The symmetry of form attainable in pure fiction cannot so readily be achieved in a narration essentially having less to do with fable than with fact. Truth uncompromisingly told will always have its ragged edges.

—Herman Melville

The narrator of Billy Budd, Sailor thus warns his readers not to expect any degree of neatness, narrative or otherwise, in the conclusion of his “Inside Narrative.” The close of the novella, with its three distinct endings, certainly warrants the narrator’s disclaimer, but Melville’s words describe much more than the close of his last work: they acutely describe the close of his authorial career. In 1851 with the publication of Moby-Dick, Melville abandoned symmetry of form in his fiction in favor of a search for truth—the truth of human nature, of man’s relations with the divine, of man’s relations with others. Melville searches most vehemently for these truths in two tales of intrigue at sea: Moby-Dick and Billy Budd, Sailor. In each of these sea-stories, Melville sacrifices symmetry of narrative form to try to arrive at truth uncompromisingly told and understood. As Melville searches for truth in these texts, each undergoes a powerful change in narrator and narrative structure. Ishmael, the first person narrator of Moby-Dick, almost entirely disappears as other characters engage in soliloquy. He also presents interactions he could not possibly have observed first hand. In Billy Budd, the story’s unnamed inside narrator limits his commentary, endangers his credibility, and ends the work with a republished naval chronicle article and a poem written by Billy’s crewmates.

Both of these stories take place in the societal microcosm of ships at sea and both involve intrigue and the darker side of human nature. An obsessive, possibly mad captain leads the Pequod in Moby-Dick, while a rumored mutiny, a murder and a subsequent hanging stun the crew of the Bellipotent in Billy Budd. And yet Melville never quickly or assuredly condemns one side of the intrigue as evil and upholds the other as good. Plot developments occur in gray instead of black and white as Melville searches for truth in every situation and finds great complexities. In both tales, Melville reflects and explores these complexities of truth by altering his narrative structure and utilizing multiple narrators and narrative forms.

In her essay, “Melville’s Quarrel with Fiction,” critic Nina Baym argues that with Mardi, Melville first transformed from “entertainer to truth teller.” Baym argues that Melville continued to squabble with fiction and its (in)ability to convey truth throughout his career as he struggled to reconcile his need for sustenance with his desire to explore deeper moral and philosophical ground. She contends that Melville’s quarrel and his search for truth play themselves out through his manipulation of “fictive modes” and genres. Baym aptly describes and characterizes Melville’s continual inclusion of truth as an important force in his later works, but she largely ignores all that Melville manipulates within his fictitious plots and characters to arrive at truth. She fails to adequately explain his “fictive mode” methods.

I argue that Melville’s use of multiple narrators and narrative strategies allows him to explore truth by establishing sets of multiple perspectives on single issues—in Moby-Dick and Billy Budd, issues of intrigue at sea. Melville’s use of multiple narrative strategies within a single, longer prose work is largely unique to these two of his tales, both of which were composed as his literary career had faltered and failed with critics and readers alike. Melville’s early popular works, and early attempts at popular works, shun narrative exploration and focus less on abstract truths of man and more on descriptive truths of travelogue. However, only five years after bursting onto the popular literature scene with the straightforward travel narrative Typee, Melville firmly abandoned the sphere of the merely entertaining with the amalgamation of genre and narrative styles that is Moby-Dick.

In his “Introduction” to New Essays on Moby-Dick, Richard H. Brodhead calls Captain Ahab “one of the few American contributions to that handful of resonant
names—like Hamlet, or Lear, or Oedipus, or Faust—that seems to sum up some fact of human potential and to bare the contours of some exemplary human fate.” Brodhead fails to specify what potential exactly Ahab embodies that enables him to bare his exemplary fate of failed vengeance, but I would argue that Ahab’s potential for exposing truth gives him such narrative might and literary clout. Ahab possesses the human potential to avenge, and through him Melville explores the truth and reality of Ahab’s desires, means, and end. Melville conducts these explorations via changes in narrator and narrative strategy, and as he changes narrative perspective he repeatedly examines both the true power of a desire for vengeance and the true nature of man’s relations with the divine.

After Ahab’s appearance on the Quarter-Deck in Chapter 36, Ahab’s actions and objectives drive the majority of Moby-Dick’s (often interrupted) plot, and Melville affords multiple characters opportunities to reflect on Ahab’s human potential and what it means for the fate of the Pequod and its crew. Ishmael first shares his perspective on the true state of Ahab in “The Quarter-Deck,” and then Melville makes the first major narrative change in the novel when Ishmael disappears nearly entirely from the next three chapters. Ahab is the first to give a soliloquy, and in the next chapter, Starbuck takes the narrative reigns and presents a soliloquy largely focused on deciphering Ahab. At the conclusion of Starbuck’s narrative, Stubb begins his own with Ishmael continually absent except for a few stage directions. In these four chapters, Melville utilizes four narrators all focused at least in part, upon the same enigma: Captain Ahab and his obsession. Each narrator presents a different perspective on Ahab’s human potential for truth.

Ishmael prefaces this trio of soliloquies with a brief narrative, but he does so from a unique perspective for a first person narrator—from a third person objective perspective. He speaks of the mariners and seamen whom Ahab addresses abstractly in the third person as though he were not one of them, even though Ishmael reports that “the entire ship’s company were assembled.” Ishmael says, “the company…with curious and not wholly unapprehensive faces were eyeing him.” Ishmael never uses “we,” “us,” or even “I” in the chapter and does not include himself in the company even though he is clearly a member. Though Melville leaves Ishmael in charge, he revokes his first person privileges. As a result, this first close look into Ahab’s obsession becomes less subjective and more objective. As Melville hunts for the truth in Ahab, he does not trust the exploration to one character’s first-hand impressions, but instead utilizes a suddenly removed third person navigating a sea of characters’ reactions.

With “Sunset,” the chapter after “The Quarter Deck,” Melville makes even greater alterations in his narrative strategies and grapples to find the truth of Ahab’s potential by zeroing in on one perspective. Ishmael disappears entirely from the chapter except for the presence of two sets of stage directions. Ahab takes the role of first person narrator as he delivers a soliloquy. Ishmael excludes himself from the scene as he specifies in his stage directions that Ahab is “sitting alone, and gazing out” as he delivers the soliloquy, and Melville uses Ahab’s narration to explore Ahab’s desire for vengeance as one based on justice, divine duty, and his personal power.

Throughout the soliloquy, Ahab muses on his quest for vengeance through the use of complicated metaphors and metonyms. He bases one of his most powerful symbolic representations of his quest for revenge on the “Iron Crown of Lombardy.” Ahab muses, “Is, then, the crown too heavy that I wear? this Iron Crown of Lombardy.” The Iron Crown of Lombardy was used to corone rulers of the Holy Roman Empire and is said to contain an iron nail originally used to crucify Christ. Ahab’s choice of the Iron Crown to represent his burden yields great insight into the captain’s perspective on his quest for vengeance. Just as Holy Roman Emperors saw the Iron Crown, Ahab considers his quest both noble and ordained and bestowed by God. Ahab does not see his hunt as selfish, obsessive, or spiteful, but as a crown and responsibility given to him rather than taken up. When Melville has Ahab use this metonymy to symbolize his desire for vengeance, he considers whether Ahab’s true potential is one of god-ordained justice. He switches narrators to examine the world according to Ahab and to ascertain whether Ahab’s world is indeed truth.

With the second half of “Sunset,” Melville builds on Ahab’s invocation of the gods in the first half of his soliloquy, and he begins to question another ultimate truth: what is man’s proper relation to the gods? In the first half of his soliloquy, Ahab seems to draw justification for his vengeance via his perceived role as an agent of the divine, but his attitude drastically changes. As Ahab continues in his musings, his consideration of his quest shifts to an all-out indictment of and challenge to the gods. Ahab explores his relation to the divine as he makes a prediction: “I now prophesy that I will dismember my dismembere.” With this prediction, Ahab usurps power over his life and situation from the gods and Melville begins to explore the potential free will has in overturning any divine plan. Soon Ahab’s soliloquy switches to an apostrophic challenge to the gods. Ahab shouts, “Come forth from behind your cotton bags!…Swerve me? ye cannot swerve me, else ye swerve yourselves! man has ye there,” and Melville considers Ahab’s perspective on the truth of man’s power over the gods and their will.

Melville ends Chapter 37 with the end of Ahab’s soliloquy, and he begins Chapter 38 with a fresh set of stage directions and a fresh narrator, Starbuck. Melville examines Ahab’s take on truth in “Sunset,” and with “Dusk” (Chapter 38) Melville considers the merits of
Starbuck’s view. While symbolism characterizes Ahab’s words, Starbuck remains considerably more direct. He characterizes Ahab before the close of the first sentence as a “madman” and additionally calls him an “insufferable sting” and a “horrible old man.” Utilizing Starbuck as a narrator allows Melville to explore the true nature of Ahab’s potential for and obsession with vengeance from the perspective of (most significantly) a religious person, and Starbuck takes a unique stance on the immoral and impious nature of Ahab’s desire. Starbuck’s objections to Ahab’s power and monomania rest almost entirely on the deeper issue of man’s relation to the divine. Critics Hershel Parker and Harrison Hayford deftly argue that Starbuck views Ahab’s obsession with revenge as “blasphemous because Ahab is usurping a privilege of God: ‘Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord’ (Romans 12:9).” Melville casts Starbuck as the devout New England Protestant, and he perhaps best reflects this role when in his soliloquy he proclaims, “His heaven-insulting purpose, God may wedge aside.” In calling Ahab’s quest for revenge “his heaven-insulting purpose,” Starbuck casts Ahab’s object not as just and ordained, but as sinful, selfish, and irreverent. Melville then makes the second half of Starbuck’s sentence an appeal to the greater power of God and consequently considers a different take on the man/god relationship. Starbuck defers to and calls on the greater power of God and accepts that as man he possesses little power over Ahab. With Ahab as narrator, Melville considers the possibility that human potential can match and surpass that of the gods; when Starbuck acts as narrator, Melville examines the potential need for deference to the gods.

After Starbuck’s turn as narrator, Melville provides yet another soliloquy on Ahab and vengeance, this one offered by second mate Stubb. Stubb considers the events of the quarter-deck and says, “I’ve been thinking over it ever since, and that ha, ha’s the final consequence. Why so? Because a laugh’s the wisest, easiest answer to all that’s queer; and come what will, one comfort’s always left unbating.” Unlike Ahab and Starbuck’s thoughts, Stubb’s considerations lead him to a total dismissal of Ahab’s power. Stubb revels in the thought that human potential has no power over the events of the universe. With Stubb’s assertion that predestined fate will always trump the free will of mere men, Melville considers yet another take on the truth of the power of vengeance: that power simply does not exist. With this conclusion, Melville also considers another answer to the question of man’s proper relation to the divine, for Stubb comes to the resounding conclusion that men and their desires are mere pawns to the fateful power of the gods.

Baym asserts that “[t]ruth, in Melville’s later serious formulation, refers to the inspired articulation of intuited general laws about ultimate reality.” Melville certainly explores the truth of vengeance and man’s relation to the divine in Ahab’s quarter-deck speech and the three swift, distinctive narrator and perspective changes, but at the end of Stubb’s soliloquy, Melville seems to have not yet reached, or at least not yet revealed, any one articulation of ultimate reality. This situation changes with the end of the chase, the destruction of the Pequod, the death of the majority of the crew, and Ishmael’s epilogue.

In closing the novel with Ishmael’s fateful escape from death, Melville seems to side with Stubb and count on the truth that when it comes to man and the divine, “it’s all predestinated.” In the paragraph in which Ishmael narrates his survival after the wreck of Pequod, no less than nine counts of extraordinarily good fortune befall him. He replaces Fedallah as Ahab’s bowsman, falls just astern when thrown from the whale-boat, reaches the vortex of the sinking ship when it is mere a “creamy pool,” has the bubble of the vortex burst as he reaches it, receives a “coffin life-buoy shot lengthwise from the sea,” floats on a “soft and dirge-like main,” and meets only sharks with seemingly “padlocks on their mouths” and “savage sea-hawks with sheathed beaks” until the Rachel found him, “another orphan.” With this extraordinary blend of good luck and unlikely happenings, Melville clearly intends Ishmael’s survival and its means to be marks of the divine. Melville decidedly advocates the role of fate and predestination in man’s relation to the divine.

3

Billy Budd, Sailor’s fixation on the truth begins on the title page with the novella’s subtitle: “An Inside Narrative.” Thus from the very beginning, Melville promises a more accurate and factual look at the story of the Bellipotent’s “Handsome Sailor” by virtue of the telling coming from within rather than without. The narrator never specifies what makes his narrative “Inside,” but nearing the end of his work he promises his reader, “How it fared with the Handsome Sailor during the year of the Great Mutiny has been faithfully given.” Like Ishmael, throughout the course of his novel, the unnamed third person narrator of Billy Budd reports conversations he could not have heard personally. He is largely omniscient and freely discourses on the personal thoughts and emotions of Claggart, Billy, Vere, and the Bellipotent’s crew as a whole. Very significantly, though, the narrator ends the novella not with his own omniscient, inside commentary but with a reprinted naval chronicle news article and an edition of a poem Billy’s crewmates wrote and published to commemorate him.

The narrator promises the reader that these “sequel[s]” are merely the “ragged edges of a truth uncompromisingly told,” but both the news article and the poem present as truth two pictures directly in conflict with the “Inside Narrative” of the narrator. The narrator rebukes neither document, and he offers little commentary other than providing the historical context of each. Melville thus ends a narrative supposedly built on supplying factual and
universal truth with two sources denying its truth. The critic and careful reader cannot help but wonder, in the words of Donald Yannella in his “Introduction” to New Essays on Billy Budd, “What was the truth [Melville] was trying to convey?”

By the time Melville died leaving Billy Budd unfinished, he was considerably more disillusioned than he was while penning Moby-Dick. Melville had lived through the Civil War and Reconstruction and had suffered the failure of his masterpiece and his literary career. With Moby-Dick, Melville used multiple narrative strategies and perspectives to explore and eventually arrive at truth, but when Melville tried to do the same in Billy Budd, the nearest he got to truth was the concession that, in Baym’s words, “intuited general laws about ultimate reality” might not exist. As John Wenke argues in his critical essay “Melville’s Indirection: Billy Budd, the Genetic Text, and the ‘Deadly Space Between,'” Melville continually crafted and recrafted, cast, and recast the story and characters of Billy Budd. Wenke explains, “Melville’s shifting intentions, and the words that reflect them, emerge as part of a complex activity of trial and transformation. Indeed, over five slow years, Melville was rereading and remaking a text that intrigued, haunted, and even baffled him.”

Like Ahab hunting the White Whale, Melville was hunting truth, and he never captured it.

Close readings of Billy Budd’s final two chapters and the narrative changes they contain reflect the lack of and undermining of the truth of the “Inside Narrative.” In his preface to the naval chronicle article that serves as the centerpiece of Chapter 29, the narrator specifies that the article was published in a chronicle that was “an authorized weekly publication.” He says the article was “doubtless written in good faith, though the medium, partly rumor, through which the facts must have reached the writer served to deflect and in part falsify them.” Though with these words the narrator attempts to brand the article false, a careful reader uses this preface to question the authority of the narrator as much as the authority of the naval chronicle. The narrator specifies that the naval chronicle was “an authorized weekly publication,” but he never reveals so much about his own credibility or role. He presents himself as the ultimate myth debunker in the story of Billy Budd, but he never alludes to his sources of information or his investigative methods. The narrator additionally calls the article “written in good faith” just a chapter after he deems his own account “faithfully given.” The narrator’s tying of “faith” to his own supposedly true account and an account he deems false asks the question of how much “faith” is really worth in matters of truth.

The naval chronicle article goes on to present characterization of Claggart and Billy that clearly contradict the portraits painted by the narrator in the earlier parts of the narrative. Billy appears as “one William Budd,” a mutinous, criminal “ringleader” of “extreme depravity” who “vindictively stabbed” (rather than hit) and killed Claggart. Claggart is portrayed as a “man respectable and discreet” with a “strong patriotic impulse.” Like the narrator, the article presents no sources for its content, but it presents each and every detail as a careful, faithful recitation of fact. Some editorializing certainly occurs in adjective choice and characterization, but it exists in the article in no greater a degree than it does in narrator’s earlier words. The narrator does not dwell on the article’s supposed inaccuracies. Instead, he specifies that it “is all that hitherto has stood in human record to attest what manner of men respectively were John Claggart and Billy Budd.” With these final words on the article, Melville only further endangers his narrator’s claims to the possession of truth. If this article were all that existed and Claggart, Budd, and Vere have all since died, how did the narrator come into the actual truth of his narrative? Melville hacks away at his narrator’s credibility and leaves his reader intrigued, haunted, and baffled regarding the truth of Billy and Claggart.

Even without the testimonies of Capt. Vere, Billy, and Claggart, the crew of the Bellipotent survives to tell the tale. However, as the final chapter of Billy Budd proves, their rendition of events differs not only from that of the naval chronicles but also from the narrator’s version. In the narrator’s prologue to “Billy in the Darbies,” the crew’s reaction to the proceedings, he exercises his omniscience in his characterizing the knowledge and emotions of Billy’s crewmates. The narrator indiscriminately clumps them all together and says, “Ignorant though they were of the secret facts of the tragedy… they instinctively felt that Billy was a sort of man as incapable of mutiny as of wilfull murder.” The narrator’s earlier story corroborates the crew’s opinion of Billy’s inabilities to mutiny and commit murder, but significantly, the crewmates’ poem makes no reference to Billy’s guilt or innocence or the situation that forced Billy into the darbies. Though both the narrator and the naval chronicle concern themselves with the “facts of the tragedy,” the crewmates’ poem is based on imagined details and presentation of “the fresh young image of the Handsome Sailor.” In ending his novella with this change in focus, Melville seems to abandon his hunt for truth in the events aboard the Bellipotent and instead settles merely with a re-imagining of Billy.

A first-person representation of Billy narrates the poem, and the lines work to illustrate Billy’s grand naiveté and good nature beyond all other facts. The lines present Billy as humble and unselfish: “Good of the Chaplain to enter Lone Bay / And down on his marrow-bones here and pray / For the likes just o’ me, Billy Budd.” Billy’s crewmates are also sure to cast his naïveté: “But Donald he has promised to stand by the plank; / So I’ll shake a friendly hand ere I sink.” When Melville switches narrators and narrative strategies in this chapter, he uses the
crewmate’s poem and first person Billy to largely support the narrator’s earlier characterization of Billy.

Nevertheless, Melville’s narrative changes provide important insight into his search for truth. While the narrator concerns himself with the “truth” of the factual details and events of Billy’s time on the Bellipotent, the scene of “Billy in the Darbies” is completely imagined. Melville ends both the chapter and the entire novella with the crew’s imagining. Melville offers no grand summations or universal articulations in the poem or its preface. Instead, with the last line of the poem, Billy lies somewhere between human sleep in the brig and eternal sleep at the bottom of the sea, and his guilt or innocence remains unaddressed. There are no questions of justice, authority, or morality and there is no grappling for truth. Instead, Billy and Melville have given up and are quiet.

4

In his essay “Moby-Dick as Sacred Text,” critic Lawrence Buell proclaims that Melville “like[d] to think of his vocation as truth telling rather than tale telling.”\(^{35}\) Examinations of Moby-Dick and Billy Budd testify to the truth of Buell’s argument and to Melville’s own obsession with truth. As Melville explored the truth of the power of vengeance and man’s relation to the divine in Moby-Dick, he deftly changed narrators to use perspective in his considerations, and with Ahab’s destruction and Ishmael’s survival, he crafted his masterpiece’s ending to reflect his conclusions. With Billy Budd, Sailor, Melville’s take on truth and its very existence seems to have changed. He uses the same literary strategy in altering narrator to explore truth, but Melville’s presentation of the naval chronicle article only casts doubt on his narrator’s earlier avowed truth. In ending the novella with the imaginative poem by Billy’s crewmates, Melville seems to question whether universal truths are worthwhile or even possible. The novella and Melville’s “vocation of truth telling” ultimately end with doubt, irresolution, and the death of both Billy and Melville.

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Endnotes


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5 Ibid., 141.

6 Ibid., 143.

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Bolivian Agriculture Landscapes: A Body of Art Work

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After five years of college in the northern hemisphere, I return to South America, Bolivia, the country I grew up in and have missed dearly. I am here to capture and document my experience traveling through mountainous agriculture fields for a body of artwork I will later create upon my return. Accompanying me are my family, a smart camera, some pencils, and a few sketchbooks. My family has agreed to replicate the countryside excursions we used to take years before, which consisted of a twenty-minute drive in any direction, followed by a steep ascent, closed curves, and an array of breathtaking landscapes.

Within a week I set forth on my first trip to Corani, a small town 35 minutes northeast of the city I used to live in, Cochabamba. The roadside views on the way are spectacular, filled with small fields of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and habas (a type of broad bean). Within 20 minutes I snap dozens of pictures of amorphously shaped parcels that crawl over and around Andean mountainsides (Figure 1). The weather is perfect with not a cloud in sight, and the air is crisp and cool. It is winter and many of the fields are a dull brown-beige, but there are a few green patches that seem to have completely ignored the season and gone off on their own time. The oat fields are mature and ready to be reaped; they dapple the slopes with bright gold and mirror the Andean sunshine. An occasional hum of an old truck fades in and out of the crevices of the mountain, and a solitary hornero bird softly interrupts the timeless silence. After spending two hours here, I feel that I have taken in and been taken by every aspect of this wonderful place.

I set out on my second journey to Corani a week later, and this time I only take my pencil and sketchbook with me. I want to approach this trip with a new method and find something different. With the car in motion and no smart camera to capture the view rapidly, I need to keep my sketches as simple as possible. For every site seen I need to lock an image into short-term memory, take my eyes away from the window, and sketch it in less than ten seconds. This means that I need to choose what to draw because I will inevitably miss a few sites. Of course, I ask for the car to be stopped here and there, but after the tenth stop I sense that I might be walking the rest of the thirty miles. I choose to sketch sites that draw my attention: a field with five wheat bundles in a row; another field with two grazing llamas and three cows; a conglomeration of fields, ten or so, stuck together like puzzle pieces and plastered on the rising mountain surface. I find myself attracted to the same objects I used to count out the window when I was a child. These objects later appear in my artwork, such as “Mountain Fields” (Figure 2), where the agriculture fields are isolated from everything else and topple on each other making their way up the page.

Figure 1: Haba fields on the way to Corani.

Figure 2: Mountain Fields, 2008. Watercolor. Pencil, color pencil.
Twenty minutes later we stop aside Lake Corani. I sit on a rock at the foot of the water and sketch the view in front of me. There is a small breeze that stirs the wild hay on the bank, making it whistle softly. A faint smell of damp soil and cow manure rises to my nostrils. I see parcels across the lake that are terraced and follow the contour of the mountain. I make sketches and quick note of these sensations as they come, and then, all of a sudden and with no warning, everything ceases and disappears. No sight, no sound, and no smell are present, only a damp and dense whiteness. An entire moment filled with it all vanishes rapidly from my eyes. The fog has snuck around the corner of the lake, and it is so thick that it seems there is nothing else present but me and it. I feel as if I were standing on a white empty canvas that holds infinite dimensions. Quickly, I write down what has just happened, and after a few minutes the fog lightens and reveals patches here and there of the landscape. Agriculture fields seem to float by as the vast white emptiness moves along. These cause such an impression on me that it manifests through work later on. “Corani Studies II” (Figure 3) use the white of the canvas as an infinite spacious background where the agricultural landmasses contour the surface of a mountain that is not present. This effect gives the sensation that the landmasses are indeed floating and can exist alone.

My third trip is the most exciting and influential in my work. This time I am renting a two passenger airplane and flying over the town of Corani with my camera. I am interested in getting a bird’s eye view of the landscapes I have been studying so far. A different perspective on my subject will open a new window of possibilities for interpretation. After a rough take-off and fifteen minutes of flight, I can see the beautiful Lake Corani ahead. The fields beneath me look small, but I can see more than I had before. They do not end on the hill next to the main road, but carpet the next and the following hills. Some oddly shaped fields near the lake form beautiful mosaics of green, yellow, and purple. Further away, on the hill tops, the fields are sparser. I notice something interesting about these last ones: their irrigation channels are dug out over a pattern of older channels. I can see a set of lines that cut into the field from one end to another, and underneath these, a fainter set of lines from an older field. These two sets cross each other almost perpendicularly. The visual effect of this type of land use process, however, is astonishing, and I take it into my work to create a separate branch of drawings called transparency studies. These studies consist of three to five layers of pen drawings on tracing paper that overlap each other to form one piece. The resulting image is a two-dimensional pattern that is pulled into a third spatial dimension by the depth of the papers, as can be seen in “Untitled I” (Figure 4).

Another feature that is used heavily in my work is the colorful pattern taken from an indigenous textile called aguayo. These textiles can be found in many countries of South America, but their colors and patterns are unique to each area. During my trips I notice that farmers, especially women, use a colorful aguayo to carry their goods wrapped on their backs. I see many of these during my trip and I feel it would only be fair to include them in my work. I use their unique color pattern to give my field drawings a sense of origin and location—in other words, to make my fields Bolivian. “Aguayo Corani Field I” (Figure 5) imitates the bright stripes and small patterns of aguayos I have purchased during my trip and they strongly contrast with the dull, winter-colored fields.

![Figure 3: Corani Studies II, 2008. Watercolor, pencil, color pencil.](image)

![Figure 4: Untitled I, 2009. Pen, tracing paper.](image)
During my childhood I have always thought of my country as the land with the most beautiful landscapes. One can appreciate its splendor in the magnificent Andes Mountains, salt flats of Uyuni, Tiahuanacu and Inca ruins, and Lake Titicaca. And, although my future works will probably make their way through these amazing wonders, I based this project on the simpler mountain countryside because this area is precious to me. I have traveled through this place so many times as a child, and I’ve never ceased to be intrigued and amazed by its humble beauty.

**Figure 5**: Aguayo Corani Field 1, 2009. Watercolor, color pencil, pencil.
When the German radical leader Friedrich Hecker immigrated to St. Louis, Missouri in November 1848, following a failed attempt at establishing a democratic republic in his home state of Baden during the revolutions in the German states that year, he described St. Louis as an up-and-coming city with “a colorful mix of people, where the Indian, the Negro, the Greek, the lively Southerner, and the calculating Yankee all flock together.”

While social and political upheaval spurred Germans like Hecker to immigrate to the United States, many also sought refuge in America to escape poverty in their native states. In fact, from 1840 to 1860, about 90% of all German emigrants settled in the United States, nearly 1.4 million in all. The growth of the city of St. Louis coincided with this wave of German immigration. Between 1840 and 1850, the total population of St. Louis grew almost five-fold to 77,860 inhabitants, making it the sixth most populous city in the United States at midcentury. Over half of these inhabitants were foreign-born, most with German roots.

Influenced by their oppressed social, political, and economic experiences in the German states and by the American democratic tradition, St. Louis Germans emerged as a politically active community by the 1850s. Since German-Americans made up almost one-third of the city’s population in 1850, their party affiliation and support for state and federal politicians had major implications for Missouri politics. Although certainly not united on the political front, many St. Louis Germans backed Missouri Senator Thomas Hart Benton and his state faction of the Democratic Party, which opposed the spread of slavery. However, with the decline of Benton as a viable state and national politician in the mid 1850s, Germans’ political sympathies gradually shifted toward the free-soil movement, and ultimately the Republican Party, led locally by Benton’s protégé Frank P. Blair, Jr. By 1860, St. Louis was the banner city of Republicanism in a pro-slavery border state because the tenets of the Republican Party were more ideologically and practically compatible with the German-American vision of the United States as a democratic country that safeguarded the socio-economic advancement of free whites.

Aiding this transition in political affiliation, the Anzeiger des Westens, the leading German-language newspaper in St. Louis, and its prominent editor Heinrich Börnstein mobilized his St. Louis “landsmen” by appealing to their German roots and the American promise of freedom. Furthermore, German immigrants settled in significant numbers across St. Louis, and did not concentrate in a distinct neighborhood in the city. Hence, in addition to the Anzeiger, various social organizations fostered ethnic cohesiveness and encouraged political discourse.

Ultimately, these ubiquitous social influences contributed to St. Louis Germans’ widespread activism on behalf of the Union during the Civil War. Also, since many Germans immigrated to the United States for economic reasons, joining the Union war effort offered direct and indirect economic benefits, such as bounties, government contracts, and protection of the free white labor market. Nonetheless, the German element in St. Louis was not monolithic. As varied as Germans’ reasons for immigrating to St. Louis were, so were their political and economic motivations once they arrived in the city. While some acted fervently political, others appeared apolitical; while some firmly established themselves as urban residents, others only sought to earn enough money in the city to purchase land and raise a farm in the countryside. The purpose of this paper is to show how the various political and economic interests of German immigrants to St. Louis led them to support the preservation of the Union during the Civil War. Furthermore, far-reaching interpersonal relationships, German social organizations that fostered ethnic cohesiveness, and the Republican ideology expressed by state politicians were key in eliciting St. Louis Germans’ devotion to the Union cause.

First, it is crucial to examine conditions in the German states in order to understand why so many Germans came to America, and especially to St. Louis. Although Germans left from a multitude of states, the emigration waves between 1840 and 1860 hit particular regions especially hard. The southwest German states of Württemberg, Baden, and the Palatinate, the Prussian provinces of Westphalia and the Rhineland, and the Hesse-Cassel region furnished a significant number of emigrants to the United States during that time. Affected by rural overpopulation, fluctuating grain prices, high land prices, and increasing industrialization without much protection for laborers, the lower middle class—namely farmers, agricultural workers, industrial laborers, artisans, and journeymen—and the peasantry made up the majority of German refugees to America. The available land in many German states could no longer support families who needed to engage in both agriculture and protoindustry in order to survive. For example, international competition, primarily from Britain, and the rise of mechanized linen production caused rural linen-weaving—Westphalia’s primary protoindustry—to decline beginning in the late 1830s, leading many to emigrate in the mid-1840s. Furthermore, bad harvests, such as the blights of potatoes and Prussian grains, beginning in 1845, caused food prices to soar. Compared to July 1845, the price of potatoes increased 425%, the prices of rye and wheat increased about 250%, and the price of barley increased 300% in the Prussian Rhineland.
in July 1847. Concomitantly, wages remained sticky, while unemployment and underemployment increased primarily due to growing industrialization. Furthermore, numerous bread riots and the Berlin Potato Revolution in April, during which a hungry mob pillaged a Berlin market place and stoned the royal palace of the king’s brother, characterized the spring and summer of 1847. Depraved economic conditions played a prominent role in the revolutionary upheaval in 1848 and 1849, which further contributed to German emigration.

As market failures made personal and institutional bankruptcies unavoidable, Germans expected their respective state governments to respond with protective measures to curtail the widespread economic hardship. However, instead of fulfilling Germans’ expectations of vigorous intervention on their subjects’ behalf, states reacted complacently and with violent repression, such as when Prussian police forces beat back rioters during the Potato Revolution. Spurred by the economic crisis, liberal-minded Germans also opposed unresponsive state governments and called for sweeping political reforms. By March 1848, revolution, albeit unevenly, had spread throughout the German states, most prevalent in urban areas and regions in transition from protoindustrialization to full-scale industrialization.

Unlike a year earlier, state governments did not repress large-scale demonstrations and popular petitions. Instead, in what has been described by one historian as a “collective loss of nerve,” rulers conceded to the popular will and promised reform. Elections for the German national parliament in May 1848, in which every independent adult male could vote, became the proving ground for reformers. Assembled in Frankfurt’s Paulskirche, several positions were evident. Among the liberal-minded Germans, liberals distinguished themselves from democrats. Generally, liberals were not explicitly against the monarchical system, but they endorsed constitutional rule and representative legislative bodies elected not via universal manhood suffrage, but via a minority of men of intelligence and wealth. In contrast, democrats can be described as more radical liberals, often favoring universal manhood suffrage and popular sovereignty over monarchical rule. Conservative elements who defended the existing bureaucratic order also attended the national assembly. These disparate ideological positions further obscured the broader divide between the political and the social revolution that had brought about the meeting at Frankfurt. In fact, the delegates to the national assembly were not directly elected because in many states, such as Württemberg, adult males were not considered independent if they were wage workers or welfare recipients, and thus they could not vote for delegates to the assembly. As a result, the delegates did not represent the concerns of the lower middle class and the peasantry, who primarily sought state-guided relief policies that alleviated the hardships of industrialization. Ultimately, the failure to unite political and social aims, the failure to coordinate the national government with the states’ governments, and indecision about German territorial sovereignty, exacerbated by regional differences, proved the demise of the Frankfurt Parliament. Even violent attempts at a second revolution—most notably in Baden where Hecker and other revolutionaries sought to establish a democratic republic—could not overcome legislative impotence as Prussian forces, buoyed by the parliamentary deadlock, quickly subdued the agitators. The upheaval of 1848 and 1849 was effectively over, and for many Germans unhappy with the outcome, emigration—to the United States or elsewhere—became an attractive option.

The failure of the revolution is often credited with inciting the tremendous waves of German immigration to the United States in the 1850s. Certainly, a significant number of German liberals and intellectuals, disgruntled with the outcome at Frankfurt, left for the United States—Hecker among them—but most German migrants during that time likely were not politically motivated. Instead, most Germans ventured across the Atlantic for economic reasons. Already poor and destitute—in part due to increasing industrialization, rural overpopulation, and the economic crises of the mid-1840s—and with government relief unlikely, many lower- and middle-class Germans from both rural and urban areas scrounged together the money necessary to move to America, where economic opportunity abounded.

German migrants to the United States, and St. Louis in particular, generally traveled along one of two routes via steamship. Leaving northern Germany, the journey began in Bremerhaven with stops in Virginia and Maryland, down the Ohio River to Cincinnati, and then on to St. Louis. Leaving southern Germany, the journey began in Le Havre, France, on to New Orleans, and then up the Mississippi River to St. Louis. Although recent historical literature has shied away from crediting Gottfried Duden’s widely successful 1829 Report on a Journey to the Western United States of America for sparking German immigrants’ interest in settling in Missouri, Duden’s account pointed out one of the main attractions for Germans migrating to the United States. Describing his brief but fruitful stay in Missouri, Duden praised the abundance and fertility of land along the Mississippi River, which was a primary reason why so many Germans settled on America’s western frontier beginning in the 1830s. Furthermore, land was inexpensive; in 1832, land could be acquired for $1.25 per acre at a minimum purchase of 40 acres. As a result of accessible travel routes and affordable land, an estimated 5,000 Germans immigrated to St. Louis between 1830 and 1840. Although not all came with the expectation of acquiring land, many, given their agricultural backgrounds in Germany, did. Nonetheless, St. Louis also offered plenty of urban socio-economic opportunities for German migrants as the city grew from 16,469 inhabitants in 1840 into one of the nation’s most populous by midcentury.
German immigrants were a major aid in St. Louis’ urban development, but how were so many Germany aware of the opportunities this gateway to the West had to offer? The answer was a process called chain migration.23 German immigrants to the United States often left their old country with the security of having employment and accommodations already arranged in the new country through relationships with previous migrants. Take the case of Theodor van Dreveldt, for example. Looking to leave Germany in 1844 in response to government oppression of liberal activism, van Dreveldt planned his move to the United States according to the guidance of a university friend who had already settled in Hermann, Missouri. In addition to informing van Dreveldt of land prices and land fertility in the Missouri valley, the university friend also doled out some valuable political advice, suggesting to van Dreveldt, “test yourself to make sure that you really are a republican and a democrat and will be able to leave at home any aristocratic notions by whatever name they are called, whether birth, wealth, or education. That alone is necessary for happiness here.”24 In the end, van Dreveldt settled close to his friend in Hermann. Furthermore, Theodor then helped his brother Anton settle in America as well.

Correspondence between the two revealed the importance of St. Louis as an entrepot for German immigrants. For example, upon his arrival in 1850, Anton wrote to Theodor, “[w]hen I got to St. Louis, I found the $200 account you had opened for me with Angelrodt, Eggers & Barth.”25 Angelrodt, Eggers & Barth was a German-owned banking business in St. Louis, and furthermore, Carl Ernst Angelrodt was the consul-general of several German states, including Prussia, Bavaria, and Hessa, until Robert Barth succeeded him.26 Ultimately, Anton used that money to establish a farm eight miles from St. Louis, and Theodor maintained the account on behalf of his fiscally irresponsible brother.27 The van Dreveldt example of chain migration illustrates several important points: interpersonal and institutional connections, in the forms of Theodor’s university friend and the banking business of Angelrodt, Eggers & Barth, respectively, were crucial for transatlantic relocation; many chain migrants settled near each other, often creating “transplanted communities” as historian Walter Kamphoefner calls them; and St. Louis was the focal point for urban and rural settlement in Missouri in the mid-nineteenth century.

Unlike other growing urban centers along the Mississippi River at this time, German settlement of St. Louis formed no distinct neighborhood, such as Cincinnati’s “Over the Rhine” district, and instead yielded significant clustering in a number of the city’s wards. Still, several settlement patterns can be discerned. The commercial and labor opportunities near the port enticed many recent German immigrants to settle from the riverfront outward. Moreover, a number of Germans also moved near the city limits in order to delve into the land development and real estate businesses. Thus, when the city of St. Louis extended its boundaries in 1855, it incorporated a number of predominantly German areas in the northern and southern extremes of the city.28 Nonetheless, the composition of Germans in the city’s wards varied. For example, despite the fact that northwest Germans from regions such as Westphalia comprised the majority of German immigrants throughout St. Louis, the city’s second ward was home to a number of Germans who had emigrated from the same or adjacent districts in that region. Such regional clustering was not unique as the second ward also housed Germans from two adjacent districts from the southwestern state of Baden.29 The composition of St. Louis’ second ward shows that chain migration significantly shaped not just Germans’ rural settlement of Missouri, but their urban settlement of the state’s main metropolis as well.

St. Louis Germans were of heterogeneous immigrant backgrounds, and their adaptations to American life were incredibly varied; they were laborers, liberals, poor, prosperous, intellectuals, and indigents. However, even though almost 24,000 Germans out of a total population of 77,860 lived in St. Louis in 1850, numbers alone cannot explain why or how these disparate German elements interacted and communicated with one another to form an ethnic community.30 Available means of transportation, such as omnibus lines to every part of the city, no doubt facilitated interaction, but, more importantly, the omnibus patrons’ destinations truly forged ethnic cohesiveness among the Germans of St. Louis.31 Voluntary organizations such as the St. Louis German Immigrant Society, the Freie Gemeinde von St. Louis, and the local Turnverein were not only social outlets for German immigrants, but also fostered democratic political traditions. Moreover, everyday interpersonal interactions among St. Louis Germans created far-reaching and interconnected social relationships. Lastly, the Anzeiger des Westens, the most widely circulated German newspaper in the St. Louis area, and its ubiquitous editor Heinrich Börnstein linked both the institutional and interpersonal levels of association, and politically mobilized his German readership. Together, these aspects of German life in St. Louis created a community in the sociological sense of the word—“a network of institutions of both a formal and informal nature, based upon a sense of mutuality, and extensive enough to enable those within it to carry on a continuing pattern of social interactions mostly within that network.”32

Along with themselves, Germans transplanted their tradition for voluntary organization to St. Louis. With its avowed purpose “to secure employment, to provide the means for the continuation of the journey, should such means be needed, to care for the sick, to protect them from overcharges, and to secure justice for them,” the St. Louis German Immigrant Society, formed in 1847, was one of
the first organizations dedicated to help German newcomers in the city. Such humanitarianism was ideologically compatible with radical liberal ideas, such as universal manhood suffrage and popular sovereignty, which many German intellectuals immigrated with to the United States. In fact, a number of the immigrant society’s incorporators were also members in the Freie Gemeinde von St. Louis, the Free Congregation of St. Louis, known as a freethinking, liberal association of Germans. For example, Thomas J. Meier and Edward Eggers were two of the original incorporators of the St. Louis German Immigrant Society and both served leading roles in the Freie Gemeinde in the early 1850s. Moreover, John H. Niermeyer and U.F.W. Bentzen were members of the group that re-incorporated the St. Louis German Immigrant Society as the German Immigrant Aid Society of St. Louis in 1859, and both were also leading members of the Freie Gemeinde during that time.

The protocol book for the Freie Gemeinde further revealed the liberal aspirations of the society. The meeting minutes between November 1850 and January 1851 document the adoption of proposals to establish a free and independent church in north St. Louis along with a school that emphasized ethics and reason in the place of religious instruction. This onus on reason and the separation between religion and rational thinking in particular were hallmarks of radical German liberal associations throughout the United States. In addition, membership dues for the Freie Gemeinde asked for quarterly contributions of around $2, thus making association affordable for St. Louis Germans from all but the lowest socio-economic strata. These fees generally contributed to various fests and dances, often dedicated to particular times of year, such as spring, which further encouraged ethnic cohesiveness.

In addition, membership rolls for the Freie Gemeinde von St. Louis further revealed intricate personal relationships in St. Louis German society. The case of Joseph J. Mersman and John Clemens Nulsen was particularly telling of how intertwined St. Louis German society could be. As a youth, Mersman and his parents emigrated from northwest Germany to Ohio in 1833. In 1849, Mersman moved to St. Louis, and established a whiskey and tobacco business with Nulsen, also a northwest German immigrant. Mersman’s diary made multiple mentions of a man named Block, whose grocery and wholesale business, Block & Evers, was located two streets away from Mersman & Nulsen. Judging by the diary entries, Mersman and Block were likely acquainted, while Nulsen and Block were two of the original founders of the Franklin Savings Institution established in 1857. More personal connections abounded. In July 1853, Mersman joined Erwin Lodge No. 121, the only Freemason chapter that conducted business entirely in German in all of Missouri. Mersman’s diary entry for July 20, 1853 read: “Today I was in the store, as usual, except in the afternoon when I was out making collections for our lodge. After supper I went to Gehner’s to collect money, but I did not find him at home. From Gehner’s I went to Meyer’s, drank a glass of beer, and played two games of billiards.” The man referred to as Gehner was either the owner of a dry goods store or a carpet weaver. Either way, several different entries in the Freie Gemeinde files indicated that a man named Gehner was not only Mersman’s Freemason brother, but also a member of the freethinking organization during this time. Mersman’s entry revealed that his leisure activities frequently involved other Germans in the neighborhood and that he was acquainted with and involved in freethinking St. Louis German society. His account of the next day’s events, when he drank beer with “Ergert and Eggers,” confirmed this. “Eggers” was likely Edward Eggers of the St. Louis German Immigrant Society and the Freie Gemeinde. Furthermore, on August 14, 1853, Mersman reported that, “Brother Eggers became a third degree Mason...At 10 we were done, and some of us, including me, went to Börnstein’s and drank a glass of beer.” Thus, not only Gehner, but also Eggers was a member of both the Freemasons and the Freie Gemeinde. Moreover, Mersman and some of his Freemason brothers commemorated Eggers’ ceremony with a glass of beer at “Boernstein’s,” which likely referred to one of the three taverns owned by St. Louis’ most ubiquitous German socialite, Heinrich Börnstein.

By midcentury, Börnstein was not only the owner of a hotel, a theater, a brewery, and several taverns, but he was also the owner and editor of the Anzeiger des Westens, as well as a member in both the Freie Gemeinde and the St. Louis Turnverein. Mersman and Nulsen were also involved with the Turnverein. Shortly after its founding, both attended a ball in December 1850, and both became members of the organization in 1855. It is possible that the two merchants knew Börnstein personally through their membership in the Turnverein, but, as many St. Louis Germans did, at the very least they knew of him and frequented one of his taverns. Börnstein was quite the socialite, and his membership in numerous German associations certainly contributed to his renown. However, given the variety of German voluntary organizations in St. Louis, it is essential to understand that while many of these associations attracted the same members, there were also crucial differences among them.

The Turnverein was similar to the Freie Gemeinde in that members of the former were generally freethinking liberals who had emigrated from the German states in order to realize their democratic dreams in the United States. However, the Turnverein also emphasized physical activities and competitive events, such as drilling exercises and shooting competitions. One of the reasons why the St. Louis Turnverein stressed military preparedness had to do with its transatlantic origins in the early nineteenth century. Following the defeat of Napoleon, the central European order, and the fate of the German states in particular, was in shambles. As a result, Turnvereine—which literally
translates to gymnastic associations, but are better described as community athletic associations—sprang up across the German states in order to inspire nationalistic unity and train the populace in case of future military invasions.49 Thus, unlike the *Freie Gemeinde*, the St. Louis *Turnverein* was part of a larger associational movement that began decades earlier in the German states and was then transplanted throughout the United States by German immigrants. As familiar remnants of the homeland, *Turnverein* helped build a sense of community among Germans across the United States. This combination of community and military preparedness played a significant role in Germans’ reactions to the Civil War. In fact, the St. Louis *Turnverein* outfitted several regiments, one of which Börnstein led personally. Börnstein’s fierce devotion to the Union cause had been building up for the past decade, and his polemics were well-chronicled in the pages of St. Louis’ foremost German-language newspaper, the *Anzeiger des Westens*. Together, the numerous German social organizations and the *Anzeiger des Westens* helped forge communal bonds among St. Louis’ vast and diverse population of German immigrants.

As owner and editor of the *Anzeiger des Westens*, Börnstein used the newspaper as a platform to express his personal views on politics, religion, and society. A refugee of the revolutions, Börnstein came to St. Louis by way of Paris—where he published a socialist paper titled *Vorwärts!* for several years beginning in 1844.50 Purchasing the *Anzeiger des Westens* in 1851, Börnstein continued the newspaper’s anticlerical, freethinking bend.51 Börnstein’s *Anzeiger* expressed values shared by many intellectual German émigrés: a desire for democratic government that was responsive to the people, the separation of religion and politics, and the safeguarding of basic human liberties. In essence, the *Anzeiger* voiced what many German immigrants envisioned the United States to be—a democratic nation that guaranteed personal liberty and socio-economic progress to white men. However, the views expressed in Börnstein’s *Anzeiger* did not remain uncontested, no less due to the steady growth of the German-language press in Missouri and in America overall.

The number of German-language newspapers increased commensurately with the number of German immigrants to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. Hence, one historian estimates that between 1848 and 1860, the number of German newspapers doubled from 70 to 144, just as the number of Germans in the United States doubled from approximately 500,000 to over 1.2 million.52 This explosion of German-American journalism is generally attributed to the massive influx of German intellectuals who fled the revolutionary upheaval in Europe and then utilized their newfound freedom of the press to broadcast their political philosophies. Indeed, with the advent of the telegraph and a variety of different presses in the 1840s and 1850s, dispensing newspapers daily became the norm. In fact, in 1854, Börnstein purchased two steam-powered presses that allowed for the production of 800-1000 copies of the *Anzeiger* per hour.53 However, while the *Anzeiger* may have been the most popular newspaper around mid-century, it was not the only German-language paper in St. Louis. Börnstein and the *Anzeiger* competed, at least temporarily, with a number of other papers, including Franz Schmidt’s *Freie Blätter*, a more radical, anticlerical paper; P. Martin Seidel’s *Herold des Glaubens*, a Catholic paper to counter Börnstein and Schmidt’s anticlericalism; Heinrich Koch’s *Antipfaff*, another freethinking, anticlerical journal; and Theodor Olshausen’s *Westliche Post*, which endeavored to adhere to the truth, independent of the influence of all political parties, in contrast to the *Anzeiger*’s overt political bias.54 As polarizing as a topic in the public discourse as religion was, politics was not far behind. In fact, the political inclinations of German-language papers throughout the United States changed in the 1850s from overwhelming support for the Democratic Party in 1851, to a relatively even split between the Democratic and the Republican Party in 1856, to overwhelming support for the Republican Party in 1860.55 These transformations in editorial sentiment also occurred in St. Louis, and they were best chronicled in the pages of the *Anzeiger des Westens*, which revealed the political turmoil that took place not only locally and within the state, but rather throughout the nation.

Despite its overwhelming political content, the *Anzeiger des Westens* also offered vital information for St. Louis Germans who may have been less politically inclined. In addition to job advertisements, many issues included lists of letter addressees, notifying them that mail from Germany had arrived and that it was available for pick-up at the St. Louis post office. News from the German states, in general, must have been an enticement for many—especially recent immigrants—to read the *Anzeiger*. Moreover, the *Anzeiger* updated St. Louis Germans on community events, such as a *Turnverein*-sponsored Fourth of July celebration in 1850, barely two months after the association had come into existence.56 Nonetheless, since city, state, and national elections were held in April, August, and November, respectively, it was no wonder that Börnstein primarily called upon his landsmen in politicized Little Germany.80 The *Anzeiger des Westens* was a vehicle to spur St. Louis Germans to political action.

In fact, even before he purchased the *Anzeiger*, Börnstein penned politically-charged editorials. In a piece published in July 1850, titled, “To the German Citizens in the Counties of Missouri,” Börnstein enveloped his
political message with appeals to individual freedom and Germans’ past experiences in their home states. Crafted to reach not just the already politically motivated, but all St. Louis Germans, Börnstein wrote, “The time of the elections is approaching, the fifth of August will decide Missouri’s future, it will decide our wellbeing, the wellbeing of our children and grandchildren, it will show us if we have really founded a home for ourselves or if we are merely living the existence of suppressed colonists.” As it became clear towards the end of his editorial, Börnstein referred to the statewide elections for the United States Senate in August. Börnstein posited this election as crucial to German immigrants’ existence in Missouri. His editorial further stressed that this election was not just about political ideas and party sentiments, but rather about individual rights every free citizen should enjoy. Börnstein framed his political appeal in terms of German immigrants’ socio-economic futures in the United States, and the men’s duty to protect the prospects of his wife, children, and grandchildren by voting for the proper candidate. Hence, Börnstein closed with this demand, “Fellow citizens! You have made bitter experiences in the fatherland, use those here and be vigilant and active! Freedom and prosperity for all! The Union and Benton!” Börnstein encouraged his landsmen to become citizens just for that reason. 

Benton was at the fault line of the split in Missouri’s Democratic Party in the late 1840s, which ultimately led to his gradual demise as a national politician and simultaneously gave rise to the state’s Republican Party in the latter half of the 1850s. As Missouri’s representative in the United States Senate from 1820 to 1851, Benton staunchly defended the Union over individual states’ interests, even in matters that affected his own state, such as slavery. Although Missouri was home to only about 87,000 slaves—located mostly in the southwest part of the state referred to as Little Dixie—out of a total population of 682,000 in 1850, slavery and the future of the institution were hot-button issues in Missouri just as they were throughout the United States. In 1847, South Carolina engaged their supremacy in urban labor markets. In 1847, South Carolina Senator John C. Calhoun introduced a set of resolutions that granted slaveholders the right to take their slave property into any territory without interference from Congress or the territorial legislature. Only the people of the particular territory could interfere with slave property when framing the territory’s state constitution. Benton vigorously opposed these resolutions because they empowered the states over the federal government in deciding the fate of slavery. Furthermore, Benton also spoke out against a set of resolutions introduced by Claiborne Jackson and William Napton in Missouri’s state legislature in 1849. The Jackson-Napton Resolutions endorsed the Calhoun Resolutions, and declared that if Congress interfered with slavery, then “Missouri will be found in hearty cooperation with the Slaveholding States in such measure as may be deemed necessary for our mutual protection against the encroachments of Northern fanaticism.” By allying Missouri with other slaveholding states in the event of Congressional interference, the Jackson-Napton Resolutions not only defied Benton’s emphasis on unionism, but also foreshadowed the conflict that ensued a decade later during the Civil War. Benton’s outspoken opposition against both sets of resolutions alienated Missouri’s Little Dixie and effectively split the state’s political scene into two camps—the Benton and the Anti-Benton Faction. As a result, Benton lost his 1850 bid for the United States Senate to Henry S. Geyer, an Anti-Benton Whig with pro-slavery sentiments, thus ending the former’s senatorial career. Despite Benton’s defeat, St. Louis Germans continued to revere him and what he stood for: defense of the Union and opposition to the unchecked expansion of slavery.

As Börnstein’s 1850 editorial already alluded to, Germans came to Missouri—and to St. Louis in particular—in order to escape oppressive social, economic, and political conditions in their native German states. Hence, many German immigrants identified with Benton’s emphasis on maintaining the Union because uniting the German states under a common government was one of the main issues during the debates of the Frankfurt Parliament in 1849. Moreover, many German immigrants considered a stable Union crucial to their dreams of socio-economic advancement, especially in regards to acquiring land. Thus, whether politically or economically motivated, German immigrants realized the importance of maintaining the Union and endorsed Benton in that regard. Furthermore, German immigrants identified with Benton’s objection to the unchecked spread of slavery. Not only did many Germans object to slavery on moral grounds, but they also opposed the institution on socio-economic grounds, since the unimpeded westward growth of slavery jeopardized German immigrants’ aspirations to land ownership and challenged their supremacy in urban labor markets. German immigrants’ social, economic, and political concerns all found an outlet not just in statewide, but also in municipal elections.

According to section 10 of Missouri’s 1820 state constitution, [e]very free white male citizen of the United States, who may have attained to the age of twenty-one years, and who shall have resided in this state one year before an election, the last three months whereof shall have been in the county or district in which he offers to vote, shall be deemed a qualified elector of all elective offices. Voting was of paramount importance to Börnstein, and he encouraged his landsmen to become citizens just for that purpose. In an appeal printed in the Anzeiger on March 6,
1852, Börnstein implored German men—many of whom had already fulfilled the necessary requirements—to become citizens in light of the all-important municipal as well as national elections that year. Moreover, he repeated his request in subsequent editions of the Anzeiger, noting that it was a citizen’s duty to vote.\textsuperscript{65} However, with no formal voting registration procedures, it was certainly possible for non-citizens to vote. Moreover, each city ward only had one or two polling places, which contributed to election-day chaos.\textsuperscript{66}

In fact, the 1852 mayoral election was physically contested as the Know-Nothing Whig Luther Kennett beat out the Democratic candidate amid election-day rioting in the overwhelmingly German First Ward. As rumors spread that the Germans of the first ward supposedly bullied and even murdered native Americans at the polls, anti-immigrant sentiments fueled the conflict between the two parties. The tension was so severe that community-organized German militias patrolled the streets outside of the Anzeiger office in order to fend off violent nativist attacks.\textsuperscript{67} Such vile confrontations between native-born Americans and immigrants occurred across the United States as nativism, often identified with the Know Nothing Party, swept the country in response to growing immigrant populations. Moreover, the events of 1852 anticipated the civic unrest that continued to mar St. Louis throughout the decade.

Nonetheless, 1852 saw the return of Benton to national politics as Missourians elected him for representative in the United States Congress. In addition, St. Louisans—with plenty of votes from the German-dominated first, fifth, and sixth wards—elected a Democrat, John How, for mayor in 1853. However, the political situation in St. Louis and throughout Missouri was chronically unstable in the 1850s. John How lost the mayoral race in 1855 to Know Nothing candidate Washington King, yet How won the post over another Know Nothing candidate in 1856.\textsuperscript{68} In addition, Benton’s stint in the U.S. House of Representatives was short-lived as none other than Luther Kennett ousted him in the 1854 election. A friend of Benton’s attributed his opponent’s victory to the influence of the Know Nothings, and, yet again, violence accompanied the election, as Germans and Irish battled native-born Americans in the streets.\textsuperscript{69} Benton’s defeat can also be viewed as a popular reaction to his opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which was introduced in Congress in January 1854. All Missourians in Congress except for Benton voted for the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which opened up the Kansas and Nebraska Territories to popular sovereignty, meaning that the settlers voted on whether or not slavery would be legal in their respective territory.\textsuperscript{70} Having already lost the support of Missouri’s Little Dixie due to his opposition to the Calhoun and the Jackson-Napton Resolutions, Benton’s aversion to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill further alienated pro-slavery advocates in Missouri, thus diminishing his chances at national political office even more.

Despite Benton’s gradual demise as a national politician, his legacy lived on in the form of his protégé Blair, Jr., who became St. Louis Germans’ new favorite son. A resident of St. Louis since the 1840s, Blair, Jr. had been elected to the state legislature in 1852 and 1854 with overwhelming support from German-dominated wards.\textsuperscript{71} Like Benton, he opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, claiming that if Kansas were to become a slave state, Missouri would have a competitor in hemp and tobacco markets.\textsuperscript{72} In addition to this economic argument against the extension of slavery, Blair, Jr. also advocated the gradual emancipation and eventual colonization of blacks. Although a slaveholder until the late 1850s, Blair, Jr. viewed the presence of blacks, free or enslaved, as a threat to the economic opportunities of free white laborers.\textsuperscript{73}

Blair, Jr.’s inclinations epitomized the free-soil ideology, as the political endorsement of the non-extension of slavery in the interest of white male socio-economic advancement came to be called. These ideas were compatible with German immigrants’ visions of America, and as a result, Blair, Jr. enjoyed a strong following among St. Louis Germans.

The 1856 Benton-Blair, Jr. campaign for state governor and U.S. Congress, respectively, revealed the importance of immigrant voters in Missouri’s mercurial political scene. Both ran as Free-Soil Democrats on identical platforms that reaffirmed the Missouri Compromise as a viable solution to the slavery question in the territories, denounced Know Nothingism, favored a fair compromise on the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and denounced disunion.\textsuperscript{74} Blair, Jr.’s main rivals in the race were Luther Kennett and Thomas C. Reynolds, an Anti-Bentonite who was educated at the University of Heidelberg and able to give rousing speeches in German.\textsuperscript{75} Abel Rathbone Corbin, an associate of Reynolds’, outlined the importance of the foreign vote to Reynolds thusly:

> Let Kennett’s friends continue their efforts to keeping the Know Nothings from voting for Blair and Benton. Let your friends continue their great efforts to obtaining foreign votes. That simple policy rigidly adhered to, will insure the defeat of Blair and continue the contest between you and Kennett and spare St. Louis the disgrace of having a Black Republican Representative. How the contest would then be likely to result I have no means of forming a good judgment: it would depend on the old-line Whigs. But if Kennett’s friends exhaust their strength in efforts to wrest from you foreign votes, and your friends expend labor upon K.N.s that ought to be devoted to the foreign vote, Blair will beat both of you.\textsuperscript{76}

St. Louis Germans strongly supported both Blair, Jr. and Benton, and Corbin correctly predicted the essence of the
foreign vote as Blair, Jr. outpolled Kennett by only about 500 votes in St. Louis County, which essentially constituted the city itself and a few suburbs, on his way to winning the Congressional seat. Benton, on the other hand, drew significantly more votes than either of his competitors in St. Louis County, yet he finished third in the race for governor. Furthermore, Corbin’s reference to Blair, Jr. as a Black Republican highlighted the precarious state of Missouri and national politics in 1856.

Although Blair, Jr. officially ran as a Free-Soil Democrat, he had strong ties with the emerging Republican Party. Blair, Jr. became a member of the Republican National Executive Committee—despite still avowing his loyalty to the Benton wing of the Democratic Party—at the Pittsburgh Convention in February 1856, which was designed to organize the fledgling Republican Party on a national scale. Moreover, his father, Frank Blair, Sr. was the president of the Republican convention held in June that year, at which the party declared itself in opposition to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the policies of the current Democratic administration, and the extension of slavery into the territories. Due to the Republican Party’s ideological resemblance to the Free-Soil Democrats and due to his personal ties to the Republican Party, critics painted Blair, Jr.—and any other Free Soiler—as a Black Republican. Blair, Jr. further fortified his affiliation to the Republican Party by endorsing its candidate, John C. Frémont, for president in 1856. In contrast, Benton considered the pro-slavery Democrat James Buchanan the safest candidate to preserve the Union as sectional tensions over slavery threatened its dissolution. After winning his Congressional seat, Blair, Jr. supported Frémont’s candidacy even more fervently, thus completing the rupture of the Benton-Blair, Jr. political partnership.

Nonetheless, Benton’s political clout in Missouri was still enough to keep Frémont off the presidential ballot, thus narrowing down the race to Democrat James Buchanan and Know Nothing Millard Fillmore. Although the Republican Party’s inaugural presidential candidate was wiped off Missouri’s ballot, Republican and Free Soil principles reverberated among parts of the population, especially St. Louis Germans.

In response to Frémont’s deliberate absence on the presidential ballot, Heinrich Börnstein encouraged his readers to vote for the anti-immigrant Millard Fillmore out of protest, figuring that Fillmore never had a chance to win Missouri anyway. Börnstein’s cheekiness aside, St. Louis Germans were active electors in the 1850s, most notably at the municipal level. For example, Bavarian John C. Vogel came to St. Louis in 1836, received his U.S. citizenship in 1841, served as justice of the peace from 1851 to 1858, and also served as a member of the city council from 1855 to 1861, after which he joined the Fourth Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry. In addition, Germans of the first ward elected Charles W. Gottschalk, president of the Washington Fire Insurance Company and a patron of the Freie Gemeinde whose name appeared in the association’s marriage register, as alderman or delegate from 1853 to 1855, while in 1856 the second ward elected him as alderman. John H. Niermeyer, another prominent member of the German community, who re- incorporated the German Immigrant Aid Society and belonged to the Freie Gemeinde, represented the sixth ward as a delegate in 1854. Members of German social organizations were very popular candidates to represent their wards in local government. Charles G. Stifel’s election as alderman of the seventh ward in 1857 reinforced this trend. Stifel was not only a leading member in the St. Louis Turnverein, but also the owner of a notable brewery. Furthermore, St. Louis Germans also contributed to the election of Free Soil mayor John Wimer in 1857, and Free Soil mayor Oliver D. Filley from 1858 to 1860. However, as John C. Frémont’s exclusion from Missouri’s 1856 presidential ballot already foreshadowed, state politics became even more contested between 1858 and 1860, and St. Louis Germans played pivotal roles in the outcome.

By 1858, the city of St. Louis had expanded from six to ten wards since the beginning of the decade. As the 1858 St. Louis city census revealed, Germans resided throughout the city and wielded significant political power. In wards one and two, over seventy-five percent of eligible voters were German, while in wards three and ten, over forty percent were German. Overall, in eight of the ten wards, at least twenty percent of eligible voters were of German descent. Blair, Jr. recognized the potential of this powerful electorate, and even hired a tutor to teach him German in order to become more appealing. However, his principles alone were enough for St. Louis Germans to endorse his candidacy for the United States Congress in 1858. Prior to the August election, the Anzeiger printed and re-printed the Blair, Jr. campaign ticket, which also included John C. Vogel running for the Missouri legislature and Dr. Adam von Hammer running for coroner. Hammer was a refugee of the revolutions who actually fought with Friedrich Hecker in Baden, but then moved to the United States, established himself as a physician, and founded the Humboldt Institute in St. Louis in order to instruct American doctors. Although Hammer officially campaigned as an independent candidate, he penned an editorial for the Anzeiger in which he confessed his support for Blair, Jr. and his Free Soil principles. Shortly before the election, the Anzeiger again published disclaimers encouraging Germans to become citizens, and on August 1, 1858, the Anzeiger reminded its readers that voting for the Blair, Jr. ticket entailed the end of slavery in Missouri, the prevention of slavery in the western territories, and improvements in the state’s industrial and agricultural sectors. Although a third candidate siphoned votes away from Blair, Jr. and his pro-slavery rival J. Richard Barret, the first and second wards, with the highest percent of German voters, overwhelmingly voted for Blair, Jr. While the first and second wards showed Dr. Adam
von Hammer as much support as for Blair, Jr., he lost his bid for coroner. Similarly, the election returns declared that Barret outpolled Blair, Jr. by a few hundred votes, yet the Blair, Jr. camp immediately alleged fraud. The accusations of electoral fraud proved true, and Blair, Jr. was rightly awarded his seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, in no small part due to St. Louis Germans’ support at the polls.

Although Missouri’s total number of slaves increased from roughly 87,000 in 1850 to about 115,000 in 1860, Theodor Olshausen—a participant in the 1848 revolution in Schleswig-Holstein, who immigrated to Missouri and became the editor and owner of the Western Post—noted that St. Louis still had “the character of a free city, a virtual enclave in the region of slavery.” The Anzeiger articulated one of the reasons why many St. Louis Germans shared Olshausen’s sentiment: Blair, Jr. had risen “to a position far above that of the grand old man by leading the first open Free-Soil party in a slave state.” Of course, “the grand old man” referred to the deceased Benton, and the Anzeiger’s ringing endorsement of Blair, Jr. underscored Germans’ popular support for Free Soil principles. In terms of party politics, Blair, Jr. openly declared himself a Republican instead of a Free-Soil Democrat, and 1860 marked the first time Missouri fielded a Republican election ticket. In addition to Blair, Jr.’s nomination for Congress, several Germans ran for office as well, including Heinrich Börnstein for Superintendent of Common Schools; Arnold Krekel, editor of the St. Charles Democrat and a former slave holder, for attorney general; and Rudolph Doehn, a member of the Freie Gemeinde, for the Missouri House of Representatives. While Blair, Jr. and Doehn won their seats, the fact that so many Germans accepted the Republican moniker and Blair, Jr. as their de facto political guide showed Germans’ ideological commitment to Free Soil principles.

However, as much as Free Soil principles united Blair, Jr. and St. Louis Germans under the banner of the Republican Party, each side differed in its all-important endorsement for the presidency. Whereas the Anzeiger des Westens, with a subscription figure of nearly 20,000 in 1860, stumped for John C. Frémont, Blair, Jr. endorsed Missouri’s own Edward Bates. Many St. Louis Germans considered Frémont their best hope for protecting the American promise of socio-economic advancement, yet Blair, Jr. considered Bates to be the only man capable of uniting the disparate elements that made up the Republican Party. Although Bates advocated the non-extension of slavery, Germans were wary of his anti-immigrant attitudes. Nativism was a prevalent concern among German members of the Republican Party throughout the United States.

Following the passage of Massachusetts’ notorious Two-Year Amendment, which prevented immigrants from voting until two years after their naturalization, by a Republican legislature, German Republicans clamored to make their voices heard at the Republican Convention of 1860. Meeting in Chicago days before the convention, German Republicans sought to “respond to the nativist actions of Massachusetts and to bring the influence of Germans to bear on the presidential nomination.” With Adam von Hammer and Arnold Krekel among the German delegation from Missouri, the meeting produced a resolution opposing any changes to existing naturalization laws and any state legislative acts that curbed the civil rights of immigrants, which the Republican Party adopted as part of its official platform. Moreover, as the Anzeiger reported, “the German element was recognized for all time as a vital part of the party of freedom and progress” at the Chicago Convention. The Republican Party, with support from Missouri Germans and Blair, Jr., eventually settled on Abraham Lincoln to run for president. In a speech titled “To the Republicans and Free Democrats of St. Louis,” following his Congressional victory, Blair, Jr. encouraged Missourians to join their German brethren in political solidarity:

Every Republican in this State should cast his vote for the principles of the American revolution, to be restored only by the elevation of Abraham Lincoln to the chair once occupied by Washington and Jefferson. The solid, faithful and inflexible phalanx of German Republicans, to whom, as the most numerous and not the least enthusiastic, the first honors of our victory in St. Louis are due, will then be reinforced by the whole body of their countrymen in this State.

Much has been made of the German vote for Abraham Lincoln in 1860, but the assumption that Germans throughout the United States overwhelmingly cast their ballots for Lincoln proved true in the case of St. Louis Germans. Although Northern Democrat Stephen Douglas won Missouri—the only state he won in this four-way election between Douglas, Lincoln, Southern Democrat John C. Breckenridge, and John Bell of the Constitutional Union Party—Lincoln beat out Douglas in St. Louis. Garnering nearly 10,000 votes throughout St. Louis County out of his 17,000 total votes in the state of Missouri, Lincoln’s main surge of electoral support came from the German-dominated city wards. The first, second, fourth, and tenth wards provided Lincoln with almost six thousand votes, twenty-five hundred of which came from the first and second wards alone. The St. Louis German vote for Lincoln was an affirmation to the Republican principles of union, the non-extension of slavery, and the socio-economic advancement of white men. St. Louis Germans’ belief in these principles and in the politicians who represented them played a pivotal role in how this immigrant population reacted at the outset of the Civil War.

In addition to a four-way race for president, Missourians also encountered a four-way race for state governor in
1860. Contested among Northern Democrat Claiborne Fox Jackson, Sample Orr for the Constitutional Union Party, Hancock Jackson for the Southern Democrats, and Republican James B. Gardenhire, the state elected Jackson, with Gardenhire running last. Although half of Gardenhire’s 6,000 votes came from St. Louis County, Missouri, just as it demonstrated in the national presidential election, chose a seemingly moderate political path, as the Northern Democrats promised to leave slavery up to the territories.\textsuperscript{108} While Jackson may have appeared as a moderate choice, he was, in fact, a staunch supporter of secession in case the Union ruptured along sectional lines.\textsuperscript{109} Abraham Lincoln’s election as president in 1860 precipitated just such a split between northern and southern states, as South Carolina commenced the wave of secession in December 1860. Missouri’s allegiance was in flux as it enjoyed strong political and economic ties to both the North and the South, and as Governor Claiborne Jackson pulled the strings in one direction, St. Louis’ eminent statesman Blair, Jr. pulled the strings in the other direction with help from his German constituency.

In response to swirling rumors of secession in late 1860, St. Louis Germans and local political leaders organized into community associations called Wide Awake Clubs in defense of Republicanism. Led by the likes of Blair, Jr. and Adam von Hammer, these clubs drew on Germans’ affinity for social organization and experience in military drill: in addition to the Turnverein’s emphasis on military preparedness, many German immigrant males likely served in their home state’s militia or participated in violent uprisings during the revolutions. Stressing the importance of maintaining the Union, the Wide Awakes often held meetings at night in order to drill in secret in spacious and safe locations, such as the Turner Hall and Winkelmeyer’s Brewery.\textsuperscript{110} Despite Germans’, and especially the Turnverein’s, massive membership and support, the impromptu Wide Awake Clubs lacked formal direction until prominent St. Louis Republicans, including Blair, Jr., met in January 1861, and replaced the secret Wide Awake Clubs with the Central Union Club, open to any man who favored maintaining the Union regardless of political affiliation. Moreover, the meeting vested Blair, Jr. with the authority of defending the federal government in the city and the state—an authority Blair, Jr. could not legally invoke. However, Blair, Jr.’s popular appeal allowed him to practically invoke such authority by organizing former Wide Awake members into local militia regiments called the Home Guard.\textsuperscript{111} The St. Louis Home Guard, largely composed of Germans, was crucial in keeping Missouri in the Union.

By February 1861, the St. Louis Home Guard vied for control of the city with the Minute Men, locally organized pro-secession militias. The St. Louis Arsenal—the largest federal arsenal in the South, containing 60,000 muskets, 90,000 pounds of powder, 1.5 million ball cartridges, and 40 field pieces—was key to the future of the city and the state, since whichever group controlled the arsenal had an advantage in either keeping the state in the Union or aiding its entry into the Confederacy.\textsuperscript{112} Blair Jr. recognized the potential impact control of the arsenal had, and promptly enlisted his brother Montgomery, a cabinet member of President Buchanan’s lame duck administration, to send additional military troops to St. Louis. Thanks to Montgomery Blair’s political prowess, General Nathaniel Lyon arrived in St. Louis on February 7. Upon Blair, Jr.’s request, Lyon not only led the professional military training of the German-dominated Home Guard, but due to Blair, Jr.’s political clout and the official beginning of the Civil War in April, Lyon also gained the authority to enlist the Home Guard as federal troops in defense of the arsenal.\textsuperscript{113} Thus, by the beginning of May 1861, General Nathaniel Lyon commandeered a brigade of soldiers made up mostly of St. Louis Germans.

Several characteristics stand out among these early enlistees: many were members in German social organizations and had already served in the Home Guard, and they elected prominent locals as their military leaders. For example, members of the St. Louis Turnverein composed the first three companies of the First Regiment of Missouri Volunteers, and they elected Blair, Jr., who served as a private in the Mexican War, to be their colonel.\textsuperscript{114} Moreover, Börnstein, Franz Sigel, who fought in Baden during the revolutions and was the director of the German Institute of Education in St. Louis, and Carl Eberhard Salomon, a Prussian émigré and member of the Freie Gemeinde, all led their own regiment of Missouri Volunteers. Even Charles Stifel—a well-known member of the Turnverein, local politician, and owner of a brewery—led his own regiment of enlisted Home Guards.\textsuperscript{115} Speaking of beer, German enlistees who guarded the arsenal were well provisioned, as Winkelmeyer’s brewery—where many Wide Awakes previously drilled—and Stachlin’s brewery each provided a barrel of beer a day.\textsuperscript{116} Missouri’s earliest enlistees revealed that personal associations and shared experiences abounded among the first St. Louis Germans mustered into the state’s federal forces. Once actual fighting began in Missouri, and more and more Germans enlisted, similar characteristics defined St. Louis German soldiers.

The event that incited large-scale fighting in Missouri occurred on May 10, 1861, at Camp Jackson, a makeshift encampment of the Missouri State Guard, in the city of St. Louis. The Missouri State Guard, under the authority of Governor Claiborne Jackson, was generally composed of former members of the Minute Men, who originally organized in response to the St. Louis Home Guard. Viewing this encampment as a threat to the St. Louis Arsenal, General Lyon encircled the State Guard with the help of Blair, Jr.’s, Börnstein’s, Sigel’s, and Nicholas Schütter’s regiments of Missouri Volunteers. As Lyon’s troops escorted the captured State Guardsmen away from Camp Jackson amid a bevy of raucous onlookers, a short
ranged out from the crowd and hit one of the captains of the Missouri Volunteer troops. Bedlam ensued, blood was shed, and the Civil War in Missouri practically began.  

Following the events at Camp Jackson, the Westliche Post declared St. Louis “an indubitable Union city.” Judging by St. Louisans enlistment in the federal service, this assertion was quite true, as men from the city and county outfitted the first twenty-two Union regiments. Many of those who enlisted were of German descent. In fact, out of a total German-born population of nearly 88,500 in the state of Missouri, about 31,000 Germans joined the Union forces. Why did so many ordinary Germans enlist to defend Missouri for the Union? The war was a means and an end for Germans’ dreams of socioeconomic advancement as enlistment accompanied steady payment and a Union victory ensured a final stop to slavery’s expansion. Furthermore, Germans enlisted because of camaraderie and a shared sense of community that bound them together in St. Louis in the antebellum years.

Several examples help illustrate Germans’ commitment to keeping Missouri in the Union. The case of John Buegel’s enlistment showed how important community bonds were in inspiring Germans to become soldiers. Eight days after President Lincoln issued his call for 75,000 volunteers to join the Union Army, Buegel and his friend, whom Buegel identified as H. Hinzman in his diary, attended a mass meeting of St. Louis Germans, featuring free food and beer. Following the meal, the hall full of Germans marched toward the St. Louis Arsenal, where Buegel, Hinzman, and the rest of the Germans were sworn into the Third Regiment of Missouri Volunteers for three months of service. Immediately following Buegel’s discharge in September 1861, he met with several of his old companions at a local wine hall. Upon finding out that his acquaintance had re-enlisted in the Union Army for three years, Buegel also “decided to enlist voluntarily rather than being forced to do so later.” The same day of his discharge, John T. Buegel was sworn in again for three more years of service. Buegel’s diary revealed the impact of community associations among Germans and their decisions to join the war effort. Not only was the atmosphere in the hall so infectious that the meeting’s attendees signed up to serve for three months, but Buegel promptly joined his comrades in solidarity again by re-enlisting upon his discharge. Buegel’s case was the prime example of how many in St. Louis’ German community carried over their antebellum bonds into the war.

Community associations among Germans were major reasons for many more to join the Union Army. Frederick Schäfer, for instance, was a police officer in the predominantly German first ward and managed one of Börnstein’s three taverns in St. Louis. During the war he served as lieutenant colonel in Börnstein’s Second Missouri Volunteer Regiment. Similarly, Johann Backhoff first fought side-by-side with Franz Sigel during the revolution in Baden, and then served as major of artillery in Sigel’s Third Regiment. Schäfer and Backhoff likely felt some sense of personal obligation to join their acquaintances in battle. Such feelings of personal connection must have run even deeper for family members who joined the war effort. St. Louisans August, Henry, William, and Julius Bentrup, all from the same city in Prussia and all between the ages of 20 and 28, enlisted together in Company A of the Fifth Regiment of the U.S. Reserve Corps in 1862. Two of the Bentrups were listed as laborers and two were listed as chairmakers, yet all signed up for the duration of the war. Given their youth and menial occupations, it is possible that monetary remuneration spurred the Bentrups to enlist. Personal letters and muster rolls listing the ages and occupations of German enlists suggest that money and socioeconomic advancement were prevalent reasons to fight on behalf of the Union.

Many Germans joined the Union Army in order to provide for themselves and their families. For example, Henry Voelkner, a lieutenant in Sigel’s Missouri Volunteer Regiment, informed his parents:

I have now between 300 and 400 dollars coming to me, I cannot determine the exact amount, but we are being assured that we are going to be paid soon. If I can send the money, I will of course do so, but I must insist that it be touched only in case of dire necessity. You all know that I am not saying this out of selfishness, and I trust you fully understand.

However, Voelkner must have felt some pangs of guilt for hoarding his money, as in a letter to his parents barely two months later he acknowledged, “You don’t write if you have enough to live on or whether you need money or not. Concerning the latter, I should have sent you money long ago.” Voelkner’s letters implied not only that he intended to come back from the war unscathed, but also that he had bigger life plans for which he saved up the money earned at the front. The Bentrups and their comrades in Company A may also have considered fighting a means to improve their lives after war. Most men in Company A were between twenty and thirty years old, listed their occupations as laborers, and designated their places of origin in Prussia, one of the regions hardest hit by the economic downturn in the 1840s, which led many Prussians to immigrate to Missouri in the first place. As Voelkner’s letters and the Company A muster roll suggest, the war was a viable socio-economic opportunity for many St. Louis Germans who sought to improve their lives and fulfill their dreams of personal progress.

Clearly, Germans immigrants’ visions of the United States as a democratic country in which free whites could improve their socioeconomic status played a role in how Germans reacted to the Civil War. German immigrants to St. Louis, Missouri, in the 1840s arrived with such visions...
and vigorously defended them in the ranks of the Union Army. Due to disastrous economic conditions and growing industrialization throughout the German states, rural and urban lower-middle-class Germans lacked enough land for subsistence agriculture and lacked the earning power to afford rising food prices amidst the economic meltdown. Moreover, German state governments were unresponsive to the plight of their citizens, many of whom lacked the political freedom to air their grievances. Also fed up with the static political situation, German intellectuals joined the clamor from below, and by 1848 and 1849, revolution spread throughout the German states. Although their attempts at creating a more democratic and accountable political climate failed, many Germans, intellectual and indigent, found solace in immigration, especially to St. Louis.

German immigration to St. Louis in the late 1840s and throughout the 1850s coincided with and contributed to the city’s increasing development. For the most part, Germans did not immigrate bell-mell to the city. Instead, through prior personal connections, previous immigrants helped recent immigrants adjust to the United States, often by finding housing and employment for their compatriots. The rise of German social organizations in the 1850s, such as the Freie Gemeinde and the Turnverein—which originated in the German states at the beginning of the nineteenth century—buoyed transplanted personal relationships and cohered St. Louis’ German element into a city-wide community. Moreover, these voluntary social associations not only reinforced Germans’ liberal democratic views, but also offered the opportunity for military drill, which contributed to Germans’ mass enlistment in defense of Missouri and the Union during the Civil War.

Börnstein’s newspaper, the Anzeiger des Westens, contributed to Germans’ sense of community in St. Louis as well. The most widely-read German-language newspaper in the city, Börnstein’s Anzeiger espoused freethinking, liberal views, informed Germans of the latest newspapers in the city, Börnstein’s Anzeiger de—contributed to Germans’ sense of community in St. Louis.

Endnotes


5 George H. Kellner, “The German Element on the Urban Frontier: St. Louis, 1830-1860,” Thesis (Ph.D.) (University of Missouri, 1973), 101-2. According to Kellner, 52.1% or 40,414 were foreign-born, 23,774 of whom were German.


9 Walter Kamphoefner, The Westfalians: From Germany to Missouri (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 19, 58, 137. Most linen weavers were also involved in agriculture. The peak year of emigration for Westphalians involved in the linen-weaving industry was 1845. Protoindustrialization is also known as the putting-out system, in which merchants, with help of local agents, commission poor rural households to work raw materials into finished goods.

10 Blackbourn, History of Germany 1780-1918, 22.

11 Walker, Germany and the Emigration, 44-5.


13 Walker, Germany and the Emigration, 105.


15 Blackbourn, History of Germany 1780-1918, 105-6.

16 Blackbourn, History of Germany 1780-1918, 106.

17 Kamphoefner, The Westfalians, 64.

18 Walker, Germany and the Emigration, 107.

19 Blackbourn, History of Germany 1780-1918, 98-100, 111.

20 Hamerow, Restoration, Revolution, Reform, 120-4.


22 Olson, “St. Louis Germans, 1850-1920,” Thesis (Ph.D.), 2-3. For both routes, Olson estimates the cost of the journey between $2 and $2.50.

23 Walter Kamphoefner has been one of the foremost critics of the idea that Duden’s guide was one of the primary catalysts for attracting Germans to Missouri.

24 Walker, Germany and the Emigration, 65.


28 Charles Tily (Boston, 1974), 227.


34 Walter Kamphoefner, “Uprooted or Transplanted: Reflections on Patterns of German Immigration to Missouri,” Missouri Historical Review 103, No. 2 (2009), 82.


38 Tolzmann, ed., The German Element in St. Louis, 206-7.

39 Tolzmann, ed., The German Element in St. Louis, 207.

40 “Protokoll Buch der Freien Gemeinde von Nord St. Louis,” Box 1, Folder 1: Protokoll Book, 1850-1875, Frei Gemeinde von St. Louis Records, 1850-1974, Collection 37, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, University of Missouri-St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri.


42 “Cash Book (Member Dues) 1859-1869,” Box 1, Folder 6: Cash Book (Member Dues) 1859-1869, Frei Gemeinde von St. Louis Records, 1850-1974, Collection 37, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, University of Missouri-St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri. Unlike U.F.W. Bentzen and John H. Niermeyer, Thomas J. Meier and Edward Eggers are not listed among the due-paying members for 1860.


44 Correspondence Copy Book, 1859-1867,” Box 1, Folder 2: Correspondence Copy Book, 1859-1867, Frei Gemeinde von St. Louis Records, 1850-1974, Collection 37, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, University of Missouri-St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri.

45 “Protokoll Buch der Freien Gemeinde von Nord St. Louis,” Box 1, Folder 1: Protokoll Book, 1850-1875, Frei Gemeinde von St. Louis Records, 1850-1974, Collection 37, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, University of Missouri-St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri.

46 Correspondence Copy Book, 1859-1867,” Box 1, Folder 2: Correspondence Copy Book, 1859-1867, Frei Gemeinde von St. Louis Records, 1850-1974, Collection 37, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, University of Missouri-St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri.


49 Tolzmann, ed., The German Element in St. Louis, 4.

50 Mersman, The Whiskey Merchant’s Diary, 266.

51 St. Louis, Mo., Business Directory, 1850,” Microfiche No. 1339:1, St. Louis County Library, St. Louis, Missouri. A man named F. Gehner is listed as a carpet weaver on page 67 of this
microfiche, while a man named J.F.W. Gehner is listed as a dry goods merchant on page 73.

43 “Protokoll Buch der Freien Gemeinde von Nord St. Louis,” Box 1, Folder 1: Protokoll Book, 1850-1875, Frei Gemeinde von St. Louis Records, 1850-1974, Collection 37, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, University of Missouri-St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri. A man named F. Gehner is listed as a committee member in Protokoll II from 1850.

44 “Cash Book (Member Dues) 1859-1869,” Box 1, Folder 6: Cash Book (Member Dues) 1859-1869, Frei Gemeinde von St. Louis Records, 1850-1974, Collection 37, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, University of Missouri-St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri. A man named J.F.W. Gehner is listed as a due-paying member for 1860.

45 Mersman, The Whiskey Merchant’s Diary, 267.

46 The St. Louis Business Directory for 1850 also lists a druggist and apothecary store by the name of Scheutze & Eggers on page 73. “St. Louis, Mo., Business Directory, 1850,” Microfiche No. 1339:1, St. Louis County Library, St. Louis, Missouri.

47 Carl Wittke, The Whiskey Merchant’s Diary, 276.

48 “Cash Book (Member Dues) 1859-1869,” Box 1, Folder 6: Cash Book (Member Dues) 1859-1869, Frei Gemeinde von St. Louis Records, 1850-1974, Collection 37, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, University of Missouri-St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri.


51 Wittke, The German-Language Press, 95.


56 Rowan, Germans for a Free Missouri, 49.
“7 August 1854—General Election: Returns for Congressmen, State Legislators, County & Judicial Officials,” Box 6: 1854-1856, Folder 2: Election Returns, 1854, Perry-St. Louis Counties, Office of Secretary of State, Election Division, Election Returns, Record Group No. 5, Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City, Missouri.

Peterson, Freedom and Franchise, 28.


Peterson, Freedom and Franchise, 29.

“Abel Rathbone Corbin, Washington, July 27, 1856, to Reynolds,” Folder 1: Correspondence, 1844-1856, Thomas C. Reynolds Papers, 1844-1906, Record Series Number: 01/A1289, Library and Research Center, Missouri History Museum, St. Louis, Missouri.


“4 August 1856—General Election: Returns for Congressmen, State & County Officials and Judges,” Box 6: 1854-1856, Folder 18: Election Returns, 1856, Ralls-Saline Counties, Office of Secretary of State, Elections Division, Election Returns, Record Group No. 5, Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City, Missouri.

Peterson, Freedom and Franchise, 57.

Smith, The Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics, 328, 331, 337.

Peterson, Freedom and Franchise, 57-8, 61.


Scharf, History of St. Louis City and County, I. 411.

“May 27, 1855,” Box 1, Folder 3: Marriage Register, 1855-1863, Frei Gemeinde von St. Louis Records, 1850-1974, Collection 37, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, University of Missouri-St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri.

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Identifying Strategies for the Prevention of Vocal Problems among Potential Music Educators

Kathleen M. Crane, Sarah Altman, Brenda Smith

The voice is the greatest tool of the music educator, whose daily tasks require voice use including both speaking and singing. As such, it is vital that those who teach music preserve and protect their voices. The purpose of this research study was to measure and evaluate the vocal efficiency of music students preparing for their student teaching internships. Using Estill Voice Evaluation Suite (VES) software, ten students were acoustically screened before and after a prescribed video-recorded teaching task with the intention of identifying positive vocal behaviors and preventing vocal injury. The participants were also asked to fill out a questionnaire regarding their vocal health as it relates to their career in teaching through a series of subjective and objective questions. The data from the pre- and post-acoustical measurements with evidence from the video recording were compiled for comparison and analysis. After eliminating variables such as discipline, student age and ability, class size, and ambient noise, the investigators were able to create a near-optimal teaching environment. Even within a near-optimal environment, mild acoustic changes occurred and were noted in addition to several different vocal misuses and mild overall vocal deterioration. The paper will demonstrate the methods and report the findings from subjective and objective data.

Introduction

Music educators are among those whom Brenda Smith termed “performing teachers,” or teachers who use both speaking and singing in the course of their work (133). Those who teach instrumental or vocal music must use the singing voice to demonstrate phrasing, articulation, and good tone quality through vocal “modeling.” In addition to communicating with the voice for singing, music educators use the speaking voice to instruct students both musically and otherwise. As such, they are thought to have a greater risk of developing voice problems that can affect their job performance and even develop into more serious pathologies.

In order to ascertain the extent of this problem, Larry C. Solberg and Kathryn Proctor completed a survey of K-12 vocal music teachers who graduated from the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire. They found that 63.6% of the study participants reported current vocal problems and 88.6% reported having had symptoms in the past. Symptoms included vocal fatigue (the most frequently reported), dry throat, problems with high notes, loss of endurance, discomfort, voice breaks, and hoarseness. Of the participants who experienced these problems, only about one third sought treatment and about 14% had vocal nodules. Additionally, 25% reported having missed work because of their symptoms and 76% reported that they did not feel that they were supported by supervisors concerning their vocal circumstances (4).

Although preservice music teachers, like the ones in this study, have not yet begun their careers as music educators and experienced the associated vocal concerns, they still perceive it to be an important issue for their future careers. Rhonda Hackworth completed a study of preservice music teachers’ perceptions about vocal hygiene and found that a majority think that a voice disorder would affect their career. Among many interesting results, Hackworth found that 48% of preservice teachers thought that the teaching profession is at high risk for voice problems. Additionally, 60% of the preservice teachers believe that a voice disorder would affect their career and 31% think that it might. She also compared the results of the surveys by instrumental and vocal majors. It is easy to assume that choral directors would be more at risk due to the nature of their subject but that may not be the case. Hackworth found that instrumental majors gave a much higher rating for the vocal stress of demonstration singing than vocal majors. Instrumental majors may not feel they are well trained in that area and may see it as a stressful activity (4). This stress could transfer to the voice in the form of tension and, in combination with the speaking requirements of all music teachers, create further damage. Therefore, all music teachers, choral and instrumental, are at risk of developing voice disorders.

In light of these findings, the researchers—Kathleen Crane (Principal Investigator), Brenda Smith (Mentor), and Sarah Altman (Co-Investigator)—developed an experimental sequence that would measure and evaluate the vocal efficiency of music students preparing for their student
teaching internships. The research was completed in order to identify desirable and undesirable vocal behaviors in preservice music teachers. The conclusions of this study have significant implications for pre-internship music teachers and the larger subgroup of the teachers thought to be most at risk: music educators.

Methods

Participants were recruited from the University of Florida chapter of Collegiate Music Educators National Conference and the Music Education department of the School of Music. The participant pool consisted of 10 female undergraduate Music Education majors ranging from ages 18-23. Five of the participants are primarily vocalists, four instrumentalists, and one student is a vocalist/instrumentalist.

On the day of the study, the participants were first asked to fill out a questionnaire regarding their vocal health as it relates to their career in teaching through a series of subjective and objective questions. Next, each participant took part in a three-phase experimental sequence that involved acoustical screenings before and after a prescribed teaching activity. Each student was provided with a 20 fl. oz. bottle of water for purposes of vocal hygiene and experimental control.

The acoustical screening prior to the teaching task included a series of simple vocal tasks that were be recorded and analyzed by Estill Voice Evaluation Suite (VES) software. According to Vocal Innovations, this is a computer program that “automates the collection, analysis, storage, and retrieval of standard clinical voice measures” (Vocal Innovations). The recording was done with an omni-directional microphone kept at a three centimeter distance from the participant to ensure standard measures. The entire recording procedure for each participant took approximately 20 minutes. The vocal tasks included sustaining /a/ for four seconds, describing the Cookie Theft picture from the Boston Diagnostic Aphasia Exam for a 10-second continuous speech sample, producing highest and lowest possible pitches, producing loudest and softest possible voice, sustaining a tone for as long as possible on one breath, and saying “uh uh uh” as quickly and precisely as possible for 7 seconds to measure Diodochokinet ic (DDK) rate, a measure of oral motor skills.

Immediately following the initial acoustical screening, the participants taught a 30-minute lesson to a demonstration choral ensemble made up of four voice students from the School of Music, two male and two female. The participants prepared the lesson in advance following the protocol demonstrated in a pre-meeting and the information provided in written guidelines. Time allotment for each section of the lesson was monitored using a stopwatch and the participants were given a signal indicating two minutes to the end and the end of each segment of the lesson. The researcher acted as the accompanist and was there for purposes of harmonic support. The pieces were rehearsed entirely a cappella and reviewing of parts was done through vocal modeling (demonstrating through singing) by the instructor.

In accordance with the prescribed lesson plan, the participants began with an opening statement written by the researcher. Next, the participants led the demonstration group in a seven minute warm-up regime chosen by the researcher from Complete Choral Warm-up Book by Russell R. Robinson and Jay Althouse and Choral Pedagogy by Brenda Smith and Robert T. Sataloff.

Next, the participants led a ten-minute rehearsal of “Ave Verum Corpus” (KV618) by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and a ten-minute rehearsal of the traditional piece “Amazing Grace.” Next, the participants taught a three-minute cool down also chosen from Choral Pedagogy. Finally, the participants read a closing statement written by the researcher to maintain procedural control and to signify the end of the teaching phase. The lessons were video recorded for the purpose of vocal evaluation and analysis. Immediately following the teaching phase, the participants were screened again using the same acoustical measurement software and protocol as outlined above.

The researchers also perceptually evaluated the video recordings for desirable and inefficient vocal behaviors, as explained in Professional Voice by Robert T. Sataloff (969-975). Sataloff cites three inefficient vocal behaviors: yelling/screaming, loud talking, and excessive talking. The desired vocal behaviors included breath control; breath support; tone focus in speaking; tone focus in singing; projection; prosody; and body posture, including head alignment, neck alignment, chest open and erect, shoulders relaxed, knees loose, and weight on the balls of the feet. These desired vocal behaviors were rated according to their efficiency: inefficient (1), rarely efficient (2), sometimes efficient (3), often efficient (4), and very efficient (5).

Results

The acoustical measurements yielded a number of statistically significant results. The pre- and post-acoustical screening data were compared and analyzed. The researchers found that the sustained “ah,” shimmer percentage or perturbation in amplitude increased over time. Also, the minimal fundamental frequency in continuous speech increased over time, meaning that their inflections in continuous speech were higher in the second test. The maximum amplitude or loudest possible pitch reduced over time, thereby reducing the maximum amplitude range. Additionally, at the participants’ maximum performance, their minimum frequency or lowest pitched increased over time while their maximum frequency or highest pitch reduced over time. Therefore, their maximum frequency range was reduced from the initial test (Tables 1 & 2).
### Table 1: Initial and post means of statistically significant acoustical measurements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initial Sustained Vowel Shimmer (%)</td>
<td>.9600</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>.29136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Sustained Vowel Shimmer (%)</td>
<td>1.1500</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>.41433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial Continuous Speech Min F0 (Hz)</td>
<td>154.320</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19.32729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Continuous Speech Min F0 (Hz)</td>
<td>165.390</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20.07422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial Maximum Performance Max SPL (dB)</td>
<td>102.0100</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.07169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Maximum Performance Max SPL (dB)</td>
<td>98.3300</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.46135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial Maximum Performance SPL Range (dB)</td>
<td>27.2400</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.06918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Maximum Performance SPL Range (dB)</td>
<td>23.2500</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5.17650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial Maximum Performance Min F0 (Hz)</td>
<td>172.1700</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21.63624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Maximum Performance Min F0 (Hz)</td>
<td>184.1500</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29.18052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial Maximum Performance Max F0 (Hz)</td>
<td>816.3900</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>165.36931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Maximum Performance Max F0 (Hz)</td>
<td>690.5100</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>169.85535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial Maximum Performance F0 Range (semitone)</td>
<td>26.7000</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.68330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Maximum Performance F0 Range (semitone)</td>
<td>22.5000</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5.31769</td>
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</table>

### Table 2: Statistical significance of acoustical measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Significance (2-tailed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sustained Vowel Shimmer (%)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-.19000</td>
<td>.26013</td>
<td>.046*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous Speech Minimum F0 (Hz)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-11.0700</td>
<td>10.51243</td>
<td>.009*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum Performance Max SPL (dB)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.68000</td>
<td>2.18215</td>
<td>.000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum Performance SPL Range (dB)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.99000</td>
<td>3.28243</td>
<td>.004*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum Performance Minimum F0 (Hz)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-11.98000</td>
<td>14.07044</td>
<td>.025*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum Performance Max F0 (Hz)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>125.88000</td>
<td>113.02292</td>
<td>.006*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum Performance F0 Range (semitone)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.20000</td>
<td>3.42540</td>
<td>.004*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Results of the questionnaire participants filled out prior to the teaching phase yielded the following results: eight out of ten participants feel that vocal health is “highly important” to their future career as music educators, and the remaining two participants feel that vocal health is “important” or “very important.”

All of the participants reported experiencing vocal problems after prolonged voice use (more than 30 minutes). The most commonly reported problem was voice fatigue, with nine of the ten participants reporting issues. Throat pain and difficulty with loud dynamics were reported four times each. Hoarseness, difficulty with soft dynamics, and a tickling or choking sensation were each reported twice, with breathiness and difficulty with crescendo also mentioned.

Each lesson was video recorded for later analysis. Criteria for analysis were developed from Sataloff’s Professional Voice. Kathleen Crane (Principal Investigator), Brenda Smith (Mentor), and Sarah Altman (Co-Investigator) viewed the videos in order to quantify vocal misuses and perceptually evaluate behavioral voice problems. The following vocal misuses were judged: throat-clearing, pitch elevation/decrease overuse, glottal attacks, glottal fry, jaw tension, and facial tension. The researchers found minimal throat-clearing, but the pitch elevation/decrease overuse, glottal fry, and glottal attacks increased as the lesson progressed. The longer the participants taught, the more they displayed vocal misuses. The misuses appear to have reached a peak during the rehearsal of “Amazing Grace” late in the rehearsal (see Figure 1).”

While all participants displayed vocal misuses, the instrumentalists were responsible for a greater percentage of the total observed misuses. For example, in the rehearsal of “Ave Verum Corpus,” the instrumentalists collectively performed 69 glottal attacks while the singers performed 36. Similarly, they were observed performing glottal fry 48 times, while this was only observed in the singers 17 times. This trend continued throughout the rehearsals. However, the only throat-clearing that was observed was by one of the participants, a vocalist (see Figures 2-5).

The researchers also perceptually evaluated the video recordings for desirable and inefficient vocal behaviors. Among the three inefficient vocal behaviors (yelling/screaming, loud talking, and excessive talking), the only behavior observed was excessive talking. The researchers rated the inefficient behaviors according to the frequency of their occurrence: never, rarely, sometimes, often, or very often. Two of ten participants were often found to talk excessively and one sometimes talked excessively.

The data from the video perceptual analysis show that all participants varied in the efficiency of their vocal behaviors (see Figures 6 & 7). In general, it seems that the singers were rated more efficient with regards to their voice use (breath control, breath support, tone focus in singing and speaking, projection and prosody) but were not significantly different in terms of their posture efficiency (see Figures 8 & 9).

In addition to the perceptual rating scale, the researchers also recorded subjective observations of the participants’ vocal behaviors. For all participants, they observed a decline in desirable vocal behaviors and an increase in inefficient behaviors as time progressed, reaching the peak during the rehearsal of “Amazing Grace.” This decline included increased vocal misuses, deteriorating posture, and body and facial tension.

Many of the vocal behaviors observed had to do with personal posture habits or other individual differences in behavior. A few, however, related to the participants’ teaching and pedagogical actions. For example, a few participants sung with the demonstration choir while they were rehearsing. One participant made a habit of talking over the singing. Another participant, a mezzo-soprano, modeled the male parts in their octave rather than the octave above. Additionally, many participants had repeated speaking behaviors such as the participant who repeatedly said “OK, so” in a staccato fashion and another who repeated “ready, alright” at frequent intervals. These teaching behaviors could contribute to deterioration of vocal efficiency.

Discussion

This study was designed to observe and measure vocal behaviors in potential music educators that could contribute to a decline in vocal integrity. Mild acoustical differences were found between the initial and post-teaching task acoustical screenings. Among the acoustical measurements employed, a few measurements yielded statistically significant changes. Each of the statistically significant results discussed above displays a trend toward deterioration of vocal integrity.

Not only did all participants display acoustical changes indicative of vocal deterioration, but they all displayed similar patterns in deterioration of desirable vocal behaviors over the course of the thirty-minute lesson. In general, the number of vocal misuses observed increased for the participants as the lesson progressed. The number of vocal misuses reached its peak during the rehearsal of “Amazing Grace,” seventeen minutes into the lesson. This suggests that the vocal misuses increase over prolonged voice use. This could be due to fatigue, decreased concentration on how one is using one’s voice, or many other factors. The participants displayed similar trends towards increasing deterioration of vocal integrity. This general increase in vocal misuses occurred for the participants regardless of their primary instrument, length of time in the Music Education program, and other factors.
Figure 1: Quantification of vocal misuses by all participants

Figure 2: Vocal misuses identified in the warm-up by instrument
Figure 3: Vocal misuses identified during the rehearsal of “Ave Verum” by instrument

Figure 4: Vocal misuses identified during the rehearsal of “Amazing Grace” by instrument
Figure 5: Vocal misuses identified during the cool down by instrument

Figure 6: Perceptual video analysis of desired vocal behaviors by participant
Figure 7: Perceptual video analysis of participants by desired vocal behavior

Figure 8: Efficiency of observed desired vocal behaviors of singers vs. instrumentalists
Interestingly, however, there were differences between the vocalists and instrumentalists in terms of their vocal misuses. In this study, there were five vocalists, four instrumentalists, and one participant who studies primarily as an instrumentalist with voice as her secondary instrument. Classifying this participant as an instrumentalist and comparing the five vocalists to the five instrumentalists, the instrumentalists performed a significantly higher percentage of the vocal misuses performed by the entire participant pool. This suggests that the possibility of vocal problems is not confined to those in the choral domain. It could be assumed that those who teach chorus would be more susceptible to vocal injury as they are speaking and singing throughout their daily work. However, many individuals who work in the choral realm have received formal vocal training. This could possibly increase their likelihood of using their voice efficiently, thus reducing their risk of vocal problems. Instrumentalists, on the other hand, may not have such training. Although they may not have as much call to use singing as the chorus teacher, there is an increasing trend towards using vocal modeling in the instrumental classroom in order to display phrasing, articulation, and other aspects of musicality. As such, instrumental teachers also use their singing voice in addition to their speaking voice in rehearsal. It is therefore vital that all potential music educators, regardless of primary instrument, be equipped with strategies to prevent vocal problems.

The results from this study confirm some of the findings in the earlier cited studies. Similar to the study by Solberg and Proctor, all of the participants reported vocal problems after prolonged voice use. Additionally, the participants in this study reported that vocal health is important or highly important to their career. This relates to Hackworth’s finding that 60% of preservice music teachers thought that a voice disorder would affect their career.

The acoustical results as well as the perceptual quantification of vocal misuses suggest that vocal deterioration occurs over time during the choral rehearsal. The participants displayed mild acoustical changes indicative of vocal deterioration and increasing performance of vocal misuses as the lesson progressed. One could speculate from these results that with a longer period of voice use (i.e. eight hours/day, five days/week) that moderate to perhaps severe vocal deterioration would occur during the course of one’s teaching career.

This study focused specifically on identifying vocal behaviors of students preparing for their student teaching internship. However, more research is needed on the vocal behaviors of the larger music educator population. Additionally, this study identified and quantified the frequency of undesirable vocal behaviors. From this information, the next step is research on behavior modification and ways to prevent such undesirable vocal behaviors. How can music educators decrease vocal deterioration as indicated by the acoustical changes? How do the vocal problems of music educators and the strategies needed to prevent them compare to teachers of other subject areas? What methods of behavior modification and awareness training will increase vocal efficiency and
prevent vocal problems? This study began the process of decreasing vocal problems among music educators but more research is needed.

Conclusion

After eliminating confounding variables (discipline, student age and ability, class size, ambient noise, etc.), the investigators were able to create a near-optimal teaching environment. Even within a near-optimal environment, mild acoustic changes were noted in addition to several different vocal misuses and mild overall vocal deterioration. One could speculate from these results that with a longer period of voice use (i.e. 8 hours/day, 5 days/week) that moderate to perhaps severe vocal deterioration would occur during the course of one’s teaching career. More research is needed to develop behavior modification strategies for the prevention of vocal problems among music educators.

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to thank my wonderful mentor, Dr. Brenda Smith, Associate Professor of Music. Dr. Smith has inspired me to new heights and has constantly supported and encouraged me throughout this project. I can’t thank her enough for all she has taught me over these past few years. I would also like to thank Sarah Altman, Graduate Research Assistant, Communicative Disorders. Sarah devoted countless hours to this project throughout the planning, experimentation, and analysis stages. Her advice and guidance were invaluable, and I could not have done it without her. I also thank Dr. Judith Wingate, Clinical Director, Communicative Disorders, for access to the facilities in Dauer Hall and her support of this project. Finally, I would like to thank Jessica Van Leer, Alyssa Rodgers, Anthony Rodriguez, and Chris Tobias for putting in numerous hours as the demonstration choir for the experimental phase of the research project. Their help and lovely voices were greatly appreciated.

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On The Burkeian Representative Anecdote and the Longinian Sublime

Rachel Belcher College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Florida

Drawing from Longinus’ On the Sublime as my Rosetta Stone and a contemporary rhetorical theorist, Kenneth Burke, as my insightful assistant, I offer three elements as being vital to achieving persuasive representative anecdotes. First, to be complex and supple, a representative anecdote ought to include layers of meaning, a proper noun, and possibly a historical reference. Second, to be representative of its matter, a representative anecdote must be both synecdochically specific and yet have scope whereby the audience understands its being representative. Third, to possess simplicity for ease of understanding, the representative anecdote must remain both implicit and yet succinct.

In Florida, fourth-, eighth-, and tenth-grade students write an essay in conjunction with the state standardized test, the Florida Comprehensive Assessment Test (FCAT). Because the FCAT essay rubric considers whether students use adequate support, educators teach students to support their standardized essays with an “example.” In the vast “communication mosaic” of today, messages compete for prominence amongst the plethora of written text, visual images, and aural sound bytes. Communicators wishing to persuade others thereby often turn to examples. With this emphasis on the example, I must ask, “has it been defined well enough?” I think not. Douglas Ehninger was a faculty member at UF who became a foundation of the University of Iowa Rhetoric Program. In “Toward a Taxonomy of Prescriptive Discourse,” Ehninger challenged me:

In a period such as the present when by common consent rhetoric is in a state of marked transition—when old boundaries are evaporating and first interpretations of the rhetorical experience abound—moorings to which we can attach a firm understanding of key rhetorical terms would seem to be especially needed. Yet for reasons which are not altogether clear, scholars have generally reluctant to supply them. My goal herein is to repair this deficiency.

According to Aristotle’s Rhetoric, the example constitutes one of two modes of persuasion (the other being the enthymeme). If rhetoric is indeed an art, not just any example will do, for some examples surely are more instrumental than others. My goal is to explicate the most persuasive type of example. To do so, I will use Longinus’ On the Sublime as my Rosetta Stone, and a contemporary rhetorical theorist, Kenneth Burke, to guide my insight. In an age impressed by technology, sublime writing might be deemed impractical and not particularly useful for political speeches, legal discourse, or a host of other compositional endeavors. Nevertheless, “sublime” is a contemporary scientific term.

When a substance transforms from its solid phase to the gaseous phase without going through the liquid phase, the act known to scientists as sublimation may relate to rhetorically sublime language. To create Longinian sublime works, communicators begin with a “solid,” or noble thought. Communicators transmit the “solids” of their ideas indefinitely, however, even if they divide them into many pieces, for gaseous states are more conducive to transmission. In gaseous states, substances retain their elemental make up—but in the most divisible form. In order to transform concepts as “solids” into states more effective persuasively, communicators subject them to extreme “temperature” or “pressure” (or both) of sublimity. The ultimate product of sublimation is meaning that may affect respondents better than the original “solid” substance.

In A Grammar of Motives, Kenneth Burke extols the most rhetorically sophisticated form of example as a “representative anecdote” that is “summational.” Thus, “a given [example] must be supple and complex enough to be representative of the subject matter it is designed to calculate. It must have scope. Yet, it must also possess the simplicity, in that it is broadly a reduction of the subject matter.” Therefore, I offer three elements as being vital to the most persuasive, sublime representative anecdote. First, to be “supple and complex,” a representative anecdote should include (a) layers of meaning, (b) a proper noun, and (c) a historical reference. Second, to be representative of the subject matter, a representative anecdote must be both (a) synecdochically specific and yet (b) have scope whereby the audience understands its being representative. Third, to possess simplicity for ease of understanding, the representative anecdote must remain (a) implicit and (b) succinct.

To understand further the sublimity of representative anecdotes, I adapt C.K. Ogden and I.A. Richards’ semantic triangle. Their celebrated treatise, The Meaning of Meaning, elucidated how words work in the diagram,
reproduced as Figure 1. My reinterpretation of the semantic triangle appears as Figure 2. The solid symbol (a sentence with a proper noun used as an example) rises to the level of the representative anecdote if it possesses rhetorically apt complexity. To achieve an epitome of a representative anecdote, the symbol has undergone rhetorical “pressure” and “heat.” When “pressure” and “heat” are adequate, the representative anecdote, or solid symbol, bypasses the usual lengthy, detailed explanation (or liquid stage) represented by the dotted line at the base of the triangle. I will explain.

**Figure 1:** C.K. Ogden and I.A. Richards’ semantic triangle

```
Thought or Reference

Correct* Symbolizes (a causal relationship)
Adequate* Refers (to other causal relations)

Symbol

Referent

*True - Standing for an imputed relation

**Figure 2:** My reinterpretation of the semantic triangle

```

**Representative Anecdote**

```

Correct* Complex layers (directly related)
Adequate* Refers (to other causal relations)

Symbol

Persuasive Conclusion

*True - Stands for the implied relationship

```

“**A GIVEN [EXAMPLE] MUST BE SUPPLE AND COMPLEX...**”

**(A) Complexity**

Consider Burke’s statement that “a given [example] must be supple and complex enough to be representative of the subject matter it is designed to calculate.” Here, Burke directs the communicator to choose an example with a balance of supleness—or generality—and complexity. By complexity, Burke refers to an allegorical quality of the example. In essence, the allegory is “a symbolic fictional narrative that conveys a meaning not explicitly set forth in the narrative... having meaning on two or more levels that the reader can understand only through an interpretive process.” Representative anecdotes, understood through an interpretive processes of induction, are allegorical—but not necessarily allegories. Like allegories, effective examples contain more than one meaning that does not obscure communicators’ intent, but provide multiple layers of interest and import from which audiences that take pride and pleasure. Although audiences often digest plain, purposeful speech quickly, they actually may savor speech that requires some effort (or perceived effort).

Effective complexity is illustrated by the statement of treasurer, and later governor, of Texas Ann Richards at the 1988 National Democratic Convention: “Ginger Rogers did everything Fred Astaire did. She just did it backwards and in high heels.” Richards’ anecdote is literal, but carries complexity. Richards speaks not just of Ginger Rogers but also of females generally, for women can accomplish the same things as men but may have had a harder time doing so. The implied second meaning, the complex allegorical one, impacts audiences more powerfully than the explicit first meaning, which is limited in its literality. If audiences discover an example’s complexity via their own inductive reasoning, they may tacitly accept the communicator’s implied idea.

As Longinus noted, communicators should not avoid creating complexity that contributes to grandeur and thus sublimity of a treatise, and he thus identified five principle sources of sublime writing. First and foremost was “elevation of mind,” which initiates awe-inspiring ideas, words, and sentences. Yet even if awe-inspiring, “if they cannot be taken allegorically, they are altogether impious, and violate our sense of what is fitting.” Put another way, Longinus wrote, “for a piece is truly great only if it can stand up to repeated examination, and if it is difficult, or rather impossible to resist its appeal ... it remains firmly and ineffaceably in the memory.” Representative anecdotes survive repeated examination because their allegorical natures provide layers of meanings for audiences to discover, which thereby constitute persuasive appeal and assist memory.

**(B) Proper Nouns**

The pivotal locus of sublime complexity may be the proper noun. Consider Richard Nixon’s use of the proper noun “Republican” when asserting that he and his party were honest and hard working. He said, “Pat doesn’t have a mink coat. But she does have a respectable Republican cloth coat.” The anecdote would have read much differently if the proper noun Republican had been omitted: “Pat doesn’t have a mink coat. But she does have a
respectsable cloth coat.” Although representative of Pat’s
closet, the anecdote lacks the larger allegorical meaning
that Nixon, as a Republican, does not squander campaign
funds on personal luxury. Without connection to this
larger, intended idea, the anecdote fails to be representative
of Richard Nixon’s rhetorical goal. The proper noun
provides this connection.

Admittedly, many people remember the aforementioned
speech by Nixon as being about his dog Checkers. So, a
legitimate question is, “why was the story of the dog not a
representative anecdote?” Simply, it was too long.
Although “Checkers” is a proper noun, it represented
nothing more than the name of Nixon’s dog, which he
obtained—free of charge—on the campaign trail (and
perhaps precisely the type of occurrence Nixon attempted
to deny in his speech).

Communicators should select proper nouns with care,
for by their nature, proper nouns are rhetorically
representative because “a word or group of words used to
refer to an individual entity … [that] singles out the entity
by directly pointing to it, not by specifying it as a member
of a class.” Proper nouns represent specific members of a
class, much like specific examples represent intended
ideas. In representativeness, proper nouns and examples
appear complementary by embodying a representative—
and allegorical—quality that suits examples. By specifying
an entity, which is a member of a class, proper nouns imply
the class. If proper nouns are a species of the class of an
intended idea, they effectively imply the intended idea as
representative anecdotes are meant to do by offering
multitude layers of details and associations, which add the
complexity and allegorical quality, for the “representative”
quality extolled by Burke. After all, Longinus asserts that a
true example of sublimity ought to “touch [the] spirit with
a sense of grandeur or leave more food for reflection of in
[the] mind than the mere words can convey.” The
meaning of the representative anecdote therefore must be
more than the mere words suggest.

(C) Historical vs. Fable Anecdotes

The desired complexity communicators can create
within representative anecdotes depends on their veracity.
Aristotle identified two forms of examples: “one consists in
the use of a parallel from the facts of history; the other in
the use of an invented parallel [or, a fable].” Aristotle
further comments on the use of fables and historical
examples:

Fables are suited to speeches in popular assembly; and
they have the advantage in that it is hard to find
parallels in history, but easy to find them in tales. In
fact, the speaker must contrive with the fable as he
contrive a comparison; all he needs is the power to see
[in some fable] the analogy [to the case at hand]—and
facility in this comes in literary training. But if it is
easier to find parallels in tales, nevertheless for
deliberative speaking the parallels from history are
more effective, since in the long run things will turn
out in the future as they have in the past.

Invented parallels may pale against the concreteness of
historical parallels. Nevertheless, both may have a use.
Fables allow communicators to craft carefully examples, so
that audiences will easily arrive at the general idea
communicators intend to convey. Historical examples,
however, possess individual, analogous perspectives.
Communicators should have complete knowledge of
historical examples as well the various perceptions
audiences have of it. Although fables may be easier to use,
communicators should not be deterred from employing
history, because, as Aristotle observed, “we judge things
to come by divining from things that have gone before.”
Therefore, historical examples are persuasive and should
be considered first when seeking representative anecdotes.
Note also that fables necessitate more length because of
their novelty and therefore tend to explicate the intended
idea. Not all fable representative anecdotes are essentially
inferior to the historical, however, for usefulness of either
type depends on the situation.

“A GIVEN [EXAMPLE] MUST BE…REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SUBJECT
MATTER IT IS DESIGNED TO CALCULATE. IT MUST HAVE SCOPE.”

(A) Synecdochically Specific

Both Burke and Aristotle warn communicators against
choosing examples that are simple reductions of the
subject. Aristotle warned against using an example that
“does not concern the relation of part to whole, nor of
whole to part, but of part to part, of like to like.” Instead,
the example should stand as a representative case of the
subject matter, or in other terms, the intended idea. Or as
Burke asserts, “an anecdote, to be truly representative,
must be synecdochic rather than metonymic; it must be a
part of the whole rather than a reduction of the mental to
the physical.” As modes of metaphor, metonymy is the
reduction of the mental to the physical, and synecdoche is
the reduction of a whole to one of its parts, but the “whole”
is the intended idea.

 Paramount to the success of representative anecdotes is
the specific relationship between the general subject and its
specific example. Audience best associate the subject and
its example if they come from the same class, such as
comparing Florida to Texas. Problems arise when a
communicator compares elements of different classes, such
as comparing Florida to Great Britain. Audience must work
mentally to overcome the class discrepancy, considering
the differences between the subject and example before
considering the similar, intended idea. For rhetorical goals
to be met, Aristotle was explicit: “when two things fall
under the same genus, but one of them is better known than the other, the better-known is the example, [and the lesser known is the exemplified].

(B) **Audience Understanding**

Well-chosen proper nouns are requisite for representativeness. When identifying the third factor in a “rhetorical situation,” Lloyd Bitzer required that discourse elicit a desired, “fitting” response from the audience. Using an unknown (or unknowable) example defeats the purpose of the representative anecdote to stand as a known exemplar of the general idea in order to associate the unknown subject with the intended idea. To assess respondents’ knowledge of an example, communicators must know how the audience is unified, for the factor that unifies an audience provides the communicator a repertoire from which to select an example. Without this repertoire, the communicator will struggle to choose an example that the entire audience knows. To assume a common knowledge amongst an unknown audience runs the risk of excluding some and confusing others, which is why representative anecdotes are inappropriate in the absence of a known, specific audience.

If communicators identify their audiences accurately, they should not shy away from representative anecdotes. After all, appeal for an entire audience is a goal of the Longinian sublime:

> As a generalization, you may take it that sublimity in all its truth and beauty exists in such works as please all men at all times. For when men who differ in their pursuits, their ways of life, their ambitions, their ages, and their languages all think in one and the same way about the same works, then the unambiguous judgment as it were, of men who have so little in common induces a strong and unshakable faith in the object of admiration.

Works capable of earning consistent admiration from a diverse audience are sublime. Though the former point of this discussion urged communicators to use representative anecdotes only when audiences are unified, know that each audience—even the most unified—is diverse. While Longinus did generalize sublimity to exist “in such works as please all men at all times,” an addendum concerning contemporary audiences is necessary. Longinus wrote rhetorical theory in the first-century B.C. In that time, Julius Caesar crossed the Rubicon, and the Roman Republic transitioned into the Roman Empire. In that time “men” included only upper-class, educated, free males. Thus, a Longinian “all men at all times” captured a narrower crowd—and narrower history of time—than 21st century A.D. For contemporary purposes, we may amend Longinus to state that sublimity exists in works that please a unified audience despite diverse origin, time or place. The American public would be such an audience. A work indeed would be sublime if it elicited the same verdict from a working immigrant on food stamps from Alabama in 2010 and a successful entrepreneur living in 2100 California. With this contemporary consideration of Longinus’ generalization, communicators may create sublime works that please a sizeable audience.

> “YET, IT MUST ALSO POSSESS SIMPLICITY, IN THAT IT IS BROADLY A REDUCTION OF THE SUBJECT MATTER.”

(A) **Implicit, Not Explicit**

Burke defines the representative anecdote as “containing implicitly what the analysis should draw out explicitly.” While Burke does not specifically relegate this “analysis” to the audience or the author, this definition asks the audience to reason inductively, or “to derive a general law from a number of like instances.” If communicators explicitly state the analysis, audiences do not engage in the inductive reasoning that defines the representative anecdote. Communicators spoil the feast if they—unlike makers of Aristotelian enthymemic arguments—explicate what the audience should conclude, thereby robbing them of their chance to sit and savor the information. Communicators may sugar coat thoughts with explanation, hoping audiences will swallow—or at least bite—but sublimity thereby is lost. To preserve the persuasiveness of representative anecdotes, communicators must maintain the implicitness of the intended conclusion and allow audiences to infer the intended association for themselves.

(B) **Succinct**

Another important aspect of representative anecdotes is their length. While quantitatively specifying the best length of representative anecdotes would unlikely produce better representative anecdotes, qualitatively defining length might. Sublime representative anecdotes implicitly achieve what communicators wish audiences to conclude explicitly. Added explanations and details often state explicitly that which should remain implicit—not to mention, sometimes disqualify the account as a representative anecdote. Nothing, therefore, should be added to anecdotes, save what is necessary for audiences to intuit implied conclusions. Effective historical parallels should be able to accomplish this in a sentence or two, especially since proper nouns should imply many details that communicators need not explicitly express.

The length of the historical example also warrants different considerations. As previously stated, historical representative anecdotes should not take more than a sentence or so to communicate. Not only do communicators run the risk of explicating the conclusion that the audience should reason, but communicators also risk detracting from the persuasiveness of the
representative anecdote by providing too many details. John F. Kennedy again provides the example. In the first televised Presidential Debate, Kennedy gave an opening statement on the state of the nation in which he cited some statistics and examples through the parallel structure of “I’m not satisfied” assertions. While the quantity of the examples possesses persuasive power, the persuasive quality of the examples wanes. Kennedy solved the problem with a representative anecdote: “In West Virginia, here in the United States, where children took home part of their school lunch in order to feed their families.” Burke, 60. This representative anecdote clearly compares the current state of Americans’ weak social support to a representative case of children feeding their parents, which is associated with the larger idea that the status quo is amiss. This representative anecdote allegorically affirms that successive generations have to take care of the failures of their fathers, implying that the new administration must rectify the current problems in America. A representative anecdote possesses great persuasive potential that is lost amid seven other stories and does not fulfill its potential. Its rhetoric is forgotten before it is analyzed.

Conclusion

Representative anecdotes, if properly formed, can sublime ordinary examples. Communicators need only heed three vital concerns to create the sublime representative anecdote. First, to ensure a complex and supple representative anecdote, communicators ought to include layers of meaning, a proper noun, and possibly a historical reference. Second, to create representative anecdotes that are representative of the subject matter, communicators must seek both synecdochically specific and yet audience understood examples. Third, to provide simplicity for ease of understanding the reduction of subject matter, communicators must allow representative anecdotes to remain implicit and succinct.

Representative anecdotes complying with the aforementioned elements achieve sublimity. Through representation, they raise the ordinary symbol from the solid state and sublime it into the pervasive, persuasive conclusion. Sublime representative anecdotes bypass the more tedious process of transforming an idea into an acceptable conclusion. Longinus notes that the lengthy, ordinary process is not merely poor communication, but communication that is not sublime. Merely good writing slowly unveils itself as mere chemistry that slowly transforms a solid into liquid then a gas. On the other hand, sublimation instantaneously transforms a solid into gas, akin to sublime writing immediately making itself known. As Longinus observed, “a well-timed stroke of sublimity scatters everything before it like a thunderbolt, and in a flash reveals the full power of the speaker.” Sublime representative anecdote persuade like thunderbolts—in a flash.

Endnotes


5 Burke, 60.


7 Allegories may come in the form of fables, which may be used for representative anecdotes. Fable-representative anecdotes are often allegories.


10 Ibid., 63.


15 Aristotle, Rhetoric, 1393b.

16 Ibid., 1394a.

17 Ibid., 1368a.

18 Ibid., 1357a.

19 Burke, 59. The subject matter is not the subject, but the matter the communicator wishes to relate to the subject, i.e. the intended idea.

20 Ibid., 326.

21 Aristotle, Rhetoric, 1357a.


24 Burke, 59, 325.


“A Nicely Polished Looking-Glass”: James Joyce and Emilia Pardo Bazán

Aside from their shared Celtic heritage, Ireland and Galicia found themselves in interestingly similar situations at the turn of the 20th century. As the rest of Europe thrived with industry, social revolution, and new ideas, the peoples of Ireland and Galicia languished, isolated within intellectually and commercially stagnant communities. Like their native countries, James Joyce and Emilia Pardo Bazán, too, found themselves in a parallel situation. Both lived simultaneously among and outside their respective cultures, flourishing intellectually and academically while processing the unavoidable reality that their homes remained stagnant even as the rest of the world modernized. Their works contain some of the best portrayals of the colonial situation their peoples faced, as well as some of the most interesting explanations for why they had to.

I. Historical Context

The turn of the century unveiled a rapidly changing world, one moved by industry toward economic and social change. The boom of industry sounded a faint echo, however, for those in Ireland and the Spanish province of Galicia. Canning and cigar factories were the only evidence of industry in the Galician capital, La Coruña. Even these, however, were funded and controlled by Catalán, British, and Basque investors (Gemie 45). Thus, what industry did exist yielded no benefit for the Galician people.

Another visible expression of Galicia’s failure to modernize is the prominence of caciquismo, the system by which the nobility of Galicia, or hildaguía, maintained total political control of the region. Voters in Galicia were manipulated by caciques by means of bribes, public holidays, sermons, and speeches. When these maneuvers failed, the peasants were threatened by the insurmountable penalty of higher taxes. While the rest of Spain engaged in extinguishing caciquismo with relative success, Galicia suffered quietly. Most historians agree that it was Galicia’s pre-modernity that prevented rebellion from occurring.

Indeed, Galicia of 1900 was essentially a chain of crystallized medieval towns. Sharif Gemie describes the Galician countryside as a “densely elaborate spider’s web, stretching from the house, through the hamlet, the village, the parish, to the market town” (46). The Spanish census of 1920 revealed that Galicia was home to 40 percent of all the villages in the country (Gemie 46). In his book, Historia de Galicia, Ramón Villares affirms that rather than specialize, the typical Galician peasant served as both farmer and artisan, working only to support himself and his family (138). Galicia entered the 20th century virtually void of modes of communication or transportation. Indeed, it was only at the very end of the 19th century that the first railroad system was established (Villares 140). This predicament was responsible for Galicia’s failure to organize and improve its conditions. In many ways, the difficulty of communication was secondary in importance to the impossibility of establishing a collective identity as a region (Gemie 46). Without a doubt, Galicia at the turn of the century functioned as a colonial society. Thus, Galicia faced the dawn of the new century intellectually, politically, economically, and socially paralyzed.

Undeniably, the Ireland of the early 1900s also suffered tremendously from the effects of colonial circumstances. In her book, Dublin: The Deposed Capital, Mary E. Daly describes Dublin as “the entrepot for British trade and commercial influence and presumably the main centre for the diffusion of British culture in Ireland” (1). In the wake of modernity, Dublin’s native industries simply did not develop, with the exception of brewing and biscuits (320). The implication of Ireland’s failure to industrialize is that the majority of its goods were imported from Britain. Moreover, while most high-ranking occupations in Ireland were held by members of the British upper classes, the native Irish people were doomed to unemployment. Indeed, Ireland and Galicia alike suffered the social issues universal to poverty: unhealthy diets, dirty and crowded housing, disease, alcoholism, and prostitution. Starving, barefooted children roamed the streets of Dublin (O’Brien 175). In 1910, a total of 3,758 people were categorically drunk when arrested (Daly 81). The Irish countryside, like that of Galicia, was largely medieval in structure and functioned independently of modern technology and ideas. The Irish situation was complicated by the Irishman’s status as a second-class citizen in his own country, as rabid...
British stereotypes portrayed the Irish as simian in appearance, attitude, and intelligence (Cheng 33). As a result, many members of the upper classes viewed the misery of the lower classes as inevitable due to their fundamental ignorance.

Interestingly enough, both Galicia and Ireland responded to their respective circumstances with nationalist revival. Indeed, the Irish Revival and Galician Rer fundimento coexisted historically in the years before and after the turn of the century. F.S.L. Lyons writes, “Against the accusation of barbarism, [the Irish] constructed a consoling image of an ancient civilization a land of saints and scholars, a commitment to monastic Christianity that had laid much of Europe in its debt” (11). Both revivals placed heavy emphasis on the legacy of a glorious Celtic past, a heritage both countries shared. Many Galician writers, including Rosalia de Castro, published works in gallego, the original language of Galicia, while Irish nationalists emphasized the revival of Gaelic. Douglas Hyde, a prominent Irish nationalist, encouraged the Irish people to abandon English culture, even in literature, music, and dress (Lee 137-138). Naturally, these flares of nationalist sympathy were accompanied by hostility toward the colonial powers they blamed for their woes. Their eagerness to pinpoint a villain, however, did little to solve their problems. As Genie points out, “by scapegoating the caciques in this manner, nationalists avoided discussing other important questions concerning rural social hierarchies” (83). Neither Bazán nor Joyce identified wholly with these revivals. Though Bazán maintained an interest in Galician folklore and culture, she stated explicitly that the true language of Galicia was traditional Spanish, or castellano, not gallego (Pattison 9). While the subject matter of virtually all of his work concerned Ireland, Joyce spent most of his adult life abroad rather than join the nationalist movement.

Both Joyce and Bazán spent their lives in pursuit of illuminating the problems their generations inherited from society. In his book, The Catholic Naturalism of Pardo Bazán, Donald Brown writes: “Bazán thought there could never be anything wrong with saying the truth about things, however painful it was to hear; it was false patriotism to misrepresent; only through facing the truth could Spain pull herself out of the morass of ignorance, political corruption, and slothfulness into which she had fallen” (40). In a letter to his publishers aimed at publishing Dubliners as he had written it, Joyce writes “I seriously believe that you will retard the course of civilization in Ireland by preventing the Irish people from having one good look at themselves in my nicely polished looking-glass” (qtd. in Balzano 83). Yet another correlation brings the writers together—their unmitigated certainty that the tendency among their respective peoples to ignore the problems their nations faced was what most harmed them.

II. Emigration Stories

Perhaps the most lucid example of the correlation between Galicia and Ireland is the juxtaposition of Joyce’s “Eveline” and Bazán’s “Las Medias Rojas.” Both tell the story of a young woman living under the thumb of her father, a violent widower, who is seduced by the possibility of escaping her homeland in pursuit of a promising future in America. Both women expect to arrive at independence, financial stability, and respect—yet on the day of departure, neither is aboard her respective ship. Most importantly, another force acts behind the scenes in both “Eveline” and “Las Medias Rojas,” one not specifically mentioned but certainly alluded to in both texts: the possibility that both of their journeys were destined for prostitution abroad.

The most significant difference between their frustrated voyages is the obstacle preventing their flight. Eveline, frozen on the spot, watches her boat sail away, suddenly indifferent to her lover’s cries to follow him; Joyce writes, “Her eyes gave him no sign of love or farewell or recognition” (Joyce, Dubliners 32). The implications of her refusal to emigrate are disputable. Nevertheless, the prevailing interpretation, regardless of how it is arrived at, is that Eveline exemplifies the “paralysis” that haunts all of the Dubliners in Joyce’s work—she is trapped within a cycle of stagnation, from which any effort to escape is eventually revealed as delusional. Ildara, on the other hand, is rendered physically unable to board her boat. Prior to her departure, she uses the miniscule amount of money given to her by her middleman to purchase for herself a pair of red stockings (a purchase suggested by the middleman himself). Upon discovering the stockings, her father, Tio Clodio beats her, essentially, to a pulp. Not only does she lose a tooth in the ensuing struggle, but due to a “retinal detachment,” she is blinded in one eye.

In her book James Joyce, Sexuality and Social Purity, Katherine Mullin compiles extensive relevant research on the white slave trade panic. Brenda Maddox writes on the first page of her 1988 biography about James Joyce’s wife, Nora: “In every young Irish mind the question of emigration is as inescapable as it has been since the Great famine of the 1840s” (qtd. in Norris 56). Propaganda warning against the evils and dangers of emigration flooded Ireland at the turn of the century, tales of seduction and abandonment, “startlingly uniform melodramas of innocent country girls, villainous suitors from overseas, false promises of marriage, and, eventually, the chloroformed cloth, hypodermic syringe or drugged drink that led to certain ‘ruin’ in an overseas ‘house of shame’” (Mullin 67). Mullin goes on, however, to point out that Joyce’s treatment of the subject matter is “distinctly tongue-in-cheek, since in the first decade of the twentieth century, social purity movements like the National
Vigilance Association were bitterly resented in nationalist Ireland as compromising that very self-sufficiency The Irish Homestead hoped to instill” (74). Indeed, by the time Joyce published “Eveline,” a fair amount of skepticism had also begun to circulate, mostly in response to the undeniably obvious degree of exaggeration discernible in the propaganda (77). This phenomenon was indisputably Pan-European, affecting the continent as well as Britain and Ireland. Gemie expounds on how a Galician woman’s journey across the ocean differed from a man’s: “they were usually poorer, they were exploited by the ships’ crews, and—worse still—there was a thriving trans-Atlantic sex industry, in which women were shipped from Spain to Argentina to become prostitutes” (52).

Bazán’s treatment of the subject is strikingly different from Joyce’s: while Eveline is probably aware of the white slave trade hysteria (as evidenced by the apparent prevalence of related propaganda in Dublin), it does not seem as though Ildara has any idea where she is headed, geographically or otherwise—nor is she necessarily worried about it. The narrator’s mention of the “gancho,” or middleman travel agent, is haunting—it is just as obvious to him as it is to the reader that poor, uneducated village women like Ildara will do anything to escape their poverty. Perhaps the question is not so much whether Ildara will remain at home or suffer a life of demeaning humiliation as a prostitute, but whether she would eventually prostitute herself in her own country or abroad. At the end of the story, though, her ability to live independently of her father is permanently jeopardized, as his beating renders her completely useless.

III. International Context

Bazán’s short story, “La Armadura,” discusses the growing irrelevance of the Spanish nobility in a modern context. Despite her relative leniency toward the ruling class due to her own status as a member of the aristocracy, Bazán is not blind to its decline and decadence. “La Armadura” tells the story of a young duke, Lanzafuerte, who attends a costume ball as his own grandfather, dressed in his family armor. By the end of the night, the suit is so heavy, tight, and suffocating that Lanzafuerte has to return home on the verge of fainting. At home, his friend comments, “España es como tú…metida en los moldes del pasado, y muriéndose, porque ni cabe en ellos ni los puede soltar” (My translation: “Spain is just like you…stuck in the moulds of the past, and dying, because you do not fit inside them and refuse to let them go”) (Cuentos Completos 273). It is the nobility’s failure to relinquish antiquated notions of superiority based on family name that hinders Spain’s progress. Ultimately, Lanzafuerte’s arrogance about his legacy blinds him to the fact that he cannot function in society. It is important that he attends the ball dressed as his grandfather first and foremost because he cannot afford a new costume. This failure is thus both interpersonal and national: Spain is no longer a world power. Maryellen Bieder writes that Bazán understood “the fact of being something historical, finished, inextricably linked to institutions that are today being called into question by social evolution” (44).

Joyce’s short story, “After the Race,” too, demonstrates the reality that in the context of the modern world, Ireland has been left behind. The story follows Jimmy Doyle, a young Dubliner, who attends a race with some international friends and ends the night drunk and penniless. What is perhaps most interesting about the story, however, is that it begins by describing how Jimmy’s father came into his money. Once a fervent nationalist, he had “modified his views early” (Joyce, Dubliners 33). After making his living as a butcher, he secured police contracts and ultimately made enough money to send his son to Cambridge. Essentially, Jimmy’s father forfeited his political views to cater to English hegemony, represented both by Cambridge and the police, for an attempt at a more luxurious lifestyle. Despite his education, however, Jimmy is vacuous to the point of idiocy and consumes his time formulating pretenses that are convincing only to himself. At the end of the day, Jimmy, like the Irish nation, goes home empty-handed. Even though he plays the part to the best of his abilities, his life barely constitutes the role of supporting actor. Ireland is, at best, an extra in the world drama—and perpetuates its status as such by ignoring it.

IV. Colonial Elements

The title of Joyce’s short story “Two Gallants” sets up expectations to be disappointed, for its protagonists, Lenehan and Corley, are anything but gallant. The plot of the story concerns one of Corley’s attempts to seduce a “slavey,” or domestic servant woman. It is only at the end of the story that the reader is informed that Corley was sleeping with the slavey to convince her to steal from her employer on his behalf. In essence, Corley makes his living through manipulation and inverse prostitution. Though it is obvious that Corley is taking advantage of the lower class, he does not realize that he, too, is being manipulated. Both Lenehan and Corley are, unbeknownst to them, wholly manipulated by British supremacy. Indeed, the story is pervaded with imagery of British dominance over Irish life. The notion that colonization turns the colonized into imitations of the colonizer is presented vividly in Lenehan’s distinctly English dress. Joyce’s classification of Lenehan as “leech” is telling—he has no life of his own except that which he extracts from Britain.

Lenehan is also haunted by the image of the weathered harpist playing an old Irish melody, Silent, O Moyle. As he walks about the city, his hands inadvertently tap out the tune of the song on the railings of the Duke’s Lawn. Joyce writes, “The air which the harpist had played began to control his movements” (Joyce, Dubliners 45). Dressed in English fashion, Lenehan remains inescapably Irish and
bound to the Irish fate. He is controlled by the stagnation around him, whether or not he realizes it. Seamus Deane writes, “The city of Dublin—not just the place but also the cultural system that constitutes it—exercises an almost dogmatic authority over the people who inhabit it, yet what individuality they have must express itself in collusion with that authority” (21).

Bazán treats the effects of a colonial situation on the poorest of the poor in her story “La Advertencia,” in which a poor Galician peasant woman, Maripepa, immediately after giving birth to her child is called by her landlords in Madrid to serve as wet-nurse to their newborn son. The direness of her situation is such that the opportunity is virtually the only way to financially support her own children, especially given the implicit consequence of disobeying her landlord. Her husband bemoans, “Nos cumples a los pobres obedecer y aguantar” (My translation: “The lot of the poor is to obey and to endure”) (Cuentos Completos 208). The situation is made all the more painful by the implication that Maripepa will be subject to sexual harassment, perhaps even rape. Her husband tells her at their parting, “Tú vas para el chiquillo y no para los grandes, ¿oyesme?” (My translation: “You are going for the child and not for the adults, do you hear me?”) (209). Yet it is clear that both husband and wife are powerless to defend her honor. The lower class lives only to sustain the upper class. Maripepa is useful only for her body. Literally, the poor are milked of their worth by the upper class.

V. The Intellectual of the Backward Nation

The conundrum of the intellectual produced by an intellectually sterile culture was an issue very near to Joyce and Bazán, as both experienced it firsthand: both the experience of living as a stranger in one’s own culture and the frustration precipitated by attempting to change it.

Bazán’s story, “El Vidrio Rojo,” tells the story of Goros Aguillán, a young man from the small Galician town of Santa Morna. As he grows older, Goros tires of his intellectually and materially impoverished circumstances, represented in the story by the broken windowpane of his room. At 15, he travels to South America to escape “aquel mundo inmundo” (Cuentos Completos 286). Goros works hard there for a number of years, always sending money back to his family attached with encouragements to better the house, making special mention of repairing the broken windowpane of his youth. The only instruction followed is the replacement of the broken windowpane, now substituted by a green glass window. Struck by the sharp contrast of the new window against the rest of the house, Goros tells his mother to replace it with the old windowpane. Goros is suddenly cognizant of what he had refused to see all his life—that money will not solve their problem. Their incapacity to use the money is far more difficult to rectify than their financial poverty. In replacing the window, Goros was even attempting to take away what good the country provided his family; Bazán mentions that “fresh air and the smell of the countryside used to reach him through that windowpane” (“The White Horse” and Other Stories 140). If their perception of the world is immutable, why attempt to obfuscate their reality with a sophisticated window?

Stephen Dedalus of Joyce’s Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man experiences the same issue. After winning a large sum of money for his academic achievement, he proceeds to embark on a “season of merrymaking” (95) wherein he hopes to better the life of his impoverished family by buying them gifts, taking them out to dinner, and opening up a personal loan bank. Once his money runs out, however, everything in their lives returns to how it was before the contest: “How foolish his aim had been! He had tried to build a breakwater of order and elegance against the sordid tide of life without him and to dam up, by rules of conduct and active interests and new filial relations, the powerful recurrence of the tides within him. Useless” (97). Like Goros, Stephen realizes that mere money cannot eradicate the morass of ignorance that caused his family’s poverty in the first place. Burdened by shame and anger, Stephen “felt that he was hardly of the one blood with them but stood to them rather in the mystical kinship of fosterage, fosterchild, and fosterbrother” (97). In these lines, it is clear that Stephen has begun to see himself as intrinsically superior to his family based on his intelligence, going so far as to identify himself with Jesus. Through his tongue-in-cheek description of Stephen’s idealization, Joyce points out that even Stephen has not managed to escape the negative effects of his surroundings. Indeed, Bazán begins “El Vidrio Rojo” with a similarly ironic tone: “There exist beings who are superior or at least different and even resistant to the environment into which they’re born” (“The White Horse” and Other Stories 137).

VI. Conclusion

At the end of Portrait, Stephen is able to better come to terms with the culture that raised him. In the final pages of the novel, he writes in his diary about his friend’s failed attempt to educate an old Irish man in the west of Ireland about the universe and stars. Stephen writes, “I fear him. I fear his redrimmed horny eyes. It is with him I must struggle all through this night till day come, till he or I lie dead, gripping him by the sinewy throat till…Till what? Till he yield to me? No. I mean him no harm” (223). Ultimately, Stephen decides to reconcile all aspects of his native culture by writing them into art. Arguably, Joyce attempted to do the same. Maryellen Bieder writes, “The medium and the goal of [Bazán’s] life’s work were artistic creation, which in her view transcended both eternal social problems and temporal social problems and movements.” In order to combat poverty, despair, and paralysis, Joyce
and Bazán create. I give Bazán the last word: in an article entitled “Feminismo” (1919), she writes, “Let us console ourselves with art. Consolémonos con el arte” (qtd. in Bieder 54).

Works Cited


From the earliest incarnations of Arthurian legend, the figure of Mordred was a constant. His character has been carried from Wales, where he initially and ambiguously appeared in the Annales Cambriae, into the national literatures of Italy, Germany, and France. Thus, despite the frequent characterization of Arthurian legend as particularly English, Arthurian legend is more accurately pan-European. Once Arthurian legend had diffused throughout Europe, authors began to use the legend’s well-known set of figures, such as Lancelot, Guinevere, Mordred, and Arthur, in a propagandistic way. The English Malory’s Le Morte d’Arthur presents Mordred in a highly vilified way, whereas the Scottish Fordun’s Chronica Gentis Scotorum suggests that Arthur robbed Mordred and his half-brother Gawain of the throne. A comparison of the use of Mordred as a politically allegorical figure in Malory’s Le Morte d’Arthur and Fordun’s Chronica gentis scotorum demonstrates the later importance that the effect of literary diffusion had on the character. These texts, though composed contemporaneously and on the same island, present Mordred in vastly different capacities.

This study, therefore, will consider the transformation of Mordred from the fifth century through the fifteenth century through a comparison of geographically and temporally distinct texts. The main focus will be on two texts, Le Morte d’Arthur and Chronica gentis scotorum; auxiliary texts in use include Gervase of Tilbury’s Otia imperialia and Geoffrey of Monmouth’s Historia regum britanniae, concluding with a brief consideration of a twelfth-century use of Mordred and Arthurian legend as presented in T. H. White’s The Once and Future King.

Due to the temporal and geographical diffusion of Arthurian literature, there is no one version of the set of events comprising Arthurian legend. To offer a synopsis of the legend would indubitably neglect a seminal piece of Arthurian literature or betray some cultural bias; instead of a complete overview of the legend, a summation of a series of events usually associated with Mordred (primarily following post-Vulgate interpretations) would be much more useful. Mordred was born as the result of an incestuous liaison between Arthur and his sister. Arthur, upon learning of Mordred’s existence, commanded that all male children be sent to sea to drown. Mordred, of course, survived and later came to Arthur’s idyllic court of Camelot. Joined by his half-brothers, all from Orkney (an island north of Scotland), Mordred plotted to expose the affair of Lancelot and Guinevere. Thus a civil war began, culminating in the battle at which both Mordred and Arthur fell. Arthur fatally skewered Mordred, and Mordred drew himself upon Arthur’s blade and slew the king, his father.

The passage in the Annales Cambriae, for the year 537, reads “Gueith Camlann, un qua Arthur et Medrart corruere.” Despite the early dates appearing in the Annales Cambriae, the actual date of the document’s composition is almost 300 years later, circa 954. In 1138, Geoffrey of Monmouth’s Historia regum britanniae referred to Arthur as King Arthur, and Arthur had a greater presence in this text than in previous annals. In Geoffrey of Monmouth’s history, the basis for many of the later versions of the Arthurian cycles emerges, including the character of Mordred.

The transformation of Mordred from an ambivalent name on a list to a villain to a nationalistic hero figure exemplifies the directions and evolutions of the Mordred story that are visible in the diffusion of the “matière de Bretagne” from its point of origin in Wales to other parts of Britain. As the Arthurian legend spread throughout Europe, the knights underwent a metamorphosis throughout time and space in which their characters began to reflect the geographic and temporal location of and the cultures producing the respective narrative. This metamorphic process subsequently bastardized Mordred, a status that came both literally and physically. The physical process of the disassociation and reassignment of characteristics of Mordred from the cultural diffusion of the Arthurian legend produced the illegitimacy of his birth and the villainy of his character.

For example, the first appearance of incest connected with Mordred’s birth occurred in Lancelot and Mort Artu of the Vulgate Cycle in the thirteenth century, where the “moral comment is curiously
This shadow of incest connected with Mordred continued to grow and mutated into having a greater degree of influence in the legend, yet “the English were quite undeterred in their admiration by the incest charge.”7 In fact, Fanni Bogdanow, author of The Romance of the Grail, stated that “the theme of Mordred’s incestuous birth seems to serve mainly to heighten the horror of the final tragedy.”8 Malory eventually transformed Arthur’s fatal flaw of incest, which the French authors initially presented, into the mechanism that made Arthur the tragic hero. Arthur’s realization of the patricide and filicide, inflicted respectively on and by his son and himself, is the real tragedy of Camelot, not Lancelot and Guinevere’s courtly affair. In fact, Lancelot’s dalliance with Guinevere could have been permitted, or at least overlooked if not excused, if Mordred and his faction had not forced Arthur to recognize it.

The transformation of Mordred from a figure in annals to a villain and, though briefly, into a hero, is exemplary of this correlation between geography and the effects on narratives. After the Annales Cambriae mentioned him, the character of Mordred became more defined in later texts. The Annales did not state whether Medraut and Arthur fell supporting or opposing each other. In Henry of Huntington’s Historia Anglorum, however, written in 1129 (about 150 years after the Welsh Annales), Mordred was a distinctly evil character. He “usurps the [Arthur’s] throne and marries Arthur’s wife.”9 Although Mordred may have been villainous since his inception, it is not until later narratives that his motivations for such villainy are enumerated. As with all of the figures in Arthurian legend, as time progresses, his character became more complex.

By the twelfth century, Geoffrey of Monmouth’s histories subscribed Mordred’s place of birth to the Orkney Islands, off the coast of Scotland. To make a man of the North, closer to Scottish than British, a villain, a usurper of thrones and an often incestuous adulterer with Arthur’s queen Guinevere, is indicative of the racism towards the Scottish and Pictish tribes from the perspective of the inhabitants of the southern parts of British Island.10 This tradition of the treachery of Mordred, as typically described in the earlier versions of the Arthur story, continued until the legend diffused to Scotland and Scottish authors re-interpreted the legend in the fourteenth century; Mordred, in the hands of Scottish authors, was transformed from a villainous usurper into a wronged hero. In Chronica gentis Scotorum, attributed to John of Fordun in the mid- to late-fourteenth century, “Gawain and Mordred had a right to the throne,”11 the logic being that “since Arthur was illegitimate, Mordred, as Lot’s son, was the rightful heir to the British throne.”12 In fact, Rosemary Morris purposes that “the whole tragedy, from Historia regum britanniae onwards, hinges on the succession.”13 While “Mordred’s claim [to the throne] is vindicated by the Scots,” Morris suggests that this issue of legitimacy became more important in Scottish texts than the interpersonal relationship between Mordred and Arthur and the indeterminate sin of incest.14 Instead of moral transgressions, Mordred’s presence at Camelot became an issue of succession and transcended into international politics. Fordun’s statement is perhaps not surprising, given that the author and his audience were likely Scottish.15 Thus, Mordred was no longer portrayed as a traitor, but rather as the party wronged by the usually heroic King Arthur. The Mordred figure and his “rebellion” represented an assertion of Gaelic nationalism during a time of English hegemony towards the North.

In contrast to Morris’s interpretation of Mordred’s birth as a commentary on Scots and rights of succession, Elizabeth Archibald proposes that Arthur’s incest with his sister was less a critique of Mordred, as it would later become, but more a critique of Arthur. The French Vulgate cycle was the first text to describe the incestuous birth of Mordred, circa the thirteenth century.16 Despite an argument by Guerin in The Fall of Kings and Princes, which states that Geoffrey of Monmouth “deliberately suppressed such a major flaw [as incest] in his hero,”17 most scholars believe the Vulgate Cycle to be the first work in which Mordred was conceived by an incestuous liaison between Arthur and his sister. Though predating the Hundred Years War, the French Anglophobia (and, indeed, the English Francophobia) is apparent throughout the literature. Archibald says that “the writer [of Agravain, a section in which Mordred’s birth is detailed] seems to have several aims in developing this story, and on the whole they are not favourable to Arthur.”18 The positions of Archibald and Morris on the purpose of Arthur’s incest in the Vulgate cycle, though seemingly contradictory to each other, are in fact complementary. Morris continues the argument that “[t]he incest is not used either to punish Arthur or to explain Mordred’s wickedness,”19 and that furthermore “[t]he author does not assume that because Mordred is born of incest he is necessarily
wicked. Only Mordred himself can answer for his own character.\textsuperscript{20}

While Mordred was still a villainous character in the French Vulgate Cycle, it would appear that the text leaned towards a more equilibrated doling of blame—Arthur’s offense was clearly recognized, and it was his “evil” that begot Mordred’s evil. In comparison, the later English author Malory redeemed Arthur and condemned Mordred unequivocally in \textit{Le Morte d’Arthur}: upon Merlin’s prediction of Mordred’s birth, the sin from where he came, and his later role in Arthur’s kingdom, Arthur gathered all of the babies born within a certain period (around the time of Mordred’s birth) and set them to sea in hope of their drowning. By murdering both his son and the other children, Arthur sacrificed his moral soul for his kingdom’s wellbeing. Archibald deems that “Malory is harsher [than previous Arthurian authors] in letting all the other babies drown, which makes Mordred’s survival all the more miraculous.”\textsuperscript{21}

The transition from the medieval to the early modern period in the fifteenth century was, for the entirety of Europe, tumultuous. The bubonic plague had effectively reduced the population of Europe and created a newly emerging form of European economics, ergo a new way of life with an emphasis on the rights of the labor force. At this time, England was also at war with France and wracked with internal strife.\textsuperscript{22} Essentially, England was torn, socially and politically, from two fronts, a distressing situation that was reflected in the literature.\textsuperscript{23} Malory’s \textit{Le Morte d’Arthur} stood on the cusp between the medieval and early modern periods at the time of its publication circa 1470. Malory wrote \textit{Le Morte d’Arthur} during his interim in jail at the waning of the knightly era.\textsuperscript{28, 25}

In Malory’s version of the Mordred narrative, King Lot of Lothian and Orkney married Arthur’s sister, “and King Arthur lay by King Lot’s wife, which was Arthur’s sister, and gat on her Mordred.”\textsuperscript{26} Malory highlighted the incest of Mordred’s birth by ensuring that the genealogy of the Pendragon family did not go unnoticed. Merlin’s prophesy “that there should be a great battle beside Salisbury, and Mordred his own son should be against him,” spurred Arthur to issue a decree similar to the biblical Pharaoh’s decree upon determining an influx of Israelites that “charged all his people, saying, Every son that is born ye shall cast into the river, and every daughter ye shall save alive.”\textsuperscript{27} Mordred, like Moses, survived this infant annihilation;\textsuperscript{28} he eventually became a knight, and was generally disliked at Arthur’s court, but tolerated because of his heritage and familial ties to Gawain. He became aware of the affair of Lancelot and Guinevere and began to plot to destroy not only Sir Lancelot and Guinevere, but also Arthur and, thereby, the entirety of Camelot. In essence, Mordred was, according to Malory, “[an] unhappy knight.”\textsuperscript{29}

Throughout the texts discussed above, Mordred’s motivation for his betrayal and subsequent destruction of Camelot is both varied and complex, and the English and Scottish authors of the fifteenth century imbued the legend with historical and political allegory.\textsuperscript{30} The historical interpretation is most solidly defined, but a political interpretation of the text lends itself to a very conservative reading, as the king is equated with and reflects the health of land: Arthur is “king, born of all England.”\textsuperscript{31} In allowing the perpetuation of incestuous origins of Mordred, coupled with Mordred’s Orkney birth-place, Malory wrote in a very unsubtle statement that the Northern people are “bastards.” The bastard son, as a representation of a country and as a political character, will try not only to gain sovereignty but also to usurp the throne. Malory’s writing was both a strangely prophetic and a very astute projection of Anglo-Scottish politics.

In the late sixteenth century, a century after Malory’s era, the tensions between England and Scotland manifested into the struggle for succession to the English throne. Having gained independence from England in 1328, several centuries later in the early sixteen hundreds, the Scottish king James laid claim to the English throne. Despite Elizabeth the First’s previous attempts to prevent the continuation of Catholicism through the ascension of Mary of Guise, the French Queen of Scotland, Mary’s son James inherited the throne after Elizabeth’s death. Like Mordred and Arthur essentially canceling each other out in battle, the rule of James the First annulled Scottish independence, while also extinguishing the British royal line.\textsuperscript{32} The English Tudor line, descended from the House of Lancaster, had ended because of Scottish rule; however, Scotland lost the sovereignty that the Scots desperately continued to seek.

In addition to the varying political allegories attached to his character, Mordred also represented politically ideologies representing progress in Malory’s \textit{Le Morte d’Arthur}. Mordred labored to undermine the pinnacle of the chivalric order, the Knights of the Table Round. Mordred destroyed this
old-fashioned political form with a very modern weapon, and a very modern method. Therefore, Mordred’s politics were that of progress, whereas the system that he brought down was the traditionalist court of King Arthur.

Since the introduction of gun powder into European warfare and other advances in military technology, and certainly since the Bubonic Plague had previously decimated a good portion of men eligible for knighthood, the horse-based culture of the chevalier was rapidly becoming obsolete. Therefore, this period of progression away from the medieval period may seem a strange time for Malory to choose to regurgitate the archaic, chivalric tales of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table. By the time Malory wrote, the Early Modern period had superseded the Age of Chivalry. However, this Early Modern, or extreme late medieval period, was a time period in which England needed this seemingly nationalistic tale of a brave, native king defending England from an alien force, a vile, incestuous usurper from the North named Mordred. His battle techniques are modern: “in the most unknighthly fashion, [Mordred] uses cannon on his enemies, even on Guinevere’s fortress.”33 Mordred’s use of gunpowder to destroy the ideal that Camelot represented was mirrored in the society of the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries as firearms destroyed chivalry. Mounted attacks and steel armor were not sufficient offence or defense against canons and gunfire.

Furthermore, Mordred’s political strategies also have an underlying modernity. In Le Morte d’Arthur, Mordred was acting as a proto-Machiavellian Prince: instead of relying on his heredity and aristocracy to win him support, as a monarch with divine right would, he used the art of rhetoric “and much people drew unto him. For then he was the common voice among them that King Arthur was never other life but war and strife, and with Sir Mordred was great joy and bliss.”34 For Malory, Mordred was a manifestation of progressive liberal politics, while King Arthur and the court of Camelot remained conservative, archaic remnants of an antiquated ideal of knights in shining armor doing good deeds, saving maidens, and going on grail quests. In a way, Malory may have been writing an early version of the modern dystopian novel, showing how progress is destructive. The Age of Chivalry and Camelot could not be sustained in the world, neither according to literature nor shown in reality. Camelot fell to modernity, but modernity destroyed itself with its lack of respect for history; yet eventually, even modernity will fall into the past and be destroyed like its forefathers.

While it is difficult to establish sweeping statements about any figure in Arthurian legend due to the multiple versions and the differences between the rendering of each individual within space and time, as the previous sections have labored to demonstrate, to simplify Mordred as a merely malevolent villain is uninformed. He is, in many ways, a tragic hero much as Arthur.35 Mordred’s tragedy is that “[a]lthough Mordred starts life with a birth-story so often associated with heroes, he is destined from birth (indeed, from conception) to be the villain.”36 Yet in order to make a modern remark on the “redemption of Mordred,” one must move beyond the literature discussed above and consider material composed post-Vulgate in which more of Mordred’s story was formed and taken beyond chronicle form. While authors made great strides in the composition of Arthurian legend, especially in the twelfth century, and transfigured it from chronicle material into the more “substantial” Romance, few of these Romances mentioned Mordred.

The complexities of Mordred in post-Vulgate literature, however, made him more than a wicked antagonist. With the background that the Vulgate Cycle provides, he is a product of his circumstances. From the time of his birth, due to the nature of his conception, “Mordred is presented as an innocent victim, even though he is destined to destroy the Arthurian world.”37 Yet the representation of Mordred continually changed throughout the texts: he was a villain, a hero, a son, a nephew, an incestuous bastard, and an adulterer. Despite all these mutations of his character, however, Mordred’s final, devastating action did not change at all. The French Vulgate Cycle, by allowing fault to be found in Arthur, unknowingly began a process which author T. H. White would complete almost eight centuries later—the redemption of Mordred.

Centuries later, from 1939 to 1958, T. H. White’s The Once and Future King (loosely on Malory) approached the character of Mordred from a Freudian psychological perspective. White made the analogy that “Desdemona robbed of life, or honor is nothing to a Mordred, robbed of himself – his soul stolen … while the mother-character lives in triumph.”38 In T.H. White’s adaptation, Morgause, Mordred’s mother and Arthur’s half-sister, was presented as more of a villain than Mordred. Mordred becomes merely “her grave. She existed in like a vampire.”39 Morgause had
instilled in her sons, Mordred, Agravaine, Gareth, Galheris, and even Gawaine, a sense of necessary revenge against Arthur because of the wrong their father did to his mother Igraine, the grandmother of these knights. As with medieval Arthurian legend, the modern author White enhanced certain aspects of Arthurian legend to mirror contemporary societal concerns. Mordred’s character extenuated the subtle difference between good and evil, a theme that many twentieth-century authors and politicians tried to reconcile. White’s Mordred was very much conscious of his genesis and of Arthur’s attempt to rid himself of the potential embarrassment and bellicose dealings promised by Merlyn.

Like Malory’s reiteration of a seemingly obsolete, “quaint” tale of knights and quests in order to make a political statement, White used Arthur’s Round Table, an anachronism of many centuries, to remark on various political ideologies—chiefly, fascism and communism, which were eminent concerns at the time. In the fourteenth century, Fordun had written on behalf of the Scottish people, a people who much like the Irish had become subjugated to British rule, and made Mordred and the Orkney faction into Scottish heroes. In the twentieth century, White reprised this role, equating the Orkney brothers to a “race, now represented by the Irish Republican Army … flayed defenders of a broken heritage. They were the race whose barbarous, cunning, valiant defiance had been enslaved … by the foreign people whom Arthur represented.”10 In this way, White continued the tradition of reshaping Mordred and the Arthurian myth to exhibit contemporary social anxieties into modernity. The tales of Arthur and Mordred are timeless, and parables can be drawn from them timelessly.

Arthurian legend is more than an antiquated story of Good triumphing over Evil. As in reality, there is no clear line between these two forces: even the Good have committed sins such as adultery (Lancelot and Guinevere), incest (Arthur), and murder (the Orkney brothers). Mordred’s evil, the cause of the destruction of Camelot and the end of King Arthur, is perpetrated by what would have been the moral action had it been done by any other man. With his revelation of the adulterous affair of the protagonists Guinevere and Lancelot, Mordred became the villain. Moreover, in the consideration of what is Good and what is Evil in Arthurian legend, if Arthur is Good and Mordred is Evil, then the fact that Arthur is Mordred’s progenitor throws both of these figures even more into an ambiguous area. Mordred is symbolic of the “father’s sins” coming home to roost. Through the transition from annals to romance to modern novel, Arthur and Mordred become “a discussion of the human condition.”11

Endnotes

1 Written in 970, documenting the era from 447 to 533.
2 Though the character of Mordred is a relatively static figure, insofar as Arthurian literature allows figures to be, the spelling of his name changes quite a bit throughout time and space. As shown by the excerpt of Annales Cambriae, the original spelling is Medraut, which became Medrod and Modred, and finally stabilized at the commonly recognized Mordred. This philological transformation is largely based on the author’s linguistic capacities, oral and aural. However, certainly, the mutations of Mordred’s name merit a more in-depth analysis.
4 The first significant mention of Arthur as a historical figure occurs in Historia Brittonum composed in 830 by Nennius, a Welsh priest. According to Nennius’s Historia Brittonum, Arthur fought against the Saxon invasion, where he “was twelve times chosen their commander [dux bellorum] and was often conqueror” and won twelve battles, including the Battle of Badon Hill. Trans. J.A. Giles, 18, http://www.gutenberg.org, accessed April 2009.
5 This is a body of Celtic literature pertaining to Arthur that later influenced the French romances.
7 Ibid., 209.
8 qtd. in Archibald, 217.
11 Lupack, 41.
12 Archibald, 203.

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24 The jail at which Malory was incarcerated was in London. However, the author himself was born Warwickshire.

25 Like many medieval texts, there are several versions, and “[u]ntil 1934, the edition printed by William Caxon in 1485 was considered the earliest text of *Le Morte d’Arthur*”; however, the Winchester Manuscript “bore a composition date of 1469.” Malory, vii.

26 Malory, 58.

27 Malory, 60. Exodus 1:22

28 This is an interesting possibility. If Mordred can be equated to Moses, then Arthur’s court becomes comparable to the subjugating Egyptian royalty. Parallels can further be drawn in that Mordred, like Moses, did in fact pose a legitimate threat to the respective kingdoms, which led to destruction. This incident could also reference the Passover, where the Lord “pass[ed] through the land of Egypt this night, and will smite all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, both man and beast; and against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgment” (Exodus 12:12).

29 Malory, 682. “Unhappy,” in this context and in other usages contemporary to Malory, means unfortunate, rather than discontented. Archibald explains the context of this appellation: “[i]n the *Agrainvain* Mordred and Lancelot meet a hermit who tells them that they are the two most unfortunate knights in the world: Mordred is destined to destroy the Round Table and to kill his father the best man in the world who will also kill him.” Archibald, 204.

30 Malory’s version of the Arthurian legend is essentially the culmination of the French and German traditions. His portrayal of Mordred is standard for a post-Vulgate, English version.

31 Malory, 28.

32 James united the thrones of Scotland and England; a century later, Scotland became part of the Kingdom of Great Britain.


34 Malory, 707.

35 In classical literature, the tragic hero is one whose own actions bring about his downfall. Usually the tragedy, and subsequent catharsis, is brought by an epiphany that the hero is in fact responsible for his own “undoing.” Arthur’s epiphany of his sin and his son is more subtle than that of Oedipus, as Arthur does not pluck his eyes and curse the day he saw his sister. He “identifies Mordred as his son, and swears to kill him.” In this case, the tragedy does not come from the moment of epiphany as in the classic myth, but rather it comes because of the moment of epiphany. Nevertheless, Arthur is still allowed the luxury of ascension to the status of tragic hero: despite his transgression, Arthur is still the idolized Arthur, King of the Britons, about whom songs are still sung and poems still composed, even in modern day. Mordred does not get this opportunity. The dual patricide and filicide, coupled with the destruction of the kingdom and Order which he built, is Arthur’s tragedy.

36 Archibald, 212.

37 Ibid., 212.


39 Ibid., 612.

40 Ibid., 519.

41 Morris, 107.
Witness

Megan Kendzior

What would you have done? What would you have done if you were a German boy, a Jewish man, a Polish woman during the Holocaust? What if you were the neighbor of a Jew who had been taken without warning or reason? What if you were a member of a Polish family that was evicted from their home and sent to a concentration camp? What if you were enlisted to become a member of the Nazi party? What if the German expansion had taken over your home, city, or country? Would you surrender? Would you fight? Would you run? These are questions that prompted my artistic research and exploration. I asked these questions of myself and of four women dancers who participated in this creative and research endeavor. Together we formed a dance company whose purpose was to explore and honor the historical details of the Holocaust. This information became the basis for the dance Witness, which was created, in collaboration with the dancers, during the fall of 2009. In this process, I shared information with the dancers through text, movement, and pictures and allowed them time to physically explore and embody the ideas and images. The process in its entirety was inspired by a research trip that I took to Europe and subsequently to the concentration camp of Auschwitz. Books, photographs, journals, and videos about the history of Auschwitz and the kind of hellish life that was lived there informed our creative process.

In Witness, four women amidst rows of old shoes explore the thin line between humane and inhumane and investigate the questions that are raised about the choice between the two in the face of great adversity. This project serves as an investigation of the transparent yet defining boundary of human nature, drawing directly from the monstrosity and horror of World War II and the Holocaust. The research objective is to reveal the manner in which art can express tangible, complex horrors of the Holocaust accompanied by the somber religious balance. This work blends gesture and emotion to provide a resonating experience. Embedded within this personal research is an endeavor. Together we formed a dance company whose purpose was to explore and honor the historical details of the Holocaust. This information became the basis for the dance Witness, which was created, in collaboration with the dancers, during the fall of 2009. In this process, I shared information with the dancers through text, movement, and pictures and allowed them time to physically explore and embody the ideas and images. The process in its entirety was inspired by a research trip that I took to Europe and subsequently to the concentration camp of Auschwitz. Books, photographs, journals, and videos about the history of Auschwitz and the kind of hellish life that was lived there informed our creative process.

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I knew the task at hand: to explore, through movement, the blend of grief, anger, sadness, and horror that I was feeling at the monstrosity that I had witnessed at Auschwitz in August 2009. I felt compelled to explore the physical reaction that I had experienced upon immersion into the concentration camp. This feeling penetrated my mind, body, and soul while visiting this site of mass murder. The physical feeling that I felt at Auschwitz was additional impetus for the in-depth research that led to Witness. This physical reaction inspired me to dig deep within myself to investigate the heart of the response. The fuel to investigate this experience was generated from a desire to honor in memorial the millions of victims that died during the Holocaust. Witness provides an outlet for the inquiry that has stemmed from this experience.

![Figure 1: Witness in rehearsal during October 2009. Frank Ferraro, Melissa Coleman, Melaney Holtham, Kristen McLaren and Whitney Wilson.](image-url)
moved to structured improvisation. With a detailed format in mind and an idea to explore, the dancers allowed their bodies to fully deepen into the present moment, thus investigating the manifestation of our discussions in their physical bodies. This method of rehearsal allowed for me to gain a new perspective on the deviation between preconceived thoughts and reality. During discussion, I formulated thoughts and ideas on topics of interest. Through improvisation, physical exploration allowed for the underlying truth to shine through, at times confirming the calculated beliefs and other times opposing them.

As a recipient of the University of Florida University Scholars Research Grant, I visited Auschwitz in Oświęcim, Poland on August 8, 2009. Witnessing this site of horror firsthand changed my entire outlook on daily life. I realized, upon my return to Florida, the strength and weight of my experience and the necessity for its exploration through movement. I felt a responsibility to internalize that experience and transfer the ideas to an art form that could share the story with as many people as possible. I feel a yearning and necessity to speak for those who can no longer speak for themselves.

While at Auschwitz, I barely spoke. I saw movement there. I cannot say that it was the millions of ghosts that permeate the walls of the barracks. It was not the wind, as there was no wind that day. It was not the sunshine casting shadows upon the barracks, nor was it the movement of trees, birds, or bugs. I witnessed within myself the dance that was never performed there. I saw it. I stood, mostly in silence. I absorbed the atmosphere like a wide-eyed child. Every image and detail that entered through my eyes dug deeper and deeper into my soul, leaving its mark upon my being.

Throughout my visit at the concentration camp, I felt the full range of human capabilities: a mixture of horror, sadness, anger, disgust, rage and disbelief at the inhumanity that stood before my eyes. I searched for a similar reaction and found it in the photographic journal of Erich Hartmann. He speaks of his wife’s reaction at the end of his book. Ruth Bains Hartmann states, “one can feel anger, sorrow, pity, rage, nausea, anxiety for the human race” (101). Walking through the dusty roads with high barbed wire fences on each side, I felt hollow with a complete lack of hope or passion. My humanity was tossed aside, and in place a physical tension had been manifested out of the reality of Auschwitz.

I saw movement happening throughout the camp. Standing in front of the gate that guards the exit of Auschwitz, I imagined the millions of beings who were forced to march under this gate. Four specific locations at the camp spoke to me. The roll call square held hundreds of imaginary beings whose bones were stacked into the standing position. A square of concrete adjoining the camp kitchen pierced my heart, soul, and body in the poignant march that an orchestra of camp prisoners once played there. Brick barracks held three-tiered wooden bunks with straw mattresses. Piles of bodies, physically during the war and spiritually during my 2009 visit, rested nightly in these rabbit cages. There was also a courtyard surrounded on three sides with a high wall at one end. This “wall of death” was numbing and forced my undivided attention for an unfathomable amount of time, both during my visit to the camp but also in my research and thoughts from that day forward.

These four highlights of my visit formed the basis of the work Witness. I realized the impact that each of these physical locations had on me immediately after our first rehearsal as a company. I wrote of the experience in our first group rehearsal and of my personal experience in Europe. These four moments became the entire structure for the piece. Upon looking into these four historical events within the existence of the Holocaust and Auschwitz, the work began to take shape. I choreographed a movement idea that aligned with each of the four physical places that stood out during my visit: the roll call square, the orchestra square, three-tiered bunks, and the “wall of death.” I worked with the dancers and informed them of my detailed research on each of the historical events and places. Together, we formed comprehensive ideas and explored them through movement.

We began with the roll call. During my visit to the camp, I sensed the struggle that the prisoners went through. I felt this specifically while standing in the grassy square in the middle of the camp, the same square where masses of humans stood as they were degraded and dehumanized by the Nazis in a morning call of names and numbers (Figure 2). The journal of Sima Vaisman, a Jewish doctor and Holocaust survivor, and the detail with which she wrote of her experience, allowed for my dancers and me to gain insight into the horrific ordeal that occurred each morning at a concentration camp:

![Women during roll call at Birkenau](https://example.com/figure2.jpg)

*Source: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum*
They chase us out of the block at 4:30 and, no matter what the weather, those interminable roll-calls begin. In rows of five, without moving, we wait for hours in the snow and mud until the time the German S.S. deigns to come count us. Beware, those who dare say a word, move about, or don’t stand at attention when the S.S. passes. Beware, too, those who faint. At the summons, everyone must be present and standing. We hold up the ones who fall from exhaustion, so that the S.S. won’t see them on the ground. We revive them any way we can when roll-call is over. (33)

While standing near the roll call square, I visualized their physical condition and their mental state. I envisioned their struggle to stand for hours on end. I imagined their struggle to continue living. I felt their hope for change. I sensed the increasing hopelessness in their empty eyes. Paintings and journal entries informed these mental images (Figure 3). I grasped the millions of empty souls, empty hearts, and empty stomachs that stood in the same square daily during the reign of Hitler’s personal army, the SS. According to Vaisman’s journal,

Every day, we stand outside for hours at roll-call and, after roll-call, they distribute our bread to us, the ration already diminished to a sixth. After the third day we’re given a little soup, three or four spoonfuls per person. But each time after this distribution and this roll-call, we have to return to the barn under blows that rain down and, inside, more blows await us. (72)

This entry was pertinent to the physical exploration of this historic experience as it assisted the dancer’s quest to honestly place themselves among the prisoners of a roll call at Auschwitz. Reading this journal and viewing pictures and drawings assisted us imagine the human bodies that were physically unable to stand any longer and mentally unable to handle the stress of the situation. The first soloist, Whitney Wilson, delved into the realm of these ideas and acted as a moving vehicle for the thoughts that these prisoners would have had during a roll call experience. I saw her as an angel or a ghost flitting among pillars of strength. Wilson danced thoughts of disbelief, heartache, physical ache, the struggle to stand tall, and the battle to stay alive. These details were instrumental in the creation of Witness as the process focused on an honest, realistic, and honoring representation of the actual experience.

Once the roll call square was thoroughly explored, the idea was relinquished in order to move to the next solo and the next physical location that held weight and struck a chord within me. Upon entering the concentration camp, one walks under the legendary gate, which states “Arbeit Macht Frei/Work Will Set You Free” (Figure 4). Immediately to the right of this gate is a concrete square, where an orchestra was forced to play (Vaisman 52). Prisoners were forced to play in the orchestra and it was their duty to provide a beat for their fellow prisoners to march to. They served as entertainment and distraction as well as private entertainment for the Nazi officers at their evening retreats, as detailed in the epic movie Schindler’s List.
Standing in front of the orchestra square on my visit to Auschwitz, I could hear the music that this group of prisoners would have played. I felt their presence and heard their songs. I imagined a bow moving across the strings of a violin, heard the rhythm of a beating drum, felt the breath moving in and out of an accordion, and sensed the air vibrating through a horn. The second soloist, Melissa Coleman, utilized these details, as well as photos, paintings, and journals, during her solo (Figure 5). She danced the mental controversy between tough labor and exploitation. Was it better to be exploited for a specific talent and therefore given a day off work? Was this exploitation worth the physical rest? Could you watch your family and friends perform backbreaking duties while you play an instrument at the command of a Nazi officer? Coleman explored the space between these choices in her solo. This was exemplified by her focus, which varied between the accordion player on stage and the three women on stage who were marching to work.

This idea dissolved to give way to a focused study on observation, confinement, and lack of privacy. During my visit to Auschwitz, I was struck by the poor living conditions forced upon millions of human beings. Vaisman speaks of the facilities in her testimony:

Inside, the floor is made of red bricks. On either side of a short, narrow hallway, two passageways, on both sides of which sorts of rabbit cages face each other in three rows, one on top of the other. I can find no expression more appropriate to designate our future beds than that of ‘rabbit cage’. Each cage is 6 x 3 feet (the size of a body). There are six of us in a cage. We are forced to sleep head-to-foot. We can also sit up but only by bending over, since the cages are low. (31)

I witnessed these “rabbit cages” during my visit to the camp. I was horrified at the idea of hundreds of men, women, and children sharing a bunker at this level of discomfort. Vaisman describes the discomfort: “We spend entire days in these ‘cages,’ sitting completely bent over (we do not have the right to stretch out during the day)” (32). I was taken aback by the idea of cold, tired, sore, and empty bodies piling up and along the barracks. A bed can be a place of comfort and solace, but at Auschwitz the barracks were infested with disease and fecal matter. The straw mattress provided no alleviation for an exhausted body. Blankets were small and dirty, providing no consolation or warmth. In consequence, says Vaisman, “Every night the quarrels begin, for we cannot lie down. We have to lie on top of each other, we can’t turn over at night unless our neighbor turns over; everyone suspects her neighbor of taking one centimeter more than she had the day before, of being too comfortable” (74).

I could imagine the movement that occurred every night in each of the barracks. I could feel this lack of comfort, and I could sense the quest to find one ounce of relief during my visit to the camp. Says Vaisman, “and another day similar to the ones before being sad, interminable, hopeless, in filth and shameful lack of privacy” (35). The Auschwitz archives of photos and drawings added a layer of reality and information to the creative process for this segment of the work (Figure 6).

Figure 5: Day of a Prisoner by Mieczyslaw Koscielniak (1950) provides us with insight into the horror of the Holocaust. Source: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum.

Figure 6: Inside of a Male Barrack in Birkenau by Mieczyslaw Koscielniak (1972). Source: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum.

Standing in a bunker at Auschwitz, I sensed the struggle for personal space, the lack of privacy and felt disgusted at the horrid living conditions that were forced upon these
human beings. Melaney Holtham assumed the role of surveying these conditions as the third soloist in *Witness*. Her solo began as if she had woken from a nightmare with a quest to evaluate her living situation. She began by witnessing the structure of the barrack. A wooden barrack that has three levels, she concludes. Then, as the women form a strewn pile of bodies, Holtham moves to observe the humanity that coexisted within that structure. Repetition is at the basis of this solo as the first inspection discusses the physical structure, the second examination discusses the human interaction amidst the physical structure, and the third wave of scrutiny blends the structural and humanistic elements of the living conditions to provide a removed and dynamic inspection. The movement was inspired by the architecture of the barracks and from a drawing by Jerzy Adam Brandhuber (Figures 7 and 8).

As dawn breaks in the barracks, the prisoners are beaten awake. The four women on stage during *Witness* simulate this experience and subsequently, a selection occurs (Figure 9). The three women who have experienced detailed explorations of the physical structure of Auschwitz are sent to the wall of death. In the far corner of Auschwitz are the penal barracks, numbered Barrack 10 and Barrack 11. Between these barracks is a dusty courtyard where thousands of prisoners were shot.

During my visit to the concentration camp, I stood silent in this courtyard. I was frozen, unable to move and unable to feel. I stood watching the movement, witnessing ghosts of prisoners walk out of the barracks, line up at the wall, and fall to their deaths. Standing in the middle of the courtyard on a bright August 2009 day, I could see in my mind the way that they fell. I could sense their fear, acceptance, hatred or conceit. I could not tell you how long I stood in this courtyard. Time passed. I felt as if I had witnessed every single prisoner fall during the time I stood imagining and witnessing this movement at the wall. Our exploration of this wall began with the idea of building it. The fourth soloist, Kristen McLaren, explored the idea of shaping bricks through movement. She exemplified the hard labor of the camp by building this wall. Meanwhile, the three other women explored the idea of being sent to the wall and murdered there. These explorations coincide as curiosity and defiance bring McLaren to the wall of death in the final group of dying prisoners. The women then began to explore the forms of punishment that were used at Auschwitz in the penal barracks. This research brought us to the human and physical reaction that occurs when a group of people is punished. They have the capacity to unite. This strong bond merges and strengthens the group that then empowers the women to walk out of the penal barracks and into the light. At this moment in the piece, the women step out of their shoes to symbolize the release of the spirits they were embodying. They unite as a group once more while the audience is given an opportunity to witness the entire spectrum of the work. The women and the accordion player also allow a moment for themselves to realize the entirety of their experience within the piece that concludes with a slow procession across the space and into oblivion.

I chose to work with the accordion for both personal and historical reasons. The accordion has always played a significant role in my life. My grandfather, Stanley P. Kendzior, was a professional accordion player. My yearning to have an accordion player on stage was initiated in order to honor him and the gift of music that he gave to me. During my childhood, most weekends at my
grandparent’s home were spent dancing the polka. My grandmother, Victoria Kendzior, and I would dance while my grandfather would play for us. I would also watch him practice almost every night that I was there. My grandfather died in the winter of 2004. I also chose to search for an accordion player because of the history behind the instrument. The accordion is prevalent all across Eastern Europe, especially in Poland. While I was in Krakow, Poland in August 2009, there were accordions everywhere. Within my research of the Holocaust and World War II, I found a prevalence of the accordion in picture and video footage (Figure 10). The signs all pointed to the necessity of an accordion within this work.

I found Frank Ferraro through word of mouth. The coincidence and irony in our meeting grew to become an appreciated partnership of choreographer and composer. We worked together to create the score for Witness. He acted as a storyteller, speaking the ideas of Auschwitz and the Holocaust with music while we danced them with movement. His focus and dedication added immensely to the piece and his presence transformed the experience for the dancers, the audience, and for me (Figure 11).

There were also a hundred shoes on stage. Dated in style and worn in appearance, fifty pairs of shoes line across the stage, with dancers sprouting from four specific pairs. Additionally, there is a pile of shoes a few feet high, which spills from the live musician towards the center of the stage. These shoes informed both the process of making the piece as well as the audience who viewed the piece. The idea for the shoes came from a yearning to tell a larger story. The four women on stage were to tell the story of millions of victims of the Holocaust. At Auschwitz, there is a barrack entitled “Proof of Auschwitz.” Within this barrack are rooms full of clothing, suitcases, shoes, hair, pots and pans, and other items that were confiscated from the prisoners (Figure 12). My experience in this building was poignant and haunting. Therefore, the shoes became a vehicle for broadening the mind of an audience.

Figure 10: An orchestra of prisoners with an accordion leading the pack.
Source: Deutsches Bundesarchiv (German Federal Archive)

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Leading me to the subject matter of Auschwitz was a personal and family history rich with traditions and stories. Throughout my own existence, I have heard stories of my grandfather who was a war hero. I have heard stories of the immigration of my family and their subsequent loss in return to Europe. I have heard stories of the Polish traditions from my grandmother. I have heard beautiful and carefree polkas on the accordion of my grandfather. This storytelling has influenced who I am, the ideas that I think, the things that interest me, and the manner that I speak, breathe, and live. Subsequently, it has become the way that I dance. I dance my story daily. My feelings influence my movement, rhythm, breath and interaction with others. This history influences me and those around me. This realization brought me to an all-encompassing questioning of not only those that told their stories to me first hand, but also of all generations before me who have undoubtedly influenced my growth and development as a human being.

This questioning brought me to research my heritage and dig deep into the connections between familial ties. I am of Russian and Austrian heritage on my mother’s side. I am of Polish heritage on my father’s side. My mother’s family is Jewish. My father’s family is Catholic. I attended the Center for Positive Living, a trans-denominational spiritual community, and thus my beliefs blend all that has come before me. I have become a meeting point and melting pot...
of cultures and beliefs. In this way, my personal history links me to the Holocaust and to Auschwitz. My mother’s great, great aunt and her family were murdered at Auschwitz, as were my father’s great, great grandparents. During my visit to Auschwitz, I found the name of my relation, Leo Kendzierski #8304, in the book of names (Figure 13).

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The now desolate and hollow camp of Auschwitz was once the junction of very alive, breathing, conscious, dynamic, existing, functioning, growing, knowing, living human beings; human beings with whom I share the same genes, blood, and descent. This knowledge fuels my research. The hunger with which I researched my family’s heritage brought me to the decision to visit the concentration camp of Auschwitz. The experience that I had in August at Auschwitz will provide a thirst for understanding that will never be quenched yet is examined through dance.

Based on the experience of this project, I found a connection between my personal history and the fact that every person, place, and idea in this world has different struggles and successes. Physical environments have an extreme effect on the overall experience of a human being. I discovered the impact that my childhood and heritage have on the woman that I have become. I have also found disbelief at the possibility for the human race to abuse power. The possibility for a person to cross the line between moral and immoral is infinite and this process has taught me that. Erich Hartmann comments on this subject at the end of his photographic study of the concentration camps:

Standing in the Auschwitz gas chamber, I was confronted with the realities of deliberate and cold-blooded killing as never before, not even during the war. It was an experience that I will not be able to forget, it was a reminder of what human beings were capable of doing to other human beings when passion and rage took the place of reason and basic decency. I realized again how easy it is in these days of high technology for the relatively few without conscience to take away the freedoms and spirit and the lives of the many who are at their mercy. I came to understand that I was not safe—that no one anywhere is safe—from these dangers because the line that divides victors from victims—and good and evil—is thin and elastic.

The human race has the capacity to create or destroy. A thought, whether positive or negative, begins a cataclysmic reaction that can be carried out by one or many human beings. Ideas formulated by a single person or small group of people can monstrously affect millions of people. The instantaneous nature of a thought is truly eye opening and its power is enveloping. A thought in one moment has the power to transform into a speech in the next moment and an army in the next. In another context, a thought in one moment has the power to spark conversation in the next, which leads to a physical exploration of that thought through dance. Context informs content. Setting dictates freedom. The freedom of thought, the freedom to be you, the freedom of speech, the freedom to create art all stem from the awareness that one holds over its surroundings. Since opening my awareness to the experience of Auschwitz prisoners, I have found a deeper connection to myself, my history, and my surroundings. I have realized that human beings have an infinite power inside of them that allows for a broad and diverse spectrum of characters to live and evolve in this world.
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