;

² *Southern School News* (October, 1954); Dale Bumpers, *The Best Lawyer in a One Lawyer Town* (New York, NY: Random House, 2003), 139–140; John A. Kirk, *Redefining the Color Line: Black Activism in Little Rock, 1940–1970* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 97–98, 101–102.

³ *Southern School News* (August 1955, 15); *Hoxie School Board Minutes* (June 7, 1955).

⁴ Phillip Cable, "Integration: Battle of Hoxie Arkansas," *The New York Times* (September 25, 1955).

white and black children lived on the same street and played together. Jim and Francis Green (Jim's father Herbert Green would eventually run for the school board in support of integration) remembered Hoxie in much the same light as Tompkins. According to the Greens the town consisted of a few blocks of houses and a small business district. At the intersection of the two rail lines sat a large depot. The city's main thoroughfare had businesses on one side of the street facing the railroad tracks. The town boasted seven grocery stores, multiple places to eat, lawyers, doctors, and a movie theater. According to historian Neil McMillen Hoxie had a small black population and whites had little fear they would take over. Most people in the community seem to have opposed integration but kept their criticism to a minimum following the board's decision to integrate. According to a 1956 story in *Time*, Hoxie was a "cow-and-cotton" town where no resistance developed until outside groups, primarily the White Citizen's Council of Arkansas and White American Inc., arrived in town to stir opposition, testing the leadership of the Hoxie School system and accentuating the stumbling blocks both locally and nationally.⁵

A relatively new district, Hoxie was formed in 1948 by the consolidation of several local schools. The district covered approximately eighty square miles and encompassed the communities of Hoxie, Sedgwick, and Minturn. Roughly 4,000 people lived in the district. Originally the district had operated "wing schools," which were essentially branch schools, at Minturn and Sedgwick. Green remembers this school at Sedgwick being "two rooms and a path." By 1955 only the "wing school" at Sedgwick remained. The new consolidated district, number forty-six, built a new state of the art, two-story school in Hoxie for white students. Ethel Tompkins remembers the segregated elementary school being an older building, its window openings had no glass or screens, and it had no indoor plumbing, forcing the teacher to walk to a local residence to obtain water. They heated the building with a potbellied stove which sat in the middle of the room. When it rained students had to rearrange their seats to avoid getting wet. This

⁵ Jerry J. Vervack, "The Hoxie Imbroglia," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (1989): 17-33; Cable, "Integration: Battle of Hoxie Arkansas"; Neil R. McMillen, "The White Citizens' Council and Resistance to School Desegregation in Arkansas," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 66, no. 2 (2007): 127; "Arkansas: A Federal Right," *Time* (November 5, 1956); Interview with Ethel Tompkins, July 26, 2011; Interview with Jim and Francis Green, July 6, 2011.

ill-maintained building housed grades one through eight with little money being spent on black students' education. According to Tompkins their textbooks were hand-me-downs from the white school with little regard for their condition or appropriateness. In fact, many of these books were missing pages. Like many schools in the nearby Arkansas Delta, Hoxie operated on a split-term basis. The school term began following the Fourth of July holiday and continued for approximately eight weeks. At the end of the term students would be dismissed for harvest.⁶

Segregation was a fact of life in Hoxie, as in the rest of the South. "The Wagon Wheel" was a popular eating establishment in Hoxie. As a child Tompkins remembers her family, like all black patrons, would have to place their orders at the back door by the garbage bins, wait on their order, and then find a place to eat or take it home. Hoxie had no restaurants with a black dining room. The depot in the center of town had two waiting rooms, one for whites and one for blacks. U.S. Highway 67, a major thoroughfare, ran through Hoxie. With no hotel in the area that served blacks, black travelers had to plan their trips so they could find establishments open to their race, a travel guide for blacks was even available. As a young girl Ethel's family lived in rural Jackson County, South of Hoxie. Her grandfather, who was under the care of a doctor, took medication daily. When the pharmacy in Tuckerman, Arkansas that had previously filled his prescription went out of business, no other pharmacist would fill prescriptions for blacks and the family had to travel even further to find a pharmacy. No element of life was unaffected by segregation.⁷

The *Brown v. Board* Supreme Court ruling provided a sliver of hope for blacks, but the *Arkansas Gazette* saw it differently reporting, "Yesterday's United States Supreme Court ruling on segregation in public schools was warmly received by southern leaders who interpreted it as a means of indefinitely extending the touchy problem."⁸ Southern leaders rushed to make their positions known; Senator Jim Eastland of

⁶ Interview with Jim and Francis Green, July 6, 2011; Interview with Ethel Tompkins, July 26, 2011; *Southern School News* (August 1955) 10; Mary Bristow, "Desegregation at Hoxie Public Schools, 1955–1956" (M.A., Arkansas State University, 1999), 44.

⁷ Interview with Ethel Tompkins; Interview with Jim and Francis Green, July 6, 2011.

⁸ "South Finds Ruling Eases School Strain," *Arkansas Gazette* (June 1, 1955).

Mississippi called the ruling a “monstrous crime.” Congressman E.C. “Took” Gathings from Eastern Arkansas made it clear he opposed the ruling, which was no surprise since his district encompassed much of the Delta. As historian Charles Ogletree Jr. argues, there was no unified reaction to the ruling. In Arkansas, the reaction was mainly one of moderation. Orval Faubus had run for Governor as a moderate. Slowly opposition took form and possible plans to avert integration began to be talked about. On June 1, 1955 the *Arkansas Gazette* and the *Jonesboro Evening Sun* predicted long delays and prolonged legal battles lay ahead.⁹

Hoxie did not delay. In April of 1955 the court handed down *Brown v. Board II*, the court placed responsibility for desegregation in the hands of district courts and ordered that desegregation move forward “with all deliberate speed.” At Hoxie they did. On July 25, 1955 L.L. Cochran, Secretary of the Hoxie School Board, made the motion to end segregation of the Hoxie School system effective July 1, 1955. Guy Lloyd seconded the motion. At this meeting the decision to end segregation was unanimous. At an earlier meeting on June 7, 1955 the board had discussed the issue. K.E. Vance, Superintendent of Schools, presented a budget report. It was taking \$5000.00 of the school’s budget to maintain the segregated elementary and to transport black students to Jonesboro. At this meeting Howard Vance made a motion to eliminate segregation at Hoxie. Mr. Robert Vance seconded this motion. Robert and Howell supported the motion while Cochran and Floyd voted against it. According to Howell, eliminating segregation was “morally right, the law of the land, and economically sound.” The motion passed, at which time K.E. Vance urged the board to take this step with caution. The board asked K.E. Vance to discuss how best to implement the decision with officials at the State Department of Education. In other business, the board voted to start the summer term on July 11, 1955; the board also agreed to approach nearby Walnut Ridge to see if they would agree to integrate their school as well. Walnut Ridge is an adjoining community and board members knew that their decision would carry more weight if the two schools integrated together. They

⁹ *Arkansas Gazette* (June 1, 1955; August 4, 1955); *Jonesboro Evening Sun* (June 1, 1955); Charles J. Ogletree Jr., *All Deliberate Speed* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 2005), 128–29; Kirk, *Redefining the Color Line*, 97.

declined. After consultation in Little Rock, the Hoxie Board chose to integrate their school as planned.¹⁰

Board members faced multiple problems in making their integration decision. Under Arkansas law each board member swore to support the constitution of the United States as well as the constitution of the State of Arkansas. Following the *Brown v. Board* ruling created a new problem. With federal courts declaring that segregation was no longer legal under the United States Constitution, board members had to break part of this law no matter what. Arkansas law required local school boards to establish and maintain separate schools for white and black children. Another factor facing board members at Hoxie was debt. The district could no longer afford the expense of maintaining a separate black elementary and bussing black high school students. Under state law, no district could operate in the red. School districts operated on a cash basis and if Hoxie had gone into debt, no matter the reason, the district faced closure and seizure by the state.¹¹

The five members of the Hoxie Board of Education did not seem particularly poised to become outstanding leaders or to take on the forces of history which they would encounter. In 1955 Leslie Howell served as Chairman of the Board and L.L. Cochran served as secretary. The remaining board members were Leo Robert, Howard Vance, and Guy Floyd. Howell, commonly referred to as “Cowboy,” was 49 years old; he worked as an agent for the Railway Express Agency. He had served on the board for 10 years and as president for the last 8. Mrs. Howell worked in the cafeteria at the school and he worked for a local oil company. Howard Vance owned a lumber company in Sedgwick and Roberts worked for the Farmers Home Administration in Walnut Ridge. His wife also taught school. Guy Floyd farmed and his wife was a teacher. The five members of the board had a combined 57 years of experience on the board and four of their wives worked for the school in some capacity. Obviously the economic viability of the Hoxie school system directly affected the pocketbooks of five of these men, but need-

¹⁰ *Hoxie School Board Minutes* (June 7, July 25, 1955); Bristow, “Desegregation at Hoxie Public Schools,” 45–46; “No Action at Walnut Ridge,” *Arkansas Gazette* (June 26, 1955).

¹¹ Ralph B. Jones (Commissioner), ed., *The School Laws of Arkansas* (Little Rock, AR: State Department of Education, 1943), 88–91.

less to say, the future of the school was important to these men for both economic and community reasons.¹²

Hoxie School Superintendent K. E. Vance was a rising star in the education community. According to the Mary Bristow, Vance seemed destined for an administrative position at Arkansas State College, now Arkansas State University, or with the Arkansas Department of Education. Prior to becoming the superintendent at Hoxie, Vance had served in the same role at nearby Black Rock, also in Lawrence County. 1955 was Vance's fifth year at Hoxie. Viola Meadows, a Home Economics instructor who worked with Vance both at Black Rock and Hoxie, believes Vance actually had a long range plan for the integration of Hoxie Schools. According to Meadows, one part of the plan was to improve the quality of education in the segregated school so students would be ready to transition to the white campus. In order to do this Vance hired a black teacher with a Master's degree.¹³ Not only did this provide a strongly qualified teacher in the segregated school, it provided a strong, accomplished role model for black students as well.¹⁴

Opposition came in the form of the Hoxie Citizens Committee, a group founded with the backing of White America Inc., and the White Citizen's Council of Arkansas. Herbert Brewer, a local farmer and junk dealer, became chairman of the new organization. Jim Green, a student at the time, remembers Brewer as "loud, outgoing, and uneducated."¹⁵ Viola Meadows does not remember Brewer being a rebel rouser, she remembers him as an ordinary guy. One great irony is that Brewer lived in and operated his business in the black area of town. His children played with black children. Ethel Tompkins, one of the black students, says Brewer did not seem to have a strong opinion until the outsiders arrived and stroked his ego.¹⁶

¹² "Hoxie v Brewer transcript", *School Board Minutes*, Dec. 8 & 9, 1955; "Protests lead to Closing of School 2 Weeks Early at Hoxie, AR.", *Arkansas Gazette*, August 14, 1955 and August 21, 1955; Meadows Interview; *Southern School News*, 10.

¹³ They hired Charlotte Trotter of Little Rock as the teacher at the segregated school. She traveled home to Little Rock every Friday afternoon, typically with Viola Meadows driving, and returned to Hoxie by bus at the beginning of the week. At the time there would have been no social or cultural life open to an educated professional black women in Hoxie.

¹⁴ Bristow, "Desegregation at Hoxie Public Schools," 44-45; Meadows interview, August 9, 2011.

¹⁵ Green interview.

¹⁶ Ethel Tompkins interview; Viola Meadows; Jim and Francis Green interview; Kirk, *Redefining the Color Line*, 97-88; Clive Webb, *Massive Resistance: Southern*

On August 13, 1955 Amis Guthridge opened his remarks to a gathering in Hoxie by saying he was “glad to be here in Hoxie with you white people.”¹⁷ Guthridge, executive secretary of White America Inc., addressed a crowd of an estimated seven hundred. Hoxie Mayor Mitchell Davis and State representative Paul Graham joined Guthridge. Davis claimed integration had “hurt the school, hurt the town, hurt the people, and hurt the churches.”¹⁸ This group had asked K.E. Vance for permission to meet at the school but he refused and they met in downtown Hoxie. Brewer presented his petition asking for the School Board to resign and asked residents to sign. Brewer had just returned from meeting with Senator Jim Eastland in Senatobia, Mississippi. According to Johnson, Eastland would be traveling to Hoxie to speak in September.¹⁹

Integration at Hoxie breathed life into White America Inc. which had been formed earlier in 1955 in Pine Bluff, Arkansas. The organization had only a small following until it became involved in the Hoxie situation. Amis Guthridge had previously served as the Arkansas Dixiecrat campaign manager. In 1948 he became the executive secretary and attorney for White America Inc. Hoxie also allowed Jim Johnson, a former State Senator from Crossett, Arkansas, to become the leading voice for segregation in the state. Johnson had served in the Marine Corps during World War II. He graduated from Cumberland Law School in Tennessee and won a seat in the state senate at the age of 21. In 1954 Johnson suffered a defeat when he ran for Attorney General and in 1955 he served as the state director of the White Citizens’ Council of Arkansas. While this may seem like an organization for failed politicians, that would be assuming too much. Johnson welded considerable political power.²⁰

According to Historian John Kirk, the three segregationist groups Hoxie Citizens’ Committee, White America Inc., and the White Citizens’ Council of Arkansas joined forces to establish the Associated Citi-

Opposition to the Second Reconstruction (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2005), 83.

¹⁷ “Segregationist of Little Rock Speak at Hoxie,” *Arkansas Gazette*, August 14, 1955.

¹⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁹ *ibid.*; Elizabeth Jacoway, *Turn Away Thy Son: Little Rock, the Crisis that Shocked the Nation* (New York, NY: Free Press, 2007), 343.

²⁰ McMillen, “The White Citizens’ Council,” 126; Robert L. Brown, *Defining Moments: Historic Decisions by Arkansas Governors From McMath through Huckabee* (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 2010), 12–13; Jacoway, *Turn Away Thy Son*, 68; Kirk, *Redefining the Color Line*.

zens' Councils of Arkansas (ACCA); this organization became the driving force to end integration at Hoxie. These men, Brewer, Guthridge, Johnson, and Copeland spoke at rallies in Northeast Arkansas and around the state. At a September 17, 1955 public meeting in Walnut Ridge, Copeland spoke using a continuing theme with segregationists. Copeland made a speech labeling the 14th Amendment as a damnable, iniquitous fraud, predicting that blood would run knee-deep all over Arkansas.²¹

Segregationists expressed a common argument that integration was part of an elaborate plot to get blacks into white beds. Copeland continued by urging patrons of the Hoxie school to refuse to pay their taxes. At one rally, according to witnesses, Johnson told the audience that sending his child to an integrated school would result in him having black grandchildren.²² Segregationist leaders were not opposed to lying to their audiences. On September 17, 1955 at a rally in Walnut Ridge, Brewer played an audio tape supposedly of Professor Roosevelt Williams of Howard University. This tape, supplied by the Citizens Councils of Mississippi, had one problem: no Professor Williams existed at Howard. Johnson accused Governor Faubus and Winthrop Rockefeller of planning to pay the poll taxes so blacks could vote. The newspaper of the White Citizens' Council of Arkansas accused the NACCP and Rockefeller of pouring money into Hoxie and called the school board a "copperhead" school board; as for the Supreme Court, claiming it was controlled by "two-bit, pro-communist politicians."²³

On August 7, 1955 the Arkansas Democrat headline blared "Hoxie, A City Divided" and could not have been more accurate. The battle over integration had divided families, friends, and neighbors. The Hoxie School Board stood by their decision to integrate and the Hoxie Citizens' Council called for the board's resignation. Segregationists presented the board with a petition calling for their resignations. Brewer claimed the petition contained one thousand signatures but Leslie Howell said it actually was far less, only two hundred. The petition was presented at the August 9th meeting. Howard Vance made a motion to take the petition under advisement and the motion received a sec-

²¹ "Hoxie Board Upheld..." *Arkansas Gazette*, January 10, 1956.

²² "Hoxie v. Brewer transcript", 68.

²³ *ibid.*, 65-66, 68, 54, 76; McMillen, "The White Citizens' Council," 128; *Arkansas Faith*, November 1955, 9-10.

ond from Floyd. At the next meeting on August 19th the board took no position on the petition and voted to close the school term two weeks early in order to calm tensions. However, board attorney Bill Penix of Jonesboro announced that integration would continue in the November term. The Arkansas State Press, a civil rights newspaper published by Daisy Bates and her husband, ran the headline, "When Court Action Is Urged White America Becomes Silent: Hoxie School Calls White America's Bluff."²⁴

The Hoxie School Board took an unusual step. Represented by attorneys Bill Penix of Jonesboro, James Sloan III of Walnut Ridge, and Ed Dunaway of Little Rock, the board filed suit against Herbert Brewer, the Hoxie Citizens' Committee, Amis Guthridge, White America, Inc., Jim Johnson, Curt Copeland and the White Citizens' Council of Arkansas. They asked for a temporary restraining order to stop further interference with the board's efforts to integrate the school. Federal Judge Thomas C. Trimble of the United States Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas issued a temporary order the same day. Trimble was no liberal, a native of Lonoke Arkansas and a graduate of the University of Arkansas, he received his appointment to the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1937. He later extended his order until October 20. The NAACP offered to join the suit (to do so they required black citizens to become party to the lawsuit) but the board refused. Vance and the school board had a duty to desegregate the district following the *Brown v. Board* decision, according to Penix. On January 9, 1956 Federal Judge Reeves, a special judge appointed to hear the case, ruled in favor of the Hoxie School Board making Judge Trimble's injunction against outside interference permanent. Reeves, a native of Steelville, Missouri, received his appointment to the United States District Court for the Western District of Missouri from President Warren G. Harding in 1923. Like Trimble, Reeves was part of the establishment. He had previously been linked to the Pendergast political machine in Kansas City. Brewer and his allies appealed the decision to the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals

²⁴ "Hoxie, A City Divided," *Arkansas Democrat*, August 7, 1955; "Hoxie Board to Retain Integration," *Pocahontas Star Herald*, August 18, 1955; *Southern School News*, October 1955, 9; "In Spite of White America," *Arkansas State Press*, August 19, 26, September 16, 1955; "Integrated School In Hoxie Closes," *Arkansas Democrat*, August 20, 1955; "Dare Issued by Board at Hoxie," *Jonesboro Evening Sun*, September 8, 1955; *School Board Minutes*, August 9, 19, 23, & November 8, 1955.

in St. Louis. At this point U.S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell entered the case on the side of Hoxie. This is important because it is the first time the U.S. Department of Justice intervened when a school was trying to comply with *Brown v. Board*. On October 25, 1956 the Appellant court upheld the ruling of the lower court.²⁵

The forces of segregation lost the battle at Hoxie but lived to fight another day. While some members of the School Board were defeated, others continued to serve. Over time, tension reduced and life returned to normal. In March of 1956 Herbert Brewer was elected to the school board. Herbert Green, a local grocer who ran for the board in support of integration, was defeated. Mr. Cockrum died shortly following the controversy and his wife always believed that his death was brought on by dealing with the stress of the situation. Following the victory in Federal Circuit Court, K.E. Vance resigned as school superintendent. He was encouraged to do so by members of the board and friends who felt he should leave the area for his own safety. He and his wife moved to Missouri where he attended the University of Missouri.²⁶

Johnson and company left Hoxie and downplayed the significance of their defeat. The massive resistance movement in Arkansas and elsewhere in the South learned from their mistakes at Hoxie. According to historian Elizabeth Jacoway, the Arkansas Citizens' Councils united under Johnson's leadership as a result of Hoxie. In the future the focus of such groups would be on elected officials such as Orval Faubus. Johnson pushed for Arkansas to adopt an interposition amendment to the state constitution to nullify the *Brown v. Board* ruling. In 1956 he challenged Faubus in the Democratic Primary, winning 26.9% of the vote. In this campaign he argued that Faubus was a racial moderate who could not be trusted to uphold the southern way of life. In 1958 Johnson filed at the last minute to run for a position on the Arkansas Supreme Court. He defeated a highly respected jurist, Justice Millwee. While on the court Johnson openly supported Republican Senator Barry Goldwater in the 1964 Presidential Election. He served on the court until 1966 when he became the Democratic nominee for Governor, running against Rockefeller in the general election. Rockefeller

²⁵ Bristow, "Desegregation at Hoxie Public Schools," 12, 38, 54; *Arkansas State Press*, Friday, November 4, 1955, Friday, January 13, 1956, Friday, November 9, 1986; *Arkansas Gazette*, January 10, 1956; "Arkansas: A Federal Right", *Time*, Monday, November 5, 1956.

²⁶ *ibid.*, 52.

became the first Republican since Reconstruction to win the Arkansas Governor's office. In 1968 Johnson was recruited by Henry Salvatore, an advisor to Ronald Reagan. Salvatore encouraged him to run against Senator J. William Fulbright in the upcoming Democratic Primary. He offered him advice, the support of Reagan, and financial support. Salvatore also pushed for Virginia Johnson to run for the democratic nomination for Governor. Johnson won only 31.7% of the vote and that same year his wife Virginia was defeated by Marion H. Crank. Salvatore, Reagan, and conservative groups did not provide the support they had promised according to Johnson. Furthermore, he claimed that Rockefeller had seen to it that any Republican support dried up. The 1968 election results proved interesting in Arkansas with victories for J. William Fulbright for the senate, Wallace for president, and Rockefeller for governor. In later life, Johnson supported both George Wallace and Ronald Reagan. In 1982 he supported the re-election of Frank White, the second Republican Governor since Reconstruction, who was running against Bill Clinton. Despite his support of Republicans he never officially joined the Republican Party. Instead he claimed to be an old fashioned Democrat, condemning Bill Clinton. The lessons learned at Hoxie would become evident in 1957 at Little Rock Central High and elsewhere in the South. Tragically, the precedent set by the Hoxie School Board would not be followed by other southern school boards.²⁷

²⁷ Elizabeth Jacoway, "Jim Johnson of Arkansas: Segregationist Prototype," in *The Role of Ideas in the Civil Rights South* (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 2002), 137-55.

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