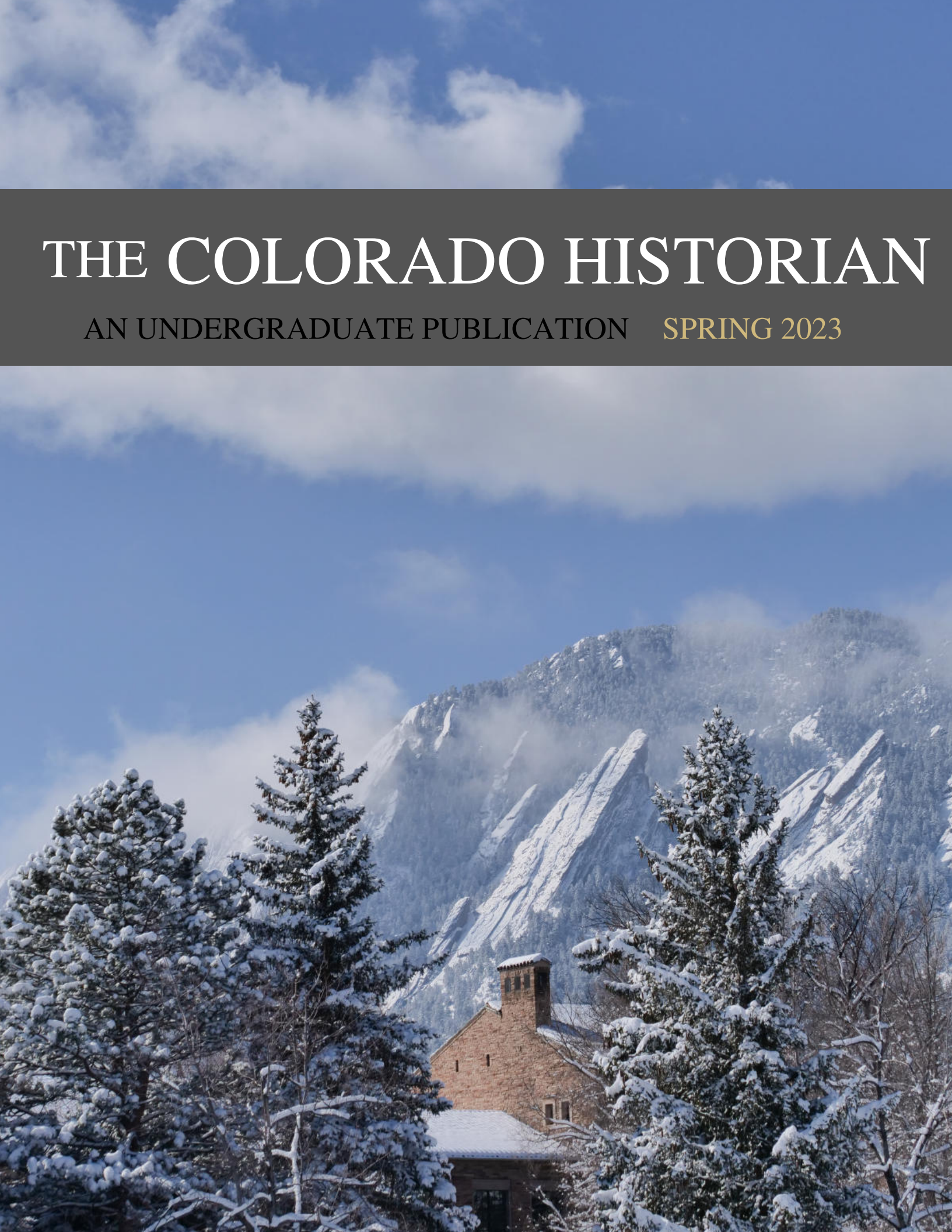
THE COLORADO HISTORIAN

AN UNDERGRADUATE PUBLICATION SPRING 2023



Spring 2023 Colorado Historian Team

Cover photo by Casey A. Cass for the University of Colorado at Boulder
View other photos here: View other photos here: http://ucomm-exten2.colorado.edu:8085/cu_boulder_stock_photo_database/#/

Letter From An Editor

Dear readers,

I am so excited to share this publication with you all! There are so many unique stories told through the History Department's classes and we strive to present an overview of all of them to you each year. This year's collection spans what I believe to the widest range of topics and geographic areas of focus since I started working with The Colorado Historian four years ago. Part of the reason I enjoy being a member of the editorial staff is because I get a glimpse into historical eras that I would never have thought about otherwise.

This is my last year serving as part of the staff of The Colorado Historian, as I'm graduating in May. The people (authors, students, and faculty) that I've met during my tenure with the journal have made my time here at CU Boulder so much brighter than I ever expected it to be. I want to thank each author and staff member, past and present, for the work they put into the papers presented here. I also want to thank our Faculty Advisor Professor Sachs for her enthusiastic support and liasing with the Department, and Professor Chester for helping us communicate with students across campus.

I know that next year's staff under the leadership of Sam Senseman will continue to do fantastic work. I look forward to being part of their audience.

Best,
Shannon Thompson

Table of Contents

The Bard, the Romantic, and the Nationalist: Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies*

Katlin Risen

In 2019, I purchased an old book from an antique shop. When I bought it, I was interested in how aged it looked on the outside, but when I opened it I found the book held within the works of Thomas Moore. The more I looked into it, the more fascinated I became until, eventually, I realized what I had. The history of Ireland was interwoven with Irish nationalist sentiments to create the *Irish Melodies* I held in my hand. Thomas Moore's poems were and are symbols of Irish nationalism shown in a form unlike the political and militaristic forms scholars typically think of. His works and their historical allusions offer an understanding of the cultural history of the period and how Irish poets were thinking and writing about history, culture, and nationalism within the eighteenth-century print culture during the Romantic Era. They also offer a glimpse into the poets, musicians, and historians of Ancient Ireland, and Moore himself embodies the qualities of an Irish Bard.

Irish Melodies were a set of ten volumes of songs created by setting lyrics to traditional Irish tunes and published from 1808 to 1834.[1] The idea for the Melodies came from "two young Dublin music-sellers, William and James Power," who reached out to Moore in 1806.[2] The first set of songs, "which appeared in 1808," are aligned with "Moore's earlier concerns to encourage nationalist sympathies" in the aftermath of the failures of the United Irishmen, and his later works still held a nationalist tone, but it was damped due to the English market they were created

[1] James W. Flannery, *Dear Harp of My Country: The Irish Melodies of Thomas Moore*, Nashville: J.S. Sanders & Company, 1997, 13.
[2] Flannery, *Dear Harp of My Country*, 86.

for and under.[3] They were, from the start, made "to appeal to an English market," but Moore and his work held layers of Irish history and nationalism within them that only helped to reinforce the strength of the Irish spirit.

My edition of *Irish Melodies* was published in the United States by J. & H. Miller, Publishers sometime before or around 1858. That date comes from the note on the inside cover of the book that reads "M. P. Stanly. Presented by N. Stanly. Nov 26. 1858" in pencil. It is a version of Irish *Melodies* that does not include the music, which means it was published later in Moore's career. This copy includes the prefatory letter regarding music in which Moore explained why he allowed his work to be published without the music. Initially, Moore did not want his works to be published without the sheet music, an aspect we will dive into in the following paragraphs. It also has the footnotes attached to the poems, which were included in the words from the very first volume of *Irish Melodies*.[4] This copy, if it is from 1858, would have been published after Moore's death in 1852 but shows us how even today, his work as a lyricist always had intertwined with it a career as a historian and a nationalist.

Moore the Bard

The Bards of Irish history were a class of people amongst the upper ranks of society, usually serving the noble families of Ireland.[5] They were learned men who trained in many different professions but especially in music, literature, genealogy, law, and history, all "through the medium of poetry."[6] In 1818, Joseph Cooper Walker published *Historical Memoirs of the*

[3] Leith Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender: The Construction of Irish National Identity, 1724–1874*, Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005, 141.
[4] See for examples: Thomas Moore, *A Selection of Irish Melodies*, London: J. Power, 1808-1818, https://archive.org/details/MooreIrishMelodies17/page/n7/mode/2up.
[5] Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 24.
[6] Joseph Cooper Walker, *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards An Historical Essay on the Dress of the Ancient and Modern Irish: and a Memoir on the Armour and Weapons of the Irish*, Dublin: J. Christie, 1818, 10.

Irish Bards, the first historical analysis of this class of people. Being a Bard, as Walker describes it, meant holding "the several offices of poet, historian, and legislator," just to name a few.[7] They were tasked with recording history through song and poetry, efforts that have not gone unappreciated by historians such as Walker. Through this poetry, modern historians have been able to "trace the rise and progress of national poetry, [and] illustrate the history of the human mind."[8] To Bards, "poetry became the vehicle of truth, and the voice of history."

It is vital to understand this important tie between history and politics and the Bard caste. Bards were students in multiple areas of study and created songs about a variety of different topics. To create songs that told the tales of Irish history, however, was vitally important in creating an Irish identity, especially as conquest by the English began to alter and even erase the unique historical identity Ireland. Along with their works in history, Bards "also held real political power."[9] We see the value Irish society placed on Bards, as well as the fear the British felt towards them, through their suppression of them. The English appearance and dominance in Ireland "had devastating effects on bardic music and poetry."[10] Eventually, under the reign of the English Queen Elizabeth I, "the character of Bard, once so reverenced in Ireland, began to sink into contempt," though their influences can still, to this day, be heard in the music and poetry of Ireland.[11]

With this understanding of the Irish Bards, we can determine whether or not Thomas Moore can be considered one. Bards were people who found unity in music, politics, history, and poetry. Moore was no different. Dr. James W. Flannery puts it best:

---

[7] Walker, *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*, 6.
[8] Walker, *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*, 153.
[9] Flannery, *Dear Harp of My Country*, 18.
[10] Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 25.
[11] Walker, *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*, 193.

> Thomas Moore carried on the mission of the ancient bardic order, for he plumbed the depths of Ireland's rich cultural heritage, reshaping the history, literature, mythology and music that he uncovered into new artistic forms suitable to the age in which he lived.[12]

Moore was the Irish Bard of his time as he combined his political attitudes toward nationalism with the traditional musical stylings and history of his home country. Of course, there are differences between the ancient Bards and Moore, but that is to be expected when hundreds of years of history pass between them. Even so, Moore embodies every aspect of the bardic person, from his schooling to his writings and even to his career under the patronage of noble families. There can be no doubt that Moore was a nineteenth-century Irish Bard.

Moore the Romantic

Though sharing many of the same attributes as the Bards of Irish history, Moore was not writing at the same time as them, but almost two hundred years after them, rather. Moore created his works in the Romantic Era, a period dating from around the end of the eighteenth century until the middle of the nineteenth century. The Romantic period did not only come to define the literature of the time but, also art, music, and intellectual works; the whole of culture. It was during this era that art, literature, and "music came to be explained as a reflection of the moral inclinations necessary for the progress of Civilization."[13] As Dr. Leith Davis explains,

[12] Flannery, *Dear Harp of My Country*, 119.
[13] Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 37.

> Music was understood to promote the sympathy and moral feelings so integral to eighteenth-century ideas of civil society. The association between Ireland and music was therefore useful as a corrective to representations of the Irish as barbaric.[14]

The Romantic Era was a time for the creatives of Ireland to solidify their place in the modern world as a people with a unique culture and to show the English they were "civilized."

This period of history also saw the explosion of print culture, which expanded the public sphere as more classes of people were able to participate in the wider society through less expensive books, pamphlets, and newspapers. This "boom in printing also changed the relationship between music, musician, and audience" which was an integral part of traditional Irish music.[15] Traditional Irish music of the Bards was played from memory or freestyle and "passed on through an oral tradition," while the effort to print and share pieces of Irish music, of Irish history, was by its very nature not conducive to this type of performance.[16] For Romantic Era artists to share Irish music, the melodies needed to be notated onto sheet music in the musical stylings of the day. This, though done with the intention of protecting the past, did inherently change it as the non-structured works of Bards contradicted this formulated way of producing and reproducing music.

Moore was a vital source in the "development of [this] European Musical Romanticism ....," and a leader in the field of literature during this era.[17] Dr. Flannery goes as far as to claim that Moore "was the embodiment of British Romanticism" as a whole.[18] He was known for using

[14] Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 37.
[15] Ibid, 30.
[16] Ibid, 29.
[17] Harry White, "The Imagined Unities of Thomas Moore 1," In *Thomas Moore and Romantic Inspiration*, edited by Sarah McCleave, Brian G. Caraher, 31-42, New York: Routledge, 2017, 31.
[18] Flannery, *Dear Harp of My Country*, 13.

“the deliberate silences and indirection of the contemporary poetry of ” the era in order to meet “political and patriotic ends.”[19] Much of his career was spent under patronage in England, meaning his audiences would have been acutely aware of his stylings and the messages he was meaning to convey.[20] In this way, he was seen as a leading artist of the Romantic era for his literary techniques, the same techniques he used to tell the history of Ireland and relate the political turmoils of the nation to his audiences in England. Through his work, “Moore and his songs thus simultaneously brought public issues of Irish politics into the ostensibly “private” sphere of the English drawing room.”[21] He brought traditional, though printed, Irish music to the homes of the English aristocracy, a form of artistic nationalism.

Moore the Nationalist

In Ireland, “native Irish music [was] a primary marker of authenticity and identity,” a marker of nationalism.[22] Moore was intricately tied to this aspect of nationalism in the early nineteenth century with *Irish Melodies*, but his ties to the nationalist cause didn’t start there. Thomas Moore was born a Catholic in a society dominated by the Protestant Ascendancy. He would have grown up in the aftermath of the repeal of the Penal Laws of 1695, which oppressed Catholics by limiting their ownership of weapons, banned most of the Catholic clergy from the island, barred them from voting and holding office, and kept them from being able to attend Trinity College Dublin.[23] In his own words, Moore described being born Catholic as being “born

[19] Edward Larrissy, “Moore’s Romantic Neoclassicism,” In *Thomas Moore and Romantic Inspiration*, edited by Sarah McCleave, Brian G. Caraher, 59-71, New York: Routledge, 2017, 68.
[20] Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 142.
[21] Joanne Burns, “‘Give them life by singing them about’: Moore’s Musical Performances in the English Drawing Room,” In *Thomas Moore and Romantic Inspiration*, edited by Sarah McCleave, Brian G. Caraher, 95-107, New York: Routledge, 2017, 103.
[22] White, “The Imagined Unities of Thomas Moore 1,” 38.
[23] Detch, Andrew. “Politics and Government after Limerick,” History 4803: Trials and Triumphs on the Emerald Isle: The Irish People and Their Histories, 1641-1998, Class lecture at University of Colorado Boulder, September 16, 2022.

with a slave's rope around my neck."[24] It is fair to say that Moore would have had no trouble putting his faith in the national cause of Ireland that offered hope to the oppressed Catholic masses of the island.

It was during his time as a student at Trinity College Dublin, the same one he would have been banned from under the Penal Laws, that Moore became more closely associated with major actors in the nationalist movement at the time. During his time there, Moore saw the 1798 Rebellion in which the Society of United Irishmen rose up, inspired by the French and, to a lesser extent, the American Revolutions.[25] The rebellion eventually failed and led to the Act of Union in 1800 that abolished the Irish Parliament and merged it with the parliament at Westminster.[26] Moore describes this as the "time of terror and torture" as he saw "his friends and colleagues, including Robert Emmet," a nationalist who led the United Irishmen in an attack on Dublin in 1803, "interrogated and (in Emmet's case) executed."[27]

Moore's work, due to his underlying nationalist values, was controversial in almost all walks of life. There were "several British journals" that "confirmed the politically subversive nature of Moore's work by labeling it "mischievous," "a vehicle of dangerous politics," and "jacobinical."[28] One of the most notable figures to call out Moore was Edward Blunting, the man who beat out Moore in becoming the first to collect and publish a set of Irish songs in his 1796 *General Collection of Ancient Irish Music*.[29] Bunting's collection consisted of only sheet music, meaning there were no lyrics attached; that is where Moore came in. Bunting, however, criticized Moore, saying that "while popularizing Irish music," he was also taking "it away from its roots,

[24] Flannery, *Dear Harp of My Country*, 42.
[25] Detch, Andrew. "The 1798 Rebellion," History 4803: Trials and Triumphs on the Emerald Isle: The Irish People and Their Histories, 1641-1998, Class lecture at University of Colorado Boulder, September 30, 2022.
[26] Detch, Andrew. "Making the Union," History 4803: Trials and Triumphs on the Emerald Isle: The Irish People and Their Histories, 1641-1998, Class lecture at University of Colorado Boulder, October 3, 2022.
[27] White, "The Imagined Unities of Thomas Moore 1," 34.
[28] Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 140.
[29] Flannery, *Dear Harp of My Country*, 57.

the people from whom it came."[30] To Bunting, "it is the ancient songs, those written before the conquest and by the nobility, which are the most Irish," while Moore "situates the songs which are most Irish at the point of violent intersection between the colonizer and the colonized," meaning the century leading up to his writing.[31] Bunting was not the only Irishmen to be upset with Moore. As Moore continued his rounds in the English parlors, his reputation fell in Ireland. His "inability to inspire direct political action" left many "dissatisfied with his and his songs' role in shaping Ireland," especially as "Moore himself notably absent from key political events."[32]

In response to Bunting's claims, as well as others from within Ireland, Moore claimed there was "no contradiction … between being the poet of sentiment and the author of political satire," meaning his "Irish Melodies and his political satires as two generically different but equally valid responses to the same predicament," the "predicament" every nationalist in Ireland was fighting for: to break from the oppression of English rule over Ireland.[33] Moore was a poet and a lyricist by profession and a nationalist by heart. He believed that "feeling could be a more powerful tool than reason in politics," a stance drastically different from both the political and militaristic nationalists of the United Irishmen that Moore was close to in his youth.[34]

He also believed that "music that had been written within the previous century captured and conveyed Ireland's condition as he understood it."[35] In his opinion, "one need not elevate the Irish language to the degree that the Gaelic Society of Dublin does in order to be considered a

[30] Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 112.
[31] Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 115.
[32] Burns, "'Give them life by singing them about,'" 104.
[33] Larrissy, "Moore's Romantic Neoclassicism," 65.
[34] Burns, "'Give them life by singing them about,'" 105.
[35] Sheila Rooney, "Problematizing Primitivism Contesting Antiquarianism in Moore's Irish Melodies," In *Thomas Moore and Romantic Inspiration*, edited by Sarah McCleave, Brian G. Caraher, 108-127, New York: Routledge, 2017, 114.

proud nationalist."[36] This is how Moore defended his art style. In his mind, his lyrics didn't need to be written in Irish to be nationalist, he didn't need to pull on ancient history as he was writing about the history of the moment, much like the Bards, and he did not need to use the language of politics to get his message across. It is in these ways that "Moore [distanced] himself from the nationalist self-aggrandizing aspect of antiquarianism and the veneration of all things ancient" and "appears instead to take a more measured route to establishing national pride."[37]

It was only a couple of years after this attack on Dublin, in 1808, that Moore published the first edition of *Irish Melodies*, which included works influenced by the United Irishmen, the 1798 Rebellion, and the loss of his friend Robert Emmet.[38] These works "inspired [Daniel] O'Connell," the Irish politician that founded the Catholic Association and the Repeal Association, "and the radical writers of the *Nation*," an Irish nationalist newspaper, "in their quest for cultural nationalism and the repeal of the Act of Union."[39] His nationalist ideals didn't stop in the first edition, however, but were carried through until the tenth and final edition, published in 1834.[40]

Moore the Lyricist

It was through his work on *Irish Melodies* that Moore found his place in the Irish nationalist movement. His lyrics conveyed the words he wanted to share, but for Moore, "lyrics on their own" without the music accompanying them "lost a great deal of their political impact."[41] To Moore, there was an innate "relationship between music and politics and also

[36] Rooney, "Problematizing Primitivism Contesting Antiquarianism in Moore's Irish Melodies," 114.
[37] Rooney, "Problematizing Primitivism Contesting Antiquarianism in Moore's Irish Melodies," 115.
[38] Flannery, *Dear Harp of My Country*, 70.
[39] Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 140.
[40] Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 140.
[41] Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 155.

between music and poetry."[42] This relationship was seen in the Bards of Ancient Ireland and can still be seen in artists today. As Dr. Harry White describes it,

> The semantics of these imagined unities (as in music as an expression of political sentiment, and poetry as a transliteration of musical intelligence and feeling) would endure in Irish cultural history for decades (indeed, there is some merit in supposing that they yet apply with notable force)."[43]

It wasn't until after his works were "pirated in America, on the Continent, and in 'a volume full of typographical errors'" in Dublin" that Moore finally allowed the lyrics to be published on their own.[44]

It was not only Moore's relationship between music and politics that made him stand out but also his choice to use English as the language of his writings. There is, of course, the factor that Moore did not know very much Irish, but it should also be noted that "the success of Moore's Melodies was based on the popularity of the lyrics," and that would not have been possible if he had written in Irish.[45] In writing in English, Moore was able to reach a larger audience and inspire in those outside of Ireland a sense of sympathy for the nationalist cause. With the print culture boom of the era, "people unconnected with the social contexts of native Irish music would buy and play the tunes" as "Irish music had the symbolic appeal of novelty and exoticism."[46] His works were created with both an Irish and an English audience in mind. He

[42] White, "The Imagined Unities of Thomas Moore 1," 32.
[43] White, "The Imagined Unities of Thomas Moore 1," 32.
[44] Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 155.
[45] Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 112.
[46] Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender*, 30.

wanted to share the history, struggles, and hopes of Ireland with as many people as possible, and to do that, he needed to appeal to the English speakers of the world.

One such poem, read by people across the globe, was "Erin ! Oh Erin !" Within this melody, there are quite a few nods to nationalism and historical references. The first appearance of a historical reference is in the first line that goes, "Like the bright lamp, that shone in Kildare's holy / fane, …"[47] Here, Moore is recalling the "inextinguishable fire of St. Bridget, at Kildare," a town within the county of Kildare, which Moore explains in his footnotes. This scene is also important in that Moore is touching on not only the post-Christian history of Ireland but the pre-Christian history as well, as the site of St. Bridget parish was also the location where Celtic peoples would light a fire in honor of the goddess Brigid.[48] Regarding nationalism, lines five through seven offer the reader a glimpse into Moore's values. They read, "Whose spirit outlives them, unfading and warm. / Erin ! oh Erin ! thus bright thro' the tears / Of a long night of bondage, thy spirit appears !"[49] Moore is calling out to the spirit of Erin, the name given to Ireland, often through the medium of poetry. He is describing Ireland's unbreakable character, despite the multitudes of hardships it has gone through, including its "bondage" under the rule of England.

The references to nationalism continue on. Lines ten and eleven read, "And tho' slavery's cloud o'er thy morning hath hung / The full noon of freedom shall beam round yee yet."[50] Here the audience is led to view Ireland and her people as being enslaved, but all hope is not lost as freedom is coming. This a particularly bold line as Moore specifically uses the word freedom, a word often associated with independence, especially in the aftermath of the American

[47] Thomas Moore, *Irish Melodies*. Columbus: J. & H. Miller, Publishers, 57.
[48] Lisa Lawrence, "Pagan Imagery in the Early Lives of Brigit: A Transformation from Goddess to Saint?" *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 16/17 (1996): 39–54, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20557314, 42.
[49] Moore, *Irish Melodies*, 57.
[50] Moore, *Irish Melodies*, 58.

Revolution. It does not end there, however. In the final stanza, in line seventeen, Moore writes, "And day-light and liberty bless the young flower."[51] The "young flower" in this line is Erin which is lying dormant in the winter before its blossom. Once again, we see Moore drawing on the revolutions he himself has witnessed. The word "liberty" would draw any contemporary reader's mind to both the American and French Revolutions.

Another poem in Moore's repertoire that sticks out is "'Tis Gone, And For Ever." Moore, once again, makes references to Erin in bondage and the "gross clouds of the world" surrounding her, but this poem takes it a step further.[52] He first states that "When Truth, from her fetters indignantly starting, / At once, like a Sun-burst, her banner unfurl'd. / … / The tongues of all nations – how sweet had ascended / The first note of Liberty, Erin, from thee ! "[53] This "Sun-burst" is described in his footnotes to have been "the fanciful name given by the ancient Irish to the Royal Banner."[54] In these lines, Moore is drawing on ancient history and tying it to the original Norman conquest of Ireland as the English would have viewed it. There is a positive tone of liberation as "Truth," or England is coming to liberate Erin from her darkness, her barbarity, as the English saw it. It is what Moore follows this up with that is most radical in its nationalism for the poetry of the day.

> "But, shame on those tyrants, who envied the blessing ! / And shame on the light race, unworthy its good, / Who, at Death's reeking altar, like furies, caressing / The young hope of Freedom, baptiz'd it in blood ! / Then vanish'd for ever that fair, sunny vision, / Which, spite of the slavish, the cold heart's

[51] Moore, *Irish Melodies*, 58.
[52] Moore, *Irish Melodies*, 116.
[53] Moore, *Irish Melodies*, 117.
[54] Moore, *Irish Melodies*, 117.

derision, / Shall long be remember'd, pure, bright, and elysian, / As first it arose, my lost Erin, on thee."[55]

It is the language of this stanza that truly shows Moore's nationalist colors. He first equates the English to tyrants, a term not to be used lightly in the period following the French Revolution and the reign of Napoleon Bonaparte in Europe. Moore does not stop there as he goes on to accuse the English of baptizing Freedom in blood, drawing on historical events of the English violently pushing the Church of England onto the people of Ireland and prosecuting Catholics like him. This critique of England through historical and nationalist sentiments continues as he calls out England for leaving Erin to suffer, but all is not lost for Erin. This departure of the tyrants has allowed Erin once again to remember her "elysian," or heavenly spirit, and rise again, a call on nationalists and the hope of a free Ireland.

Moore Remembered

We can see in these two works alone the nationalist ideals Moore had when writing his Melodies, and there is no doubt that the audiences of the time, both in Ireland and abroad, would have understood the meaning behind his works. The Romantic era was a time in which anyone who was anyone was reading, interpreting, and talking about literature and its techniques. In writing not only one but ten volumes of *Irish Melodies,* Moore was able to cement his legacy as one of the great Romantic writers. Moore is shown to have artistic talent in many aspects, but his career as a poet was not based on literature alone.

Moore also intricately tied in instances of ancient Irish history to modern Irish history in order to defend and promote the nationalist cause through traditional tunes as an Irishman living

[55] Moore, *Irish Melodies*, 117.

in England. Writing in English allowed him to share the history of his people and spur up sympathy for their national cause. He "intertwined aspects of music, politics, and emotion," and there can be no doubt of his nationalist ideals and sympathies, even if his form of nationalism differs from the political and militaristic efforts of the early nineteenth century.[56]

Moore was an Irish Bard of the nineteenth century. His writing skills cannot be denied. His time in school proves he was taught many areas of study, similar to the Bards of ancient Ireland. In every piece he wrote, there was an aspect of history and politics tactfully connected to music, the same music the Bards would have played. He differed from them, of course, in his efforts as he wrote in English and printed his works rather than memorizing or improvising them, but, then again, Moore was not a Bard of Ancient Ireland. Thomas Moore was a Bard of the modern era creating modern works that helped tie his story into the story of the nation, of the people, and of the Bards who paved the way for artistic endeavors in Ireland.

[56] Burns, "'Give them life by singing them about,'" 105.

Bibliography

Burns, Joanne. "'Give them life by singing them about': Moore's Musical Performances in the English Drawing Room." In *Thomas Moore and Romantic Inspiration*, edited by Sarah McCleave, Brian G. Caraher, 95-107. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Davis, Leith. *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender: The Construction of Irish National Identity, 1724–1874.* Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005.

Detch, Andrew. "Politics and Government after Limerick." History 4803: Trials and Triumphs on the Emerald Isle: The Irish People and Their Histories, 1641-1998. Class lecture at University of Colorado Boulder, September 16, 2022.

Detch, Andrew. "The 1798 Rebellion." History 4803: Trials and Triumphs on the Emerald Isle: The Irish People and Their Histories, 1641-1998. Class lecture at University of Colorado Boulder, September 30, 2022.

Detch, Andrew. "Making the Union." History 4803: Trials and Triumphs on the Emerald Isle: The Irish People and Their Histories, 1641-1998. Class lecture at University of Colorado Boulder, October 3, 2022.

Flannery, James W. *Dear Harp of My Country: The Irish Melodies of Thomas Moore*. Nashville: J.S. Sanders & Company, 1997.

Larrissy, Edward. "Moore's Romantic Neoclassicism." In *Thomas Moore and Romantic Inspiration*, edited by Sarah McCleave, Brian G. Caraher, 59-71. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Lawrence, Lisa. "Pagan Imagery in the Early Lives of Brigit: A Transformation from Goddess to Saint?" *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 16/17 (1996): 39–54. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20557314.

Moore, Thomas. *Irish Melodies*. Columbus: J. & H. Miller, Publishers.

Rooney, Sheila. "Problematizing PrimitivismContesting Antiquarianism in Moore's Irish Melodies." In *Thomas Moore and Romantic Inspiration*, edited by Sarah McCleave, Brian G. Caraher, 108-127. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Walker, Joseph Cooper. *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards An Historical Essay on the Dress of the Ancient and Modern Irish: and a Memoir on the Armour and Weapons of the Irish*. Dublin: J. Christie, 1818.

White, Harry. "The Imagined Unities of Thomas Moore 1." In *Thomas Moore and Romantic Inspiration*, edited by Sarah McCleave, Brian G. Caraher, 31-42. New York: Routledge, 2017.

This Page is Intentionally Left Blank

Breaking the Middle Ground

The American Civil War and Attacks on Indigenous Sovereignty

Sam Walmer

Introduction

Dawn breaks on November 29th, 1864. Thick pillars of steaming breath and the trodding of horses punctuate the morning stillness. Several companies of Colorado Volunteers, calvary and infantry totaling around 700 men, led by the restless Colonel John Chivington crested a hill overlooking a village of Cheyenne and Arapaho. Most of those at the camp were part of a band of Southern Cheyenne led by Black Kettle, a prominent leader who vocally advocated for peace between his people and the Anglo-American settlers. In fact, Black Kettle was camped at this spot along Big Sandy Creek in compliance with an order from the Colorado territorial governor John Evans, who earlier in the year had mandated Native groups on friendly terms with the government report to designated Indian agencies.[1] From there, they would be assigned territory safe from the crossfire in further conflict in the brewing Colorado War. Black Kettle and other Cheyenne peace chiefs adhered to this order and reported to Fort Lyon in southern Colorado, wishing to protect their people from further depredations. This continued the strategy of Black Kettle and other Cheyenne peace chiefs maintaining amicable relations with the United States government. Black Kettle and White Antelope, another prominent Cheyenne peace leader, had been signing parties of the 1861 Treaty of Fort Wise, which despite ceding much Indigenous territory supposedly ensured peaceful terms with the Americans. From the point of view of the

[1] Evans, John. "Colorado Superintendency," in *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1864*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865), 218. https://go-gale-com.colorado.idm.oclc.org/ps/retrieve.do

Cheyenne and Arapaho at Sand Creek, there was no reason to suspect treachery. The orders to report to Fort Lyon had been clear and in keeping with their treaty obligations those at Sand Creek had complied.

Meanwhile, Anglo-American territorial leaders had stirred up fears of a wide-scale Native revolt for months and encouraged policy that sought to reduce Indigenous sovereignty and holdings by any means necessary. And now, soldiers marched on this village of mostly women and children. The village would also have been stirring for the day ahead in these first few minutes of light, and the sight of advancing soldiers quickly raised the alarm. Black Kettle and his wife, along with White Antelope emerged from their lodges at the head of the camp, and following instructions from the Indian agents to ensure their safety, raised a large American flag on a lodgepole.[2] Despite his peoples' growing panic, Black Kettle tried to settle them down, reminding them that they were under the government's protection. It was then, as Black Kettle called to his people for peace and the few warriors in the camp made a break for the pony herds, that the front line of the rifled soldiers erupted toward the village.[3] Even as the mass of villagers fled away from the camp, seeking shelter on the high banks of the dry streambed and the sandy hills in the area, Black Kettle and his wife resisted the soldiers' barrage for as long as they could before turning to flee. White Antelope stood his ground, however, singing his death song before falling to the soldiers.[4]

The scene that unfolded throughout that cold November day is one of the most famous and brutal events in the history of Colorado and the Western United States. Both scholarship and American culture present the American West and the heart of the continent in the mid-to-late

[2] Bent, George. *"*An Eyewitness Report of the Sand Creek Massacre (1864),*"* The Native American Experience, Primary Source Media. https://go-gale-com.colorado.idm.oclc.org/ps/i.do?p=CSIC&u=coloboulder&id=GALE%7CEJ2156000046&v=2.1&it=r&sid=ebsco
[3] Bent, George. "An Eyewitness Report of the Sand Creek Massacre (1864)."
[4] Bent, George. "An Eyewitness Report of the Sand Creek Massacre (1864)."

19th century as distant, both physically and in a way temporally, from the rest of the country and the world. The predominant mythologized visions of the West, more specifically the vast negative space on the map between the Pacific Coast and California and the first layer of states West of the Mississippi River, are framed by the frontier identity, a lens which sees the Western U.S. as on the fringe, hinterland regions of civilization. In reality, even at this time, West and East were tied inextricably to processes far outside of the control of the larger-than-life characters and events that defined the period. The Sand Creek Massacre is a part of a diverse and complicated web of histories that does as much to muddy the water as it does provide context.

The heart of this story, and the focus of this research study, is the complex set of interactions and relationships between the Indigenous peoples of the region and the steadily-growing tide of Euro-American settlement. In hindsight, the roles we assign to actors of history are more concrete, but at the time the dynamics between Indigenous nations and the burgeoning United States were much more fluid, and were continually being recast. Many variables and forces pulled on this web, and one specific variable frequently highlighted in scholarship as being a primary force of change is the Pikes Peak Gold Rush of 1858, which sparked increased migration into and settlement of the Rocky Mountain region and adjacent

areas.[5] While this study does not aim to disprove these arguments, further discussion and exploration of the myriad factors involved in these dynamic relationships is necessary.

Several years before Sand Creek, another explosive conflict which had been brewing for decades laid a devastating blow on the foundations of American identity and sovereignty. The Confederate cannon fire in Charleston harbor in the spring of 1861 marked the beginning of the American Civil War, fracturing American identity and lighting a crucible that would reshape the United States fundamentally. A conflict with this much gravity and potential for change had wide-ranging reverberations, and the Civil War itself became a key variable in the dynamic relationships between Indigenous peoples and the United States political establishment and population. The American Civil War dramatically altered the relationship between Indigenous peoples and Anglo-Americans in the mid-to-late 19th century through the recasting of American identity and aspiration, a process highlighted by industrialization and reactionary responses to Native sovereignty.

---

[5] Cody Newton, "Equestrian Hunter-Gatherers and the Animal Trade of the Western Great Plains and Adjacent Rocky Mountains, 1800-1860," PhD diss., (University of Colorado-Boulder, 2018), 3.

Newton's thesis "Equestrian Hunter-Gatherers" is an excellent study that reconceives the relationships between Indigenous groups and Euro-American actors in the 19th century in what he describes as the FTE (Fur Trade Era). As an anthropological study, this thesis provides a valuable perspective through environmental and archaeological methods that provides a window into an era with unfortunately sparse historical sources. Newton describes an era of mutualism, primarily centered on smaller-scale economic interactions, that was driven by Native participation and resources. This "Middle ground model" (18), highlighted Native influence in long-held fur trade dynamics (30) as opposed to previously held narratives of Anglo-American control. However, Newton's citation of the 1858 Gold Rush as "effectively… the end of any mutualism" (3) and the study window ending at 1860 are somewhat convenient and fail to recognize the tidal-wave of influence from the East. Aside from this critique, Newton's study of relationships between Indigenous and Euro-American groups in this period redirects the previous historical narrative and emphasizes Native agency, influence, and power.

Another valuable piece of historiography for this subject is Elliott West's *The Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to Colorado.* This text, like Newton, employs environmental histories to provide an extensive account of the shifting dynamics of Indigenous habitation and culture across the deep history of the Plains region and the adjacent Rocky Mountain region. West takes the predominant Gold Rush narrative of Colorado history and shifts the scope of study on the Plains region alternative to the mountain and foothill communities. West's work is also notable and influential for highlighting Native agency and narratives in the region at the time.

Identity Crisis

Only a handful of events across American history have provided the levels of change needed to redefine American social, cultural, and political identity on such a scale as the Civil War. This Slaveholder's Rebellion, by its very own nature and existence, challenged American sovereignty and identity in a way not yet seen in the time after the cornerstones of the republic were set. Political tensions regarding the future of the nation and its primary economic institution, chattel slavery, had been brewing for decades and had seeped into nearly every part of the American government and identity. The political landscape of the day was dominated by Southern Democrats, who held impressive consolidated power across the South drawn from the defense of slavery, and the relatively new Republican Party which was vocally anti-slavery and controlled the Northern voting bloc.[6] Tensions also ran high in the Western U.S., which in the eyes of both North and South was destined to play out as a battleground between pro- and anti-slavery sentiments. The expansive territory of the American west and the nebulous, fledgling political institutions of the region were ripe for the picking in the eyes of Southern Democrats and slavers.[7] Debates surrounding slavery at the time were intimately tied with visions of the West and the untapped power that lay there.

Secession, the formation of the Confederacy, and the start of the war in Spring 1861 forever changed the trajectory of the United States, and by proxy dramatically altered the relationships between the government and peoples outside of these American institutions. With the nation now split in two, North and South, both the Union and Confederacy aimed to consolidate power and solidify their own suddenly-shaken claims of sovereignty. This

[6] Megan Kate Nelson, *The Three-Cornered War: The Union, Confederacy, and Native Peoples in the Fight for the West* (New York: Scribner, 2020), 14.
[7] Nelson, *The Three-Cornered War,* 14.

consolidation required reckoning with challenges of sovereignty wherever they lay, not strictly in their challenger on the other side of the

Mason-Dixon line, and included sovereign Indigenous nations occupying the vast continental interior.

Current scholarship focuses on these dynamics as the Union emerged from the other side of the war after 1865, emphasizing that the Union was seeking to reclaim its sole control of the country and its people.[8] In this way, the changing relationship between Indigenous peoples and the U.S. government in this period is framed strictly as a post-war artifact, something found through the new political order in the Reconstruction era. However, this study emphasizes that the shifting relationship between Indigenous nations and the U.S. government was not sparked with the end of the war, but from the social and political upheavals brought by the beginning of the war. Secession and the beginning of the Civil War ignited and exacerbated attacks on Indigenous sovereignty on the national, state, and territorial level, helping end the era of mutualism and tentative economic cooperation that had formed in the 19th century and redefine the ways Euro-American institutions and individuals engaged with Native sovereignty.

It is important to address and keep in mind that Indigenous peoples, as well as the nations and communities they formed, are about as far from a monolithic group as one can be. Since the very first days of contact and colonization between Indigenous groups and Europeans, both groups have had to navigate the complex social, cultural, and geographical boundaries that defined the territory. The focus of this study is examining this wider context of redefinition and reshaping through the experiences of Black Kettle, a signatory on several influential treaties, and

[8] Martha Sandweiss, "Still Pictures, Moving Stories: Reconstruction Comes to Indian Country," in *Civil War Wests: Testing the Limits of the United States*, ed. Adam Arenson and Andrew R. Graybill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), 158-159. https://discovery.ebsco.com/c/3czfwv/details/e6qatyxtnj?limiters=FT1%3AY&q=The%20Civil%20War%20and%20the%20West.

his band of southern Cheyenne, whose lands on the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains were entangled in this great web of forces.

The primary interaction between Indigenous and Euro-American institutions in a diplomatic and legal sense were the numerous treaties laid between the groups. During the mid-19th century, Black Kettle and his people engaged in several treaties with U.S. and territorial authorities in efforts to secure the future of the Cheyenne and its relationship with the government. Documents of concern to this study include the 1861 Treaty of Fort Wise and the 1867 Medicine Lodge Treaty. Both of these treaties built upon the Fort Laramie treaty of 1851, which in the eyes of Indigenous leaders codified and affirmed their territorial claims while guaranteeing safe passage for Anglo-Americans throughout the signatory nations of the Cheyenne, Sioux, Arapaho, and Crow, among others. In the case of the Cheyenne, the territory codified in the treaty spanned from the North Platte River in present-day Wyoming to the North and the Arkansas River of present-day Colorado in the South. This meant that virtually all the land on the Eastern slope of present-day Colorado and northbound up the Rockies' Front Range was under Indigenous title.[9]

The 1861 Treaty of Fort Wise was signed just 10 days after Secession, and sought to "extinguish" Cheyenne land title and bring vast swaths of Western range under Union control.[10] Secession and the political climate that had enabled and encouraged it was intertwined with the Treaty of Fort Wise. It is unclear to what extent those negotiating at Fort Wise were aware of the events unfolding back East, but U.S. agents and soldiers would have been painfully aware of the

[9] "Treaty of Fort Laramie art. 5 sec. 6, Sep. 17th, 1851, Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, vol. 2., 594-596. https://americanindian.si.edu/static/nationtonation/pdf/Horse-Creek-Treaty-1851.pdf.

[10] Dole, W.M. "Summary of the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, of November 27, 1861," article 5, in *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1861,* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1861), 12. https://go-gale-com.colorado.idm.oclc.org/ps/.

high-tension political climate of the time, especially as the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln approached.

While this study focuses on the change exerted by the Civil War, it is important to recognize some of the other forces at play in the formation of this treaty as well as the larger trends across the region. Current historical scholarship places an emphasis on the Pikes Peak Gold Rush of 1858 as a primary driving force of change in this era, and playing a strong role in the attacks on Indigenous sovereignty in the region. The 1858 gold rush is a popular topic for historical discussion, and for good reason. It is certainly true that the gold rush in Colorado as well as the other boom-bust cycles across the West did a great deal to bring the Western United States into the national fold. Part of the reason why railroad control, heavily emphasized in this study, was so important was the connection between Eastern centers of trade and commerce and Western gold fields in California and other parts of the country.[11] Political actors at the time also recognized the profound change taking place in the gold fields, and that the status quo on Indian policy would need to change. In the 1861 Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Secretary of the Interior Caleb Smith wrote: "The recent discovery of gold within this Territory (the newly defined Colorado territory) has drawn thither a rapid tide of emigration…thus mingling the white and red races, without any treaties contemplating so radical a change in their relations, has greatly increased the difficulties in the way of a successful administration of its Indian affairs."[12] The Secretary hoped that the treaty signed at Fort Wise with the Cheyenne and Arapaho would play a role in this more successful administration.

Gold certainly shone influentially in the 19th century American West. It is not the goal of this study to disprove or downplay the importance of these boom-town dynamics, but to

[11] Nelson, *The Three-Cornered War*, 10.
[12] Dole, "Summary of the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," 13.

introduce other forces, in this case shifting sovereignty and railroad expansion brought by the Civil War, which would have co-mingled in their effects. While gold was certainly a factor precipitating the 1861 Treaty of Fort Wise and the attacks on Indigenous sovereignty it encapsulated, it is only one piece of a larger puzzle. The acknowledged stripping of Indigenous land title served as much more than just the securing of land with valuable mineral deposits. The objectives of opening up the Western states for settlement and railroad development, made possible by the clearing of sectional political hurdles at the outbreak of the war, both required land title as well. They were also more of a priority for the Union and Washington establishment, demonstrated by the passing of the Homestead Act and Pacific Railway Act within a year of the December 1861 ratification of the Treaty of Fort Wise. It also should be noted that the Treaty does not give any specific protections or clarifications surrounding gold claims and further mineral rights on the subject land, which it does provide for questions surrounding transport. Article IX of the treaty reads as follows: "It is agreed that all roads and highways…shall have the right of way through the lands within the reservation hereinbefore specified, on the same terms as are provided by law when roads and highways are made through lands of citizens of the United States."[13] This article functions in two key ways: dismissing Indigenous sovereignty on territory dictated by this treaty by viewing it essentially as private property that behaved like the

[13] Treaty between the United States of America and the Arapaho and Cheyenne Indians of the Upper Arkansas River, art. 9, Feb. 18th, 1861. Indigenous Digital Archives: IDA Treaties Explorer. https://digitreaties.org/treaties/treaty/75300888/

Another interesting note on the Treaty of Fort Wise is that in a post-script section, Robert Bent, the brother of George and son of William Bent, and Jack Smith, the son of a Cheyenne mother and white father, were awarded 640-acre plots of land by the signing Cheyenne and Arapaho leaders. Both plots were on the Arkansas River in the area of Bent's New Fort (6). The Bent family alongside the trading outposts and connections they maintained in the 19th century are a significant point of emphasis in the study of Colorado history.

George Bent's account of the Sand Creek Massacre, cited in this study, reports that Jack Smith was among survivors of the initial attack that were murdered in cold blood when those left standing were rounded up. Col. Chivington is reported to have replied to pleas of mercy by saying "he had given orders to take no prisoners and that he had no orders left to give" (Bent).

property of any other American, and by ensuring a favorable policy outcome down the road. This article could also be interpreted as providing protections for future railroad transportation routes as well. Other later treaties also contained these clarifications of policy that was of the utmost concern to Union policymakers, railroad land title. The Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867, also signed by Black Kettle and other bands of Cheyenne and Arapaho, further constricted the territory outlined in the 1861 treaty; and provided concrete protections for railroads and specific stipulations that the signatory leaders would need to agree too for the treaty to stand. These stipulations included withdrawing opposition to current and future railroad projects making their way Westward and further military posts being constructed.[14] In both cases government policymakers highlighted their priorities by inserting language meant to clarify and protect U.S. and railroad industry interests in diplomatic relationships with Native groups, something that is absent in the Treaty of Fort Wise concerning gold and other mining interests.

Indigenous groups responded to their shifting relationship with the United States in a multitude of ways. As noted previously, nations like the Cheyenne and Arapho were made up of dozens more smaller bands and kinship groups, and reactions to events like the Treaty of Fort Wise varied just as much. Importantly, the Treaty of Fort Wise was far from accepted by the Cheyenne and Arapaho people. Accounts from the time report complaints of manipulation by government officials, and that the assembled leaders did not fully understand what they were signing.[15] Black Kettle himself, signatory for both the Treaty of Fort Wise and the Medicine

---

[14] Treaty between the United States of America and the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Indians, art. 11, Oct. 28, 1867.
https://go-gale-com.colorado.idm.oclc.org/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=Monographs&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchResultsType=MultiTab&hitCount=21&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&currentPosition=2&docId=GALE%7CAIVZHT708802362&docType=Monograph&sort=Relevance&contentSegment=ZNPN&prodId=GDCS&pageNum=1&contentSet=GALE%7CAIVZHT708802362&searchId=R5&userGroupName=coloboulder&inPS=true

[15] George E. Hyde, *Life of George Bent: Written From His Letters,* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1868), 118.
https://discovery.ebsco.com/c/3czfwv/details/rkmnmln5cn?limiters=FT1%3AY&q=life%20of%20George%20bent

Lodge Treaty and leader of the band at Sand Creek, voiced displeasure with the proceedings as not enough Cheyenne leaders were present at the meetings to fairly represent their interests.[16] The mixture of Native responses to the massive reduction of sovereignty brought by the treaty created rising tensions in Colorado territory in the subsequent years, something even Bureau of Indian Affairs authorities recognized but attributed to misunderstanding on the Natives side.[17]

The higher-ups in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, under the umbrella of the Department of the Interior, were not naïve to the importance of ensuring that Western gateways for mail, trade, migration, and critically, for railroad development, were firmly in the hands of the Union even at this early stage in hostilities. A valuable resource in studying policy in this period are annual reports from the Bureau of Indian Affairs superintendencies and Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, which served as discussions and statements of policy. It should be noted that these reports were of a political nature and were essentially the department's oversight reporting. Because of this, superintendents of Indian Agencies and the heads of the department contributing to this report frequently reverted to defense and justification of policy already taken against Indigenous peoples. For example, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report of 1864, the year in which the Sand Creek Massacre occurred, features no mention at all of the attack or subsequent public outcry. However, the report does include much discussion of the alleged "great rebellion"[18] of many Native nations in the region that had been used to stoke fear and support for attacks against Indigenous groups.

These reports also shed light on some of the influential policies being pursued by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Some current historical scholarship, like Martha Sandweiss' essay

[16] Michael D. Troyer, "Treaty of Fort Wise," Colorado Encyclopedia, History Colorado, revised Nov. 26, 2022, https://coloradoencyclopedia.org/article/treaty-fort-wise.
[17] Evans, "Colorado Superintendency," 217.
[18] Evans, "Colorado Superintendency", 217.

"Still Picture, Moving Stories: Reconstruction Comes to Indian Country," point to the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 as the "penultimate moment the federal government would negotiate with Indian nations as independent sovereign powers."[19] While it is true that the U.S. government engaged with Indigenous nations in what would be considered diplomatic channels, U.S. recognition of Indigenous sovereignty was in a practical sense, non-existent. Engagements in treaty negotiations were performative, and driven by a stated goal of reducing Indigenous title and sovereignty as much as possible. In an opening statement for the 1864 report, the Secretary of the Interior John Usher states: "The question of interest is, what course shall hereafter be pursued with these Indians, in order to reduce them to subjection, and, to afford all needful protections to our citizens."[20] Here is a sitting United States Cabinet Secretary, the foremost policy maker for Indigenous peoples who dictated the terms of engagement from the U.S. perspective, directing his agency to disregard Native sovereignty. Not only that, but this statement also has a heavy implication that the continued resistance of Indigenous peoples to such subjection was itself a danger to the citizens[21] of the United States.

In order to achieve this subjection, the Secretary recommended that diplomatic, treaty-making policy should be abandoned and the networks of forts along the major routes west be bolstered by U.S. army troops.[22] Other policymakers in the report echoed this sentiment, preferring to engage with Indigenous groups in hostile ways that sought to demonstrate

---

[19] Sandweiss, "Still Pictures, Moving Stories," 158.
[20] John Usher, "Extract from the report of the Secretary of the Interior relative to the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," in *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for 1864* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1865), 2. https://go-gale-com.colorado.idm.oclc.org/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=Monographs&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=37&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=21&docId=GALE%7CCY0110009445&docType=Serial+volume&sort=Relevance&contentSegment=SBN-2011&prodId=GDCS&pageNum=2&contentSet=GALE%7CCY0110009445&searchId=R1&userGroupName=coloboulder&inPS=true
[21] It is important to note that being a "citizen" at this time in 1864 was a particularly charged statement. Freedmen and women and Indigenous peoples were not considered citizens, or for that matter American, and references to "citizens" in this context directly imply white, Anglo-Americans.
[22] Usher, "Extract from the report of the Secretary of the Interior," 2.

American might, superiority, and ultimate sovereignty over Indigenous peoples and their lands. In territories like Colorado, some territorial leaders also served as Superintendents of entire regions of Native agencies. In the case of Colorado territory for example, this entitled Governor John Evans both federal and territorial powers to engage with Indigenous peoples in his jurisdiction. In the section of 1864 report concerning the Colorado Superintendency, Evans references a meeting with Cheyenne and Arapaho leaders earlier in the year organized by Major Wynkoop. Evans states that he refused to negotiate peace terms with the Natives, citing the need to protect the pride of the Colorado Volunteer militia who were on campaign against other Native groups, including Cheyenne and Arapaho.[23] With treaties limiting Native sovereignty and greatly reducing Native land title by 1864, the top policymakers in the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Department of the Interior proposed pivoting away from diplomatic relationships with Indigenous peoples into a military relationship. Through vague accusations of "making war upon our people," top policymakers asserted that the Cheyenne and Arapaho peoples had violated their treaty agreements and freed the United States from their obligations.[24] This was heard loud and clear by Gov. John Evans, who had raised regiments of Colorado militiamen over the summer of 1864, and in late September instructed Indian Agent for the Cheyenne and Arapaho, Major S.G. Colley, that those nations were now considered at war with the United States and that they now must deal with the military authorities.[25] At this same time the leader of the Colorado Volunteer militia, Colonel John Chivington, found approval for the future of Indian policy in Colorado territory in a telegram from the commanding U.S. Army officer in the region, Major General S.R. Curtis: "I want no peace till the Indians suffer more."[26]

[23] Evans, "Colorado Superintendency," 220.
[24] Usher, "Extract from the report of the Secretary of the Interior," 2.
[25] Evans, "Colorado Superintendency," 220.
[26] S.R. Curtis, "Letter from Col. John Chivington to Maj. Colley," in "Colorado Superintendency" in *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for 1864* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1865), 221.

Railroad Ties

The Civil War was an event of remarkable gravity, sending wide-ranging ripple effects westward. Another powerful force exerting change in the 19th century that was intimately tied to the war effort was industrialization, characterized in this study as the spread of railroads into the west. The construction of a transcontinental railroad was a high-profile political battlefield at the time, with the choice of overland route for the railroad a particularly charged sectional debate. These debates were powered by slavery, as Southern Democrats attempted to tie the institution of slavery to Western expansion. These sectional debates presented formidable political hurdles for meaningful Western expansion and settlement. Secession and the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 eliminated some of these political barriers. No longer did the Union need to work alongside Southern Democrats in Congress and other political institutions, and policy concerning the routes of both railroad and human expansion westward was able to begin in earnest. This is demonstrated by the quick passage of several pieces of legislation on the topic, including the Homestead Act of 1862, which broke down federal and U.S.-claimed Indigenous lands into 160 acre parcels to encourage homesteading and migration West; and the Pacific Railway Act of 1862, which formed the Union Pacific Railroad Company. These pieces of legislation were made possible by the shifting political atmosphere brought by the beginning of the war and secession.

Railroad expansion was intimately tied with the reactionary American responses to Indigenous sovereignty. In fact, securing land title for potential routes for a transcontinental railroad was one of the primary goals of policymakers at the time. In the Annual Bureau of Indian Affairs report for 1864, the Secretary of the Interior reminded agents and government officials that “to enable the Union Pacific Railroad Company to establish its line of road through this country, it is necessary that the United States shall have the unmolested possession of the

route, and much of the adjacent country," and that importantly "the government is, by act of congress, under obligation to extinguish Indian title."[27] These sentiments, coming from the United States top Indian policymaker, sanctioned territorial leaders who were acting as agency Superintendents to protect their nation and territory's interests above those of Indigenous peoples. Railroad interests acting through the policymakers were clear and even infiltrated outlined diplomatic relationships with Native groups. The treaties signed at Fort Wise in 1861 and on Medicine Lodge Creek in 1867 both contain explicit protections safeguarding current and future United States transportation and railroad routes, as well as increased military encroachment.[28] These stipulations and protections highlight the United States government's fears over further Indigenous restlessness and reaction to attacks on sovereignty, as well as the critical importance of railroad construction for further development in the Western U.S.

This land grab was not only attempted by the Union, and the Confederacy was also acutely aware of the profound importance a transcontinental railroad would have on the war effort on either side. A Southern railroad, or overland, route through Texas and New Mexico territory to the Pacific coast would be a lifeline for the Confederacy against the logistical advantages of the Union, and Confederate leadership recognized this.[29] Megan Kate Nelson's *The Three-Cornered War: The Union, Confederacy, and Native Peoples in the Fight for the West* explores a previously un-accounted for 'theater' of the Civil War. Nelson describes similar dynamics to this study, of changing relationships between Indigenous groups and Anglo-Americans, taking place in the deep Southwest. Alongside movements to displace Indigenous peoples and reduce their sovereignty taking place along the Front Range, the tide of

[27] Usher, "Extract from the report of the Secretary of the Interior," 2.
[28] Treaty between the United States of America and the Arapaho and Cheyenne Indians of the Upper Arkansas River, art. 9, Feb. 18th, 1861; Treaty between the United States of America and the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Indians, art. 11, Oct. 28, 1867.
[29] Nelson, *The Three-Cornered War*, 10.

Indigenous dispossession spanned essentially the entire country, north to south. While Confederate hopes to hold territory connecting it to the Pacific Ocean ultimately failed, their efforts demonstrate that the attacks on Indigenous sovereignty in the name of railroad expansion was not limited to just the Union. The need to ensure the hold of mail, emigration, and railroad pathways through the Western United States was kicked off by the outbreak of the Civil War, and greatly influenced attacks on Indigenous title and sovereignty to achieve it.

Closing

The massacre at Sand Creek, and other events like it throughout American history, cannot be viewed in a bubble. The first shots in the attacks on Indigenous sovereignty in the name of liberty and industry had begun long before the soldiers' march that dreary November morning, and were kicked into overdrive by the fracture of the American republic. The American Civil War is an event of such enormous gravity that the goings-on in the West cannot be isolated from it. The nation, its people, and the ways it interacted with the world was fundamentally changed. The "middle-ground model"[30] of cooperation between Indigenous and Anglo-American groups was shattered, and violent reprisal against Indigenous nations allegedly in violation of treaty agreements would continue. Black Kettle himself, signee of several agreements with the government that he believed would protect his people, would be murdered by the forces of George Armstrong Custer. Nearly 4 years to the day after the events at Sand Creek and just a year after signing the Medicine Lodge Treaty, Custer's forces rode upon a Cheyenne village in the Massacre of Washita River. Black Kettle's story highlights not only the immense injustice perpetrated by United States actors in the 19th century, but also the extremely fluid and dynamic relationships between Indigenous groups and the United States government. The American Civil

[30] Newton, "Equestrian Hunter-Gatherers," 18.

War was a significant variable in these relationships, which is exemplified by the growth of railroad industry and the following attacks on Indigenous title and sovereignty.

Bibliography

Primary sources

Bent, George. "An Eyewitness Report of the Sand Creek Massacre (1864)." In *The Native American Experience*. American Journey. Woodbridge, CT: Primary Source Media, 1999. *Gale In Context: College* (accessed December 5, 2022). https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EJ2156000046/CSIC?u=coloboulder&sid=ebsco&xid=39cddd35.

United States, Cheyenne Nation. 1851 Sep. 17th. United States, Arapaho Nation. 1851 Sep 17th. Treaty of Fort Laramie with Sioux, etc., 1851: concluded Sep. 17th, 1851. [Washington]: s.n. (1851). https://americanindian.si.edu/static/nationtonation/pdf/Horse-Creek-Treaty-1851.pdf

United States, Cheyenne Nation. 1861 Feb. 18th. United States, Arapahoe Nation. 1861 Feb. 18th. Treaty between the United States of America and the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians of the Upper Arkansas River: concluded Feb. 18th, 1861, Ratification Advised August 6, 1861, Proclaimed December 5, 1861. [Washington]: s.n., (1861). IDA Treaties Explorer, The Indigenous Digital Archives (accessed December 5, 2022). https://digitreaties.org/treaties/treaty/75300888/.

United States, Cheyenne Nation. 1867 Oct. 28, and Arapahoe Nation. 1867 Oct. 28. Treaty between the United States of America and the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Tribes of Indians: Concluded October 28, 1867, Ratification Advised July 25, 1868, Proclaimed August 19, 1868. [Washington]: s.n., [1868]. Indigenous Peoples of North America (accessed December 5, 2022).

https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/AIVZHT708802362/GDCS?u=coloboulder&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=96d407a2.

U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1861, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1861). https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/AQKRWS426898421/INDP?u=coloboulder&sid=bookmark-INDP&xid=9bc4f579&pg=1.

U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1864*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865). https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CY0110009445/GDCS?u=coloboulder&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=0c62f27e&pg=1.

Secondary sources

Hyde, George, *Life of George Bent: Written From His Letters*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968.

Nelson, Megan Kate, *The Three-Cornered War: The Union, Confederacy, and Native Peoples in the Fight for the West*. New York: Scribner, 2020. https://discovery.ebsco.com/c/3czfwv/details/bgqkmpladr?limiters=FT1%3AY&q=Civil%20War%20AND%20Western%20U.S.%20AND%20Native

Newton, Cody. "Equestrian Hunter-Gatherers and the Animal Trade of the Western Great Plains and Adjacent Rocky Mountains, 1800-1860." PhD diss. University of Colorado-Boulder, 2018.

Sandweiss, Martha A. "Still Picture, Moving Stories: Reconstruction Comes to Indian Country." In *Civil War Wests: Testing the Limits of the United States,* edited by Adam Arenson and

Andrew R. Graybill, 158-178. California: University of California Press, 2015. https://discovery.ebsco.com/c/3czfwv/details/e6qatyxtnj?limiters=FT1%3AY&q=The%20Civil%20War%20and%20the%20West.

Troyer, Michael D, "Treaty of Fort Wise," *Colorado Encyclopedia*, History Colorado, revised Nov. 26, 2022. https://coloradoencyclopedia.org/article/treaty-fort-wise.

West, Elliott, *The Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to Colorado*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998.

This Page is Intentionally Left Blank

Sweet Caffeine: How the Topography of Plantation Colonies Shaped Coffee Culture

Sidney Dispas

A Modern Consideration

For many people, a cup of coffee is a critical step in their morning routine. An estimated seventy percent of Americans consider themselves coffee-drinkers, and sixty percent are recorded to enjoy the beverage daily.[1] Curiously, coffee enjoyers often find that various forms of sugar are a necessary addition to palliate the drink's bitterness and famed bold flavors. In fact, many Americans consume an unhealthy excess of sugar through their daily coffee intake. Sugar in coffee and tea alone make up seven percent of all added sugars across all food groups in the United States.[2] It is undeniable that within the world of modern coffee culture there exists an intrinsic and unbreakable link to sugar.

For example, in a medium-sized pumpkin spice latte from the coffee hegemon, Starbucks Coffee, a customer will consume fifty grams of sugar—one hundred forty percent the American Health Associations' suggested daily limit for an adult male.[3] Large coffee corporations, such as Starbucks, recognize the seemingly innate human desire to sweeten coffee and thus have manufactured their menus to suit such consumer demand. Every season, consumers are met with reinvented seasonal and limited-edition syrup flavors that are added to their drinks at a premium. The use of sugar to cut coffee's intense bitterness brings in revenue while simultaneously

[1] "NCA releases Atlas of American Coffee," National Coffee Association, accessed December 5th, 2022, https://www.ncausa.org/newsroom/nca-releases-atlas-of-american-coffee.
[2] "How much sugar is too much?" Sugar, American Heart Association, accessed December 5th, 2022 https://www.heart.org/en/healthy-living/healthy-eating/eat-smart/sugar/how-much-sugar-is-too-much.
[3] "Pumpkin Spice Latte," Menu, Starbucks Coffee, accessed December 5th, 2022, https://www.starbucks.com/menu/product/418/hot.

reinforcing coffee consumption culture at its core. While some caffeine purists may believe the coffee industry is being changed for the worse, the historical record proves that human consumption of coffee has in fact changed very little. Sugar and coffee have existed together in the same beverage since at least the seventeenth century.

The marriage between coffee and sugar has its roots in bloody histories of transatlantic state expansion. The European quest for global economic supremacy was founded in transatlantic trade that began in the fifteenth century when Europeans first ventured into the Americas. After the establishment of early colonies in the New World, economic activity was initially restricted to silver and fur exportation as well as subsistence agricultural production. Coffee and other crops, such as sugarcane, were far too labor intensive for early colonizers. The perspective of colonizers would soon change in the next two centuries, as the European continent would reintroduce slavery as an integral part of their economies. The mass exportation of African slaves evolved into a global market of slave labor. With seemingly unlimited slave labor orchestrated by European mercantilists, and soon capitalists, no crop was seen as too laborious to produce.

The ascendance of coffee consumption and its importance in the modern world occurred because of European capitalists who constructed an economic system founded on oppression. With violence being the key ingredient to European domination, the cultivation of coffee, and other crops such as sugarcane, became easily facilitated by those in power. Although labor conditions were inhumane, and often lethal, profit margins outweighed moralities in the colonial period. However, it was an internationalizing world, coupled with an insatiable desire for wealth, that created a global dependency on coffee. Demand was only made possible by a system of New World plantations that maximized both the lowlands and highlands of European colonies.

The History of Coffee, in Brief

No one person can accurately recount the origin story of coffee. Myths often tell the story of a solitary Ethiopian goat herder who encountered the caffeinated plant by chance. After watching his herd become hyperactive upon ingesting the fruit of the arabica tree, he supposedly tried the bean fruit himself. The factuality of this story, however, is less important than a functional understanding of caffeine's effect on the human body. Since its discovery, humans have used the arabica plant's natural pesticide, caffeine, as a stimulant via consumption of its seeds—what we now call coffee beans. Originally domesticated by indigenous peoples in Ethiopia, adopted by societies in the Middle East and eventually exported into Europe, it seems as though coffee was warmly accepted by all communities who encountered it.

Historians recognize the official discovery date of coffee, defined as a drink that is prepared from roasting, grinding and steeping arabica coffee beans, as the fifteenth century. At the dawn of the sixteenth century, the archaeological record indicates common consumption of coffee throughout the Arabian Peninsula.[4] The historical record suggests that Yemeni people pioneered modern coffee preparation. According to E.T. Bellhouse, an English writer in 1880, the first coffee houses known to Europeans were reportedly ". . . in the year 1551 in Constantinople."[5] Coincidentally, the fifteenth century was also a period of intense early globalization. Europeans, North Africans, Middle Easterners, and even people on the Asian continent were in constant contact through trade, conflict, and diplomacy. Profound cultural diffusion eventually sent the discovery of coffee's stimulating properties to the European continent.

[4] Antony Wild, *Coffee: A Dark History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004), 34.
[5] E. T. Bellhouse, *The Coffee-House Movement,* accessed 2 Nov. 2022.

It was not until the seventeenth century that a strong coffee culture was introduced to Europeans. And, unfortunately, conflicting sources all claim different events that introduced widespread coffee consumption to the European continent. Most famously referenced among these tales is the Siege of Vienna in 1683. It is supposed that Franz George Kolschitsky, the savior of Vienna, ". . . made coffee the favorite drink of the city. . ." after the Muslim withdrawal from Austria.[6] However, it would ultimately be the British who developed a unique culture of consumption around the newly introduced beverage.

Since the establishment of the first English coffee house in 1650, British politicians, merchants, and intellectuals gathered around the new and inspiring beverage. The drink was immediately recognized as unique because it sharpened, rather than impaired, discussion amongst men. As opposed to other social beverages such as beer, coffee became widely known to elevate energy levels and increase one's focus. Coffee houses all over England became hubs of debate and philosophy which strengthened a culture of intellectualism. The buzz in and around coffee houses encouraged democratic ideals to develop and flourish. The discussion around cups of coffee was so productive that King Charles II threatened to ban coffeehouses, along with the consumption of the drink entirely.[7]

By the end of the seventeenth century, coffee was known to the European world as "the drink that comforteth the brain and head, and helpeth digestion."[8] The historical record notes that, in 1773, England was importing an impressive four million pounds of coffee every nine years from her plantation colonies. The only other accepted import locale was, evidently, the British East India ports, that exported an estimated two hundred seventy thousand pounds of

[6] Wild, *Coffee,* 60.
[7] "How coffee forever changed Britain," BBC. Accessed December 5th, 2022, https://www.bbc.com/travel/article/20201119-how-coffee-forever-changed-britain.
[8] Bellhouse, *The Coffee-House Movement*.

coffee annually from 1764 to 1773.[9] Despite the early English affinity to coffee, domestic consumption appears marginal compared to their European neighbors.

To further develop perspective, by 1854, England was importing five hundred thousand pounds of coffee and consuming nearly three hundred thousand pounds annually. In the same year, the Dutch had imported an astounding one million pounds yet were only consuming one hundred thousand pounds annually—although population differences likely explain the disproportionate consumption rates.[10] The immensity of coffee imports across numerous empires thus demonstrates an unprecedented and extreme increase of the commodity's importance to Europeans.

Unquestionably, coffee consumption culture was rising in Europe. However, questions remain left unanswered as to how coffee became a dietary necessity by the mid-nineteenth century. Was the insertion of coffee into the diets of Europeans the result of a natural phenomenon or rather a manipulated occurrence? The historiography has managed to evade this question because it requires an in-depth critique of industrialization and capitalist endeavors in Africa and the Americas.

Disintegration of the Eastern Monopoly

In the sixteenth century, coffee became a luxury trade good under the reign of the Ottoman Empire. The art of the coffee harvest, roast, grind, and brewing process was a fiercely guarded secret to protect the trade's lucrative and steady market in the Arab world.[11] The long-developed secrets of the finicky coffee shrub were almost entirely housed in the ports of Yemen, most famously, in the city of Mocha. The British East India Company quickly

[9] Mr. Jones, Considerations on the state of the coffee trade, accessed 2 Nov. 2022.
[10]C. F. Van Delden Laërne, Brazil and Java. Report on Coffee-Culture in America, Asia and Africa, to H. E. the Minister of the Colonies, accessed 2 Nov. 2022.
[11] Wild, *Coffee,* 72-76.

understood coffee's potentially high profit margins and inserted themselves into the trade by "participating in the traffic of the commodity between the already developed markets." At this point, British trade actors were facilitators and not producers. The English were immediately met with competition from Holland, and it was namely the Dutch who would become the first commercial exporters of coffee on the European continent until 1660.[12]

However, the Dutch could not have achieved their brief economic dominance without a substantial source of labor. Since the beginning of its commercial cultivation on the Arabian Peninsula, coffee production depended on slavery. Under Ottoman control, historians notice that the industry was largely constricted to domestic consumption within the Arab world. Aspirations to break into European or Asian markets may have existed, but as coffee historian Antony Wild notes, demand outside of Arabia simply could not validate the required overhead expenses. Outsourcing large amounts of labor to meet international demand was also largely unnecessary because Ethiopia was still producing most of the coffee being traded in Arabia until the sixteenth century.[13] However, European demand would augment considerably in the following century and the coffee trade would soon see one of the most extreme evolutions in labor history.

The most significant event that would lead to coffee's later internationalization was the appearance of the first coffee beans in India. It remains unclear whether coffee found its way to India through the Dutch with intent to develop plantations or by means of natural trade and pilgrimage of local peoples. Regardless of how it traveled to India, the Dutch-occupied region of Ceylon was producing coffee with slave labor by the end of the seventeenth century. After plantations of arabica shrubs in South Asia produced sufficient coffee and further developed European interest in the drink, Western empires began to look at transoceanic opportunities to

[12] Wild, *Coffee,* 72-76.
[13] Wild, "The Mocha Trade," in *Coffee: A Dark History.*

grow coffee. It was not until the turn of the eighteenth century when European planters, notably on Réunion, began experimenting with their own cultivation of coffee.[14]

However, early prospective coffee planters had to consider the obstacles relative to their late entry into the plantation economy of the New World. The Americas were already full of opportunistic planters using swaths of land to produce tobacco and sugar, along with a variety of other cash crops. By the eighteenth century, the agricultural production economy had already developed an infrastructure that was proving profitable and competitive. However, coffee planters had two advantages over their competitors. Firstly, the existing plantation infrastructure would allow for a smoother entry into the market as resources were not spent developing an effective labor system. Second, coffee advocates knew that their prospects could be planted where most cash crops would perish and thus would not be in competition with other landowners.

One Raw Sugar, Please

Coffee is widely known to boast a flavor that is difficult to enjoy in a pure, or 'black,' form. Unlike tea, whose flavors are more readily enjoyed, the taste of black coffee is generally recognized as bold, earthy, and often too bitter. To many in the modern world, black coffee is intolerable. Humans do not, however, always despise such bitterness. Indeed, people today still choose to eat harsh and bitter foodstuffs every day. As Sidney Mintz, a historian and critic of early capitalism specializing in sugar history, points out, human beings regularly choose to consume foodstuffs such as beer, radishes, watercress, eggplants, pickles, and more. Indisputably, humans have a natural tolerance to bitterness which indicates a manufactured desire for added sugars in the form of sucrose.[15]

---

[14] Wild, *Coffee,* 99-100.
[15] Sidney Mintz, "Consumption," in Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History (New York: Penguin Books, 1986).

Europeans since the seventeenth century appear to have related more to modern sentiments towards bitterness in their cup of coffee. An eighteenth-century source describes "a drink called Coffa… black as soot, and tasting not much unlike it."[16] By this time Europeans were readily implementing sucrose into their diets which in turn influenced their tastes. The European desire for added sugar to coffee was almost certainly an organic development, but its ascendance to a status of necessity was manufactured. Merchants in England recognized that, "sweet-tasting substances, however, appear to insinuate themselves much more quickly into the preferences of new consumers." The difference in the enjoyment of bitter food versus the enjoyment of sugary food, is that people enjoy the food for its sweetness—people do not enjoy bitter food for its bitterness.[17] This leads historians to question how coffee could rise to a prolific status in European diets during the colonial age.

Our best evidence suggests that coffee's ascendance in popularity lies in the history of sugarcane. Believed to have originated from modern-day New Guinea, the bamboo-like plant began its migration throughout the Asian continent starting in 6000 BCE. The first reliable primary sources reference the production of sugar granules, of the form we recognize today, in the sixth century in the Mediterranean region. Since at least the sixth century, the production of sugar crystals was dominated by the Arab world. As Mintz states, "The Mediterranean's Arab conquerors were synthesists, innovators transporting the diverse cultural riches of the lands they subjugated back and forth across portions of three continents."[18] The Arab world brought forth sugar to the European theater, and as a result, the Europeans would find every means to produce it in commercial quantities.

[16] Richard Bradley, The virtue and use of coffee, accessed 2 Nov. 2022.
[17] Mintz, "Consumption," in *Sweetness and Power.*
[18] *Ibid.*.

The subject of this paper's inquiry is indeed coffee. However, sugar was arguably the most important commodity during European imperialism because it fundamentally reconstructed the global economy since its introduction to the Americas. One may not achieve an understanding of coffee's ascendance in the European diet without first grasping a basic understanding of sugar. Analyzing sugar's rise as a culinary staple is predominantly related to its versatility. However, the rather abstract qualities that make sugar enjoyable are difficult to prove through primary source evidence. It is thus more reasonable to analyze sugar's cultural impact through agricultural productivity.

Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, Europeans were receiving commercially viable sums of sugar from the Americas produced by slave labor. Competition in the newly developed sugar market was fierce. It was British entrepreneurs, backed by Dutch investors, who deciphered the market's potential. As major consumers of Portuguese sugar, the English were readily spending sums of £400,000 annually.[19] However, to make domestic sugar production profitable, English planters could not rely on indentured servitude or the enslaved labor of the indigenous population. England and her colonies thus sought an alternative. To minimize the cost of agricultural production in her colonies, England relied almost exclusively on chattel slavery. From 1701 to 1810, English-occupied Jamaica (also notably one of the most productive coffee plantation colonies) saw the importation of nearly seven hundred thousand African slaves.[20] With almost no overhead costs, the profits produced by sugar plantations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were immense.

Aspiring coffee merchants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a major advantage in their search for an economic breakthrough. Sugar was rapidly becoming the most

[19] Mintz, "Consumption," in *Sweetness and Power.*
[20] *Ibid.*.

desired commodity in all of Europe. By the time that coffee was being consumed regularly by Europeans, the elites in the Western Hemisphere were already developing their dependencies on sugar. As this inquiry will explore later, an increase in demand and consumption of sugar would soon forfeit its status as a luxury good, further paving the way for sugar and coffee's steady rise in their simultaneous consumption.

A Note on a Rival

As it has already been established, coffee was principally consumed as a social beverage that also served the role of a stimulant. However, the drink was not the only culturally important beverage for upper class Europeans seeking a caffeine buzz. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, coffee's only market competitor was tea. Both beverages had stimulating effects on the human brain, and neither were native to the European continent. Tea was largely imported via trade routes from China, and like coffee, it was considered a drink of opulence. Despite its lengthy journey, tea was deemed "more economical" than coffee at any given period.[21] However, the process of cultivating and processing tea was virtually impossible to diffuse westward, unlike coffee. Some keen-eyed English merchants and investors noticed the drink's logistical differences and attempted to challenge the tea market's seemingly impenetrable cultural hold.

Even if tea could be grown in the tropical colonies of the Americas, the plantations would compete against those of sugarcane because of their similar environmental niches. Coffee planters recognized they had a biological edge on the tea market. Planters advocated fiercely that "Coffee from [their] own plantations is in this respect much preferable to Tea," because "most other things imported from [China] [the English] can do without, especially if the consumption of [British] coffee was encouraged." In essence, planters wanted to usurp tea merchants by

[21] Mintz, "Consumption," in *Sweetness and Power.*

facilitating coffee into the diets of their countrymen by increasing plantation coffee production. Advocates sought to reduce taxes on coffee imports to a quarter of their price to allow room in the consumer market for the competing stimulant. Pro-coffee plantation sources claim that a reduction in excise tax would ". . . double the quantity. . ." of coffee consumed in Europe, thus edging out tea consumption.[22]

The Large Islands: Maximum Output

In modern history, it is often easy to gloss over environmental factors as major drivers of change. Indeed, during a period of relentless colonialism and interconnectivity, we may often selfishly assume that history is conducted by those seeking to reinvent and further evolve society. However, the will of humanity seldom works outside the strict boundaries of the natural environment. Human beings must obey the laws of climate, geography, and physics, but sometimes this allows for great prosperity—particularly in the case of plantation agricultural economies.

As early as 1774, English primary sources recognized a unique and critical characteristic of the arabica tree. Coffee thrived in altitude. British sources exclaim favorably that, "The tree, however, is observed to grow and thrive in almost every soil about the mountains," and furthermore that planters have learned from ". . .experience, that a light soil, dry and elevated slopes, produces coffee of a smaller, and more delicate berry."[23] The historical record thus indicates that planters actively sought the tropical highlands of the Americas to cultivate coffee.

It appears that, despite coffee's failure to overcome tea consumption, the two markets could live alongside one another within Europe. Indeed, the two industries were in vicious competition, but coffee's lifeline was its natural habitat. Biologically speaking, coffee trees and

[22] Ellis, John. *An historical account of coffee,*accessed 5 Dec. 2022.
[23] *Ibid.*

sugarcane are not competitors in the same environmental niches. As observed by the early planters in the sugar colonies, sugarcane thrives predominantly in flatter topographies in subtropical and tropical climates. Coffee trees, although appreciative of lowlands and valleys, indulge in harsher and mountainous regions of the tropics. Eons of evolutionary pressures that ultimately formed sugarcane and the arabica tree allowed planters on larger islands to build off the slave-based infrastructure of the already existing sugar plantations.

Another important consideration lies in the expense of plantation entrepreneurship. Sugar required large-scale investments from Europe to fund planting, cultivating, milling, and exporting costs. Since at least the eighteenth century, English literature remarks that sugar plantations "must necessarily be extensive and require expensive buildings."[24] Coffee was thus intensely advocated for by European investors for prospective planters with little capital. The possibility of coffee influenced wide-eyed opportunists to expand into lands previously regarded as too hostile for any agricultural productivity—they were looking up into the mountains of the New World to plant coffee.

The desired highlands were located, in one instance, in Jamaica. Invaded by the British in the late seventeenth century, the large island is perhaps among the best examples of the dual-plantation system of sugarcane and arabica trees. The Blue Mountains, whose peaks can rise to seven thousand feet above sea level, were used extensively to cultivate coffee. Sugarcane plantations, meanwhile, thrived in the uncontested valleys and lowlands of the island. By 1791, Jamaica was exporting over two million pounds of coffee and nearly one hundred thousand pounds of sugar throughout the English empire.[25] By the eighteenth century, coffee and sugar did not only complement each other as a beverage, but also in their purest forms on plantations,

[24] John Ellis, *An historical account of coffee.* Accessed 5 Dec. 2022.
[25] Jamaica. Assembly. Proceedings of the Hon. House of Assembly of Jamaica, on the sugar and slave- trade, in a session which began the 23d of October, 1792.

growing alongside each other in the tropical heat. Developed plantations by the end of the eighteenth century were drawing in profits anywhere between four hundred and five hundred percent.[26]

Another island that saw extensive use of the dual-plantation export economy was Saint Domingue, previously referred to as Hispaniola at the time of Spanish occupation. Europeans have been known to plant sugarcane on the island since at least the sixteenth century. Despite its long history with European imperialism, convincing source material regarding its exact export productivity remains difficult to locate. It is on Saint Domingue, however, where primary sources directly reference the harmony of sugarcane and coffee plantations in relation to the island's topography.

An English writer, concerning himself with coffee plantations of Saint Domingue in 1798, directs prospective planters to plant arabica trees in "the coffee lands" that rest in the "mountains, rendered difficult of access." In his later instruction to develop roads to the coffee plantation, he tells planters to make use of the lowlands by planting "thick-rooted plants which are best qualified to bind the soil together, as millet, guineagrass and sugar canes."[27] Botanical knowledge of English planters directed how best to manage an island's topographical features for an ideal agricultural output.

Europeans, and particularly the British, knew that sugarcane and coffee were key ingredients in extracting the island colonies' maximum agricultural output. Consequently, such economic productivity was dependent on an egregious amount of slave labor. A rising abolitionist movement worried white landowners in the colonies. Sources specifically referencing Jamaica show us that planters were anxious of "an abolition of the slave trade. . . that

[26] Wild, *Coffee,* 123.
[27] P. J. Laborie,*The coffee planter of Saint Domingo*. T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1798. *Sabin Americana: History of the Americas, 1500-1926*, accessed 1 Dec. 2022.

it would not only put a stop to all further improvements in the culture of sugars and coffee, but that it would in time considerably reduce the quantity."[28] Evidently, both coffee and sugarcane cultivation require patience and a mass mobilization of labor. The demand for coffee and sugar on the European continent incentivized the dependency on forced labor up until the industrialization of Britain.

Abolition: An Economically Motivated Movement

Industrialization and capitalism are non-interchangeable terms and yet history routinely demonstrates that one cannot exist without the other. Industrialization, as the specific process by which imported raw material began to be mass produced in the Western Hemisphere, could not have risen without slavery nor an oppressed working class. The fundamental ideology of a free market likewise could not have existed without the same infrastructure of colonial slavery as employed in the Americas. Capitalists may argue that the free market drove innovation and propelled the world economy to new heights. Perhaps the historical record can allow such an argument, but industrialist ideals thus demand that capitalists also accept that such innovation via competition occurs exclusively with the employment of violence in the labor force.

Applying this inquiry to the question of sugarcane and arabica plantations allows us to further understand the European dependence on sugar and coffee. As any modern economist would claim, planting both sugarcane and coffee trees on the larger islands is not enough to manufacture a demand for either commodity. Simply maximizing arable land does not inherently create demand—in fact, it may just as easily decrease it. First, we must consider that neither sugar nor coffee could be produced without slave labor. Equally critical to note, is the growing abolitionist movement of the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1833, British Parliament passed the Slavery Abolition Act, effectively outlawing most slave labor throughout England and

[28] P. J. Laborie, *The coffee planter of Saint Domingo*.

her colonies. The lack of slavery, however, greatly impacted the profit margins of plantation economies. It is from this point that historians can observe an evolution in the free market.

The English Parliament would not allow their economic infrastructure to simply collapse under the weight of wage labor. Britain was thus subsequently obligated to source cheap raw materials from nations still economically reliant on the practice of slavery within their borders. For example, the former Portuguese colony, Brazil, was one of the largest producers of sugarcane during the colonial period and an exception to the widespread abolitionist movement of the nineteenth century.The new state struggled to produce anything in the exhausted soils of its northern regions. In the nineteenth century, Brazilian planters looked towards the southern highlands of the continent and promptly set up the most profitable, and immense coffee production system on the planet. Much like the Europeans some two centuries prior, the coffee plantation infrastructure was built exclusively with slave labor, as an extension of preexisting sugarcane plantation systems. Brazilian coffee dominated the international market since the first commercially viable bags of coffee left its ports. The incontestable low prices, achievable only through the exploitation of an immense slave population, forced a surrender of coffee's luxury status. Europeans did outlaw slavery in their colonies, but their dependency on it never faltered as they simply sourced raw materials from outside their colonies. Slavery itself was not banned until 1888 in Brazil, and even after abolition, a new form of oppressive subsistence wage labor replaced it.

In 1833, coffee and sugar were exclusive to the elite. By 1900, Europeans were consuming cheap coffee from across the world on a regular basis. The new obligation to compensate all labor, coupled with the restricted market of higher-class consumers led to a complete forfeit of sugar's status as a luxury good—and coffee quickly followed. To grow

demand and reach more consumers, saturating both the sugar and coffee markets was the only option. By facilitating an influx of both commodities, the once-luxurious trade was able to be accessed by virtually all members of society—including by those who produced it. Europeans achieved this, in part, with Brazilian coffee.

The industrialization of the Western Hemisphere, and notably England, led to the formation of a new economic class. Factories and refineries operated successfully because of their unchecked ability to hire an enormous labor force while paying them a near unlivable wage. Referred to as subsistence wage labor, the practice imprisons fiscally poor individuals in a system that continually oppresses them even after they have left their place of work. The immensity of raw sugar processing, and other raw materials such as cotton, brought prices to previously unseen lows. In effect, workers in sugar refineries or textile factories became dependent on the very goods they spent their days producing—unable to escape the circular labor system despite even their best efforts.

There remains one key consideration when examining the capitalists' opportunism with the sugar and coffee markets. Typically, a surplus of a good does not indicate high demand, and yet the coffee planters in Brazil, and throughout the New World, were still seeing exuberant amounts of wealth. We have already established that subsistence wage labor was used extensively during the nineteenth century to drive prices of sugar to record lows. Workers were thus forced to consume what they were producing. The missing ingredient to installing coffee into the diets of Europeans was creating a sense of necessity. As we have explored previously, sugar was manipulated into the diets of almost every English person by 1900. It was, in part, because Europeans were adding sugar to coffee since at least the sixteenth century, but it was that fact foodstuffs like sugar and coffee, made industrialization bearable for the working class.

In the twentieth century, sugar could make cheap, inedible food palatable. Cheap sugar also offered an escape and reward for the new class of oppressed workers. Meanwhile, coffee's stimulating qualities provided workers with a means to brave their long hours in the factories and refineries. Profits sought out by capitalist endeavors to minimize the bottom line by using subsistence wage labor fundamentally changed how human beings lived—an almost complete deprivation of free time. As Mintz proclaims, "The substances transformed by British capitalism from upper-class luxuries into working-class necessities are of a certain type," and principally, "they provide respite from reality. . . Like coffee, or chocolate, or tea, they provide stimulus. . . Like sugar they provide calories while increasing the attractiveness of these other substances when combined with them."[29] In brief, the long-term cultivation of plantation agriculture, chiefly coffee, and sugar, created the foundation for capitalists to build a societal dependency.

To reiterate, the dependency on sugar and coffee, and their simultaneous rise as staples in European diets, could only have occurred after the abolition of slavery because it allowed European economies to shift towards one of almost exclusively post-processing. England was particularly advantageous in its industrialization endeavors because it was able to source its raw resources from plantations outside its empire, still profiting off slavery. However, it was almost all western empires that bought slave-produced raw materials for cheap, paid only shipping excises, and processed the goods into finished products via industrial factories.

Manufactured Dependency: Final Considerations

Whether the myths of an Ethiopian goat herder discovering the arabica tree are legitimate or not, we can confidently claim coffee's origins are humble. It is of course more likely that indigenous communities in Eastern Africa learned of its stimulating properties long ago and consumption methods diffused northward by means of organic human trade. Along its journey

[29] Mintz, "Consumption," in *Sweetness and Power.*

north, coffee became integral to numerous cultures and its characteristics were revered. Centuries later, under the Ottoman Empire, those living on the Arabian Peninsula were relying immensely on a good crop season to export their beloved *coffa* out into the Arabian world.

From this point, it took very little for coffee's traverse into the European continent. Since its introduction to Europe in the seventeenth century, coffee has been used as a stimulant. It was principally enjoyed by European elites, known to them as a beverage that encouraged discussion and intellectualism. Coffee's European culture as a marker of opulence and wit would stand for the better part of two centuries, before industrialization would reframe the entire continent's economies.

Coffee's demand soared during its introductory period in Europe, and planters wasted no time allocating land in the New World to produce it themselves. They found, however, that coffee could be grown alongside crops that were already considered economic staples. Most notably among them was sugarcane. European planters discovered early on that the harmony of sugar and coffee transcends just their perfect infusion in a cup. On islands such as Jamaica, fields of sugarcane grew prosperously under the watch of coffee trees planted higher up in the Blue Mountains. Both crops could grow on the same island and exist in the same markets, without ever being in competition with one another. The colonial plantation economies would thrive until well into the nineteenth century—maintaining European demand for both refined sugar and coffee.

If plantations maintained demand for both crops, the process of industrialization elevated them to a status of necessity. The plethora of coffee and sugar entering European ports influenced the diets of the working-class because of their unique qualities as food items. Sugar's versatility made it so that its consumption could be a treat after a tiring workday, or it could be

incorporated into bland foods to make them palatable. Coffee became a necessary stimulant to endure endless hours of repetitive factory labor.

The history of coffee is fundamentally a human history. People have enjoyed its stimulating effects for centuries, but as with all resources with unique properties, coffee was aggressively inserted into the consumer market. We still owe our modern love for coffee to the enslaved souls bound to plant and cultivate the arabica tree during the colonization period of the Americas. Perhaps, then, it would be beneficial, the next time we feel inclined to order a pumpkin spice latte, that we reflect on how our taste for sweet caffeine developed.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Bellhouse, E. T. The Coffee-House Movement. n.d. TS Economic and Social Investigations in England since 1833: Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society, Parts One and Two: The Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society 1876/1877 to 1900/1901 1879/80-7. Manchester Historical Society. Nineteenth Century Collections Online. link.gale.com/apps/doc/AIGNVF157678653/GDCS?u=coloboulder&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=4b92e6b8&pg=1. Accessed 2 Nov. 2022.

Bradley, Richard. The virtue and use of coffee, with regard to the plague, and other insectious distempers: Containing the most remarkable observations of the greatest men in Europe concerning it, from the first knowledge of it, down to this present time. To which is prefix'd, an exact figure of the tree, flower, and fruit, taken from the life. By R. Bradley, Fellow of the Royal Society. Printed by Eman. Matthews, at the Bible in Pater-noster-Row; and W. Mears, at the Lamb without Temple-Bar, M.DCC.XXI. [1721]. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. link.gale.com/apps/doc/CB0127888744/GDCS?u=coloboulder&sid=bookmark- GDCS&xid=90667cb9&pg=11. Accessed 2 Nov. 2022.

Ellis, John. *An historical account of coffee. With an engraving, and botanical description of the tree. To which are added sundry papers relative to its culture and use, as an Article of Diet and of Commerce. Published by John Ellis, F. R. S. Agent for the Island of Dominica*. Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly, MDCCLXXIV. [1774]. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.

link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0109036317/GDCS?u=coloboulder&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=bcb22df8&pg=1. Accessed 5 Dec. 2022.

Jones, Mr. Considerations on the state of the coffee trade. Printed for tha author, by I. Moore and co, 1775. The Making of the Modern World, link.gale.com/apps/doc/U0101674096/GDCS?u=coloboulder&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=4aa089c8&pg=1. Accessed 2 Nov. 2022.

Laborie, P. J. *The coffee planter of Saint Domingo; with an appendix, containing a view of the constitution, government, Laws, and State of that colony, previous to the year 1789. To which are added, some hints on the present state of the island, under the British government. By P. J. Laborie, LL. D. Planter in the North of St. Domingo, and Member of the Superior Council*. London: printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, in the Strand, M.DCC.XCVIII. [1798]. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (accessed December 5, 2022). https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0104816539/GDCS?u=coloboulder&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=c6960a5f&pg=1.

Laërne, C. F. Van Delden. Brazil and Java. Report on Coffee-Culture in America, Asia and Africa, to H. E. the Minister of the Colonies. W. H. Allen & C(o), 1885. The Making of the Modern World. link.gale.com/apps/doc/U0113111486/GDCS?u=coloboulder&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=b640b339&pg=502. Accessed 2 Nov. 2022.

Jamaica. Assembly. Proceedings of the Hon. House of Assembly of Jamaica, on the sugar and slave- trade, in a session which began the 23d of October, 1792. Printed by Alexander Aikman, 1792. The Making of the Modern World.

link.gale.com/apps/doc/U0104084627/GDCS?u=
coloboulder&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=6a029ef8&pg=29. Accessed 30 Nov. 2022.

Secondary Sources:

Books & Published Works:

Mintz, Sidney. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1986).

Wild, Antony. *Coffee: A Dark History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004).

Websites:

"How coffee forever changed Britain," BBC. Accessed December 5th, 2022. https://www.bbc.com/travel/article/20201119-how-coffee-forever-changed-britain.

"How much sugar is too much?" Sugar, American Heart Association, Accessed December 5th, 2022. https://www.heart.org/en/healthy-living/healthy-eating/eat-smart/sugar/how-much-sugar-is-too-much.

"NCA releases Atlas of American Coffee," National Coffee Association, Accessed December 5th, 2022. https://www.ncausa.org/newsroom/nca-releases-atlas-of-american-coffee.

"Pumpkin Spice Latte," Menu, Starbucks Coffee, Accessed December 5th, 2022. https://www.starbucks.com/menu/product/418/hot.

This Page is Intentionally Left Blank

Jews in the Mining Bonanzas in San Francisco and Melbourne

Emily Howard

Introduction

The gold rushes around the world of the nineteenth century attracted people from all demographics to migrate and try to strike it rich in the goldmines. As Abraham Abrahamsohn- a Jewish gold miner who worked both the San Francisco and the Melbourne mines- observed, "on all the faces of the people I saw, as well as in their demeanor and their busy work, I clearly read the desire to become rich quickly in order to leave their Eldorado even more quickly."[1] While historians have examined the role of many groups in these gold rushes, such as Chinese immigrants, other demographics have been underrepresented in this type of scholarship, including Jewish migrants. Jews played a prominent role in the world economy since the start of globalization, facilitating trade as merchants and moneylenders when antisemitism wouldn't allow them to take on other roles, and this role continued and proliferated during the gold rushes.

While they are more difficult to find in modern scholarship regarding the gold rushes, Jewish people are everywhere in firsthand accounts and city directories from the nineteenth century in cities where these gold rushes happened. However, the experience of Jews in different countries would have differed, due to varying levels of British and European influence in the different places where gold rushes occurred. For example, the United States had not been a British colony for nearly a century while other territories, like South Africa and Canada, still were. Some territories, like Australia, were newly independent and had been constructed under

[1] Abraham Abrahamsohn and Friedrich Mihm, "Interesting Accounts of the Travels of Abraham Abrahamsohn to America and Especially to the Gold Mines of California and Australia," ed. Norton B Stern, trans. Marlene P Toeppen, *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly* 1 (1969): 140.

Imperial British rule, so the experiences of Jewish migrants would have vastly differed in these different cultural contexts. However, overall, Jews were often found "mining the miners" in these mining bonanzas, not working in the gold mines themselves but in the towns established around them; they supplied goods to the miners, and the gold rushes provided an opportunity for foreign-born Jews to establish themselves financially and socially.

To explore the history of Jews in mining bonanzas globally, this paper is going to use city directories from San Francisco, California and Melbourne, Victoria to investigate the presence of Jewish migrants in both gold rushes and to compare the experiences of Jews in each country. The gold rush in San Francisco began in 1848 and lasted into 1855, so I will be using San Francisco directories from 1850 to 1854. The gold rush in Melbourne started in 1851 and lasted into the late 1860s, so I will use Melbourne directories from 1857 to 1861. For a more human insight into the experience of Jews in these cities, I will also be referring to a travel journal by a German Jew named Abraham Abrahamsohn, who traveled to and worked in both Melbourne and San Francisco both as a miner and in other jobs.

Before the Gold Rush

To explore the effect of the gold rush on Jewish populations in these cities, it is essential to first understand the Jewish communities that existed before the gold rushes started, if there were any. In San Francisco, there was no significant Jewish population before immigration started due to the discovery of gold. Only after this discovery did mostly German Jews begin to migrate to California and create a community there. This meant that there was no existing synagogue, no cemetery, nor any other social infrastructure that Jewish communities would need.

However, there was an existing Jewish community in Melbourne. According to a Jewish Australian named Isaac Hart, the first Jewish services were held in October of 1840, eight years

before the start of the gold rush, for the High Holidays in the house of another Jewish Australian named David Benjamin. Only a year later, a formal Jewish Congregational Society was established, attended by twenty-five Jewish people. While maintaining a minyan, which is the requirement of ten adult Jewish men needed for communal religious practice, was difficult for the small community, the Jewish community in Melbourne still had enough of a foundation to create a Jewish cemetery and a synagogue. Their numbers grew to ninety from 1841 to 1843, composed of both Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews. Originally, the synagogue followed Ashkenazi tradition. Despite the prominence of a Sephardic Jewish presence in the early settler society of Melbourne, a separate Sephardic synagogue was not established until 1857, well after the gold rush had begun.[2]

Because of the disparity in Jewish support networks between the two cities, Jewish immigrants to California likely had a more difficult time establishing their community and finding stability at first because they had to start from scratch and had no existing social infrastructure in the way that the Melbourne community did. The Melbourne Jewish community already had religious buildings and foundational cultural places established; there were already influential Jews in the city, so the transition for Jewish immigrants heading to the goldmines was easier. This existing network also means that Jews in Melbourne had more of a safety net in their community than Jews in San Francisco, so that if they failed or lost money they could rely on their community rather than having to migrate back home or to another place.

Mining the Miners

People from all demographics could be found in the goldmines worldwide, including Jewish people. Abraham Abrahamsohn, the German Jewish immigrant previously mentioned,

[2] Sue Silberberg, *A Networked Community Jewish Melbourne in the Nineteenth Century* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2020).

worked in the gold mines in San Francisco and Melbourne. However, he tried whenever he got the chance to work outside of the mines because gold mining was a low-paying job and very few actually struck it rich. According to him, "on the average the daily take is one ounce or sixteen dollars, the lowest amount three dollars, if there is any gold at all. Many workers earn nothing."[3] This was the case both in San Francisco and Melbourne, where Abrahamsohn describes how it was possible for many days to pass without the miners finding anything in the mines. Newspapers written for possible migrants to the gold mines, such as the *Jewish Chronicle*, also cautioned that making a fortune quickly in the mines was uncommon, stating that "for if some have indeed been enriched in a short time, we believe them exceptions, not the rule."[4]

Because of this, Abrahamsohn worked many other jobs, including working as a tailor and as a baker. This was the case for many Jews, as Jews were less likely to be found in the mines than other groups, like Chinese or Irish immigrants. Many Jewish immigrants to the US during this time period came from Germany, and "Germans, both Christian and Jew, had always been less involved in mining than the other major groups, and their involvement continued to decline in the 1860s."[5] As the years of the gold rush in California went on, Jews were less likely to be involved in the mining itself.

The same remained true in Melbourne. Since Melbourne had developed rapidly into an urban center because of the gold rush the same way that San Francisco had, it lacked the agricultural and manufacturing base that other urban centers had, meaning it was a "consumption economy dependent on importation rather than production, [which] provided possibilities for enterprising merchants to gamble, not on digging for mineral wealth but on supplying the new

[3] Abrahamsohn, "Interesting Accounts", 144, 54.
[4] Silberberg, *A Networked Community.*
[5] Ralph Mann, *After the Gold Rush: Society in Grass Valley and Nevada City, California, 1849-1870* (California, 1982), 143.

markets with consumer goods."[6] Many of these enterprising merchants were Jewish, showing that Jews were more likely to be found "mining the miners" in these gold rush cities than in the mines themselves.

There are many examples of Jewish-owned businesses "mining the miners" during the gold rush. When looking at city directories from San Francisco, originally 191 Jewish names were found in 1850, but this number rose to 338 in 1855- over one and a half times the original Jewish population.[7] However, the population of San Francisco was approximately 25 thousand in 1850 and grew to around 150 thousand by 1857, six times the 1850 population, meaning that the Jewish population did not grow proportionally to the general population. In 1850, the majority of Jewish names listed were merchants or worked in clothing and dry goods. The same year, Jews managed the majority of merchandising and the dry goods trade in California.[8] Thirty-nine of the names have no occupation listed after them, so it is unclear what they did to make money and survive in the frontier town. Only a small number of Jews were laborers, many of the other jobs were more specialized and relied on mental rather than physical labor, like bookkeeping or doctoring.[9]

In 1855, the jobs held by Jews shifted. Jews were still very commonly found working as merchants or in the clothing business, but more often were found working as attorneys and as barkeepers, as well as importing goods.[10] This shift to more specialized fields shows that Jews likely gained a foothold in San Francisco society during the gold rush and were able to climb the social ladder to make more money and have more social status. There were also more clerks and bankers than in previous years, likely due to previous experience since Jews have held positions

[6] Silberberg, *A Networked Community.*
[7] Charles P. Kimball, *The San Francisco City Directory* (San Francisco: Journal of Commerce Press, 1850); LeCount and Strong, *City Directory of San Francisco* (San Francisco: San Francisco Herald Office, 1854) .
[8] Mann, *After the Gold Rush*, 90.
[9] Charles P. Kimball, *The San Francisco City Directory.*
[10] LeCount and Strong, *The San Francisco City Directory.*

that handle money for centuries. This specialization could also point to the shift in society in San Francisco which, as previously mentioned, lacked the same economic and social foundation that other cities had, so it took years to develop the social infrastructure other cities would have had. The increase in Jews working in more specialized fields, like attorneys, points to the urban development of the city and the increasing structure and legal framework that began to settle in San Francisco. This increasing urban development is also hinted at in the increase of entertainment and hospitality businesses rather than businesses for only necessities, like saloons, bars, coffeehouses, and other similar gathering places as well as hotels and boarding houses that Jews owned.

A similar pattern can be seen in Melbourne. In 1857, there were 225 Jews in the city directory. The population grew to 348 by 1863, a smaller growth than seen in San Francisco.[11] The general population was taken every ten years starting in 1851, when it was between 23 and 29 thousand. When it was taken in 1861, the population had risen to between 125 and 140 thousand, so Jews were a similar percentage of the population in both San Francisco and Melbourne. Still, the Jewish community seemed to be more established in Melbourne, since by 1861, there were three synagogues listed in the city directory, as well as a Hebrew congregational school. In 1855, there was only one synagogue listed in San Francisco.

The occupations that Melbourne Jews had differed slightly from those of Californian Jews. In 1857, many Melbourne Jews were merchants, tobacconists, watchmakers and jewelers, and grocers. While San Franciscan Jews were also merchants and grocers, Melbourne Jews had more specialized jobs to start, although thirty-one were listed without occupations.[12] This could

[11] Sands & Kenny, "Sands & Kenny's Commercial and General Melbourne Directory for 1857," *Melbourne History Resources*, accessed December 2, 2022, https://omeka.cloud.unimelb.edu.au/melbourne-history/items/show/20.; Sands, Kenny & Co., "Sands, Kenny & Co's Commercial and General Melbourne Directory for 1861," *Melbourne History Resources*, accessed December 2, 2022, https://omeka.cloud.unimelb.edu.au/melbourne-history/items/show/21.
[12] Sands & Kenny, "1857"

be due to the fact that Melbourne was more established as a city before the gold rush began, or because the city directories available are from a decade after the gold rush began rather than two years after. In 1863, Jews tended to specialize even further. They were still merchants and grocers, but more went on to own hotels and become carpenters, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, lawyers, artists, and doctors. Two Jews were even working at the consulates for Hamburg and Hanover. Similarly to San Francisco, this is likely due to the increasing urban development of the city and the accumulation of wealth that allowed more Jews to open up their own businesses and undergo more occupational education However, 101 Jews were listed without an occupation, showing that there were some Jews that had not managed to find success and found themselves unemployed or without a consistent occupation.[13] In both years, small numbers of Jews were listed as laborers, similar to San Francisco, showing that most Jews were not miners. These Jews were "mining the miners", earning money by selling supplies to the miners rather than working in the mines themselves.

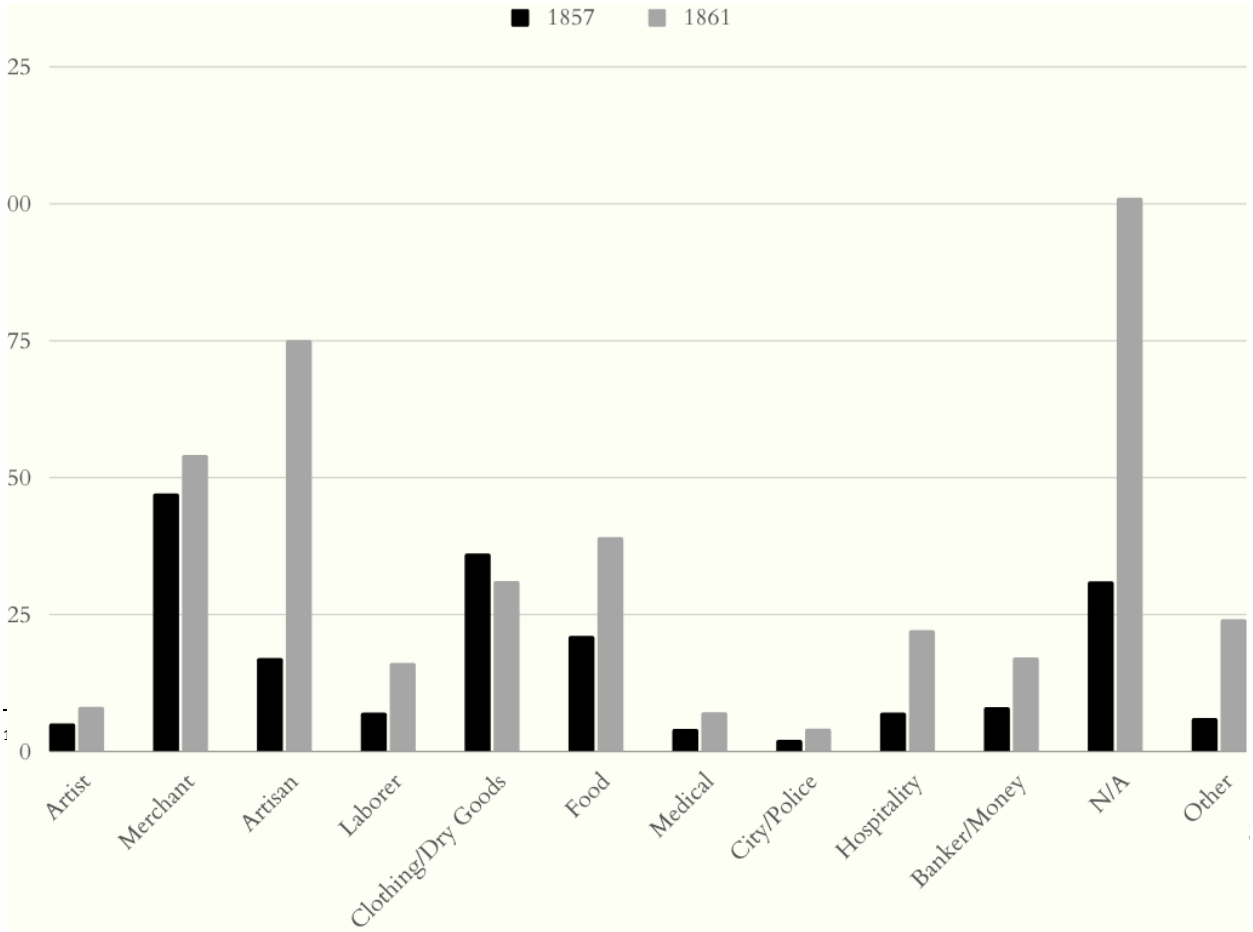


Figure 1: Jewish Businesses Listed in San Francisco City Directories[14]

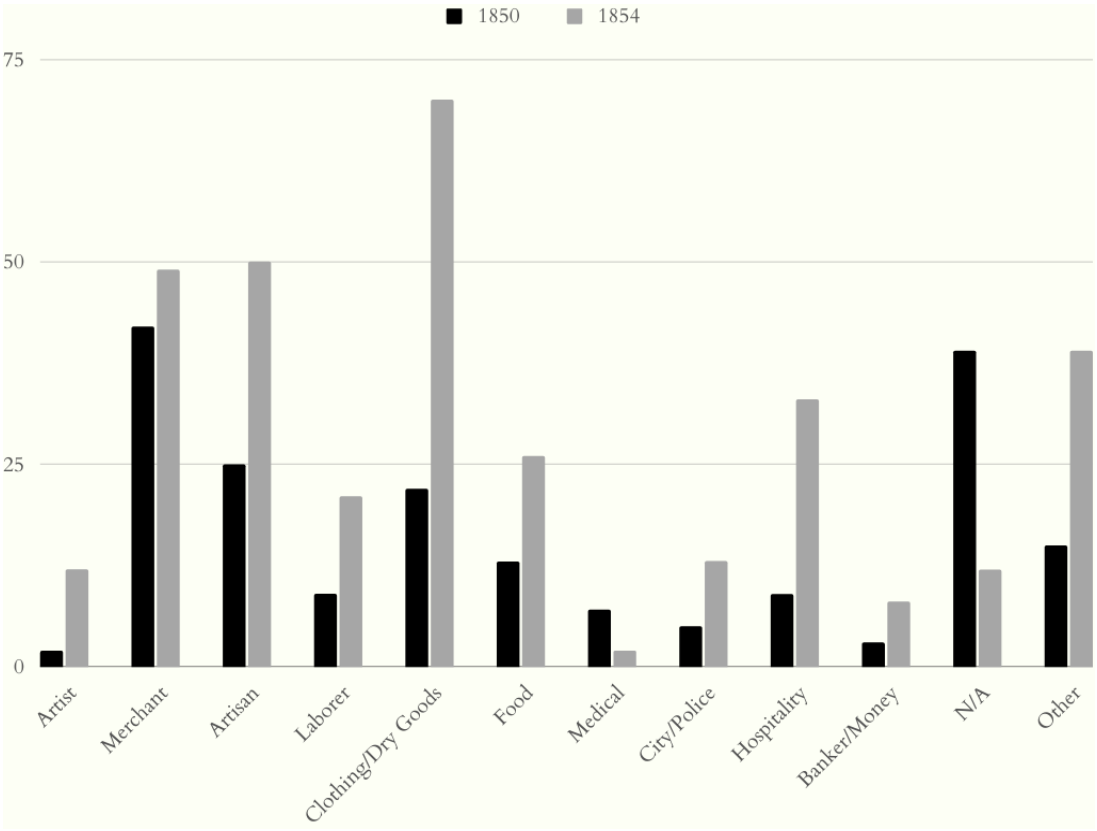


Figure 2: Jewish Businesses Listed in Melbourne City Directories[15]

Comparing these graphs shows the different trends in occupations in San Francisco, and Melbourne. In San Francisco, there was a significant growth in Jews working in the clothing and dry goods business, while the number dropped in Melbourne. In contrast, there was a decrease in the number of Jews working in the medical field in San Francisco and an increase in Melbourne. Looking at these discrepancies can highlight differences in the ways that each city operated and the needs that Jewish migrants filled. San Francisco needed more clothing stores to provide for

[14] Here, "Other" includes "agent", "engineer", "counselor", "newspaper", "clerk", "real estate", "pilot", and "attorney."
[15] In Melbourne, "Other" here includes "surveyor", "land agent", "general agent", "solicitor", "barrister", "teacher", "ship owner", "news agent", and "gardener."

the growing population since it was a frontier town without a set class of merchants. Meanwhile, medical professionals left to find other locations with more patients or more pay. Melbourne had more structure from being tied to Britain for longer, so there may have been enough clothing stores already established, so as time went on more Jews were able to specialize knowing there was a need for doctors, or medical professionals migrated in. However, a blanket statement that Melbourne provided more stability for its entire Jewish population than San Francisco cannot be made because the number of Jews without occupations listed increased much higher in Melbourne than it had been to start with in San Francisco. The reason for this is unclear given the evidence provided, and more research that divided the unemployed Jews into more specific demographics could provide more insight.

Golden Opportunities:

As shown by the population growth in both cities during the gold rush, Jews were migrating to gold rush towns looking for opportunities. In Europe, opportunities for Jews were limited because of the rampant antisemitism both culturally and politically. Pogroms and violence against the Jewish community were common, and legally Jews were not allowed to own property or run certain types of businesses in various places in Europe. For this reason, Jews were more likely to have mobile businesses, like working as merchants or moneylenders, and many Jews lived in large cities. When they migrated to gold rush towns, they already had the skill set to run these businesses and navigate an urban environment that other immigrants like the Irish and the Chinese did not have, leading to their disproportionate success. These Jewish immigrants also benefited from the newness of these cities, since there were no established social or economic hierarchies like those that existed in Europe and “Jewish businessmen, who had honed their skills in other cities or were enterprising enough to see potential scope in the new

markets, could prosper by meeting the demands of this voracious new economy."[16] Because of these factors, Jews experienced success and opportunity in these new mining towns that they could not have found in the Old World.

Additionally, since these were far from the centuries-old cities established in Europe with an existing social and economic structure, "need stifled prejudice, and the lack of an established merchant class, together with the business openings forced by fire and failure and, often, the previous experience of the newcomers, eased the entry of the foreign-born into the middle class. . .", allowing for both economic and social opportunities for migrant Jews.[17] Newly founded mining towns could not push experienced merchants away because of their cultural heritage, since these merchants were needed to create and grow the economic base the city needed.

While not every Jewish immigrant succeeded, some Jews definitely did. Abraham Abrahamsohn, despite struggling in the mines, found success working "as baker and host, and had amassed such a fortune that [he] was sure [he] could live with [his] family in the homeland free of all financial cares."[18] Gold mining was not the golden opportunity Abrahamsohn needed, but working for a baker in the mining towns allowed him to migrate back to Germany. He used opportunities he would have never had in Europe in both San Francisco and Melbourne to enrich himself before returning. Other Jews succeeded in the mining town they migrated to and decided instead to stay, building their success into economic empires.

Levi Strauss, a German Jew, migrated to San Francisco in 1853 to open his dry goods business. His brother-in-law, David Stern, served as the business's manager and the listing in the San Francisco city directory of 1858 says "Strauss, Levi (David Stern & Levis Strauss) importers clothing, etc. 63 & 65 Sacramento St"; however, the name was later changed to Levi Strauss &

[16] Silberberg, *A Networked Community.*
[17] Mann, *After the Gold Rush*, 214.
[18] Abrahamsohn, *Interesting Accounts*, 109.

Co. in 1860.[19] Later, after another Jewish immigrant from Latvia named Jacob Davis pioneered the copper rivets, he and Strauss went into business together and got a patent for the blue jean. While the denim jeans that Levi's makes today are not the products that were sold to miners in the 1850s, the financial foundation that Strauss and Stern's success from "mining the miners" created allowed for their business to grow into one of the most well-known jean companies in the world. For example, in 2020 their net revenue was 4.5 billion dollars, with headquarters in three countries, and 14.8 thousand employees globally.[20] By looking at Levi's, it's evident that Jews were able to find success during the gold rush in San Francisco that persisted long beyond the end of the mining boom.

Another example comes from Melbourne. In 1899, Sidney Myer, a Russian Jew originally named Simcha Baevski, migrated to Melbourne. While this was after the height of the gold rush had ended, he joined his brother Elcon Myer who had been living in Melbourne already. Myer founded the Myer retail group and opened the first store in 1900. When this store succeeded, they opened another in 1908 and 1911; after acquiring a drapery and other local stores, Myer opened the Myer Emporium, a department store. This store included a bargain basement, a motorized home delivery system, and a self-service cafeteria, among other sales innovations that Myer had observed in the US and Europe during his travels.[21] This store grew into a chain of department stores, one of the largest in Australia. Socially, too, Sidney Myer held an important role in Melbourne. During the Great Depression, he turned to philanthropy and refused to fire employees, instead taking a pay cut, as well as establishing free, open-air concerts available to all Melbourne residents at the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra. He was considered a

[19] Henry G. Langley, *San Francisco Directory* (San Francisco: Commercial Steam Presses, 1858).
[20] "Company," Levi Strauss & Co, March 31, 2021, https://www.levistrauss.com/who-we-are/company/.
[21] "Sidney Myer," National Portrait Gallery (Australian Government), accessed December 2, 2022, https://www.portrait.gov.au/people/sidney-myer-1878.

pillar in Melbourne society and, when he died, a hundred thousand mourners attended his funeral. In his memory, the Myer Foundation and the Sidney Myer fund were created to continue the legacy of charity and has been run by his descendants to this day.[22] Myer's success in integrating into Australian society and climbing the social ladder shows that Jews were able to find not only economic success, but social success as well in ways that were not possible in Europe due to antisemitism. Still, the revenue was 2.9 billion dollars in 2019, showing that the business still is influential in Australia.[23]

While not every Jewish business from the gold rushes reached those levels of prosperity and fame, there were still some that survived throughout the years and had some level of success. In San Francisco, twenty-five Jews remained in the directory from 1850 to 1854, about fifteen percent of the 191 Jews from 1850. Of those, seven kept the same job, which tended to already be specialized, like John Tillman, who kept working as a jeweler; Louis Wolf, who worked as a printer; or H.M. Cohen, who worked in the clothing industry. However, twelve of the remaining Jews switched jobs and six found jobs that had not had one prior. For example, D. Hale Haskell did not have an occupation listed in the 1850 directory but was an attorney in 1855; Thomas Hayes was on the police force in 1850, but was working on city council in 1855; and William Green, who began working on the city council but shifted to being a harbor worker. However, some of those that switched jobs did not completely leave their field, but merely specialized, like Louis Cohen who shifted from being a merchant to specifically selling clothing, or the Schloss Brothers who started as importers and ended up running a clothing and dry goods store.[24]

---

[22] "The Myer Story," MYER, accessed December 2, 2022, https://www.myer.com.au/content/about-us-myer/history.
[23] Alex Druce, "Myer Makes $24.5 Million Profit despite Department Store Revenue down 3.5%," news.com.au (Nationwide News, September 2019), https://www.news.com.au/finance/business/retail/myer-makes-245-million-profit-despite-department-store-revenue-down-35/news-story/678d4e5c0ec6b888f8860f2ea8ff1609.
[24] Kimball, *The San Francisco City Directory*; LeCount and Strong, *City Directory of San Francisco.*

In Melbourne, fifty-seven Jews remained between 1857 and 1861. Of these fifty-seven people, twenty-four kept the same occupation, about three times the number in San Francisco. This could come from the fact that Melbourne had been established as a city for longer, or that the amount of time between the directories was smaller. Eight that were unemployed in 1857 had new jobs in 1861, while three had lost their employment. No Jews had lost their employment in San Francisco, but by 1861 Melbourne was already past the height of the gold rush and demand for certain goods might have been falling. For example, Henry Coleman, a bricklayer, and William Osborne, a farrier, lost their jobs, which could mean that there was not as much of a need for new buildings or as many horses. Twenty-one Jews switched jobs, although the shifts were not as predictable as they were in San Francisco. Many did specialize or gain second employment, like A. Kauffman who worked as a merchant in 1857 but worked as a merchant and as the consul for Hanover in 1861, or Abraham Solomons who shifted from being a general dealer to a clothier. However, some changed fields completely; John Morgan switched from running a boarding house to being a tinsmith, Thomas Maher started as a grocer and ended up running a hotel, and Henry Solomons began working as a clothier and ended up working as a fruiterer.[25]

After the peak of the gold rush, it is possible that the needs of the city were changing, so the Jews of the city had to adapt to continue to thrive there. However, this graph shows that a higher percentage of the Jewish population in Melbourne kept the same jobs, 42% compared to 28%, while a higher percentage changed jobs or specialized in San Francisco, 48% compared to 39%. While the numbers initially may look like Melbourne Jews were shifting jobs more often, in comparison to San Francisco Jews they had more stability in their occupations, again possibly because Melbourne was more established as an urban center by this point.

[25] Sands & Kenny, “Commercial and General Melbourne Directory”

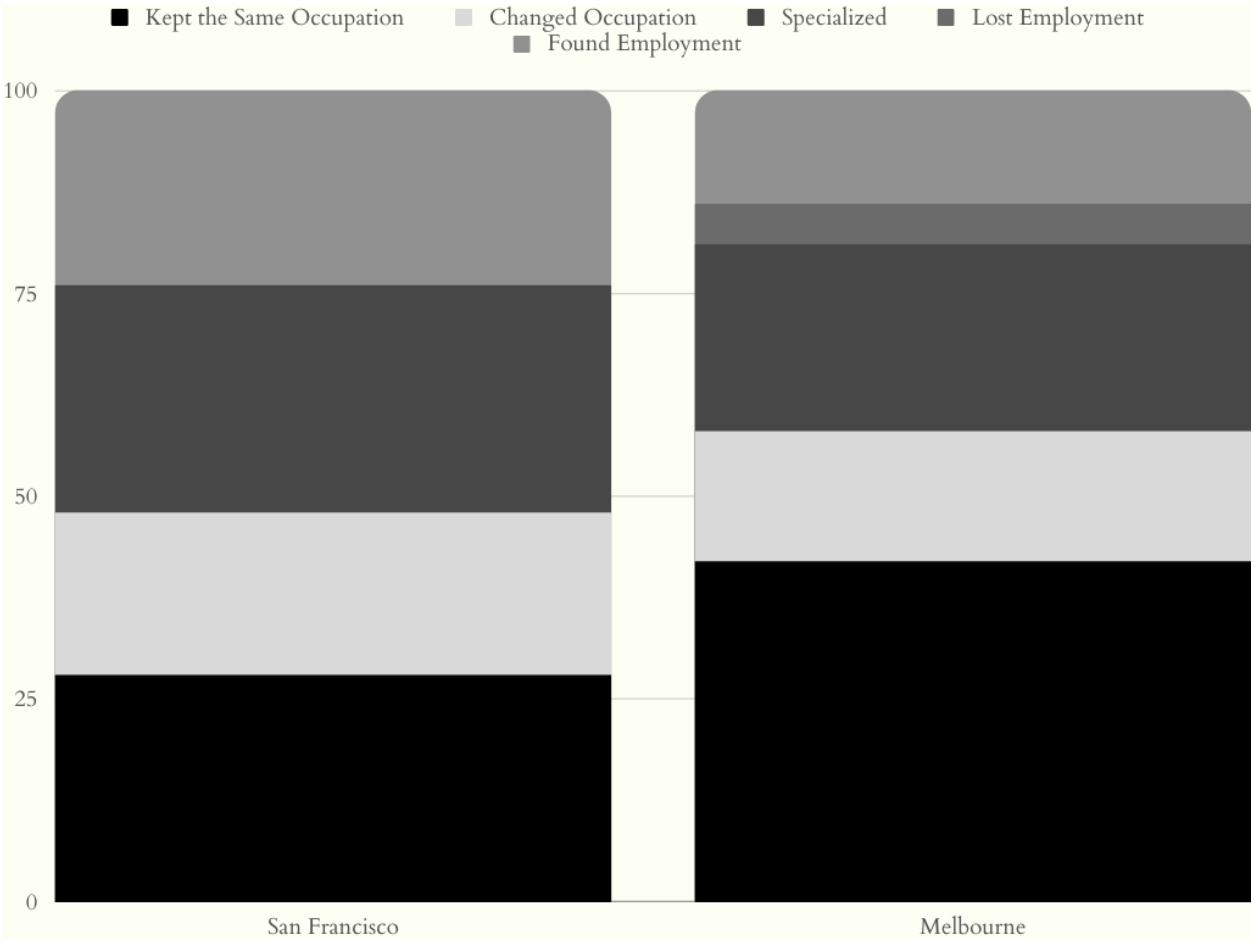


Figure 3: Occupation Shifts in San Francisco and Melbourne

However, success can be measured in forms other than economic stability, and one crucial indicator was social integration. Unlike Europe, these newly founded mining towns did not have established social classes based on birth, so social mobility was possible. Within this newfound social freedom, Jewish migrants found themselves with opportunities to succeed that they had not experienced before. As the city was establishing itself and new immigrants arrived constantly, these new "urban dwellers enjoyed the entertainments offered in a city, from the theatre to galleries and coffee houses, and in many cities Jews became prominent participants in cultural activity."[26] Jews were relevant socially and culturally in these mining towns, able to gain prestige and a high social status that would have been impossible to achieve in Europe. As

[26] Silberberg, *A Networked Community.*

previously mentioned, Sidney Myer from Melbourne gained social prestige as he succeeded financially, but he was not the only Jew that achieved this popularity.

Levi Strauss, of Levi Strauss & Co., also achieved some level of social status in San Francisco. Using his money to support local institutions, he donated money to the University of California to quite literally keep the lights on when funds were low and to help create scholarships for poor prospective students. Strauss also donated supplies to U.S. troops fighting in the Spanish-American War in Cuba, along with other Jews in San Francisco who wanted to support the cause they believed in.[27] Levi Strauss became a prominent figure in San Francisco as Sidney Myer had in Melbourne. Both were wealthy from the businesses that they had created, so their economic success had contributed to their ability to be socially successful.

However, Jews were not only influential as individuals, but as a collective. For example, in California, the most durable and consistent social club of the 1860s was the Eureka Social Club of Nevada City for young Jewish men. This club held balls that were very well-attended and advertised prominently in the newspapers of the city; while some felt that these balls should have been segregated by religion, gentiles still attended Eureka's balls.[28]

In Melbourne, many Jewish social clubs also formed, most notably the Melbourne Jewish Philanthropic Society, which was Melbourne's first philanthropic organization. This organization was founded to help the poor inhabitants of Melbourne, Jewish and gentile, by providing financial aid. The Melbourne Jewish Philanthropic Society became a mainstay of Melbourne, received state aid, and is still in existence today.[29]

---

[27] Lynn Downey, *Levi Strauss : The Man Who Gave Blue Jeans to the World*. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016), 220-230.
[28] Mann, *After the Gold Rush*, 159.
[29] Silberberg, *A Networked Community.*

Still, Jews were socially prominent for more than social clubs and philanthropy. Activism has always been a central part of Judaism and Jewish culture, and this activist spirit made them socially and politically visible in San Francisco. There was a push by Protestant Americans in the 1850s for an educational reform requiring teachers to be Protestant. This upset both Irish Catholics and Jews, and their upset led to a recognition of both Catholic and Jewish rights, as the reform gained no traction and "Irish political and Jewish economic importance probably contributed largely to the outcome."[30] Jewish migrants were invested in the society they lived in and were socially and economically relevant enough to enact change upon them.

Looking at the success of Jewish businesses, Jewish social clubs, and Jewish individuals in both San Francisco and Melbourne, it is clear that Jews that migrated to these mining towns found more opportunity and stability than was possible for them to find in Europe.

Conclusion

Examining San Francisco and Melboure city directories makes it evident that while Jews were present in the mining cities of San Francisco and Melbourne, they were far more likely to be selling supplies than they were to be working in the mines themselves, and that this type of business brought many Jews some level of success. While Jews were present in mining cities worldwide, this analysis only focused on two cities. To fully understand the role of Jews in the global gold rushes and the effect of these gold rushes on Jews, further investigation needs to be done into other mining cities, such as Otago, New Zealand, Johannesburg, South Africa, or Dawson City, Canada. More analysis spanning a longer period of time would also likely give further insight into the level of economic success and social integration that Jews experienced in these mining bonanzas.

[30] Mann, *After the Gold Rush,* 125.

This analysis was limited by the city directories available. The San Francisco directories available online spanned from 1850 to 1982, though many years were missing within that range, including 1855. In Melbourne, the only directories available spanned from 1857 to 1880, but the nineteen years between 1861 and 1880 were missing, so the range available was smaller than desirable. Additionally, the directories were used to find Jewish workers and businesses using the last names of the city residents, so any possible name changes made during the immigration process from Europe to San Francisco or Melbourne could have affected the outcome. Still, multiple possible spellings of the same name were taken into account to try and accommodate for some of these types of discrepancies.

Still, the importance of Jewish migrants in the formation and continuing legacy of these mining towns cannot be ignored. By acknowledging that Jews were a vital part of the process in creating these cities, Jews hopefully become less invisible in global history. While it is true that there is a lot of scholarly focus on the tragedies of Jewish history such as the expulsions, the pogroms, the death, it is important to take into account the joyous parts too, both for researchers and for Jews themselves: being Jewish is not a tragedy. While there has been pain and suffering in the Jewish past, Jews have also been a part of the growth of new societies.

Bibliography

Abrahamsohn, Abraham, and Friedrich Mihm. "Interesting Accounts of the Travels of Abraham Abrahamsohn to America and Especially to the Gold Mines of California and Australia." Edited by Norton B Stern. Translated by Marlene P Toeppen. *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly* 1 (1969).

"Company." Levi Strauss & Co, March 31, 2021. https://www.levistrauss.com/who-we-are/company/.

Downey, Lynn. *Levi Strauss: The Man Who Gave Blue Jeans to the World*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016. Accessed December 6, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Druce, Alex. "Myer Makes $24.5 Million Profit despite Department Store Revenue down 3.5%." news.com.au. Nationwide News, September 2019. https://www.news.com.au/finance/business/retail/myer-makes-245-million-profit-despite-department-store-revenue-down-35/news-story/678d4e5c0ec6b888f8860f2ea8ff1609.

Kimball, Charles P. *The San Francisco City Directory*. San Francisco: Journal of Commerce Press, 1850.

Langley, Henry G. *San Francisco Directory*. San Francisco: Commercial Steam Presses, 1858.

LeCount and Strong. *City Directory of San Francisco.* San Francisco: San Francisco Herald Office, 1854.

Mann, Ralph. *After the Gold Rush: Society in Grass Valley and Nevada City, California, 1849-1870*. Calif., 1982.

Sands & Kenny. "Sands & Kenny's Commercial and General Melbourne Directory for 1857." *Melbourne History Resources*. Accessed December 2, 2022. https://omeka.cloud.unimelb.edu.au/melbourne-history/items/show/20.

Sands, Kenny & Co.. “Sands, Kenny & Co's Commercial and General Melbourne Directory for 1861.” *Melbourne History Resources*. Accessed December 2, 2022. https://omeka.cloud.unimelb.edu.au/melbourne-history/items/show/21.

“Sidney Myer.” National Portrait Gallery. Australian Government. Accessed December 2, 2022. https://www.portrait.gov.au/people/sidney-myer-1878.

Silberberg, Sue. *A Networked Community Jewish Melbourne in the Nineteenth Century*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2020.

“The Myer Story.” MYER. Accessed December 2, 2022. https://www.myer.com.au/content/about-us-myer/history.

This Page is Intentionally Left Blank

Rugby and Racism in South Africa

Nick Guzi

When analyzing significant historical concepts such as imperialism, nationalism, and racism, sport rarely comes to one's mind. Rather than being considered as a valid topic of discussion alongside significant historical concepts, sport is generally overlooked, if not completely forgotten. However, when looking at South Africa, sport is intertwined into the very fabric of the nation. For decades, South African rugby was an integral symbol of nationalist ideology held by the country's racist white minority South African ruling class and their Apartheid system. This class, known by their ethnic name Afrikaner, denied black South Africans from participating in the "official" side of rugby. It wasn't until the 1980's that the first black South Africans were given the opportunity to play for the famous "Springbok" national team. The historically white complexion of the Afrikaner "official" game in South Africa has led many to believe that rugby is not a popular sport amongst the black population in the country, creating an illusion that black South Africans only started playing rugby in the post-Apartheid era. Black South Africans have been playing rugby as long as whites in the country and separate rugby unions were even created to accommodate South Africa's non-white populations. Black South African rugby culture had thrived throughout the Apartheid era, but the innate power dynamics associated with rugby in South Africa systematically diminished black contribution and involvement in the sport.

In order to understand the erasure of black South African rugby, one must first understand historical race relations within the country itself. Oftentimes, race relations in South Africa are simplified into a singular struggle between the nation's black and white population.

This simplification overlooks South Africa's innate colonial diversity and power struggles that lie within, namely the divide between South Africa's two white races – the Afrikaners and the British.[1] In simple terms, "colonial politics dictated the development of racialized sport in South Africa…by focusing on intra- and interracial issues within the white, ruling duopoly."[2] Although this concept is perplexing, it was absolutely vital to the development of South African rugby culture in the nineteenth century and beyond.

Conflict between Britons and Afrikaners arose from innate differences between the two white races, and would ultimately determine the development of sport in South Africa. While the British reigned as colonial overlords, the Afrikaner population consisted of hardy country men. This brewed dissent, in fact, "with the active imposition of British authority and the promotion of British culture throughout South Africa, there was resentment among rural Afrikaners, who considered themselves a historical and integral part of the fabric of South Africa."[3] In the late nineteenth century, this form of social imperialism was quintessential to the makeup of the British Empire. Historically, the British thought South Africa to be economically backward and morally degenerate.[4] This precedent combined with a growing resentment of the Afrikaner Boer population prompted the British to double down on their efforts to placate the colony. At the time, "the progress of indigenous communities and indeed other settlers throughout the Empire still lay in their assimilation and incorporation into 'things' British. Sport, and team games in particular, were an integral part of this hegemonic imperial process."[5] Sports such as Rugby were

[1] Dean Allen, "'The race for supremacy': the politics of 'white' sport in South Africa, 1870 - 1910," *Sport in Society* 14 no. 6 (2011): 741.
[2] Dean Allen, "'The race for supremacy': the politics of 'white' sport in South Africa, 1870 - 1910," *Sport in Society* 14 no. 6 (2011): 741.
[3] Dean Allen, "'The race for supremacy': the politics of 'white' sport in South Africa, 1870 - 1910," *Sport in Society* 14 no. 6 (2011): 743.
[4] Dean Allen, "'The race for supremacy': the politics of 'white' sport in South Africa, 1870 - 1910," *Sport in Society* 14 no. 6 (2011): 742.
[5] Dean Allen, "'The race for supremacy': the politics of 'white' sport in South Africa, 1870 - 1910," *Sport in Society* 14 no. 6 (2011): 745.

introduced into South Africa under the guise of imperial interests. Sport was a way in which the British Empire could finally incorporate rebellious Afrikaners into its imperial structure. Given South Africa's inherently racialized imperial structures and Afrikaner culture built on racist systems such as slavery, it is unsurprising as to why modern rugby within South Africa developed under a segregationist precedent.

Rugby was introduced to South Africa in 1861 by Canon George Oglivie and remained in its unorganized infancy until the 1880s, when national associations began to form with the backing of the colony's white ruling party.[6] Most notably, the white only South African Rugby Football Board (SARFB) was founded in 1889.[7] Similar non-white organizations such as the South African Coloured Rugby Football Board (SACRFB) would be formed in years following. Despite the wide reach of organizations such as the SACRFB, non-white players were banned from participating with white-only teams for decades. By the mid-twentieth century there were four bodies that ran rugby in South Africa, consisting of "the white South African Rugby Board (SARB), the 'non-racial' South African Rugby Union (SARU), the black South African Rugby Association (SARA), and the coloured South African Rugby Federation (SARF)."[8] The dichotomy between race and rugby association was severe in South Africa. In fact, it wasn't until 1981 that the first non-white rugby player, Errol Tobias, began playing for the South African "Springbokken" National Team. The "official" game of rugby was dominated by South Africa's white races that entirely disregarded non-white participation, refusing to acknowledge any form of non-white participation in "their" sport. This negligence would grow increasingly important

[6] Dean Allen, "'The race for supremacy': the politics of 'white' sport in South Africa, 1870 - 1910," *Sport in Society* 14 no. 6 (2011): 746. | Dean Allen, "'Captain Diplomacy': Paul Roos and the Creation of South Africa's Rugby 'Springboks,'" *Sport in History* 33 no. 4, (2013): 569.
[7] Wouter de Wet, "A History of the South African Rugby Football Board (SARFB): early years, 1889 - 1914," *Sport in History* 41 no. 3, (2020).
[8] Nicholas Ashford, "Mixed rugby trials run into trouble," *The Times* no. 60059, (1977).

for South Africa's white races when rugby was used as a form of reconciliation during the aftermath of the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902).

An accurate depiction of this racial reconciliation is provided in a news article titled "Our Boys in Paris" written in the *Diamond Fields Advertiser* out of Kimberly, South Africa. The piece was written during the famous 1906 Springbok tour of Europe, famous for taking place only four years after the Anglo-Boer War.

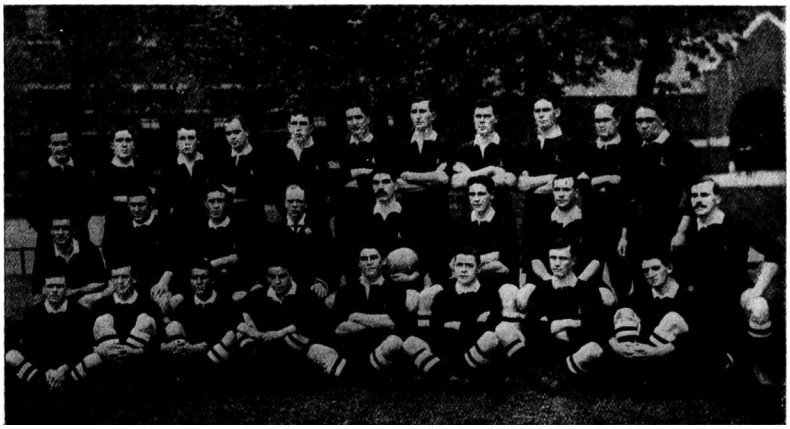


Photo of 1906 Springbokken rugby team. Notice the completely white complexion of the squad.[9]

Highlighted in the article are quotes from the famous Springbok captain Paul Roos commemorating the tour and its contribution to South Africa's rehabilitation. Roos is quoted saying, "the cloud that was overshadowing South Africa might be dispersed by calling it 'quits' as England and South Africa had done on the football field that afternoon."[10] It is important to note that there was zero mention from the author or Roos about anyone or anything outside of the two "white races" participating in the tour. Roos boasts of the diverse Springbok roster, only celebrating white diversity by stating, "The men were of both parties of both white races; men that had fought on both sides."[11] Despite the fact that non-white rugby was just as established as white rugby at the time, Roos negates any presence of black athletes and whitewashes rugby

[9] "The South African Rugby Team," *The African World and Cape-Cairo Express* 16 no. 203, (1906).
[10] "Our Boys in Paris," *Diamond Fields Advertiser* 30 no. 8709, (1907).
[11] "Our Boys in Paris," *Diamond Fields Advertiser* 30 no. 8709, (1907).

media. History is passed on through stories and writing, and the article's subtle, yet intended, promotion of white rugby establishes the erasure of black South African Rugby into history.

Another underlying theme present within the article "Our Boys in Paris" is the growing concept of Afrikaner nationalism. By the time South Africa was amalgamated as an independent state, rugby was considered to be an integral part of the country's national identity. This identity was closely associated with the Afrikaner nationalist movement, the forefather of white minority rule by apartheid in South Africa. "Our Boys in Paris" alludes to this melding of politics and sport by stating, "it is undesirable as a general rule to mix politics with sport, but perhaps this is the exception that proves the rule."[12] As early as 1906, the "official" side of the game was already headed towards its extremely politicized future. In fact, "The veteran cape statesmen, Sir Thomas Fuller… paid a tribute to sport in the colonies, saving that the best sportsman made the best soldier, and that sport played as great a part in the cause of peace as the arts and sciences."[13] This tour deemed rugby a diplomat and source of national pride for South Africa. As the article states, "The splendor of the Colonial chivalry in their football is a trait of South African character. Let Rugby football become the royal road to pacification, to that feeling of mutual respect which spells peace, goodwill, and harmony."[14] This precedent would only strengthen the cause for segregation within the Afrikaner "official" game.

It's no mystery that racism was a central aspect of Afrikaner culture. In 1887, "the Afrikaner Bond, afraid that an influx of black African voters would side with the English, backed a Parliamentary Bill effectively restricting the number of Africans who were eligible to vote."[15] This bill was an extension of Afrikaners history of owning slaves, a practice which was stripped

[12] "Our Boys in Paris," *Diamond Fields Advertiser* 30 no. 8709, (1907).
[13] "Our Boys in Paris," *Diamond Fields Advertiser* 30 no. 8709, (1907).
[14] "Our Boys in Paris," *Diamond Fields Advertiser* 30 no. 8709, (1907).
[15] Dean Allen, "'The race for supremacy': the politics of 'white' sport in South Africa, 1870 - 1910," *Sport in Society* 14 no. 6 (2011): 745.

by the British. In the Afrikaners eyes, it would be a disgrace to allow black South Africans, former slaves, to pollute their source of national pride, rugby. As time went on, this belief would become further entrenched in the minds of the Afrikaners. Rugby, "developed into the Afrikaner game by the beginning of the Aparthied era in 1948. As a result, rugby became highly political…in defending white culture from attack."[16] South African rugby's international success came at an unprecedented scale during the first half of the twentieth century, failing to lose a single test match series against any country from 1903 to 1956.[17] This success came to symbolize the potential achievements of the Afrikaner people at a global level.[18] Given that the governing party within South Africa was the Afrikaner controlled National Party, rugby's leadership ranks were filled with staunch white nationalists that viciously opposed any black participation within their side of the game. Rugby's image could not be tarnished, as sacred positions amongst the Springboks were too high of an honor to be multiracial. Rugby would remain segregated until the end of the apartheid era in the 1990s and black South Africans were forced to create their own distinct rugby culture.

Rugby became very popular amongst the Xhosa people of South Africa's Cape Province. In fact, "Union Rugby Football Club, which was established in Port Elizabeth in 1887, is believed to be the first adult Xhosa people's club in the region."[19] For many, the existence of black sport within South Africa is not steeped in history, but is falsely considered a rather new concept. Many white South Africans justify inequality in the country's sport participation, facilities and achievements by, "claiming that the black population started playing modern sport

[16] John Nauright and David Black, "Sport at the Center of Power: Rugby in South Africa During Apartheid," *Sport History Review* 29 no. 2 (1998): 193.
[17] John Nauright and David Black, "Sport at the Center of Power: Rugby in South Africa During Apartheid," *Sport History Review* 29 no. 2 (1998): 198.
[18] John Nauright and David Black, "Sport at the Center of Power: Rugby in South Africa During Apartheid," *Sport History Review* 29 no. 2 (1998): 198.
[19] Philani Nongogo and Abel L. Toriola, "Xhosa people and the rugby game: Diffusion of sport in the Eastern Cape of South Africa under colonial apartheid eras," *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance* 20 no. 3.2, (2014): 1298.

late compared to whites. This assumption reflects whites ignorance of black society, history, and culture."[20] The development of Rugby and Black rugby in South Africa happened concurrently, but black rugby most definitely developed under different conditions. Black rugby was played in appalling conditions, "most fields were without grass, and many were ridden with ditches, located on slopes or acting as public thoroughfares. Boots were considered a luxury and each team had, at most, a single set of jerseys."[21] Rather than deterring black rugby participation, "this quagmire… bred dedication and selflessness: sacrificing one's wage to buy the team colours, walking all night to be at a match the following day…despite the midst of difficulties, segregation and poverty, it is apparent that the Xhosa loved ―his rugby."[22] Strong communities formed around clubs within this region, and rugby became intertwined into the very fabric of Xhosa society.

"Mauled, by the Nice Chap with an RFU Tie," written in the British publication *The Daily Mail,* is a first hand account of a black South African rugby player Ezekiel Omdinga's experience while on tour in England in 1979. The article gives excellent insight into the segregation present amongst South African rugby team's, including multiracial ones,and also highlights the poor backgrounds and conditions black rugby players stemmed from. Within the article Ezekiel is quoted saying, "at the hotel Mr Botha [the manager] told us we had to share rooms with white players to fool the newspapers that this is what we do at home all the time."[23] Despite the fact that Ezekiel played for the multiracial *Quangos,* rugby was still forcibly

[20] Philani Nongogo and Abel L. Toriola, "Xhosa people and the rugby game: Diffusion of sport in the Eastern Cape of South Africa under colonial apartheid eras," *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance* 20 no. 3.2, (2014): 1299.
[21] Philani Nongogo and Abel L. Toriola, "Xhosa people and the rugby game: Diffusion of sport in the Eastern Cape of South Africa under colonial apartheid eras," *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance* 20 no. 3.2, (2014): 1302.
[22] Philani Nongogo and Abel L. Toriola, "Xhosa people and the rugby game: Diffusion of sport in the Eastern Cape of South Africa under colonial apartheid eras," *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance* 20 no. 3.2, (2014): 1302.
[23] Ian Wooldridge, "Mauled, by the nice chap with an RFU tie," *Daily Mail* no. 25916, (1979).

segregated in many ways and the sleeping situation within the article represents a constant reminder of the prejudice non-white rugby players received regardless of their team orientation. Later Ezekiel references the living conditions he hailed from, stating, "I am very grateful for the passport. I have been able to see many things I could not have seen even if father had sold both our cattle."[24] Similar to accounts of the Xhosa people, Ezekiel hailed from extreme poverty attributed to systematic racism present within South Africa. Rugby was a sport for the white man through and through. Not only were black South Africans barred from mixing with their white teammates, but they also lacked any resources to help with their careers, hence the reason why black rugby culture was such a tightly-knit entity. Despite the obstacles presented to them, black South Africans pursued the game with tenacity and innate passion. It wasn't long before resistance movements started to propagate throughout the nation.

Afrikaners' attempt to systematically erase black rugby for decades went as far as restricting black viewership of the game. In line with Apartheid precepts, "coloured and black spectators were only allowed to sit in congested areas behind the posts. Hedged in with a limited view of the game, Afrikaans rugby broadcasters routinely referred to them in 'othering' terms as 'the people behind the posts.'"[25] Despite this, non-white communities similar to the Xhosa actively resisted Apartheid and made their voices heard within South African rugby. Initial forms of expression of opposition were to create non-white or non-racialized rugby organizations. Under organizations such as the South African Rugby Union (SARU), slogans such as "no normal sport in an abnormal society" were developed in resistance to apartheid politics. Beginning in the 1960s, a new form of informal resistance began to arise: refusing to identify

[24] Ian Wooldridge, "Mauled, by the nice chap with an RFU tie," *Daily Mail* no. 25916, (1979).
[25] Albert Grundlingh and Marizanne Grundlingh, "Fractured Fandom and Paradoxical Passions: Explaining Support for New Zealand All Black Rugby Teams in South Africa, 1960 - 2018," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 36 no. 1, (2019).

with the "official" national team. Instead, those classified as non-whites began to support opposition sides.

In 1959, the President of the Transvaal Rugby Union reported that, "the Non-Europeans have clearly indicated their preference for the visitors – and have shown their disapproval for anything which the Home Side has done, by booing."[26] For context, Non-Europeans in this quotation is in reference to the non-white population. By the 1970s, the New Zealand All Black national teams (not to be confused with their racial makeup) became fan favorites of the underprivileged in South Africa. Driving this attitude was the presence, "of Maori players such as Bryan Williams on New Zealand's team in 1970. Local coloured spectators feverishly feted Williams, a speedy and elusive winger, as a symbol of what was possible in a country unburdened by apartheid."[27]

Bryan Williams swamped by black fans while on tour in South Africa in 1976. Evidently a hero amongst South Africa's non-white population.[28]

[26] Albert Grundlingh and Marizanne Grundlingh, "Fractured Fandom and Paradoxical Passions: Explaining Support for New Zealand All Black Rugby Teams in South Africa, 1960 - 2018," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 36 no. 1, (2019).
[27] Albert Grundlingh and Marizanne Grundlingh, "Fractured Fandom and Paradoxical Passions: Explaining Support for New Zealand All Black Rugby Teams in South Africa, 1960 - 2018," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 36 no. 1, (2019).
[28] "The All Blacks' champion wing, Bryan Williams, at the East London Golf Club. Williams will be a key player for New Zealand in the first test against South Africa in Durban early tomorrow morning, New Zealand time," *Press* (1976): 11.

New Zealand, like South Africa, was a former colony but differed in that it was not burdened by the same racial issues present within South Africa. The Maori rugby players were a leading example of this ideal. In fact, support for the All Blacks is so historically rooted in black South African rugby culture that they still garner widespread support over the Springboks in many households. Even within the post-Apartheid era, the historically racist Springbok institution remains unappealing for many South African All Black fans. Despite the complete disregard for underprivileged peoples made by Afrikaner Nationalists, black fans made their voices heard within South African rugby, which became a tribute to the thriving rugby culture present outside of the "official" game.

Rugby's history within South Africa is extremely complex. Initially used as an imperial tool, rugby would soon transform into South Africa's national identity. Endorsed by the racist Afrikaner ruling class, black inclusion into the "official" game was completely curtailed. Blacks were not allowed to participate on the Springbok national team but were instead segregated within stadiums, even on multiracial teams from their own white teammates. Afrikaner efforts to erase black rugby were so successful that, during the post-Apartheid era, rugby was seen as a new sport for black South Africans despite the fact that they had been playing just as long as their white counterparts. Despite this prejudice, black South Africans crafted their own distinct rugby cultures and tenaciously pursued the sport. New inclusive rugby associations were created and resistance movements began to spring up across the nation, as Black South Africans were determined to make their voices heard within rugby. For decades black rugby lived under the yoke of a systematically racist national structure. In spite of its conceited erasure, black South African rugby was not only present, it was thriving. A history created by those in power is

incapable of depicting an accurate story. Black rugby in South Africa is an alternate history that encapsulates the true spirit of the sport in the country.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Ashford, Nicholas. "Mixed rugby trials run into trouble." *Times*, July 19, 1977, 7. *The Times Digital Archive* (accessed December 2, 2022). https://link-gale-com.colorado.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/CS118587635/GDCS?u=colobould er&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=91c76856.

O'connor, Terry. "Boks pick black pair to tackle England." *Daily Mail*, May 28, 1984, 25. *Daily Mail Historical Archive* (accessed December 2, 2022). https://link-gale-com.colorado.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/EE1861528853/GDCS?u=coloboul der&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=606f904b.

Wooldridge, Ian. "Mauled, by the nice chap with an RFU tie." *Daily Mail*, October 5, 1979, 46. *Daily Mail Historical Archive* (accessed December 2, 2022). https://link-gale-com.colorado.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/EE1862279411/GDCS?u=coloboul der&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=5ba3bc47.

"Our Boys in Paris." *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, January 4, 1907, 5. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online* (accessed December 2, 2022). https://link-gale-com.colorado.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/HOJEID116768806/GDCS?u=colo boulder&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=e11004ef.

“The All Blacks’ champion wing, Bryan Williams, at the East London Golf Club. Williams will be a key player for New Zealand in the first test against South Africa in Durban early tomorrow morning, New Zealand time.” *Press,* July 24, 1976, 11. *Papers Past (*accessed December 2, 2022). https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/CHP19760724.2.100

"The South African Rugby Team." *African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, September 29, 1906, 363. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online* (accessed December 2, 2022).

https://link-gale-com.colorado.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/PGREKH562981389/GDCS?u=coloboulder&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=3d22930a.

Secondary Sources

Allen, Dean. "'Captain Diplomacy': Paul Roos and the Creation of South Africa's Rugby 'Springboks.'" *Sport in History* 33, no. 4 (2013): 568-83. doi:10.1080/17460263.2013.850271.

Allen, Dean. "'The Race for Supremacy': The Politics of 'White' Sport in South Africa, 1870–1910." *Sport in Society* 14, no. 6 (2011): 741-53. https://discovery.ebsco.com/c/3czfwv/details/cipinqrbqb?limiters=FT1%3AY&q=The%20race%20for%20supremacy%3A%20The%20politics%20of%20white%20sport

Allen, Dean. "Tours of Reconciliation: Rugby, War and Reconstruction in South Africa, 1891-1907." *Sport in History* 27, no. 2 (2007): 172–89. doi:10.1080/17460260701437003.

Audie Klotz. "Borders and the Roots of Xenophobia in South Africa." *South African Historical Journal* 68 (2016): 180–94. https://discovery.ebsco.com/linkprocessor/plink?id=1f878ec3-31aa-35a1-9678-4cd97c2c2f7f.

de Wet, Wouter. "A History of the South African Rugby Football Board (SARFB): Early Years, 1889–1914." *Sport in History* 41, no. 3 (2021): 360-86. doi:10.1080/17460263.2020.1824165.

Fourie Johan, and Stephens David. "Morphological Evolution of Springbok Rugby Players : Implications for Racial Transformation in South African Rugby." *South African Journal*

for Research in Sport, Physical Education and Recreation 39, no. 3 (2017): 145–61. doi:10.10520/EJC-c38033819.

Grundlingh, Marizanne, and Albert Grundlingh. "Fractured Fandom and Paradoxical Passions: Explaining Support for New Zealand All Black Rugby Teams in South Africa, 1960–2018." *International Journal of the History of Sport* 36, no. 1 (2019): 67-82. https://discovery.ebsco.com/c/3czfwv/details/fxqppd7gzb?limiters=FT1%3AY&q=fractured%20fandom%20and%20paradoxical%20

Nauright, John, and David Black. "Sport at the Center of Power: Rugby in South Africa During Apartheid." *Sport History Review* 29, no. 2 (1998): 192-211. doi:10.1123/shr.29.2.192.

Nongogo P., and Toriola A.L. "Swallows Rugby Football Club, South Africa : The Story of a Century, 1911-2011 History." *African Journal for Physical Health Education, Recreation and Dance* 20, no. 3 (2014): 1271–92. doi:10.10520/EJC166021.

Ryan, Greg. "Debating Racial Hierarchy and the Exclusion of Māori from the 1928 All Blacks Rugby Tour to South Africa." *Journal of Imperial & Commonwealth History* 50, no. 4 (2022): 705–28. doi:10.1080/03086534.2022.2084941.

Toriola Abel L., and Nongogo Philani. "Xhosa People and the Rugby Game : Diffusion of Sport in the Eastern Cape of South Africa under Colonial and Apartheid Eras History." *African Journal for Physical Health Education, Recreation and Dance* 20, no. 3 (September 1, 2014): 1293–1319. doi:10.10520/EJC166020.

This Page is Intentionally Left Blank

The Stability of Ralph Bunche's Thought

Aaron Brooks

When Ralph Bunche entered the public sphere, he was inserting himself into a generation of New Deal intellectuals and activists. Before entering public service, Bunche coordinated with peoples of various ideological labels on a myriad of issues from access to jobs to the proper way to educate Black children. Bunche's later public service restricted his freedom in this area. This restriction has left some historians with the impression that Bunche's thought became less radical as his life went on. However, while Bunches affiliations shifted throughout his jump from academia to government his worldview shows great stability amidst changes in ideological labels and vocabulary. Two pillars of Bunche's worldview that remained consistent throughout his life were the mutual effect social relations and economics had on one another and the inseparability of international politics from national politics. Bunche's economic understanding of race and his international focus made him stand out in his early intellectual career but by the Civil Rights Era these beliefs were conjoined and formed the foundation of a new elaboration of liberalism.

Capitalism and Race in the New Deal

Ralph Bunche began his intellectual career at the height of the Great Depression as the New Deal brought change across the nation. The economic turmoil that defined the beginning stages of his career left him with a worldview that stressed the importance of structural economic inequalities. Bunche was part of a new generation of Black intellectuals whose views were "emerging from the economic turmoil of the Great Depression and the social dynamics of migration".[1] The New Deal generation of intellectuals contained a myriad of views, but one key

[1]1. Beth Tompkins Bates, "A New Crowd Challenges the Agenda of the Old Guard in the NAACP, 1933-1941," *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 2 (April 1997): pp. 341, https://doi.org/10.2307/2170828.

feature was an economic explanation for social relations. When Ralph Bunche was called to contribute to the Myrdal report it was because he represented a generation of "Marxian influenced" intellectuals.[2] Ralph Bunche often explained racism in terms of economics and his proposals to problems of race often centered around economic or structural problems rather than social attitudes.

Ralph Bunche explained America's racial hierarchy as a post-hoc justification of the economic hierarchy of slavery. In his 1936 work *A World View of Race* Bunche explains that African people were brought to America as slaves, "not because of [their] race but because there were very definite economic needs which [their] enslavement served". However, the economic needs served by slavery were mostly the needs of white landowners. White people not of the landowning class were driven to "marginal lands" and placed in "direct competition" with enslaved Black people.[3] Because American racism was defined by economic relations at its inception, racism's persistence through time could be explained by the persistence of economic conditions of racial segregation and interracial competition for employment.

Bunche explained the racism inherent in the New Deal in economic terms that borrow heavily from the communist rhetoric of the day. He critiqued the New Deal as trying to establish an economy based on "middle class planning" to subdue "class antagonisms".[4] Bunche argued that for Black American workers the New Deal meant "the same thing, but more of it".[5] He explained how the stereotypes around Black labor led to Black workers being largely deprived of the benefits of the early New Deal programs. Bunche shows an ability to recognize the reciprocal

---

[2]2. Charles P Henry, Ralph Bunche: Model Negro Or American Other? (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1999), https://hdl-handle-net.colorado.idm.oclc.org/2027/heb02847.0001.001, 108.
[3]3. Ralph Bunche, *A World View of Race* (Washington DC: Associates in Negro Folk Education), 78, 31.
[4]4. Ralph J. Bunche, "A Critique of New Deal Social Planning as It Affects Negroes," The Journal of Negro Education 5, no. 1 (January 1936): pp. 60, 59 https://doi.org/10.2307/2292355.
[5]5. Ralph J. Bunche, "A Critique of New Deal Social Planning as It Affects Negroes," 62.

causal relationship between social categories and economic factors that even Black Radicals such as W.E.B. Du Bois were too racially introverted to see, middle class groups like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) were too blinded by class interest to see and communists were too blinded by orthodoxy to see. One may be surprised to see this critique aimed at Black Radicals considering they often studied the intersections of race and class. However, to Bunche, even figures like W.E.B. Du Bois (who Bunche respected greatly) were like Booker T. Washington and Marcus Garvey in the way that all of them thought race was "more important than class".[6]

Bunche Excluded from his Own Big Tent

The failures of the New Deal led Bunche to partner with John P. Davis to host a National Negro Congress. The developments of the National Negro Congress and the New Deal show Bunche's frustration with communism and his belief that progress could be made for workers without an overthrow of the United States government or the institution of private property. Although Bunche was never a communist, his twin beliefs of internationalism and the ability of economics to explain social relations brought him within the same room as communists many times throughout the 1930s. Trans-ideological communication was an essential feature of the popular front Bunche was a part of.

The National Negro Congress was meant to be a big tent to prevent the organization being guided by one set of class interests. The National Negro Congress aimed to host "everyone from white philanthropists to revolutionary communists".[7] In 1936, a year after the first congress, Bunche explained the motivation for inviting persons with such a broad spectrum of opinion saying only including groups involved in the "labor struggle" would prevent the congress from

[6]6. Charles P Henry, Ralph Bunche: Model Negro Or American Other?, 57.
[7]7. Charles P Henry, Ralph Bunche: Model Negro Or American Other?, 45.

appealing to the "greater masses" of Black Americans. One of Bunche's primary goals was to "stimulate the enrollment of the Negro masses in the ranks of organized labor".[8] The recommendation that the masses join organized labor shows that while Bunche had similar concerns to communists his solutions were radically different. The Soviet Union, through the Red International of Labor Unions, was sponsoring the establishment of all Black unions in the United States to compete with organized labor.[9] Bunche abhorred "racial introversion" and was a consistent advocate of labor organization between races.[10] As time would go on Bunche would grow increasingly frustrated with the communists, causing him to stop attending the National Negro Congress once he assessed the National Negro Congress "had reduced itself to a communist cell".[11] Bunche's short involvement with the National Negro Congress reflects his respect for Marxism's explanatory power but his skepticism towards the radicalism of communism, specifically as it was embodied under Stalin in the Soviet Union.

The Legacy of Bunche's Economic Thought

Some historians have tried to portray Bunche's supposed radicalism of the 1930s as class reductionism, but his criticism of the New Deal shows understanding of the intersection of race and class. John P. Kirby summarized Ralph Bunche's thoughts on the New Deal as "neo-Marxist" that only "attacked the Roosevelt administration not because of its racial biases but [it's] limited economic and social perspective." The title of Bunche's main polemic against the New Deal is

[8]8. Ralph Bunche, "Triumph Or Fiasco?" *Race* 1, no. 2 (1935-7). Printed in Charles P Henry, Ralph Bunche: Model Negro Or American Other? (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1999), https://hdl-handle-net.colorado.idm.oclc.org/2027/heb02847.0001.001, 45.
[9]9. Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919-1950* (New York, NY: Norton, 2009), https://archive.org/details/defyingdixieradi00gilm, 72.
[10]10. Ralph Bunche, "The Tragedy of Racial Introversian" (New Negro National Forum, Washington, D.C., March 17, 1935), box 43, Bunche Papers. Printed in Charles P Henry, Ralph Bunche: Model Negro Or American Other? (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1999), https://hdl-handle-net.colorado.idm.oclc.org/2027/heb02847.0001.001, 40.
[11]11. Charles P Henry, Ralph Bunche: Model Negro Or American Other?, 46.

titled *Critique of New Deal Social Planning as it Affects Negros*, which Kirby cites, showing how Bunche was not unwilling "to judge the social and economic policies on the grounds of their racial implications."[12] The National Recovery Administration's attempts to set wages higher did not apply to the "great mass" of Black workers who were more likely to be employed part time or irregularly. Influential southern Democrats demanded that wages be set lower for Black workers than white because of the need to keep agricultural prices low on the export market and stereotypes of Black workers being less efficient and able to survive off less.[13] Bunche highlights how the National Recovery Administration (NRA) used "occupational and geographical differentials" as a way of "excluding Negro workers from the benefits of minimum wage and hour provisions".[14] Bunche clearly understood how nominally colorblind legislation could reaffirm racial inequalities. Bunche's understanding of the intersection of race and class would influence the Classical Civil Rights Era.

Bunche was unique in his ability to explain the social realities of the constructed concept of race in materialistic economic terms. However, at the 1963 March on Washington the connection between race and class was firm in the minds of organizers and attendees alike. Jacquelyn Dowd Hall argues Bunche's intersectional explanation of racism was embodied by the "democratic socialist" Martin Luther King Jr. "who advocated unionization [and] planned the Poor People's campaign…".[15] Bunche's involvement in the Civil Rights Movement is ignored to such an extent that a 1965 *Ebony* magazine cover showing the front line of the march from Selma to Montgomery labeled every man on the cover except Ralph Bunche, despite Bunche

[12] 12. John B. Kirby, "Ralph J. Bunche and Black Radical Thought in the 1930s," *Phylon (1960-)* 35, no. 2 (1974): pp. 129-141, https://doi.org/10.2307/274702, 140.
[13]14. Veena Dubal, "The New Racial Wage Code," *Harvard Law and Policy Review* 15, no. 2 (2021): pp. 511-549, https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3855094, 521.
[14]14. Ralph J. Bunche, "A Critique of New Deal Social Planning as It Affects Negroes," 62.
[15]15. Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (March 1, 2005): pp. 1233-1263, https://doi.org/10.2307/3660172, 1234.

being beside King with their arms linked.[16] While Bunche spent the 1960s focused on international issues at the United Nations, his mind and pen stayed focused on Black Americans. In 1968, the year Martin Luther King Jr. organized the Poor People's Campaign and was assassinated, Bunche felt more work had to be done for Black Americans and possessed reserved optimism about the next generation of activists. Bunche's solution to the problems facing Black Americans in 1968 was the same as it was in 1935: "A firm national commitment to move Black Americans from the periphery of American economic and political social life into its mainstream".[17] Bunche's explanation of racism in terms of socio-economics remained steady throughout his career and places his thought as the forerunner for the thinking that would flow through the civil rights movement and beyond.

Bunche's International Focus

Bunche's focus on the connection between national and international politics was another aspect of postwar liberalism that expressed itself in the Classical Civil Rights Era. In 1932, during the height of the Great Depression, Bunche traveled to France and French colonies in West Africa to research for his dissertation at Howard University. The trip did not distract Bunche from the problems faced by Black Americans but rather informed him on how Black Americans fit into the global structure of empire. Bunche was frustrated by claims made by Howard President Mordecai Johnson that he had gone "all the way to Africa to find a problem" and others who argued his dissertation should focus on a domestic issue. According to Bunche, Black scholars "must first develop a broad international background if his contribution to the

[16]16. Ralph J. Bunche, *Ralph J. Bunche: Selected Speeches and Writings*, ed. Charles P. Henry (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 259.
[17]17. Ralph J. Bunche, *Ralph J. Bunche: Selected Speeches and Writings*, ed. Charles P. Henry (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 298.

solution of our own domestic problems are to make much impress"[18]. Bunche discovered a nuanced understanding of imperialism with regards to Black Americans' positionality within an imperial core. Bunche left Africa with a feeling that decolonization would lead to the potential to establish "a new and better civilization" because Africa was underdeveloped and had lots of room to develop.[19] However, he did not support, as many communists did, an independent Black Belt in the United States which some saw as liberating a Black nation from its colonial overlords. For Bunche, the strategy of an independent Black Belt was another racially introverted attempt to better the lives of Black people that only served as a distraction from "the primary goal of changing the structure of the imperialist nations themselves".[20] Black Americans, as members of the imperial core, did not have the same potential for growth as African nations did. Rather, integrating Black Americans had the potential to improve the lives of people in colonized nations because the interests of Black Americans were tied to the interests of all the world's oppressed peoples. The nuanced understanding of the different positions in relation to White colonial powers between Black Americans and Africans would inform Bunche's views on World War II.

Bunche's Response to Isolationism Among Black Americans

Amidst a general feeling of isolationism in America many Black Americans voiced their own feelings of isolationism. World War I, a supposed war for democracy on the European continent, did little to bring improved conditions for Black Americans. Therefore, many thought a second war for democracy in Europe offered no benefit to Black Americans. In an open letter addressed to Uncle Sam from "your stepson, The Negro" a popular criticism that the United States expected Black Americans to enlist in the military while also not rewarding Black

[18] Charles P Henry, Ralph Bunche: Model Negro Or American Other? (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1999), https://hdl-handle-net.colorado.idm.oclc.org/2027/heb02847.0001.001, 65-6.
[19]18. Charles P Henry, Ralph Bunche: Model Negro Or American Other? (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1999), https://hdl-handle-net.colorado.idm.oclc.org/2027/heb02847.0001.001, 65-66, 68.
[20]19. Charles P Henry, Ralph Bunche: Model Negro Or American Other?, 79.

Americans for their contribution in these wars is expressed.[21] An article in *The Chicago Defender*, one of the largest Black newspapers in the country, argued that World War II was "not our [referring to Black Americans] war" but rather a war between "French and British imperialists" and "German imperialists".[22] The letter to Uncle Sam was published by the fraternity Omega Psi Phi and the piece on *The Chicago* Defender was written by a radical named Margaret Taylor Goss showing that isolationism was not kept within one ideological strain of Black American politics. The victory of World War I leading to little improvement in the lives of Black Americans led to a pessimistic view towards the idea that victory in World War II would benefit Black Americans. Bunche had to convince Black Americans that their fate was tied to the war in Europe.

In 1940 Bunche gave a speech titled *The Negros Stake in the World Crisis* where he traces Black isolationism to two "erroneous" views: It doesn't matter who wins World War II and Black Americans already live under fascism. In response to the first claim, Bunche highlighted how if the Axis powers were to triumph in World War II it would mean not only the elimination of the liberal values that the hopes of Black American's relied on but also dash the hopes of all persecuted peoples around the world. Bunche viewed liberalism as a positive force to be extended beyond the borders of The United States. Heunderstood the geopolitical shifts that would happen upon an Axis victory. Borrowing from Lincoln, Bunche stated that the world cannot exist "half Nazi and half free" implying that the imperialist ambitions of fascism would either bring the United States to war against the fascist powers or convert the United States into a fascist power itself.[23] Many of Bunche's contemporaries were too racially focused to see that fascism was inherently colonialist, specifically with regards to Japanese Fascism. By mapping

[21]20. Anonymous, “Open Letter to Uncle Sam,” *The Oracle*, March 1940.
[22]22. Margaret Taylor Goss, “A Negro Mother Looks at War,” *The Chicago Defender*, August 31, 1940.
[23]22. Ralph Bunche (December 6, 1940), https://oac.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb3s200722/?brand=oac4, 9,10.

America's racial schema onto global conflicts some black radicals, such as W.E.B. Du Bois, saw Japan as a non-white power revolting against European colonialism. W.E.B. Du Bois saw Japanese Fascism as an anti-colonialist movement aiming to "save the world for the darker races".[24] Bunche criticized this view as one that is "engrossed in the purely racial aspects" of world events. Bunche's understanding of fascism is an example of him dismissing simple racial explanations and carefully observing the structure of global phenomena.

To deal with the latter erroneous isolationist argument Bunche also argued that fascism and Jim Crow segregation were structurally different. Fascism is described as "efficient, rational and highly centralized" as opposed to the "chaotic" south. Bunche did recognize the threat of a fascist uprising in the south pointing to how white workers competing for jobs usually held by Black workers would drive fascist sentiment. However, he saw World War II as a way to fight against the south's fascist potentialities. American involvement in World War II served as an ideological battlefield between Fascism and Liberalism. Therefore, in Bunche's eyes Black Americans should support American involvement in World War II because "The Negro will face ominous dangers from…a Nazi victory in Europe–Less from the possibility of direct military invasion than from the penetration of the Nazi ideology".[25] Bunche understood how ideologies could spread between nations when they share similar economic conditions. In his rebuke of isolationism Bunche emphasizes the link between domestic and international politics. Healso emphasizes the economic and structural causes and nature of segregation and Fascism. Both Bunche's emphasis on the interconnectedness of national and international issues and his socioeconomic view of the world would serve as the basis for postwar liberalism. These postwar values would be intensified and expressed in the Classical Civil Rights Movement. Bunche's

[24]23. Paul Alkebulan, *The African American Press in World War II: Toward Victory at Home and Abroad* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014), https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucb/reader.action?docID=1680375, 34.
[25]24. Ralph Bunche (December 6, 1940), 7, 12-3, 10.

internationalist worldview was expressed most notably during the Classical Civil Rights Era in Martin Luther King's speech *Beyond Vietnam*.

Bunche in History

Throughout the 1930's Bunche was part of a generation of thinkers that laid the ideological framework for international liberalism. Therefore, it is logical that Bunche would participate in internationalist institutions such as The United Nations. Bunche did not move from a radical position to a more liberal one; rather he always believed in an internationalist liberalism that only ascended after World War II. Liberalism developed rapidly in Bunche's early career in a direction more congruent with Bunche's worldview. Yet the standard narrative of Bunche's life is that his thought grew more centrist as his life went on. The premier biography of Bunche, *Ralph Bunche: Model Negro or American Other*, states that Bunche's "radical views of the thirties had moved to the center by the forties".[26] The narrative that Bunche matured into a centrist is not just one that appeared after his death, but one that defined his public image during his life.

Throughout his life Bunche became a symbol of international liberalism and that racial barriers in America had been broken down. He represented "that the Wilsonian vision of international order might be redeemed, shorn of racial condescension, and that the "double V" sought by A. Philip Randolph and W.E.B. Dubois after World War I might actually be achieved". Bunche, as a representative of the United States at the United Nations not only represented the international character of the United Nations but the multiracial character of the United States. Bunche served as an "icon of possibility" for Black Americans and his success was used as evidence that "the color line had been erased and that America's newfound leadership" on the global stage would lead to a more inclusive democracy domestically[27]. Although Bunche spoke

[26]25. Charles P Henry, Ralph Bunche: Model Negro Or American Other?, 9.
[27]26. Ben Keppel, *The Work of Democracy: Ralph Bunche, Kenneth B. Clark, Lorraine Hansberry and the Cultural Politics of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1995), 61, 65.

optimistically about the United States, he did not view the color line as being erased. In his 1949 essay *Nothing is Impossible for the Negro* Bunche argues that Black Americans should embrace their American identity, but he does not go so far to say that racism does not exist. Bunche sums up his views on the limitations on Black social mobility saying, "nothing is easy for the Negro in America, neither is anything impossible."[28] While Bunche may have grown more optimistic throughout his career his view of race as a social construct with material implications never changed.

Bunche's economic worldview and international outlook made him a forerunner of postwar internationalist liberalism. The Great Depression and the New Deal served as sights of critique where Bunche displayed his socioeconomic understanding of the world. World War II gave him an opportunity to stress the importance of international affairs to Black Americans. At these crucial moments of Bunche's early career, he shows his international liberalism and his intersectional understanding of race and class that would serve as the basis for his thinking throughout his life. Bunche's thought did not centralize; rather liberalism began to express itself in a way more aligned with Bunche's pre-existing views. Bunche is connected to the Classical Civil Rights Movement by his presence at many of its key demonstrations and by his belief in the socioeconomic nature of racism and the inseparability of Black Americans struggle from other struggles of oppressed peoples globally.

[28]27. Ralph J. Bunche, *Ralph J. Bunche: Selected Speeches and Writings*, 259.

Bibliography

Anonymous. “Open Letter to Uncle Sam.” *The Oracle*, March 1940.

Alkebulan, Paul. *The African American Press in World War II: Toward Victory at Home and Abroad*. *ProQuest*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014. https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucb/reader.action?docID=1680375.

Bates, Beth Tompkins. “A New Crowd Challenges the Agenda of the Old Guard in the NAACP, 1933-1941.” The American Historical Review 102, no. 2 (April 1997): 340–77. https://doi.org/10.2307/2170828.

Bunche, Ralph. *A World View of Race*. Clarivate. Associates in Negro Folk Education, 1936. https://colorado.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C4391120?account_id=14503&usage_group_id=96122.

Bunche, Ralph J. “A Critique of New Deal Social Planning as It Affects Negroes.” *The Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 1 (January 1936): 59–65. https://doi.org/10.2307/2292355.

Bunche, Ralph J. *Ralph J. Bunche: Selected Speeches and Writings*. Edited by Charles P. Henry. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1995.

Bunche, Ralph. “The Negro's Stake in the World Crisis.” *Association of Colleges and Secondary School for Negros*. Speech, December 6, 1940. https://oac.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb3s200722/?brand=oac4.

Dubal, Veena. “The New Racial Wage Code.” *Harvard Law and Policy Review* 15, no. 2 (2021): 511–49. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3855094.

Gilmore, Glenda Elizabeth. *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919-1950*. New York, NY: Norton, 2009. https://archive.org/details/defyingdixieradi00gilm.

Goss, Margaret Taylor. “A Negro Mother Looks at War.” *The Chicago Defender*, August 31, 1940.

Hall, Jacquelyn Dowd. “The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past.” *Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (March 1, 2005): 1233–63. https://doi.org/10.2307/3660172.

Henry, Charles P. *Ralph Bunche: Model Negro Or American Other?*. New York: New York University Press, 1999. https://hdl-handle-net.colorado.idm.oclc.org/2027/heb02847.0001.001. EPUB.

Keppel, Ben. *The Work of Democracy: Ralph Bunche, Kenneth B. Clark, Lorraine Hansberry and the Cultural Politics of Race*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1995.

Kirby, John B. “Ralph J. Bunche and Black Radical Thought in the 1930s.” *Phylon (1960-)* 35, no. 2 (1974): 129–41. https://doi.org/10.2307/274702.

This Page is Intentionally Left Blank