

# The Wittenberg History Journal

Wittenberg University • Springfield, Ohio

Volume XXXI

Spring 2002

**From the Editors:**

In reading this year's *Wittenberg History Journal*, we hope that you will be able to enjoy the high quality of the collection of papers presented. This publication is possible thanks to a small group of people, the History Journal Staff, who unselfishly devoted their time to selecting the following papers. This journal would also not have been possible without the helpful guidance of our advisor, Dr. Jim Huffman. We would like to extend a special thaks to all of you for your assistance and in helping to make the process of creating this year's *History Journal* great.

Luke Clarkson & Dustin Plummer

**The Wittenberg University History Journal  
2001-02 Editorial Staff**

**Co-editors** .....Luke Clarkson '02 & Dustin Plummer '03

**Editorial Staff** ..... John Ameen '02, Kristen Baughman '02,  
Eric Cusick '03, Mark Huber '04 &  
Elizabeth Schwartz '04

**Advisor** ..... Dr. Jim Huffman

**The Hartje Papers**

The Martha and Robert G. Hartje Award is presented annually to a Senior in the spring semester. The History Department determines the four finalists who write a 600 to 800 word narrative essay dealing with a historical event or figure. The finalists must have at least a 2.7 grade point average and have completed at least six history courses. The winner is awarded \$400 at a spring semester History Department colloquium and all four entries are included in the History Journal. This year's Hartje Paper award was presented to Kristen Baughman.

## Table of Contents

Working-Class Alcohol Habits in England during the Decade of Decadence: Refuting Past Investigations and Writings <i>by John Ameen</i> <i>Wittenberg University Class of 2002</i> .....	5
Uchimura Kanzo: The Impact of America on His Christian Theology and Japanese Nationalism <i>by Joshua Schnacke</i> <i>Wittenberg University Class of 2003</i> .....	19
Irish Romantic Nationalism and the German Motive <i>by Erica Fornari</i> <i>Wittenberg University Class of 2004</i> .....	25
The Battle of Blair Mountain: Remembering the Story That Got "Left Out" <i>by Kristen Baughman</i> <i>Wittenberg University Class of 2002</i> .....	32
Taking Advantage of Innocent Girls <i>by Emily Kingsley</i> <i>Wittenberg University Class of 2004</i> .....	44
The First Cold War: On the Teutonic Knights and Alexander Nevsky <i>by Ryan T. Miller</i> <i>Wittenberg University Class of 2003</i> .....	49
<b>Hartje Award Winner</b>	
Floyd Collins: The Man and the Legend <i>by Kristen Baughman</i> <i>Wittenberg University Class of 2002</i> .....	58

### Address correspondence to:

Editor  
The Wittenberg University History Journal  
Department of History  
Wittenberg University  
P.O. Box 720  
Springfield, OH 45501-0720

We would like to dedicate this year's edition of the *Wittenberg History Journal* to the lovely Margaret DeButy. Her friendly smile, knowledgeable assistance and tireless commitment to the History Department has been an inspiration to all of us. Thank you for once again helping make this publication a reality.

## Working-Class Alcohol Habits in England during the Decade of Decadence: Refuting Past Investigations and Writings

By John Ameen

Wittenberg University Class of 2002

The 1890s in Europe, coined as the "Decade of Decadence," saw a number of social problems that concerned government and upper-class elites.<sup>1</sup> Drug use, homosexuality, and degeneration in intelligence and strength were among these problems in this decadent society. One issue in particular, the increase of alcohol consumption among the working-class, concerned these elites in Britain. Social investigators of the time, such as Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree, suggested that many working-class citizens drank immoderately and spent the majority of their incomes on alcohol. One social investigator from the 1890s stated that the working-class picked up more than "two-thirds of the nation's yearly drink bill of £162 million."<sup>2</sup> Concerning secondary poverty, Rowntree wrote, "there can be but little doubt, however, that the predominant factor is drink."<sup>3</sup>

However, research and analysis into English family budgets suggests that the working-class did not indulge in nor did they spend an enormous proportion of their wages on alcohol. Only as much as twelve percent of the families' *food budget*, not total budget, was spent on alcohol.<sup>4</sup> This percentage is far less than what social investigators estimated. There was little surplus for the family to spend on alcohol, while sometimes some families were in debt at the end of the workweek. Other factors, such as wages, leisure and pub activities, temperance movements, drunkenness reports, contradictions made and indefinite conclusions assembled by social investigators provide great support for working-class moderation. Economic and social factors of everyday life show that some of the working-class in England totally abstained from alcohol; while those who chose to imbibe did so responsibly by expending trivial amounts of their earnings on drink and then moderately

consuming alcohol during this "Decade of Decadence," rather than careless spending and immoderation suggested by social investigators.

Before examining the evidence supporting working-class moderation, it is important to understand the larger picture of alcohol consumption in England during the last part of the nineteenth century. In the 1870s, the drink rate in England reached its peak. Historians today have reached estimations based on research and analysis conducted by investigators from the late nineteenth century. It is now estimated that thirty-eight to forty gallons of beer<sup>5</sup> and 1.3 gallons of spirits were consumed per person in the seventies.<sup>6</sup> After temperance movements slowly lost their appeal in the 1880s, the 1890s saw a steady increase in alcohol intake.<sup>7</sup> In fact, alcohol intake during the 1890s rivaled that of the 1870s. Other contemporary research suggests that fifty-seven gallons of beer per man, woman, and child, and two gallons of spirits per man, woman, and child, was consumed through the nineties.<sup>8</sup> As far as expenditure is concerned, social investigators from the nineteenth century estimated that £4: 5s: 1d was spent, per head, on alcohol in a year. This statistic also rivals that of the 1870s.<sup>9</sup> Although these statistics include every social class in England, social investigators concluded at the turn of the twentieth century that the working class squandered the majority of the money spent on alcohol. Therefore, interpretation suggests the majority of the consumption was also done by the working-class.

When studying the budgets of working-class families through the 1890s, it is hard to ignore the lack of surplus earnings these households had at the end of the workweek. Families spent the majority of their budget on food and rent.

Additionally, other expenditures arose that further deteriorated the families' budget. It is a constant wonder how agricultural laborers and their families survived at all. One social observer stated that, "Laborers did not live in the proper sense of the word, they merely didn't die."<sup>10</sup> Also, a Royal Commission report stated that working-class laborers as a whole barely lived above subsistence. They were better off than they had been before the 1890s, but they hardly lived satisfactorily.<sup>11</sup> Working-class family budgets show that it was improbable, and impossible for some, to indulge in alcohol.

First, the incomes of the rural and urban working-class wage earners varied between 10s/wk and about £3/wk. The income the wage earner received depended greatly on what career he worked. The wage one brought in also depended on the town or city in which they lived. It seems that the larger the town, the higher the wage for many artisans and laborers.<sup>12</sup> Sometimes income came from other sources besides the typical workweek job. In one instance a carpenter earned 15s/wk during the summer and only 12s/wk during the winter. However, his family received supplemental funds by lending out rooms during the week.<sup>13</sup> In most working-class households, the wife stayed at home to tend to the children and also to keep the house in order. Many times, though, she would contribute to the budget by doing odd jobs. One wife went out doing menial household tasks and washing laundry, which made her family's income considerably greater.<sup>14</sup> Wages also vary greatly from the rural setting to the urban setting. One man supported his family of seven on only 13s/wk. His house was in shambles due to the fact he needed to spend the majority of his earnings feeding his family rather than sheltering them. Compared to the city where a man made an average of 23s/wk, and although his house may not have been a palace, at least he has a solid edifice surrounding him and his family.<sup>15</sup>

Some career fields came with extra costs to the wage earner. For example, one journeyman carpenter needed to supply his own files and tools at a cost of £1/yr.<sup>16</sup> For some trades, incomes fluctuated from week to week. One fisherman had no regular earnings and sometimes did not make any money for weeks.

In addition, he paid 10s/season for harbor dues and fishing equipment.<sup>17</sup> The earnings of a professional dock laborer were greatly dependent on the fluctuations of trade.<sup>18</sup> With additional expenses such as these, it was imperative that working-class families conserve their earnings in order to achieve subsistence.

Seebohm Rowntree, a social investigator from the time, conducted a town study of York in the 1890s concerning living conditions of the laboring classes. He concluded that while twelve percent of the population lived in comfortable, sanitary houses, eighty-eight percent lived in squalid domiciles.<sup>19</sup> Why is the quality of working-class houses important when studying their alcohol habits? For one, it reiterates the point of how destitute some of these families actually were. Social investigators from the time and also social historians widely wrote that the working-class lived in poorly built and ventilated homes. Even furniture sometimes scarcely existed in some poor, working-class homes. If there was furniture, it was usually adjusted from some other purpose, such as children's cots made from packing cases, or dressing tables made from fruit crates.<sup>20</sup> Another reason why quality of housing should be addressed is that child mortality has also been blamed on the irresponsible spending on alcohol. However, child mortality rates can be blamed on the poor housing the working-class lived in. Food is essential to a child's existence, but according to some studies, so are light, air, warmth, and freedom from damp environments. Basement dwellings were popular because they were cheaper, but they provided harsh living environments.<sup>21</sup>

Although many working-class homes were not satisfactory for everyday living, families could not improve on them. For one, a large proportion of working-class budgets were spent on rent alone. In Rowntree's study, percentages of earnings spent on rent revealed these statistics:

Earnings	% of Budget
18s/wk or less	29
18s to 20s/wk	18
20s to 25s/wk	17
26s to 30s/wk	16
31s to 40s/wk	16
41s to 50s/wk	13
51s to 60s/wk	12

The table exhibits the average percentage of budget a family would spend on rent in accordance to how much money they earned in a week. The less a family made, the higher the percentage they would spend of their earnings on rent. In addition to the rent expenses, minimum of expenditures on household sundries, such as wood, coal, tools, burial expenses, cooking utensils, etc., came out to 4s: 11d/wk for working-class households.<sup>22</sup> The minimum for food expenditure is: 3s/wk per adult and 2s: 3d per child.<sup>23</sup>

Just as most working-class families could not afford to improve on their living environments, many could not improve on their dietary habits. Though alcohol is blamed for secondary poverty, Rowntree noted that primary poverty is the cause for malnutrition. He wrote, "... every laborer who has as many as three children must pass through a time, probably lasting for about ten years, when he will be in a state of primary poverty; in other words, when he and his family will be underfed."<sup>24</sup> Low earnings, not alcohol, caused many families to be malnourished. In order to keep the wage earner healthy, a higher proportion of the families' calories needed to be consumed by him. Men averaged 3,321 calories while women and children averaged about 1,870 calories per day.<sup>25</sup> What happens, then, is a problem that cannot be solved. If a family were to feed their children more, the chance of the wage earner falling sick would greatly increase. If this happened, they would fall deeper into poverty. What happens instead is that the children and women of the house will be fed less so the wage earner can stay healthy. This problem also directly correlates with infant mortality. When the mother nurses a baby, her diet greatly affects the survival rate of the infant. For instance, if she only lives off of bread and tea, the baby will not receive the proper nutrients and may perish.<sup>26</sup> And since, on average, fifty-eight percent of working-class citizens' budget was spent on food, not much opportunity existed for dietary improvement. Research into social investigator's studies show that the more a family earned in a week, the more calories and essential nutrients they received.<sup>27</sup> In essence, many working-class citizens could not afford the luxury of a good diet. Therefore, how could

they afford the luxury of indulging in alcohol?

Though these statistics may be hard to comprehend when viewed in their isolated states, it is helpful to see them in a likely family scenario in order to understand the budget situations of the working-class. In Henry Higgs' study of family budgets, the families studied averaged 5.1 persons per family.<sup>28</sup> This is a reasonable estimate for working-class household since most of the families studied in various budgets reports usually had at least one or two children, while some had as many as eight or ten. According to Charles Booth, the income group that earns 21s-30s/wk is "... more than any other (group), representative of the way we live now."<sup>29</sup> So with these estimations in mind, a fictitious family will consist of five people, two adults and three children, and the wage earner brings in 25s/wk. Therefore, this family will spend sixteen percent of its budget on rent, or 4s/wk. It will cost 6s/wk to feed the mother and father, while it will cost 6s: 9d/wk to feed the children. Then for household sundries around 4s: 11d/wk. Out of 25s made in a week, this particular family has 3s: 4d/wk left for other expenses. However, other expenses such as clothing, past debts, and/or medical expenses may also hinder the working-class budget. With the possibility of a minimum of 3s per week left, this family can buy only a minimal amount of alcohol, and certainly not indulge in it irresponsibly.

By analyzing these budgets, poverty or lack of funds is not the effect of alcohol overspending. Poverty is caused by and can be the effect of so many other circumstances. For one, in the humid factory atmosphere, workers were more likely to become sick.<sup>30</sup> More often than not, working-class families would not have insurance to cover the cost of doctors or cover the time of lost wages. In the town of York, the reasons for poverty were quite simple; nearly seventy-five percent of the people lived in poverty because of low wages or large family size.<sup>31</sup> In another town, one particular family earned a little over £2/wk, yet were still in deficit. The reason, however, was because the husband had been obligated to take care of his mother and pay her bills after she fell ill.<sup>32</sup> Widows, it seems, tended to have difficulty supporting themselves. In many cases the

children had already moved out and were supporting their own families; therefore, these children did not have the time and possibly not enough money to help out significantly. One widow relied on her eighteen year old son for income. Her three daughters married young and she could not count on them.<sup>33</sup> Also, wastefulness and carelessness concerning budget management and household goods usage caused financial stress. M. Loane remembers several particular instances where the family bought a whole pound of butter and all of it was set on the table for dinner, but then most of it spoiled and was later tossed out. She also saw many families wasting bread.<sup>34</sup>

With this analysis of family budgets, it is hard to discern how social investigators concluded that working-class citizens picked up much of the 1890s drink bill. Although they did not spend their earnings on alcohol irresponsibly, many still did spend some of it to buy a quart or two here or there. The amount spent, however, was usually very minimal and did not greatly affect the families' living conditions. From a report by the Royal Commission on Labor in 1893, the laborer tended to eat, dress, and read better than earlier in the century; and on the whole, was drinking less. Generally, it has been understood, "Increased earnings were not generally spent in trade drinking customs, but were handed over to the wife who became the decision maker in all aspects of household expenditure. In many households the husband was only entrusted with pocket money to be spent on fares, beer, tobacco. . . ."<sup>35</sup> The husband, usually being the main drink consumer, would then have limited funds to indulge in alcohol. Also, with a rise of real wages, the 1890s was the first time greater spending did not go to alcohol. A wider range of consumer goods was available, mainly clothing, furniture, or metal-ware, which many people purchased. This purchasing power definitely benefited the working-class since their homes were not in satisfactory condition. While many social investigators' presumed higher alcohol consumption with higher wages, many working-class families were determined to live a better life. And finally, M.S. Reeves states that married men who earn between 18s and 26s/wk do not and cannot drink. The maximum of 2s/

wk he could keep would go toward fares, clothes, or alcohol. It did not, however, allow much margin for drunkenness.<sup>36</sup>

In order to understand the expenditure on alcohol, it is important to become acquainted with the price of the drinks. During the 1890s, beer cost, on average, about 2.5d a pint,<sup>37</sup> or about 4d per quart.<sup>38</sup> Spirits cost around 3s: 4d per pint and wine averaged about 3d per pint,<sup>39</sup> although the research suggests the working-class loyally committed themselves to drinking beer. A working-class citizen could, therefore, buy three quarts of beer for around 1s.

For many families, especially those studied in *Family Budgets: Being the Income and Expenses of Twenty-Eight British Households 1891-1894*, alcohol expenditure was virtually non-existent. In fact, out of the twenty-eight families, only five spent a significant amount on alcoholic beverages. Of those five families, one family spent twelve percent of its food budget, not total budget, on alcohol, while the rest spent between three and ten percent.<sup>40</sup> In one family, both parents enjoyed a stout with their dinner every night, hardly an example of overindulgence.<sup>41</sup>

In family budget studies compiled by Henry Higgs from the 1890s, the statistics resemble those of *Family Budgets*. For one family, their total yearly income was £125. They spent only 10.5d on alcohol, which works out to less than three quarts in a year.<sup>42</sup> Another family earned 105s over five weeks, roughly £1/wk. For beer and tobacco, they spent 3s: 2d, which comes out to twelve quarts over five weeks time.<sup>43</sup> Though this is higher than the first family mentioned, two quarts a week could hardly be considered significant in the depletion of the family's income. Lastly, one family averaged out £1: 15s: .25d over five weeks time. Out of this, this family spent 11d/wk on alcohol, almost three quarts per week.<sup>44</sup>

Finally, in Rowntree's York study, one family, renamed the Smith's for this investigation, barely earned enough to have a surplus. Mr. Smith brought home on average 20s/wk and then handed over 18s to his wife. With the 2s he kept for himself, he spent it in the following manner: 1d/day on beer, 3d/wk on tobacco, 3d/wk in children's savings box, and then what was left he kept for clothing. After Mrs. Smith was done buying the food, sundries,



and other miscellaneous items, she had 2d/wk left.<sup>45</sup> So, Mr. Smith spent about 7d/wk on beer, which is maybe two quarts. Mrs. Smith only had enough left to buy a pint, possibly. Once again, evidence illustrates working-class families cannot afford to spend much on alcohol due to their lack of funds.

Other than family budget reports, autobiographies and interviews have been published concerning working-class life in England during the 1890s. From these texts come similar practices of working-class alcohol habits—responsible and moderate drinking. In the following examples some fathers and/or husbands seem to have drunk more than those in budget studies; however, what is written by these firsthand accounts reveals only innocent expenditure and consumption.

In one household, one woman stated that she and her husband brought in 35s/wk, or about £1: 15s. With that money, she saved 7s. This left 28s to pay for food, sundries, etc., which was plenty enough, she said, for the two of them. Seeing that the pubs were too attractive for her husband, she had a quart of beer at home every night for her husband and friends to enjoy.<sup>46</sup> If she brought home a quart of beer seven days a week, this would cost her 28d/wk, or approximately 2s: 4d out of the 35s/wk that she and her husband brought in each week.

Furthermore, there are two examples of autobiographies where the father's would drink, but not immoderately. Faith Dorothy Osgerby said one thing she did not inherit from her father was the love of drink. On cold days he would warm his milk with rum. Sometimes her father would not come for dinner and he had to be sent for at the neighborhood pub.<sup>47</sup> Although this may seem like a questionable act by her father, her autobiography did not state he indulged irresponsibly. She seemed to love her father and her family lived happily and well for a working-class family. Nowhere in her autobiography did Faith complain about their living standards. A similar situation occurred with Jack Lanigan's father. Every morning Jack's father needed a pint of beer with breakfast. Jack and his brother would take turns running the errand.<sup>48</sup> Jack, though, never complained about his father abusing beer nor did he complain

about his childhood as a working-class youth. The Lanigans incurred hard times, however, when Jack's father passed away. The cause was not alcohol. Jack, his brother, and his mother struggled for some time trying to make ends meet.

In accordance with *Family Budgets*, those families that made more money, usually over a pound and a half a week, spent the highest percentage on alcohol.<sup>49</sup> In Rowntree's study, those making over 30s/wk, the skilled laborers for the most part, spent much more on alcohol than those in other categories.<sup>50</sup> Just to reiterate the point, according to a Select Committee of Parliament, the most well paid workers, the artisans, could drink more because they could afford to do so.<sup>51</sup> Although these well-paid workers might have drunk more, there is no evidence that suggests these people spent the majority of their income on this activity.

But these more prosperous working-class citizens, as well as the others, in Edwardian England who chose to drink did so for reasons that have been the same for years: to socialize and to escape.<sup>52</sup> In order to socialize and escape, the working-class found no better venue than local pubs and inns. The working-class citizens were attracted because beer "... was associated with manliness and virility, and in its principal locus, the public house, with conviviality, good fellowship, class, and occupational identity."<sup>53</sup> Although alcohol was one attraction of the pubs, other enticements provided the working-class a place to relax and socialize.

First, pubs were the focal points of local news and gossip. Instead of meeting at each other's houses, home would extend into the pubs.<sup>54</sup> Secondly, bars all over England were being remodeled during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The bars that remodeled or were rebuilt became more eye-catching to pub attendants.<sup>55</sup> Saloons with billiards, fine furnishings, carpets, and wallpaper provided, to say the least, a delightful environment for socializing. Furthermore, the ways the bars were designed with their warm and welcoming color of "pitch-pine boarding offered a remarkably sympathetic atmosphere to drink."<sup>56</sup> Many of the pubs also offered banquet rooms that served as meeting rooms for Trade Unions,

Football Clubs, etc. According to Rowntree, the demand for these rooms during the 1890s was still immense.<sup>57</sup>

Since these pubs provided a nice, roomy, and clean atmosphere to socialize, there is little wonder why many working-class citizens spent their time there. Working-class houses still remained very small and very squalid in appearance. For example, one family of five people lived in a two-room abode. The large living room served as the parents' bedroom while the two boys sleep in the backroom. The little girl sleeps in the living room with her parents. Furniture is very scanty in this particular house.<sup>58</sup> In Higgs' study, the average rooms per family were only 2.8.<sup>59</sup> In these cramped conditions, working-class adults needed to leave the house once in a while in order to free themselves from the tight living quarters.

Another attraction was the lunch specials some pubs offered. One example of a lunch special would be potato pie, cheese, pickles, thick twist tobacco, and a pint of beer.<sup>60</sup> To make life easier on the tired working-class, some pubs would cook meat that customers would bring in from their local butchers.<sup>61</sup> This made the pub evermore attractive since after a long workday, both by the mother at home and the father at his employer, many working-class citizens might not have felt like cooking.

Although it seems that many working-class citizens attended pubs for drinking and other social activities, research suggests that little, if any, drunkenness occurred. First, in one workingmen's club, members spent £5: 8s: 10d a year on beer.<sup>62</sup> Over the course of a year, this works out to about eight pints each week, or a little over 1s/wk in expenses—hardly immoderate. This amount certainly does not suggest drunkenness. And even though Charles Booth suggested that a quarter of working-class budgets were spent on alcohol,<sup>63</sup> he remarked that drunkenness had decreased. He continued to say that the pub has remained the focal point of working-class life.<sup>64</sup> Speaking about the 1890s, Allen Clarke stated, "I am glad to say there is not quite as much drunkenness . . . as there was twenty years ago."<sup>65</sup> This reveals that the 1890s in England experienced much more temperance than the immoderate state during the 1870s.

Besides the pubs and clubs, society offered little for working-class recreational activities and social diversions. During the mid to late nineteenth century, most of the leisure activities were created by and for the upper classes.<sup>66</sup> Although other activities did emerge, such as parks, museums, exhibitions, public libraries, and local churches, these attempts by the upper classes at reforming working-class social activities failed.<sup>67</sup> One working-class husband and father refused to take his family to a museum. He had never been to one even though he grew up in London. He feared his family would be looked down on because of their inferior dress. Instead, this gentleman found pleasure just by staying at home helping out around the house or entertaining their children. He played the flute for the children—he finds great pleasure in doing this. Then, when he left the house for leisure, he ventured over to his brother's house where they engaged themselves in dominos.<sup>68</sup> Sunday seemed to be the dullest day for the workingman. Instead of involving themselves in social activities, some men would stay in bed all day and all night until the Monday workday dawned.<sup>69</sup>

Since pub attendance rose due to the lack of other leisure activities for the working-class, many middle class citizens began to form prohibition movements. Although the research shows the working class drank moderately and spent only a slight portion of their budget on this leisure activity, many upper class citizens saw this "drink problem" as a serious threat to England. Many working-class citizens did not buy into this propaganda, however. Because the working-class as a whole refused to take part in this movement, many upper class citizens, and, consequently, social investigators, concluded they indulged in alcohol. This conclusion, however, is unconvincing.

Anti-drink enthusiasm was so strong throughout some areas, especially in northern England, that there were very few towns that were not without a temperance council pushing for a reduction in licenses.<sup>70</sup> One group at the head of the temperance movement, the teetotalers, believed in complete abstinence from any alcoholic drink. Though it has been stated that some working-class families did not spend one pence on alcohol, there were many that drank occasionally, such as at lunch or at dinner.

Complete abstinence for many working-class workers was unlikely, especially since the pub remained one place where they could enjoy some socialization.

Overall, the teetotalers' movement did not attract or please the working-class because of their "pro-employer" stance. Throughout the nineteenth century, workers struggled with employers for shorter hours and higher wages. Since these teetotalers, in the workers' minds, were fighting on the employers' sides, wages did not significantly increase because the teetotalers were lobbying against it.<sup>71</sup> In addition, the teetotalers refused to admit that there was actually something wrong with the laissez-faire economic system and blamed trade depressions on drink. For these teetotalers, blaming drink was an easy way out to explain social and economic problems.<sup>72</sup>

The Church of England also took part in this temperance movement during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Named the Church of England Temperance Society (CETS), they mostly drove for alcohol moderation instead of total abstinence. It is not surprising that the CETS ran into trouble with total abstinence groups. The CETS also supported the opening of off-licensed shops on Sundays for a couple hours. This way, the CETS said, if people wanted to have a drink with their Sunday dinners and suppers, they should have the facilities to purchase the alcohol.<sup>73</sup>

Toward the end of the century, groups were separated into either the chapel or pub category. The chapel turned into a hostile place even for the moderate drinker. Therefore, for many working-class citizens, the chapel offered a place of resentment toward their lifestyle. Thus, many citizens who did not take the side of the chapel were considered defenders of evil. In the final years of the century there was little mixing between the two groups.<sup>74</sup>

The temperance movement brought about much hostility over alcohol consumption. The views of the teetotalers and chapel groups and the propaganda spread throughout the years made it seem that if someone drank, they were on the side of the devil. It also made the working-class seem immoral and irresponsible. So not only were social investigators making inaccurate estimates on working-class

consumption of and expenditure on alcohol, temperance movements gave alcohol an infamous reputation, even in moderation.

Because of the temperance movement's characteristics, it probably did little to sway those in the working-class who drank. Of course, as the research suggests, little propaganda was needed because of the families' lack of income and also various other expenses they needed to pick up.

Another factor that would keep the working-class away from alcohol is the amount of hours they worked each week. Although working hours decreased in the late nineteenth century, the decrease was not very significant. In some workplaces, the fifty-four hour workweek began to emerge, but for many professions, only a minimal cut in hours occurred. For instance, shop assistants often worked eighty to ninety hours per week. Agricultural laborers also toiled varying hours.<sup>75</sup> In different industrial areas, hours ranged from fifty hours per week to over sixty. Data suggest that most people worked between fifty-two and fifty-eight hours.<sup>76</sup> From 1850 to 1890, the decrease in hours was gradual and a significant decline did not happen in England until the 1920s. A point of interest, however, is that the biggest decrease in hours occurred between 1870 and 1880, the height of alcohol consumption.<sup>77</sup> During the 1890s, however, hours did not decrease substantially. The working-class still toiled many hours per week in this decade. The 1890s left the working-class very little time or energy to spend in drinking customs or any other social activity.

The estimations of data drawn in these secondary sources reflect that of family budget studies. In one example, "The husband is engaged from 9am till 6pm daily; Saturdays 9am till 3pm at the dispensary; and occasionally does a little work after dispensary hours for the doctors at 1s per hour."<sup>78</sup> As a woodsman, one particular man worked six days a week from 8am to 6pm. From time to time he also repairs clocks and watches during the late evening hours.<sup>79</sup> In another family, the husband works as a slipper maker and labors for eighty to eighty-four hours a week.<sup>80</sup> Lastly, one husband and father works as a plumber for about fifty-three to fifty-six and half hours per

week. Sometimes he cannot find enough work so he does various other odd jobs, such as paper hanging in homes or working as a porter in auction rooms.<sup>81</sup>

As seen here, depending on the trade, the working-class worked varying hours. In addition, it should be noted that along with the chief wage earner's job, income is brought in some other way, either by the wage earner himself or by his wife. This reiterates the point that many working-class citizens worked extra hours. In addition, it also supports the fact that many of these working-class families needed the extra money in order to live comfortably.

In a study titled, *Local Wage Variations*, varying trades were examined to see the amount of money each made and also the amount of hours per week these laborers worked. In this particular study, work hours for various trades seem to be lower than that of the previous ones mentioned. However, their workweek is still rather long. The following professions were charted over various towns across England. The average hours per week have been adjusted to fit the different hours worked during the summer and winter months.

- Plasterers, information collected from eight towns, 50hrs/wk<sup>82</sup>
- Painters, information collected from six towns, 54hrs/wk<sup>83</sup>
- Carpenters, information collected from nine towns, 50.6hrs/wk<sup>84</sup>
- Plumbers, information collected from eight towns, 51hrs/wk<sup>85</sup>
- Stonemasons, information collected from seven towns, 48.75hrs/wk<sup>86</sup>
- Bricklayers, information collected from seven towns, 51.4hrs/wk<sup>87</sup>

These hours serve as the normal workweek for these respected professions. In many cases these particular trades also work overtime, therefore further extending their workweek. This study reinforces the fact that many working-class citizens do not have the time, or energy, to participate in drinking customs.

In another example, the principal wage earner worked in a pottery factor from 7am to 6pm. From his earnings, according to his child's autobiography, the father considered them of the high working-class strata. But in addition to

his regular job, he took on a part-time job figuring the assurance book with the Royal Oak Society. He also took the title as the Collector of Dispensary for a local doctor. His father performed these duties because he insisted he needed something to do with his spare time.<sup>88</sup> In this case, the wage earner took on other jobs as his "leisure activity," and did not spend it drinking or at the pubs.

While working-class husbands and fathers worked long hours in their respected trades, many would not venture to the pubs for drinking or socialization, but would come home to finish up some work around the house. Often, men of the working-class have been characterized as bad husbands and fathers. This generalization, M. Loane points out, is only true for a minority of the population.<sup>89</sup> Though the reasons why working-class men might be characterized like this are not given, Allen Clarke gives one related to the pub atmosphere. He states many times the attraction to the pubs will provide for a lonely and stressful home life for the wife. The wife would stay at home for most of the day, cleaning the house, taking care of the kids, and in some cases, holding down a part-time job. Needless to say, she would be as tired or more tired than the father. But sometimes he would come home from work, see that everything was in order, and then head out to the pub.<sup>90</sup> In Loane's observations, however, a working-class father would spend his half-day off at the washtub or finish up his day's work cleaning around the house. Some husbands, she says, pick up some thread and a needle to help out.<sup>91</sup>

It has been displayed clearly that the working-class in England did not indulge in alcohol like many of the social investigators had stated. Budget studies, working hours, and temperance analysis revealed that many lacked the money, time, and/or will to drink themselves into inebriation. Furthermore, convictions for drunkenness, as reported by the British House of Commons, actually declined as the 1890s progressed. In comparison with some report samples from the 1870s, clearly less drunkenness occurred during the 1890s. When analyzing these reports on drunkenness convictions, four different geographic areas were examined. The following statistics and analyses

come from rural towns, port towns, mining communities, and large cities. The characterized communities are separated as follows:

**Rural:** Rutland, Sussex

**Mining:** Gloucester, Somerset

**Large City:** London (Metropolitan Police District-MPD and City Ordinance), Liverpool

**Port Towns:** South Shields, Sunderland, Great Grimsby

Percent of Population Charged with Drunkenness

Year	Rutland	Sussex	S. Shields	Sunderland	G. Grimsby
1889	0.15%	0.35%	2%	1.10%	2.60%
1890	0.09%	0.24%	2%	0.90%	2%
1891	0.13%	0.25%	1.70%	0.80%	1.70%
1892	0.15%	0.30%	2.70%	0.60%	1.40%
1893	0.14%	0.25%	1%	0.65%	1.10%
1894	0.06%	0.27%	1%	0.70%	1.20%
1895	0.09%	0.27%	1.10%	0.68%	1.10%
July 1871-72	0.90%	0.90%	5.40%	2.50%	6.10%

Table 1

Year	Liverpool	London-City	London-MPD	Somerset	Gloucester
1889	3%	1.10%	0.40%	0.20%	0.80%
1890	2.40%	1.50%	0.40%	0.25%	0.80%
1891	1.80%	1.20%	0.40%	0.25%	0.90%
1892	1.60%	1.40%	0.40%	0.20%	0.20%
1893	1.40%	1.20%	0.45%	0.20%	0.27%
1894	0.80%	1.30%	0.50%	0.20%	0.20%
1895	0.80%	1.60%	0.50%	0.18%	0.16%
July 1871-72	7%	N/A	12%	1.10%	0.90%

Table 2

*The calculations in tables one and two were taken from House of Commons reports presented during the years of 1873 and then 1890-1895. See the bibliography for further documentation on these reports.*

When examining individual municipalities, the percentage of the population convicted for drunkenness is the important statistic, not the number of convictions. Obviously, London will have a higher number of convictions than some rural town because its population will be substantially larger. Another important fact is that the population recorded in 1890 will be the same reported population in 1894 because England's census is taken every ten years. The importance of this fact is that from 1801 to 1901, England's population grew 365%, from 6,893,000 to 32,528,000.<sup>92</sup> As will be seen, the

number of drunkenness convictions will slightly fall as the years proceed. England's population is still growing at this point; therefore, the percentage will actually be slightly higher than if the actual population from the current year was used. According to the reports, and also displayed in "Table 1" and "Table 2," drunkenness declined in some towns while it stayed relatively constant in the others.

The examination of these drunkenness reports show the whole nation of England did not have as many drunkenness convictions as the 1890s progressed. However, what does this mean for the working-class? If they actually purchased and drank the majority of the alcohol during the 1890s, this means they drank moderately, not immoderately, due to the fact less drunkenness occurred. But as the budget reports show, it is highly unlikely they spent very much on alcohol anyways. So when one social investigator stated that, "In our town there are hundreds of families, the head or heads, of which indulge, not moderately, but immoderately in drink,"<sup>93</sup> one should deeply question the meaning of indulgence. Also, the type of town chosen, rural, urban, etc., really showed no significant evidence whether the amount of drunkenness depended on how much the working-class consumed. In addition, how did the law enforcement officials charge someone with being drunk? What was the evidence?

For over one hundred years now the social investigators' statements and conclusions about the working-class and their alcohol consumption habits have plagued modern British history. The copious amount of evidence put forth suggests that the working-class drank moderately, and, in some cases, did not drink at all, while the social investigators concluded immoderate drinking habits and high proportion budget spending on alcohol. As M.S. Reeves states, "Drink is an accusation fatally easy to throw about," which is done often by the upper classes.<sup>94</sup> Despite the fact that these social historians, such as Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree, are respected for their research and are continuously cited for studies conducted about late nineteenth-century English society, the solidity of their evidence remains in question.

It seems from the wording in their scholarly works that they might have been unsure about the facts of working-class alcohol habits. For instance, "Charles Booth *suggested* it was common for one-quarter of the working-class earnings to be spent on drink as did George Sims, while Seebhom Rowntree *accepted* one-sixth as a *reasonable estimate* for York."<sup>95</sup> Then, "In regard to the allocation of the total drink bill, Levi *considered* that the working-class purchased seventy-five percent of all beer and spirits and ten percent of all wine sold."<sup>96</sup> When family budgets are examined, there are definite contradictions concerning alcohol expenditure with the working-class. In addition, these investigators' research does not include any actual family budget information documenting these estimates. In *Family Budgets*, there are no admittances of indulgence of alcohol or extraordinary spending by these particular families. The suggestion of immoderation came from families in the study describing people that live around them spending money carelessly on alcohol.

In Rowntree's study of York, he recognized secondary poverty and its causes. He states that, "There can be but little doubt, however, that the predominant factor is drink. I have been unable to form any close estimate of the average sum spent weekly upon drink by working-class families in York, but a careful estimate has been made by others of the average sum expended weekly by working-class families throughout the United Kingdom."<sup>97</sup> Rowntree admits he has not obtained enough evidence, but others have, to make this *estimate* of working-class alcohol expenditure. Who are these other people? He never says. The estimation of 6s/wk spent on alcohol by the working-class came out of a portion of the national drink bill that "competent authorities" assigned.<sup>98</sup> Who are these competent authorities? Once again, Rowntree does not say.

When looking at the House of Commons drunkenness convictions, York resembles that of the other municipalities sampled. In 1890, the percentage of drunkenness convictions was .95%. Then as the years went on, the numbers gradually decreased. By 1894, the percentage of people convicted for drunkenness was down to

.66%.<sup>99</sup> And although Rowntree states the cause of secondary poverty is drink, the drunkenness convictions in York are low and as he observed many times, most people in the pubs are drinking, but not heavily.<sup>100</sup>

Along with lackluster evidence to support their arguments, there are some contradictions in these studies and scholarly works. Although Rowntree states that competent authorities have made these estimates of alcohol expenditure carefully, he states that the classification of those in secondary poverty is made largely by opinion.<sup>101</sup> Then in the book *Liquid Pleasures*, John Burnett writes that only the poorest women in the slum districts would be caught in a pub.<sup>102</sup> However, he writes later that public houses became more comfortable where even women could go and stay. Even "respectable" women now attended pubs. Finally, in one of Booth's studies, he observed many vagrants in the streets. He saw them as drunks, thieves, or loafers. According to Salvation Army statistics, though, a high proportion of these men and women were looking for work and were indeed morally decent people.<sup>103</sup> Not only does past evidence lack solidity of evidence, but in some cases contradict itself.

Even though the evidence supports working-class moderation, some questions cannot be answered, while others need to be raised to address the complexity of this issue of working-class alcohol expenditure. First, the reports of drunkenness made in these studies and in secondary sources come from people who saw their fellow neighbors or peers spending their money carelessly on alcohol and even saw them heavily intoxicated. The validity of these reports is questionable. On a less academic side of the argument, of those working-class citizens that drank moderately, was inebriation acceptable once in awhile?

Secondly, the highest drink rate reported in England during the nineteenth century occurred during the 1870s. The only decade that rivaled it with consumption per head, expenditure, and brewing output was the 1890s. So who was drinking the beer, wine, and spirits? Could it have been the upper classes? Or since these social investigators stated that the working-class took the brunt of the bill, was it the working-class? The evidence put forth states the

working-class could not support this drink bill; however, they could have carried a decent amount. Is it possible that the working-class drank, but did not drink themselves into poverty or drunkenness? Since there was little opportunity for other social and leisure activities, they participated in responsible drinking customs.

Finally, an obvious point, some working-class citizens indulged in alcohol and spent the majority of their budget on it. Nowhere in the world has there ever been a utopia where some class of people is one hundred percent morally perfect. However, those working-class people that did spend a high proportion of their budget on alcohol might not have been married or might not have had a family. In Rowntree's study, he observed that the company in pubs is almost entirely composed of young persons, youths and girls, sitting around the room chatting, drinking, and smoking.<sup>104</sup> Did this division of the working-class take the brunt of the bill? After all, these young persons had no direct familial obligations. And as stated before, those who drank in the working-class were better off economically in the first place.

The evidence displayed on working-class alcohol habits during this "Decade of Decadence" definitely portrays the working-class as a struggling class economically, but not because of drink. Examination of family budgets clearly shows the difficulty many working-class families experienced and that the purchasing occurred hardly at all. Further

examination of those budgets shows the working-class citizens who did spend money on alcohol did not purchase a significant amount. In addition, with the amount of hours many of these people worked, any leisure activity seemed only like a far-fetched dream. And even though some working-class citizens drank, they did so moderately according not only to the family budget examinations, but also according to declining drunkenness convictions' percentages. Although the evidence exhibited thus far is critical of past research and historiography, it is not newly discovered data. History is being written and rewritten everyday. New analyses, hypotheses, and research projects are surfacing everywhere. This subject on working-class alcohol habits during the 1890s has not been rediscovered. Those social investigators of the 1890s reported what they saw and diligently studied their reports. However, what was socially unacceptable during the 1890s now might be seen as an innocent social activity. The drinking activities carried out by the working-class might not have been seen as legitimate socialization, even in moderation. In the twenty-first century, these moderate drinking habits of the working-class seem harmless. The job of a historian is to look at a subject objectively and then find the truth. With these ample amounts of facts supporting the working-class responsible drinking habits, the truth is there, but needs to be examined differently than it has been over the last one hundred years.

### End Notes

<sup>1</sup> At the end of the nineteenth century, Western European nations, mainly France and England, began to decline as world powers in industry, trade, and colonization. With their decline saw the emergence of new powers such as the United States, Germany, Japan, and even China. The upper-class elites and government officials in Britain blamed their decline on breaking of social paradigms. These new attitudes such as homosexuality, new styles of art, drug use, and drinking were the brunt of the criticisms handed out by the upper classes.

<sup>2</sup> Standish Meacham, *A Life Apart: The English Working Class* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), 124. \*\* English money system during the 1890s: d= Penny, pence; s= shilling; £= Pound. Conversions: 12d= 1s; 20s= £1.

<sup>3</sup> B. Seebhom Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, 4th ed (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1902), 142.

\*\* Secondary Poverty occurs when a family's earnings would be sufficient for physical efficiency but wages are wasted by carelessness in spending, i.e. gambling, drinking, poor budget management, etc

<sup>4</sup> *Family Budgets: Being the Income and Expenses of Twenty-Eight British Households 1891-1894* (London: P.S. King and Son, 1896), 76.

<sup>5</sup> John Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures: a social history of drinks in modern Britain* (London: Rutledge, 1999), 126.

<sup>6</sup> Derek Oddy and Derek Miller, eds., *The Making of the Modern British Diet* (London: Croom Helm, 1976), 98.

<sup>7</sup> Mark Girouard, *Victorian Pubs* (London: Yale University Press, 1984), 63.

<sup>8</sup> Seeborn Rowntree and Arthur Sherwell, *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform*, 9th ed. (London: Judder and Stoughton, 1901), 139.

<sup>9</sup> Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, 128.

<sup>10</sup> John Burnett, *Plenty and Want: a social history of diet in England from 1815 to present* (London: Scolar Press, 1979), 151.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 169.

<sup>12</sup> F.W. Lawrence, *Local Variations in Wage* (New York: Longman's, Green, and Co., 1899), 18.

<sup>13</sup> *Family Budgets*, 31.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>15</sup> M. Loane, *From Their Point of View* (London: E. Arnold, 1908), Reprint (New York: Garland Publications, 1980), 248-255.

<sup>16</sup> *Family Budgets*, 51.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 39-40.

<sup>18</sup> Charles Booth, *Life and Labour* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902), 28.

<sup>19</sup> Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, 179.

<sup>20</sup> John Burnett, ed., *Destiny Obscure* (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 223.

<sup>21</sup> M.S. Reeves, *Round about a Pound a Week* (London: G. Bell, 1913), Reprint, (New York: Garland Publishing, 1984), 29.

<sup>22</sup> Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, 165.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

<sup>24</sup> Derek Oddy, "Working-Class Diets in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain" *Economic History Review* 23, no.2 (August 1970), 321.

\*\* Primary Poverty is simply not bringing in enough income to survive adequately.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 320.

<sup>26</sup> Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, 44.

<sup>27</sup> Oddy, "Working-Class Diets in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain," 319, 322.

<sup>28</sup> Henry Higgs, "Workmen's Budgets" *Journey of Royal Statistical Society*, 56, no.2 (June 1893), 259.

<sup>29</sup> Oddy, "Working-Class Diets in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain," 321.

<sup>30</sup> Allen Clarke, *The Effects of the Factory System* (London: Grant Richards, 1899), 53-4.

<sup>31</sup> Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, 120.

<sup>32</sup> *Family Budgets*, 25.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 38,39.

<sup>34</sup> M. Loane, 76.

<sup>35</sup> Bernard Waites, *Popular Culture: Past and Present* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), 106.

<sup>36</sup> Reeves, 9-10.

<sup>37</sup> Oddy, *Making of the Modern British Diet*, 120.

<sup>38</sup> Girouard, 4.

<sup>39</sup> Oddy, 120.

<sup>40</sup> *Family Budgets*, 75.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 27-8.

<sup>42</sup> Higgs, 279.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 280.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 283.

<sup>45</sup> Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, 55.

<sup>46</sup> Loane, 91.

<sup>47</sup> Faith Dorothy Osgerby, *My Memoirs*, unpublished autobiography, in *Destiny Obscure*, ed. John Burnett (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 91-2.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

<sup>49</sup> *Family Budgets*, 70.

<sup>50</sup> Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, 73.

<sup>51</sup> Oddy and Miller, 126.

<sup>52</sup> Meacham, 124.

<sup>53</sup> Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, 125.

<sup>54</sup> Burnett, *Destiny Obscure*, 226.

<sup>55</sup> Girouard, 87.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 74, 77.

<sup>57</sup> Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, 310.

<sup>58</sup> *Family Budgets*, 21.

<sup>59</sup> Higgs, 256.

<sup>60</sup> Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum: Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century* (London: Penguin, 1971), 112.

<sup>61</sup> Oddy and Miller, 162.

<sup>62</sup> Meacham, 123.

<sup>63</sup> Oddy and Miller, 120.

<sup>64</sup> M.A. Bienfeld, *Working Hours in British Industry: An Economic History* (London: Redwood Press, 1972), 101.



- <sup>65</sup> Clarke, 151.
- <sup>66</sup> John Benson, ed., *The Working Class in England 1875-1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 179.
- <sup>67</sup> Waites, 99-100.
- <sup>68</sup> *Family Budgets*, 21
- <sup>69</sup> Benson, 148.
- <sup>70</sup> Lilian Shiman Lewis, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 194.
- <sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 207.
- <sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.
- <sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 108-109.
- <sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 153, 156.
- <sup>75</sup> Benson, 135.
- <sup>76</sup> Bienfeld, 153.
- <sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.
- <sup>78</sup> *Family Budgets*, 27.
- <sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.
- <sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 29-30, 32.
- <sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.
- <sup>82</sup> Lawrence, 66.
- <sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 54
- <sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.
- <sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.
- <sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.
- <sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.
- <sup>88</sup> Albert Goodwin, *Autobiography*, unpublished autobiography, in *Destiny Obscure*, ed. John Burnett (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 283.
- <sup>89</sup> Loane, 25-6.
- <sup>90</sup> Clarke, 139.
- <sup>91</sup> Loane, 147-8.
- <sup>92</sup> H.A. Monckton, *History of the English Public House* (London: Bodley Head, 1969), 77.
- <sup>93</sup> Oddy and Miller, 227.
- <sup>94</sup> Reeves, 76.
- <sup>95</sup> Oddy and Miller, 120. \*\* Author of paper added italics in quote.
- <sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 120. \*\* Author of paper added italics in quote.
- <sup>97</sup> Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, 142.
- <sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.
- <sup>99</sup> House of Commons, 1890-1895.
- <sup>100</sup> Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, 311.
- <sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.
- <sup>102</sup> Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, 130.
- <sup>103</sup> Burnett, *Plenty and Want*, 206.
- <sup>104</sup> Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, 311.

### Works Cited

- Bailey, Peter. *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.
- Benson, John, ed. *The Working Class in England 1875-1914*. London: Croom Helm, 1985.
- Bienefeld, M.A. *Working Hours in British Industry: An Economic History*. London: Redwood Press, 1972.
- Booth, Charles. *Life and Labour*. London: Macmillian and Co., 1902.
- Burnett, John, ed. *Destiny Obscure*. New York: Penguin Books, 1984.
- Burnett, John. *Liquid Pleasures: a social history of drinks in modern Britain*. London: Rutledge, 1999.
- Burnett, John. *Plenty and Want: a social history of diet in England from 1845 to Present*. London: Scolar Press, 1979.
- Clarke, Allen. *The Effects of the Factory System*. London: Grant Richards, 1899.
- Family Budgets: Being the Income and Expenses of Twenty-Eight British Households 1891-1894. London: P.S. King and Son, 1896.
- Girouard, Mark. *Victorian Pubs*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1984.
- Higgs, Henry. "Workmen's Budgets." *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 56, no. 2 (June 1893): 255-294.
- Hunt, E.H. *Regional Wage Variations in Britain, 1850-1914*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973.

- Lawrence, F.W. *Local Variations in Wage*. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1899.
- Loane, M. *From Their Point of View*. London: E. Arnold, 1908. Reprint, New York: Garland Publications, 1980.
- Meacham, Standish. *A Life Apart: The English Working Class*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977.
- Monckton, H.A. *History of the English Public House*. London: Bodley Head, 1969.
- Oddy, Derek and Derek Miller, eds. *The Making of the Modern British Diet*. London: Croom Helm, 1976.
- Oddy, Derek J. "Working-Class Diets in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain." *Economic History Review* 23, no. 2 (August 1970), 314-323.
- Reeves, M.S. *Round about a Pound a Week*. London: G. Bell, 1913. Reprint, New York: Garland Publishing, 1984.
- Roberts, Robert. *The Classic Slum: Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century*. London: Penguin, 1971.
- Rowntree, B. Seebohm. *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Macmillian & Co., 1902.
- Rowntree, B. Seebohm and Arthur Sherwell. *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Judder and Stoughton, 1901.
- Shiman, Lilian Lewis. *Crusade against Drink in Victorian England*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988.
- United Kingdom. House of Commons. "Return for England and Wales of the Total Number of Drunkenness Convictions." *Sessional Papers, 1890*. Vol. 59.
- United Kingdom. House of Commons. "Return for England and Wales of the Total Number of Drunkenness Convictions." *Sessional Papers, 1890-1891*. Vol. 64.
- United Kingdom. House of Commons. "Return for England and Wales of the Total Number of Drunkenness Convictions." *Sessional Papers, 1892*. Vol. 65.
- United Kingdom. House of Commons. "Return for England and Wales of the Total Number of Drunkenness Convictions." *Sessional Papers, 1893-1894*. Vol. 74.
- United Kingdom. House of Commons. "Return for England and Wales of the Total Number of Drunkenness Convictions." *Sessional Papers, 1895*. Vol. 81.
- United Kingdom. House of Commons. "Return for England and Wales of the Total Number of Drunkenness Convictions." *Sessional Papers, 1896*. Vol. 69.
- United Kingdom. House of Commons. "Return of Convictions for Drunkenness for each County and Borough in England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland." *Sessional Papers, 1873*. Vol. 54.
- Waites, Bernard, ed., et al. *Popular Culture: Past and Present*. London: Croom Helm. 1982.

## Uchimura Kanzo: The Impact of America on His Christian Theology and Japanese Nationalism

*By Joshua Schnacke  
Wittenberg University Class of 2003*

Traditional Christianity was spread throughout the world by missionaries representing the established ecclesiastical organizations. All faiths, from Roman Catholicism through post-reformation Protestant denominations, actively proselytized their particular brand of Christianity. The Pacific rim countries of Korea, China, and Japan experienced the influence of missionaries.

However, after the Meiji Restoration, Japan also experienced a parallel and somewhat unique "Non-church" Christian movement which was led by the Japanese nationalist Uchimura Kanzo.

Uchimura is considered by many historians to be the most prominent Christian thinker of the Japanese Meiji era (1868-1912). He was converted to Christianity as a college student and came to the United States in 1884 to complete further college study. While in the United States, he was discouraged by the fact that America was not the "Christian country" he thought it would be. Increasingly he became disenchanted with what he viewed as the limitations and evils of America and its denominational Christianity.

Upon returning to Japan in 1888, he became one of the country's most prolific essayists and intellectuals, writing for both scholarly and popular audiences. He began a "non-church" movement in which he and his followers denied the validity of denominations. Not only was he an influential Christian, but his nationalistic views also exerted wide impact. Research has led me to believe that Uchimura's trip to the United States was the crucial element in his development as a Christian theologian and a Japanese nationalist. In order to look at his development as a Christian, we must examine his early life and Christian experiences. A question arises as to how a man raised in a non-Christian family could have become so devoutly

Christian. Furthermore, it is interesting to note how Uchimura was first introduced to Christianity, and what influence doctrine and denomination played in the formation of his early Christian views. Also intriguing is the circumstance and experience of Uchimura's study while in the United States. How did this experience influence his faith and nationalistic views?

Uchimura was born to parents Yoshiyuki and Yaso on 23 March 1861, the oldest of five children. His birth followed, by just seven years, the Meiji Restoration, which restored power to the emperor. The Restoration represented a dramatic change in Japanese society; for, during the preceding centuries, the country had been ruled by the samurai class and a shogun. In fact, the nation of Japan had not existed, rather the land had consisted of a series of separately ruled domains. Uchimura's grandfather had been a warrior samurai under the old system, an expert shot with both the bow and flintlock rifle.<sup>1</sup> Little information is available about Uchimura's mother except that it was said that she had a "mania for work" and that "her little home is her kingdom and she rules it, washes it, feeds it, as no queen has ever done."<sup>2</sup> We know that Uchimura's father, Yoshiyuki, was a samurai of low ranking status, but more refined and genteel than his grandfather. He was talented in both administration and poetry, embracing the Confucian belief system like many of his counterparts. Because of his father's beliefs, Confucianism became the first religion Uchimura experienced and embraced.<sup>3</sup>

Uchimura's father wanted his son to receive an education based on the Western model; since Japanese society was changing, he believed that one would need to be trained in the Western style. Uchimura was not alone in receiving a

western education. Many young men were sent overseas to study Western governmental, education, and banking systems. Trips such as the 1871 Iwakura Mission sent both men and women to the United States to study. Seeing this as the wave of the future, his father enrolled him in the Arima School in Tokyo at the age of twelve. Uchimura began his study of English at the age of thirteen when he was enrolled in the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, and in 1876, at the age 16, he entered the Sapporo Agriculture College.

Sapporo Agriculture College was located on the northern Japanese island of Hokkaido, an area which the government was trying to develop agriculturally. The college was established in 1875 and the Japanese government brought in advisors from America to help the administration of the university. The primary advisor, William S. Clark, was president of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, located in Amherst. Clark was a devout member of the Congregational Church, and when he agreed to go to Japan he took along several English language Bibles, intending to spread his Christian faith.<sup>4</sup> He had a confrontation with the president of Sapporo College on his way to Japan about his right to teach Christianity to the students. A concession was made which allowed Clark to conduct a regular Bible study at the college. Although he only remained in Japan for eight months, Clark was profoundly influential with his students. This is evidenced by the fact that all of the first year students at the college converted to Christianity.

Uchimura entered Sapporo the year after Clark returned to America. The historian Hiroshi Miura points out that Uchimura enrolled in the school partially because of the stipend paid to him by the government, which he used to help his struggling family. Though a member of the samurai class, the family had suffered, like many others, when in 1876 the government abolished this class. Uchimura describes his first exposure to Christianity with both curiosity and humor. "Sunday after Sunday I resorted to this place, not knowing the awful consequence that was to follow such a practice. An old English lady from whom I learned my first lessons in English took a great delight in my church-going,

unaware of the fact that sight-seeing, and not truth-seeking, was the only view I had in my 'Sunday excursion to the settlement' as I called it."<sup>5</sup>

Clark's original students made it their mission to convert all incoming students in Uchimura's class to Christianity.<sup>6</sup> Uchimura, adhering to his father's Confucian upbringing, lead the resistance against the conversion. In his autobiography, Uchimura describes his "conversion after coercion" as approaching harassment from the elder students. He stated, "So, you see, my first step toward Christianity was a forced one, against my will, and I must confess, somewhat against my conscience too."<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, after Uchimura's 1877 conversion to Christianity, he began a conscientious study and immersion into his new found faith. He was one of seven classmates who began their own Christian meetings and dormitory study. The group came to be known as the "Brotherhood of Seven." His new Christian fervor grew during the next five years.

In July 1881, Uchimura graduated first in his class from the Sapporo College. The seven students decided to open their own church in Sapporo and first approached the Reverend Denning, an Anglican missionary, for the necessary financial support. Their request was denied because there was already an Anglican church in the community. Undeterred, the students next approached the Rev. J. C. Davison, a Methodist Episcopal missionary. He did offer to support the effort to build a new church, but the students and Davison soon came to a difference of opinion over the students' determination to keep their church independent of Methodism. Because of this difference, the students accepted the money, not as a gift, but as a loan, vowing to pay it back as quickly as possible. In his diary, Uchimura wrote, "We felt for the first time in our Christian experience the evils of denominationalism."<sup>8</sup>

During the summer of 1881, a few other significant events occurred. For one, Uchimura studied the structure of some Christian churches to insure that the recently founded Sapporo church would have a proper foundation. Second, with the graduation stipend he received from the government, he bought a series of books about Christianity. The books, written in

Chinese by a German missionary, acted as the foundation of his father's Christian conversion.<sup>9</sup> Uchimura returned to Tokyo for a short time to visit his family and to engage in missionary work. In the fall, however, he returned to Sapporo along with the other members of his graduating class to assume their government jobs; but after less than two years of government service, Uchimura resigned from his position and moved back to Tokyo. While attending a conference on Japanese Christianity, as a representative of his home church in Sapporo, he met a young girl, Takeko Asada. By his own choice he asked her to marry, a custom uncommon in Japan at that time.<sup>10</sup> The marriage, against his parents' will, proved to be a disaster and ended within six months of its inception. His Sapporo church said the divorce was "against the teaching of the Bible, and therefore that Uchimura was a 'heretic.'" <sup>11</sup> Japanese historian, Massaike, believes these accusations made Uchimura distance himself from the church and indirectly contributed to his stand on *mukyokai-shugi* (Non-churchism) in later years.<sup>12</sup>

Because of the isolation from his church and his inability to find an acceptable profession, Uchimura decided to study in America and London. He sold all of his belongings in order to finance his trip and set sail for the "Christian Country." Uchimura envisioned America as a place "where Christianity having had undisputed power and influence for hundreds of years, must, I imagined, be found Peace and Joy in a measure inconceivable to us of heathen extraction."<sup>13</sup> He thought of America as a "holy land." "My idea of the Christian America was lofty, religious, Puritanic. I dreamed of its templed hills, and rocks that rang with hymns and praise. Hebraisms, I thought, to be the prevailing speech of the American commonality, and cherub and cherubim, hallelujahs and amens, the common language of its streets."<sup>14</sup>

Uchimura arrived in San Francisco in November 1884 and immediately began to experience disappointment. He heard cursing and profanity in everyday conversations, a practice he had been taught was a sin. Someone on the ship stole many of his possessions, again a practice Uchimura believed disregarded God's laws. He had not expected

American Christians to behave in this manner. On the trip from San Francisco, Uchimura spent a day in Chicago with a Methodist minister talking about his plans for spreading the word of God in Japan. When it came time to leave for the train station, the minister sent one of his deacons<sup>15</sup> to help with the baggage. Uchimura recalls in his biography the time at the train station.

With courtesy and many thanks we extended our hands to take our goods to ourselves, to which our Methodist deacon objected; but stretching forth his dusky hand toward us, said "Jist gib me somding." He had our valises in his custody, and only "somding" could recover them from his hands. Then engine-bell was ringing; it was not time to argue with him. Each of us dropped a 50-cent piece into his hand, our things were transferred to us, to a coach we hastened, and as the train began to move, we looked to each other in amazement, and said, "Even charity is bartered here." Since then we never have trusted in the kind words of black deacons.<sup>16</sup>

Uchimura observed racism against blacks and Orientals. He and his fellow Japanese students were often stereotyped as Chinese. These incidents led to some of his nationalistic views on Japan. He felt that America was a hypocritical society and came to believe that America espoused Christian virtues and ethics while there was a distinct evilness rooted in the society. He writes, "One thing I shall never do in future: I shall never defend Christianity upon its being the religion of Europe and America."<sup>17</sup> He writes in his biography "O heaven, I am undone! I was deceived! I gave up what was really Peace for that which is no Peace!"<sup>18</sup>

The longer Uchimura was in America, the more his Japanese national views were rekindled. Only from the perspective of life abroad did he come to deeply appreciate his homeland. Uchimura quotes the Chinese sage, "he who stays in a mountain knows not the mountain." He goes on to say, "My views of my native land were extremely one-sided while I stayed in it."<sup>19</sup> His view of Japan became more lofty and nationalistic because of his time in the United States. In 1884, he worked in a hospital for mentally deficient children in Elwyn, Pennsylvania.<sup>20</sup> He disliked the work and was

subjected to some prejudice, being called a "Jap."<sup>21</sup> He was however befriended by Quakers and experienced their religious meetings and practices. Elements of the Quaker religion were later reflected in his Non-church movement.<sup>22</sup>

With a few letters of introduction, Uchimura began his study as a junior at Massachusetts Amherst College in September of 1885. He took classes in Church history, Greek, Hebrew, and Western history. He had difficulty understanding and disliked the study of philosophy. Most importantly, while at Amherst, Uchimura became friends with the president of the university, Julius Seelye, who profoundly influenced him by personalizing his belief in the saving grace of Jesus Christ. According to Jennings, Seelye called Uchimura into his office one day to talk. During the discussion, he posed this question to Uchimura "Why did he not stop looking within himself and look up to Christ who was crucified in redemption for his sins?" Uchimura said that this question "transformed him from an ineffectual and doubting student into a vibrant believer."<sup>23</sup> Uchimura graduated from Amherst in 1887.

After graduation he enrolled in the Hartford Theological Seminary. There are conflicting theories about his reason for entering the seminary. One is that he wanted to continue his study of church history, and another is that Uchimura actually wanted to become a minister.<sup>24</sup> Nonetheless, after four months Uchimura withdrew from the Seminary for health reasons. "Although he had chosen to become a clergyman as his divine vocation, he was therefore unable to complete the course of training required of clergyman in the institutionalized church. Ohyama suggests that this is the fundamental reason for Uchimura's Mukyokai-shugi (Non-churchism)."<sup>25</sup>

Upon Uchimura's return from America in 1888, several incidents revealed his new devotion to an independent Christianity. By the time of his return to Japan, the country had changed. The country had become more nationalistic and the constitution was about to be ratified. These changes made what happened to Uchimura in the coming years important to Japan as well as himself. He took a position as a

principal of a school north of Tokyo. However, he was there for only a short time because he became enmeshed in a controversy with Christian missionaries working at the school. The missionaries became upset when Uchimura brought in a Buddhist clergy member to help teach Japanese religious history. He resigned because he was upset that the missionaries did not want the true history of Japan to be taught. Shortly afterwards, Uchimura married a childhood friend and obtained a teaching position at the prestigious Daiichi Koto Chugakko. Again a controversy arose, this time over the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education. The Rescript included an oath to the emperor and Japan, which students said before each school day. In 1891, the school had its first reading of the document and Uchimura refused to bow to what he thought was a "heathen idol." The case became a national sensation and Uchimura lost his teaching position because of the behavior. Almost immediately he became very sick, and almost died. He recovered, and began to settle into writing the work which would occupy the rest of his life. Gradually, Uchimura became an influential essayist and journalist. Not only did he write about his beliefs and non-church theology, but also about a variety of topics of national interest. In 1897, he became an editor at the largest newspaper in Japan, *Yorozu Choho*. He held this position for several years until late 1903 when the journal came out in favor of going to war with Russia. Uchimura became disenchanted because he was against the killing of human beings which he considered a great sin. After leaving the newspaper, Uchimura started his own journal entitled, *Biblical Studies*, which was produced for thirty years.

Uchimura was the founder of the largest and most influential Non-church movement in Japan.<sup>26</sup> He was not trying to destroy conventional churches or say they were wrong in their beliefs. He simply felt that conventional churches did not always meet everyone's needs. The goal for his Non-church movement was to meet the needs of people that the traditional churches missed. Miura says of Uchimura's belief, "One man may be saved by joining the church, but another may be saved by leaving it. The important thing is to save people."<sup>27</sup> He

said that all of Earth's beauty was the church for the Non-church movement. Christians did not need traditional Western-based denominational support or church doctrine because nothing could match the beauty and order of the Japanese society. Ministers in the Non-church movement are not ordained and they do not receive a salary. It remains customary today, as it was with Uchimura himself, that they hold a separate profession and give their spare time to the ministry of Christ. Since there are neither national organizations nor buildings for people to gather in, meetings and worship services are held in private homes or rented buildings.<sup>28</sup>

Uchimura Kanzo left Japan in 1884 to find his "golden nation of Christendom" in America but ended up with a faith which alienated him from both Western missionaries and Japanese nationalists. He found true faith thanks to his teacher and mentors, but he also found in America a society where there was bigotry,

hypocrisy, sectarian Christianity, and sterile theology. In some ways Uchimura, while in America, returned to the Japanese samurai traditions of his father and grandfather and to a respect for value of Japanese culture. He never wavered from his Christian commitment professed in the Covenant of Believers in Jesus, signed in 1876.<sup>29</sup> He accepted Western-style Christianity but rejected the Western culture upon which sectarian Christianity rests. He wrote "I love two J's and no third; one is Jesus, and the other is Japan. I do not know which I love more, Jesus or Japan. I am hated by my countrymen for Jesus' sake . . . and I am disliked by foreign missionaries for Japan's sake as national and narrow."<sup>30</sup> His dual loves lead him to "fuse Christian evangelization with patriotic loyalty." This, according to historian Raymond Jennings, "resulted in isolation from both the main Christian group in Japan and politically powerful Japanese."<sup>31</sup>

### End Notes

<sup>1</sup>Uchimura Kanzo, *How I Became a Christian* (Tokyo: The Eihosha Ltd, 1977), 12.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 14.

<sup>3</sup>In 1881 Yoshiyuki Kanzo was converted to Christianity, four full years after his son's conversion.

<sup>4</sup>Sources differ on the actual number of Bibles. Some place it at 30 and others at 50.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 21.

<sup>6</sup>There were 29 people in his class.

<sup>7</sup>*The Complete Works of Kanzo Uchimura*, ed. Taijiro Yamamoto Yoichi Muto, vol.1, *How I Became A Christian Out of My Diary* (Tokyo: Kyobunkwan, 1971), 26.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 57.

<sup>9</sup>Five volume set, *Commentary on the Gospel of St. Mark*, by Faber

<sup>10</sup>Raymond P. Jennings, *Jesus Japan and Kanzo Uchimura: A Study of the View of the Church of Kanzo Uchimura and its Significance for Japanese Christianity* (Tokyo: Christian Literature Society, 1958), 19.

<sup>11</sup>Hiroshi Miura, *The Life and Thought of Kanzo Uchimura* (Grand Rapids, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996), 29.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Taijiro Yamamoto Yoichi Muto, 101.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 105.

<sup>15</sup>Whether the man was in fact a deacon has been questioned by other authors. Jennings reports him to be a waiter posing to be a deacon.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 109.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 119.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 118.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 121.

<sup>20</sup>The spelling of the city was recorded as both Elwyn and Elwin.

<sup>21</sup>Norimichi Ebizawa, ed., *Japanese Witnesses For Christ* (New York: Association Press, 1957), 56.

<sup>22</sup>Examples of the influence freedom of individuals to come to their beliefs leaderless meetings, and meetings in home.

<sup>23</sup>Raymond P. Jennings, *Jesus Japan and Kanzo Uchimura: A Study of the View of the Church of Kanzo Uchimura and its Significance for Japanese Christianity* (Tokyo: Christian Literature Society, 1958), 26-27.

<sup>24</sup>Miura, 33-34.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 34.

<sup>26</sup>His was not the only Non-church movement. Jennings identifies the Omi Brotherhood and Y.M.C.A./Y.W.C.A. as similar groups.

<sup>27</sup>Miura, 108.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>29</sup>Uchimura Kanzo, *How I Became a Christian* (Tokyo: The Eihosha Ltd, 1977), 24.

<sup>30</sup>Raymond P. Jennings, *Jesus Japan and Kanzo Uchimura: A Study of the View of the Church of Kanzo Uchimura and its Significance for Japanese Christianity* (Tokyo: Christian Literature Society, 1958), 1.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, 2.

### Works Cited

Uchimura Kanzo. *The Complete Works of Kanzo Uchimura*. Edited by Taijiro Yamamoto Yoichi Muto. Vol. 1, *Essays and Editorials*. Tokyo: Kyobunkwan, 1971.

Uchimura Kanzo. *How I Became A Christian*. Edited by Tsutomu Shigematsu and Kenji Nakajima. Tokyo: The Eihosha Ltd., 1977.

Ebizawa, Norimichi, ed. *Japanese Witnesses For Christ*. New York: Association Press, 1957.

Jennings, Raymond P., *Jesus Japan and Kanzo Uchimura: A Study of the View of the Church of Kanzo Uchimura and its Significance for Japanese Christianity*. Tokyo: Christian Literature Society, 1958.

Miura, Hiroshi, *The Life and Thought of Kanzo Uchimura*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996.



## Irish Romantic Nationalism and the German Motive

By Erica Fornari

Wittenberg University Class of 2004

On Monday, 24 April 1916 in Dublin, at 12:15 p.m., Patrick Pearse, the commander of the Irish rebel forces, led eight hundred men in a seizure of the Dublin Post Office and other government buildings in the city. Several hours later, the Irish Provisional Committee declared the independence of Ireland. In the Proclamation, the leaders of the Easter Rising stated that the "the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory."<sup>1</sup> The Irish leaders made it public that "allies in Europe" supported them and it was known that these "allies" were the Germans. But to what extent did the Germans really support the Irish?

The Proclamation affirms what evidence suggested on the eve of the Easter Rising. Before the Easter Rising, several interactions occurred between Irish nationalists and German diplomats to secure support for an Irish Rising against English rule. The Irish attempted to generate a battalion for Irish prisoners in Germany to fight on the western front, and they requested German arms and officers to assist the rebel cause in Ireland. To determine if the Germans acted in concordance with the widespread, nineteenth century European belief of self-determination of people and the right of those people to realize nationalistic ideas, the events of the Easter Rising became chief factors in exposing Germany's questionable motives for aiding the Irish in order to gain an advantage toward a victory in World War I.

To understand the source of the Anglo-Irish conflict, it is necessary to understand its long history, which dates back to 1155. In an attempt to bring order to Ireland, Pope Adrian

IV, the first English pope of Norman descent, granted lordship of Ireland to King Henry II. This reallocation of power from the Irish to the English was the beginning of hundreds of years of fighting and bloodshed between the Irish and the English in the Irish quest to regain independence. The first rebellion of the modern age occurred in 1798 when The Society of the United Irishmen, which evolved into several revolutionary and violent secret societies whose policies were like "a terror that walketh by night,"<sup>2</sup> rose against the English with the support of the French. The revolt was a disaster, however, because radical Irishmen in the United States misled the French into believing that Ireland was prepared and organized.<sup>3</sup>

The direct result of this revolt was The Act of Union in 1800 by Parliament, which supposedly marked the equality of Ireland in the United Kingdom. To keep Ireland in order and as part of their Empire, the English continued to issue acts and laws that attempted to keep the people of Ireland from revolutionary motives, such as the Unlawful Drilling Act of 1819 and the Peace Preservation Act of 1881.<sup>4</sup> The blatant disregard for these English laws, in addition to others, on the part of the Irish became increasingly evident as Irish nationalist activity dramatically increased until the start of World War I and continued, often times very publicly and without proper repercussions by the Irish Government, until the Rising in late April 1916.

The restrictive acts and laws led to the formation of two major types of nationalism: revolutionary and romantic. The revival of revolutionary nationalism came in 1848 as a series of revolts in response to the Great Famine. In 1858, James Stephens organized these rebels and the remnants of the Untied Irishmen into the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) and coined the term *Sinn Féin*. *Sinn Féin* refers to the

movement of Irish nationalism, or "ourselves,"<sup>5</sup> rather than a particular Irish association. In 1842, Thomas Davis, a Protestant, and two Catholics formed the Young Irelanders, an influential romantic nationalist group, which advocated the revival of distinctive and indigenous Irish culture by cultivating nationalistic symbols and the national spirit.<sup>6</sup> Eventually, the Irish Volunteers of 1914 would incorporate the romantic ideas of the Young Irelanders into their beliefs. The old IRB and the new Irish Volunteers adapted to the modern anti-British and antiwar recruitment by adopting a pro-German mentality. Both of these groups printed openly seditious material in Ireland and the U.S. This began with the weekly newspaper, the *Nation*, started by Thomas Davis in the 1840s, which attacked the "materialism of industrial and commercial England," and ignited parts of the population to new nationalistic feelings.<sup>7</sup>

The increasingly common pro-German feeling that existed among many Irishmen prompted seditious articles expressing Irish desires for a German-Irish alliance in case of a war between Germany and England to appear in several Irish-American newspapers between 1911 and 1914. According to Reinhard Doerries in his *Prelude to the Easter Rising*, although the Irish did not particularly wish for a German victory in World War I, they hoped that Germany would severely weaken Britain's colonial power. The Irish also believed that the war was forced upon the Germans and that they stood for "European Civilization at its best," as Sir Roger Casement, a major authority in the Easter Rising, termed it.<sup>8</sup> The mutual search for allies against Britain motivated both the Irish and the Germans to seek support from each other.

As the threat of war in Europe amplified during 1914, so did the Irish hope for a free and independent Irish nation. In Ireland, Irish nationalists saw the European War as an opportunity to take advantage of England's diverted attention in France. At the beginning of 1914, several antiwar pamphlets, posters and demonstrations in Ireland proposed that "Irishmen . . . should not fight for the freedom of others until Ireland itself was free."<sup>9</sup> It was the belief of Ireland's upper classes and

executive officers, that as long as all anti-British and antiwar feelings remained in the minority, nothing needed to be done to suppress the lawlessness of the Irish nationalists. Advanced rebel organization began to take root in September 1914 when the Irish Volunteers broke from the National Irish Volunteers because "[they] have been in communication with the authorities in Germany and were for a long time known to be supplied with money through Irish-American societies."<sup>10</sup> It also became public that the Irish Volunteers were cooperating with the Irish Citizen Army, a militant civil rights organization formed during the industrial strikes in 1913. As new nationalist groups began to form, the term *Sinn Fein* was reworked and used to describe the people who actively opposed the war and the recruitment of Irishmen for the British army and navy. Some of the prominent *Sinn Fein* leaders were men who were also involved with the Irish Volunteers; one such man was Sir Roger Casement, one of the twenty-eight founders of the new Irish Volunteers.

Casement, a former British diplomat and member of the Provisional Committee of the Irish Volunteers chiefly responsible for seeking German aid during the Easter Rising in 1916, lived outside Europe where he could devote his life work to exposing the atrocities committed against minorities, specifically in South America. When he became too ill to travel, as his work demanded, he turned toward his native Ireland and discovered the increasing conflict surrounding the Irish need for Home Rule from the English. The controversies in Ulster and the abuses of the Irish citizens by the English disturbed him, and the European politics in July 1914 appalled him. As the war approached, Casement sailed to the United States, in rather ill health, to lecture and raise funds so the Irish Volunteers could fight for their freedom.

Upon arriving, he was introduced to John Devoy, a successful propagandist, editor of *The Gaelic American*, and the influential Fenian leader of the Clan na Gael, a federation of clubs with strong influence in the U.S. In 1900, Devoy and Daniel Cohalan revived the Clan na Gael with the Feinian spirit. According to William Thompson in his *Imagination of an Insurrection*, John Devoy was less than impressed with

Casement and had little confidence in his negotiating abilities; however, Devoy promised support for Ireland.<sup>11</sup> Devoy became the chief agent in America for communications between Germany and the nationalists in Ireland and introduced Casement to a number of other influential members of the Clan na Gael, including Judge Daniel F. Cohalan, an American-born lawyer and New York machine politician who would also serve as an international contact for Casement.<sup>12</sup>

The first record of Irish-American talks with Germany date back to 1907 and since then, the Irish-Americans have "maintained a continuous attack on anything that might suggest Anglo-American friendship."<sup>13</sup> The first meeting after Casement's arrival in the United States occurred on 24 August 1914, when Irish representatives, through the Clan na Gael, met with German Ambassador Bernstorff to ask Germany to support the Irish by sending arms and officers to Ireland. At the meeting, "the Irish representatives quite clearly stated their purpose, namely to use the opportunity of the European war to overthrow British rule in Ireland."<sup>14</sup> To Berlin, Ambassador Bernstorff promoted the product of the meeting, which was the German declaration of support for the Irish, because he believed that since no reconciliation with England was probable, it would be beneficial to honor the Irish requests. Since Germany's generosity toward Ireland was second to her clashing Anglo-German relations, it became obvious that Germany was more concerned about her international image, especially in the U.S., than the nationalism and self-determination of peoples for which she claimed to be fighting in World War I.

In October 1914, Casement left the US for Germany in order to raise an Irish Brigade from the Irish prisoners of war in Germany to fight the English. After he arrived in Berlin, his initial view of the Germans was expressed in a transmission from the Foreign Office in Berlin, supervised by Secretary of State, Roger Zimmerman, to Justice David F. Cohalan that, "here everything is favorable: authority helping warmly,"<sup>15</sup> but the friendly sentiment that Casement encountered would not last long. Casement was unable to develop any close ties with the Germans because after his arrival he

noticed that the Germans had begun to realize their failing hopes of using the unrest in Ireland. Their main purpose was to tie down British troops in Ireland and to hinder British recruitment through the successful formation and publicity of an Irish Brigade in Germany.<sup>16</sup> In extremely poor health, Casement attempted to persuade Irish prisoners to fight against the English, but the poor conditions of the German prison camps created a widespread disdain for the Germans and hindered many Irish prisoners from cooperating with Casement and the Germans.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, in a failed attempt, Casement could only convince a few more than fifty men to join the proposed Irish Brigade, which the Germans repeatedly tried to send into Egypt to fight. Casement's usefulness to the Germans dissolved, however, when he insisted that the Irish Brigade would only fight for Irish nationality in Ireland or with the Germans against the English on the western front and not simply as shields for German soldiers.<sup>18</sup> Robert Monteith, the Irish Volunteer organizer sent to Germany to help recruit and lead the Irish prisoners, had marginal luck arranging the prisoners, but the prisoners' unenthusiastic attitudes prevented the skill and number of Irish Brigade from improving. After the obvious Irish failure at satisfying the German need, the Germans began taking steps to rid themselves of the Irish Brigade and Casement as quickly as possible.

Along with the failed idea of the Irish Brigade, Casement's grandiose idea of achieving monetary and material support, in the form of German arms and troops to Ireland, to help the Irish Volunteers also failed. He believed that the Irish Volunteers could not succeed without the help of at least 50,000 German troops, but "to expect that soldiers could slip through the tight British naval block was unrealistic . . . and no troops were sent."<sup>19</sup> The German disinclination to help the Irish became even more apparent in the early spring of 1915, and when Casement realized the complete failure of his attempts, he decided to return to Ireland to stop the insurrection. Unfortunately, his return to Ireland would not end with his desired outcome. Accompanied by Monteith, he left Germany in a submarine on 12 April after a delayed start. They made a submarine change on 15 April due

to mechanical failures, and they arrived at a bay at Kerry on 21 April. British officials, however, were ready and waiting to arrest Casement. Although Casement's mission was to return to Ireland to call off the insurrection, he readily admitted guilt and was eventually hanged in August 1916, a fate that might have been avoided providing a more solid communication among all the men involved. Devoy made many of the communication errors that would cripple Casement's return to Ireland and eventually haunt the failure of the Easter Rising.<sup>20</sup>

On 10 February, Devoy decided that he could not rely on Casement to secure support for the Rising. At the wishes of the Irish Republican Brotherhood in Ireland, he wrote a letter to Berlin explaining that "Our enemies cannot allow us much more time. The arrest of our leaders would hamper us severely."<sup>21</sup> He also requested that arms, munitions and officers be delivered to Limerick on 21 April or 22 April and that Casement should stay in Germany as "Ireland's accredited Representative."<sup>22</sup> On 4 March, the Germans responded by agreeing to send some arms but no officers to Tralee Bay, sometime between 20 April and 23 April because they still had hopes of distracting the English. Although this was less than Devoy had hoped, he accepted the offer and made arrangements to dispatch the *Aud*, which would pose as a Norwegian freighter and carry the arms to Tralee Bay on 23 April. When Casement discovered Devoy's betrayal, he tried to warn the leaders of the Rising in Ireland that the Easter Rising could not succeed. Casement was in favor of arms from Germany, but he also realized that a full scale rising as the Irish Volunteers were planning could not be accomplished without a strong military cover from Germany. His attempts to warn the Irish Volunteers also failed because the Germans prevented Casement's letters and messengers from reaching Ireland. The Germans need the Irish to create a distraction, which is why they still sent arms to Ireland after they realized the Irish could not satisfy their larger plans, and they could not allow anything to interfere with the Rising, especially Casement.

When the *Aud* arrived at Tralee Bay (some sources claim that it landed at the bay at Cork)<sup>23</sup> on 22 April, no rebels were present to intercept

the ship since the ship arrived a day early and the English quickly discovered it. Reinhard Doerries and the British Parliamentary Papers claim that the English sank the ship upon discovery, but William Thompson believes that the captain of the *Aud* sank the ship himself to prevent the arms aboard from falling into the hands of the English.<sup>24</sup> The discovery of the ship, however, does not seem to be just coincidence. As the ship departed for Ireland on either 17 April or 18 April, American officials seized Wolf von Igel's office at 60, Wall Street, New York. His office posed as an advertising agency but Germans and Irish-Americans used it for undercover operations. Official papers taken from the office proved relations between the Kaiser's representatives in the U.S. and the "Irish Plotters" that threatened the security of the US and Britain.<sup>25</sup> Alan Ward claims in his book, *The Easter Rising: Revolution and Irish Nationalism*, that although the U.S. discovered evidence of the future Irish Rising, the British Government already knew of the plot and had already captured Roger Casement and the *Aud*.<sup>26</sup> William Thompson, however, suggests the opposite by claiming that, "the German code had been cracked and a warning of the dispatch of the consignment had been sent to the Admiralty on April 17, 1916,"<sup>27</sup> by U.S. officials. Whether the U.S. provided the British with unknown information about the German ship or not, is irrelevant since the fact remains that the U.S. informed the British of Irish and German cooperation, which violated their neutrality.

In addition to the communication problems between Casement and Devoy and the U.S. and Britain, the leaders of the Rising could not even communicate amongst themselves. Consequently, the organization and the number of men needed on 24 April was not what it could have been. Patrick Pearse, another leader of the Irish Volunteers and commander of the rebel forces, planned the insurrection without notifying Eoin MacNeill, a leader of the Rising who urged the formation of the Irish Volunteers in 1913. MacNeill was violently opposed to the insurrection and vowed to do everything in his power to stop it without notifying the British. A week before Easter, however, the other leaders convinced MacNeill to rejoin the insurrection by presenting him with a forged document "that

outlined the British preparations to round up all nationalist leaders and suppress the Volunteers.<sup>28</sup> As soon as he heard of the sinking of the *Aud* and the capture of Casement on Easter Saturday, 23 April, MacNeill again gave Pearse and the other leaders the impression that he no longer wanted to fulfill his duties as Chief of Staff of the Volunteers. In accordance with this, and without informing the leaders, he made an announcement to the press countermanding the Easter parades, which were to be the beginning of the insurrection the following morning. The mistakes made by the Irish gave the Easter Rising its identity because they were part of the "romantic Fenian muddle...namely that [the Rising] had taken on a symbolic, not a military purpose; that it was not expected to succeed; that it was expected only to happen."<sup>29</sup>

Although the Rising was not successful, it inspired the people of Ireland to continue to fight against English Rule in 1919. Immediately following the Rising, however, the leaders condemned to death and the citizens active against English rule maintained a continued disillusionment that Germany had, in fact, tried all means available to help the Irish Volunteers fight for a break from English rule. The night before his execution, Patrick Pearse said "the help I expected from Germany failed; the British sunk the ships."<sup>30</sup> Pearse, like most of the leaders of the Easter Rising, believed to his dying moment, which was not long after the Rising, that the Germans were as helpful as they could have been.

Only Sir Roger Casement realized the German Government's failure to follow through on their promise to extend material support to the Irish Volunteers. He felt betrayed by Devoy, who went behind his back to negotiate with Germany, by the other leaders of the Irish Volunteers, who could not agree on the plans for the Rising, and by Germany, who backed away from supporting the Irish as the Easter Rising grew closer. In his diary, which he left to a close friend, he said "[Germany] want[s] to get rid of the whole thing at the cheapest cost to themselves . . . the German Government washes its hands of all responsibility."<sup>31</sup> Casement became increasingly aware of the fact that Germany was concerned solely with its

international appearance, especially to the U.S. The Germans only wanted to provide a little confrontation with England so they could say that they promoted Irish nationalism, and then they could become removed from the whole matter. This is evident through Germany's treatment of Casement, its unwillingness to send adequate aid to the Irish Volunteers, and its eventual lack of interest in the insurrection. No matter how involved Germany was with the Irish Volunteers, according to the English, "Germany plotted [the Rising], Germany organized it, Germany paid for it,"<sup>32</sup> and this shows an outside view on the conniving motives of the German involvement in the Easter Rising. Despite the fact that Casement was unable to reach Ireland, the Rising continued without Germany's help.

The Easter Rising that broke out on 24 April 1916, ended one week later with the surrender of the Irish Volunteers on 1 May 1916. The climax of the Rebellion was the seizure of the General Post Office in the initial attack on 24 April. All of the German cooperation for the Easter Rising was organized through the IRB in Ireland and the Clan na Gael in the U.S., including a German attack on England to distract the English from the attack in Dublin, which consisted of Zeppelin raids 24 and 25 April and a naval raid on 25 April. Because of miscommunication and confusion, the combined total of all Irish Volunteers that fought the week of the Rising was a pitiful 1,200 as opposed to the 16,000 men that belonged to the Irish Volunteers. By the end of the Easter Rising 450 people had been killed, 2,614 were wounded and fifteen men were sentenced to death. By Christmas, however, all the leaders of the Rising had been executed and interest in the Rising was lost. Therefore, all prisoners taken during the Rising were released.

The need for Germany to promote its self-image was much greater than maintaining its pledge to help the Irish fight for nationalism and because of this need it was probable that Germany would never fully supply the Irish. Germany's interest in its own image forced the sacrifices of the Easter Rising solely on the Irish. Every man who fought for Irish nationalism during Easter week knew he was sacrificing himself for Ireland. This feeling was part of a

Romantic Nationalist view held by the Irish Revolutionary leaders. While the leaders of the Rising, especially Pearse, were revolutionary in their approach to Home Rule, they held a romantic view of the Rising. They believed in the mystical vision of sacrifice and the idea that the revival of the Irish nation could only happen with the overthrow of English imperialism.<sup>33</sup> To them, war was an opportunity to make blood sacrifices. As Ward states, "Pearse did not anticipate a military victory in a rising. Indeed, a victory would come from not surviving. Pearse and his colleagues planned to sacrifice

themselves for Ireland and by their example, to inspire their countrymen."<sup>34</sup> As the leaders made their "blood sacrifices," they successfully inspired their compatriots to continue fighting for Home Rule, which eventually required independence from England, and they removed immediate attention from Germany's questionable motives and involvement. German intervention in Ireland during the Easter Rising proves that "nations have no friends, only interests," and, in the end, only Casement understood this principle.

### End Notes

<sup>1</sup> Sean Murray, *The Irish Revolt - 1916 and After* (London: Communist Party of Great Britain, [1936]), 2.

<sup>2</sup> George Dangerfield, *The Damnable Question: a study in Anglo-Irish Relations* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1976), 9.

<sup>3</sup> Alan Ward, *The Easter Rising: Revolution and Irish Nationalism* (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1980), 61.

<sup>4</sup> *The Irish Uprising 1914-1921: Papers from the British Parliamentary Archive* (London: The Stationery Office, 2000), 79-80.

<sup>5</sup> Dangerfield

<sup>6</sup> Ward, 56.

<sup>7</sup> Ward, 57.

<sup>8</sup> Reinhard R. Doerries, *Prelude to the Easter Rising: Sir Roger Casement in Imperial Germany* (London; Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2000), 4.

<sup>9</sup> Ward, 3.

<sup>10</sup> *The Irish Uprising, 1914-1921: papers from the British Parliamentary Archive* (London: The Stationery Office, 2000), 86.

<sup>11</sup> William Irwin Thompson, *The Imagination of an Insurrection, Dublin, Easter, 1916: a study of an ideological movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 92.

<sup>12</sup> Ward, 72.

<sup>13</sup> Ward, 68.

<sup>14</sup> Doerries, 3.

<sup>15</sup> *The Irish Uprising*, 36.

<sup>16</sup> Doerries, 12.

<sup>17</sup> Doerries, 12.

<sup>18</sup> *The Irish Uprising*, 45.

<sup>19</sup> Thompson, 92.

<sup>20</sup> For more information see Doerries, Thompson, and *The Irish Uprising*.

<sup>21</sup> *The Irish Uprising*, 55-56.

<sup>22</sup> Doerries, 17.

<sup>23</sup> Thompson, 93.

<sup>24</sup> Thompson, 93.

<sup>25</sup> *The Irish Uprising*, 62.

<sup>26</sup> Ward, 107.

<sup>27</sup> Thompson, 93.

<sup>28</sup> Thompson, 95.

<sup>29</sup> Dangerfield, 169.

<sup>30</sup> *The Irish Uprising*, 69.

<sup>31</sup> Dangerfield, 166.

<sup>32</sup> Ward, 10.

<sup>33</sup> Ward, 61.

<sup>34</sup> Ward, 103.

### Works Cited

- Dangerfield, George. *The Damnable Question: a study in Anglo-Irish relations*. Boston: Little and Brown, 1976.
- Doerries, Reinhard R. *Prelude to the Easter Rising: Sir Roger Casement in Imperial Germany*. London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2000.
- Irish Uprising, 1914-1921: Papers from the British Parliamentary Archive*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 2000.
- Murray, Sean. *The Irish Revolt-1916 and After*. London: Communist Party of Great Britain, [1936?].
- Thompson, William Irwin. *The Imagination of an Insurrection, Dublin, Easter, 1916: a study of an ideological movement*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Ward, Alan J. *The Easter Rising: Revolution and Irish Nationalism*. Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davison, Inc., 1980.

## The Battle of Blair Mountain: Remembering the Story That Got “Left Out”

by Kristen Baughman

Wittenberg University Class of 2002

Deep in the southern West Virginia coalfields, along the high ridges and steep valleys, trouble was brewing. Thousands of angry, armed men were gathering, getting ready to make their voices heard. They poured in by train, on foot-however they could get there-in support of their fellow miners that had dared to walk out and strike against their employers. This time, surely, they could not be ignored; this time, surely, they would succeed.

The scene described above did indeed take place in the southern West Virginia coalfields. The year was 1921 and these men were fighting to unionize their mines. This event, referred to as the Battle of Blair Mountain, is part of West Virginia's “mine wars,” a struggle that encompassed many different groups of people in several locations over the course of a decade. Unfortunately, it is a story that is often overlooked in the narrative of West Virginia state history. However, it is important for the people of the southern West Virginia coalfields to hear this story that gets “left out,” as it is a source of pride and an example of the courage it takes to make a stand against entrenched economic and social systems that provide for the interests of a select powerful few and overlook the needs of the masses.

According to an article by Michael M. Meador, during the Battle of Blair Mountain “as many as 15, 000 men were involved, an unknown number were killed or wounded, bombs were dropped, trains were stolen, stores were plundered, a county was invaded and another under siege. The President had to send in Federal troops, the United Mine Workers of America was fighting for its life . . .” In early 1981 the site of the Battle of Blair Mountain, located on West Virginia Route 17 between Blair and Ethel, was placed on the National Register of Historic Places, certifying that this was a

significant event in American history. However, this is one battle, in one war that is all too easily forgotten. Meador adds, “today, almost unbelievably, this war is nearly forgotten. There is not even a roadside marker to commemorate the mine war known variously as the Battle of Blair Mountain, the Miner’s March, or the Red Neck War.”<sup>1</sup> The fact that this story has been “left out” of the history books is a common theme among those few who do re-tell this story.

David Corbin, an author on the subject of West Virginia Mine Wars, compiled an anthology of primary sources collected from newspapers, magazines, and interviews, so that the story could be heard as the people of the time experienced it. In his introduction to this collection, Corbin comments on his motivation for making sure this story is heard:

“When we were told of the importance of West Virginia held in relation to the rest of the nation, we were not informed of the fact that our coal heated its homes, fueled its industries, and powered its battleships for decades. Nor were we told of the thousands of West Virginians who died getting that coal out of the ground. We were not told of the struggle these people underwent for safer working conditions and a better standard of living; that is the struggle for their union.”<sup>2</sup>

Clearly there was a gap in Corbin’s educational experience on the history of West Virginia and he wishes to make sure others are aware that these events took place. One could say that Corbin may have just had poor teachers, who merely skipped over this incident without much thought. However, the fact that his sentiment is echoed in so many other voices shows that this is most likely not the case. Many native West Virginians who discover this missing piece of their heritage later on in life feel betrayed by its



omission and feel that there are deeper causes behind its getting "left out" of the history books.

I first encountered the story of the West Virginia Mine Wars and the Battle of Blair Mountain in a college literature class. We read the novel *Storming Heaven* written in 1987 by Denise Giardina, which is a fictional account of the West Virginia mine wars. Although the storyline revolves around fictional characters and plot, it is a well-researched portrayal of the events going on the southern West Virginia and Eastern Kentucky coalfields in the early part of the twentieth century. A review of Giardina's novel, states that the author herself had grown up in the West Virginia coalfields and, "incredibly, she never heard the story of The Battle of Blair Mountain in her mandatory West Virginia history class in eighth grade, nor in her college-level class that was a prerequisite for a history degree."<sup>3</sup> Giardina has captured a great method of introducing the plight and struggles of the miners of southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky to the larger public. Historians and authors such as Corbin and Giardina, along with many others who are active in West Virginia heritage and politics, want the public not only to hear this story, but take it to heart and consider what it means to the larger picture of history and how it may even affect current issues in the state of West Virginia.

My second experience hearing about the West Virginia mine wars, specifically the Battle of Blair Mountain, occurred just this past summer on a trip to the West Virginia coalfields to collect some oral histories from people whose homes had been devastated by flooding. There we met activists working to stop mountaintop removal, the method by which many coal companies are now extracting coal from the mountains. This method is devastating to the environment and is a major factor exacerbating the floods. We spoke with Judy Bonds of the Coal River Mountain Watch, an activist group working to stop mountaintop removal, and Larry Gibson, a man who lives by himself atop Keyford Mountain protecting his property, worth over a million dollars an acre, from destruction by the coal companies who want to add it to their mountaintop removal area. Interestingly, both of these people made reference to the Battle of Blair Mountain in

conversations explaining the plight of the people living in the region. They felt it was very important to share this story with the group of people I was with, many out-of-staters, but also some West Virginia natives-most of who had never heard of it. Larry Gibson related:

My people are oppressed people . . . and they didn't get there by themselves. It took almost two hundred years to get these people to here. This is a testing ground for the coal companies, man, I'm gonna tell you something. Everything they tried in the coalfields, they tried it here first. I been raised in the coalfields all my life. They have little to no resistance here.<sup>4</sup>

Gibson was telling the story of the Battle of Blair Mountain because it was an example of those who did stand up to the system. They were people trapped by the practices of the coal companies who tried to resist them and make a change. In his eyes the people of the southern West Virginia coalfields are still trapped, and must look to their brave counterparts of the past as a model of grass roots power and strength.

This "story worth retelling," as Corbin states, "is not always a pretty one. It isn't always the happy story. But it is history-West Virginia's real history. It is a story of a people struggling for a better way of life."<sup>5</sup> Their way of life was an existence dominated by "King Coal." The struggle was a fight against the economic and social conditions they were forced to live under as a result of the power of the demand for that precious natural resource. Coal is found in fifty-three of the fifty-five counties in West Virginia. Approximately thirty-five of these counties have mined or are currently mining coal. An astounding estimate of the minable coal available in the state of West Virginia came to 117 billion tons when mining first began in this region in the nineteenth century. With about 100 billion tons remaining today, and at today's current rate of production, estimates show that five hundred years of coal production are left.<sup>6</sup> To a nation of consumers, especially during the period of heavy industrialization of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, West Virginia's abundant natural resources, most importantly its rich coal seams, made it a prime destination for those with the means to extract to them.

Thereby, the economic system of the state of West Virginia became virtually dependent on the production of coal. Under this system, the coal companies came to control almost every aspect of the miners' lives. They owned the land, the houses in which the miners lived, the stores from which the miners bought their goods, the schools that their children attended, and on and on. The coal companies devised ways to keep the miners perpetually tied to the company and their jobs. They would pay them in scrip, currency redeemable only at the company store. From that company store, they were made to buy or rent their own tools for extracting the company's coal, and to pay high prices for goods necessary for everyday living. The miners were paid by the ton for the amount of coal they produced and the companies often found ways to underpay the miners, such as through the use of inaccurate scales, a practice referred to as cribbing. Young boys were often employed, working just as hard and long as grown men. All the miners were in great physical danger while employed in the mines, either from immediate threats such as roof falls and explosions, or by long-term illness such as black lung disease. Living conditions in company towns and houses were often dirty, noisy, unsanitary, and generally sub-standard.

A September 1921 interview of an African-American man named George Echols, expressed some of these tactics used by the coal companies to cheat the workers as the reason he had gotten involved in the strike. He stated:

They promised to pay us by the ton but they don't do it. They promised according to whatever the coal is to pay us by the ton, and we want them to put it on the scales. All they do is say that is too much and we have to take it. We feel we want to give and take, and we want them to measure it for us, that is, weigh it, and we are paid whatever they like to pay us or feel like paying us, and they give it out at the office, they give us the balance. We pay for the lights and the fuel and then the supplies, and whatever they say at the office, they give us the balance. We always felt that we ought to have the coal weighed. I have loaded coal when I got \$1.25 a car, and if we had the scales there I would get as much as \$4.00 a car.<sup>7</sup>

George Echols was a union man, president of his local chapter, and according to him it was for this he was discharged from the mine, under the pretenses of many other excuses, of course. His sentiments were a common theme among the coal workers of this era—the tip of the iceberg of complaints against the coal companies. Telling of the severity of the miners' situation and their feelings of being trapped in a system from which there is no escape, he also stated, "there are some things that we can not stand for. I was raised a slave. My master and my mistress called me and I answered, and I know the time when I was a slave, and I felt just like we feel now."<sup>8</sup>

Many coal workers felt that one solution to this problem of maltreatment by the coal companies was to unionize. The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) formed on January 25, 1890 in Columbus, Ohio under the leadership of John Mitchell, first president, who worked to abolish child labor and establish an eight-hour workday. The UMWA achieved many of its goals between 1920-1960, including the aforementioned, along with national wage agreements and safety legislation, under the leadership of John L. Lewis. The first success of the UMWA in West Virginia came in 1902 when it received some recognition in the Kanawha-New River Coalfield. However, the response by the coal operators was to form the Kanawha County Coal Operators Association in 1903, hiring detectives from the Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency in Bluefield, WV. The job of these detectives was to harass union organizers. These company "thugs," as the detectives were often called, were much feared and hated by mine workers.<sup>9</sup> As Harold West reported to the *Baltimore Sun* in 1913, "No class of men on earth are more cordially hated by the miners than these same mine guards who are engaged to 'protect' them from annoyances by outsiders."<sup>10</sup> This hatred was escalated by their fondness for brutality. As West reports:

... a number [of guards] have been indicted for offenses ranging from common assault to murder. In every case, however, bail has been ready and it is rare that charges against them have been brought to trial. Some of these assault cases in which they

rarely has any serious trouble resulted for the guards.<sup>11</sup>

Due to the threats of these men, the UMWA had lost much ground in southern West Virginia by 1912, leading up to the first of the "mine wars" along Paint and Cabin Creeks. Miners along these two creeks got together and walked off the job on 18 April 1921 creating a list of demands that included:

The right to organize, recognition of their constitutional rights to free speech and assembly, an end to blacklisting union organizers, alternatives to company stores, an end to the practice of using mine guards, prohibition of cribbing, installation of scales at all mines for accurately weighing coal, unions be allowed to hire their own checkweighmen to make sure the companies' checkweighmen were not cheating the miners.<sup>12</sup>

Then began a strike that would last over a year, in which both sides committed acts of violence. Probably the most famous of these occurred on 7 February 1913 when the "Bull Moose Special," an armored train led by the sheriff of Kanawha County, Bonner Hill, and Quin Morton, a coal operator, made its way through a striker's tent colony at Holly Grove on Paint Creek. Mine guards riding the train opened fire, killing striker Cesco Estep. A battle lasting for several hours ensued as the miners, in retaliation, attacked a mine guard encampment, in which at least sixteen people were killed, most of whom were mine guards.<sup>13</sup> A ballad written by Walter Seacrist (one of many to write songs about this labor struggle), tells of the murder of Estep from the perspective of his now-fatherless child: "We were oh so happy. We were so wondrous blest. The Union issued a strike call. Dad came out with the rest. To better his condition, that he might not be a slave. That they might have a Union, and get a living wage."<sup>14</sup> Indeed the miners did feel like slaves to the coal companies, just as George Echols who had actually begun life as a real slave, attested to almost a decade after this song was written.

The struggle on Paint and Cabin Creeks lasted until July 1913. Some of the positive gains made by miners included the removal of Baldwin-Felts detectives from Paint and Cabin Creeks, the right to shop in stores other than

company stores, a nine-hour work day, and some others, yet they still did not achieve their goal of gaining the right to organize. This uprising created several leaders who figure prominently into later struggles of the mine wars including "Mother" Jones, an elderly woman who was an activist and vocal speaker for the UMWA, and Fred Mooney who became president of the UMWA District 17. Following these first violent strikes, things were relatively peaceful for the next six years; the coal boom created by World War I had raised wages. However, following the war in 1919 the country went into a recession and coal operators laid off miners and tried to reduce wages in order to cut costs. This led, once again, to unrest in the coalfields, especially in Logan and Mingo counties, the largest non-unionized coal region in the eastern United States.<sup>15</sup>

Wary of what had happened in the 1912-1913 strikes, coal operators in southern West Virginia had strengthened their means of resisting labor force unrest. They built up police forces with men supplied by the coal companies who would support and defend their wishes. As Heber Blankenhorn reported to *The Nation* in 1921, "It is public record that the recruits for the state constabulary were picked from lists provided by the coal operators."<sup>16</sup> In Logan County, Don Chafin was sheriff and was paid by coal companies to keep union organizers out of the region. He also hired deputies who would aid him in this task. Arthur Gleason reported in 1920:

The coal operators maintain on their payrolls public officials who preserve order, guard the company funds, and keep union men out of the county. The operators pay directly to the sheriff \$32,700 a year for this immunity from unionization. In addition most of them pay the individual armed guard salary. These agents of the company are deputy sheriffs, appointed by court. The insider who operates this system is Don Chafin, county clerk and running for sheriff.<sup>17</sup>

This is supported by a statement from J. M. Vest, president and manager of the Rum Creek Crollieries Company, "Our income is approximately \$100,000 a year. And of the money perhaps \$30,000 is contributed to the

sheriff for police protection.<sup>18</sup> According to Gleason's calculations, "Actually it is one-third of a cent on every ton [of coal] which the consuming public of America pays to Don Chafin."<sup>19</sup> Working against such strong forces as those amassed by Don Chafin, dissatisfied miners had a hard road ahead of them to make their voices heard.

The next major event of the mine wars took place in May 1920 at Matewan, West Virginia. Earlier that year operators lowered wages in the southern coalfields. To compound problems, the U.S. Coal Commission granted a wage increase to union miners, which excluded many miners in southwestern West Virginia. These non-union men struck in the spring of 1920. On 6 May 1920 Fred Mooney and Bill Blizzard, officials of the UMWA, gave a speech in Matewan to about 3,000 miners. About half of them joined and were promptly evicted from company owned houses on 19 May when Baldwin-Felts detectives arrived on the scene. The Matewan police chief, Sid Hatfield, encouraged the residents to arm themselves. When Albert and Lee Felts attempted to arrest Hatfield gunfire erupted, leaving seven detectives and four townspeople dead, including the mayor C.C. Testorman.<sup>20</sup> This event was made into the popular 1996 film *Matewan*, written and directed by John Sayles, which provides an accurate portrayal of what took place, as well as the fierce attitudes and hostilities that were held among those involved—hostilities that were only growing as unrest continued without solution.

Gleason's 1920 article, written after a visit to the West Virginia coalfields to assess the situation at Matewan, eerily foreshadows the events that were about to take place within the next year. He states, "The fight in Mingo [County, location of Matewan] is mild compared with that about to explode in Logan [County, location of Blair Mountain], which is under control of the coal companies."<sup>21</sup> The coal companies did not want their employees to join the union. According to Gleason's article "there are 91,000 persons in West Virginia employed in and around mines. Of these 54,000 are organized in the United Mine Workers of America. For possession of the unorganized 37,000, the coal operators and the union are

engaged in the present bloody struggle."<sup>22</sup> It was common practice at this time for coal companies to make the miners sign "yellow dog" contracts before they would be hired. These contracts forced them to agree not to be involved in any union activity. A sample contract from the time reads:

If at any time I want to join or become connected with the United Mine Workers of America, or affiliated organization, I agree to withdraw from said company, and I further agree that while I am in the employ of said Company that I will not make any efforts amongst its employees to bring about the unionization of said employees against the companies wishes.<sup>23</sup>

If an employee dared join the union, he would have been fired and blacklisted. In most cases, once a miner was terminated he was also evicted from his home, due to the fact that most miners lived in company owned houses. Upon his visit, Gleason noted a sign in the window of the Stone Mountain Coal Company grocery store stating "that the houses of the miners were owned by the company, and that the miners must leave the premises at once if they join the union."<sup>24</sup> It was because of this fact that the miners and their families were forced to set up makeshift tent towns in which to live during the strike. George Echols, the man who felt like a slave to the coal companies, had been abiding in one of these tent towns for four to five months at the time of his interview.

Company officials made no efforts to hide their disapproval of unionization in the mines. George M. Jones, general manager of the Lundale Coal Company, Three Forks Coal Company, and the Amherst Coal Company, was quoted in Gleason's article saying, "The principal point of this whole controversy is the question of union or non-union in Logan. We oppose the unionization of the Guyan coalfield. We are against the union and expect to do everything in our power to prevent its coming to our miners."<sup>25</sup> With viewpoints regarding the matter of unionization being so polarized between coal company officials and the miners, a clash such as what was about to occur at the Battle of Blair Mountain was inevitable.

On 1 August 1921 Sid Hatfield went to trial for his actions in the incident at Matewan and was acquitted. However, as he along with his fellow defendant, Ed Chambers, walked up the courthouse steps in Welch, WV they were both shot down-murdered by Baldwin-Felts agents.<sup>26</sup> This was the powder keg that set the miners in motion. Calls to action were heard all across the region; the miners began gathering to start a march to fight for the rights that they felt had been taken away from them by the coal companies. As Echols stated, "We claim to be citizens of the United States and we ask for the rights of citizenship; we claim to be loyal to our country, and we are loyal to our country, and all we ask is that we shall have our rights."<sup>27</sup> Even the Communist Party of America (a supporter of the UMWA, giving the capitalistic mine owners even greater reason to hate its presence) printed a newsletter calling for support of making a stand against coal company power: "Fellow workers! Act before it is too late! A defeat at Mingo will go a long way toward driving the whole American working class into lower wages, longer hours, and endless drudgery . . . On with the struggle! On to victory!"<sup>28</sup> At the end of August 1921 hundreds and then thousands of men began to gather, hopeful that victory would be won and changes in the system created by "King Coal" would be achieved.

On 7 August 1921 Frank Keeney, president of UMWA District 17, called on miners to meet on the State Capital grounds in order to get an uprising underway. Howard B. Lee, author of one of the earliest and most definitive works on the WV mine wars, was a first-hand observer of this day's events. He writes that the crowd was estimated to be around 5,000 and Keeney brought in "Old Mother" Jones, hero of the Paint and Cabin Creek mine wars of the early teens, to speak before those gathered. Mother Jones was about 91 years old at this point, and Lee states:

For nearly an hour that foul-mouthed, vulgar, profane, old agitator harangued the mob. She assailed Governor E. F. Morgan as a 'tool of the goddamned coal operators,' and inflamed the miners with stories of atrocities inflicted by mine guards upon workers in Logan and Mingo Counties, most of which were pure fabrications.<sup>29</sup>

This left agitated miners to make their way home with the intention of gathering weapons for an armed march into Logan County. On 20 August 1921 six hundred armed men gathered at Lens Creek near Marmet in Kanawha County. This mass kept growing until it had reached 7,000 to 8,000 by 23 August.<sup>30</sup> The goal was to march 65 miles southwest to Logan town. As Lee states:

The avowed purpose of the marchers, as testified by some of the participants, were to hang Don Chafin in the courthouse yard in Logan; overthrow martial law in Mingo County and liberate all strikers and union organizers held in jail; and unionize all miners in both Logan and Mingo counties.<sup>31</sup>

Curiously, at this point, Mother Jones who had so riled the men on the Statehouse lawn, began urging the miners not to go ahead with the march. Upon finding out that those in charge of the movement would be arrested and charged with treason, she read a telegram, said to have been sent to her by the President, ordering the miners to give up or Federal troops would be sent in. This was proven to be a phony telegram and, therefore, Mother Jones lost all influence over the miners and left West Virginia for good. The question was raised that perhaps Jones had done this because she had been paid of by coal operators in order to stop the march. However, in 1962 Frank Keeney himself told Lee, "No, mother Jones never took money from the operators. At that time she was 91 years old, and age had quenched much of the fighting spirit that characterized her earlier years."<sup>32</sup> In spite of Mother Jones' tactics, the miners would not be daunted in their pursuit of overtaking Logan and the march proceeded.

Once Chafin got wind of what was coming his way he began gathering recruits to fight against the angry miners, even to the point of promising prisoners in the county jail release in return for their fighting. However, some prisoners believed in the union cause and did not want to help. Chafin resorted to threatening murder to make some of the men join his side. Prisoner Floyd Greggs, in an affidavit filed with the U.S. Senate Kenyon Committee (a committee formed after the Battle of Blair Mountain to investigate what went on), stated

that Chafin put a pistol in his face and said, "You will either fight or die."<sup>33</sup> Chafin's army eventually totaled 3,000, supported by 150 State police.<sup>34</sup>

Although smaller than the miners' army that was presently marching into his territory, by all accounts Chafin's men were clearly more adequately armed.

Blair Mountain divides Logan County into two unequal parts. The smaller section, to the northeast of Blair Mountain is drained by the Little Coal River, which flows northeast to the Kanawha River. The mines in this area, which borders Boone County, were mostly unionized. The larger section, to the southwest of Blair Mountain, is drained by the Guyandotte River, which flows northeast toward Huntington. This area, bordering Mingo County and containing mostly non-union mines, was Chafin's stronghold. Marching from Marmet in Kanawha County to reach Logan town in Logan County, the miners first had to cross Blair Mountain (See Figure 1).<sup>35</sup> Chafin's men were the first to reach the crest of Blair Mountain, where they dug in along a fifteen mile stretch and waited for the miners' attack.

It was not just miners who were gathering to fight Chafin and his men. Early Ball was a schoolteacher along Hewett Creek in 1921. He had been recruited to lead a group of men over the mountain at Crooked Creek Gap due to the fact that he knew "every crook and turn that mountain."<sup>36</sup> He states, "Of course, I aimed to be neutral in the case. To tell the truth, my sympathy was with the miners; still I was not a miner, I was a schoolteacher."<sup>37</sup> Similarly, he recalls that many of the other men who were marching toward Blair Mountain were not just miners: "There were men come up there from every walk of life—doctors, lawyers, people that run drugstores and got out of there and took to the hills with high-powered guns with the expression, 'I want to get a crack at those S.O.B.'s."<sup>38</sup>

The group of attackers made their way toward Blair Mountain, led by "General" Bill Blizzard, President of the UMWA Sub-district No. 2. The long line of marchers continued to make its way along Lens Creek from 25 August until most had arrived by 1 September. Along the way, the main body of

marchers even stole a train just before reaching the Boone-Logan County borders in order to speed up the journey. A blurry photograph taken of those riding this train to the foot of Blair Mountain shows men stacked practically on top of one another, hanging out of the tops of coal cars, and sitting with legs dangling over the sides of flatbed cars.<sup>39</sup> As the men began to gather at the base of Blair Mountain they came up with a system to show that they were supporters of the union. They would wear red handkerchiefs around their necks, after which they were called "Red Necks," and hence, the reason that the Battle of Blair Mountain is often referred to as the "Red Neck War." Many report that this is the first use of the term "redneck" and at the time the name simply referred to these men who were radical enough to take a stand. Today the word redneck is used quite commonly and has taken on the connotation of someone who is an uneducated hillbilly.<sup>40</sup> It seems ironic that one of the lasting impressions from this all but forgotten event is a word that is often applied negatively toward the people of a state whose ancestors so courageously coined it.

Meanwhile, West Virginia Governor E.F. Morgan was busy working on a solution to the problem growing just south of his capital city. An article published in the *Independent* on 17 September 1921, states, "Morgan had acknowledged the inability of the state constabulary to deal adequately with the situation."<sup>41</sup> Therefore, he called on the United States President, Warren Harding for help. On 30 August, President Harding issued a proclamation "calling upon the armed marchers . . . to disperse and return to their homes by noon of September 1."<sup>42</sup> This too failed to stop the miners and various guerilla battles continued to be fought at the base of Blair Mountain. The miners had weapons stockpiled everywhere in the mountains and confrontations between the two sides were vicious battles. Cush Garrett, who was a schoolboy at the time of the battle, relates, "Men stuck guns everywhere, just in hollow logs, under rocks or anywhere."<sup>43</sup> Federal airplanes were called out under the command of Brigadier General Billy Mitchell from Langley Field near Washington, D.C.

Reports are rather unclear as to just how significant a role the planes actually played in the Battle of Blair Mountain. Several of the planes actually crashed on the way to West Virginia, killing pilots and crew before they even reached the battle. Some reports claim that they played no important role in the battle, but recollections from those involved in the battle hint otherwise. Early Ball recalls, "There was one that over us, and it was shooting some kind of gun, a rifle ore something, and it wasn't very high. We both tore loose with high-powered guns. If we ever hit it, it never made a bobble."<sup>44</sup> Bombs were dropped; Ball himself "saw one drop and the dirt fly up."<sup>45</sup> A picture in the UMWA Journal shows a bomb dropped on 1 September in Jeffrey, WV, stating that "some twenty or twenty-five others were dropped, many of which exploded, but did no material damage."<sup>46</sup> Most likely, only the miners who had been World War I veterans would have much experience seeing airplanes prior to this event. Regardless of whether or not the planes did much physical damage to the attackers' efforts, to these miners, they were an extremely visible and impressive symbol of the coal operators' power.

By 3 September forces had come to a head. There was active fighting for three hours, then a retreat and a re-advance after noon for four hours. During both of these advances the miners failed to take the crest of the mountain, still held off by Chafin's men. At 4:00 p.m. General Harry Blandholz entered the scene with his Federal troops. He had been put in command of the troops that the President had ordered into the area after his proclamation to cease fighting by noon on 1 September had been ignored.<sup>47</sup> According to the testimony of Colonel Stanley H. Ford, the entire Twenty-sixth Infantry from Camp Dix was commandeered along with detachments from the Columbus Barracks, altogether consisting of "approximately 106 officers and 2,000 men."<sup>48</sup>

According to Meador, "Fighting was the heaviest at three points where the roads crossed the ridge. These places were above Blair town, where the main road crossed, at Beech Creek near Sharples, where a horse trail wound over the mountain, and at the head of Craddock Fork of Hewett Creek, where an old road crossed

over onto Crooked Creek near Logan."<sup>49</sup> (See Figure 2.) However, exact skirmish locations along Blair Mountain are very hard to decipher, especially due to the rough terrain in which the fighting took place. It seems that the whole time things were very chaotic on both sides of the lines and reports were often very confusing or incorrect. As Early Ball recalls, "They [Chafin's men] were everywhere."<sup>50</sup> Along Hewett Creek where Ball was from, "The miners were all up the left-hand fork, about 5,000. That never was published in the papers. They never mentioned Hewett Creek or nothing like that."<sup>51</sup> It is easy to see how published accounts of the events at Blair Mountain often contain variable reports of locations and numbers of men involved.

Upon the arrival of Federal ground troops on the afternoon of 3 September, the miners realized that they were outgunned and, therefore, surrendered. General Blandholz sent this telegram to the President: "About 400 insurgents surrendered this afternoon at Sharples and Madison, turning in about 80 firearms. They were immediately sent out of the area to St. Albans by train."<sup>52</sup> So, in the end, the Battle of Blair Mountain resulted in the defeat of the miners. It was no small war; as Dr. Miliken, a company doctor at Blair mining camp, testified, "I was in the Spanish-American War, and I heard about as much shooting on Blair Mountain as I heard in Manila."<sup>53</sup> News correspondents from all over the country were sent in to report on the events, and it even appeared in international newspapers. The New York Times ran front page headlines including: "Fighting Continues in Mountains as Federal Troops Reach Mingo; Planes Reported Bombing Miners," and "400 Miners Surrender with Arms as Troops Surrounding Fighting Area Quick Peace in Sight in West Virginia."<sup>54</sup> The figures for the amount of men wounded vary depending on the source, but on average it seems that about ten men were killed on each side of the fight. There were probably men on both sides whose deaths were never accounted. The total number wounded is impossible to know; however, it is clear that it was large. Innocent standers-by were also reported wounded in the battle. For example, news correspondent, Boyden R. Sparks, of the New York Tribune,

was even hit by gunfire as he made his way to the "front" to report on the action.<sup>55</sup>

According to U.S. Senator Kenyon of Iowa, who headed a Senate Committee investigating the strikes and mining conditions in West Virginia, the cause of these "mine wars" could be answered in two words, "HUMAN GREED."<sup>56</sup> The greed of coal company officials who were only interested in making as much money as possible, and thereby created an entire economic system that aided this wish-without concern for the effects it had on others. Historians who have looked at this battle often suggest similar causes. Howard B. Lee, author of *Bloodletting in Appalachia*, clearly blames collaboration between coal company officials, state government, and local government (namely Don Chafin) for "this bloody blot on the State's history."<sup>57</sup> He ends the section in his book covering the battle with this quote from a staff correspondent to the *Washington Star* on 2 September 1921: "Everywhere one goes down in this country he hears the name of Don Chafin, high sheriff of Logan County . . . He is the king of the 'Kingdom of Logan.' He reigns supreme by virtue of state machine, backed by the power of the operators."<sup>58</sup>

Probably one of the most in-depth and thorough works written on the subject of the West Virginia Mine Wars is Lon Savage's *Thunder in the Mountains: The West Virginia Mine War, 1920-1921*. His own father fought in the battle as one of Don Chafin's men.<sup>59</sup> Savage went back to the primary sources and thoroughly describes every aspect of these intriguing events. Interestingly, he looks at how World War I shaped the battle-providing veteran fighters on both sides of the line. Another historian, Clayton D. Laurie, who is employed as a historian for the United States Army Center of Military History, wrote an article in 1991 that also looks at the role of World War I in the Battle of Blair Mountain. His focus is on the changes that The Battle of Blair Mountain caused in the history of military policy, as well as its impact on the larger picture of the American labor situation during this era. According to Laurie, "The West Virginia disturbances were significant as they closed a chapter involving extraordinary extra-legal procedures in the domestic employment of

Federal troops and in effect restored the provisions of the pre-war statutes."<sup>60</sup> Basically, during World War I the government suspended the procedures that had been previously necessary for state authorities to gain Federal assistance and, therefore, between the years of 1917 and 1921 there were unprecedented numbers of federal interventions in domestic disturbances and labor disputes. Laurie concludes that the Battle of Blair Mountain is important because it marks the return of responsibility of handling similar disturbances in the future by state police and National Guard forces, rather than the United States Army.<sup>61</sup>

There are several other good anthologies written on the subject of the West Virginia "mine wars," many of which are included in the source list at the end of this paper. Clearly then, the Battle of Blair Mountain did make into some history books. For the most part, however, these are not books that often get taken off the shelves. John Sayles, the director of the movie *Matewan*, has written, "The story . . . is a dramatic and important one, as much a part of our heritage as that of the Alamo or Gettysburg or the winning of the West."<sup>62</sup> Yet most people, even most of the residents of West Virginia, have probably never heard of what happened at The Battle of Blair Mountain. Sayles calls the miners a "colonized people" who "pulled a hard living from a hard land, people who lived under the heel of power and who finally could be pushed only so far." Although Blair Mountain resulted in a tactical and political defeat, Sayles recognizes that it was a psychological victory, shaking the foundations upon which their exploiters sat.<sup>63</sup> There are those that would argue that the people of the southern West Virginia coalfields are still colonized and held under a system that has yet to be altered. Yes, the union did finally come to coalfields after New Deal legislation allowed them to be recognized in 1933-but unions are often easily corrupted and are not always the answer.

Denise Giardina ends her novel *Storming Heaven* with a single sentence paragraph, "The companies still own the land."<sup>64</sup> Owning the land means that the coal companies still own the resources and the power. Today, Blair Mountain is home to the nation's fourth largest mining complex, owned by Arch Coal. The



people that once made that area their home have been moved out to "protect" them from the blasting and heavy equipment that have moved in to tear down the mountain through mountaintop removal practices. As activist Larry Gibson, stated, "They have little to no resistance here."<sup>65</sup> The fight did not end at Blair Mountain in 1921. Ken Sullivan, editor of *The Goldenseal Book of West Virginia Mine Wars*

puts it well: "The struggle for a better West Virginia continues and your [those who lived the mine wars] passionate commitment is an example to those who follow."<sup>66</sup> To those who are willing to listen and are interested in taking a stand and making changes in systems of oppression too-long entrenched, it is important that this story be told.

## End Notes

<sup>1</sup> Quotes from Michael M. Meader, "The Red Neck War of 1921: The Miners' March and The Battle of Blair Mountain," p. 57, found in *The Goldenseal Book of West Virginia Mine Wars*, Ken Sullivan ed., (Charleston, WV: Pictorial Histories Distribution, 1991). Historic register information also from *The Goldenseal Book*, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> David Corbin ed., *The West Virginia Mine Wars: An Anthology*, (Martinsburg, WV: Appalachian Editions, 1990), i.

<sup>3</sup> From "Storming Heaven Book Review," by Colleen Anderson. Found in *The Goldenseal Book of West Virginia Mine Wars*, 82.

<sup>4</sup> Larry Gibson, interview by Oral History Class from the Augusta Heritage Center, 8 August 2001, from Kristen Baughman's personal recording. I added the italics to emphasize the importance of that line.

<sup>5</sup> Corbin, *The West Virginia Mine Wars: An Anthology*, iv.

<sup>6</sup> Stan Cohen, *King Coal: A Pictorial Heritage of West Virginia Coal Mining*, (Charleston, WV: Pictorial Histories Publishing Co, 1984), 1.

<sup>7</sup> "Testimony of George Echols," 18 September 1921. From *West Virginia Mine Wars: An Anthology*, 103.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 104.

<sup>9</sup> *West Virginia's Mine Wars*, compiled by the West Virginia State Archives, found at <http://www.wvculture.org/history/minewars.htm>.

<sup>10</sup> Harold A. West, "Civil War in the West Virginia Coal Mines: The Mine Guards," *The Survey*, 5 April 1913. From *West Virginia Mine Wars: An Anthology*, 19.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 20.

<sup>12</sup> This list was taken from *West Virginia's Mine Wars*, compiled by the West Virginia State Archives, found at <http://www.wvculture.org/>

[history/minewars.htm](http://www.wvculture.org/history/minewars.htm). The following summaries of the early events of the West Virginia mine wars (the battles of Paint and Cabin Creek and the uprising at Matewan) are detailed in many of the works listed in the bibliography, but I found this source to provide an accurate and concise description. Therefore, I have used it as a reference for my own summaries and have noted where I have done so.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>14</sup> Walter Seacrist, "The Striker's Orphan Child." Found in *Goldenseal*, 27.

<sup>15</sup> *West Virginia's Mine Wars*.

<sup>16</sup> Heber Blankenhorn, "Marching Through West Virginia," *The Nation*, 14 September 1921. From *West Virginia Mine Wars: An Anthology*, 111.

<sup>17</sup> "Private Ownership of Public Officials," by Arthur Gleason. From *West Virginia Mine Wars: An Anthology*, 97.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, 98.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>20</sup> *West Virginia's Mine Wars*.

<sup>21</sup> Gleason, "Private Ownership of Public Officials," 97.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>23</sup> Cohen, *King Coal: A Pictorial History of West Virginia Coal Mining*, 82.

<sup>24</sup> Gleason, "Private Ownership of Public Officials." From *The West Virginia Mine Wars: An Anthology*, 96.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, 100-101. My italics.

<sup>26</sup> *West Virginia's Mine Wars*.

<sup>27</sup> "Testimony of George Echols," 18 September 1921. From *West Virginia Mine Wars: An Anthology*, 104.

28 "Stand by the Miners of Mingo," Communist Party of America newsletter. From *The West Virginia Mine Wars: An Anthology*, 118-119.

29 Howard B. Lee, *Bloodletting in Appalachia: The Story of West Virginia's Four Major Mine Wars and Other Thrilling Incidents of Its Coal Fields*, (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University, 1969), 96.

30 Sources differ on number estimations throughout the course of the battle. This comes from Michael M. Meador, "The Red Neck War of 1921: The Miner's March and the Battle of Blair Mountain." From *Goldenseal*, 59.

31 Lee, *Bloodletting in Appalachia*, 97.

32 Ibid, 96-97.

33 Ibid, 99.

34 Again, these numbers vary slightly from source to source, these particular figures coming from Lee, *Bloodletting in Appalachia*, 99.

35 Meador, "The Red Neck War," 59.

36 Michael M. Meador, "The Siege of Crooked Creek Gap," Interview with Early Ball and Cush Garrett. From *Goldenseal*, 68.

37 Ibid, 67.

38 Ibid, 67.

39 This picture appears in several sources listed in the bibliography. One specific location is in *Goldenseal*, p. 62.

40 Meador, "The Red Neck War," *Goldenseal*, 59.

41 "The War in West Virginia," 17 September 1921, *Independent*. From *West Virginia Mine Wars: An Anthology*, 106.

42 Ibid.

43 Meador, "The Siege of Crooked Creek Gap," Interview with Early Ball and Cush Garret. From *Goldenseal*, 70.

44 Ibid, 66-67.

45 Ibid.

46 "Gunmen Resort to Use of Bombs to Kill Women and Children of West Virginia," United Mine Workers Journal, from *Goldenseal*, 72.

47 Lee, *Bloodletting in Appalachia*, 101.

48 "Testimony of Col. Stanley H. Ford."

From *West Virginia Mine Wars: An Anthology*, 121.

49 Meador, "The Red Neck War," *Goldenseal*, 61.

50 Meador, "The Siege of Crooked Creek Gap," Interview with Early Ball and Cush Garrett. From *Goldenseal*, 67.

51 Ibid.

52 *The New York Times*, 4 September 1921.

53 Lee, *Bloodletting in Appalachia*, 101.

54 *The New York Times*, 3 and 4 September 1921.

55 Ibid, 4 September 1921.

56 Lee, *Bloodletting in Appalachia*, xi.

57 Ibid, 102.

58 Ibid, 102-103.

59 Joe Savage wrote an intriguing account of being on the "other side" in this battle, which has been published in *The Goldenseal Book of West Virginia Mine Wars*.

60 Clayton D. Laurie, "The United States Army and the Return to Normalcy in Labor Dispute Interventions: The Case of the West Virginia Coal Mine Wars, 1920-1921," *West Virginia History* 50 (1991): 2.

61 Ibid, 21.

62 John Sayles, from the Forward to Lon Savage, *Thunder in the Mountains*, vii.

63 Ibid.

64 Denise Giardina, *Storming Heaven*, (New York, W. W. Norton & Company, 1987), 312.

65 Larry Gibson, interview by Oral History Class from the Augusta Heritage Center, 8 August 2001, from Kristen Baughman's personal recording. I added the italics to emphasize the importance of that line.

66 Ken Sullivan, ed., *Goldenseal*, iv.

## Works Cited

### Primary Sources:

Cohen, Stan. *King Coal: A Pictorial Heritage of West Virginia Coal Mining*. Charleston, WV: Pictorial Histories Publishing Co., 1984.

Corbin, David Alan. *The West Virginia Mine Wars: An Anthology*. Martinsburg, WV: Appalachian Editions, 1990.

Gibson, Larry. 2001. Interview by Oral History Class from the Augusta Heritage Center. Personal Recording of Kristen Baughman.

Sullivan, Ken, ed. *The Goldenseal Book of the West Virginia Mine Wars*. Charleston, WV: Pictorial Histories Publishing Co., 1991.

Ward, Ken Jr. "Buying Blair." *Sunday Gazette-Mail*. November 22, 1998. accessed from <http://www.wvgazette.com/static/series/mining/MINE1122.htm>

*The New York Times*. 3-4 September 1921.

### Secondary Sources:

Corbin, David Alan. *Life, Work, and Rebellion in the Coal Fields: The Southern West Virginia Miners 1880-1922*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981.

Gaventa, John. *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1980.

Giardina, Denise. *Storming Heaven*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1987.

Lane, Winthrop D. *Civil War in West Virginia*. New York: Arno & The New York Times, 1969.

Laurie, Clayton D. "The United States Army and the Return to Normalcy in Labour Dispute Interventions: The Case of the West Virginia Coal Mine Wars, 1920-1921." *West Virginia History* 1991 50: 1-24

Lee, Howard B. *Bloodletting in Appalachia: The Story of West Virginia's Four Major Mine Wars and Other Thrilling Incidents of Its Coal Fields*. Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University, 1969.

Savage, Lon. *Thunder in the Mountains: The West Virginia Mine War, 1920-1921*. Pittsburg: The University of Pittsburg Press, 1986.

Sayles, John. *Matewan*. Produced by Peggy Rajski and Maggi Renzi. Directed by John Sayles. 142 min. Red Dog Films, 1996. Videocassette.

Spence, Robert Y. *The Land of Guyandot: A History of Logan County*. Detroit: Harlo, 1976.

*West Virginia's Mine Wars*. Compiled by the West Virginia State Archives. Accessed from <http://www.wvculture.org/history/minewars.htm>.

Wheeler, Hoyt N. "Mountaineer Mine Wars: An Analysis of the West Virginia Mine Wars of 1912-1913 and 1920-1921." *Business History Review* 1976 50:1

## Taking Advantage of Innocent Girls

by Emily Kingsley

Wittenberg University Class of 2004

Japan rose to the status of an industrialized nation late in the 1800s through its international textile market. The manufacture and sale of high quality products needed in every day life, such as cotton, produced a great deal of revenue, and silk, a luxurious commodity, earned even higher profits. "When the Meiji government launched its program to 'increase the wealth of the nation' (*fukoku*), first among the industries that it sought to foster and build was the silk industry."<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Japanese industries offered low prices to undercut competition in dominating nations like the United States and Great Britain. This tactic was lucrative; "by 1914 Japan was dominating world cotton manufacturing,"<sup>2</sup> and "by 1912, the last year of Meiji, Japan led the world in the export of silk."<sup>3</sup> The incoming funds were directed towards building "both heavy industry and military strength without extensive borrowing."<sup>4</sup> These improvements were crucial to unleashing Japan from the dated depths of the Tokugawa era and laying the foundations for a modern state.

To build this thriving enterprise, Japanese industries resorted to a cheap labor force to sustain low costs without degrading the actual product. Such means were attainable by the recruitment of women. The Confucian philosophy that "respected the male, despised the female" (*danson joki*)<sup>5</sup> created an environment in Meiji that was "heavily male oriented."<sup>6</sup> Even hard-working, "women's work"-associated with housekeeping and handicrafts-was valued less than was work done by men.<sup>7</sup> Factory owners used such perceived inferiority to their advantage when they were seeking out predominantly female members of families to be their employees.

The initial factories in Meiji Japan were established by the new government after 1868 with employment mainly fulfilled by the daughters of the dissolved samurai class. Yet, as the earning potential of the textile industry was realized, a profit-oriented mindset replaced the

charitable effort to lift the financial burdens of the displaced samurai. Simultaneously, a shift from publicly owned factories to private ownership occurred during the 1880s with companies "adapting expensive, large-scale operations to a smaller, less costly enterprise."<sup>8</sup> To further reduce wages, factory owners preyed upon the financially unstable agricultural areas to fill their ranks at low wages and in subhuman conditions. This paper will prove that filiality and rural conditions made the Japanese daughters vulnerable to manipulation by this rising textile industry.

Agricultural areas provided an abundant resource of young women, and the widespread poverty of farm families created an even more advantageous situation for factory owners. Evidence that agriculture workers were utilized in textile mills is demonstrated in historian Yukihiro Kiyokawa's claim that "80 percent of the cases, the occupation of the female workers' parents was agriculture or a related job."<sup>9</sup> One reason for this lay in the training girls received at home. Typically, the daughter was responsible for both work around the house and cultivating the crops. "Farm girls and those of poor families were often believed to be needed more in the home and fields"<sup>10</sup> than in attendance at school to earn an education. The lack of emphasis on schooling indicates that their primary roles were execution of manual chores that required minimal skill. Priority was placed on the success of the family unit as opposed to the individual girl. The Japanese custom of filial piety instilled obedience in daughters, emphasizing a passive attitude towards parental authority.<sup>11</sup> Servitude to the maintenance of the family household made the farm girl accustomed to constant and heavy labor, and thus a candidate for large-scale manufacturing.

Additionally, "during the 1890s the famous deflationary policies of Finance Minister Matsukata Masayoshi drove large numbers of

independent and tenant cultivators into extreme destitution<sup>12</sup> and thus vulnerable to promises of income for their daughters' work outside the home. The obligation of tenant farmers to "pay the exorbitant, oppressive tenant fees, which could amount to 50 or 60 per cent of the yearly crop"<sup>13</sup> left minimal earnings to support a household of several family members on top of maintaining the land. Since the daughter was the functional unit of the household, her commitment to assisting her family in this dire situation involved earning an income from an outside source. "Farmers of Japan around the end of the nineteenth century were so poor that they had to decrease the number of their dependents, so they wanted their daughters to earn any amount of money in just about any walk of life."<sup>14</sup> The arrival of factory recruiters to this desperate scene often was at a most convenient time. Under the contract system, "companies hired labor recruiters, who went through the countryside encouraging parents to sign their daughters to a one- to five-year contract with a distant mill."<sup>15</sup> In drumming up recruitment of young girls, recruiters cunningly exaggerated their concern to provide monetary aid to the family. Farm owners could simply not resist the immediate possession of money from the factory. With little hesitation to consider the welfare of their daughter, possibly due to their illiteracy and inability to comprehend the crafted contract, farm families viewed such a proposition as a blessing. "The advance payment they received to send their daughters out to work as virtual indentured servants enabled them to pay their rent and defray their daily living expenses."<sup>16</sup> To further assist the family, wages earned by the daughter while at the factory were sent home. The loyalty of girls to the domestic sphere made them readily available to textile mills once their contributions were no longer beneficial at home.

The dedication of females to their families was exhibited even in the midst of exploitation by the factories. "The fact that they were working for the good of the household made their sacrifices worthwhile."<sup>17</sup> Far away from home, the filial relationship remained strong and a majority of girls were intent on executing their responsibilities regardless of hardships. One worker's

recollection captures her dual emotions, with her devotion to her family persevering above all else:

I don't know how many times I thought I would rather jump into Lake Suwa and drown. Even so, when I went home with a year's earnings and handed the money to my mother, she clasped it in her hands and said, 'With this, we can manage through the end of the year'...Whenever I thought of my mother's face then, I could endure any hardship.<sup>18</sup>

The immense feeling of pride gained by preventing the collapse of a household was enough to keep workers progressing through the daily toil and inhumane conditions. Furthermore, strict financial retributions placed on the family for unwarranted absences of the worker discouraged thoughts of running away or suicide. The employment of girls deeply entrenched in family ties accomplished the labor commitment desired by the textile industries.

Factory owners used filial piety to appease any anxieties parents may have had about sending their daughters to the factory mills. The contract system not only stipulated monetary benefits resulting from the young women's toil to fulfill filial piety, but also promised a substitute figure to insure the "young girls' moral virtue."<sup>19</sup>

The contract system...could not have worked without the accompanying facade of traditional paternalism erected by the mill owners and their recruiters. The illusory relationship created between daughters, parents, and factory management was based almost exclusively on the verbal promises of recruiters and the willingness of mill owners to loan badly needed cash to the families that signed the contracts on their daughters' behalf.<sup>20</sup>

This fabricated guardian provided comfort in the minds of parents that the company would act in the best interests of their daughters. To easily fool poorly educated farmers, one contract even blatantly referred to the factory grounds as a "house."<sup>21</sup> A home-like environment at the factories was contrived so that parents would assume the continuance of a nurturing atmosphere that would encourage their

daughters' maturation into respectful and hard-working individuals.

Parents were also deceived into thinking that their daughters would receive an invaluable education beyond the resources available at home. The distant location of factories was justified as a mean for providing girls with a taste of culture from another area of the country. "They [were] told of the beautiful sights to be seen, theaters to be visited, the regular Sunday rest, and even of the splendid care and education they [would] receive from the factory."<sup>22</sup> Poor and uneducated farm families deemed the factory life suitable preparation for girls into womanhood. A civilized individual would result from the knowledge acquired from skilled labor in the textile industry coupled with night classes on etiquette and the proper manners of a lady. Ideally, their daughters would be groomed into quality marriage material and efficient house wives.

Some filatures opened the night classes for general ducation, and others provided optional lessons in needlework, calligraphy, or flower-arrangement. It is broadly accepted that the management side also obtained the benefit from providing such off-duty classes in the better work discipline and the fostering of identity as a member of 'factory family.'<sup>23</sup>

Yet, the reality was quite different for most girls. In truth, the residence of the girls at far-away factories served as a method to regulate their work schedule and ensure regular attendance on the production line. Most workers did not have access to the classes, as they were commonly limited to girls from ex-samurai or comparable backgrounds. Moreover, the fatigue resulting from a grueling workday of twelve hours inhibited their ability to properly absorb information from night classes. It is quite possible that girls simply sacrificed learning an additional craft in order to sleep. Furthermore, the main purpose of the courses was not necessarily for the benefit of the workers. Instead, they were a method of improving the worker's skills and bolstering camaraderie. These factors augmented efficiency in the production of textiles, which corresponded to increased expectations and pressure on the workers. Education was also a

means of grooming the girls to the ways of the factory, preventing uprisings by creating a uniformly obedient mass. A booklet was even distributed to the workers emphasizing, "together with the Confucian virtue of filial piety, the virtue of loyalty (*chūgi*) towards the master"<sup>24</sup> even under harsh circumstances. Clearly, factories replaced the cherished bond between father and daughter with tyrannical authority.

Although a majority of girls strongly detested the conditions at the textile mills, the presence of a satisfied minority needs to be addressed if we are to fully understand the relatively inhumane rural conditions and the factory situation. It is crucial to comprehend the standard of living these girls abandoned prior to entering into a national enterprise. Most girls came from tenant farms that had been plunged into extreme poverty by the overwhelming financial demands of national policies. Besides the maintenance of the fields, farmers had to support households of several children. While all hands relentlessly reaped the harvest to its maximum potential, there was little progress out of debt and often a hearty meal could not be furnished. One girl recalls a typical family diet:

In the old days we used to put a big pot of tea on the fire, and the whole family would ladle the tea out and pour it on sorghum powder. That was our staple. Some families added bran to increase the volume. Then we had a little millet rice.<sup>25</sup>

Rigorous labor and empty stomachs were an inevitable reality with escalating financial anxieties heating tempers beyond a pleasant level in households. For most farm families, there was no hope for cessation of this dismal situation. So it was a relief for some girls to escape the miserable setting and accept the job offer of factory recruiters. "The girls who were left behind in the villages looked with envy upon the girls who were sent off to the city factories."<sup>26</sup>

Since conditions were often lowly on the home front, high standards did not have to be upheld in the factories for incoming girls. Therefore, little effort was required to provide accommodations that were better than on the farms. "...the typical factory diet, which looked

so good to the farm girls, consisted of rice, bean paste soup, pickles, or tofu, and occasionally bits of fish.<sup>27</sup> While there were no qualms from workers, meals at the factories were still below nutritional requirements for growing adolescents, particularly lacking in meats and other essential sources of protein. The girls also had to endure confinement, cramped and unsanitary living quarters, unjust punishment, and tedious labor. The reason that they were not keen to these poor conditions lay in their unawareness of a better lifestyle. It is fair to assume that a rural upbringing left most factory girls uneducated and unaware of the level of treatment that should be tolerated by a labor force. They had no expectations and were simply content to experience new surroundings and a different style of work in the hopes of bettering their lot in life.<sup>28</sup> In the opinion of Helen Mears, an American who observed Meiji factories and interacted with the young female workers, "now, 90% of these girl workers are happy and contented, and 10% discontented. But if propaganda and agitators got in among them, within 6 months, 90% would be discontented and 10% contented."<sup>29</sup> Unfairly

taking advantage of the unfortunate situation of their workers, textile mills were able to manage and profit from substandard operations.

The combination of their family values and destitute situations made farm girls susceptible to merciless textile owners. Persuaded by the embellished words of recruiters, families unknowingly committed their daughters to hardships. Factory owners could justify low wages due to their gender, poor standard of living back home, lack of education, and short-term commitment due to marital obligations. Furthermore, companies could avoid high quality facilities since girls were coming from a decrepit rural scene and had little knowledge of better ways. Yet, the industry could have not been a worldwide success without such exploitation. The profits from such a business endeavor afforded Japan the opportunity to compete with powerful nations. "The life of a family depends upon the delicate body of a woman' while 'the life of a nation depends upon the slender arms of women."<sup>30</sup> Alas, modernization of a nation was achieved at the sacrifice of its young citizens.

## End Notes

<sup>1</sup> Mikiso Hane, *Peasants, Rebels, and Outcasts: The Underside of Modern Japan* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 173.

<sup>2</sup> Sharon L. Sievers, *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), 56.

<sup>3</sup> Dorinne K. Kondo, *Crafting Selves: Power, Gender, and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 269.

<sup>4</sup> Sievers, 56.

<sup>5</sup> E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 16.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>8</sup> Sievers, 60.

<sup>9</sup> Yukihiko Kiyokawa, "The Transformation of Young Rural Women into Disciplined Labor Under Competition-Oriented Management: The

Experience of the Silk-Reeling Industry in Japan," in *The Textile Industry and the Rise of the Japanese Economy*, ed. Michael Smitka (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 94.

<sup>10</sup> Dorothy Robins-Mowry, *The Hidden Sun: Women of Modern Japan* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1983), 41.

<sup>11</sup> Gail Lee Bernstein, *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 223.

<sup>12</sup> Tsurumi, 22.

<sup>13</sup> Masanori Nakamura, *Technology Change and Female Labour* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1994), 42.

<sup>14</sup> Toshiaki Chokki, "Labor Management in the Cotton Spinning Industry," in *The Textile Industry and the Rise of the Japanese Economy*, ed. Michael Smitka (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 8.

<sup>15</sup> Sievers, 62.

<sup>16</sup> Hane, 175.

<sup>17</sup> Vera Mackie, *Creating Socialist Women in Japan: Gender, Labour, and Activism, 1900-1937*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 117.

<sup>18</sup> Sievers, 55.

<sup>19</sup> Kondo, 272

<sup>20</sup> Sievers, 62-63.

<sup>21</sup> Nakamura, 43.

<sup>22</sup> Sidney L. Gulick, *Working Women of Japan* (New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1915), 77.

<sup>23</sup> Kiyokawa, 99.

<sup>24</sup> Nakamura, 53-54.

<sup>25</sup> Hane, 181.

<sup>26</sup> Hane, 180.

<sup>27</sup> Hane, 181.

<sup>28</sup> Allen K. Faust, *The New Japanese Womanhood* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1926), 67.

<sup>29</sup> Helen Mears, *Year of the Wild Boar: An American Woman in Japan* (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1942), 281.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 279.

### Works Cited

Bernstein, Gail Lee. *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Chokki, Toshiaki. "Labor Management in the Cotton Spinning Industry." In *The Textile Industry and the Rise of the Japanese Economy*, ed. Michael Smitka, 1-23. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998.

Faust, Allen Klein. *The New Japanese Womanhood*. New York: George H. Doran, 1926.

Gulick, Sidney L. *Working Women of Japan*. New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1915.

Hane, Mikiso. *Peasants, Rebels, and Outcasts: The Underside of Modern Japan*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.

Kiyokawa, Yukihiro. "The Transformation of Young Rural Women into Disciplined Labor Under Competition-Oriented Management: The Experience of the Silk-Reeling Industry in Japan." In *The Textile Industry and the Rise of the Japanese Economy*, ed. Michael Smitka, 91-111. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998.

Kondo, Dorinne K. *Crafting Selves: Power, Gender, and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Mackie, Vera. *Creating Socialist Women in Japan: Gender, Labour and Activism, 1900-1937*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Mears, Helen. *Year of the Wild Boar*. New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1942.

Nakamura, Masanori. *Technology Change and Female Labour*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1994.

Robins-Mowry, Dorothy. *The Hidden Sun: Women of Modern Japan*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983.

Sievers, Sharon L. *Flowers in Salt*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983.

Tsurumi, Patricia E. *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.



## The First Cold War: On the Teutonic Knights and Alexander Nevsky

by Ryan T. Miller

Wittenberg University Class of 2003

The era of the Crusades stands as a particularly intriguing and enduring period in the turbulent times of the Middle Ages. Such heroic (and often tragic) tales about the adventures of intrepid knights have entranced students of history since Pope Urban II's epoch-making call to arms. But in popular sentiment, the Crusades are inseparable from the stage of the Holy Land; the connotations of the term summon the images of valiant knights, their armor adorned with the image of the Cross, locked in grueling combat with a sea of Muslims at the gates of the Holy City of Jerusalem. While the early crusades had to do with the Holy Land, the venue was not a prerequisite for a crusading enterprise. In fact, the lands of Europe were to act as hosts for some of the more fascinating undertakings of the period. Lands a stone's throw from the Holy See in Rome soon became the theaters of war, and skirmishes that would decide the fates of entire nations were waged within their borders. Of all the European Crusades, however, the saga that unfolded in Russian lands remains the most mesmerizing, epic, and salient to the future of a people. The Crusade in the Russian lands was waged by the ubiquitously-feared Teutonic Knights who, as we shall see, had myriad reasons for striking when and where they did. This momentous event culminated in the celebrated Battle on the Ice, a happening that brought to the fore Russia's arch-hero, Grand Duke Alexander Nevsky. It also served to isolate Russia from the rest of the Occident. To be sure, both of these ramifications wielded tremendous influence on Russia's subsequent development.

### The Order of the Teutonic Knights

The Teutonic Knights, the last of the major military orders to be formed, does not possess a myth of ancient founding as do the Knights

Templar and Hospitallers.<sup>1</sup> Their own tale of establishment is recorded in the *Book of Order*, the official handbook of the Teutonic Knights:

In the year eleven hundred ninety from the birth of our Lord, at the time when Acre was being besieged by the Christians and, with God's help, was won back again from the hands of the infidels, at that very time there was in the army a band of good people from Bremen and Lubeck who, through the charity of our Lord, took pity on the manifold needs of the sick in the army and started the [Hospital of St. Mary of the German House of Jerusalem] under the sail of a ship, called a "cog," under which they brought the sick with great devotion and cared for them with zeal.<sup>2</sup>

Then, at a festive ceremony that supposedly transpired on March 5, 1198, the Order underwent a change in purpose: the diminution of the role of hospitals, and a correlating re-focus on a military function. The list of attendance reads like a who's who of the medieval world: the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the head of the Crusading army, and the Grand Masters of the Templars and Hospitallers. All partook in this ceremony, which marked the inception of the Teutonic Knights as a military order. Pope Innocent III penned a bull, dated February 19, 1199, which confirmed the event and decreed that the Teutonic Order would care for the ill according to the bylaws of the Hospitallers and engage in military operations according to the Templar code. The brethren were instructed to drape themselves in the distinctive white cloak of the Templars, with a black cross emblazoned on the garment to differentiate the Teutons from the Templars.<sup>3</sup>

The Teutonic Knights adopted a hierarchical structure patterned after the Templars and the Hospitallers. At the apogee stood the *Hochmeister (Magister Generalis)*, under whom

were the *Landmeister*, who ruled at the national level, the *Landkomtur*, in charge of provinces, and the *Komtur*, the local rulers.<sup>4</sup> The *Hochmeister* was served by a Grand Council, which was comprised of the *Grosskomtur*, the *Ordenmarschall*, the *Spitler* (Hospitaller), the *Tressler* (treasurer), and the *Trapier* (quartermaster). The *Hochmeister* and the Grand Council were elected by the General Chapter, which convened in the month of September, during the Feast of the Holy Cross.<sup>5</sup> This organization is ostensibly modeled after the feudal arrangement prevalent in medieval society. Another comparison can be made to a modern corporation. The General Chapter can be likened to shareholders, the *Hochmeister* to a chairman, and his Grand Council as a type of Board of Directors. And while this board of directors wields a great deal of power, it is still answerable to the collective leadership of the shareholders. So it was with the Order of the Teutonic Knights.

The Teutonic Knights, in attempts to justify its existence to the populace, as well as goad individuals to join the Order, churned out numerous chronicles chock-full of religious rhetoric and crusading propaganda. These tomes were penned for an audience of prospective members and donors. Despite the Order's main role as a military association, however, the literature was principally concerned with the group's spirituality rather than their exploits on the field of battle. Nonetheless, these seemingly conflicting concepts compliment one another; an army's success in battle was thought to be a product of its spirituality, and not its acumen.<sup>6</sup>

One such chronicle that was filled with the Order's ideology was the epic *Karl*, which was itself adapted from Konrad's *Rolandslied*. Nearly all of the Order's tenets are included in this tome, which rendered it invaluable for proliferating the philosophy of the Order. Brothers and prospective brothers were therefore encouraged to read the work, so that they might be infused with the holy sentiment required of a knight of Christ.<sup>7</sup> The epic draws numerous parallels between the Teutonic Knights and the Hebrews of the Old Testament in an endeavor to color the institution as one

avored by God.<sup>8</sup> *Karl* also goes on to convey the official line of the Church that anyone taking the Cross would be granted indulgences, and that the Crusade is a divinely-ordained enterprise with the design of augmenting God's earthly kingdom.<sup>9</sup> Certainly such works, while written to elucidate key principles of the Order, contributed much to the world of literature, and could be enjoyed on their own account.

The Teutonic Order was heavily associated with a cult of saints, and this had immense influence on how the Order was perceived. The Order, naturally, had a connection with St. George, patron saint of Germanic lands, but it was, in fact, the female saints who were most venerated by the brethren. This is also true of the Templars, although their ardor was not as great.<sup>10</sup> Of course, the Teutonic Knights labored to procure relics, and one of their most cherished possessions was the head of St. Barbara, "which they had carried off from the Pomeranians in a raid on the castle Sartowitz in the 1240s."<sup>11</sup> Those who participated in the raid swear that the saint purposefully abandoned her former resting place in order to be among the members of the Order, witnessing their "great spirituality."<sup>12</sup>

The Order, while it revered all the great holy figures, extolled one above all others: the Blessed Virgin Mary. Along with the Knights Templar, the Teutonic Knights claimed Mary to be their special patroness, but the Teutonic Knights' devotion far exceeded even that of the brothers of the Temple. In fact, the Order's fervor in lauding the Blessed Virgin became its most well-known feature, and this seems to have had a decidedly positive affect on the populace's perception.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, the Order's laudation of Mary was a factor in its decision to launch a campaign of expansion in Eastern Europe (see below). The figure of Mary was widely associated with Eastern Europe, much in the same way that Christ was seen to have a special affiliation with the Holy Land. The Blessed Virgin's relationship apparently stems from her connection with the Pole Star—as sailors looked to the Pole Star for guidance, so should mankind look to her to show the way. The Pole Star is evidently bound with Eastern Europe because of its north-eastern location.

The Order made use of this belief, stressing their ties to Mary to warrant their journeys into Prussia and beyond.<sup>14</sup>

The Teutonic Knights' meteoric rise to power is due in large part to the slew of donations made to their organization following the papal decree formally recognizing them as a military order. Their patrons were prominent members of the clergy and eminent secular lords, including Archbishop Theodoric of Trier, Gilbert of Zottegem, and Henry Halverrogge. The bulk of these donations were hospitals, following the Order's original and mission.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to the donation of hospitals, the Order's lot greatly benefited from the auspices of the Holy Roman Emperors. The Order never threatened to eclipse the Templars or the Hospitallers in the Holy Land in terms of wealth or power, but it held primacy within the expanses of Europe itself, especially the German lands. Indeed, nearly all of the Order's property was within Germany, and nearly all of its members had German blood flowing through their veins.<sup>16</sup>

The Order despaired of ever attaining parity with the Templars in the Holy Land, and so the Knights began to re-focus their gaze closer to home. The Order's *Hochmeister*, Herman von Salza (1210-39), generally regarded as the greatest of the grand masters, was integral to the targeting of the Order's energies to the European realm.<sup>17</sup> The Order's motive in pursuing this path was the establishment of autonomous states under its direct control and under the supervision of the pope. The Order therefore waged war for power, land, and prestige, while the pontiff extended his blessing because of his potential influence in the newly converted territories.<sup>18</sup>

The Teutons prevailed in several decisive victories early in their campaign. In 1211, the King Andrew II of Hungary approached the Order with a proposition: his eastern border was incessantly threatened by pagan Cumans, and he desired the Teutons to colonize the area in order to rout the heathen menace. The Order endeavored to do so, and in fact achieved a marked success. Too successful, according to King Andrew. Alarmed that the Knights had grown too puissant and were subverting his

authority, he expelled them from the territory in 1225. As fate would have it, another ruler was being terrorized by pagans in another domain. Conrad of Mazovia, a Polish duke, required succor in quelling the heathen Prussians. Herman von Salza was more than willing to come to Conrad's aid, but he balked out of fear of another expulsion. In order to ascertain that this would not transpire, the Teutons obtained a charter from the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II granting them all lands promised by Conrad, in addition to any they could conquer from the Prussians. Confident in the security of their holdings the Order marched on, subduing all who stood in their path.<sup>19</sup> The inexorable march towards Russia had begun.

#### The Situation in the Baltic

The reasons to target the lands of Russia in a Crusading enterprise were manifold. First, the peoples of Russia did not acknowledge the Pope as God's emissary on Earth, nor did they embrace the tenets of Catholicism. The lands of Rus' instead subscribed to the Greek Orthodox variety of Christianity. This had been the case since Prince Vladimir converted to the Orthodox religion in 988 after much deliberation.<sup>20</sup> This decision, one of the utmost import for the future of the Russian lands, was the result of a systematic examination of numerous religions. The first group to pay Vladimir a visit were Muslim Bulgarians; they exhorted Vladimir to accept their doctrine. Vladimir inquired as to the details of their dogma, and the Bulgarians enlightened him. Vladimir scoffed at their tenets, "for circumcision and abstinence from pork and wine were disagreeable to him."<sup>21</sup>

Next, a band of Germans arrived in the stead of the Pontiff. They exclaimed to Vladimir:

Thus says the Pope: "Your county is like our country, but your faith is not as ours. For our faith is the light. We worship God, who has made heaven and earth, the stars, the moon, and every creature, while your gods are only wood."<sup>22</sup>

Vladimir, intrigued, asked the Germans to further expound upon the religion. Fasting as much as one is able, they said, is to the glory of

God. This perturbed Vladimir, for the concept of fasting was alien to him. He bade the Catholics to depart.<sup>23</sup>

The Jewish Khazars next received word of Vladimir's search, and so descended upon the region of Rus'. They edified him in the ways of their teachings, but Vladimir once again took issue with abstention from pork and circumcision, and ergo Judaism was dismissed as a possibility.

Finally, just as Vladimir began to despair at finding a suitable religion, the Greeks arrived on the scene, and they praised, "their words were artful, and it was wondrous to listen and pleasant to hear them."<sup>24</sup> A delegation sent to investigate the respective worship services further strengthened Vladimir's favor with the Greeks:

... We went among the Germans, and saw them performing many ceremonies in their temples; but we beheld no glory there. Then we went to Greece, and the Greeks led us to the edifices where they worship their God, and we knew not whether we were in heaven on or earth. For on earth there is no such splendor or such beauty, and we are at a loss how to describe it. We only know that God dwells there among men...<sup>25</sup>

Thus, Vladimir came to choose Greek Orthodox as his people's religion, and verily, it seemed a match made in heaven. Naturally, Vladimir's choice vexed the Pope, for he was keenly aware of the influence lost in the region. The hope of swaying the Russians to look to the Holy See for spiritual guidance played no small part in the selection of the area for a Crusade. The Teutonic Knights were to establish dominion over the Russian principalities, and the pope would exercise spiritual control over the subjugated peoples.

Another factor that played into the selection of Russia as an objective was the debilitation fomented by the Tatar Yoke. The invasion by the warmongers enfeebled economic centers, scattered the population, and emasculated military forces. Seeing Russia thus vulnerable, avaricious Western powers began a campaign to carve out portions of Rus' for themselves. The Swedes, under the banner of Earl Birger, invaded Novgorodian territory in July 1240. They were repulsed by an audacious soul called Alexander

at the Neva River.<sup>26</sup> To signify this decisive victory, Alexander attached the surname "Nevsky," thus rendering his full name Alexander Iaroslavich Nevsky.<sup>27</sup> The exploits of Alexander will be covered at length below.

A third and final condition in the Baltic that contributed to its selection as the venue for a Crusade, was its political fragmentation. The cause of this fragmentation was economic; specifically, it was the fur trade that bustled in the area. In order to maintain the monopoly enjoyed by Russia in this market, a prince would be compelled to raid, raze, and haunt the surrounding peoples until they yielded and relinquished their furs.<sup>28</sup>

This lack of political cohesion ensured the Teutonic Knights easy victories over feeble, divided rulers (or so they believed).

#### The Battle on the Ice

The force of destiny compelled the Teutonic Knights to march onward towards Lake Peipus, their Waterloo. The army was now a hodgepodge of peoples: the Teutonic Knights themselves, commanded by the Livonian *Landmeister*, Danes under princes Canute and Abel, Germans united behind Bishop Hermann of Dorpat, and Russian forces following Jaroslav (in exile).<sup>29</sup> They marched relentlessly into Novgorodian territory. Each group had the fervent hope of carving a fragment of Russia for itself.

In September of 1240 the force arrived at Izborsk, and hastily captured it.<sup>30</sup> Then, according to the Nikonian Chronicle:

When these tidings that the Germans had taken Izborsk arrived in Pskov, the entire city marched against them, and there was a fierce battle. There was great carnage among them. The Germans killed voevoda Gavril Goreslavich, and defeated the people of Pskov, slaying many in pursuit, and others they captured. And they chased them to the city, setting fire in the suburbs; and there was much evil.<sup>31</sup>

The host continued on its bloody campaign. By April of 1241 a retinue of Teutonic Knights, Danish vassals, and native Estonians had conquered lands east of Narva. They quickly constructed a fortress at Kopore, and from this point launched audacious raids, at times coming

within twenty miles of Novgorod.<sup>32</sup> The Order was so certain of imminent victory that Bishop Hermann was sent to the Pope to request the bishopric of the yet-to-be-conquered lands.<sup>33</sup>

Alexander was vehement in his opposition to the Teutonic presence. This was due to many factors, including his patriotism, piety, and love of peace, but ulterior motives are also relevant. Throughout his reign, Alexander prospered under the auspices of the Orthodox Church. He had a bond with a certain Metropolitan Krill, and they mutually bolstered each other's position. Should the Teutonic Knights have succeeded in their endeavor and founded a papal state, the foundation of Alexander's rule would crumble.<sup>34</sup>

Late in 1241, Alexander opted to strike Kopore to bring an end to the debilitating raids. He routed the garrison, and "he destroyed the city to its foundations, slew Germans and brought some to Novgorod; others he permitted to go to the German land because he was merciful above measure."<sup>35</sup>

The Teutonic occupation of Pskov greatly perturbed Nevsky, and so he purposed to liberate it from their grasp. On March 5, 1242, Alexander "occupied all the roads to Pskov and then unexpectedly, entered Pskov and captured the Germans, the Chud' and the German administrators, sent them in chains to Novgorod, and liberated the city of Pskov from captivity."<sup>36</sup> A German chronicler describes the episode:

He marched toward Pskov with many troops. He arrived there with a mighty force of many Russians to free the Pskovians and these latter heartily rejoiced. When he saw the Germans he did not hesitate long. They drove away the two Brothers, removed them from their advocacy and routed their servants. The Germans fled . . . If Pskov had been defended, Christianity would be benefited until the end of the world. It is a mistake to conquer a fair land and fail to occupy it well . . . The king of Novgorod then returned home.<sup>37</sup>

On the return to Novgorod, Alexander's forces were impeded at a bridge by the forces of Bishop Hermann. Alexander led his army in a strategic retreat, but the Prelate's forces met with the remainder of the Teutonic army and

pursued him. On April 5, 1242, the two hosts commenced warfare on the banks of Lake Peipus—the Battle on the Ice. The Occidentals had an army of some two thousand men, and the Russians six thousand. This disparity was for the most part balanced by the Teutons superior armaments.<sup>38</sup>

According to the Nikonian Chronicle:

It was Saturday and the sun was rising when the two hosts clashed. The Germans and the Chud', being in a formation shaped like a pig, thrust through the [Russian] regiments, and there was an evil and great battle for the Germans and the Chud'. There were tremors from the breaking lances and there was noise of swords clashing. They moved over the frozen lake but the ice could not be seen because it was all covered with blood..

The [heavenly Russian] warriors heaved their shoulders and slashed their swords, moving as if on air; and the others had no refuge whither to flee, and they were pursued for seven versts on the ice, up to the Subolich shore. Five hundred Germans were killed there, and an endless number of Chud'. Fifty important Germans were captured — powerful commanders — and they were brought to Novgorod. Some others drowned in the water, and some, gravely wounded, escaped . . . And the name of Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich began to spread through all lands... and so he came to Novgorod with great victory.<sup>39</sup>

At this battle, the fearsome Teutonic Knights were defeated, and Alexander ensured that his people would not kowtow to the Occident.

### The Aftermath

Although the Battle on the Ice was a bitter defeat for the Teutonic Order, it did not have any long-term negative ramifications on the Order itself. Only twenty-six brothers were lost—twenty were slaughtered, and six taken prisoner by Nevsky. The real damage dealt by the debacle was that it forced the Order to abandon its hopes of further eastern expansion.<sup>40</sup>

The most important result of the Battle of the Ice is that Russia was able to avoid being shackled under Western domination. (Of course, they had to brook Eastern domination, but that is another tale entirely). In many ways, Western Europe simply "forgot Russia's

existence and no longer considered her part of the European Christian community.<sup>41</sup> The Battle on the Ice caused Russia to be isolated from the rest of the Occident, and therefore prevented it from participating in the events that shaped the Western consciousness. Had the Teutonic Knights triumphed and been able to maintain an orderly state, Russia may well have experienced the Renaissance, the Scientific Revolution, the Enlightenment, the Reformation, and other such momentous happenings that are so integral to the formation of modern Occidental society. As it stands, however, Russia did not take part in these occurrences, and is ergo an anomaly in the world: not quite Western, not quite Eastern, but a nation all its own. Many Russians view this battle as the decisive moment in their nation's development—the moment when Russia prevailed against the tyranny of the West.<sup>42</sup>

After the Battle on the Ice, with the Western forces decisively routed, Alexander was compelled to ruminate upon the future of his realm. The Tatars inexorably pushed into the region, and he had to decide whether to resist or yield. Resistance was a bloody path, Alexander knew, and the inevitable defeat it promised would bring an end to his reign and to Russian culture. Should he agree to the Tatar's terms, however, he would be guaranteed limited autonomy, and the Tatar's would allow the Russians to maintain their cultural independence. Alexander sagaciously chose the latter option, placing Russia in ephemeral chains but forging a key for future freedom.<sup>43</sup>

And perhaps because this event is so very salient, the architect of its victory—Alexander Nevsky—has risen to become the Arch-Hero of the Russian people. His exploits were rendered—albeit somewhat propagandized—into one of the greatest films of all time (Eisenstein's *Alexander Nevsky*). His heroism is captured in a masterpiece of music—Prokofiev's score for the aforementioned film. And his name was invoked by Stalin in Russia's darkest hour, when Hitler and his *Wehrmacht* were threatening Moscow itself. And perhaps most fittingly of all, he is officially recognized as a saint by the Russian Orthodox Church,<sup>44</sup> the very church he saved through his deeds.

### Conclusion

The Teutonic Knights were a powerful military order that abandoned the Holy Land in favor of Eastern Europe, partly because of its ethos and partly because of conditions in the region. This puissant force was halted in its expansion by Alexander Nevsky at the Battle on the Ice, a battle which served to forever separate Russia from the rest of the Occident, for good or for ill. The development of Russia and ergo the world would have been drastically different had the Teutons prevailed in that bloody debacle. Because of his resilience, Alexander Nevsky is revered as one of Russia's greatest rulers, and his memory continually brings hope and inspiration to his people. The Teutonic Knights worked to improve the world by their methods, and they have in many ways bettered it. Still, while they are called crusaders, the principles of that breed are best exemplified by Alexander Nevsky: courage, zeal, and love for a higher ideal.

### End Notes

<sup>1</sup>Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders 1128-1291* (Leicester, England: Leicester University Press, 1995), 115.

<sup>2</sup>Indrikis Sterns, trans., "The Rule and Statutes of the Teutonic Knights;" available from; Internet; accessed 14 April 2001.

<sup>3</sup>Eric Opsahl, "The Teutonic Order;" available from: <<http://orb.rhodes.edu/encyclop/religion/monastic/opsahl1.html>>; Internet; accessed 14 April 2001.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Desmond Seward, *The Monks of War: The Military Religious Orders* (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 95+97.

<sup>6</sup>Nicholson, 106.

<sup>7</sup>Mary Fischer, *Di Himels Rote: The Idea of Christian Chivalry in the Chronicles of the Teutonic Order* (Goppingen, Germany: Kummerle Verlag, 1991), 73.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 74-77.

<sup>10</sup>Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights*, 116.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 118.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 116-117.

<sup>14</sup>Fischer, 133-134.

<sup>15</sup>Helen Nicholson, ed., *Welfare and Warfare*, vol. 2 of *The Military Orders* (Aldershot, Great Britain: Ashgate Press, 1998), 75-78.

<sup>16</sup>Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights*, 3.

<sup>17</sup>Thomas F. Madden, *A Concise History of the Crusades* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999), 140.

<sup>18</sup>Myron Gruenwald, *One Cubit of Stature: The Story of the Order of the Teutonic Knights*, (Hubertus, Wisconsin: by Guyle O'Connell, 1985), 16.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 140-141.

<sup>20</sup>Daniel H. Kaiser and Gary Marker, eds., *Reinterpreting Russian History: Readings 860-1860s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 63.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 65.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 66.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Serge A. Zenkovsky, ed. and trans. and Betty Zenkovsky, trans., *The Nikonian Chronicle: From the Year 1241 to the Year 1381*, vol. 3 (Princeton: The Kingston Press, Inc., 1986), xiv.

<sup>27</sup>Seward, 105.

<sup>28</sup>Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusade*, 2d ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 1997), 45.

<sup>29</sup>William Urban, *The Baltic Crusade*, 2d ed. (Chicago: Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, Inc., 1994), 195.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>Zenkovsky, 8.

<sup>32</sup>Urban, 196.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>John Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia, 1200-1304* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1983), 112.

<sup>35</sup>Zenkovsky, 10.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>Urban, 197.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 198.

<sup>39</sup>Zenkovsky, 11-13.

<sup>40</sup>Christiansen, 135.

<sup>41</sup>Zenkovsky, xv.

<sup>42</sup>"Alexander Nevsky," *Encarta Online*, available from: <http://encarta.msn.com/find/Concise.asp?z=1&pg=2&ti=761558828>; Internet; accessed 14 April 2001.

<sup>43</sup>Fennell, 114.

<sup>44</sup>"Alexander Nevsky."

## Works Cited

### Primary Sources

Kaiser, Daniel, and Gary Marker, eds. *Reinterpreting Russian History: Readings 860-1860s*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Sterns, Indrikis, trans. "The Rule and Statutes of the Teutonic Knights;" available from [http://orb.rhodes.edu/encyclop/religion/monastic/tk\\_rule.html](http://orb.rhodes.edu/encyclop/religion/monastic/tk_rule.html); Internet; accessed 14 April 2001.

Zenkovsky, Serge, ed. and trans., and Betty Zenkovsky, trans. *The Nikonian Chronicle: From the Year 1241 to 1381*, Vol. 3. Princeton: The Kingston Press, 1986.

### Secondary Sources

Christiansen, Eric. *The Northern Crusades*, 2d ed. New York: Penguin Books, 1997.

Fennell, John. *The Crisis of Medieval Russia, 1200-1304*. London: Longman Group Limited, 1983.

Fischer, Mary. *Di Himels Rote: The Idea of Chivalry in the Chronicles of the Teutonic Order*. Goppingen, Germany: Kummerle Verlag, 1991.

Gruewald, Myron E.. *One Cubit of Stature: The Story of the Order of the Teutonic Knights*. Hubertus, Wisconsin: By Guyle O'Connell, 1985.

Madden, Thomas F. *A Concise History of the Crusades*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999.

Opsahl, Eric. "The Teutonic Order;" available from <http://orb.rhodes.edu/encyclop/religion/monastic/opsahl1.html>; Internet; accessed 14 April 2001.

Nicholson, Helen. *Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128-1291*. Leicester University Press, 1995.

\_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Welfare and Warfare*, Vol. 2 of *The Military Orders*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate Press, 1998.

Seward, Desmond. *The Monks of War: The Military Religious Orders*. New York: Penguin Press, 1995.

Urban, William. *The Baltic Crusade*, 2d ed. Chicago: Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, Inc., 1994.





Map of the Occident and Lands of Rus' [1220]

Available from

<http://historymedren.about.com/homework/historymedren/library/atlas/natmapbalt1220.htm>