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*Perspectives in History*

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# Letter from the President

Since its inauguration as the Alpha Beta Phi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta in 1985, Northern Kentucky University's history students have spent countless hours researching, writing, and collaborating amongst their peers and faculty to publish this academic journal, *Perspectives in History*. This journal represents a cross-section of the finest student publications on a wide range of historical topics. Also in this journal are publications submitted from academics in history from across the United States.

*Perspectives in History* is reserved for the highest caliber historical research and symbolizes the hard work and a commitment to academic quality from both students and professional historians alike. The selection and editing process would not have been possible without the collaboration of our student editors—Christopher Crigler, editor-in-chief, and co-editors, Alexander Turner and Timothy Johnson. Furthermore, the leadership and guidance of the faculty advisor, Dr. Eric R. Jackson, has been invaluable to the quality of *Perspectives in History*.

A special thanks and acknowledgement is due to our faculty advisor, Dr. Johnathan Reynolds, who has supported and promoted student research as well as encouraged academic performance of the highest standard for all history students. Dr. Reynolds has consistently provided a sounding board for student research as well as provided direction and encouragement throughout the writing process. Beyond the continued support of Dr. Jackson and Dr. Reynolds, I would also like to extend thanks to all faculty members of the Northern Kentucky History Department who have inspired student research through class assignments and discussions and who have fostered an academic environment of learning, inspiration, and critical thinking. A special thanks to Dr. Burke Miller, head of the history department, for his unwavering belief in Phi Alpha Theta and its history students. Also a special thanks to assistant advisor, Professor Bonnie May and thank you to Jan Rachford and Lou Stuntz, the department secretaries, whose organization and help have been invaluable.

And finally, a thanks is in order to the 2015-2016 officers of Phi Alpha Theta: Harrison Fender, for his leadership as vice president; Kati McCurry, for her dedication as secretary, Amanda Lehew, for her skill as treasurer, and Jake Silbersack, our wellness officer, and finally additional thanks to our student editors, Christopher Crigler, Alexander Turner, and Timothy Johnson.

Additionally, I would like to thank all members of Phi Alpha Theta and all the students of the Northern Kentucky History Department for their participation and excitement. This year has been very full for Phi Alpha Theta, with our Veteran's Day "Fill the Boot" project, to ongoing charitable bake sales, volunteering at Northern Kentucky University's History Day, as well as student participation at both the Phi Alpha Theta National Convention in Florida and the Regional Convention at Thomas More College. Despite the ongoing activities and events of Phi Alpha Theta, our students continued their pursuit of academic excellence through countless hours researching and writing. So it is with great pride and pleasure that I present the 2015-2016 edition of *Perspectives in History*.

**Sandra Steiber**

*Alpha Beta Phi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta president, 2015-2016.*

**Katie McDonald**

*President of Alpha Beta Phi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, 2014-2015*

# Foreword

When I was first selected as editor for *Perspectives in History* I was overwhelmed. Looking back at the consistent quality and professionalism of both the editions and the editors of the past I wondered how I was going to live up to their accomplishments. It was much the same for all of us involved in Northern Kentucky University's wonderful Phi Alpha Theta chapter this year, each of us hoping to continue the tradition of excellence that we inherited from the students and professors that came before us. We learned that with this, and with all obstacles in life, the road of success lies not in worrying about the future, but in taking the brave first steps down the road our predecessors guided us to venture into as our journey.

Along the path there were difficulties and joys alike. I was honored and blessed to receive the help of my co-editors Alex Turner and Chase Johnson, who were instrumental in all aspects of this edition of *Perspectives*. Without them this edition of the Journal would not have achieved its current quality, personality, and merit. From Northern Kentucky to Orlando Florida and back, I cannot thank them enough for their steadfast support and indefatigable work ethic.

I would also like to thank Dr. Eric R. Jackson for his support and skills as our faculty advisor for *Perspectives*. Offering both his time and his knowledge, Professor Jackson was always available whenever a question arose or a problem cropped up. Whenever there was a shred of doubt I knew I could walk down the hall and find his office door open and him with a smile on his face, waving me inside.

I would also like to thank Dr. Johnathan Reynolds for his work with Phi Alpha Theta. Professor Reynold's unrelenting energy and enthusiasm for history is infectious and ultimately helped drive us all to achieve more than we ever thought we were capable. Dr. Burke Miller also deserves thanks as the Acting Chair of the History Department. Phi Alpha Theta, and by extension *Perspectives*, relies on the unwavering support and cooperation with NKU's Department of History and Geography, which we have been so generously provided year after year.

A special thanks also goes out to Professor Bonnie May who has been a mother to us all these past years in Phi Alpha Theta. She has been the grit and gumption of our organization, giving us a focus and a purpose. She has inspired us in our historical endeavors and led the way in our community outreach with charities and veterans organizations alike. A mentor to myself personally and to countless others in Phi Alpha Theta, I would like to say thank you, from the bottom of my heart, Professor May.

Inside this edition of *Perspectives*, readers will find a host of excellent young historians and authors for a diverse range of fascinating topics. Ranging from Ancient Chinese Piracy to the Second Rise of the Ku Klux Klan in the United States to the German Schutztruppe in East Africa during the First World War to Pink Floyd to the Decline of the Psychedelic Dream. These articles were not only selected due to their exemplary historical quality, but also for their skillful writing and character. They represent the best from a year of exceptional submissions.

Looking back on the road we have all walked this year, sometimes it makes me wonder how in the world we've made it so far. Then I remember all of the times I

stumbled, only to find an outstretched hand to help me back up and I understand. We walked this road together. Through the effort of all of us, Phi Alpha Theta has made this year one that none of us will ever forget. We have achieved things none of us ever thought possible. It has been a wonderful, inspirational, and uniquely memorable year of friendship, accomplishment, and success. It is here, in this 31<sup>st</sup> edition of *Perspectives in History* that we wish to share a small part of that with you.

**Christopher Crigler**

*Perspectives in History Editor*

# PERSPECTIVES

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## **Black Holes in the Sky: Pink Floyd, Progressive Rock, and the Collapse of the Psychedelic Dream**

*Patrick Hughes*

At the close of the 1960s, the youth-based counterculture movement suffered a series of blows from which recovery seemed uncertain. Older American voters swept Richard Nixon into the White House with promises of restoring order amidst a campaign characterized by assassination and rioting. The draft continued in earnest while bombing campaigns in Cambodia and Laos sent increasing numbers of the nation's youth to Vietnam. A flurry of drug-related deaths challenged the moral foundation of the burgeoning psychedelic rock and roll movement. Since the release of the Beatles' *Revolver* in 1966, psychedelic rock had been evolving into the mouthpiece of a very specific wing of the counterculture. Despite taking an admirable stance against the war in Vietnam, psychedelic rock's encouragement of drug-use provided an easy target for the country's conservative majority. Progressive rock grew out of psychedelia stumbles at the close of the decade. Borrowing the latter's dependence on experimentation, progressive rock defined itself by fully embracing the power of music to act as a messenger for political and social commentary. Pink Floyd, a psychedelic-turned-progressive rock band, bridged the two movements by embracing the shift away from acid-inspired lyrics to worldlier themes.

Though the birth of psychedelic rock represents only a footnote in their massive legacy on rock 'n' roll, it can be attributed to the experimentations of both Bob Dylan and the Beatles between the summers of 1965 and 1966. Dylan, a folk-rock hero, paved the way for mainstream acceptance of the electric guitar when he adopted it during the Newport Folk Festival while performing his new single "Like a Rolling Stone". Expecting an acoustic set, the crowd booed throughout most of the performance. A month later, his album *Highway 61 Revisited* would release to critical acclaim and a runner-up spot behind the Beatles on the sales charts. The Fab Four made waves themselves with their heavily experimental *Revolver*. Making use of electrical equipment within the studio, the Beatles actively worked to create sounds "previously unheard and in their head."<sup>1</sup> John Lennon produced the inspiration for the album's final track, "Tomorrow Never Knows", under the influence of LSD. Its lyrics openly referenced drug-use and its electronic, psychedelic sound majorly influenced their follow-up album, *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*. Blessed with massive radio airtime, the Beatles' influence on the growing genre was immediate and profound. Within the year, up and coming bands like the Byrds and the Jimi Hendrix Experience illustrated their impact by turning to experimentation in recording and arrangement. Bands

sometimes abandoned the typical instrumental set of a guitar, bass, and drums in favor of foreign instruments. In one session, Jimi Hendrix combined the sound of a guitar, a clavichord, congas, and a flute to create “cosmic music” with a “beautiful fusion of disparate elements.”<sup>2</sup>

Other bands rallied to the Beatles’ open-armed embrace of drug culture; Jerry Garcia, guitarist and vocalist for the Grateful Dead, embraced drugs as being “a large part of the framework” for the movement.<sup>3</sup> Established bands jumped to cash in on *Sgt. Pepper’s* record-breaking sales to mixed success. While the Beach Boys seamlessly transitioned from surf-to-psychedelia with their acclaimed *Pet Sounds* album, the Rolling Stones’ own foray, *Their Satanic Majesties Request*, drew criticism as a cheap copy and for being “far too influenced by their musical inferiors.”<sup>4</sup> In 1967, psychedelic rock became the soundtrack of the Summer of Love as hippies descended on Haight-Ashbury en masse. Unified, liberal, and riled-up, the hippies demanded an end to war and a rejection of conformity.

Resistance to the counterculture and its music began well before the nation’s attention turned to San Francisco in the summer of 1967. Censorship of suggestive lyrics or performances began as early as the late 1950s, with particular attention paid to Elvis Presley’s sexually explicit gyrations. As lyrics themselves became more sexually charged, politically-minded, and encouraging of drug-use, censorship over the airwaves became common. After their leap into psychedelia, the Beatles became a common target for radio bans, with songs like “Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds” and “A Day in the Life” taking flak for alleged references to LSD. Public outcry often prompted higher levels of authority to investigate the burgeoning movement. The FBI kept files on several icons of psychedelic rock, with many highlighting the generational gap. In a response to a letter requesting that the Doors’ albums be stripped from shelves, Director J. Edgar Hoover agreed that Jim Morrison’s music was “repulsive to right-thinking people” and warned that it might “have serious effects” on the nation’s youth.<sup>5</sup> In an egregious waste of time and money, the FBI spent 31 months investigating the Kingsmen’s cover of “Louie, Louie” after receiving reports of sexually suggestive lyrics. The thick accent of lead singer Jack Ely made the vocals unintelligible, leading some listeners to imagine coarser language. Relying on hearsay reports from aggrieved parents, FBI investigators played the track at different speeds but dropped the matter when they were “unable to determine what the lyrics of the song were.”<sup>6</sup> The FBI continued to operate as an apparatus of President Nixon’s campaign against rock artists well into the 1970s, with the Bureau famously deporting John Lennon. But by the close of the decade, the psychedelic movement’s greatest threat was itself.

No amount of activism by disgruntled parents, radio censors, or old guard politicians proved as damaging as the slew of self-inflicted wounds caused by artists in 1969. The Beatles left psychedelia behind as their fractious in-fighting prompted a return to their roots for their final three albums. The movement proved to be in capable hands for a time. On August 15<sup>th</sup>, hundreds of thousands of concert-goers descended on Woodstock, New York for a three day-long concert featuring a mix of folk and psychedelic rock stars. New standard-bearers like Jimi Hendrix and Janis Joplin put on immensely successful sets while the festival itself began to raise the possibility of a “revolution [...] committed to nonviolence.”<sup>7</sup>

A murder spree in California quickly dashed hopes of mainstream hippie acceptance as details of the Manson Family killings seized the nation's attention in the months following Woodstock. Homeless and longhaired, Charles Manson represented the public's worst fears of what the hippie movement could be. Manson closely tied himself to mainstream rock music. He spent some time living in the home of Dennis Wilson, one of the Beach Boys, and claimed the murders were inspired in-part by the lyrics of the Beatles song "Helter Skelter". Despite the counterculture's insistence that Manson did not represent their movement, "millions of Americans" assumed that "Manson was a hippie and longhairs could be killers."<sup>8</sup>

Rockers attempted to change the national conversation with the announcement of a free concert at Altamont Speedway in California in January, 1970. The concert was billed as a continuation of Woodstock's vibes and attracted a similar crowd but the similarities with its eastern counterpart ended there. Violence and poor planning wracked the venue from the outset. The combination of inadequate sound systems and poor facilities incited the crowd. The Rolling Stones hired the motorcycle gang Hell's Angels to act as security and paid them only in beer. That decision proved fatal. During the Rolling Stones set, bikers beat and stabbed teenager Meredith Hunter to death as the crowd looked on. The tragedy at Altamont defied the counterculture's self-proclaimed principles of non-violence and anti-consumerism, and illustrated "diabolical egotism" and "a fundamental lack of concern for humanity."<sup>9</sup> Amidst a cloud of bad press and public outcry, the psychedelic rock movement declined. Casualties dotted the coming months as icons like Janis Joplin, Jimi Hendrix, and Jim Morrison died of drug overdoses while others, like Peter Green and Brian Jones, retreated from the public spotlight due to mental illness attributed to their use of LSD. The songwriter and lyricist of Pink Floyd suffered an acid-related breakdown, threatening the up-and-coming band's future.<sup>10</sup>

Pink Floyd formed in London among a rotating group of architecture students and their friends just as British music was gaining mainstream acceptance in the United States. The band solidified around core members Roger Waters, Syd Barrett, Richard Wright, and Nick Mason by 1965, after playing for several years in small clubs around London. To the band's surprise, they began to "be defined as an 'underground,'" due in part to their experimental instrumental solos which they sometimes incorporated into covers of classic R&B songs. Light shows and electronic manipulation characterized their early shows and attracted the attention of record labels. Strangely, within months of signing with EMI, the label that plucked the Beatles out of anonymity, Pink Floyd found themselves in a studio-mandated interview distancing themselves from the psychedelia that had drawn attention to them in the first place. EMI's concerns were understandable in the spring of 1967. *Sgt. Pepper* had yet to set off the genre's awakening and the mainstream attention afforded by the Summer of Love was months out. EMI sought to capitalize on an up-and-coming underground band without ties to "certain dubious elements."<sup>11</sup> This proclamation of innocence did not convince the BBC; they banned Pink Floyd's first single "Arnold Layne" for its references to cross-dressing. The controversy proved to be excellent marketing and that single cracked the Top 20. Within a month, the band began recording their first album, *The Piper at the Gates of Dawn*, in Abbey Road Studios. They made use of the studio's wide assortment of

instruments and high-tech recording equipment to make an album in the same experimental spirit as their live performances. Unfortunately, the “highly innovative and expressive” and “unpredictable” nature of the sessions marked early indicators of trouble for the band’s muse.<sup>12</sup> Syd Barrett’s behavior masked an increasingly regular use of LSD and the album’s producer reported that Barrett appeared to be “treading on thin ice” and was “terribly fragile.”<sup>13</sup> *Piper’s* release during the Summer of Love catapulted Pink Floyd to international recognition and a slew of tours that included opening for the Jimi Hendrix Experience. His mental state already delicate, Barrett sputtered completely by the end of the year. With Barrett’s pattern of tuning-out during gigs, or not showing up at all, the band recruited David Gilmour to play guitar and let the frazzled Barrett fill the role of background songwriter. The band realized that enough was enough when Barrett presented his newest tune. Titled “Have You Got It Yet,” Barrett taught the band the melody but changed it as soon as the rest of the band attempted to join in. The act, which drummer Nick Mason called the “final, inspired demonstration of all,” convinced the band that they needed to part ways with their ailing partner, the first major drug-related casualty of psychedelic rock’s imminent collapse.<sup>14</sup>

The vacuum left behind by the implosion of psychedelia in 1969 did not stay empty for long. The trend begun by the Beatles with their self-titled album hurled folk and blues bands back to the top of the charts. Despite this, the disparate themes pioneered by psychedelic rock musicians found their way into early 1970s music. Folk rockers like Credence Clearwater Revival and Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young picked up the anti-war sentiment and created decade-defining protest songs like “Fortunate Son” and “Ohio.” Surreal lyrics filled Led Zeppelin’s untitled magnum opus while The Who’s *Tommy* marked the first true concept album, in the model of *Sgt. Pepper*. Progressive rock pulled these elements together into one package: experimental structure and effects, politically-charged lyrics, and the idea of a concept album. In an NBC special on the Grateful Dead and hippies, Harry Reasoner chastised the music as “style without content”; by stripping psychedelic music of its drug-influences and simple views on social issues, progressive rock might be taken seriously.<sup>15</sup>

At the beginning of the decade, Pink Floyd was in no position to spearhead a blossoming genre of music. Syd Barrett’s removal, though inevitable and necessary, weighed heavily on the band’s operations. As songwriter, Barrett drove the band creatively and his duties fell to Roger Waters. Barrett, an art student, wrote whimsical and absurd lyrics that complimented their hallucinatory style. Waters’ songwriting proved more grounded, with a degree of cynicism and bitterness. He grew up fatherless; Eric Waters died in the “reckless British campaign” of the ill-conceived Battle of Anzio during World War II.<sup>16</sup> In the years after Barrett’s departure, Pink Floyd released several albums consisting largely of instrumental tracks to relative success. The year 1972 proved a breakthrough moment for the band creatively. Shaking off “some of the lethargy” after having “let things slide horribly” without Barrett, Waters turned the stresses haunting the band for three years into music.<sup>17</sup> The band was exhausted by touring the country, struggling to pay their staff, and haunted by the looming specter of Barrett. Boiling each concept into themes of travel, time, money, and madness, Waters created the framework of *The Dark Side of the Moon*. The idea of the



concept album with a single unifying theme weaved throughout each song became a staple of progressive music in the wake of *Dark Side*'s release. Concept albums "allowed scope for narrative" and "for genre mixing"; elements clearly on display in *Dark Side*.<sup>18</sup> Tracks bridged seamlessly into one-another. For example, the funk jam "Money", after a brief interlude, progressed right into the quiet, jazzier "Us and Them". Experimentation did not end at the studio. Technological advances created increasingly complex light and laser displays at Pink Floyd's live performances and *Dark Side*'s success necessitated a move from theaters to stadiums for the band. With the album becoming one of the best-selling records of all time, Pink Floyd reached overnight global fame.<sup>19</sup>

Progressive rock seized international attention with ferocity. Popular music found a voice which could illustrate complex and artistic themes and still reach the mainstream. No topic was sacrosanct. Jethro Tull's *Aqualung* tackled religious themes while Rush's *2112* told an Ayn Rand-inspired space opera; both to wild critical success. Bands like Genesis and Styx continued to create successful progressive rock albums well into the 1980s. Pink Floyd experienced six more years of critical and commercially successful output, with three more concept albums dealing with themes ranging from childhood abandonment to Orwellian dystopia. Progressive rock played an integral part in forming modern music. While hip-hop and pop music seized international interest from rock 'n' roll by the late 1980s, several modern genres trace their roots to progressive rock's experimentation. The incorporation of computer equipment into the studio process paved way for electronica. Its subversive lyrical themes branched into punk rock and modern alternative. By preserving the experimental spirit of psychedelic rock while rejecting the drug-laced distractions that doomed it, Pink Floyd bridged both generations of rock musicians and elevated the genre as a serious art-form.

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# PERSPECTIVES

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## Logistics of the *Schutztruppe* in German East Africa: 1914-1918

Harrison Fender

At the start of the First World War, East Africa was controlled by Europe's most powerful nations. Nations like Great Britain and Portugal, both of which owned large portions of East Africa, were seasoned empires. One of the newest empires to the region was Germany, which only a few decades prior declared itself as a colonial empire. By 1914, Germany had just four colonies in Africa; these were Togoland, Kamerun, German Southwest Africa and German East Africa. Throughout World War I, only one of these was able to mount a successful resistance against the Allies. From 1914 to 1918 the *Schutztruppe* from German East Africa was not only able to hold its own against a larger force, but also defeated a British seaborne invasion at Tanga and for a while posed a threat to British East Africa. It later invaded Portuguese East Africa and finally British Rhodesia where it surrendered in November 1918. Due to this success, it, and its leader Paul Von Lettow, remain one of Germany's most celebrated forces of the First World War.

But why was the *Schutztruppe* able to endure when Germany's other colonies fell after a year or two of fighting? Was their success due to the tenacity of Von Lettow? After all, his strategy was to fight on as long as possible tying down as many Allied men and material.<sup>1</sup> It was this mission that pushed him and his men across the East African region. But leadership and a sound strategy can only take an army so far. An army still needs a constant supply of provisions and ammunition if it's to fight for an extended period of time. But how was Lettow's army able to last for nearly five years when it was cut off from Germany? Obviously, the *Schutztruppe* relied on captured stocks for weapons and material. But, it also had to rely on foraging and hunting for sustenance. Yet, where did the *Schutztruppe* acquire supplies that could not be captured or foraged?

As a result of their successful resistance, a small number of blockade runners were sent from Germany laden with supply's that the *Schutztruppe* could not capture or manufacture. But this was only a drop of relief when compared to the resources the colony had to offer. From plantations and farms came meat and grain, while workshops provided boots and uniforms. German East Africa had the resources to provide the *Schutztruppe* with most of its logistical needs.

German East Africa had been a colony for 30 years when the First World War began. It was founded in 1884 by German adventurer and colonial advocate Karl Peters. Peters acquired territory in East Africa after signing a number of treaties with African chieftains for the German East Africa Company.<sup>2</sup> Two years later France and Britain recognized the land Peters had claimed as an area of German colonial interest.

For 30 years the Germans had done much to make German East Africa a prosperous colony. Crops and livestock were raised on farms owned by settlers and Africans alike. Many of its plantations grew cash crops such as coffee, rubber, cotton and sisal. Although agriculture was the main staple of the economy, the people of German East Africa still relied on imports of wheat and rice from India and Europe.<sup>3</sup> To assist in the transportation of people and products across the colony, two railroads were built. The Usambara Railway was the shortest and ran across the northern portion of the colony from the port of Tanga to Moschi near Kilimanjaro. The Central Railway was the longest and ran across the colony from Der-es-Salaam on the Indian Ocean to Kigoma on Lake Tanganyika. Despite their presence in important regions of the colony, there was no link between them other than unmade roads. Even though an enormous amount of work went into the colony's infrastructure and economy, it never made a profit.

By 1914 the colony had an estimated population of 7 million inhabitants. Of these, only 5,336 were European; mostly German and Austrian. The colony did contain a small number of Boers who migrated after their defeat in the Second Boer War. For the most part, the Europeans settled around the northern portion of the colony, near the British East African border.<sup>4</sup> Other Europeans settled around the colonial capital Der-es-Salaam or near Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika. Like the Europeans, the Africans tended to settle in the northern and coastal regions of the colony. The Masai and Galas could be found in the north while the Swahili were located along the coast. By the early 1900s the colony had an area of nearly 384,000 square miles which was larger than mainland Germany. Despite its size, much of the interior remained uninhabited due to presence of mosquitos and tsetse fly. Mosquitos were known to carry malaria while the tsetse fly fed on the blood of animals.

Protecting the colony was the *Schutztruppe*, or Protection Force. In 1914 the *Schutztruppe* contained nearly 3,000 officers, NCOs and *Askaris*.<sup>5</sup> Most of the officers and some of the NCOs were part of the Imperial German Army and agreed to serve in East Africa for a minimum of two and half years.<sup>6</sup> The *Askaris* and some of the NCOs were recruited locally from African tribes. Each *Schutztruppe* company contained at least 250 carriers whose duty was to carry the equipment and heavy weapons. The colony also contained around 2,000 European and *Askaris* organized into a police force which could be absorbed into the *Schutztruppe* in an emergency.

The purpose of the *Schutztruppe* was not to protect the colony from rival European powers, but rather to check local rebellions. Since its founding the colony, like many other European possessions in Africa, had experienced a number of rebellions by local groups such as the HeHe and Maji-Maji. For this purpose, the *Schutztruppe* was armed with weapons suited for quelling internal revolts. The standard firearm of the *Schutztruppe* was the 1871 Mauser which used an 11mm black powder cartridge. Due to the nature of the smoky cartridges, the rifles were ill-suited for bush warfare. The *Schutztruppe* was also equipped with a small number of obsolete artillery pieces and a few Maxim machine guns.<sup>7</sup>

As the First World War quickly spread beyond Europe, the British were quick to blockade Germany's colonies in Africa. The British were hoping that by sealing off the colonies from merchant traffic they would not be able to sustain themselves for

very long. As was the case, the colony not only had the ability to supply the *Schutztruppe*, but also some of the best leaders Germany had in all of Africa. Although they were at odds throughout the entire war, both Paul Von-Lettow and the colony's governor, Heinrich Schnee, took measures to prepare the colony for war. At the start of hostilities, Von-Lettow ensured that the colony's surplus of weapon, munitions and military provisions were stocked along the Central Railway. He also called up reserves to increase the size of the *Schutztruppe*. Governor Schnee wanted the colony to remain neutral but ultimately assisted in reorganizing the colony's economy towards self-sufficiency.

One of the more pressing matters was the issue of obtaining provisions. With the blockade in place the colony was now cut off from its traditional supply of grain. Plantations and farms quickly switched from growing cash crops to growing wheat, rice and rye. Aiding this was a relatively good harvest in most parts of the colony except in the south which was experiencing a drought.<sup>8</sup> One of the greatest benefits they had in the early months of the war was a large supply of canned food located in Der-es-Salaam.<sup>9</sup> The purpose of the canned food was for an exhibition to honor the completion of the Central Railway.

The *Schutztruppe's* ration of meat and fat was obtained from either livestock or wild game. While fighting around Kilimanjaro the *Schutztruppe* supplemented their ration with a variety of game. It would not be uncommon for their diet to sometimes consist of elephants.<sup>10</sup> Dairy products were provided from settlers and Africans who owned cattle. Sugar was substituted with honey gathered from wild bees and salt was acquired from mines near the Central Railroad.

Besides its ability to grow or procure its own provisions, the colony also managed to produce its own uniforms and boots. Large supplies of raw cotton could already be found within the colony. In no time factories, missions and workshops were set up to spin the cotton into cloth to be made into uniforms; most of this work was done by hand by women. The cloth for the uniforms was dyed using bark from the ndaa tree which turned the cloth into a brownish-khaki color suited for the local environment. Boots were made out of leather from the hides of cattle and game. At first the quality of the boots was poor but overtime the quality and quantity improved.

When the war began the Germans were hoping to conduct commerce through Portuguese East Africa in order to bypass the British blockade. Except for a few tons of quinine and some dispatches, not much went through this route. The quinine that did go through was a useful addition to their stocks. The *Schutztruppe* needed as much as they could get do their presence in mosquito infested areas. Efforts were already underway at the Amani Research Institute near Tanga at producing quinine as well as substitute materials.<sup>11</sup> Here they discovered that quinine could be produced from the bark of the cinchona tree. The quinine produced at Amani and acquired from blockade runners greatly helped the *Schutztruppe* fend off malaria. Their medical needs were further aided by the large presence of doctors in the colony who were studying various diseases.

Although the colony had largely become self-sufficient, there were still problems associated with moving supplies across the colony. Because there was no connection between the Usambara and Central railroads an alternative method had to be found

to connect them. German East Africa did have a few trucks that aided in the transportation of supplies, but fuel was scarce and the tires were quickly destroyed on the unmade roads. The solution to the problem was solved by employing thousands of Africans to carry the supplies. Throughout the war anything that had to be moved was done so on the backs, shoulders and heads of locally recruited carriers. For every one *Askari* there was at least two carriers assigned to him.<sup>12</sup> This was done so that all an *Askari* had to carry was his rifle and ammunition thus reducing his load.

It is not known how many carriers were used; Von-Lettow estimated that hundreds of thousands were employed.<sup>13</sup> Many carriers were conscripted or pressed into service from across the colony. It wasn't until late in the war when desertion rates among the carriers increased. In response, orders were given to the *Askaris* to shoot deserters on sight.<sup>14</sup> Governor Schnee wrote that it wouldn't be uncommon to periodically hear shots in the night from *Askaris* executing deserting carriers.

Most of what the *Schutztruppe* needed could be grown or manufactured within the colony. What they could not manufacture was weapons and ammunition which they were in a short supply of by 1915. To supplement this shortage the *Schutztruppe* decided to use captured Allied weapons. After the Battle of Tanga, the *Schutztruppe* captured nearly 600,000 rounds of ammunition and enough modern rifles to arm three companies. They also captured 16 heavy machine guns as well as tinned food, clothing and telephone equipment.<sup>15</sup>

From the start the *Schutztruppe* was not equipped with heavy artillery. Although the *Schutztruppe* would later use captured artillery, it was in the wake of the *SMS Königsberg's* destruction when the *Schutztruppe* would receive their first supply of heavy guns. The light cruiser *SMS Königsberg* was stationed off East Africa when the war began. She spent a few weeks hunting Allied vessels in the Indian Ocean before seeking shelter in the Rufiji Delta. The British eventually found the *Königsberg* and in a series of battles the cruiser was sunk. Although the ship was lost, the ships 10x4.1 inch guns were still functioning. All guns were salvaged and taken to Der-es-Salaam where they were fitted with mountings in the workshops.<sup>16</sup> The guns from the *SMS Königsberg* would play an important role for the Germans in East Africa as the Allies did not field any guns of similar caliber.

Unlike Germany's other colonies in Africa which largely had to fend for themselves, German East Africa received shipments of arms and supplies from the homeland. In the immediate aftermath of Tanga a member of the Reichstag stated, "A German David is fighting a British Goliath in Africa...If we cannot fight by his side, at least we must make sure that he is well supplied with shot for his sling".<sup>17</sup> Two blockade runners arrived from Germany laden with weapons, ammunition and other vitally needed materiel. The first blockade runner, the *Kronberg*, arrived on April 9, 1915. Upon its arrival it was attacked by a British cruiser and sank in shallow water. The cargo, however, was not heavily damaged, although the cartridges had to be cleaned out to prevent corrosion from the salt water.<sup>18</sup> The second supply ship, the *Marie Von Stettin*, arrived on April 17, 1916 where it slipped into a coastal bay unnoticed by the British. Its cargo was carefully unloaded and the ship once again slipped past the blockade. Von-Lettow noted that the cargo from *Marie Von Stettin* enabled the *Schutztruppe* to continue fighting for many more months.<sup>19</sup>

In 1917 a third attempt was made to send a blockade runner to the *Schutztruppe* which was now cornered in the southeastern corner of the colony. With the seas heavily patrolled by the Allies it was decided to send a zeppelin on a one-way supply run. The zeppelin, the *L.59*, took off from Bulgaria with a cargo of weapons, ammunition, a staff of medical personal and Iron Crosses. After its arrival, it was to be stripped of all vital material. The outer fabric was to be used for bandages and the framework into radio masts. The *L.59* never made it to East Africa as it received a message to return to Europe while it was over the Sudan. It's now speculated that the British learned of the supply attempt and sent a false message to prevent another shipment of weapons from reaching the *Schutztruppe*.<sup>20</sup>

It was during this period that the *Schutztruppe* experienced some of its toughest trials. The 1916 Allied offensive had resulted in the Germans losing all but the southern portion of the colony around Lindi and Kilwa. Here there was not an abundance of farms and many of settlers and Africans alike were hesitant to give up their precious supply of provisions. Ever resourceful, the *Schutztruppe* found alternative methods for acquiring food. Wild game could still be hunted, although it was not as abundant as it was in the north. Meal for bread was made from mtama, sweet potatoes, muhogo or a combination of the above mixed with corn.<sup>21</sup> Salt was now obtained by evaporating sea water. With the loss of the Amani Institute, quinine had to be made by boiling Peruvian bark into a liquid the soldiers dubbed "Lettow-Schnapps". Additionally, bandages were made from Myombo tree bark, a technique learned from the Africans.

By late 1917 the Allies had pushed the *Schutztruppe* towards the Rovuma River on the Portuguese East African boarder. Rather than surrender, Von-Lettow decided that they were to cross the river into Portuguese territory which had entered the war the previous year. From here till wars end the *Schutztruppe* would continually be on the move, resting for only brief periods. In Portuguese East Africa they captured large quantities of weapons and ammunition from the weakly defended Portuguese garrison. One of their earliest successes was after the Battle of Ngomano where they captured six machine guns, 250,000 rounds of ammunition and enough rifles to arm half of their force.<sup>22</sup>

Throughout 1918 the *Schutztruppe* would continue to out-manuever the Allies through Portuguese East Africa and briefly back into German East Africa. Eventually they made their way into British Rhodesia where they surrendered on November 26 after receiving news that Germany had surrendered. By then it numbered 26 officers, 125 NCOs and naval ranks, 1,156 *Askaris* and at least 1,500 carriers. After their surrender the Allies took inventory of their weapons and discovered 1,000 rifles of Portuguese and British make, 37 machine guns of which seven were German and one field gun.<sup>23</sup>

At the wars conclusion German East Africa was a wreck. Plantations and farms had been raided and destroyed by both sides. Famine, warfare and disease killed tens of thousands of soldiers and civilians throughout East Africa. Making matters worse was the arrival of Spanish Influenza in late 1918 which swept through the region and escalated the death toll. As part of the Treaty of Versailles, German East Africa was split amongst the victors. Belgium received a portion of territory around Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika. The Portuguese only gained a small section of land on the Rovuma

River. Britain received the larger portions of German East Africa which they renamed Tanganyika. Today, the nations of Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi are presently located in what once was German East Africa.

Because the *Schutztruppe* fought on credit throughout the war, IOU's were handed out to with the promise that they'd receive pay for years of service. However, due to the collapse of the German economy after the war, and to the Great Depression and World War II, the *Askaris* never received their pay. It wasn't until 1964, the year Von Lettow died, that the West German government agreed to pay back the *Askaris*. Of the remaining *Askaris*, only a few could procure their IOU's. Some brought buttons and old uniforms as proof of their service. One of the German bankers decided to test the applicants to see if there was any truth to their claim. He handed them a broom and ordered them to perform the manual of arms they had learned as soldiers.<sup>24</sup> Reportedly, participants performed flawlessly.

There were many factors that contributed to the *Schutztruppe's* logistical needs. Although the British imposed a tight blockade on Germany, the colony was not as cut off as it would seem. Germany was able to send a small number of blockade runners from Europe to Africa. The colony was also self-sufficient in terms of food production and transportation. What wasn't obtained from blockade runners or colonial plantations was forged from the land or captured from the Allies. Although at times there was a shortage of supplies, the *Schutztruppe* was almost always able to meet its logistical requirements largely through the resources found within the colony. Certainly, this resourcefulness came at a price in terms of lives lost and property destroyed. Most areas that experienced the war endured civilian casualties and the destruction of homes and property; German East Africa did not escape the same destruction that northern France, Galicia or Poland suffered.

The longevity of the *Schutztruppe* is certainly due in part to the tenacity of the *Askaris* and their leader Paul Von Lettow. But consideration should also be given to its logistical needs. The fact that it was able to become nearly self-sufficient through the usage of local resources was a great help to their logistical needs. Its capture of Allied supplies and the aid from blockade runners alone greatly extended their ability to fight and survive. If not for these factors there's no telling how long this force would have lasted. Without them, the *Schutztruppe* in East Africa, like Germany's other forces throughout the continent, may have had a short existence during the First World War.

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# PERSPECTIVES

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## **Economic Role of the Church in Colonial Latin America**

*Alex Turner*

There were many institutions and factors that shaped the society and culture of the American colonies of the Spanish and Portuguese empires. Through the conquest, the military prowess of leaders such as Cortes and Pizarro was fundamental in paving over the indigenous Indian cultures and laying a foundation for Iberian roots to take hold. As the consolidation of the young colonies began to take hold a copious amount of other institutions began to become important. One of the most important of these was the Church. Without the Church the success of Iberian colonialism would have never been possible. Despite being a theological institution, it was a major player in both politics and economics in the new world.

This report will focus on the Church's economic involvement in the beginning. First, the Church's sanctioning of the military conquest of the colonies will be discussed and examined through a number of primary documents and laws produced. The rift that this caused between the upper seculars and lower regulars will be highlighted. Finally, the institution's economic role within the established colonies will be examined. This will particularly be focused on the Church as a predecessor to the bank in the new world through its involvement in the capital investment industry.

The Age of Exploration which led to the "discovery" of the Americas was based around finding more economic trade routes to Asia. It was quite expensive, not to mention dangerous, for merchants to travel with their goods along the Silk Road, through Europe and the Near East, to Asia. Despite what is frequently taught in elementary schools, educated Europeans were under no delusion that the earth was flat, and that at a certain point a ship would sail off the edge into oblivion. They were not aware, however, that to the east an entire continent separated them from Asia. The discovery of the Americas was such a monumental event that the Church was more than obliged to weigh in. Thus, a number of documents were released by the Papacy throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century sanctioning the conquest. A common theme that appears in each of these, as we will examine in depth, is that the conversion of native souls justified war and establishment of Iberian authority in these new lands. This motive is far too existential in nature to examine for validity. It should be noted, however, that between the conversion of souls and economic endeavors, only one produces tangible results.

Disputes over the rights to further interests in the new world came very early. According to Lewis Hanke and Jane M. Rausch, "Columbus's account in 1493 of his first voyage brought immediate protest from the Portuguese that he had encroached on an area in the Atlantic reserved to Portugal by the Treaty of Alcacovas-Toledo

signed with Spain in 1479-80.<sup>21</sup> The Castilian Crown then appealed to Pope Alexander VI, a fellow Spaniard, to defend them against these claims. What resulted was the first of many Fundamental Laws in which religion was used to justify conquest, a series of four papal bulls. The legislation begins by commending the Spanish monarchs for their loyalty to the faith. The pontiff quickly shifted to his desires, “that the health of souls be cared for and that barbarous nations be overthrown and brought to the faith itself.” The majority of the document is spent sanctioning the Spanish conquest and very little mention is made to the “found gold, spices, and very many other precious things of diverse kinds and qualities.”<sup>22</sup> This legalized Spanish conquest and forced labor of the natives immediately began.

Through the first few decades of colonization, the forced labor to which the natives were subjected could be categorized as nothing short of slavery. Matters were slightly improved with the introduction by Queen Isabella of the *encomienda* system. This rewarded those who served the crown with obligatory labor from natives under certain conditions including that they be Christianized.<sup>3</sup> Because of the distance between the Iberian Peninsula and the colonies, however, even these loose regulations were abused and Indians continually were exploited. Sanctioning of the process that led to this exploitation by the upper ecclesiastical orders was met with backlash from the lower orders or “regulars”. This led to early strains between the classes within the Church.

These regulars, mostly friars, who took up the cause of fair treatment for the Indians, would be seen today as humanitarians. They saw sanctioning of forced labor, and the economic gains that the Church reaped from it, as many do today, hypocritical. One of the earliest, and most famous, of these activists to make an impact was Friar Antonio de Montesino; who was “a voice crying in the wilderness,” for the end of Indian exploitation. On the island of Hispaniola, in December of 1511, Montesino delivered a sermon to the people of the island passionately condemning them for their treatment of the natives. This sermon is known to us through the writings of one who would follow in his footsteps, Bartolome de Las Casas, in his *History of the Indies*.<sup>4</sup>

Montesino quickly labeled the audience sinners, “for the cruelty and tyranny you use in dealing with these innocent people.” He questioned “on what authority... you kill them with your desire to extract and acquire gold every day.” Montesino concluded by assuring the congregation, that because of this practice, they were no more fit for heaven than Muslims.<sup>5</sup> The irony being, of course, that the authority they use to exploit the native labor was of the Crown and the Church. This angered many of the audience and it did not take long for word to reach Spain of the zealous condemnations. Peninsular authorities quickly ordered the “scandalous doctrine”<sup>6</sup> be quieted. Abuses by the colonists did not end but a debate was sparked, nonetheless.

In 1513 “Montesinos’s sermons and the dwindling native population”<sup>7</sup> initiated, in Valladolid, a council of lawyers and *theologians* to be convened with the purpose of addressing the legality of the practices being conducted in the colonies. What resulted was one of the most famous documents of colonialism, “The Requirement”, called so because it was required to be read by Spanish forces to native peoples before any claims could be made or violence could ensue. The majority of the document spelled out the intentions of the Crown, which were conquest and conversion, using theological support.

The last paragraph can be argued to be the most important. It announced the medieval concept of 'Just War' against those natives who resisted or ran away. "But if you do not do this, and wickedly and intentionally delay to do so, I certify to you that, with the help of God, we shall forcibly enter into your country and shall make war against you in all ways and manners that we can, and shall subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of their Highnesses; we shall take you and your wives and your children, and shall make slaves of them, and as such shall sell and dispose of them..."<sup>8</sup> The harsh nature of the document coupled with the fact that it was read in a language that natives could not understand is bad enough. But to make this worse, according to Hanke, "The Requirement was read to trees and empty huts...a league away before starting the formal attack..."<sup>9</sup>

According to Arnold J. Bauer, in his work "The Church In the Economy of Spanish America", very early on, "the Spanish church in America, managed to create a vast material base that ultimately reached into every corner of the newly converted Indies."<sup>10</sup> So fast was the Church beginning to become a strong economic force, that in 1535 the Crown passed the first of many laws prohibiting the Church from acquiring land and restricting its trade in the colonial market. These restrictions were simply unrealistic to impose, so enforcement was quickly given up. Continually growing wealth of the ecclesiastic orders from officially sanctioned exploitative native labor increased the strains between them and regulars, who often took vows of poverty and depended on tithes to take care of their needs.<sup>11</sup>

In 1550-1551 tensions resulted in a second wave of humanitarian backlash which forced a great debate, once again held in Valladolid. Both sides of the discussion elected spokesmen to represent their cause. Speaking for those in favor of the contemporary system of exploitation was one Juan Gines de Sepulveda, "a distinguished scholar of the works of...Aristotle... (and) an ardent nationalist..."<sup>12</sup> In his not-so-objectively titled thesis, "War Against These Barbarians Can Be Justified", Sepulveda used a mixture of biblical verses and the Aristotelian theory of "natural slavery" to establish the inferiority of the natives. He also argued that without that the colonial economy depended too heavily on the system of labor in place for major reform to take place.<sup>13</sup>

Opposing this faction was the major force in Spanish activism, the Dominican Friar Bartolome de Las Casas, with his argument titled "In Defense of the Indians". This document is broken up into twenty-eight propositions. The majority of the early propositions were used to establish the sovereignty and divinity of the Pope and the Crown. He then passionately refuted the inferiority that Sepulveda insisted upon, contesting that, "Their sovereignty, dignity, and royal preeminence derive from natural law and the law of nations..." and that, "To conquer them first by war is contrary to the law, gentle yoke, light load, and sweetness of Jesus Christ." Las Casas concluded with the assertion that, "The Devil could invent no worse pestilence to destroy all that world and to kill all the people there... than the *repartimiento* and *encomienda*, the institution used to distribute and entrust Indians to the Spaniards."<sup>14</sup> The result was the "The Royal Ordinances on Pacification" issued on July 13, 1573 by King Phillip II. The Ordinances intentions were to reform the process of bringing native communities under the Crown's authority and to conversion.<sup>15</sup>

Las Casas had a “Portuguese Jesuit counterpart”<sup>16</sup> in Brazil, Antonio Vieira. Brazil, unlike the Spanish colonies, had no repartimiento or encomienda systems, meaning that most of their labor, apart from a small percentage of *lavradores* (tenant farmers) and *moradores* (squatters) on plantations<sup>17</sup>, was that of slavery. Vieira was most active between 1653 and 1659, during which he produced a number of sermons and letters condemning slavery. In 1653 Vieira preached his “Sermon Condemning Indian Slavery”, in which he advocated for the immediate release of native slaves by their colonial masters, and insisted, much like Montesino over a century before had, that Heaven could not be attained while engaging in the practice.<sup>18</sup>

Brazil was also a much larger importer of African slaves. It is estimated that in the years of 1551-1810 Brazil imported more than 2.5 million slaves from Africa.<sup>19</sup> Although Vieira “accepted the institution as a necessary evil”, vital to the economy, he spent a lot of time and effort in overseeing the baptisms of newly arrived African slaves. This was supposed to be carried out in the African slaving ports by Iberian clergy, but Vieira found that it was hardly ever carried out in an acceptable way. This drew much criticism from peninsular ecclesiastics and nobility, who thought Vieira was undermining their authority. In fact, the friar “spent five years in prison and under house arrest until a change of power in the royal court led to his release in 1668.”<sup>20</sup>

Tensions ran so hot between ecclesiastical clergy and regular orders that they were sometimes manifested in physical, armed conflict. For example, “in 1559, seculars raided the Dominican convent in Puebla, Mexico, sacked it broke the prior’s teeth, and departed with every item of value... (and) on another occasion Franciscans armed six hundred Indians from the Toluca region of Mexico with bows and arrows and shields and then led them in the destruction of a church under the care of secular clergy.” What resulted from this conflict within the Church was the “Ordenanza del Patronazgo”, issued by Phillip II in 1574, which “increased the power of the secular clergy and limited the regulars’ activities.”<sup>21</sup>

The efforts of these humanitarians and activists to reign in the Church’s economic involvement in the colonies, although valiant, were ultimately in vain. Because of Crown support, Creole largesse, and Indian and Black labor “By 1600 the Church was beginning the financial ascent that would make its economic base second to none in the colonies.”<sup>22</sup> Starting in the 1590’s tithes from landholdings and the agriculture produced thereon began to explode. The regular orders began to fall in line with this and became major economic entities as well. This is especially true of the Jesuits who were known for their massive landholdings. The Church also benefited indirectly from the successful colonial economies. Wealthy patrons, usually making their fortunes in mining or agriculture, would commonly make large donations to their local parishes known as “pious works”. These “included chantries, the foundation of convents and colleges, and the provision of dowries and burial funds.”<sup>23</sup> With all of this capital coming in, individual clergy in the colonies became very wealthy.

Not only was the Church a major landholder, but it was the most important source of investment capital. According to Bauer, the Church can be viewed as the predecessor of modern banking in Latin America. Investment capital became the most important source of Church wealth which was “the most important source of mortgages, normally receiving a return of about 5 or 6 percent...”<sup>24</sup> It did not seem to mind that lending

money at interest is viewed by many as the sin of usury. As forced forms of labor, such as the repartimiento and encomienda, fell out of favor, the economy of the colonies came into a proto-capitalist credit and debt system of wage workers. The Church during this period held a virtual monopoly on the credit. Nearly all of the properties in almost every province and municipality in the colonies were in debt to, or under obligations to the Church. Federico Gonzalez Suaves, an archbishop and historian, wrote in his 1969 work *Historia general de la Republica del Ecuador* of colonial Quito, the modern capital of Ecuador, that “there was hardly a single urban or rural property that was not burdened with *censos* in favor of a religious house,” and that with “the eighteenth century decline in prices many properties were not worth the value of their indebtedness and their yield could not cover the interest charges.”<sup>25</sup> Similarly, in a census of Tlaxcala, published by Isabel Gonzalez in 1712, it was reported that the financial obligations to the Church were more than 42% of the value of all the properties.<sup>26</sup>

Convents were equally entwined with investment economy as the male orders. In her work *Colonial Habits*, Kathryn Burns asserts that “convents in Peru were the chief source of capital for the Cuzqueno economy... (and) convents provided such funds to friendly families, without technically becoming moneylenders guilty of usury...”<sup>27</sup> In “The Social and Economic Role of the Convent: Women and Nuns in Colonial Bahia, 1677-1800”, Susan A. Soerio explores the oldest nunnery in Brazil, the Convent of Santa Clara do Desterro, and its role “as a banker, landlord and slave-master...”<sup>28</sup> The Desterro Convent “catered exclusively to the needs of Bahia’s elite” who “frequently descended from the minor nobility of the continent...”<sup>29</sup> According to Soerio, “As many as 28% of the nuns’ fathers were either *senhores de engenho* (masters of the sugar works), their immediate descendants, or married to daughters of mill owners.”<sup>30</sup> This was typical of religious institutions, and would create strong ties between the sources of capital and the businesses that needed to borrow.

With the ascent of the House of Bourbon to the Spanish Crown with King Phillip V in 1700, and through his successors Ferdinand VI and Charles III, a century of attempted reforms began. “These policy changes, known collectively as the Bourbon Reforms, attempted to curb contraband commerce, regain control over transatlantic trade, curtail the church’s power, modernize state finances to fill depleted royal coffers, and establish tighter political and administrative control within the empire.”<sup>31</sup> The Bourbon Reformers brought with them to the colonies a harsh scrutiny of the Church’s immense success in the capital investment industry. It could be argued that they had a strong basis for their investigations, as reports found that, in Mexico in the late eighteenth century, most properties’ obligations were more than their worth; and that most interest payments were higher than their yields.<sup>32</sup>

Despite the debt the Church held over the businesses and properties of the Latin American colonies, it should be noted that it did provide a great many benefits to society. Cultural activities and welfare for the poor were taken on mostly by the Church. Arguably the most important social contributions that the Church made to society with its profits were the foundations of schools. In 1551 Lima’s University of San Marcos and The University of Mexico were both founded. “The Jesuit college in Bahia had 215 students in 1589 and offered a curriculum that extended from elementary

grades to the study of theology.” In fact, “universities were created” by religious orders “in nearly every major city in Spanish America.”<sup>33</sup>

The extensive economic importance of the institution of the Church is more than apparent. There was very early sanctioning of the conquest and the profits that shortly followed. A rift grew in the Church because of disagreements about the morality of the Church’s involvement in the exploitation of and profit from native hands and backs. These, however could not stop the institution from building an incomparable economic base within the colonies. This base was created, sustained, and grew from its heavy involvement in the capital investment industry. The Church returned some of its good fortune to the surrounding societies in the form of welfare and the formation of schools.

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# PERSPECTIVES

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## **Protestantism, Patriotism, and America: The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s**

*Sandra Steiber*

War, disease, changing culture: the early part of the twentieth century grappled with rapid transformation and transition. Following World War I and a Spanish influenza pandemic, the booming culture of the 1920s offered revitalization and refreshment to a world that was gripped with destruction and devastation. The Twenties shifted away from the ravages of the First World War, and offered new opportunities for minority groups. Women fought for the right to vote and made new strides as hemlines and haircuts were notably shorter and the risqué New Woman was launched into the foreground of Twenties sex appeal. Prohibition fostered a rebellious underground world of speakeasies and gambling rings. The influx of immigrants, many coming from the war-ravaged nations of Southern and Eastern Europe brought a much more noticeable influence from Judaism and Catholicism - religions that many pure-minded Protestants believed were anti-American in nature. Conservative America vociferously denounced what they viewed as a departure from the traditions of America.<sup>1</sup>

No group in the conservative block was more active or national in character during the 1920s than the Ku Klux Klan. The First Klan had died out shortly after Reconstruction in the late 1870s, but was reborn and reconceived in the 1920s as a reaction to the post-war changes. Klan leaders believed the organization reflected the character and atmosphere of America. With the Second Klan's entrance onto the national stage, the Klan touted its heritage and ideals as truly American and Protestant, carving a new reputation for the organization - one of historical and cultural patriotism. The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s represented a dramatic shift in the group's history, as the organization left behind the banner of Confederate sectionalism, to become a national force aimed at preserving an idealized, patriotic, and white America. Klansmen utilized the national scale and power of the organization to garner influence across the country, while a new interconnectedness between the regions of the country made the southern polemics of the Klan obsolete.

The original Ku Klux Klan was a secret fraternal order, formed out of antebellum memories and post-Civil War anger. Its beliefs and actions were Southern in character and reflected the sectionalism that still divided the United States during Reconstruction. This First Klan, created by sophisticated ex-Confederates, sought a return to the pre-war structure of society. The alluring alliteration, Ku Klux Klan, was derived from the Greek word, *kuklos*, meaning circle, and the Anglo-Saxon word, *clan*, for family. They symbolized upper-class education and embraced the Lost Cause, states' rights, and divisive regionalism.<sup>2</sup>

The national government was the nemesis of the Reconstruction Klan. The government symbolized all of the evils and problems of the South following the Civil War – it had defeated the Confederacy, infringed upon states’ rights, and liberated African Americans. The Klan sought to reverse all of these issues during the years following the Civil War, thus, the Lost Cause became the Klan’s rallying cry. The tender defeat in the war and the burdens of Reconstruction only heightened southern rejection of outsiders. The outsiders who enraged the First Klan – carpetbaggers who came to take advantage of the political turmoil in the South, federal liquor agents, and the national enforcers of the Reconstruction acts – were all perceived enemies from other regions of the United States. The First Ku Klux Klan was inextricably linked to the South, and was a phenomenon of regional tensions and strife, with an exclusively local purpose.<sup>3</sup>

A singularly southern issue during Reconstruction was the new population of free African Americans. To intimidate the former slaves, the Klan adopted white hooded-robes and bizarre titles like Grand Dragon and Exalted Cyclops, which enshrouded the Ku Klux Klan in enigma and macabre allure. Within slave culture there was a revered sense of the supernatural, and the Klan played upon these beliefs of the freed slaves with their haunting costumes. Night raids and attacks by the ghostly, horse-mounted Klan members sent a very clear message to southern blacks: the Klan would not accept the new freedom for slaves.<sup>4</sup>

The First Klan gave clear signals to the federal government that national intervention in the post-Civil War South would not be tolerated. Rejecting Republican political agenda and the federal government as a whole, the Klan reacted violently to the federal government’s imposition of the Freedman’s Bureau and other Reconstruction acts. Across the South, Klan members took local justice into their own hands as a form of defiance against federal authority and to symbolically continue the Civil War itself.<sup>5</sup>

The First Klan was linked directly to the Civil War, just as the Twenties Klan developed out of the shadows of World War One. It is important to note a few similarities between the two Klans, however, these commonalities stem only out of their post-war development rather than the Klans’ subsequent characteristics. Both Klans symbolized recalcitrant values – the First Klan longed for a return to the old antebellum social structure, while the Second Klan lamented the effects that rapid modernization had had on the purity of white America following World War I. While each Klan developed immediately after rejecting the upheaval in the social order and fighting to preserve a dying culture, they were very different in their political nature and polemics.

In contrast to the sectional nature of the First Ku Klux Klan, the Second Klan espoused national political goals. Instead of rejecting the federal government, the Second Klan eagerly championed a national American morality. Instead of touting states’ rights and waving Confederate flags, the Second Klan invented a new patriotism and American idealism. More than a regional phenomenon, the Ku Klux Klan rapidly expanded, garnering membership in every single state. Some Midwestern and northern states, most notably Indiana, claimed larger memberships than the former Klan-stronghold states of the South. Politically, Indiana was almost exclusively Klan-controlled and by 1924, nearly every state elected position, including the seat of

governor, was held by a Klansman.<sup>6</sup>

The First Klan rallied around Southern issues such as race relations, liquor tax, and federal agents. However, the Second Klan marked a transition from a regional focus to a national one. The Twenties, in contrast to the divisiveness in the surrounding decades before and after the Civil War, was a decade inspired by a heightened sense of national awareness, especially with the exchange of popular culture which aided a promotion of Klan values.<sup>7</sup>

As a direct result of mass media, the Second Ku Klux Klan grew to be a national organization because its message was spread out of the South and into the homes of Americans across the United States. An onslaught of new technology marked the twentieth century's entrance into a modern era, making the decade one of change and transition. Radio and national newspapers united the states in a way that had never before been seen. For the first time, someone in the rural South or Midwest could be just as connected to political events and social changes as someone residing in New York City or Chicago.

Unlike the First Klan, the Second Klan had the benefit of mass media to bring its message to followers outside of the South. The media attention given to the Klan in the 1920s served as positive propaganda, heightening awareness – and by extension – acceptance, of the Ku Klux Klan and its ideals across the nation. Sympathetic newspapers glorified the Klan's image and presented only the heroic side of the organization. A Northwestern Klavern, located in La Grande, Oregon, consistently recorded the addition of new members in its meeting minutes from May of 1922 up until April of 1924. Some days a large class of twenty-four were initiated into Invisible Empire while other days the membership additions would be as small as only five men were taken through the ceremony of naturalization. Regardless, this Klavern, located far away from the Southeast, is a striking example of the growth of the Klan in all parts of the United States. Many Klaverns, such as the one in La Grande, Oregon, actively used the newspapers, radios, and pulpits to spread their message. Small-scale actions such as running a small ad in the local paper or advertising for the Klan on the airwaves had a large-scale impact on overall Klan membership because these actions sanctified Klan morals to the general public.<sup>8</sup>

The early twentieth century film, *The Birth of a Nation*, based on the earlier novel, *The Clansmen*, utilized a mass audience to promote the Ku Klux Klan. Directed by D. W. Griffith, who was raised in Kentucky by a staunchly Confederate father, *The Birth of a Nation* lamented a long-lost southern culture and praised the ideal gentleman Klansman. The hero of the film, Ben Cameron, formed the Klan and gallantly saved a pure white woman from a mob of violent blacks. The film provided Americans with a visible and triumphant Klan image, one of glory and salvation.<sup>9</sup>

While *The Birth of a Nation* romanticized the Old South and the First Klan, the Second Klan did not preserve the mindset of the original Klan's experience. Historian Nancy Bishop argues that *The Birth of a Nation* “depicted an idealized version of the original movement” and skewed the First Klan's original actions. The Second Klan was based on the *nostalgia* of the South, and it was within the South itself that the reformation of the Klan began – at Stone Mountain, Georgia in 1915 – the same year that *The Birth of a Nation* hit theaters across the United States. However, *The Birth of*

*a Nation* shifted the target audience from southern elites to ordinary Americans living in all fifty states. Griffith's film was a national spectacle that aroused American attention and focused it directly on the enigmatic, but alluring Ku Klux Klan.<sup>10</sup>

Griffith's movie would have been less successful had it not been inspired by a popular novel, *The Clansmen*, by fellow southerner, Thomas Dixon. The book was familiar to many across the country and the film only reinforced a glorification of the Ku Klux Klan that was relatable to all Americans, not just Southerners. Americans could identify with this heroic depiction of the Klan - it brought a fictional reminder of order and triumph following the brutality of World War I. Others clung to the ideals of nativism, racial purity, and American honor, which were fresh and vibrant standards many held dear following the United States' seemingly heroic victory in the war. Dixon and Griffith's messages inspired conservative, purist Americans who felt that the country's morality and "whiteness" was being shattered. Like the Klan depicted in the novel and movie, the Second Klan sought to safeguard against racial degradation and moral corruption.<sup>11</sup>

While Dixon's novel and Griffith's on-screen adaptation most directly influenced the physical reformation of the Second Klan, the Klan of the Twenties moved away from the original polemic of its predecessor and broadened its message by targeting not only blacks, but additional ethnic and racial groups, thus wooing disciples from all the regions of the United States. By 1920, the Southern animosity against Reconstruction was obsolete and the Klan's target groups had expanded to include a wide range of minority peoples who had now become part of the United States, as part of the Klan's nativist and purist mindset.

The Second Klan was not only a racist organization, but had an overwhelming sense of distrust and suspicion of outside groups. Many of these fears were channeled towards the Red Scare and leftist radicalism. The Klan was built upon the anxiety that the United States was infiltrated by outside sources of corruption, and the loss of a stable Protestant American would inevitably destroy the ideals upon which the United States was built. The South experienced a much smaller influx of New Immigrants, Catholics, and Jews - most of which congregated in Northern cities instead, explaining the Klan's extra-regional expansion in the 1920s. The paranoia of unpatriotic outsiders in all parts of the country drove the Klan to become a national movement with a relatable goal for Southerners and Northerners alike.<sup>12</sup>

By 1920, Protestantism united the Klan, glossing over previous sectionalist issues. While the South still had a considerable black population, the Catholic and Jewish populations were largely insignificant in a region that was so imbedded with Protestant evangelism and the Bible Belt. However, Protestants from other parts of the United States, such as the Midwest and the Northeast, grappled with what they perceived as a startling new wave of unpatriotic and dissident religious groups. Unsurprisingly, the Klan was able to attract a vast collection of new members from the non-Southern states.<sup>13</sup>

The Klan considered anyone who was not pure, white, or Protestant as inherently corrupt. In their 1929 analysis, *Middletown: A Study in American Culture*, Robert and Hellen Lynd observed that "Klan feeling was fanned to white heat by constant insistence in season and out that 'every method known to man has been used and is being used

by the alien-minded and foreign influence to halt our growth.” Historians Cooper and Terrill argue that “The Klan embraced evangelical Protestantism and biblical literalism...the Klan thrived on anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism, and antiradicalism.”<sup>14</sup>

Klansmen saw the influx of Catholics and Jews as un-American and harmful to the national standard of morality. Catholics were considered disloyal – aligning with the foreign Pope before the interests of the United States. A Klan newspaper with unwavering Protestant leanings, the *Fellowship Forum*, published out of Washington, D.C., denounced Catholics saying, “Romanists of various races, are more devoted to their allegiance to the papal system than they are to the governments under which they reside.” Meanwhile, the Klan’s opposition to Jews was consistent with the increasing trend of anti-Semitism across the Western World during the early 20th century, as nationalism superseded any sense of religious tolerance for others outside of the mainstream group. Anti-Semitism had been present in the United States prior to the Twenties, however, it was not until then 1920s that the Klan began to target Jews. Some Klansmen were even known to spread rumors that Jews were selling poisoned foods, heightening wariness against Jews.<sup>15</sup>

The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s was staunchly Protestant. The Klan viewed the Catholic fraternal order, the Knights of Columbus, as its ultimate rival. A Klan songwriter from New England, W. R. Cameron, put these puritanical Klan feelings into verse as he wrote, “They [Catholics] want to burn our Bible up, tear down our public schools, pull down our Glory, and give us Roman rule.” The Klan acted as a police force for Protestant morals, loudly condemning increases in female promiscuity and a greater acceptance of homosexuality. The Klan offered a structured refuge for conservative Americans as it held firm to literal Biblical interpretation and traditional social roles.<sup>16</sup>

Unlike the First Klan, the Second Klan sought to save the US from any source of moral corruption and was deeply rooted in a sense of Protestant Americanism. In the mindset of the Second Ku Klux Klan, religion and state were unquestionably unified, while the First Klan was singularly focused on states’ rights. The United States was, by the Second Klan’s definition, guided by the hand of Providence, and the force of religion was unwaveringly Protestant. In contrast, the Reconstruction Klan rejected the entire entity of the United States and viewed it as a diabolical enemy.<sup>17</sup>

The Second Klan represents an intricate link between Americanism and Protestantism. The Founding Fathers were Protestant and the Klan saw themselves as the descendants of an American dream based on combined concepts of God and Liberty. The scandalous behaviors of the 1920s were the antithesis of traditional American values that the Klan held in such esteem. Widespread alcohol consumption, the increasingly risqué appearance of women’s fashion, the influx of Catholic and Jewish minorities, all sought to corrupt the America that the Ku Klux Klan was fighting so hard to preserve.

Furthermore, ministers and religious leaders were active members of the Klan and used their pulpit to garner increased membership. Reverend W. C. Wright of Waco, Texas, said in a 1924 address, “Surely the hand of God is leading and the Spirit of God is hovering over this great movement.” The connection between God and the Klan was a logical argument used to convert people to the Klan. Reverend Wright,

much like many other Klan leaders, believed that the Ku Klux Klan was divinely inspired; a Christian organization promoting Christian values.<sup>18</sup>

By extension, Klan ministers notoriously championed Prohibition. According to Professor Stanley Coben of the University of California, Los Angeles, the “Klan’s rapid growth coincided with the beginning of Prohibition.” In Newport, Kentucky – a place that Kentucky District Prohibition Director called “*an oasis of the South*” – local ministers united as “vice crusaders,” Protestant pastors who used politics to combat the rampant use of alcohol and the extreme number of speakeasies. Pastor Phillip Jenkins of the First Baptist Church of Newport actively sought police aid and accompanied officers on alcohol raids.<sup>19</sup>

The Ku Klux Klan’s vociferous support of the Eighteenth Amendment represents a clear shift in the Klan’s religious and moral fervor from its earlier, Reconstruction days. The members of the First Klan opposed the federal government on countless grounds – including its intrusion into the making of home-distilled alcohol. The Reconstruction Klan’s support of liquor in the late 1860s and 1870s stands in great contrast to the overall, anti-alcohol sentiments of the Second Klan in the 1920s.<sup>20</sup>

By the Twenties, the Second Klan transformed from a fraternal order into a pseudo-religious organization. The Reconstruction Klan was, by nature, Protestant, but only by default geographically, as it blossomed and grew within the overwhelmingly Protestant South; religion was only a peripheral factor in the First Klan’s activities. However, Klavern meetings in the 1920s were often adjourned when “all the Klansmen gathered around the altar and a parting devotion was held in full.” Cross burnings, which were rare during Reconstruction, came into the foreground of Klan imagery by 1920, becoming an extension of Klan doctrine itself.<sup>21</sup>

Thomas Dixon idealized cross burnings in *The Clansmen* as a sacred act of Klansmen past, but it was not until the 1920s that cross burnings became the center of Klan canon and tradition. Cross burnings were a symbolic allusion to the light of Christ, which the Ku Klux Klan would bring to the heathen and immoral culture of the 1920s United States.<sup>22</sup>

The 1920s marked another shift in Klan symbolism. Where the earlier Klan had waved the banner of a defeated Confederacy, the later Klan ultimately relinquished that flag in favor of the Stars and Stripes. In a 1926 photograph (Appendix 1) taken in Frankfort, Kentucky, the American flag was in the foreground of a Klan funeral. This photo is significant because a Klavern located in Kentucky – a southern state that represented the Confederacy and southern ideals during the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – used the American flag so predominately. This single photograph represents a broader shift in the Second Klan’s identity – a shift towards patriotic Americanism rather than divisive sectionalism.<sup>23</sup>

The Second Ku Klux Klan was an anomaly of Klan history. It diverged from the Reconstruction Klan as it embraced Americanism and Protestantism. Instead of championing southern identity, the Second Klan became patriotic and national in character. The 1920s Klan was not a sectional phenomenon, rather, a nation-wide organization. Despite the Second Klan’s prominence across the United States in the 1920s, the Great Depression and countless political scandals destroyed much of the Klan’s popular base. It would not be until the Civil Rights Movement following World

War II that the Klan would re-emerge for a third time. Unlike the Second Klan, the Third Klan mirrored the First Klan – it was exclusively southern in identity and was a reaction to new federal reforms that would offer greater rights to blacks. By the formation of the Third Klan, the Second Klan’s enemies had largely faded away, and the Klan returned to its exclusive mindset of Negrophobia.

The history of the Ku Klux Klan is one of birth, death, and rebirth. Each era of the Klan was born out of war, tension, and racial strife. Within every phase of Klan development, common themes of hatred and distrust are apparent. However, Klan development from Reconstruction, through the 1920s, and into the Civil Rights-era has had a boomerang effect. The Reconstruction Klan was staunchly southern, as was the Third Klan, but the Second Klan was one of country-wide power and national support. The Klan’s eventual return to its southern roots is especially notably as the Third Klan used Confederate flags instead of American ones. Thus the nationalization of the Second Klan was short-lived in the spectrum of Klan history, as the other Klans were much more regionalized. The Second Klan, although it established a sense of order and ritual within the organization, stands in contrast to prior and successive Klans, as a one-time period of absolute Americanism tinged with staunch Protestant morality

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## Piracy in China and in the Surrounding Region

*Lauren Tucker*

Sailing on the high seas off the coast of China, throughout the 1620s to the 1830s, three unconventionally successful pirates, Zheng Zhilong, Zheng Chenggong and Zheng Yi Sao<sup>1</sup> manipulated the power vacuum of the seas, and they were able to create rival socioeconomic power structures between the Chinese government and European economic interests.

For the purposes of this essay, “piracy” will be defined as described by Peter Leeson. In his article, Leeson defines piracy as a component of organized crime: “any long-term arrangement between multiple criminals that requires coordination and involves agreements that, owing to their illicit status, cannot be enforced by the state.” They did not answer to anyone.<sup>2</sup> Daniel Defoe understands that sea-faring is a precarious business:

Honest Mariners, who frequently, by contrary Winds or Tempests, or other Accidents incident to long Voyages, find themselves reduced to great Distresses, either through Scarcity of Provisions, or Want of Stores. I say, it may be a Direction to such as those, what Lengths they may venture to go, without violating the Law of Nations, in Case they should meet other Ships at Sea, or be cast on some inhospitable Shore, which should refuse to trade with them for such Things as are absolutely necessary for the Preservation of their Lives or the Safety of the Ship and Cargoe.<sup>3</sup>

Sometimes piratical acts may be necessary for survival. When those acts are done in wantonness or for profit is when they become “dangerous” piracy.

Piracy, at its heart, is thievery. Pirates were unwelcome because they usurped social, political, geographical and economic benefits that “rightfully” belonged to players working inside the legitimate power structure. They were not participating in “a declared or widely recognized war,” nor was there “reasonable belief that the relevant conduct was justifiable.”<sup>4</sup> However, Chinese pirates did not accept the existing power dynamic as it was.

There is always a power vacuum over the water; no land-based government can fully extend its hand over the open waters. Zheng Zhilong, Zheng Chenggong and Zheng Yi Sao, used the power vacuum in these waters to establish maritime empires. During the Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644, pirates in the South China Sea enjoyed immense opportunities. One hundred years before it was replaced by the Qing Dynasty, two major factors caused the Ming leaders to make a shift in their economic focus. In 1421, Beijing became the capital of China. It became a fortress against Mongol invasion,

who the Mings defeated to come to power. Superseding the maritime center of Nanjing, Beijing was uninterested in the maritime economy.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, the Ming rulers were heavily influenced by the Confucian ideal of social perfection.<sup>6</sup> Confucius thought “China was the entire world... All under Heaven... foreign travel interfered with familial obligations and believed trade was inherently mean and debasing;” focus on profit was not righteous.<sup>7</sup> Believing China had reached social perfection, the state adopted a policy of patriotic isolationism. Commerce with foreign nations was seen to pollute Chinese society. Therefore, the emperor decreed the Maritime Prohibition, or *Haijin*, to prevent this pollution. Trade, commerce or political interaction between China and foreign nations could only take place as “tribute missions.”

The Ming emperor clearly saw no benefit to free trade with foreign nations as China had all that it needed in its internal economy. The fundamental flaw in this economic policy was the Ming Dynasty’s disregard for the economic tradition of its people. China has a vast network of over 5,000 rivers, totaling 420,000 kilometers, including large rivers such as the Yellow River and the Yangtze River that empty into different bodies of water.<sup>8</sup> Their oceanic river systems drain into the Pacific, Indian and Arctic oceans.<sup>9</sup> Piracy is a means of survival: “The pirates and the traders were the same people. When trade flourished, the pirates became traders; when trade was banned, the traders became pirates.”<sup>10</sup> The Ming Dynasty abandoned a successful economy, a stronghold of power and technological innovation.<sup>11</sup>

Many working class Chinese had the skills of water travel and were disenfranchised when the Maritime Prohibition curbed China’s maritime commerce. “Their principle source of income had been abruptly cut off...pirates and bootleggers entered the vacuum.”<sup>12</sup> Since tribute missions proved to offer an insufficient supply for rampant demand in China for foreign goods, and Japan opened its economy up by mining silver in the late 1400s, China’s stringent and narrow policy for maritime commerce drove working class Chinese into the open arms of the Japanese.<sup>13</sup> Illegal smuggling skyrocketed, and those smuggling contracts were enforced with violence and “armed maritime gangs.”<sup>14</sup> On top of this ban on trade, the domestic taxes were incredibly high, and agriculture dropped in popularity. Young Chinese peasants escaped these taxes by abandoning agriculture and entering commerce on the high seas, even abandoning their wives and children for economic mobility and success.<sup>15</sup> The government’s attempts to diffuse smuggling with strong defenses only encouraged smugglers to form larger groups and to continue smuggling in other provinces and off the coast of Japan. Kwan-Wai So sums it up this way: “As economic and social conditions changed...as external demands for Chinese commodities grew, smuggling became profitable, the more so when the Court tried to enforce the interdiction laws.”<sup>16</sup>

According to Joseph MacKay, Chinese pirates operated as “escape societies,” defined as:

They leverage their relative size, local knowledge of physical geography, flexible agricultural practices, and diffuse social configuration to escape the taxing, conscripting, and labor-extracting powers of large, coercive state- and empire-building projects...but also accumulate sufficient power for themselves to permit complex and ambiguous geopolitical relationships with the states they evade.<sup>17</sup>

By inserting themselves into a relatively small socioeconomic space and widening it, “pirate leaders and those serving under them received legitimated wealth, power, and autonomy.”<sup>18</sup>

Chinese piracy is therefore defined as a “shadow economy.” A shadow economy is “those economic activities and the income derived from them that circumvent or otherwise avoid government regulation, taxation or observation.”<sup>19</sup> These regulations include: taxes, labor market standards and administrative procedures.<sup>20</sup> The taxes for licenses and tribute missions were high, and the profit did not justify the cost, working in the shadow economy was a better alternative. With this, the Chinese, the Japanese and the Dutch were reasonably satisfied with the flow of currency and goods. However, unsatisfied with this economic policy, pirates took matters into their own hands, seizing power to which they had no legitimate claim. Their very existence became piracy of the socioeconomic structure.

The government closed the avenues to legal and free trade, despite Japanese and European desire for the silks, spices and other goods of China. The avenue left was illegal commerce, giving pirates a monopoly on trading Chinese goods. The interplay of social, political, economic and geographical factors drove the Chinese into piracy and the circumstances lined up to make them successful: “They thus challenged the political legitimacy of the Chinese empire and also the mercantile interests of European colonial projects in the region.”<sup>21</sup>

MacKay also argues that the natural cycle of civilization is “the rise and fall of states involves the acquiring and expelling of populations. By pushing them out of participation in the status quo, states breed rivalries and ruin the economic monopoly they may have over the society under their influence. Once outside of the status quo, pirates enter a refugee zone where they must provide for their own needs. Chinese pirates took it one step further and created an entire socioeconomic discourse and took part in the benefits of a legitimate state infrastructure. By creating maritime empires, Zheng Zhilong, Zheng Chenggong and Zheng Yi Sao manipulated a powerless situation and attained the benefits of the existing power structure.

Chinese merchants, the working class or foreign nations were unsatisfied with the limited exchange of goods. The Dutch, in particular, were determined to trade with China. Therefore, the pirates and the Dutch simply went behind the government’s back and traded through Japan. The Dutch East India Company came into the South China Sea in the 1540s. The original Maritime Prohibition was repealed for the Open Seas policy in 1567. The Open Seas policy allowed for foreign traders to come to China on tribute missions, and Chinese sailors were allowed to go abroad with licenses, tolls and taxes, except to pirate-friendly Japan.<sup>22</sup> The Dutch came into the South China Sea at a very opportune time; they became the intermediaries between Chinese and Japanese trade, since many Chinese did not want to risk capture by sailing straight to Japan.<sup>23</sup> The Dutch East India Company encouraged the Chinese piracy because Europeans were greatly invested in maritime commerce, whereas the Ming government saw “sea commerce as a necessary evil, something that might at best be tolerated.”<sup>24</sup> The Dutch could not trade freely with China as they wished, and so they inserted themselves into the rival power structure of the pirates. This, in turn, gave the pirate states even more power. The pirates were the ones supplying the goods. With the

economic upper hand, the pirates could set the prices, timing and location of exchanges. Since the pirates could not establish headquarters too close to the Chinese mainland, Formosa and the Taiwan Straits became the center for pirate activity in the South China Sea.<sup>25</sup>

The pirate empires in the South China Sea were the only power structure to answer to and they created their own monopoly over the towns and villages where they operated. The pirates offered protection fees merchants and traders could purchase to avoid being plundered. Many of the towns and villages along the Taiwan Strait accepted this pirate rule in replacement for the Chinese state. Zheng Zhilong came into power in 1625.<sup>26</sup> Both the Dutch and Imperial China had to open up a discourse with the Chinese pirates in order to serve their interests. He then began playing both sides of the field as a translator for the Dutch East India Company. The Dutch used Zheng Zhilong as a privateer, and he had their protection and political support in exchange for a share of his plunder.<sup>27</sup> As Zheng Zhilong became more successful, his reputation abounded as a piratical Robin Hood; he took the riches from the undeserving and poured them back into his nation's economy. In addition, drought, famine and economic desperation drove the Chinese people into Zheng Zhilong's arms, expanding his crew. MacKay points out: "While one sacrificed security and certainty leaving a conventional settled society, one probably gained greater wealth and freedom."<sup>28</sup>

Peter Leeson wrote about the economics of piracy, stating "a single successful pirating expedition could make a sailor wealthy enough to retire."<sup>29</sup> The Ming government did not appreciate the existence of this fluctuating power dynamic; piracy was so successful that it was able to affect the political, social and economic influence the Chinese state had over its people. However, at this time the Ming dynasty did not have the naval superiority. So there was no way for them to curb piracy by force. There were failed attempts to partner with the Dutch to bring Zheng Zhilong down, but only in exchange for free trade. The Dutch did not stop Zhilong before he attacked Xiamen, and so the Chinese government offered Zheng Zhilong an official position in the Ming government. Charles Gutzlaff also wrote about this in his memoirs:

The chiefs of pirates gave passports to the trading vessels, and thereby strictly enforced their claim to the command of sea ports. Such a ruinous system could not long continue, and hence the Mandarins bribed their chiefs by the offer of military rank and service under the imperial banner.<sup>30</sup>

This allowed Zheng Zhilong to destroy his competitors, gather supplies for his crew, expand trade and enter into legitimate trading contracts with the Dutch.<sup>31</sup> The Ming government regarded Zheng Zhilong as a larger economic threat than the DEIC, and giving the Dutch free trade would provide less benefits than restructuring Zheng Zhilong's profit uptake. "In all cases of conspiracy and rebellion the laws of China are especially severe," so to forego punishment for inclusion for Zheng Zhilong is a strong indicator of his power.<sup>32</sup>

Zheng Zhilong prospered even for a few years after the Qing Dynasty came into power in 1644. The Qing Dynasty was even stricter about maritime trade than the

Mings. These restrictions drove marginalized working class Chinese into the arms of Zhilong and his prosperous piracy. However, his family politically sided with the Ming dynasty during the Qing invasion in 1644. The Qing dynasty offered him a government position, but it was a set up, and he was kept under house arrest in Beijing until his death in 1661.<sup>33</sup>

Zheng Zhilong was succeeded by his son, Zheng Chenggong. Zheng Chenggong was more commonly known as “Koxinga,” which means “Lord of the Imperial Surname.”<sup>34</sup> When Zheng Zhilong sided with the Ming rulers in 1644, the prince “symbolically adopted” Zheng Chenggong as his own, making himself and his lineage honorary members of the royal Ming family. Unlike his father, Zheng Chenggong was much more politically minded; he actively used his position and resources to support the Ming family. Zheng Chenggong used his wealth he attained from piracy to actively fight against the Qing Dynasty. His military expeditions were financed by his sea trade, and he set up a base in Xiamen modeled after the Ming government.<sup>35</sup> Unable to hold his headquarters in China or defeat the Qing forces militarily, Zheng Chenggong moved his empire to Taiwan in 1661. Chinese pirates and colonists alike helped drive out the Dutch. In many ways, Zheng Chenggong’s pirate empire can be seen as “patriotic piracy.” By driving out European influence and imperialistic interests, in the end Zheng Chenggong served his home nation better by extending the Chinese population and socioeconomic and sociopolitical structure over the South China Sea and into Taiwan. The social perfection realized during the Ming Dynasty was able to persist because Zheng Zhilong and Zheng Chenggong’s pirate activity drove out the Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch. The Dutch East India Company in Taiwan was “one of the few European colonies to fall to a non-European power.”<sup>36</sup> The colony only lasted from 1624 to 1661, less than forty years.

Zheng Yi Sao is the best known female pirate in Asia. She began as a prostitute and married pirate Zheng Yi. When he died in 1807 she inherited his fleet, which flourished. The generally accepted number for the size of Zheng Yi Sao’s fleet is four hundred junks and 70,000 to 80, 000 men.<sup>37</sup> According to Angus Konstam, it was large enough to be a confederation of six fleets: red, black, white, yellow, blue and green, at its peak with 600 junks, 30,000 seamen and 150,000 fighting men.<sup>38</sup> The opportunity to consolidate many pirate groups into one big fleet occurred when Chinese pirates returned to the Pearl River delta from Vietnam. Vietnam was a haven for pirates in the nineteenth century, but the pirate-friendly Tayson rule ended in 1802. Moving back to the Pearl River delta gave these two pirates sufficient distance from Beijing to operate with control over the region.<sup>39</sup> Their pirate state was not nearly as political as Chenggong’s, but Zheng Yi Sao’s pirate confederation operated similarly to an Italian mob organization. She offered protection along the coast of China and neighboring islands through regular taxation. This political-economic structure was still more appealing to the Chinese people than the Qing Dynasty because it did not cut off sea trade. And taxes were much more reasonable than cutting off all maritime commerce, while the exchange of Chinese and foreign goods allowed for a more diverse, regulated and stable economy. This confederation had “a strikingly legalistic, even constitutional scope and structure.”<sup>40</sup> The confederation had a constitution binding the fleets together, with rules of conduct for plunder, how to treat captives,

taxes, fines and how wealth was to be shared. Zheng Yi Sao took the piratical state a step further by adding a legal component. Her rules were strict and strongly enforced. According to Dian Murray, the Chinese working class was trying to escape “mandarin oppression,”<sup>41</sup> and MacKay argues “they were able to escape a state apparatus they experienced as coercive and extractive....they joined the extracting, claiming a contractually mandated portion of whatever resources their ship or their fleet acquired.”<sup>42</sup> As for political structures, Zheng Yi Sao organized a large population of people to control a certain region economically, socially and politically. Her piratical empire was a working legal body outside the confines of the Chinese state.

Chinese piracy attacked head-on the need for state support and political legitimacy to have an economic, political and social powerhouse. Because these three famous Chinese pirates lived in what MacKay describes as “sociopolitical margins,” they knew the needs and wants of those living on the fringe of society, and they supplied it.<sup>43</sup> Zheng Zhilong grew up in rural Fujian and then turned to smuggling in adulthood.<sup>44</sup> Zheng Chenggong grew up on pirate ships. Zheng Yi Sao was a prostitute. Operating far from the capital, on the seas, and on islands off of mainland China, they ruled over this geographical sphere and provided for those that were ignored. The government is directly responsible for the existence of pirates, according to Daniel Defoe: “And by the Laws of Nature, Princes and States are responsible for their Neglect, if they do not provide Remedies for restraining these sorts of Robberies.”<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, “If they would but take a greater interest in the welfare of their people they would have great success in their rule,” and there would not be ignored segments of society.<sup>46</sup>

Zheng Zhilong, Zheng Chenggong and Zheng Yi Sao saw the power vacuum over the sea and wrested social, economic and political benefits for themselves. The state did not meeting their needs, and so they took what they needed for themselves. These three maneuvered the geographical, political, economic and social space of the time period in such a way to create complex power structures that rivaled the scope and success of the Chinese state.

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## Endnotes

- 1 Throughout my research, each source has used a different name for these three. Variations include: Cheng-Chi-Lung, Xoxinga, Cheng I Sao, respectively.
- 2 Peter Leeson, “An-arrgh-chy: The Law and Economics of Pirate Organization,” *Journal of Political Economy* 115 (2007): 1052.
- 3 Daniel Defoe and Charles Johnson, *A General History of the Pyrates From their First Rise and Settlement in the Inland of Providence, to the Present Time*, (1724), 1.
- 4 J.L. Anderson, “Piracy and World History: An Economic Perspective on Maritime Predation,” *Journal of World History* 6, no. 2 (1995): 176.
- 5 Angus Konstam and Roger Michael Kean, *Pirates: Predators of the Sea*, (New York: Skyhorse, 2007), 27.
- 6 Konstam and Kean, *Pirates: Predators of the Sea*, 27.
- 7 Levathes, *When China Ruled the Sea*, 33.
- 8 Zhao Songqiao, *Geography of China: Environment, Resources, Population and Development*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1994), 18.
- 9 Songqiao, *Geography of China*, 19.
- 10 So, *Japanese Piracy in Ming China*, 214.
- 11 Levathes, *When China Ruled the Seas*, 20.
- 12 Levathes, *When China Ruled the Seas*, 89.
- 13 Andrade, *Company’s Chinese Pirates*, 418.
- 14 Andrade, *Company’s Chinese Pirates*, 418.
- 15 Albert Chan, *The Glory and Fall of the Ming Dynasty*, (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 330.
- 16 So, *Japanese Piracy in Ming China*, 71.
- 17 MacKay, *Pirate Nations*, 552.
- 18 MacKay, *Pirate Nations*, 557.
- 19 Friedrich Schneider, “Shadow Economies and Corruption All Over the World: New Estimates for 145 Countries,” *Economics: The Open-Access, Open-Assessment E-Journal* 1, no.9 (2007): 4.
- 20 Schneider, “Shadow Economies,” 5.
- 21 Joseph MacKay, “Pirate Nations: Maritime Pirates as Escape Societies in Late Imperial China,” *Social Science History* 37 (2013), 551.
- 22 Andrade, “The Company’s Chinese Pirates,” 419.
- 23 Andrade, “The Company’s Chinese Pirates,” 420.
- 24 Andrade, “The Company’s Chinese Pirates,” 420.
- 25 Andrade, “The Company’s Chinese Pirates,” 424.
- 26 Andrade, “The Company’s Chinese Pirates,” 429.
- 27 Andrade, “The Company’s Chinese Pirates,” 430.
- 28 MacKay, “Pirate Nations,” 558.
- 29 Leeson, “An-arrgh-chy,” 1078.
- 30 Gutzlaff, *Three Voyages*, 171.
- 31 Andrade, “The Company’s Chinese Pirates,” 432.
- 32 Gray, *China*, 56.
- 33 Andrade, “The Company’s Chinese Pirates,” 441.
- 34 Andrade, “The Company’s Chinese Pirates,” 440.
- 35 Andrade, “The Company’s Chinese Pirates,” 441.



- 36 Andrade, "The Company's Chinese Pirates," 416.
- 37 MacKay, "Pirate Nations," 564.
- 38 Konstam and Kean, *Pirates: Predators of the Sea*, 210.
- 39 Mackay, "Pirate Nations," 564.
- 40 MacKay, "Pirate Nations," 565.
- 41 Quoted in Mackay, "Pirate Nations," 566.
- 42 MacKay, "Pirate Nations," 566.
- 43 MacKay, "Pirate Nations," 560.
- 44 MacKay, "Pirate Nations," 560.
- 45 Defoe, *A General History of the Pyrates*, 424.
- 46 Chan, *The Glory and Fall of the Ming Dynasty*, 333.

# REVIEWS

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## **Confronting Black Jacobins: The United States, *The Haitian Revolution, and the Origins of the Dominican Republic***

by Gerald Horne.

New York: Monthly Review Press, 2015, pp. 423,

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The Haitian Revolution has often been described by many historians as the largest and most successful rebellion led by an enslaved person or a group of enslaved persons throughout the Western Hemisphere. Enslaved persons of African descent started the rebellion in 1791 and by 1803, they had successfully ended not only the system of human bondage but also the total control of the French on the island. However, the Haitian Revolution was much more complex, far-reaching, and ultimately had an unmeasurable impact on the Western Hemisphere and the world at-large for centuries. Gerald Horne, the John J. and Rebecca Moores Chair of the Department of History and African American Studies at the University of Houston, carefully examines this powerful world-shaping event in his book titled *Confronting Black Jacobins: The United States, The Haitian Revolution, and The Origins of the Dominican Republic*.

In his introductory chapter, Horne notes that his study is “concerned with relations between the United States and Hispaniola . . . [and] the relation of Washington’s republic to the revolutionary process in the nation that became Haiti and the splitting of the island in 1844, which led to the formation of the Dominican Republic” (p. 8). But, more importantly, the author proclaims that his work rests on the notion that “the Haitian Revolution created a general crisis for the system of slavery that could only be resolved with its collapse” (p. 10). This central point is masterfully supported throughout his entire book.

*Confronting Black Jacobins* is built on several of Horne’s earlier work, namely *Negro Comrades of the Crown: African-Americans and the British Empire Fight the U.S. Before Emancipation*, *Race to Revolution: The United States and Cuba during Slavery and Jim Crow*, and *The Counter-Revolution of 1776: Slave Resistance and the Origins of the United States of America*. The book is constructed both thematically and chronologically. Within its eleven chapters, Horne’s highly intriguing volume shows through an enormous amount

of documentation and rarely-used archival sources the impact various external, international forces had on the Haitian Revolution and on the entire slaveholding island of Hispaniola. This never-before seen event clearly frightened all slaveholders throughout the Caribbean as well as greatly influenced the evolving United States policy toward Haiti, the first African-led republic in the Western Hemisphere. Horne makes the late point very clearly in his first two chapters when he contends that the “Founding Fathers ... seemed incapable of comprehending the world historic forces that were being unloosed” as a result of the Haitian Revolution (p. 53). Also crucial in these pages is the author’s claim that the United States, for years, would have “to contend with an abolitionist London and Haiti, a mighty force that would be difficult to thwart” (p. 53).

In the next six chapters the author focus is on the immediate impact and long-aftermath of the Haitian Revolution (which Horne continuously refers to leaders of the rebellion as “Black Jacobins”) on Hispaniola itself, the responses of France, Spain, and the United States to the continuous crisis and the subsequent emerge of Haiti as the first African-led republic in the Western Hemisphere. In short, Horne contends that the actions of persons of African descent and some abolitionists (both African American and white as well as both famous and little-known) in the United States, along with the evolving foreign policies toward Haiti by the previous noted countries, led to the dividing of Hispaniola into two countries, Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

Horne’s book ends with two chapters that examine the Dominican Republic (the “DR”)’s independence movement as well as the United States attempt to either occupy or annex the DR and Haiti. In the end, both of these goals failed. However, as the author concludes, centuries later, “another kind of U.S. occupation in the wake of the devastating earthquake in 2010” took place (p. 287). However, “the spirt of Black Jacobins has yet to be quelled” (p. 287).

*Confronting Black Jacobins* is a remarkable, compelling, and insightful book written by one of the most preeminent historians of our times. Gerald Horne not only builds on the works of C.L.R. James, he redefines and repositions the origins, impact, and legacy of the Haitian Revolution into an international context. For these points alone he should be congratulated. However, based on a rich collection of little-used archival and primary sources, Horne also uncovers the names of numerous abolitionists, diplomats, slaveholders, and freedom fighters of the Haitian Revolution. In summary, this book is a must read for anyone interested in the Black Liberation struggle on any level.

