

# Herodotus



The Undergraduate Journal of History  
Volume X, Spring 2000

Unfortunately, when *Herodotus* went to press this year, a few of the graphics which the editors had painstakingly placed into the text of the journal were either incorrectly printed or omitted by the publisher.

Corrections are as follows:

1. preface – Greek text from Herodotus, *Histories*, Book I
2. page 74 – James Brown in Africa: Music and Tour Chronology 1965-1975
3. pages 84 & 85 – Commercial advertisement in Southern Illinois Towns: 1858

## ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

### ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Α

Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησσεὺς ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἦδε, ὥς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροις ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

from Herodotus, *Histories*, Book I

This history by Herodotus of Halicarnassus is written so that the deeds of men might not fade with time, so that neither the great and wondrous displays of Greeks and foreigners nor the reasons why they warred with one another go unrecognized.

(Translated by W. H. Shearin)

# James Brown in Africa: Music and Tour Chronology 1965-1975

- 1965** "Papa's Got a Brand New Bag" Parts 1&2 released. Marking the beginning of style (funk) as well as new popularity for James Brown. At this time, large numbers of African musical groups begin using names and songs associated with James Brown, ie, "Famous Flames" (ongoing). Geraldo Pino's Heartbreakers is the first group to play JB's music ('64).
- 1966** "I Feel Good" released.  
"Don't Be a Drop out" released.
- 1967** "Cold Sweat" released.
- 1968** "Say It Loud: I'm Black and I'm Proud" released.  
Brown's first visit to Africa: March 31st; performs in Ivory Coast.  
"I Got the Feeling" released.
- 1969** Several versions of the dance song "Popcorn" are released.  
The "Popcorn" dance, inspired by James Brown's song, is picked up in African nightclubs.
- 1970** December: final leg of world tour is in Africa; performs in Ivory Coast, Nigeria and Zambia. In Nigeria, Brown met with Fela Kuti (at the "Afro Spot"). In Zambia, Brown met with President Kenneth Kaunda.
- 1971** March 6th: Wilson Pickett, Ike & Tina Turner and 140 artists (American and African) perform in Ghana. Captured on film by Denis Sanders: "Soul to Soul."  
"Hot Pants" released.
- 1972** Jan 1st: "Soul to Soul" film premieres in Ghana.  
"King Heroin" released.
- 1973** "I Got Ants in My Pants" released.  
"Think" released.
- 1974** "The Payback" (with significant input from Fred Wesley) released.  
Oct. Zaïre: Brown performs in festivities surrounding Ali-Foreman fight.
- 1975** Jan. Gabon: Brown performs for public birthday celebration of President Bongo.  
"Reality" released. Last major James Brown album before widespread popularity of discs.

| Commercial Advertisement           |                                                                                                                                                           |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                    | Benton (Franklin Co.) <sup>1</sup>                                                                                                                        |
| <i>Transportation</i> <sup>4</sup> |                                                                                                                                                           |
| St. Louis                          | Ohio & Mississippi Railroad<br>(to East St. Louis)                                                                                                        |
| In vicinity of<br>town             | none                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>Dry Goods</i>                   |                                                                                                                                                           |
| St. Louis                          | Bare & West (Queensware)<br>Ed. Mead & Co. (Fancy dry goods)<br>Ed. Mead & Co. (photography)<br>Whittemore (millinery)<br>Simon (notions & variety goods) |
| In vicinity of<br>town             | D.B. Hatch (variety goods)<br>Saddler shop (leather goods)                                                                                                |
| <b>Total advertisements:</b>       |                                                                                                                                                           |
| St. Louis                          | 5                                                                                                                                                         |
| Local                              | 2                                                                                                                                                         |

1. Data from 4 June 1858 surviving.

2. Data from 6 January-21 April surviving.

3. Data from January-December 1858 surviving.

4. Steam-powered riverboats are indicated by italicized script.



**in Southern Illinois Towns: 1858**

| Cairo (Alexander Co.) <sup>1</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Chester (Randolph Co.) <sup>1</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>Rodolph (St. Louis-Memphis)<br/> Martha Javdt (St. Louis-Cairo)<br/> Highflyer (St. Louis-Louisville KY)</p> <p>Thomas Scott (Cairo-Paducah)<br/> Phillips, Hunt &amp; Co., wharfboat agents<br/> (Cairo &amp; New Orleans, Paducah KY;<br/> Paducah &amp; Tennessee)</p> | <p>Buck-eye Boy Express wagon<br/> (Sparta-Belleville/ St. Louis)<br/> William Garvin (St. Louis-Chester)<br/> Rodolph (St. Louis-Cairo steamboat)</p> <p>A. Block &amp; Bro. Wharf boat</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <p>none</p> <p>Hunter &amp; Lea (photography)<br/> Washington Foundry<br/> Greenwood (Fruits &amp; confections)<br/> Rudoff (Stoves)<br/> F. Malinski (Boots &amp; Shoes)<br/> G.L. Rattelmiller (groceries)</p>                                                             | <p>Ed. Mead &amp; Co. (fancy dry goods)<br/> Ed. Mead &amp; Co. (photography)<br/> John L. Locke (furnishings)<br/> D. Pearce (hats &amp; caps)<br/> L. &amp; A. Oar (books &amp; stationery)<br/> Enders, Simmons &amp; Co. (clothing)<br/> Wm. McLight (boots &amp; shoes)<br/> Field, Beardslee &amp; Co. (men's clothes)<br/> Sturges &amp; Bro. (produce &amp; commission)</p> <p>Jones (marble &amp; dry goods)<br/> Dillon (Italian &amp; American grocery)<br/> Lynan (dry goods)<br/> T.R. Douglas (dry goods)<br/> Andrews &amp; Henderson (drug &amp; jewelry)</p> |
| <p>3</p> <p>9</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | <p>12</p> <p>6</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |

# Herodotus

The Undergraduate  
Journal of History

Volume X  
Spring 2000

Department of History  
Stanford University

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cover photo: *The Winged Victory of Samothrace* (Louvre, Paris).

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## ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

### ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Α

Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνησέως ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἦδε, ὥς μῆτε  
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αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

from Herodotus, *Histories*, Book I

This history by Herodotus of Halicarnassus is written so that the deeds of men might not fade with time, so that neither the great and wonderous displays of Greeks and foreigners nor the reasons why they warred with one another go unrecognized.

(Translated by W. H. Shearin)

## EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

As *Herodotus* moves into its tenth year, it is comforting to recognize that the strength and intellectual energy which brought the magazine into existence are still very much a part of the Stanford University History Department. Although the magazine has seen its way through many changes of staff and students, it has, nonetheless, received a steady stream of intelligent, well-written and polished essays, a selection of essays which could only come from a very unique and intellectually vibrant community. This praise might seem a bit self-congratulatory, but, as this year's collection of essays demonstrates, we do not claim it idly.

This tenth volume of *Herodotus* showcases essays written by undergraduate students -- sophomores through seniors -- which cover a millenium of history on three continents. This chronological and geographical breadth is testimony to the broad abilities of the Department and its students. Moreover, married to this varied range of historical interests is a consistently strong sense of historical acumen: the authors whose work is found here know how to find and critically consult historical sources. All of the essays in this collection exhibit thorough, thought-provoking interpretations of the past; they are essays which we have enjoyed reading and hope that you will as well.

This volume would never have been able to reach your hands without an incredible amount of help. The Carl F. Brand Fund, which has supported the journal for many years, has again defrayed publishing expenses. Joanna Osmond and Ruth Lowy in the History Department Office aided in administrative matters. Matthew Booker, Brett Whalen, Marisela Chavez and J. B. Shank read and commented upon the essays in a swift and insightful fashion. Technical difficulties with the magazine layout were solved expertly by Jill Ho. All of these people deserve our thanks, and we hope that they, too, enjoy the fruit of their combined efforts.

Now, with our numerous debts acknowledged, we exhort you to begin reading. As already noted, the work before you is diverse, but we invite you to connect the essays -- and the larger framework of the journal -- much as our authors have already connected their own accounts of history. Perhaps you will find no theme; however, we think that each essay, in its own way, offers an account of origins, or rather what it means consider the very concept of origins. In Lauren Maeda's essay, the first of the collection, we find a close look at the "origins" of the scientific



method only to realize that science, what is often thought to be objective truth, is as much the product of social and cultural circumstance as absolute certainty. "The Myth of Pope Joan," confirms this notion of "origins" as a social and cultural product by locating the historical origins of a medieval myth within a social climate of papal corruption. Nathan Collett's "Soul to Soul," by contrast, looks at how a myth of origins shaped a social and political situation; it considers in what ways the perceived origins of Soul music contributed to solidarity between African and African American youth during the 1960s and early 1970s.

This reading of the essays is, of course, only one way of trying to understand how they form a coherent journal. Read them for yourselves and let us know what you find. Communications with *Herodotus* should be directed to Michael Landres (mlandres@stanford.edu). Questions about this year's selections, about working with the journal or future submissions are always welcome.

Thank You,

The Editorial Staff  
*Herodotus*, May 2000

**Robert Hooke's *Micrographia*:  
A Manifestation of Competing Interests in the Pursuit of  
Natural Knowledge**

LAUREN MAEDA

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY WITNESSED the advent of a new approach to science that was to bring tremendous advantages in all fields of inquiry. The inspiration for this development was primarily attributed to Francis Bacon, one of the most distinguished scientists of his time. Although his name may have been carried through the historical canon simply on the merits of his discoveries, perhaps his most significant contribution was his method of scientific investigation. Bacon's method, which encouraged empirical collection of data and accurate experimentation, contributed to a reshaping of how the common man viewed himself in the universe. No longer depending on divine revelation to understand the laws governing the world, scientific reasoning and investigation encouraged the common man to discern those laws for himself. This method was used by members of the Royal Society of London, and expressed in its motto, *Nullus in Verba*, "Not by Word Alone." Robert Hooke, Curator of Experiments to the Royal Society from 1663 until his death in 1703, attributed his inspiration to the philosophy of Bacon and was an active practitioner of the New Science. Hooke performed hundreds of experiments in pursuit of a methodology for the study of nature. It was both a personal and occupational endeavor. Unlike the Society's wealthy, unpaid curators, Hooke epitomized the mechanically minded individual existing on the border between gentleman philosophers, instrument manufacturers, and talented craftsmen in seventeenth-century London. In his first major publication *Micrographia* (1665), Hooke appealed to and appeased members from each major social group while also satisfying his individual desire to better understand the natural world.

As Curator for the Society, Hooke functioned as the medium through which Fellows' ideas were materialized in private experimentation and subsequently transformed into public knowledge. When Hooke was hired as a curator, his duties and responsibilities were not yet determined; the Fellows were inventing a new role and establishing norms for the position. Since the parameters of the position were not well defined, Hooke had the opportunity to modify the role of curator and negotiate a satisfactory social space. He was able to acquire more power than was

intended by his curatorial status, and he was able to use that power to refashion the Society's agenda in line with his own, more theoretical interests.<sup>1</sup> In *Micrographia*, Hooke sought to inform the Society that an examination of the nature of physical bodies was the most important task of experimental philosophy. Observations functioned as the bases for corpuscular theory. As his observations moved up the chain of beings from the point of a needle through seeds and vegetables to fleas, Hooke hypothesized on the composition and structure of the matter in relation to its interior motions. He proposed that even "the schematism or structure of vegetables [was] altogether mechanical."<sup>2</sup> The microscope, perhaps the most revolutionary of all the seventeenth-century scientific instruments, extended the capabilities of the senses and enabled Hooke to observe a world of minute objects never before seen. Although the Society rejected similar claims prior to 1665, *Micrographia* demonstrated Hooke's practice of organizing natural philosophy around theories of matter and movement. Hooke described a process of the mind that he saw as operative in all intellectual effort, whether mechanical or physical. This process, which moved from the known to the unknown, was the same in mathematics as it was in natural philosophy.

In order to observe these properties of physical bodies, Hooke invented new instruments with which to probe nature. In comparison to the simpler instruments such as the screw-barrel microscope, Hooke's devices were more stable and less susceptible to slight movements of the observer's hand. The preface of *Micrographia* described the compound microscope and other instruments that Hooke designed, and attempted to articulate the philosophical significance of microscopy. Hooke believed that absolute certainty could only be obtained by information received from the senses. He viewed the microscope as a tool that provided necessary assistance to the human senses, increasing awareness of the environment's complexities and a more complete understanding of the natural world. As J.B. McCormick proposed, long centuries of metaphysical speculation estranged man from nature such that an artificial extension of the senses was necessary to rebuild an understanding based on the plainness and soundness of observations.<sup>3</sup> Hooke endorsed the notion that scientific instruments had the potential not only to restore the relationship between mind and nature, but also possibly lead to knowledge of the Creator through contemplation of his works. The microscope provided new information about the "invisible world," and perhaps more importantly, incited a new method for speculation about natural phenomena.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pumfrey (1991), 19.

<sup>2</sup> Hooke (1665), 61.

<sup>3</sup> McCormick (1987), 7.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson (1995), 1.

Although Hooke was able to express some of his theories in *Micrographia*, his non-gentlemanly social status restricted the degree of flexibility in his position, limiting his credibility as a philosopher and forcing him to struggle to achieve social acceptance. By the 1670s, Hooke was the sole driving force behind the Society's most successful experimental projects; however, his rise to power did not alter his social rank. A curator was commonly understood to be someone who devoted his leisure to investigating nature upon requests of the Society. These leisured individuals were independent gentlemen, and Hooke differed from them in that he required financial support for his work, thereby establishing himself as a source of contracted labor.<sup>5</sup> One of his most urgent assignments was the publication of *Micrographia*, which the Royal Society sought as evidence of its achievements. As technological developments continued to improve the quality and accessibility of print, the Fellows sought to enhance their public image through their publications.

The foremost impetus for the publication of Hooke's observations was to highlight the accomplishments of the Society and persuade Restoration London that the new experimental philosophy addressed pressing intellectual and social problems. By making its claims through examples of actual observational practice and demonstrating that the new optical instruments generated "safe" knowledge, Hooke's publication responded to the charge that experimental philosophy was part of the atheism, materialism, and enthusiasm unleashed during the Civil War and Interregnum.<sup>6</sup> The intention of gaining patronage and approval for the Royal Society was evident in the *Micrographia*'s dedication to King Charles II where Hooke mentioned that "there were several other of [the King's] subjects, of [His] Royal Society busier about nobler matters -- the improvement of manufacture and agriculture, the increase of commerce, the advantage of navigation -- in all which they were assisted by [His Majesty's] encouragement and example."<sup>7</sup> The motivation for the dedication was two-fold: praise and admiration for the King's power and authority, and presentation of the Society as an accomplished and promising institution. The Royal Society first convened in 1660, only five years prior to the publication of *Micrographia*, and had yet to establish itself as a reputable source of experimental natural philosophy. Royal support, therefore, was necessary to ensure the future success of the Society.

Obtaining royal patronage was not the only motivation for *Micrographia*. As an employee of the Society, Hooke was expected to investigate and present material that suited the requests of the Fellows. Social stratification within the institution paralleled that of Restoration

<sup>5</sup> Pumfrey (1991), 4.

<sup>6</sup> Dennis (1989), 312.

<sup>7</sup> Hooke (1665), dedication to Charles II.

England where a clear distinction existed between the wealthy gentry, the middling classes, and the poor. Although many scholars have claimed that the Fellows often mistreated Hooke, in general he was treated correctly with respect to his office. According to Stephen Pumfrey, this disrespectful treatment was most obvious in the meeting minutes that indicated Hooke being "ordered" and "instructed" to perform specific experiments whereas the gentlemanly Fellows were simply "desired" to investigate matters of interest.<sup>8</sup> Due to the subordinate nature of his position, Hooke's selection of observations pivoted upon the desires of both scientific and non-scientific Fellows. The heavy representation of insects and nematodes in *Micrographia* can be primarily attributed to Hooke's reception of the interests of the Fellows and their fascination with his sketches.<sup>9</sup> Current curiosities and sites of intrigue could only be sufficiently addressed if curators established direct and frequent communication with their audience. Hooke, in essence, selected his topics of investigation in accordance with the demands of the Society.

In order to fulfill the desires of such a diverse audience, Hooke maintained a wide variety and quantity of experiments. Managing such a wide breadth of investigations made Hooke appear unfocused and fickle to his peers in the scientific community. As Richard Nichols noted, *Micrographia* was similar to Galileo's *Sidereus Nuncius*, since it presented "not a systematic investigation of any one question, but a bouquet of observations with courses from the mineral, animal, and vegetable kingdoms."<sup>10</sup> Although Hooke often received criticism for lacking a distinct focus, he struggled to formulate a universal method for solving problems in natural philosophy, and ultimately came to a method based on disciplined observational techniques that he believed would achieve a breakthrough in the acquisition of truth about nature.

Despite the fact that Hooke did not possess complete control over the selection of his specimens, he made significant efforts to unify and popularize the diverse material. Observations of everything from razor blades to spiders made his choice and organization of topics appear chaotic. As Hooke's first major publication, *Micrographia* served as a summary of most of the scientific work he achieved before the age of thirty. Upon closer inspection, however, *Micrographia* was more than a mere compilation of random pieces of individual data. The connection of the first observation (a point on the needle), with the last (the moon as a point in space), epitomized Hooke's attempt to establish a distinct coherence amongst his observations. This comparison stemmed from issues of perspective and interpretation; the identification of a point depended on

the frame of reference. These observations emphasized the fact that a point was not what it appeared to be. According to Hooke, "the surface [of the needle point], though appearing to the naked eye very smooth, could not hide a multitude of holes and scratches and ruggedness from being discovered by the microscope."<sup>11</sup> These holes in the point of the needle were compared to the appearance of craters on the surface of the moon in the final observation. In addition, the moon and the stars were portrayed as alternative forms of points, both in space and on the page. These continuities were intended to synthesize data from the microscopic and macroscopic worlds, highlighting the identical properties between them.

In order to further develop relationships between his individual observations, Hooke made transitions between them by referencing previous hypotheses and conclusions. In his description of the edge of a razor, he asserted that since he previously demonstrated that a point often appears as a circle, it was only rational that the line of the blade be a parallelogram.<sup>12</sup> This reiteration of hypotheses throughout *Micrographia* highlighted similarities between natural phenomena and emphasized the existence of a universal methodology for the new experimental philosophy. Since hypotheses were most easily formed and accepted when a known method of observation was applied to unknown phenomena, Hooke drew many analogies between mathematics and scientific reasoning. Hooke asserted that there was only one epistemological method of reasoning and it was the same in mathematics as in natural philosophy. According to Lotte Mulligan, Hooke equated sense data with established truths in geometry that also progressed from the seen to the unseen.<sup>13</sup> Through the use of analogies to relate his hypotheses with mathematical certainties, Hooke implied that similar truths were inherent in information received from the senses.

In addition to the continuities between the content of his descriptions, Hooke created a greater coherence by developing a persona for himself as the observer. The personal element in each of his descriptions enhanced the credibility of the presented material and suggested that he was a reliable and trustworthy observer. He made constant reference to the "I" that performed the experiments, drew the observations, and formulated the hypotheses. Rather than asserting that small corpuscles of the bodies were perceived, he emphasized that "[he] perceived the small corpuscles of the bodies."<sup>14</sup> This use of the first person, active voice enabled the public to better relate to the experiments at hand and buttressed the

<sup>8</sup> Pumfrey (1991), 14.

<sup>9</sup> Harwood (1989), 128.

<sup>10</sup> Nichols (1994), 51.

<sup>11</sup> Hooke (1665), 2.

<sup>12</sup> Hooke (1665), 4.

<sup>13</sup> Mulligan (1992), 158.

<sup>14</sup> Hooke (1665), 75.

acknowledgement of experimental trials as actual, discrete events in which the observer played the central role. According to Peter Dear, Fellows of the Society made contributions to knowledge by recounting an experience that was a report of how the world behaved at a specific instance, rather than a report of how the world behaves in general.<sup>15</sup> The emphasis on experiments as uncertain trials was evident in *Micrographia*'s preface, which made constant reference to Hooke's "imperfect endeavors" and "weak abilities."<sup>16</sup> This new style of reporting experiments encouraged other individuals to partake in scientific observation, and also generated a greater sense of authenticity.

Hooke further developed his unique writing style through the use of clever literary techniques. He frequently integrated puns and other witty comments into his descriptions and conclusions. For instance, in his analysis of the point of a needle, Hooke rebounded from a slight deviation from the subject matter through his remark, "but to come again to the point."<sup>17</sup> In this case, the word "point" referred to both the topic of observation and regaining focus of the dialogue. Hooke's puns were one of his tactics intended to please a contemporary audience that valued rhetorical sophistication and endow his persona with specific memorable characteristics.<sup>18</sup> Through this technique, Hooke was able to appeal to a wider readership, representing the Royal Society Fellows as practitioners of a science that transcended social boundaries.

In addition to its remarkable literary style, *Micrographia* was most highly esteemed for its integration of realistic graphics. Since printed pictures were introduced to England approximately the same time as printed books, Hooke was able to utilize the developments in printed illustrations to effectively capture the improvements in microscopy. In reference to his observations of the ant, Hooke admitted that "soaking the specimen in wine" enabled him to draw the ant in its natural posture and incorporate minute detail such as the tiny hairs on the limbs.<sup>19</sup> These detailed illustrations, in addition to the accounts of personal experience, lent further authority to the products of microscopic observation. As Richard Nichols proposed, the illustrations exemplified Hooke's ability as a draughtsman, and could be likened to Leonardo da Vinci's anatomical drawings for the skill with which they were drawn, and the care to make them accurate.<sup>20</sup> Hooke's graphics had to be compelling enough to persuade the community to accept his revolutionary proposal that the limita-

tions of one's senses prevented perception of the inner workings of nature. Hooke emphasized the importance of viewing objects from different angles and under various lighting conditions before generating conclusions about exact structures. This disciplined method of observation facilitated the translation of Hooke's private experiences into public knowledge and generated a common technique for the exchange and comparison of observations. These practices produced comprehensive depictions of natural phenomena that supported Hooke's claim that the known world was not what it seemed. As James Harwood suggested, the sketches were documentation that many "invisible" things actually existed and that viewing objects under the microscope uncovered their drastically new appearances.<sup>21</sup> Hooke sought to convince the public that these common visualization techniques enabled individuals of diverse backgrounds, including the Society's most humble and faithful servants, to make similar observations. The development of this new discipline of seeing was instrumental in allowing Hooke to subvert social distinctions, establishing science as a universal practice.

The realism of his illustrations made Hooke's descriptions interactive and accessible to a diverse audience. Through personal observation of accurate representations of microscopic phenomena, readers obtained a better understanding of the reasoning behind many of Hooke's hypotheses and conclusions. For instance, the representation of his disconcerting image of the louse in its natural habitat, holding a strand of human hair, contributed a realistic element to the presentation through the establishment of a familiar context. These depictions, in conjunction with the explicit rhetorical account of methodology, facilitated the development of "virtual witnessing." Coined by Steven Shapin, this process involved the production of an image of an experimental scene in the reader's mind so persuasive that direct witness or replication of the trial was deemed unnecessary. Virtual witnessing was a widespread technique amongst seventeenth-century scholars since the effectively unlimited multiplication of witnesses could provide the ultimate warrant for a claim to knowledge.<sup>22</sup> This establishment of credibility was the result of the successful integration of words and images that enabled readers to see the objects themselves and read the descriptions. Since individual figures were numbered and not named, the only means of learning exactly what was on each plate was to read the description provided. Pictures alone failed to capture the process of the experiment, as they illustrated only the final product of Hooke's observations. By allowing the public to witness his observations and thought processes, Hooke established himself as a credible and trustworthy source of knowledge.

<sup>15</sup> Dear (1997), 263.

<sup>16</sup> Hooke (1665), preface.

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*, 3

<sup>18</sup> Harwood (1989), 139.

<sup>19</sup> Hooke (1665), 203.

<sup>20</sup> Nichols (1994), 55.

<sup>21</sup> Harwood (1989), 136.

<sup>22</sup> Shapin (1997), 275.



Hooke's popularity can also be attributed to his appeal to the public's curiosity. He sought to establish a genre of objects for microscopic study and made many suggestions as to additional objects that readers might examine. Hooke's claim that he had only selected "four sorts [of] seeds which may serve as a specimen as to what the inquisitive observers were likely to find among the rest" emphasized the necessity of further observation to reach ultimate truths.<sup>23</sup> He piqued the interests of the community even further by constantly implying that he possessed knowledge and methods of which were unknown to others. Since Hooke believed that he was on verge of many crucial discoveries, he often made premature claims about knowledge that he did not yet possess. As evidence of his presumed superior authority, Hooke asserted that "the wing of a bee was less in proportion to its body than the other wing to the body of a fly; so that for ought [he] knew, it may be the quickest vibrating spontaneous motions in any of the world."<sup>24</sup> This aggressive style of argument and presentation can be attributed to his socially and intellectually ambiguous position as a curator for the Royal Society. Hooke's unique personality in combination with his subordinate position in the Society drove him to make large claims for the originality and completeness of his discoveries as a means of establishing himself as a distinguished experimentalist. Since Hooke was unable to guarantee the accuracy of printed workmanship, he took careful precautions to clearly define the role of typesetters and engravers to ensure his claim to authority and ownership of his graphics. His assertion that engravers explicitly followed his personal directions transformed skilled craftsmen into mere copyists whose role emerged only when the author requested their services. The anonymity attributed to the craftsmen allowed Hooke to "reclaim his work from the printing process" and regain the attention he received as the observer and author.<sup>25</sup> On account of his non-gentlemanly status, Hooke's acceptance within the Society was conditionally based on his usefulness and his ability to produce entertaining experiments.

These presentations, however, were more than mere entertainment for the Fellows. They provided a means through which Hooke transformed his private experiences into public, corporate knowledge. According to John Harwood, the Royal Society created a powerful new role for group experience and collaboration amongst scholars.<sup>26</sup> While seventeenth-century microscopists such as Malpighi, Swammerdam, and Leeuwenhoek, were often aware of each other's work, they primarily

<sup>23</sup> Hooke (1665), 152.

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.*, 173.

<sup>25</sup> Dennis (1989), 315.

<sup>26</sup> Harwood (1989), 134.

worked in isolation.<sup>27</sup> The establishment of the Royal Society provided an ideal forum for the exchange of their results; an institutional framework for integrating the ideas that they had developed individually. The Royal Society was the site at which natural philosophy emerged as a unified, institutional discipline. Hooke's affiliation with the Royal Society, in addition to the publication of highly interactive observations, enabled him to transform microscopy into a scientific tradition from what previously existed as an individual craft.

Hooke's popularization of the "invisible world" was an integral component in the development of natural philosophy. *Micrographia*, a scientific and rhetorical masterpiece, was the manifestation of several conflicting interests. The publication, therefore, must be analyzed within a social context, exploring the interconnection between the author's personal and public life and between his role as a technician and an intellectual. Hooke's experiences elucidated several of the seventeenth-century connections between the emerging role of the experimental philosopher and the existing role of the English gentry. Hooke evidently viewed his own investigations as a mere beginning to a more comprehensive understanding of the natural world, believing that the microscope and other scientific instruments would play an integral role in the new age of science.

<sup>27</sup> McCormick (1987), 8.

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## The Myth of Pope Joan

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IT IS COMMONPLACE TODAY today to find popular myths and legends that have become so deeply ingrained within the folklore of society that the historical bases of their origins, if ever they existed, have become lost or confused with the passage of time. An example of this trend can be found in the common belief that Cleopatra VII, the Ptolemaic Queen of Egypt, possessed remarkable physical beauty which she used to seduce noble Roman men. On the contrary, an examination of historical facts reveals not only that Cleopatra was rather homely in appearance, but also that the basis of her reputation as a beautiful temptress comes almost entirely from Roman imperial propaganda. Another more recent example of a such a myth can be found in the story of George Washington and the cherry tree, a tale which any American has known since childhood. As it is said, the young George Washington cut down a prized cherry tree in his father's yard. When several days later the felled cherry tree came to the attention of the father, he asked young George if he happened to know who had cut it down. Rather than shy away from the truth, the future president of the United States of America exclaimed, "Father, I cannot tell a lie. It was I who cut down the cherry tree." While the majority of the American population most likely believes this story to be true, the fact remains that the tale does not have any sound historical basis.

One could spend a lifetime cataloguing hundreds of myths just like these, that have, at one time or another, come to be accepted as historical truth. This paper, however, will focus on the popular medieval legend of Pope Joan, with a particular emphasis placed upon the origins of the myth. The hypothesis that underlies this reflection is that the legend of Pope Joan is a myth whose origins can be traced to papal politics in the thirteenth century. However, before advancing this argument any further, it is necessary that one become acquainted with an archetypal version of the Joan legend.

According to the most common version of the story, which even today is considered in some circles as historical truth, Joan lived in the mid-ninth century. As the myth has it, dressed in the clothes of a man, Joan traveled with her lover to Athens and there became well-educated in the liberal arts, Latin and Greek. Having finished her studies, she settled in Rome, where her intellect was so respected that she quickly rose

through the ranks of the church, until finally the Roman people elected her Pope by unanimous consensus. As Pontiff, Joan did not abstain from intercourse with her lover, who had never left her side, and subsequently became pregnant. One day while en route from St. Peter's to the Lateran in a formal papal procession, Joan, to the surprise of the Roman people, gave birth in the street and shortly thereafter died. Despite the obvious monumental repercussions of so scandalous an event, the Joan myth does not enter into the annals of history until the mid-thirteenth century, approximately 400 years after she supposedly died.

This paper will be presented in three parts. First, I will give a brief history of the papacy that will culminate in a discussion of the rise of the Papal Monarchy in thirteenth century Europe. Having described the position of the papacy in this period, I will then proceed to discuss the myth of Pope Joan in depth. Finally, I will strive to link the political climate of the Church in the thirteenth century to the origins of the Joan myth.

## THE PAPACY

The Pope has not always been perceived as the head of the Roman Catholic Church. In early Christianity, the pontiff was considered a bishop whose powers were no greater than those of the Bishops of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, or Alexandria. However, with the passage of time, and the decline of the Western Roman Empire, the See of Rome began to assert its authority as the supreme head of Christendom. Eventually, the Papacy formulated dogma that included the Petrine Doctrine and the Donation of Constantine. The Holy See came to use such propaganda as "legitimate" legal and theological proof of its supremacy and as a means to assert its authority in Western Europe. The Pope however, still remained virtually powerless. In the wake of the Roman Empire, the politics of Italy and the rest of Europe were in such a state of chaos that papal authority was limited to control of Rome and the surrounding areas. With the highly polarized nature of Roman politics, barbarian invasions from the north, and Saracen invasions from the south in the seventh century, the power and influence of the Papacy continued to remain feeble. Although the Pope could indeed express his opinions on theological and secular matters, he did not possess the political or military support to enforce them.

It was not until the dawn of the ninth century when Pope Leo IV crowned Charlemagne Roman Emperor that the Papacy was able to assert its power. The Pope, the spiritual leader of Christendom, now possessed an individual to serve as his secular counterpart in temporal affairs. Nevertheless, a string of corrupt, inept Popes, the factional, unstable polit-

ical climate of the Italian peninsula, and a barrage of Norman, Magyar, and Saracen invasions that eventually destroyed the relative sense of peace and stability that Charlemagne had brought to Western Europe prevented the pontiffs from exercising any real power over Western Christendom.

In the mid-tenth century a relative sense of political stability began to return once again to parts of Europe. By the mid-eleventh century, the Papacy sought to centralize its control over Western Europe. By this point in time, however, politics and religion had become so intermingled that the Pope could not reform the infrastructure of the Church without becoming involved in temporal affairs. Thus, when Pope Gregory VII came to power in 1074, he sought to consolidate his power over the Church by doing away with lay investiture, a practice whereby secular leaders instated bishops without the permission or consent of the papacy.<sup>1</sup> The Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV fiercely protested. Gregory responded with the *Dictatus Papae*, a formal papal decree in which he outlined the powers of the Papacy, asserting not only the universal power of his Office over all matters concerning the Church, but also the power of the Pope to excommunicate and depose emperors.<sup>2</sup> Directly following this decree were a number of exchanges between the Pope and the Emperor that increased in hostility until finally, in 1076, Gregory excommunicated Henry IV from the Church and deprived him of his kingdom. While the basis of the lay investiture controversy did indeed lay in the realm of religion and theology, the excommunication and deposition of Henry IV demonstrated the desire of the Papacy to assert secular political power in international, temporal matters. Shortly thereafter, in 1077, Henry, stripped of his royal clothes and garbed as a penitent, kneeled for four days and nights in the snow outside of Gregory's Palace at Canossa, begging the Pontiff's forgiveness. The Pope absolved him, accepted him back into the arms of the Church, and reinstated him as Emperor.<sup>3</sup> Thus, a precedent had been set for the involvement of the Papacy in the secular affairs of Western Christendom.

Several years later, on 27 November 1095, the influence of the Papacy in secular affairs reached a new height when Pope Urban II gave a speech at Clermont that would launch the Crusades. In a highly impassioned delivery, Pope Urban II addressed his audience, narrating to them the plight of a Jerusalem held captive by infidel Moslems. Calling upon his fellow Frenchmen, the Pope urged them to recapture the Holy Land in the name of Christ and His Church. When he had finished speaking, the

<sup>1</sup> Oestreich (1909).

<sup>2</sup> Gregory VII (1074), 142-143.

<sup>3</sup> Oestreich (1909).

crowd roared crying out repeatedly, "Deus vult" or "God wills it".<sup>4</sup>

Monarchs, nobles and peasants; French English, and Germans; men, women, and children – indeed Christians from all walks of life rallied to Pope Urban's cause. Thus, with his speech at Clermont, Urban succeeded in uniting an otherwise divided and feuding Western Europe against a common enemy and thereby launched Crusades that would last more than 200 years.

The response of the crowd to Urban's speech in shouting "*Deus vult*" is a sure sign of the respect and power that was now enjoyed by the Pontiff, whose office but three hundred years earlier held no weight of authority in the international arena. Now people from all over Europe, whether prince or pauper, bishop or parish priest, perceived the Pontiff as possessing a direct link to God. The decrees of the Pope, whether religious and spiritual or secular and temporal, were understood to have the weight of God behind them. To disobey the Pope was to disobey God and His Church.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Office of the Pontiff grew into a veritable Papal Monarchy. In an attempt to centralize the power of the Church within Europe, the Inquisition was sparked to weed out any dissidents, religious or secular, who had not already submitted to the authority of the Pope. Furthermore, the Papal Government continued to expand until it possessed an intricate bureaucracy that aided it in monitoring and manipulating theological, legal, and secular matters throughout Europe. Gold from all over Europe poured into the coffers of Rome in the form of tithes and taxes, which the Popes spent freely on caprices and luxuries by no means befitting to the Vicar of Christ on Earth. Thus, the man who sat upon the throne of St. Peter was heir not only to the spiritual Kingdom of Christ and his Church, but also to a virtually secular dominion that included all of Western Christendom.

The increasingly temporal, unspiritual face of the Papacy, and by extension, the Church as a whole, was disconcerting to many Catholics in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, who felt that the Holy See had strayed far afield from the spiritual, pure, and simple Christianity preached by Jesus and his Apostles. Some, such as the Cathars, decided to leave the arms of the Church and to return to a simpler, more primitive form of Christianity that contradicted a number of foundational Catholic theological principles.<sup>5</sup> The majority of these people were deemed heretics and subsequently hunted down and tortured by the Inquisition. There were, however, some who critiqued the Church from within. The mendicant orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic, for instance, in their strict devotion

<sup>4</sup> Pope Urban II (1095), 159-163.

<sup>5</sup> Weber (1909).

to simplicity, poverty, and spirituality can be seen a direct critique of the worldliness of a bureaucracy-ridden, power-hungry Church. Another example of criticism from within the Church is that levied by St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who founded the Cistercian order in the twelfth century. In his "Advice to Pope Eugenius" (1145-53), titled *De Consideratione*, Bernard lays forth his beliefs concerning the responsibilities of the Pontiff:

We cannot ignore the fact that you [Pope Eugenius III] have been elected to the supreme position [of Pontiff], but, indeed, it must be earnestly asked, "for what purpose?" Not, in my opinion, to rule....Spiritual labor is better expressed by the metaphor of a sweating peasant. And, therefore, we will understand ourselves better if we realize that a ministry has been imposed upon us rather than a dominion bestowed.<sup>6</sup>

It is thus evident from Bernard's language that the Office of the Papacy was not a privilege to be taken for granted. The Office, he believed, was not a secular "dominion" that could merely be inherited or "bestowed" upon a loyal lord. Instead, God had "imposed" upon the Pope the solemn responsibility of being His Vicar. The authority of the Pontiff was "not to rule" and enjoy his time in power, but instead, to be a slave to his Office and to serve Christendom as its spiritual leader just as a sweating peasant serves his lord as a source of manual labour. Bernard continued his critique by clarifying that:

It is hardly fitting for you [the Pope] to be found relaxing in luxury or wallowing in pomp. Your inheritance does not include any of these things....It is clear: dominion is forbidden for Apostles.<sup>7</sup>

Hence, Bernard was stressing once again that the Pope should not enjoy the fruits of the Office. The Pontiff had inherited his position from Jesus Christ and his Apostles, who led simple, austere, and spiritual lives. It was thus inappropriate for the Pope to surrender himself to the worldly temptations of luxury, pomp, and wealth. Indeed, he was to be a slave to the awesome responsibility of his office and therefore ought not to succumb to the temporal temptations of worldly dominion.

Despite the wise warnings of Bernard, few Popes reformed their ways. In fact, with the passage of time, Pontiffs not only continued to involve themselves in secular affairs, but also became increasingly corrupt. One can see this trend in Walther van der Vogelweide's "Song of Discontent" a text which criticizes the political reforms of Pope Innocent

<sup>6</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux (1145-53), 239.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, 240.



III, the Pontiff whose reign was the epitome of a Papal Monarchy. While Vogelweide's occupation as a mercenary knight may lessen his credibility as an infallible historical source, his "Song of Discontent" appears to present reasonably valid grievances with the direction taken by the Papacy during the first years of the 13th century:

...the Pope himself, our father has led us into this confusion. For after all, he does now walk ahead of us quite like a father, we follow him and never step outside of his tracks.... You bishops and you noble clergymen are being led astray.... If you should say to us he has Saint Peter's keys, then please explain to us why he eradicates Saint Peter's teachings from the book.<sup>8</sup>

Vogelweide believed that delinquent, irresponsible Popes who no longer embodied the teachings of Christ and his disciples were leading Christendom astray. As the Vicar of Christ on Earth, it was the responsibility of the Pope to present himself as a spiritual role model, so that others would emulate his piety. Vogelweide, however, found that Christians were blindly following corrupt, worldly Pontiffs without questioning the legitimacy of their actions. The Pope, he believed, broke with the ancient tradition of St. Peter. Yet still Christians continued to follow him, even though the Pontiff was walking down a path of vice that would eventually "ruin both himself and all of Christendom".<sup>9</sup> Vogelweide's writing reflects thus reactions to Papal Politics in thirteenth Europe.

#### THE MYTH

It was in this milieu that the myth of Pope Joan came into existence. The earliest written record of Joan appears circa 1255 in the *Chronica universalis Mettensis*, approximately four hundred years after the mythical Pontiff supposedly held the See of Rome:

To verify. This would be the question of a certain Pope, or rather of a Female Pope, because he was a woman, and disguising himself as a man, he became, thanks to the honesty of his character, notary of the Curia, then cardinal, and finally, Pope. One day while he was riding his horse, he gave birth to a child and at once, the Roman justice bound his feet and made him drag, attached to the tail of a horse; he was stoned by the people for half a league and he was buried where he died; on this place, it was written "*Petre, pater patrum, papisse prodito partum*."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Walther von der Vogelweide (1213-14), 376.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, 376.

<sup>10</sup> This translates roughly from Latin as "Peter, Father of Fathers, make public the parturition of the Female Pope."

Under his reign as Pope was instituted the Fast of Four Times, which one now calls the Fast of the Female Pope.<sup>11</sup>

Written by an obscure Dominican priest named Jean de Mailly, this document immediately raises a number of questions concerning the Joan myth. Bereft of concrete facts, the entire story possesses an air of vagueness. The chronicler assigns no name to this infamous Female Pope; nor for that matter does he place her in any specific historical time. A close reading of the text in the original Latin reveals that even the sex of the Pope has been described in an unclear style. Despite the fact that Jean de Mailly specifically refers to the Pontiff as "*papissa, quia femina erat*" ("a Female Pope, because s/he was a woman"), he describes her in Latin using verbal forms which are reserved exclusively for masculine subjects (*tractus, lapidatus, sepultus*). Moreover, a logical progression of facts is entirely lacking. One knows that the Pope in question dressed in the clothes of a man, but one is left wondering why. In a similar manner, it is stated that the Pope gave birth, yet one knows not where, when, or exactly how this came to pass. Finally, considering the dire subject matter of this story, it is written in an extremely nonchalant style. Joan (who would remain nameless in the chronicles for several decades still) progressed through the hierarchy of the Church, became Pope, reigned, and finally was put to death at the hands of Roman Justice when her sex was discovered. Nevertheless, the Church as an institution continued to function both during her rule and after her unfortunate demise. Given the severe theological questions that the reign of a Female Pontiff would have raised within the Medieval Church, Joan's existence is thus severely understated.<sup>12</sup>

Hence, Jean de Mailly's entry on this Female Pope, who lacks not only a name but also an historical context, is imbued with an aura of questionable authority. Indeed, even Jean de Mailly must have been skeptical about her existence, for he precedes the entire passage describing her with the Latin "*require*", or "to verify". This one Latin word is extremely revealing. First of all, it demonstrates Jean's lack of familiarity with the Papesse. If her existence had been common knowledge, there would have been no need for the priest to verify the facts of his account. Thus, the story of this Female Pope was either an extremely arcane and obscure reference or it had never before been recorded.

According to Alain Boureau, one of the leading experts on the Papesse, it was commonplace for medieval authors to mention their sources when they reported obscure or unknown events. Such entries, if

<sup>11</sup> D'Onofrio (1978), 40.

<sup>12</sup> Boureau (1993), 120-121.

they came from reliable, honorable sources, would thus contain a reference to some preexisting account, either written or oral. This would be denoted in Latin by the words "*legitur*" ("it is read") or "*dicitur*" ("it is said"). Nevertheless, the fact remains that these words are entirely absent from de Mailly's account. Thus, Boureau concludes that the story of the Papesse can be attributed to a rumor, most likely of oral tradition, whose historical and factual origins needed verification.<sup>13</sup>

The myth of Joan continues to evolve with the account of Etienne de Bourbon, a well-educated priest who in 1223 entered the Dominican Convent of Lyon after receiving an education at the University of Paris. In his *Chronicle of Metz*, written circa 1260, he presents the story of the Papesse as an *exemplum*, a brief story, didactic in nature, whose aim is to illustrate, oftentimes in a sermon, a moral lesson or a doctrinal truth.<sup>15</sup> The account runs as follows:

A surprising stroke of audacity, or more still of folly, occurred sometime around the year 1100, according to what is said in the Chronicles. A woman educated and knowledgeable in the art of writing donned a masculine habit and made herself passable as a man; she came to Rome; there her energy and culture were freely welcomed; she was named notary of the Curia, then, with the aid of the devil, cardinal, then Pope. Pregnant, she gave birth during a procession. After the Roman justice had become familiar with the facts, her feet were bound, she was attached to the shoes of a horse that dragged her through the City and she was stoned by the people for half a league; she was buried at the very site of her death and on the stone that covered her body, it was written in verse: Take care, Father of Fathers, not to Publicize the Parturition of the Female Pope. Behold to what a detestable end leads a boldness so rash.<sup>16</sup>

The didactic nature of Etienne de Bourbon's *exemplum* is obvious from its start. The author brings his discussion of the Papesse with the moral of the story "Asurprising stroke of audacity, or more still of folly, occurred..." Thus, one knows immediately that the message of the *exemplum* will be that audacity leads to folly. While the author does add several small details to the story of the Female Pope, his familiarity with and reference to Jean de Mailly's account of the Papesse is obvious from the number of shared similarities between the two texts. However, unlike his predecessor, Etienne de Bourbon does place the Female Pope in a histori-

<sup>13</sup> Boureau (1993), 122.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, 130.

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.*, 131.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*

cal time (1100). Nor for that matter does his Latin confuse the gender of the Papesse: the verbal forms and adjectives referring to her are all feminine. Moreover, the author attempts to give his account an air of authority by providing a source, albeit vague, to reference the origins of the *exemplum* ("It is said in the Chronicles"). Nevertheless, the fact that the Female Pope still remains nameless imbues her with a somewhat abstract, surreal air.<sup>17</sup>

However, what is most important to remember is that Etienne de Bourbon's account of Joan is an *exemplum* which is by definition didactic in nature. In effect, this means that the specific content of the story is not of paramount importance provided that it is useful as a medium with which to relay a Christian moral. Therefore, in this early account of Joan, it is the sinful audacity of a Christian woman and later her severe punishment and shame -- indeed, the result of her misdeed -- that were highlighted. The historical accuracy of the date and the events described in this account are therefore of secondary importance to the chronicler. The author ends his *exemplum* the same way that he started it -- with a moral: rash boldness leads to a detestable end. Hence, one cannot accept this account of the Female Pope or the facts contained therein as a reliable historical source documenting the existence of Joan. This version is thus valuable only as a means of tracing the spread of the Papesse's myth.

It was in the writings of Martin of Poland, also a Dominican priest, that the myth of Pope Joan would evolve into a more definitive account that appeared to be based upon concrete historical fact. In the third edition of Martin's *Chronica de Romanis Pontificibus et Imperatoribus*, published in 1277, the author relates a brief history of Joan with such precision and detail, that his version of the story eventually emerged as the medieval archetype of the Papesse:<sup>18</sup>

After this Leo (Leo V), John the English, born at Mainz, sat for 2 years, 7 months, and 4 days. He died in Rome, after which time the Office of the Papacy lay vacant for one month. He, as it is asserted, was a woman and although girlish in appearance, she was brought to Athens by a certain lover of hers dressed in the habit of a man. She excelled thus in a number of diverse sciences, such that no man found himself her equal, to such an extent that she taught in Rome the "*trivium*" [literary arts] and had as her students and auditors, high magistrates. And because in the City her conduct and knowledge were greatly esteemed, she was unanimously elected to the Office of the Papacy. But as Pope, her lover impregnated her. Quite ignorant of the precise moment of her delivery, while she was hastening from St. Peter's to the Lateran, stricken with

<sup>17</sup> Boureau (1993), 132.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, 136-137.

the pains of childbirth between the Coliseum and the Church of St. Clement, she gave birth, then died, and was interred at that very place. And as the Pope always avoids this street, it is commonly believed that it is out of disgust for this shameful event. Her name has not been included in the catalogue of the Holy Popes on account of her sex.<sup>19</sup>

The detail of Martin of Poland's account of the Papesse is remarkable. He places her, albeit unofficially, in his list of Popes as having been elected to the Holy See in 855 between the reigns of Leo V and Benedict III. Martin reports her birthplace and documents the length of her rule to the day. Moreover, his narrative of the She-Pope is quite coherent, especially when compared to those of his predecessors. Indeed, Martin lends validity to the "facts" surrounding the existence of the Papesse by cushioning them with concise explanatory details. For instance, when Martin states that Joan dressed in the habit of a man, the question that immediately comes to mind is: why? The author, who seems almost to anticipate such a question, immediately reports that the Papesse disguised herself so that she could accompany her lover to Athens. In a similar manner, Martin does not merely state that Joan became Pope without explaining why she was chosen to sit on the Throne of St. Peter. He thus reports that on account of her knowledge and respect among the Romans, she was unanimously elected to the Holy See. Moreover, Martin deems the same lover whom Joan had followed to Athens as the father of her child and thus, unlike his predecessors, does not leave the reader wondering as to the origins of the Pope's pregnancy.<sup>20</sup>

Finally, Martin ends his brief history of Joan by providing logical reasons that explain why the Papesse was relatively unknown. First of all, he documents how the Church as an institution was supposedly disturbed by the incident of the She-Pope. The Papacy, he suggests, was so disgusted and shamed by the fact that a woman had served as the Vicar of Christ on Earth, its Pontiffs specifically avoided the street where the Papesse gave birth and thereby betrayed her femininity to Rome. Moreover, on account of her sex and supposedly the disgrace that she brought to the Papacy, Martin explains that Joan had not been assigned a number, or for that matter a place in history, in the *Liber Pontificalis*, the official Church record of its Popes.<sup>21</sup>

Thus, unlike the relatively perfunctory accounts of his predecessors, Jean de Mailly and Etienne de Bourbon, Martin of Poland provides a colorful account of the Papesse and thereby imbues her with a false sense

of historicity. It should also be noted that he inflates the authenticity of his account with the Latin phrase "*ut asseritur*" ("it is asserted"). In this manner Martin leads his readers to believe not only that the story of the Papesse is widely known, but also that the specifics of his account do indeed possess firm grounding in historical fact. Thus, while Martin does indeed decorate his chronicle of Joan with a number of interesting and specific details, their historical credibility is extremely questionable. Nevertheless, the history of the Papesse would never come under any scrutiny in Medieval Europe. Indeed, Martin's *Chronica* enjoyed a great deal of popularity as a reliable historical source and spread to monasteries throughout Europe. Until the dawn of the Reformation in the late fifteenth century, his version of Pope Joan would become the archetype for the historians and chroniclers of Medieval Europe.

#### ORIGINS OF THE MYTH

Although Pope Joan supposedly held the Holy See in the mid-ninth century, record of her mythical existence does not enter the annals of written history until Jean de Mailly's vague and doubtful account of a Papesse in 1250. This should be evidence enough to doubt Joan's actual existence. Nevertheless, to this day the She-Pope an ardent following among a number of less than conventional historians who fail to accept the fact that her existence remains nothing more than a historical myth. Indeed, they assert that one can trace Joan's existence as far back as the eleventh century in the works of Marianus Scotus and further still in the Annals of Rudolphus of Fulda, written just five years after the death of the Papesse. The fact, however, remains that when examined critically, the authenticity of these accounts proves to be quite doubtful.

One can indeed find a reference to Pope Joan in the writings of Marianus Scotus, who lived from 1028-1082. However, the earliest existing version of his work to mention the Papesse dates to 1559, when the religious and political turmoil caused by the Protestant Reformation had already reached full force in Europe. For vehement Protestant writers, the story of Joan represented early historical proof of papal fallacy and is therefore widespread in the literature of this time. Thus, one must immediately wonder whether Protestants inserted the account of Joan into this particular manuscript of Marianus Scotus to better prove her existence and further their own political ends. Such doubts are well founded: an earlier, pre-Reformation version of the same manuscript is entirely bereft of any reference to the She-Pope.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Martin of Poland (1277), 428-429.

<sup>20</sup> Boureau (1993), 138.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Stanford (1998), 24.

As for Rudolph of Fulda's account of Joan, it is no longer in existence, if it ever existed in the first place. In fact, the first and only individual to reference an original ninth-century manuscript of *The Annals of Fulda* as factual proof of Joan's existence was the late seventeenth century historian Friedrich Spanheim. Although a German Protestant with anti-papal sentiments, Spanheim's scholarship is in some circles considered to be both careful and precise. His *De Papa Foemina*, is a detailed, two-volume, tiresome text that painfully references any "historical" record that alludes to Joan's existence throughout the ages. Spanheim's documentation of the Papesse can be as simple and reasonable as a reference to Martin of Poland's description of Joan<sup>23</sup> or as obtuse and bizarre as an account, contemporary with that of Jean de Mailly, describing in detail the She-Pope's pact with the Devil.<sup>24</sup>

However, *vis á vis* Rudolphus, Spanheim claims in his exhaustive testament to Joan to have come upon a copy of *The Annals of Fulda* that was not only contemporary with the Papesse, but which also documented her existence. Could this be a contrived, fictitious source that represents yet another Protestant attempt to entrench Joan in the annals of history? Did this manuscript even exist in the first place?

While one can only speculate as to the answers to these questions, the following is certain: extant copies of *The Annals of Fulda* make no mention whatsoever of Joan. Moreover, no ninth-century document, Imperial or Papal, bears the signature of or makes reference to a Pope John who came to power in 855 between the reigns of Leo V and Benedict III. In effect, a ninth-century Pope could not have held the Holy See without leaving some trace of his (or her) existence. Pontiffs were in constant communication with Emperors, Kings, Bishops, abbeys and monasteries throughout the European continent. While specific details concerning the lives and reigns of some of the ninth-century popes may be lacking, their chronological existence can be reconstructed using a variety of irrefutable primary sources contemporaneous with the century when they held power. Thus, if Joan's absence from four hundred years of official papal history is not in itself evidence enough to refute the arguments in favour of her existence, an abundance of ninth-century documents can be compiled to prove that there was no papal interregnum great enough to permit Joan to rule in the first place.<sup>25</sup> Thus, one can reasonably conclude that Spanheim's supposed manuscript of *The Annals of Fulda* does not represent an accurate historical source even if it existed in the first place. This claim, by extension, nullifies the arguments of many

<sup>23</sup> Spanheim (1736), 20-21.

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.*, 28.

<sup>25</sup> Kirsch (1909).

Joan supporters who site Spanheim's reference to Joan in *The Annals of Fulda* as irrefutable proof of her existence.

The Papesse is thus nothing more than the principle character in a widespread, popular legend. Yet if Joan never existed, why did her story suddenly appear in the chronicles of thirteenth century priests four-hundred years after she supposedly existed? The answer to this question can be found by examining the situation of the Church in thirteenth century Europe.

First and foremost, one should note that the earliest accounts of Joan were reported by members of the Dominican Order, which was born as a response to the increasingly worldly and corrupt face of the Medieval Church. Striving to regain the spiritual simplicity of Early Christianity, this mendicant order gained a large following and quickly created a vast network that spread to every corner of Europe. As they wandered across the continent diffusing the dogma of the Church, Dominicans passed through a number of isolated towns and abbeys that enjoyed little or no communication with the rest of the world. In small villages they heard a number of local legends of popular oral tradition and in isolated convents they came across obscure manuscripts whose content was not widely known. The mobility of these mendicants gave the Dominican Order a capillary like network throughout the European continent. Hence, information spread rapidly among the Dominicans, diffusing quickly to the corners of Europe.<sup>26</sup>

It should therefore come as no surprise that as a Dominican text, Jean de Mailly's *Chronica universalis Mettensis*, the chronicle containing the first written reference to Joan, would spread quickly throughout Christendom. Indeed, the subsequent *exemplum* of Etienne de Bourbon followed several years later by Martin of Poland's account of the Papesse attest to the rapid diffusion of information within this religious order. However, one might still wonder why a Dominican would record a story as scandalous and shocking as that of Pope Joan if he could not necessarily prove it to be true.

The answer, according to Alain Boureau, is simple: it was not part of the Dominican spirit for members of this order to censor the information contained in their writings.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, it was commonplace for Medieval Chroniclers to fill their accounts with all the "facts" available to them without evaluating their verity even if this lead to contradicting versions of history.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, regardless of how dubious the popular myth of Joan may have been, it was permitted to enter the annals of written history.

<sup>26</sup> Boureau (1993), 123.

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.*, 124.

<sup>28</sup> *ibid.*, 145.

As we have seen, just several decades after Jean de Mailly's first written record of the Papesse, the story of Joan had already begun to propagate among other Dominicans throughout the European continent: first in the writings of Etienne de Bourbon and then in Martin of Poland's *Chronica de Romania Pontificibus et Imperatoribus*. Martin's extremely detailed and realistic account of the She Pope enjoyed such prevalence that it would subsequently serve as the archetypal version of the Joan myth in Western Medieval Christendom. While the diffusion of this account to the corners of Europe can in part be attributed to the Dominican capillary network described by Boureau, one can link the popularity of the Joan myth to the depravity of the Papacy in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century.

Indeed, a number of corrupt and inept Popes held the Holy See during this time period. In 1294, for instance, the Curia elected Celestine V Pope by default. Almost immediately the Cardinals regretted their decision. Celestine was a simple minded mystic, a recluse who preferred rags to papal robes. When informed of his election, Celestine literally had to be dragged from his isolated cave in the mountains of North Italy by members of the Curia. Needless to say, he found himself bewildered by the responsibilities of his new office and wrought havoc upon the complicated, highly ordered Church bureaucracy. Distracted by the intricacies and responsibilities of court life, Celestine was easily convinced to resign by Benedict Gaetani, whom the Curia then proceeded forthwith to elect as his successor under the name Boniface VIII.<sup>29</sup>

Boniface was a power-hungry and corrupt Pontiff. He practiced nepotism, using papal revenue and influence to acquire cities and territories for his family. If this were not enough, the Pope felt compelled to assert his power in a number of secular, political affairs. It was in such a manner that Boniface became entangled in a dispute with King Philip IV over the taxation of Church lands in France. This disagreement escalated until finally, in 1302, Boniface issued the Bull *Unam Sanctam*. In this document, Boniface reaffirmed the legitimacy of the Pontiff as the successor of St. Peter and the head of the Roman Catholic Church. He then proceeded to assert the power of the Pope to command secular, temporal affairs: "truly, he who denies that the temporal sword is in the Power of Peter, misunderstands the word of the Lord....Both are in the power of the Church, the sword and the material."<sup>30</sup> Boniface concluded the Bull claiming that Christians could gain salvation only by subjecting themselves to the Pontiff. The Pope was thus claiming universal authority over all of Christendom, essentially superceding the power of all secular

rulers. In 1303, Philip responded to the *Unam Sanctam* by drafting an indictment of the Pope, accusing him of idolatry, sodomy, and numerous crimes, most of which were fictitious in nature. However, before Boniface could excommunicate the monarch, Italian political enemies and followers of Philip IV took him captive. He was held under house arrest for three days before finally being freed. The entire event left him badly shaken. One month after his return to Rome, the Pontiff died, a broken, humiliated man.<sup>32</sup> Several years after Boniface's death, Philip IV, still incensed by the Pope, exhumed his corpse and subjected the deceased Pontiff to a posthumous trial.<sup>33</sup>

With Popes as inept as Celestine V and as ambitious as Boniface VIII, one can easily see how the respect accorded the Papacy, the most sacred office in all of Christendom, was clearly in decline. While Boniface did indeed overstep his bounds as Pontiff, the actions of Philip IV were by no means appropriate. That the heir of St. Peter and Vicar of Christ on earth was exhumed and put on trial posthumously is certainly indicative of the respect accorded the Holy See at the dawn of the fourteenth century. The scandal and corruption that surrounded the Papacy conjures up images of the tumultuous ninth century, when Pope Joan supposedly reigned. What is clear is that the Holy See was losing both its sacrosanctity and its credibility in the eyes of Christendom.

The Papacy, however would sink to even lower depths of corruption, worldliness, and depravity after the death of Boniface VIII. Indeed, the unfortunate Pontiff was succeeded by Clement V, who moved the Papacy from its traditional seat in Rome to the small, provincial town of Avignon. Within the succession of but a few Popes, this once backwater town on the banks of the Rhône had been transformed into a city with a "virtual temporal state of pomp, of great cultural attraction, and of unlimited simony."<sup>34</sup> Compensating for its lack of prestige and tradition, the Avignon Papacy sought to reassert its power in temporal terms, mainly finance. Bishoprics, absolutions, indulgences, dispensations, relics, and even excommunications -- everything in the Church was for sale.<sup>35</sup> As a result, money poured into the Pontiff's coffers from all over Europe; within a short period of time, Avignon had become the banking capital of the Continent.

Under these circumstances, the Office of the Papacy became synonymous with avarice and worldliness. Indeed, at the behest of the Avignon Popes, the Church had been transformed into a virtual enterprise. Avignon was filled with notaries, lawyers, and ecclesiastics whose sole

<sup>29</sup> Chamberlin (1986), 85-86.

<sup>30</sup> Boniface VIII (1303), 382.

<sup>32</sup> Duffy (1997), 122.

<sup>33</sup> Chamberlin (1986), 106.

<sup>34</sup> Tuchman (1984), 26.

<sup>35</sup> Durant (1950), 54.



responsibility lay in assessing and accounting Church wealth. When one Spanish prelate, Alvaro Pelayo, entered the Papal Palace, he saw nothing but "brokers and clergy engaged in weighing and reckoning the money that lay in heaps before them....Wolves [were] in control of the Church and fed on the blood [of the Christian flock]."<sup>36</sup> Even King Edward III of England was disturbed by this new image of the Papacy, claiming that "the successor of the Apostles was commissioned to lead the Lord's sheep into the pasture, not to fleece them."<sup>37</sup>

The consequences of the Papacy's obsession with revenues were quite severe. Excommunication was no longer just a means of chastising heretical members of the Church, but instead a Papal right that one might obtain for a significant amount of gold. Money could buy any kind of papal dispensation, even those which defeated the very principles of the Church. For the right price, dispensations were granted to legitimize the children of priests, to legalize incestuous marriages, and to divide corpses for burial in multiple resting places. Even worse, the Avignon Popes did not discriminate when selling Church Offices. Thus, illiterate, ill-educated individuals flooded the Church. Many of these people could not even read Latin, let alone fulfill the various responsibilities of a priest. Like the Pope, they sought to obtain money, power, and prestige under the auspices of the Church. Hence, under the Pontiffs at Avignon, the Church condoned, not condemned, the most corrupt, immoral vices of their day, leading the institution down a path of sin which would eventually give rise to the Reformation.<sup>38</sup>

In such a milieu one must interpret the archetypal myth of the Papesse as a medieval allegory or metaphor used to critique the Papacy. Although it is impossible to prove that Martin of Poland's account of Joan represents a masked criticism of the corruption of the Holy See, it is certain that others would eventually adopt the myth to achieve this very end.

Indeed, despite humble origins, Martin quickly rose through the ranks of the Church until in 1265 he became chaplain and confidante to Clement IV. He continued to hold his prestigious position in the Papal bureaucracy of Rome until 1278 when Nicholas III named him Bishop of Gnesen in Poland.<sup>39</sup> Thus, despite the corruption and worldliness of the late thirteenth century Papacy, Martin's career and livelihood were dependent upon remaining in the good graces of Popes and high-level bureaucrats alike. A direct criticism of the depravity that had become commonplace in the Office of the Holy See would have therefore repre-

<sup>36</sup> Durant (1950), 54.

<sup>37</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Tuchman (1984), 26.

<sup>39</sup> Boureau (1993), 137.

sented an act of political suicide. Hence, only by means of subtlety and allegory could Martin have succeeded in critiquing the Church without serious repercussions.

Regardless of whether Martin ever intended for his account of Pope Joan to be interpreted as an allegorical metaphor to critique the Office of the Papacy, the specific details of his archetypal version of the myth are packed with historical and symbolic allusions that suggest papal corruption and fallibility. One must first wonder why the fictitious Pope John VIII (Joan), the English, was represented as woman. Indeed, the Church's history is full of heretical male Anti-Popes whose sinful, unholy existence is irrefutable. However, one must remember that Martin's version of the Joan myth came into existence in the late thirteenth century; spiritual depravity, temporality, and ineptitude were all closely associated with the Office of the Pontiff during this time period. Therefore, from a relative standpoint, a heretical male Anti-Pope would not necessarily hold the same weight in a critique of the Church as would a cross-dressing female Pope who gave birth while sitting upon the throne of St. Peter.

Therefore, in the context of the late thirteenth century, Pope Joan represents the most sinful, base, and satanic character that could possibly come to be revered as the Vicar of Christ on Earth. Indeed, women in the Middle Ages were generally considered to be capricious, docile, worldly creatures. According to Bernard of Clairvaux,

...carnal and worldly souls are called by the noun "woman" here, having nothing virile in them, displaying nothing strong or constant in their deeds, but all slack, all effeminate, and soft in how they live and act. A spiritual soul is already beautiful because she walks not according to the flesh but according to the spirit.<sup>40</sup>

Hence, only a woman who showed discipline in denying herself the worldly pleasures of the flesh could gain the respect of being considered as a spiritual soul. It should therefore come as no surprise that the natural role model for the medieval woman was the Virgin Mary. Indeed, the Mother of Christ was a paragon of holiness in the Middle Ages. Her virginity imbued her with a sense of pure virtue and incorruptibility. She represented a human link between the world and the Holy Spirit.

Joan, on the other hand, epitomized that which was not holy: she was the antithesis of the revered Virgin Mary. A cunning and deceptive creature, she had disguised her femininity with the clothes of a man so that she could travel with her lover unnoticed. Although it is not directly

<sup>40</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux (1137), 222-223.

stated in Martin's account, it is thus implied that Joan enjoyed carnal pleasures with her lover even though their union was not cemented by the holy sacrament of marriage. Moreover, Joan, who as a woman should have been "all slack, all effeminate and soft" played a strong masculine role in society. Yet rather than fail miserably in her studies, she excelled to such an extent, that her intellectual abilities exceeded those of her male counterparts. So great was her prestige, she was elected by unanimous consent to the most revered and holy position in all Christendom: the Office of the Papacy.

Joan's title as Pontiff profaned and violated the sacred Office of Pope. She was an impure woman who had lost her virginity outside of wedlock. Deception and dishonesty had won her the keys of St. Peter with the support of Rome's most virtuous citizens. Despite the fact that the Pope was supposed to abstain from pleasures of the flesh, she and her lover continued to have intercourse; she subsequently became pregnant. Unlike the divine and immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, Joan's pregnancy was thus the result of sinful lust and desire. A short while later, Joan experienced the pains of childbirth, woman's punishment for Original Sin, in an official religious procession. To the shame and humiliation of the Holy Church, she gave birth in the streets of Rome, betraying her sin and deception to the very people who had confidently installed her in Office. So great was the disgust and embarrassment of the Romans, the existence of the Papesse was erased from the official annals of the Papacy.

Equally important to the myth of the She-Pope is the name chosen for her (John VIII) and the specific historic time in which she is placed. Between 872 and 1003, ten Popes reigned under the name of John.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, this period represented some of the darkest and most corrupt hours of the Papacy. Few Popes during this century can be considered spiritual or religious. Ninth century pontiffs murdered, lied, and fornicated more than their predecessors ever did and more than their successors ever would. Pope Sergius III, for instance, had an adulterous affair that resulted in a child who, several years after the death of this father, would be elected Pope.<sup>42</sup> Another Pope, John XII was infamous for his depravity. Martin of Poland describes his reign as being full of scandal.<sup>43</sup> The accounts of other chroniclers concerning this Pope are by no means so tame. Indeed, John XII was dominated by his mistress, Theodora, to such an extent that he is referred to in some annals as effeminate. One could literally fill a tome describing the unholy excesses of the other Pope

<sup>41</sup> Martin of Poland (1277), 425-437.

<sup>42</sup> *ibid.*, 430.

<sup>43</sup> *ibid.*

Johns during this historical time period. Hence, one can see why the name "John" mentioned in the context of ninth and tenth century papal politics is an archetype for base, inept Popes and thus lends itself to creating an image of the depravity and degradation of the Holy Office.

Therefore, Joan's femininity and depiction as an anti-Virgin Mary figure served as a means of amplifying the corruption, sin, dishonesty, and temporality of the Holy Office. Such an image is heightened by the connotations of her name and the corrupt, unstable historical time period into which she is placed.

Taken as a whole, the myth of the She-Pope can thus be interpreted as proof of Papal fallibility. Indeed, the Pontiff was traditionally seen as the blessed heir of Jesus and Peter and therefore unable to error in matters of faith. Popes assumed the throne of St. Peter by means of divine right; the universal Church and its head was not capable of making a mistake.<sup>44</sup>

Such was the mindset of the Avignon Pope John XXII when in 1322 he published the Bull *Quia nonumquam*. In this text, the Pontiff sought to prove that Christ and his Apostles had enjoyed their worldly possessions, thereby sanctioning the Pope's own taste for luxury, pomp, and involvement in temporal affairs. Horrified, the Franciscans condemned John's XXII's hedonistic and worldly interpretation of Catholic theology. The Pope countered by claiming his right to the possessions of the Franciscan Order. A harsh debate ensued between the Pope and the Franciscans during the following years concerning the poverty of Christ. Finally, in 1328, Michael Césène, an influential Franciscan, accused the Pope of heresy. He forthwith fled with his friend, the philosopher Guillaume Ockam, to the Court of Louis of Bavaria. From the safety of Munich, Ockam would write a number of highly defamatory texts against John XXII.<sup>45</sup>

The work that concerns us most is the *Opus Nonaginta dierum*, the first text to use Pope Joan as definitive proof of papal fallibility. This treatise, which is more than one thousand pages in length, is essentially a systematic refutation of John XXII's 1329 Bull *Quia vir reprobis*, which deemed Michael de Césène and his spiritual compatriots heretics.<sup>46</sup> In the final chapter of his text, Ockam declared the Pope a heretic unfit to hold the Holy See by comparing him to Joan:

[John XXII] does not have any more true authority than did this woman [Joan] who, as the chronicles say, was venerated as Pope by the universal Church for 2 years, 7 months, and 3 days.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Boureau (1993), 167-168.

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*, 168-169.

<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*, 169.

<sup>47</sup> *ibid.*, 170.

In the context of the early fourteenth century, Joan's existence as Pope was widely accepted. In the language of Ockam, the Papesse would thus be deemed a pseudo-Pope. Indeed, as Martin of Poland stated in his *Chronica*, she was not assigned an official number in the *Liber Pontificalis* on account of her sex. One must remember that the Church was infallible and therefore no legitimate Pope could ever be a woman or a heretic.<sup>48</sup> However, people and their understanding of facts were indeed fallible and could thus on occasion be deceived. Hence, if a Christian was aware of the fact that a Pope was heretical, it was his duty to deem him a pseudo-Pope and stand up against him. On the other hand, those who were ignorant of his heretical nature were excused for the sin that they had committed by obeying the whims of a heretic. Therefore, by comparing John XXII to Joan, Ockam lowered the status of the Pontiff from Pope to pseudo-Pope.

Realizing that John XXII would counter this argument by claiming Papal infallibility, Ockam clarified his argument with a proof of papal fallibility:

And if someone says that this [the inexistence of John XXII as a real Pope] cannot exist because the universal Church cannot err, as for that...within the domain of faith and mores, the Church cannot err; but in the domain of fact, the militant Church can err and be abused. It is thus that the Church erred in worshiping a woman as Pope.<sup>49</sup>

Ockam followed this statement by providing other examples, 27 in total, of pseudo-Popes whose ranks included Anastasius II and Sylvester II. Joan, however, was the first and most important name on this list, as her reign was due entirely to the Church's ignorance of fact.<sup>50</sup>

In conclusion, there can be no doubt that Pope Joan is nothing more than a mythical figure. Born from popular oral tradition in the early twelfth century, her story was recorded by the Dominican Jean de Mailly, after which time it spread throughout Europe by way of the order's vast continental network. With the writing of Martin of Poland, the details surrounding the "existence" of the Papesse took on such an air of reality, the myth became widely accepted as historical truth. The verisimilitude of the She-Pope was subsequently further advanced by Church scholars such as Guillaume of Ockam, who used the Papesse as a concrete historical example of papal fallibility. The Joan myth thus became so ingrained

within the folklore of medieval society that its origins as a popular, oral myth were forgotten and it was accepted instead as historical truth.

The fact, however, remains that there exists no valid proof whatsoever to attest to Joan's Papacy during the Middle Ages. One must instead consider the Papesse as a product of the historical conditions that gave birth to her -- those of the twelfth century Papacy. Indeed, during this time period, the Office of the Pontiff, the most holy position in all of Christendom, was growing into an increasingly corrupt and worldly body that appeared to be straying from fundamental ideals and principles that were at the core of the Christian faith. The myth of the Papesse can thus be seen as a metaphor used to subtly critique the Papacy. Joan represents the very epitome of that which is unholy: a sinful, cunning, anti-Virgin figure who comes to hold the Holy See, the very presence of whom corrupts the "purity" of the office. The She-Pope symbolizes thus the moral and spiritual decay of the Papacy. Therefore, the emergence of the Papesse and her subsequent popularity in medieval chronicles is proof of widespread discontent with the Holy See, and to some extent, the Church as a whole. Pope Joan is thus the ultimate symbol of Papal fallibility.

<sup>48</sup> Boureau (1993), 170.

<sup>49</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *ibid.*

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## WHEN THE SHIP COMES IN: EDUCATION EMANCIPATING THE MILLIONS UNBORN

SHOUVIK BANERJEE

Oh the time will come up  
When the winds will stop  
And the breeze will cease to be breathin'.  
Like the stillness in the wind  
'Fore the hurricane begins,  
The hour when the ship comes in...  
-Bob Dylan

THOMAS JEFFERSON, as American ambassador to France, watched the chaotic French Revolution emerge during the late eighteenth century. He surely read the leading revolutionary Maximilian Robespierre, who articulated his vision of a new society in his *Report on the Principles of Political Morality*: the new government simply sought "all the virtues and all the miracles of the republic in place of all the vices and all the absurdities of the monarchy."<sup>1</sup> The French revolutionaries and Robespierre dreamed that republicanism would not only bring liberty, but that liberty would improve human nature and actualize the dreams of the European Enlightenment. However, some bloody months later, the Revolution ended in France and power returned to a privileged few. While Robespierre fell before he could create "an order of things in which all the base and cruel passions are enchained," Jefferson and the American republicans triumphed in the New World.<sup>2</sup> While perhaps lacking the excitement of France, the Americans successfully secured their liberty, the first great task of a republican revolution against monarchy. As Europe returned to monarchy, Jefferson and the American republic were in a position to consider the more difficult task of revolution, to realize the virtues of the republic and the improvement of mankind.

During their initial moments of liberty, the more idealistic American revolutionaries expected the simple transition of institutions from monarchy to republic would produce a virtuous citizenry. However, they soon recognized that the presence of liberty by itself would not transform society. In his *Vices of the Political System*, a disillusioned James

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<sup>1</sup> Robespierre (1794).

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*



Madison reported the corruptions of popularly elected state legislatures. In his book *Declaring Rights*, Jack Rakove describes Madison's recognition that in a republic of free individuals, representatives and the people themselves could still use "politics as the means to assert their private interests and passions over the good of society."<sup>3</sup> After realizing that the corruptions of human nature so evident in a monarchy remain in a republic, Madison chose not to send corrupt men to the guillotine, but brilliantly formulated a system of balanced government. With three branches of the national government and the state governments competing for power, human selfishness checked itself. However, even after this mature acceptance of human shortcomings, America's founding generation continued to dream of social progress. Jefferson's letters during the 1780's show his continued concern for the improvement of human nature. More substantial than the flaming rhetoric characteristic of the French Revolution, Jefferson's sought realistic methods to realize the virtues and miracles of the republic through the spread of education.

Eighteenth century Enlightenment thinkers dreamed of improving society through the promotion of "virtue," a vague term suggesting a positive quality in opposition to the negative tendencies of human nature. Jefferson's precise concept of virtue appears most simply in a letter to his daughter Patsy on December 11, 1783 written from Annapolis. He first responded to a scene familiar to many Americans today when an overzealous Christian warned Patsy the world would end. He wrote "I hope you will have the good sense enough to disregard those foolish predictions that the world is to be at an end soon."<sup>4</sup> While organized religion expected to derive authority from Patsy's fear and use this power to control her behavior, Jefferson dismissed the foolish Apocalyptic predictions because "the almighty has never made known to anybody at what time he created [the world], nor will he tell anybody when he means to put an end to it, if ever he means to do it."<sup>5</sup> By denying this supposed ability of humans to understand the intentions of God, Jefferson undermined the authority of institutional religion. Jefferson told Patsy that she must determine how to live by herself:

If ever you are about to say any thing amiss or to do any thing wrong, consider before hand. You will feel something within you which will tell you it is wrong and ought not to be said or done: this is your conscience, and be sure to obey it. Our maker has given us all this faithful internal Monitor, and if you always obey it, you will always be prepared for the end of the world: or a much more certain event which is death.<sup>6</sup>

Even to his own daughter, Jefferson restrained the paternal impulse to command and instead advised her to obey only her own conscience. Commands from institutional power, whether religious or patriarchal, would hinder the development of Patsy's conscience. Jefferson's treatment of his daughter reveals his faith in each individual's ability to reason and use his or her conscience to act. Virtue, then, lays in an individual's ability to use the conscience to make unselfish and just decisions.

Within the same letter, after telling Patsy to never do a wrong act, Jefferson wrote "I am glad you are proceeding regularly under your tutors" and encouraged her to continue her studies.<sup>7</sup> The transitionless sequence of thoughts indicates a link between virtue and education. This link resulted in Jefferson's preoccupation with the education of young people. In a letter to a friend's son Peter Carr written on the same day from Annapolis, he began "I am anxious to hear from you, to know how your time is employed, and what books you read."<sup>8</sup> The anxious Jefferson assured Peter that "nothing shall be wanting on my part which may contribute to your improvement."<sup>9</sup> Despite Jefferson's general concern and anxiety for Peter's education, he tried to reason rather than scold the young child. He advised Peter to obey his teacher because [Jefferson] had "so much confidence in his [teacher's] justice and prudence as to be satisfied he will always make [Peter's] good the object of what he does."<sup>10</sup> Peter must decide for himself to listen to his teacher for his own improvement. Jefferson continued:

Were it to happen however that in the exercise of that strict discipline which a large school requires, that [the teacher] should be harsher with you than you suppose necessary, yet you must have the resolution to bear it, and to bear it with resignation. You will find it contribute to your happiness in the end.<sup>11</sup>

Jefferson's almost comical reluctance to command the misbehaving boy echoed one of his fundamental convictions. Commandments were futile in the Enlightenment effort to transform human nature. Human improvement and happiness depend on each individual's ability to reason and choose to better themselves.

The anxious Jefferson identified a child's years of education as a moment of urgency. When Jefferson wrote to Walker Maury, the tutor of his nephew, on August 19, 1785 from Paris, he emphasized that the

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Jefferson (1783b), 379-80.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Rakove (1998), 103.

<sup>5</sup> Jefferson (1783a), 380-81.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*

child's "time begins now to be precious" because education would lead to "the preservation of his morals and improvement of his mind."<sup>12</sup> This letter revealed the underlying cause of Jefferson's constant concern for youth education. He wrote, "[My nephew's] education is one of the things about which I am most anxious. I think he possesses the kind of genius which will be solid and useful to himself and his country."<sup>13</sup> This letter places Jefferson concern for individual students in context with his role as a founding father, dreaming of a virtuous republic. Jefferson was preoccupied with individual students because he believed that education could not only improve an individual, but that an individual's improvement can greatly improve an entire society.

While education presented an enormous potential to improve humanity, not every education could effectively bring about such a transformative change. He explained one of his emerging conclusions regarding European education in the letter to the tutor Maury:

Of all the errors which can possibly be committed in the education of youth, that of sending them to Europe is the most fatal. I see [clearly] that no American should come to Europe under 30 years of age: and he who does, will lose in science, in virtue, in health and in happiness, for which manners are a poor compensation, were we even to admit the hollow, unmeaning manners of Europe to be preferable to the simplicity and sincerity of our own country.<sup>14</sup>

Again from Paris, Jefferson further explained his reasoning on October 15, 1785 in a letter to John Bannister who asked Jefferson to describe the best schools in Europe. Jefferson answered the question with the question, "But why send an American youth to Europe for education?" He continued:

Let us view the disadvantages of sending a youth to Europe. To enumerate them all would require a volume...If he goes to England he learns drinking, horse racing and boxing. These are the peculiarities of English education. The following circumstances are common to the education of that and the other countries of Europe. He acquires a fondness for European luxury and dissipation and a contempt for the simplicity of his own country; he is fascinated with the privileges of the European aristocrats, and sees with abhorance the lovely equality which the poor enjoys with the rich in his own country; he contracts a partiality for aristocracy or monarchy...he is led by the strongest of all the human passions into a spirit for female intrigue destructive of his own

<sup>12</sup> Jefferson (1785a), 409-412.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*

and others happiness, or a passion for whores destructive of his health, and in both cases learns to consider fidelity to the marriage bed as an ungentlemanly practice and inconsistent with happiness.<sup>15</sup>

He concluded that "an American coming to Europe for education loses in his knowledge, in his morals, in his health, in his habits, and in his happiness."<sup>16</sup> Rather than develop the ability to use one's conscience to make just decisions, the temptations of luxury, aristocracy, alcohol, and women presented in European life destructed the educational process. Jefferson believed that European society eliminated the transformative potential of education to produce virtuous individuals.

The causes of these European vices appear in his letter written from Paris to George Wythe on August 13, 1786. Jefferson's dialogue with Wythe, an important figure at the College of William and Mary in Virginia, addressed educational theory. He recognized little chance for improvement in the people of Europe because "superstition, poverty, and oppression of body and mind in every form are so firmly settled on the mass of the people, that their redemption from them can never be hoped."<sup>17</sup> He exaggerated, "if the almighty had begotten a thousand sons, instead of one, they would not have sufficed for this task," ridiculing the potential for the Church to lift Europe's population from its base condition.<sup>18</sup> Then he ridiculed Europe's monarchs:

If all the sovereigns of Europe were to set themselves to work to emancipate the minds of their subjects from their present ignorance and prejudices, and that as zealously as they now endeavor the contrary, a thousand years would place them on the high ground on which our common people are now setting out.<sup>19</sup>

The zealous efforts of Europe's oppressive monarchs to maintain its population's ignorance and prejudices perpetuated their vices. Europe's oppressive institutions, monarchs and churches, perpetuated the deeply rooted ignorance of its people. Limiting the development of the individual conscience, these institutions limited the potential for education to produce virtue.

While impotent in Europe, education could produce powerful effects in a land of liberty. As evident in his letters to Patsy and Peter, he felt that education can only develop a virtuous conscience through appealing to each individual's power of reason. Since Americans enjoyed free-

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Jefferson (1786), 243-245.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*

dom of conscience, their reason could develop undistorted by church and state. This individual liberty was a necessary prerequisite for the virtue producing transformative education desired by Jefferson. Thus, the transition of institutions from monarchy to republic is necessary. Education is necessary to produce the revolution's aim of an enlightened society, and further necessary as the strongest defense against tyranny. He encouraged Wythe, as an educator, to:

Preach, my dear Sir, a crusade against ignorance; establish and improve the law for educating the common people. Let our countrymen know that the people alone can protect us against these evils, and that the tax which will be paid for this purpose is not more than the thousandth part of what will be paid to kings, priests, and nobles who will rise among us if we leave the people in ignorance.<sup>20</sup>

Without education, the American people could lose the liberty for which they struggled. An ignorant American could become susceptible to oppression like the uneducated masses of Europe. Corrupt Americans could replace European kings, priests, and nobles as the new oppressors who take advantage of the people. The education of the people and their resulting virtue alone can protect society from the vices and self interest which cause human suffering.

Moreover, Jefferson wrote to Wythe concerning the Virginia Assembly's revisions of its Code of Laws, explaining "I think by far the most important bill in our whole code is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom, and happiness."<sup>21</sup> Jefferson praised the virtues of the spread of education in the opening paragraphs of the actual Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge, a bill which attempted to "strip all vestiges of earlier monarchical aspects [of the laws] and to bring [them] into conformity with republican principles."<sup>22</sup> In the bill, which outlined a system for public schooling, Jefferson identified public education as a guard against oppression. He explained:

[E]xperience hath shown that even under the best forms, those entrusted with power have, in time, and by slow operations, perverted into tyranny; and it is believed that the most effectual means of preventing this would be to illuminate, as far as practicable, the minds of the people at large, and more especially to give them knowledge of those facts which history exhibiteth, that possessed thereby of the experience of other ages and countries, they may be enabled to know ambition under all its

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Jefferson (1776-1786), 305.

shapes, and prompt to exert their natural powers to defeat its purposes.<sup>23</sup>

Again Jefferson implied his fear that self-seeking Americans could rise and corrupt the American republic, degenerating the populous to pre-liberated baseness. Education of history and politics would increase the citizenry's understanding of the political world, allowing voting citizens to better protect themselves from deceptive oppressors.

However, while an educated citizenry would ideally guard itself from the self-interest of corrupt individuals, Jefferson also provides a second method to protect freedom through the diffusion of education. He writes:

It is generally true that the people will be happiest whose laws are best, and are best administered, and that laws will be wisely formed, and honestly administered, in proportion as those who form and administer them are wise and honest; whence it becomes expedient for promoting the public happiness that those persons, whom nature hath endowed with genius and virtue, should be rendered by liberal education worthy to receive, and able to guard the sacred deposit of the rights and liberties of their fellow citizens, and that they should be called to that charge without regard to wealth, birth or other accidental condition or circumstance...<sup>24</sup>

Since public happiness depends on the virtue of its leaders, particularly their ability to place the public happiness above their personal interests, Jefferson sought to create an education system which would identify and nurture such potential leaders without discrimination. After outlining a system of building schools throughout Virginia, Jefferson described a method of promotion. The state was to guarantee three funded years of schooling for all students after which the state will conduct a search for students "whose parents are too poor to give them further education...[who are] of the best and most promising genius and disposition, to proceed" to a higher level of state supported schooling.<sup>25</sup> The select students would again be tested annually and "only the best in genius and disposition [shall] be at liberty to continue there."<sup>26</sup> Jefferson provided an unbiased system for producing virtuous individuals who could eventually lead the nation. As Julian Boyd notes, "the bill recognized the natural gradations and disparities among men; it saw nothing dangerous or inimical to the liberties of the people in accepting and mak-

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*, 533.

ing use of such a natural aristocracy of virtue and talent."<sup>27</sup> Although Jefferson's anxious letters to individual students like his daughter suggest that he was unsatisfied with anything less than a fully virtuous individual, his bill revealed his practical understanding of society. While every individual was offered a chance to develop their virtue, Jefferson also planned to produce a few talented individuals who have educated vigorously and achieved a reason and conscience sufficiently refined to lead the nation and promote the public happiness.

American writing during the late eighteenth century lacked the eloquent rhetoric of French revolutionary dreams for an enlightened citizenry, but stable and less enflamed American leaders like Jefferson were no less motivated by a desire for social transformation. While Madison's system of balanced government reflected the revolutionary generation's pragmatic understanding of human shortcomings, Jefferson continued to seek methods to improve society and human nature. Revolutions throughout history have sought to defeat tyranny and often create an enlightened society. While the revolutionary moment allows the defeat of oppressive institutions, the simple presence of freedom neither ensures a virtuous citizenry nor continued liberty. The deeply rooted oppressive institutions in the Old World quickly restored monarchy after multiple European revolutions throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The relative security of American freedom after the American War for Independence permitted the young nation to consider how to maintain liberty and, perhaps most importantly, how to actualize the dream of an enlightened society. In the infant joy of newly achieved freedom, revolutionaries like the French Robespierre, demanded the immediate realization of republican dreams. The American founding fathers quickly outgrew the prepubescent dreams for a utopian nation, coming to terms with the vices of humanity and the political system.

However, this coming of age did not eliminate the most fundamental dream to produce a virtuous society that could resist tyranny. By no means minimizing the importance of the actual American War for Independence, Jefferson indeed believed that Europe's oppressive institutions hindered the development of virtue. The revolutionary change of institutions, the momentary acquisition of liberty, was necessary to provide the free environment required to produce virtue. A virtuous society of citizens transformed by education were the greatest defense against the manipulative cleverness of self-seeking individuals. The traditional view of revolution suggests that a permanent transformation can occur in a revolutionary moment. But the many failed revolutionary moments in history suggest that fundamental change does not occur instantly. While the

French Revolution consumed and destroyed itself in efforts to produce wholly new institutions, still susceptible to the flaws of mankind, Jefferson considered methods to improve the nature of the individuals comprising American society.

While ships brought millions of immigrants escaping Europe's oppressive institutions, the Old World watched the new American Republic with curiosity. Quickly after American military victories, the most pressing question was no longer if the Americans could win freedom, but whether they could secure their momentarily achieved liberty from external and internal enemies. Without minimizing the importance of the War for Independence that won freedom or the Constitutional Convention which constructed the American nation, these incidents must be seen as necessary steps for the creation of the virtuous republic. If Jefferson ever identified a revolutionary moment of urgency, it would be the formative time of a child's education. A republic able to hinder the oppressive influences of church and establishment from corrupting the formative development of its subsequent generations could perpetuate its hard fought liberty and, most importantly, actualize the dream of an elevated society. The apparent calm after the war actually presented America's founding and subsequent generations with history's most significant challenge: to construct an unbiased education system designed to produce a fundamental change in human nature. Real social transformation results not only from the defeat of oppressive institutions, but through the subsequent awakening of each individual's virtue. While bloodshed ended after the War for Independence, the triumph of the republican revolution depended and continues to depend today on the virtue of American society.

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<sup>27</sup> Boyd (1950) (ed.), 534.

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## SOUL TO SOUL: JAMES BROWN AND AFRICA (1960-1975)

NATHAN COLLETT



James Brown, 1966.

(From *James Brown, A Biography*)

MUSIC CAN REFLECT the past experiences, memories, and traditions of a people.<sup>1</sup> It can connect the present hopes and project the future aspirations of everyday people. For African Americans in the 1960s and 1970s, music was an integral part of the struggle for greater economic and political participation in American life. In *Just My Soul Responding* historian Brian Ward asserted that sixties-seventies soul and funk music were an important component of the civil rights struggle and the black power movement.<sup>2</sup> In another recent study, *Sweet Soul Music*, musicologist Peter Guralnick has pointed out that songs like James Brown's "Say it Loud, I'm Black and I'm Proud," and Aretha Franklin's "Respect" contributed to a rise in black consciousness. African American music, particularly rhythm and blues and soul music, also helped link black communi-

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was first written for *History 249: Africans and African Americans since WWII*, a Stanford University History colloquium. Further research was supported by a Stanford URO grant. Thanks to all of my colloquium peers and, especially, Prof. Kennell Jackson, Jr. for inspiring this revision.

<sup>2</sup> Ward (1998), 3.



ties on all sides of the Atlantic.

Scholars have recognized that music has been part of the two-way traffic of culture and politics between the various communities that form what is known as "The black diaspora" -- especially between blacks in America and Africa. Paul Gilroy's *Black Atlantic* shows that during the nineteen sixties and seventies African American soul music initiated a dialogue that culturally and politically invigorated African communities, especially in urban areas.<sup>3</sup> This dialogue, through music, in the post-WWII era has aided in the development of a strong modern black diaspora solidarity. In the 1940s and 1950s, it was the jazz of Louis Armstrong and the performances of Paul Robeson that linked black communities on both sides of the Atlantic. In the 1950s and 1960s, it was the blues of B.B. King and the rhythm and blues of Otis Redding. In the 1960s and 1970s, it was the pulsating soul music of James Brown.

The first major African American musician to perform in Africa was Louis Armstrong, also known as "Satchmo." Armstrong visited Ghana twice, in 1956 and in 1961, and both times he performed for a crowd of over seventy thousand people.<sup>4</sup> Armstrong also visited the Congo. Musicologist John Collins pointed out in his book *Highlife Times*, which traces the development of Ghanaian highlife music, that Armstrong strongly influenced local music. Collins says that after Armstrong's tours in Ghana local trumpeters started using his phrasing and singers copied the "Satchmo" voice.<sup>5</sup> Personally, Armstrong felt a connection to Africans while in Ghana. In Accra, the capital of Ghana, Armstrong "had seen a woman who resembled his mother and this led him to believe that his ancestors came from Ghana."

In the post-WWII era the most significant African American musician to tour in Africa has been James Brown. James Brown and his music played a larger role in African history because of the timing of his tours, which coincided with African political de-colonization in the sixties and seventies. James Brown helped connect African American civil rights and black power movements with African de-colonization. His music was a form of cultural de-colonization that aided in the development of new African national cultures. Brown was also more significant because his music was more accessible to Africans than the music of Louis Armstrong, Paul Robeson or B.B. King. The broad appeal of Brown's brand of soul music helped infuse ideas of Pan Africanism in the youth of Africa in the sixties and seventies.<sup>6</sup>

The significance of James Brown's music, as well as his tours,

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<sup>3</sup> Gilroy (1993), 199.

<sup>4</sup> Collins (1996), 163.

<sup>5</sup> May (1998), 130.

for Africa and Africans, in the sixties and seventies, can be traced through a myriad of sources including African newspapers, African American newspapers, recent biographies on Brown, new scholarship on Black music, and recent documentary films. The story can also be traced through interviews with some of the musicians, like Fred Wesley or John Starks, who toured with Brown in Africa. Lastly, the recent discovery of caches of photographs made by Malians Seydou Keita and Malick Sidibé provide visual documentation of the impact James Brown and soul music had on the West African youth. These diverse sources reveal that, from 1968-1975, adoring crowds of African concert-goers met James Brown on tour in Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Cameroon, Zambia, Zaire and Gabon. They also reveal Brown's popularity and impact on African culture, particularly among the youth. Even the blues musician B.B. King, a legend in his own right, recognized James Brown's appeal in Africa. When B.B. King was on tour with James Brown, in Zaire in 1974, he encountered first hand Brown's broad-based appeal. In a televised biography on James Brown, B.B. King later remarked, "Oh my god, these people [in Zaire] went wild over James!"<sup>7</sup>

#### JAMES BROWN'S CULTURAL AND POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

The basis of Brown's appeal in Africa was twofold. One aspect was the dynamism of the music itself, with its driving rhythms, innovative nature and complicated beat structure. The other aspect was the significance of Brown's accomplishments as an African American. Brown was born into the poverty of South Carolina in 1933. By the forties and fifties, Brown rose from the poverty and racism of the rural South to become an international musical super-star by the early sixties. Known in the sixties as "Soul Brother #1" and "Hardest Working Man in Show Business," James Brown epitomized black success and hard work.

By the sixties Brown was selling millions of records and performing for tens of thousands; and as a result amassed enough wealth to become the first black American musician to lease a Lear jet. For many, Brown's accomplishments evoked the essence of the black American ascendancy. Not only was James Brown a musical superstar, Brown was an important cultural figure. His music, and accomplishments, had been able to articulate both the desires of the civil rights movement and of the Black Power movement among African Americans. Along with other rhythm and blues and soul musicians, like Curtis Mayfield and Aretha Franklin, James Brown's music was one of the soundtracks of the Black

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<sup>6</sup> Collins (1996), 154.

<sup>7</sup> B. B. King in the program *James Brown: The Godfather of Soul*.

Power and civil rights movements.<sup>8</sup>

James Brown's musical success stemmed partly from the exciting nature of his musical performances. On stage, James Brown and his band, "the James Brown Revue," were immaculately dressed. According to some observers, James Brown offered the most exciting and dynamic live show of any performers of the time.<sup>9</sup> The show itself was very physical with James Brown gyrating, dancing, and often "standing on one leg, he glided across the stage as though on a moving pavement."<sup>10</sup> The Revue band's disciplined playing style backed up Brown's physical and vocal performances. The music was both "hard rocking" and innovative. The innovation evolved from the collaboration and experimentation between Brown and his band. This experimentation had produced new musical genres, one of which was the "funk" style in the late sixties and early seventies.

In 1962, it was the seminal album *Live at the Apollo* that grew out of James Brown's remarkable early musical innovation. According to music critic Geoff Brown, the album *Live at the Apollo*:

set the standard for live soul performances against which all subsequent concert albums would be measured in terms of the excitement generated by a singer's emotional output, the draining, physical nature of the performance and the band's strong, strict, and very focused playing of tight numbers.<sup>11</sup>

With his thirty member band, his own unique musical style and dance moves, James Brown and his band were described as a "heavy duty locomotive of groove, striking sparks off every track it touched as it crossed -- and conquered" America.<sup>12</sup>

In the 1960s, James Brown's power reached beyond his sold-out concerts and best-selling records. In 1968, his pleas helped quell riots in major US cities after the assassination of Martin Luther King.<sup>13</sup> James Brown's success and public standing was such, in the sixties, that everyone from President Lyndon Johnson, and later President Richard Nixon, to the black radical H. Rap Brown sought his backing.<sup>14</sup> In the late 1960s and early 1970s, James Brown established a network of radio stations as well as a number of "James Brown Gold Platter" restaurant franchises to,

<sup>8</sup> Ward (1998), 289.

<sup>9</sup> Brown (1996), 86.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, 94.

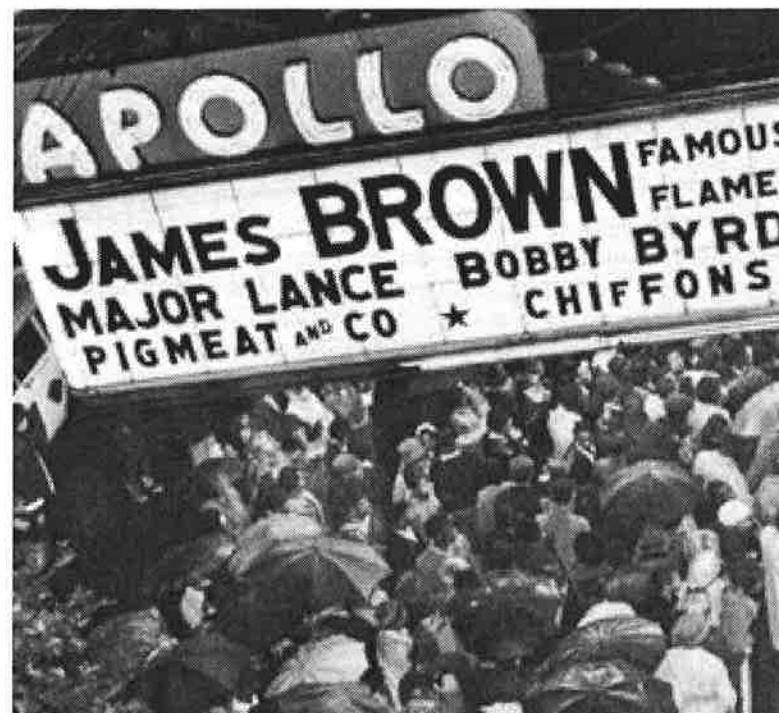
<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, 95.

<sup>12</sup> Rose (1990), 66.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*, 52.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, 65.

in his words, offer "the opportunity for blacks to move ahead and to be involved in business operations."<sup>15</sup> In 1960s and 1970s America, James Brown was one of the preeminent cultural symbols of Black Power and the post-World War II drive by African Americans for political and economic emancipation. For many, James Brown is seen as one of the most important American musicians in the latter part of this century. Therefore, in America and abroad, Brown was a powerful symbol of black modernity and what was possible for people of African heritage across the globe.



James Brown at the Apollo Theater, 1963.

(From *James Brown: The Godfather of Soul*)

#### JAMES BROWN'S MUSIC MIGRATES TO AFRICA

While James Brown's constant touring helped bring him exposure in the United States, across the Atlantic in Africa, his musical styles and performances were first disseminated through his records. Urbanized Africans bought his records overseas in places like Paris and London in the early 1960s and brought them back to capital cities across the conti-

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.*

nent like Accra, Lagos, Bamako, Kampala and Nairobi. In these cities a brisk trade in used soul music developed. *Live at the Apollo* was a favorite in this new marketplace. Subsequently, albums like *Live at the Apollo*, inspired many budding African musicians. The album, which captured the excitement and emotion of a James Brown show, provided aspiring African musicians with a standard for live soul performances. The musician Geraldo Pino from the West African nation of Sierra Leone, with his *Heartbeats*, taking his cues from *Apollo*, was able to find widespread success in the 1960s. Pino was one of the first musicians to perform live soul music in West Africa; he performed in Sierra Leone, Ghana and Nigeria. Pino's performances of live soul music helping spread the musical styles of James Brown in West Africa.

According to musicologist John Collins, Pino's covers of James Brown songs inspired "a wake of soul bands wherever [he] went in the late 1960s."<sup>16</sup> West Africans who started their own soul cover bands used names like the *Famous Flames*, the name of James Brown's original band in the early 1950s, or simply the *James Brown* group. Many of these cover bands were made up of young people trying to set themselves apart from their peers by taking an active part in soul culture. There were also more significant early examples of African musicians influenced by James Brown and soul music. One such example is the Nigerian musician Fela Kuti, who later became one of Africa's most well known musical talents. In the 1970s, Fela Kuti was inspired by Pino's adaptation of James Brown's soul music. Kuti adapted Pino's sound to fashion new Africa musical genres, such as "Afro-Pop."

Other such bands such as Elvis J. Brown -- a hybrid of James Brown and Elvis Presley -- with his group *El Pollos* in Ghana, or Ray Otis with *Black Beat*, also from Ghana, found local acclaim. Ray Otis with *Black Beat* was also an innovator, and like Kuti, combined James Brown songs with African rhythms.<sup>17</sup> Still others like the Malian musician Ali Farka Toure, in the 1960s and 1970s, incorporated their own African musical styles into Brown's musical format, borrowing his bass line from Brown's band.<sup>18</sup> Even African American rhythm and blues and soul bands touring in Africa capitalized on the popularity of James Brown and soul music on the continent. In 1965, an African American group from Chicago, Junior Wells and his *All-Stars*, captivated the youth of Bamako, in Mali, with their reproductions of James Brown's songs. All these musicians, whether part of a "hobby" band or a professional one,

<sup>16</sup> Collins (1996), 163.

<sup>17</sup> *Ghana Weekly Spectator* (5 Jan 1971), 3.

<sup>18</sup> Toure (1970-8/[1999]).

<sup>19</sup> Diawara (1998), 102.

reflected the broad-based popularity of James Brown in West Africa in the sixties and seventies. James Brown and soul music were well on their way to capturing the imagination of the youth of Africa of the time.

#### JAMES BROWN & SOUL MUSIC AMONG THE WEST AFRICAN YOUTH

In Ghana, West Africa's first independent state, a whole soul sub-culture developed in the sixties among the youth with James Brown as the centerpiece. The Ghanaian soul culture was a hipster movement that sought African cultural regeneration and revitalization by adapting and adopting the latest looks, styles, dances, and music from African Americans. By doing this, African youth also saw themselves as more contemporary and as participants in global cultural forces. But it was not solely "global" culture, since soul was synonymous with African Americans and being black. Critical to their embrace of soul culture was the African belief that soul culture had its roots in Africa. By looking to soul music, Africans were not merely imitating African Americans, but also re-evaluating the value of their African cultures and their place in the post-colonial world.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Ghanaian soul culture was acted out at the local beaches, like *Labadi* beach in Accra, or local clubs like the *Tip-Top*. James Brown's music was played on records and by artists like Elvis J. Brown or Geraldo Pino. On the beach or at the clubs, young people played, and also displayed, their James Brown 45s and learned his dance moves.<sup>20</sup> At the *Tip-Top* or the *Apollo* nightclub dance contests were regularly held to see who could perform the latest routine from Brown's show, such as the famous *popcorn* dance. Competitions were also held, like the one at the Accra sports stadium in Ghana in 1970 and 1971, to determine who would be the *Soul Brother #1* of Africa.<sup>21</sup>

The soul culture of the youth, reached beyond Ghana. In much of Africa, James Brown and soul music was becoming a form of common cultural currency. In Zaire, the youth adapted the latest African American fashions like Afro hairstyles (for men and women), sport shirts, flare bottom pants and platform shoes.<sup>22</sup> In Mali, Africans sported Afro hairstyles and the latest fashions in the hope that it had "transformed them" into real "Soul Brothers."<sup>23</sup> Becoming a "Soul Brother" signified one's involvement in a modern world youth culture. Soul culture even had its own conference, the *West African Soul Summit*, held in Ghana in 1972. At the *Soul Summit*, the *Super Eagles* of Gambia, the *Heartbeats* of Sierra Leone

<sup>20</sup> *Ghana Radio & Television Times* (31 October 1969), 9.

<sup>21</sup> *Ghana Weekly Spectator* (24 April 1971), 5.

<sup>22</sup> *Jet* (24 October 1974), 59.

<sup>23</sup> Diawara (1998), 100-102.

and the *Black Beats* of Ghana performed live soul songs for the Ghanaian youth.<sup>24</sup>

African American soul musicians, like Wilson Pickett and Ike and Tina Turner, capitalized on this interest in soul music by touring in West Africa. Both Wilson Pickett and Ike and Tina Turner took part, along with 150 other musicians from Africa and America, in a fifteen hour concert, spread over the course of two days. The concert was captured in the film *Soul to Soul*, released in 1972. According to the *Ghana Weekly Spectator*, *Soul to Soul* "...trac[ed] American black music to its African origins."<sup>25</sup> *Soul to Soul* confirmed the belief of many African youths that soul music had originated in Africa.



James Brown Admirer with *Live at the Apollo*, 1970.

(From Diawara, photo by Malick Sidibé)

Glimpses of soul culture, among the youth, are captured in the

<sup>24</sup> *Ghana Weekly Spectator* (1 January 1972).

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*

work of Malick Sidibé, a Malian photographer. Sidibé photographed the spontaneous and carefree moments of the youth in Bamako, Mali in the 1960s and 1970s. Sidibé's photographs reveal a youth culture infatuated with new forms of music and dance, especially soul music.<sup>26</sup> The youth in Sidibé's photographs were also deeply concerned with wearing the latest dress styles from abroad, including afro hairstyles, flare pants, and synthetic shirts. The spontaneity of Sidibé's work -- his "studio" was the various house parties throughout Bamako -- is a window into the popular cultural influences of the times in Mali and in West Africa. Several of Sidibé's photos also captured individual James Brown's fans in Mali. One of his photos shows a James Brown admirer demonstrating her appreciation of Brown's music by holding up his seminal album, *Live at the Apollo*.<sup>27</sup> (See left).

The young lady posing with the *Live at the Apollo* LP probably heard first Brown's music on a local radio station. Soul music, and particularly Brown's music, dominated the programming on popular oriented radio stations through out West Africa. In 1970, the Ghanaian radio station GBC2 reported that "the shrill voices of James Brown ...continue to break all time records."<sup>28</sup>

#### BROWN'S FIRST TOUR IN WEST AFRICA, 1968

James Brown's first tour in Africa was not until 1968 when he was almost at the zenith of his popularity. James Brown's tours in Africa were organized because of this popularity but James Brown also likely saw the tours as an opportunity to expand business relationships between Africans and African Americans. Brown had been attentive to business opportunities especially those that might offer black people a chance to "move ahead." Over the course of his tours in Africa, 1968-1975, James Brown was confronted with business propositions from African leaders. While on tour in West Africa, Brown was also confronted with various manifestations of his popularity among African youth. When passing through a rural part of Nigeria, a young boy ran along side Brown's tour bus holding up one of his 45s. Commenting on this scene, James Brown said "the funny thing was that he [probably] didn't have any way to play the record but he had it anyway."<sup>29</sup> Evidently, for some just having a Brown record, a talisman of *soul* culture, might have been enough to be part of the soul culture and thereby associating oneself with African Americans.

James Brown's first concert in Africa was a charity gala organ-

<sup>28</sup> *Ghana Mirror* (29 September 1970).

<sup>29</sup> Brown (1997), 220.

ized by government of the Ivory Coast in 1968. The event was the first of a number of highly compensated performances in Africa for James Brown and his band. For his concert in 1968, the Ivorian government paid Brown almost seventy thousand dollars. The seventy thousand dollars was in addition to the cost of airfares for the James Brown Revue Band, now a thirty-five person strong band. The concert was a major event, it was televised and broadcast throughout the Ivory Coast.<sup>30</sup> The high cost of producing this unique cultural programming prompted the *Ghana Mirror* to suggest that Brown's appearance in the Ivory Coast was "the costliest one-night appearance in entertainment history."<sup>31</sup>

The youth of the Ivory Coast who saw the concert on television were already in touch with the culture and fashion part of Brown's performance. Fred Wesley, first the trombone player in Brown's band and later the band leader, was struck by how up-to-date Ivorians were on the latest African American fashions and lifestyles.<sup>32</sup> Wesley witnessed the cultural diffusion that was taking place involving the transfer of mainly African American cultural elements to West Africa. Like the youth culture in Ghana, Zaire, Nigeria and Mali, Ivorians were trying to "look" African American. Maybe going to a James Brown concert was the finishing touch on the African American "look" and lifestyle.

Adapting the African American look was not only fashionable but also represented Ivorian participation in a modern culture. It was a modern de-colonizing culture that involved an implicit rejection of European culture. During the colonial period, it had been European culture in the case of the Ivory Coast, it was French culture that Ivorians were supposed to adopt to be "modern." French cultural colonization rested on the assumption that the "greatest benefit France could bring to Africans was to make them French [socially and culturally]."<sup>33</sup> However, becoming French culturally and socially involved an explicit rejection of African social and cultural norms. In a way, for an African to become French, also involved a certain acceptance of French, and European, political hegemony over Africa. Therefore, during the late colonial and the post-colonial period in West Africa, political emancipation from France, and Europe, also involved cultural emancipation.<sup>34</sup> Commenting on his own exposure to African American music while a youth in Mali, filmmaker and cultural historian Manthia Diawara said that "...to be liberated was to be exposed to more R&B songs...[they] enabled us to subvert the hegemony of *Francité* after independence."<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Brown (1996), 155.

<sup>31</sup> *Ghana Mirror* (16 March 1968).

<sup>32</sup> Wesley (18 August 1999), interview.

<sup>33</sup> Crowder (1967), 51.

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.*, 54.

In the Ivory Coast, during much of the colonial period, French culture dominated state culture. Many Ivorians, in turn, wore French clothing and copied French lifestyles and as a sign of their participation in the contemporary world. In the late 1960s, during the first years of independence, many Ivorians looked to America -- and African Americans -- for cultural inspiration instead of their former colonial rulers. By allowing James Brown on television, the African controlled Ivorian government was participating, perhaps reluctantly, in this cultural de-colonization of the state. The government, which had previously openly admired French cultural modes, recognized that it had to look to cultural modes that were not European.

Not only was the culture of African Americans, particularly soul music, outside of the European domain it also offered the Ivorian government a way to connect with youth. Later on, other African regimes, like Zaire under Mobutu Sese Seko, attempted similar strategies to try and integrate youth culture with state culture. But first it was James Brown, acting as a cultural broker, who was linking African modernity with African American culture. James Brown offered an alternative to European culture that had been used by the colonists as a way to castigate Africans for being "primitive." James Brown's music, performances and style did not castigate Africans in the same manner. Instead James Brown celebrated black accomplishment. This was one of the reasons why James Brown's music, work ethic and accomplishments had impressed numerous Africans across the continent.

#### JAMES BROWN IN NIGERIA, 1970

Upon his arrival at Lagos airport in Nigeria on November 30th, 1970, James Brown was greeted by hundreds of his fans. The fans waited for Brown at the airport and when they saw him they "thundered out 'soulful' shouts at him and waved their hands in the air."<sup>36</sup> The *Nigerian Morning Post* reported that at the airport "Nigerians both young and young at heart, struggle[d] to catch a glimpse [of their] idol, the great exponent of SOUL MUSIC!" Official Nigerian dignitaries such as Oba Oye Kan, a chief, also met Brown at the airport. Oba Oye Kan and other dignitaries praised Brown's hard work; he commented on Brown's "rise from poverty by hard work to become a millionaire."<sup>37</sup> According to the *Morning Post*, Oba Oye Kan told Brown, "we in Nigeria have followed your achievements." On his first day in Nigeria, James was made a "free-man of the City of Lagos and presented a chain of office."

<sup>35</sup> Diawara (1998), 103-4.

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.*, 2.

<sup>37</sup> *Nigerian Morning Post* (1 December 1970), 1.

During his stay in Lagos, Brown was the toast of the town. The “cream” of Nigerian society attended parties in his honor. James Brown met with local celebrities like Miss Nigeria, 1970 and the talented I.K. Dairo, the first juju music superstar<sup>38</sup> who dabbled in both music and religion.<sup>39</sup> While Brown was in Lagos, local nightlife came to a standstill as most residents were saving up their money to go to his concerts. Despite this, members of Brown’s band like Fred Wesley and John Starks were still able to visit local clubs and familiarize themselves with local musicians.

Fred Wesley said, that while in Lagos, he felt a strong bond between Africans and African Americans, through music. Wesley thought their music (that of James Brown and the band) was very African but it just had more “attitude.”<sup>40</sup> According to Wesley, Africans are more humble by nature but African Americans, through their contact with whites, have exerted “power over the African spirit” to make soul music and “the funk.” Wesley might have developed these conclusions through musical collaborations with African artists. James Brown did not perform in conjunction with African musicians and this could be why he did not feel the same connection to African music. Brown said in his autobiography:

It’s a funny thing about me and African music. I didn’t even know it existed. When I got the consciousness of Africa and decided to see what my roots were, I thought I’d find out where my thing came from...but when I went to Africa I didn’t even recognize anything I had gotten from there.<sup>41</sup>

James Brown was such a musical innovator, however, that the African musical modalities, in his music, were quite deeply embedded. It would have been hard for Brown to perceive his African roots simply by listening to a few African musicians in the 1970s.

African artists did find inspiration in James Brown’s music and many Brown’s sound into their own. One Nigerian musician, deeply influenced by Brown’s music was Fela Kuti, the *Afro-pop* innovator and the most famous African musician of recent years. Kuti’s music combined jazz, soul and African music forms to create innovative songs. Many of Kuti’s lyrics were quite controversial as he protested against the social inequalities in Nigeria and in Africa. Kuti used his popularity to denounce corrupt Nigerian governments and multinationals over the years whom he exposed in songs like “ITT (International Thief Thief).”<sup>42</sup> But before his

<sup>38</sup> Waterman (1990).

<sup>39</sup> *Nigerian Morning Post* (2 December 1970), 8.

<sup>40</sup> Wesley (18 August 1999), interview.

<sup>41</sup> Brown (1996), 221.

widespread popularity and as his many controversies, Fela Kuti performed for James and his band at his club, the *Afro-Spot*.<sup>43</sup> After hearing Kuti play, Brown dubbed him “the African James Brown.” This was not entirely correct as Fela Kuti’s sound was his own unique creation but it was the product of a fusion of Nigerian highlife music with James Brown’s funk (the funk bass line) with a lot of jazz.<sup>44</sup> But Kuti’s style and bravado, backed by a large band, was broadly similar to Brown.

As noted earlier, James Brown’s funk had come to influence the development of Fela Kuti’s music in an indirect form. It was a consequence of the success of Geraldo Pino, the Sierra Leone native who had done so much to disseminate soul music across Africa. According to Kuti, in 1966, Pino had come to Lagos with James Brown’s music, singing “hey, hey, I feel all right, ta ta ta...” a full four years earlier than the real James Brown.<sup>45</sup> Fela Kuti said that when, “...that guy Pino came to Lagos...[it was] in a big way: in a convertible Pontiac; you know, one of those big American cars, man. He was doing his thing, man. He had everything I didn’t have.”<sup>46</sup> Pino and his covers of Brown’s music were “tearing Lagos to pieces...” and after Pino’s success, Fela felt “shut out” of the Lagos music scene.<sup>47</sup> It was only after Kuti incorporated Brown into his music that he believed he could take part again in the music scene in Lagos and Nigeria.<sup>48</sup>

James Brown’s first concert in Lagos was on the night of December 2nd, 1970. Expectations were very high. Some Nigerians hoped Brown would deliver a performance on par with the one captured on the *Live at the Apollo* LP. Unfortunately, for most Nigerians, James did not perform the same song set that was captured on *Live at the Apollo* at the famous Apollo Theater in New York City in 1962. According to the *Morning Post* the next day, Nigerian concert goers complained about Brown’s song choice. The concert-goers were upset that Brown did not play the songs that made him famous, like as *Papa’s Got a Brand New Bag*, *Licking Stick*, *Cold Sweat*, and the many versions of *Popcorn*.<sup>49</sup> The *Morning Post* said that, “these were the numbers that made his double-folder album *Live at the Apollo* sell for £10 - 11 instead of £4.” Instead Brown played such songs as *Sex Machine* which had little appeal for the Nigerian audience at the time. Some Nigerians believed that James was

<sup>42</sup> Bordowitz (1997).

<sup>43</sup> Brown (1997), 221.

<sup>44</sup> Rose (1990), 92.

<sup>45</sup> Waterman (1990), 291; Moore (1982), 74.

<sup>46</sup> Moore (1982), 74.

<sup>47</sup> Waterman (1990), 292.

<sup>48</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *Nigerian Morning Post* (3 December 1970), 8-9.



taking the audience lightly. Despite Brown's somewhat lackluster performance, James' social appearances around Nigeria continued to be recorded in the newspapers. Pictures of Brown appearing in traditional Nigerian clothing with local celebrities continued to be shown because James was in town for one more show.<sup>50</sup>

James Brown's second performance in Lagos was on December 5th. Brown really had to make up for the last performance or risk losing many of his youthful supporters in Nigeria.<sup>51</sup> Articles in the *Morning Post* seemed to personally address Brown, to compel him to play his popular songs:

Perhaps we would wish to reassure the Afro-American singers in our midst that their stay with us is a booming enterprise among much Africans [sic] on this part of the continent continue to show appreciation for a thing of beauty [soul music and specifically Brown's music] ... They should leave a living memory among their fans right here ... Lagos fans want the popular numbers!<sup>52</sup>

Thankfully, James came through and gave the fans what they wanted.

The day after the concert, the *Morning Post* reported that iLagos soul fans never had it so good and so exciting ... they couldn't expect more "'cause JB gave them their fill."<sup>53</sup> Moreover, the *Morning Post* reported:

Despite the security JB jumped off stage with the microphone in hands to be with the audience to let them have the real feel of JB. The stadium turned upside down as the soul fans surged forward milling around him and doing the thing with him on stage and off stage.

The chance for young Nigerians to experience James Brown in person was unforgettable. James Brown--the focus of their musical tastes, clothing and style-- had shown himself in his last concert to be worthy of a young Nigerian's attention.

<sup>50</sup> *Nigerian Morning Post* (4-5 December 1970).

<sup>51</sup> *Nigerian Morning Post* (5 December 1970), 8.

<sup>52</sup> *ibid.*, 4.

<sup>53</sup> *Nigerian Morning Post* (9 December 1970).



James Brown, 1971.

(From *James Brown: The Godfather of Soul*)

#### JAMES BROWN AND THE AFRICAN STATE 1970-1975

After the concert, on December 6th 1970, James Brown flew to Zambia for a performance on December 8th. At the airport James Brown and his band were, once again, met by adoring crowds of youthful admirers. But this time, soon after arriving in the country, James met with high-ranking politicians, including the president of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda.<sup>54</sup> President Kaunda even invited Brown to a state dinner, in his honor. At the dinner, Kaunda and Brown both talked at length about soul music.<sup>55</sup> For James it was a privilege to be in the company of an African statesman. According to Fred Wesley, President Kaunda was also benefiting from being in the company of James Brown. Wesley said that the state dinner offered Kaunda an opportunity to exalt himself in front of his people and show his connection to America and African Americans.<sup>56</sup>

It was also an opportunity for Kaunda to directly appeal to the youth culture that was centered around soul music and James Brown. Kaunda, and other African political leaders, wished to associate themselves with Brown to exploit his popularity among the youth. By associ-

<sup>54</sup> Wesley (18 August 1999), interview.

<sup>55</sup> Brown (1997), 220.

<sup>56</sup> Wesley (18 August 1999), interview.

ating themselves with soul culture, African political leaders were attempting to extend the popularity of soul culture to the state. African political leaders wanted to attract the support of youth for their own political parties and political causes. This helps explain why Kenneth Kaunda himself paid for much of the cost of James Brown's trip to Zambia. Not only did Kaunda pay for part of the cost of the trip Brown also received more money for his concert than he usually did. This highlights the political value of James Brown for Kaunda and later for other African leaders.

President Kaunda was not alone in using soul culture and James Brown's performance in national culture and, in the words of James Brown's bandleader, Fred Wesley, "to look big in front of his neighbors and his people." The most famous example is the series of concerts in Zaire in 1974 as part of Rumble-in-the-Jungle fight, the Ali-Foreman heavyweight boxing match. The Zairian ruler Mobutu Sese Seko, known for his repression of his own people used the fight and the musical festival surrounding it for political ends.



James Brown performing (left) and Mohammed Ali sharing a few words with Brown (right), both Zaire, 1974.

(from James Brown: *The Godfather of Soul* and *Jet Magazine*)

James Brown took part in a three-day music festival surrounding the historic boxing match. Brown arrived at the airport in Kinshasa on June 2nd, 1972; at midnight, the Zairian press called June 2nd "le jour j" ("the day of j" as in James Brown).<sup>57</sup> When Brown first performed, the newspaper *Zaire* reported that "People couldn't believe their eyes. James Brown in Kinshasa, and above all in front of them, made them crazy."<sup>58</sup> In a 1995 television documentary on James Brown, rhythm and blues guitarist B.B. King made the same observation saying that the young

Zairians went "wild over James."<sup>59</sup>

Brown was not the only one to participate in the musical festivities surrounding the fight. The musical extravaganza entitled "Zaire '74" was, according to *Jet Magazine*, a "showcase [for] the greatest black musicians of two continents."<sup>60</sup> Musical historian Gary Stewart said that the festival "presented a most incredible gathering of musicians from African and the African diaspora."<sup>61</sup> Among the cast of African American performers were the Pointer Sisters, B.B. King, the Spinners, Bill Withers, the Jazz Crusaders, and Sister Sledge.<sup>62</sup> Celia Cruz, Ray Barretto, Johnny Pacheco and the Fanya All-Stars came from Latin America.<sup>63</sup> Some of the many African musicians included Manu Dibango, Miriam Makeba and O.K. Jazz as well as several traditional musicians.<sup>64</sup> The newspaper *Zaire* called the festival "a total victory," it reported that

For the first time in the world the Zaire of Mobutu and its people, energized by the flame of its revolution, has succeed in assembling, in a gigantic festival, the superstars of the black world of song.<sup>65</sup>

Mobutu's government paid for all the expenses of the musical festival of the fight including the accommodations, food, and beverages for the fighters, and their entourage, as well as the entertainers and their road crew.<sup>66</sup> Later Fred Wesley would wonder, "who in their right mind would let a bunch of entertainers eat and drink free with no limit?"<sup>67</sup> The final tab, just for the accommodations, food and drink, was over two hundred thousand dollars but the fight itself is estimated to have cost the people of Zaire between nine and a half and fifteen million dollars.<sup>68</sup> It was worth it to Mobutu, who displayed the symbols of soul music and Black power and used them as part of the national political culture of Zaire.

An article in October 31st issue of *Jet Magazine* said that the high cost of the fight

is the price President Mobutu Sese Seko is willing to pay to promote Zaire on the map as a tourist spot. ... It is enough [for Mobutu who rules

<sup>59</sup> B.B. King in *James Brown: The Godfather of Soul*

<sup>60</sup> "When We Were Kings" (1999). [Film Review]

<sup>61</sup> Stewart (2000), 207.

<sup>62</sup> Rose (1990).

<sup>63</sup> Stewart (2000), 207.

<sup>64</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> *ibid.*, 208.

<sup>66</sup> *Jet Magazine* (31 October 1974).

<sup>67</sup> Wesley (18 August 1999), interview.

<sup>68</sup> Rose (1990). See also Stewart (2000), 207.

<sup>57</sup> Stewart (2000), 174.

<sup>58</sup> *ibid.*

with] an iron hand and brilliant billboards spouting Black Power slogans, to be able to say that the festival and fight took place in Kinshasa [the capital of Zaire] ...<sup>69</sup>

For James Brown, Muhammad Ali and Don King there was also a degree of self-promotion in their participation in the event. They all felt a sense of destiny in coming to Africa in such a highly publicized event. They were coming back to Africa at the center of local and international attention. Brown, Ali and King, the new black world order, felt as if they were being anointed "as kings" by the black old world order in Africa. In the 1996 documentary film about the Ali-Foreman fight, *When We Were Kings*, the boxing promoter Don King, with James Brown on this side, said "we left Africa in shackles and chains ... we are coming back in an aura of scintillating glory. The champions here from the sports world and music world ... [were] fused together in one."<sup>70</sup> James Brown agreed with Don King, clapping and saying "[the] brother said something there, brother said something there." That aura of "scintillating glory," along with a large paycheck, made it easier for James Brown to overlook Mobutu's autocracy and the high price Zaire had paid for the musical festival and the fight.

The musical festival and the fight were part of a publicity campaign by Mobutu. Just as Mobutu had used Black Power slogans, he had incorporated Brown, Ali, and the other African Americans involved in the event to look good to the world and in front of the people of Zaire. The musical festival confirmed Mobutu's commitment to incorporate soul culture, and youth culture, into the national-political culture of Zaire. But before looking to soul culture, Mobutu, like many among African nationalist leaders of the early 1960s had rushed to resurrect African "traditional" culture. Traditional culture was then seen as a de-colonizing culture. Mobutu's attempt at resurrecting traditional culture was labeled the "authenticité" (authenticity) campaign.

Mobutu once said:

We are resorting to this authenticity in order to re-discover our own soul which colonization had almost erased from our memories and which we are seeking in the tradition of our ancestors.<sup>71</sup>

For Mobutu, authenticity meant, for example, taking down crucifixes and ending the celebration of Christmas in Zaire. It also entailed wearing a standardized "traditional" national dress and nationalizing foreign busi-

<sup>69</sup> *Jet Magazine* (31 October 1974).

<sup>70</sup> *When We Were Kings* (1996).

<sup>71</sup> *New Yorker* (2 June 1997), 51.

ness. It's hard to say if this campaign helped the citizens of Zaire find their soul but it did help consolidate Mobutu's control over Zaire. However, by the mid seventies the charm of authenticity began to disappear. When Brown came to Zaire in 1974, tradition and "authenticity" were obviously not sufficient for the popular cultural tastes of the new generation, particularly young people. Even adroit Mobutu looked in a different direction to try and "rediscover" Zairian's soul. Mobutu's embrace of Brown and Ali looked on the surface to be a Pan-Africanist gesture but on closer inspection it could be seen as a tactic to update the state's cultural logic and thus preserve its power over Zairians, particularly the youth.

Mobutu was not the only African leader to use James Brown to update the national culture of his country. In 1975, Brown was paid one hundred and sixty thousand dollars (at least four times his regular fee), by President Albert Bernard Bongo of Gabon, to perform a free public concert for Bongo's birthday in 1975.<sup>72</sup> There is a traditional animosity between Zaire and Gabon. Bongo request for James Brown might have been partially motivated by a sense of "keeping up" with Zaire as well as a desire to put Bongo on the map. Bringing James Brown to Gabon also boosted Bongos popularity at home. One article in a Gabon newspaper *L'Union*, entitled *Merci, Monsieur le Président!*, seemed to personally thank Bongo for hiring Brown to perform for the public.<sup>73</sup>



James Brown (second from left) with President Bongo (right) of Gabon.

(From *Jet Magazine*, 1975)

<sup>72</sup> *Jet Magazine* (23 January 1975), 54-57.

<sup>73</sup> *L'Union* (3 January 1975), 1.



James Brown at Gabon Sports Stadium.

(From *Jet Magazine*, 1975)

The arrival of James Brown to perform two free concerts made the front page of the Gabonais newspaper *L'Union*. According to the *L'Union*, even though the mostly French speaking crowd understood few of James Brown's lyrics, James Brown's performance was a hit.<sup>74</sup> The performance, "sent the jam packed audience in the Gabon Sports Stadium into frenzies of delight."<sup>75</sup> The crowd even broke down the fence separating them and the performer. President Bongo was very happy with the concert and told the African American magazine *Jet*, "...I have identified with every aspect of his career. Not only does he make good music but, like me, he had to struggle to the top from a beginning of poverty."<sup>76</sup>

Bongo then went on to say that "he hopes to extend the relationship with Brown to help in the development of Gabon. He said he wishes to interest skilled Black Americans in considering Gabon as a place which they could make a new home." Bongo saw in the figure of James Brown a chance to reach the African American community and to benefit in the form of investments or maybe even African American settlements in Gabon. Bongo's expectations were perhaps a little too lofty but certainly he had made the right choice in selecting Brown for his popularity as a musician. But by 1975, James' influence in the African American community was waning as the message of black power lost steam and other forms of music, like disco, were taking hold. So Bongo's appeals, through James Brown, to the African American community were a little late.

<sup>74</sup> *L'Union* (3 January 1975), 1.

<sup>75</sup> *Jet Magazine* (23 January 1975), 54-57.

<sup>76</sup> *ibid.*

However, one wonders if Bongo hoped to improve the livelihood of his people through greater investment and overall development of his country. Bongo's own personal wealth, and the manner in which he acquired it, might have been holding back the development of his country. Fred Wesley, who was with Brown in Gabon, argued that the disparity between the wealth of government officials, including President Bongo, and the average people was very great. Fred Wesley felt the deep economic disparity between the people and the leaders. Wesley said, "...with the wealth in the Presidential Palace in Gabon [fairly re-distributed] everyone in the country could have been middle class."<sup>77</sup> He thought also Zaire might have been in trouble after spending so much on the festival and fight. We are left to wonder if James Brown realized that unscrupulous political leaders such as Mobutu were using his concerts for political ends.

## CONCLUSION

Soul culture was a source of solidarity between African Americans and Africans, especially the youth. It contributed to the development of broad-based Pan-Africanist thought among the youth. Moreover, African participation in soul culture symbolized a desire to break with European cultural hegemony in Africa. Indirectly appreciating James Brown's soul music caused Africans, especially African musicians to reconsider the value of their own African forms of music as soul music had its roots in Africa. African musicians, like Ali Farka Toure and Fela Kuti, inspired by soul music and James Brown, developed new national musical culture for West Africa. Soul culture was an important modernizing and de-colonizing culture. The study of soul culture, in the sixties and seventies in Africa, offers another way of understanding some of the methods used by Africans and African political leaders to achieve cultural and political emancipation from Europe.

At the same time African leaders, like President Bongo of Gabon, President Kaunda of Zambia and Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, incorporated popular cultural forms, namely soul music and African American styles, to extend their political control. However, soul culture was more than a "tool" of the state, it served as a unifying force both within the nation-state and across Africa. In the sixties and seventies, soul culture was the common currency for much of the Africa youth. In the end, revealing James Brown's influence in Africa brings to light another dimension of Pan African thought -- cultural transference or migration.

<sup>77</sup> Wesley (18 August 1999), interview.

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## Economic Motivations for the Response to the Lecompton Constitution in Southern Illinois, 1858

MARI WEBEL

ON JANUARY 14, 1858, the U. S. Congress received a proposed constitution from a convention held at Lecompton, in the Kansas territory. The Lecompton constitution was unremarkable apart from its seventh article, regarding slavery. Under the provisions of this constitution, created the previous September, "the right of property is before and higher than any Constitutional sanction, and the right of the owner of a slave to such slave ... is the same and as inviolable as the right of the owner of any property whatever," and "the Legislature shall have no power to pass laws for the emancipation of slaves without consent of the owners."<sup>1</sup> Such language in a proposed state constitution would have passed easily in the South as it coordinated with general practice in Southern governments in antebellum America. However, as the Kansas territory lay outside of the boundaries set by the Compromise of 1850 to restrict the extension of slavery into newly acquired western lands, the Lecompton constitution provoked a national political crisis. Debate and outcry were at a fever pitch during the first four months of 1858, in response to a vote taken in the Kansas territory in December of 1857. Results from this vote showed 6,226 citizens were in favor of the Lecompton constitution "with slavery," with 569 opposed.<sup>2</sup>

The Lecompton controversy was the most acute crisis of sectional pro-slavery and anti-slavery sentiment to date. The extension of slavery into western territories had been historically problematic, and this particular crisis reawakened fears first incited by the Kansas-Nebraska act in 1854.<sup>3</sup> Then, the outcome of implementing popular sovereignty to build governments in the states to be carved from territories acquired from treaties with Mexico and Great Britain was called into question. With this in mind, the decidedly pro-slavery Lecompton constitution was effectively the worst possible outcome for popular sovereignty at work, for most Northerners, and the best possible outcome, for most Southerners. Parity between sections with regard to new states admitted to the Union had profoundly disrupted with the admission of California in 1850,<sup>4</sup> and during

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<sup>1</sup> Lecompton constitution (1858), 15.

<sup>2</sup> Calhoun (1858).

<sup>3</sup> See Potter (1976) and Sewell (1988).

<sup>4</sup> Weingast (1998), 154.



the following decade antagonism between North and South escalated. The Lecompton crisis brought philosophical and theoretical debates about popular sovereignty and the extension of slavery into western territories into the realm of practical political and governmental activity.

Throughout the 1850s, the division between sections solidified, though "border states" would hang in a tenuous balance during the Civil War. As the foremost western free state, Illinois was allied with the North. However, the southernmost region of Illinois was distinct from the rest of the state, and reacted differently to the Lecompton crisis than other Illinois residents to the north. Public opinion in southern Illinois, as gathered from contemporary newspapers and as evident in one petition sent to Congress, deviated from the collective response of other Northern free states ... it was decisively in favor of admitting Kansas as a slave state under the Lecompton constitution, thereby extending slavery into previously protected territories. Though a distinctive region, southern Illinois was still merely a section of a crucial free state, and the response to the Lecompton constitution deviated from widespread Northern opposition to the constitution. The response to the Lecompton crisis in southern Illinois alludes to a more complicated political, social, and economic milieu within a crucial free state. An examination of potential motivations for this regional response allows a more thorough interrogation of the identity and behaviors of the people behind the politics.

In the months leading up to the Lecompton crisis in early 1858, opinion in southern Illinois was manifested in several ways. The editor of the Randolph County *Democrat* (Chester, IL), said in an article titled "The Question Settled," that

The Kansas troubles are a mere prolongation of the Missouri controversy, in which the abolitionists of every hue in every part of the Northern States insist upon forcing another new State to adopt a constitution which it does not prefer. With reference to Kansas, they would trample on the right of her white people, upon the provisions of the Federal Constitution, and upon the principles of natural Justice, precisely as they attempted to do in the case of Missouri Thirty-seven years ago.<sup>5</sup>

This situates southern Illinoisans in favor of popular sovereignty's superior position to federal laws, as it represents the most just and natural will of a group of free citizens. Amidst the crisis, the *Cairo Weekly Times & Delta* (Cairo, IL), the self-proclaimed "official paper of the city," responded to her congressman's assertion that he "represented the strongest democratic district in the United States...and that the democracy there were opposed to the Lecompton plan," with a counter-assertion, that "the peo-

<sup>5</sup> *Democrat* (30 July 1857).

ple of this district...believe the Lecompton constitution to be a just and legal instrument.<sup>6</sup> Both newspapers proceed with similar pro-Lecompton sentiment until the furor died down in the summer of 1858, though another source of sentiment represents a truly decisive vocalization of opinion within a national arena of discussion. In February of 1858, the U.S. House Committee on Territories received a petition from a small group of Randolph county citizens praying "the admission of [Kansas] into the Union...with the constitution formed at Lecompton."<sup>7</sup> Collectively, these responses indicate a support of the Lecompton constitution oriented in direct opposition to the Northern free state response, instead falling solidly in agreement with the Southern position which favored Lecompton and extending slavery into the territories.

Several factors may account for the adamant support of the Lecompton constitution in southern Illinois, which may in turn be evidence for a cultural identity more Southern than Illinoisan. The 16 southernmost counties of Illinois -- Alexander, Franklin, Gallatin, Hamilton, Hardin, Jackson, Johnson, Massac, Perry, Pope, Pulaski, Randolph, Saline, Union, White, and Williamson -- were culturally and politically distinct from central and northern Illinois. Settled in the early years of the nineteenth century by emigrants from the South, a study of the nativity of residents from the 1850 census indicates that the concentration of Southern-born residents was exceptionally high. Kentucky, Tennessee and North Carolina contributed the greatest number of emigrants to southern Illinois,<sup>8</sup> while the northern and central Illinois were generally settled by emigrants from New England and Mid-Atlantic states entering the West via Chicago.<sup>9</sup> Nativity, presumed persistent familial links to the South, and a political orientation which corresponds with this representation of Southern states, have been cited as one reason why southern Illinois appeared so distinctively "Southern."<sup>10</sup>

Allusions to the southern orientation of the culture and politics of southern Illinois in the 1850s do not conclusively address the region's response to the Lecompton constitution.<sup>11</sup> In previous scholarship, southern Illinois has been characterized as an anti-abolitionist, anti-black, Democratic, and pro-South region, but never decidedly pro-slavery. The region's response to the Lecompton constitution, I believe, suggests otherwise. Support of the Lecompton constitution translated into support of slavery's extension as far into the western United States as slaveholders

<sup>6</sup> *Weekly Times and Delta* (3 March 1858).

<sup>7</sup> Petition of Uriah Blue and others of Randolph County, IL.

<sup>8</sup> Adams (1967), introduction.

<sup>9</sup> Johannsen (1990), 188.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> See also Smith (1969), 12-13.

were willing to carry it. Southern Illinois seemingly should have allied more strongly with the rest of the state, but did not, and perhaps had little incentive to do so. To better explain the Lecompton response as a non-anomalous political response within the context of the region's established culture, different methods and sources need to be examined. Associations between St. Louis and the South, and St. Louis markets and southern Illinois markets suggest that economic factors might have worked to reinforce existing ties with the South, effectively encouraging a continued Southern orientation with regard to the Lecompton crisis.

While historical explanations of southern Illinois's political and cultural identity remain vague, another problem arises with the relative scarcity of primary sources from the 1850s. Though many of the inhabitants of the southernmost sixteen counties of Illinois may have been born, or had family still living, in the South, direct references to any tangible connection between the two areas are scant. Few personal letters or emigration accounts survive, and while newspapers provide an interesting slice of the local culture and economy, publication was sporadic at best and newspapers changed owners and editors frequently. Familial links to the South presumably remained private, and newspapers from the region generally discussed local and national politics, some local gossip, scientific curiosities, and many advertisements. If Southern markets played a significant role within the economy of southern Illinoisans at the time of the Lecompton constitution, some evidence of the interaction between southern Illinois and the South would be evident in these local papers.

Southern Illinois remains geographically distinct from the rest of Illinois, resembling more closely the Ozark foothills of Missouri and western Kentucky than the high prairie belt of the central Midwest. Distant from the Great Lakes transit routes which allowed goods to travel through Chicago and to Eastern markets, southern Illinois and other borderland regions relied upon the Mississippi and Ohio rivers and their tributaries as "natural highways."<sup>12</sup> Paramount among other western river cities in the antebellum Northwest was St. Louis, Missouri. St. Louis was the most prominent port on the Mississippi River, whence goods from the surrounding Northwest flowed downstream to New Orleans, Louisiana for distribution to both Southern and international markets.

Though surviving newspaper data does not characterize the market for goods exported from southern Illinois as "Southern" or "slave state," it does reveal a strong connection to the St. Louis economy and market in regular advertisements for St. Louis firms, and regular reports on the activity of the St. Louis market. The weekly newspapers of Benton, Cairo, and Chester, Illinois, each featured advertisements for

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*, 18.

goods and services in or related to St. Louis. While Cairo and Chester are both located on the Mississippi river and so are perhaps more apt to feature publicity for the nearest large port and market, Benton is located inland, with only a trunk road and local railroad line connecting it and the St. Louis area.<sup>13</sup> In 1850, the Benton *Standard* published weekly "a full and reliable account of the prices in St. Louis, of all the leading articles of Produce, Groceries, &c.," accompanied by a table of current retail prices on the Benton market.<sup>14</sup> In 1856, under a different editor, the *Standard* again published prices for the St. Louis market. The surviving 1858 issue of the *Standard* does not contain a detailed table of St. Louis market prices, but without specific explanations regarding the choice of publication dates for St. Louis market information, or the real effect of different editors on publication choices, there is not decisive information to indicate that St. Louis market prices were less important in 1858 than in 1850.

Table 1 illustrates the level of advertisement for St. Louis dry goods stores and transportation services during the Lecompton crisis compared to advertising for local goods and transportation services. The number of advertisements for St. Louis merchants compared to Benton merchants indicates that Benton provided consumers for St. Louis merchants, as did Cairo and Chester. Furthermore, all surviving Cairo and Chester newspapers make mention of activity on the St. Louis market, though not with the detailed prices offered by the Benton *Standard*. Chester, located south of St. Louis on the Mississippi river, also carried many advertisements for St. Louis merchants, but none for merchants in other cities accessed by the river, or inland cities. Advertising in Cairo, in 1858 a larger city, reflects greater independent commercial development. Advertisements for steamboats, both passenger and freight, indicate that Cairo relied upon St. Louis-based boats for both travel and trade.

The degree of interaction between southern Illinois towns and St. Louis would be unremarkable were St. Louis the only city of consequence nearby. Though commerce in these three towns was limited by available transportation routes, Chester and Cairo both had access to Louisville and Paducah, Kentucky on the Ohio River, as well as Memphis, Tennessee accessed via the Mississippi River. Benton was connected with Belleville, IL, a suburban St. Louis town by the Ohio and Mississippi railroad, but also lay quite close to the Illinois Central Railroad main line that ran between Cairo and Chicago.<sup>15</sup> Chicago may have been lacking in

<sup>13</sup> Population of Cairo was approximately 2100, Chester approximately 1100, and Benton approximately 400. Estimates from population results in "Population of the United States in 1860" (1864), 88-99.

<sup>14</sup> *Standard* (14 July 1850).

<sup>15</sup> Gates (1934), iii.



commercial advertising due to its position as the "greatest primary grain market in the world, rivaling Odessa and Galatz, Danzig and St. Petersburg."<sup>16</sup> Though Chicago wheat and commodities markets are beyond the scope of this paper, we might infer that a lack of advertising indicates that Chicago flour producers operated in a less competitive atmosphere than St. Louis merchants, or southern Illinois farmers seeking lucrative markets. Additionally, of the cereal grains, southern Illinois produced more indian corn (8,787,862 bushels in 1860) than wheat (1,367,108 bushels), oats (224,604 bushels), and rye (14,944 bushels).<sup>17</sup> Wheat simply may not have been a profitable crop, and until 1857, wheat prices were not reported in Benton or Cairo newspapers for the St. Louis market.<sup>18</sup>

Even as St. Louis functioned as the primary port and market for import and export goods in the Northwest, it also held value in the South as a primary market, particularly as it related to New Orleans. *DeBow's Review*, a New Orleans "commercial journal for the South and West," published yearly and seasonal prices, volumes, and commission rates of the St. Louis market alongside other major ports such as Charleston SC, Baltimore MD, and Mobile AL.<sup>19</sup> In *DeBow's Review*, St. Louis is presented first as an outpost with great prospects as a trade center, and later commercial city on par with Southern port cities. General market reports over a ten-year period between 1848-58 were accompanied by reports on the "progress of the city," its "colossal growth" and, significantly, as a place "safe for the South" regarding slavery.<sup>20</sup>

Correspondence between the editors of *DeBow's Review* and the *Missouri Republican* of St. Louis reveal a confidence in the city's future as the "great commercial emporium of the Mississippi Valley" in 1849.<sup>21</sup> Similar treatment of Missouri occurred in Chester's *Randolph County Democrat*, which characterized St. Louis as a grand river city, whose levee displayed "some one hundred different articles of commerce...together with every variety of agricultural implements...nearly all bearing the mark of some shrewd Eastern Yankee manufacturer."<sup>22</sup> The article continues to espouse the glory of Missouri, and of St. Louis, drawing the parallel that "New York, now called...the Empire State, will soon cease to be so called, and New York, now called the Empire City,

<sup>16</sup> DeBow (1858), 441.

<sup>17</sup> "Agriculture of the United States in 1860" (1864), 31-35.

<sup>18</sup> *Standard* (19 July 1850); *Weekly Times and Delta* (6 June 1854).

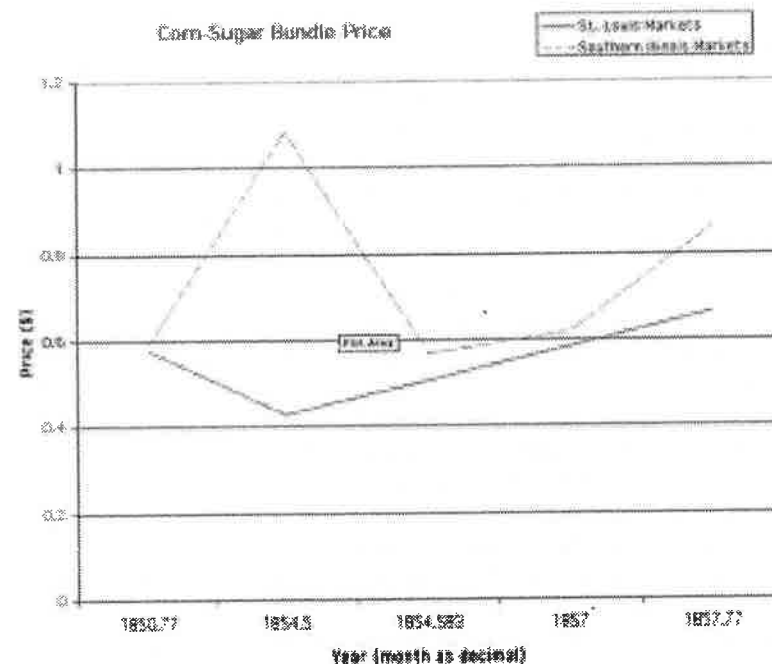
<sup>19</sup> DeBow (1860), 220.

<sup>20</sup> DeBow (1858), 213; 335.

<sup>21</sup> DeBow (1849), 182.

<sup>22</sup> *Democrat* (11 February 1858).

will shortly cease to be so. Missouri, with her St. Louis, is in the ascendant."<sup>23</sup> Such sentiment persisted into the late 1850s. In February of 1858, the *Democrat* featured a front-page article on the resources and prospects for the state of Missouri, "destined to become...the Empire State of the Union."<sup>24</sup> Such glowing praise, taken with the level of advertising in the *Randolph County Democrat* as per Table 1, indicates St. Louis's prominent position. In addition, the *Democrat's* booster-like approach toward St. Louis might reflect an anticipation that continued prosperity for St. Louis meant a corresponding prosperity for local markets closely associated with St. Louis market pricing and fluctuations.



Regarding local and outlying markets, goods were divided into two basic categories, provisions and produce.<sup>25</sup> Movement of goods in these categories was effected by seasons, both in production and in actual transportation, such that, for example, provisions (flour, sugar) dominated winter markets but trading was influenced by the Mississippi's freeze and thaw, and the passability of wagon roads.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, most surviving

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Democrat* (4 February 1858).

<sup>25</sup> *Democrat* (18 February 1858).

<sup>26</sup> *Democrat* (18 February 1858) reports that "navigation has not yet re-opened, and no boat is receiving freight to-day for points below."

market information deals with winter markets, limiting knowledge of market behaviors possibly influenced by opposite conditions: fairer weather, easier transportation and abundance of produce. However, the relatively consistent reportage of market prices from St. Louis and local markets leads to the comparison of aggregate corn-sugar prices shown in Chart 1. Prices reported in southern Illinois newspapers (surviving newspapers from 1850-1860) allow a comparison of aggregate prices over a seven-year period.<sup>27</sup> The spike in May of 1854 seems somewhat anomalous, and local newspapers explain neither the price increase nor the return to prices parallel to the St. Louis market in July (1854.583).

Coordination between southern Illinois markets and the St. Louis market is more apparent as the decade proceeds, particularly between 1854 and 1857. The upward trend in the southern Illinois market prices in September may be related to speculation in anticipation of the arrival of autumn harvest goods, the increase in per unit corn prices acting to drive up aggregated prices. Coordination between sugar prices in southern Illinois markets and the St. Louis market, combined with the absence of prices for sugar on other markets, suggests that southern Illinois consumers relied on St. Louis for distribution of distinctively Southern goods such as sugar, molasses, tobacco, and rice. Though a significant portion of market reports for the years included in Chart 1, comprehensive sets of prices for sugar, molasses, tobacco, and rice for the same time period are not present.

More significantly, Chart 1 illustrates the coordination between St. Louis and southern Illinois market prices at the onset of the Lecompton crisis. Considering the aforementioned publicity for St. Louis and Missouri in southern Illinois newspapers, it is, of course, difficult to conjecture the degree which economic interests might have effected southern Illinois support for the pro-slavery constitution, or the level to which the close association with St. Louis markets represents a reinforcement of existing ties to the South (*vis á vis* remnant Southern identity due to nativity and familial ties). However, the chart does indicate that prices in southern Illinois were in closer coordination to the St. Louis market in the latter half of the 1850s. The prominence of advertising for St. Louis merchants in surviving southern Illinois newspapers from 1858, combined with the coordination of prices between southern Illinois and St. Louis markets, indicate St. Louis's position as the primary external market for both southern Illinois consumers of dry goods and agricultural producers.

St. Louis, and the St. Louis market, emerge as the primary point of intersection between southern Illinois markets and the South. Information from *DeBow's Review* suggests that St. Louis, "in the ascendant," was important in the South both symbolically, as the first Western slave state, and practically as a crucial terminus for trade southward from the interior on the Mississippi river. The political importance of Missouri's position as a slave state, particularly with the turmoil in Kansas caused by the bloody conflict between abolitionist and pro-slavery settlers in the territory, could not have escaped southern Illinoisans living just across the Mississippi River. Southern Illinoisans of Southern birth or lineage may have perceived a familiar Southern culture flourishing in Missouri, and St. Louis' role as both the primary market for their produce and main source of Southern consumer goods for the region bound it economically, socially and politically to the South. Through coordination between southern Illinois and St. Louis produce and provision markets, as well as retail advertising in southern Illinois papers by St. Louis merchants, the region was linked economically to St. Louis, and indirectly, to the South. These economic connections may provide another source for southern Illinois's response to the Lecompton constitution, and their de facto support of extending slavery into the territories. Such dependence on the St. Louis market for prices and Southern goods worked to reinforce existing social and cultural links between southern Illinois and the South. Considering these connections, the response to the Lecompton controversy in southern Illinois, and its particularly Southern character, is not surprising.

<sup>27</sup> Data restricted to that found in surviving newspapers (1850-1860) from southern Illinois.

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Please look at Professor Peter Stansky's website, featuring research done by the students in History 245. They have been doing original research with materials found in Special Collections at Stanford University. The URL is as follows:

<http://www.stanford.edu/class/history245s>