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Closely Knit: Cloth and Community in Colonial New England

Jake Calhoun

Biting, unrelenting cold beset John Winthrop as he and his company sailed from the Isle of Wight to the New World in April of 1630. He noted the harsh winds and intense frigidity of the Atlantic as it chilled the Puritan families aboard, rendering their journey arduous and miserable. Warm garments and thick blankets served as the only line of defense against those unforgiving, icy winds, and John Winthrop knew it. "I wish, therefore, that all such as shall pass this way in the spring have care to provide warm clothing; for nothing breeds more trouble and danger of sickness, in this season, than cold."[1] That same cold would prove a consistent problem for Winthrop's troupe in the decades to come, as they continued to require an abundance of cloth to safeguard their well-being in the colonies. Cloth did not remain an inert factor of Puritan society, but instead morphed into a driving communal element of those colonies. Cloth unified the Puritan communities on both a social and economic level due to its indispensability and limited production.

Christian ideals of fellowship pervaded Puritan settlements in New England, but the multitude of factors present within these communities render determining the origins of these ideals difficult. Marriage and distant ancestry tied families together, and they continued to grow new connections over time.[2] The culture of Puritan society encouraged such close familial relations, but the high death rate and minute population in the colonies' early years also made them inevitable. The nature of the congregation also contributed to the solidification of these bonds as mandatory Church membership practically dictated that all families remain in close contact with one another. Collectively, these factors provide some cause for the formation of close communal bonds among the early Puritan New England populace, but they do explain why those communities continued to remain geographically and communally bound in the decades to come. In this vacuum, some scholars posit the claim that economic factors are principally responsible for the persisting tight social structure of Puritan settlements.

The frigid New England environment made cloth a vital product for the communities, just as Winthrop surmised, and the demand for it remained inelastic throughout much of the colonies' existence. Unfortunately, meeting this demand proved difficult as trade between colonies involved a great deal of logistical difficulty. Distance and a marked lack of knowledge of the land's terrain made transactions between colonies rare. Most products needed to come from within the colony itself, and this need gave rise to relatively even wealth distribution and collectively shared resources. Numerous towns required that production such as farming be a communal endeavor.[3] Services also needed to be shared among all citizens, and every member of

the settlement employed midwives and nurses. In this respect, the social structure of these colonies depended more upon the economic needs of the settlers than from a religiously instilled sense of fellowship.[4] Economic interdependence simply ensured the community's survival.

All colonists, not just Winthrop, understood the great value of clothing, especially as its production proved difficult. Other goods held a certain degree of necessity, but cloth's scarcity allotted it greater value. Its import also stemmed from its inherent versatility as it housed the potential to be fashioned into a plethora of various goods. Colonists fashioned clothing, blankets, home furnishings, sacks for goods, and many other supplies from woven cloth. These items contributed to the colonists' survival of the brutal New England winters, but they also provided comfort in the other seasons as well due to fabrics natural ability to "breathe" and keep the wearer cool. It is perplexing, however, that colonists did not employ furs as a means of clothing in the New England colonies.

Furs were highly prized throughout the North American colonies, and New England colonists are recorded to have participated in the trade.[5] A semi-steady supply of furs should have provided the colonists with a plentiful means of clothing, but there appears to be markedly little furs and animal skins to be found within most of the New England colonies at the time.[6] Instead, woolen cloth prevailed within these particular colonies. The colonists sought after both furs and cloth, but they only seemed to have a ready supply of cloth. A difference does seem to exist between the lifestyles of the early New England colonists and those of other settlers that may explain such a discrepancy. In the years immediately following Winthrop's arrival to and establishment of the Massachusetts Bay colonies, many of the supplies available seem to have been those brought from England, and the colonists depended heavily on any supplies acquired from their admittedly irregular trade with the mother country. Those furs acquired by the colonists likely were traded for other goods due to the universal high value of furs.[7] There is also a record of a herd of sheep present among the colonists in the early years of the settlement.[8] It is quite likely that this particular herd of sheep was brought from England to the colonies by Winthrop or some other wealthy Puritan. There are also records which indicate that Winthrop makes an effort to grow the herd of sheep through intermittent trade deals.[9] Although there undoubtedly existed a fur trade in New England, the colonists perceived woolen fabric more desirable for domestic usage.

There were considerable advantages to producing woolen textiles and fabrics instead of furs and skins, not least of which was the mendable aspect of cloth. Cloth, unlike skins and furs, could be mended with relative ease as they were more easily stitched and re-sewn. Woolen fabric could also be more personalized and more easily measured. Animal skins and furs could be fitted into apparel such as gloves, but the hide often had to be resized or cut down in order to fit an

individual.[10] Cloth could be used to make an article of clothing of virtually any size easily without alterations. Cloth also had a much wider range of uses when compared to furs as it could be used to make sacks and other carrying items. Although leather and fur pouches were not uncommon, the size of any leather product was dependent on the size of the animal skin. Cloth could be used to make uniform sizes of sacks and bags which would have been useful during harvest season, when one must measure and evenly distribute crops.

Cloth production was not just beneficial for the colony because of the cloth itself, however, as it also was an excellent commodity for trade. The fabrics so beloved by the colonists were almost exclusively derived from wool, but it seems that colonists did not prize sheep to the same degree. There are several transactions between Winthrop's colony and others mentioned in his journal, in which he exchanges cloth for furs and other assorted goods. He recorded a transaction that took place between two settlements in which Winthrop provided cloths and linen in exchange for sheep. "We had from them about forty sheep, and beaver, and brass pieces, and sugar, etc., for sack, strong waters, linen cloth, and other commodities."[11] It seems strange that a colony should trade forty sheep, a staggering supply of wool, for a limited amount of woven cloth. Sheep continue to provide wool throughout the years, they require few resources to maintain their population, and the number of sheep can grow as time passes. As a product, sheep seem to be much more valuable, but this colony still trades them for woven cloth. This discrepancy parallels the trading of cloth for fur as the fur traders ask for cloth, not sheep, despite the fact that Winthrop's settlement housed over forty sheep at the time. The sheep remain unwanted by all but Winthrop's colony because they are virtually useless without enough spinsters and weavers to work the wool into cloth.

Contrary to the opinions of much of the academic community, spinning wool was by no means unskilled work.[12] The process of spinning wool was very intensive and it required constant attention and effort. Mistakes made in spinning could result in useless strands of yarn and could in part waste what precious resources the colonists had at their disposal. Not only was the work difficult, but the tools necessary to spin wool were very rudimentary in the seventeenth century. The treadle wheel had not yet been invented, and so the wheel demanded a great deal of effort to operate. While spinning the wheel, the spinster would also have to maintain complete focus so as to not break the thread. A popularized misconception pervades that every colonial home had at least one spinning wheel and there was always one woman in the home that could operate the wheel. American colonial museums such as the popular William Damm Garrison house are common perpetuators of this myth.[13] It is true that in the later eighteenth century most homes were outfitted with a spinning wheel in a family with a knowledgeable female spinster, but by that time spinning and weaving had morphed to become largely a hobby for many women

as cloth had already begun to be commercialized. In seventeenth century colonies, only a select group of women in each respective settlement could spin wool competently.

More rare rare than capable spinsters were capable weavers. The two jobs involved very different activities and demanded equally different skill sets. There were also social statuses entwined with each respective profession; spinsters were seen as menial laborers while weavers were understood to be more akin to craftsmen.[14] While both of these forms of work required complex skills, weavers were more often men so in turn, more import was placed on the role of the weaver. This division of women as spinsters and men as weavers, however, was not ubiquitous and there were many instances in which women would be both spinster and weaver. This dual role was more common in the New England colonies during the seventeenth century than it was in later years, but there were still markedly few spinsters or weavers to be found in these early colonies.[15] There also was a severe lack of weaving equipment as looms were more complex and expensive than the rudimentary spinning wheels, and they required more effort to both operate and maintain. Some settlements might be fortunate enough to have several spinning wheels, but often times those settlements might only have one loom operated by a single weaver.[16] This limited supply of both spinsters and weavers in the settlements resulted in a massive demand for cloth makers of any kind, which significantly affected the social relations of the New England colonies.

The great demand for spinsters and weavers elevated their social status in New England. Women who were able to spin wool or weave quickly became popular members of the community as they would inevitably be visited by practically every member of the congregation at some point.[17] The settlements needed these individuals, and so few colonists would speak out against the spinsters of their town or village. This favored status becomes quite obvious when one examines the ability of spinsters to remain unmarried throughout much of their career. Death rates in the American colonies were almost universally high, and so widows were quite common. These women were expected to remarry, but spinsters were consistently the exceptions to this rule. Since few individuals would take public action against a spinster, an individual of substantial economic importance, these women were rarely pressured into marriage.[18] Interestingly, it also made more economic sense for spinsters to remain unmarried as they were able to retain the totality of their wealth without relinquishing it to a husband. The elevated status of spinsters and cloth makers in New England society meant that all members of a settlement or colony would have a common tie through the spinster or spinsters of their community.

Connections between colonial families were also strengthened through practices such as apprenticeships. Because spinning and weaving skills were so highly prized, apprenticeships under a spinster would have been desirable for many women in the settlement. Families would

send their daughters to stay with a spinster as she learned her trade. There are several records which indicate that spinsters would regularly take on such apprentices, but the motivation to do so on the part of the spinster herself is unclear.[19] It is possible that these spinsters sought apprentices to aid them in their work due to the high demand for cloth at the time. Some spinsters may have had a daughter to work with and to teach their trade, but most had few children and no husband. Instructing apprentices may thus have been an economic method of keeping up supply of cloth, but the practice also could have stemmed from the communal ties developing between the citizens of each respective settlement. Although neighbors of spinsters had to ensure they remained in their spinster's good graces, those same spinsters also likely concerned themselves with their neighbors as well. By permitting apprenticeships, the spinster ingrained herself further into the structure as well as the social psyche of the town. Present as well was likely a sense of duty on the part of the spinster as she still perceived herself as a member of the congregation, and so must have also recognized that she had responsibilities to the colony. Those responsibilities possibly extended beyond simply providing cloth to the town but also to ensuring that the town had a future spinster who could provide that same service. In these various ways, apprenticeships embedded the role of the spinster deep into the community and aided in its unification.

Geographically, spinsters also unified the towns and settlements of New England. The early colonial settlements of New England began as tightly structured towns as people's homes were quite close to one another. As time passed, however, those settlements began to expand;individual homes extended further from the town center, but there were strict limits as to how far those individual estates could extend. These limits were not as much expressed written decrees, but instead were born of practical restrictions. Families had to be close enough to obtain supplies and goods from their neighbors should they need them, and most New England farms were communally held. These connections were significant, but there were also means of bypassing these necessities. Theoretically, individuals could have grown their own crops on their own estate, separate from the town garden, and most necessary supplies could have likely been obtained from monthly trips into town. Some limitations, however, could not be worked around and one of those limitations had to do with the need for cloth. Unless those homes had a spinster and weaver in residence, it would have been quite difficult to live so far removed from the town cloth-maker. These families could potentially stock up articles of clothing on occasional trips into town, but without a skilled weaver and an excess of cloth, it would have been difficult to mend those clothes. Mending appears to have been a regular need as town spinsters and weavers were recorded as almost constantly stitching and weaving torn or shredded clothes.[20] Without

someone maintaining these articles of clothing, which regularly tore and ripped during manual labor, living apart from the community would have been exceedingly difficult.

Cloth, due to its utility and value, its severely limited production and circulation, and its profound social effects on certain individuals in colonial society, undoubtedly functioned as a unifying factor within the Puritan communities of New England. It connected the members of every town on an economic, social, and geographical level. It is still important to acknowledge that there were several other key factors responsible for the communal nature of Puritan society. Religious beliefs stand as one of the more prominent of these factors, as the Christian ideal of fellowship characterized much of Puritan society.[21] Puritans saw shared faith as the connecting power within the community, and this idea of a religious connection was facilitated through mandatory Church attendance. Because every citizen was required by law to be a Church member, the settlers of these Puritan towns would come into weekly contact with one another at the very least. A distinction must be made, however, between the idea of fellowship and the actual interdependence of a community. Perceiving oneself as a member of a community does not equate to actual reliance on the community for one's own well-being. The congregational aspects of New England settlements were powerful, but the economic structures present within those settlements, such as the systems surrounding cloth production and trade, must also be understood as responsible for the communal nature of seventeenth-century Puritan society.

[1] John Winthrop, *The Journal of John Winthrop, 1630-1649* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1996), 34.
[2] Kenneth A. Lockridge, *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years: Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1985).
[3] John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (Cary: Oxford University Press, 1999), 13-14.
[4] Ibid., 61.
[5] Francis Moloney, *The Fur Trade in New England, 1620-1676* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), 59.
[6] George Francis Dow, *Every Day Life in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (New York: ARNO Press, 1977), 60.
[7] Molony, 59.
[8] Winthrop, 131.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Dow, 205.
[11] Winthrop, 131.
[12] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth* (New York: Vintage, 2002), 91.
[13] Ibid, 77.
[14] "The Gender Division of Labor in the Production of Textiles in Eighteenth Century, Rural Pennsylvania (Rethinking the New England Model)," *Journal of Social History* 27, no. 3: 37-61.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.

[18] Julia Cherry Spruill, "Mistress Margaret Brent, Spinster," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 100, no. 1 (2005): 48-54.
[19] Ulrich, 83.
[20] Ibid., 148.
[21] Demos, 13.

The Politics of Isadora Duncan

Jennifer Nowak

A rebellious, artistic, freedom-loving woman, dancer Isadora Duncan combined the emerging feminist emphasis on radical self-expression with the suffragist's sense of political and social responsibility and the artist's desire for beauty. She did not join any organized efforts, choosing instead to be a force of one. She saw the power for change as residing within the individual rather than the state.

"Everything must be undone," Duncan wrote in a 1910 essay on the art of dance.[1] In an era when ballerinas wore corsets and Vaudeville dancers donned cumbersome costumes, Duncan removed satin dance slippers, silk stockings, and corsets—all physical representations of what she believed to be the cultural constraints placed upon the dancer's body and her artistic expression. Instead, Duncan danced in a gauzy, short tunic, secured at the breast and the hips. "It has never dawned on me to swathe myself in hampering garments or to bind myself my limbs and drape the throat, for am I not striving to fuse soul and body in one unified image of beauty?"[2] In its transparency, the tunic let the female body be viewed as a whole. Her costume was an emblem of women's liberation, a radical image of a woman's body freed from the binding and stifling layers of society. Duncan sought to affirm the female body: to demystify it and therefore de-fetishize it. She sought to create a female body in which sexuality was freely acknowledged as part of the human experience, without being reduced to merely an object of male desire.

The discussion of women's liberation is central to understanding Duncan's broad and radical cultural impact. In Duncan's social critique, women had much to gain from eradicating the many prohibitions associated with the nineteenth century. Her foremost concern was with women's control over their bodies as the foundation for expression. She thus opposed marriage, encouraged open sexual expression, and believed in free motherhood.[3] At the same time, Duncan argued that wholeness and unity could only be experienced when audiences stopped eroticizing the female dancer.

The shift from repression to self-expression was part of a larger discourse taken up by intellectuals in the early twentieth century. In Greenwich Village, New York, a bohemian community of artists, intellectuals, and radicals saw self-expression as both the means to and the end of their utopian revolution. The golden age of Greenwich Village bohemia occurred between the fin-de-siècle and World War I, when modernist art combined with anarchism in what historian John Patrick Diggins called the "Lyrical Left."[4]

One of the most resilient legacies of the Lyrical Left rests in its embrace of women's liberation, even if the practice of free love thrust many of its participants into affairs and

marriages. And for the women of the Lyrical Left, liberation was politics of the body, not the voting booth. These bohemians who gathered at Mabel Dodge's Fifth Avenue salon read journals such as *The Masses* and *The Seven Arts* and devoted as much to theater and self-expression as to labor and redistribution of wealth.[5] Their politics may not have been rigorous or supported one specific plan of action, but their politics did visualize the possibility of a utopian future. This was a radicalism, wrote literary and social critic Irving Howe, "in which native morals, indignation, and European political thought, a flare of cultural exuberance, and some sharp-teethed criticism of our social arrangements all came together."[6]

The Village supported a mixture of ideologies. Mabel Dodge described visitors to her salon as a mixture of "socialists, trade-unionists, anarchists, suffragists, poets, lawyers, murderers, old friends, psychoanalysts, birth controlists, newspapermen, artists, woman's place-is-in-the-home women, clergymen, and just plain men."[7] These radicals were committed more to cultural reform than to political reform. As with Duncan, their politics did not so much concern policy; rather, it was a politics of individual emancipation. The arts, they believed, ought to express American life and should transform it as well. In their pursuit to recreate American culture, the Lyrical Left sought to fuse life and art, the personal and the political.

It was their desire for self-expression that Duncan so perfectly embodied. "I went to see her dance whenever she appeared," wrote Dodge, "because she seemed to me, when she was on stage, to be the most truly living being I had ever seen. There she made one live too, made one know more deeply and vividly the splendid and terrible potentialities one bore within oneself."[8]

The bohemians of Greenwich Village claimed Duncan as one of their own, as "a mind and moral force," in the words of writer and political activist Max Eastman, an "American fighting a battle against Americanism. That was Isadora."[9] However, Duncan's attachment to the Village bohemians was only in spirit, for world war would soon disfigure their utopian vision as well as their veneration of her.

With the outbreak of World War I, Duncan, who had been performing in France, fled for New York. France had been Duncan's artistic homeland since her first success in Paris in 1901 and she grieved for the destruction of its cities and massive loss of French lives. At a time when polite American society was going mad for the fox trot, her performance's popularity was less than overwhelming. In America, Duncan's art was never really an art of the people, as she would later recall. Rather, her art was a higher art.[10] The war in Europe was to have a profound impact on her place in American culture.

In New York, she gave by-invitation-only performance at the Metropolitan Opera House on November 21, 1916, to raise funds for L'Oeuvre Fraternelle des Artistes, an organization aiding the families of French artists who had been called to the Front. The first half began with the orchestra performing César Franck's Symphony in D. Then Duncan danced Franck's

"Redemption" and Schubert's "Ave Maria". The second half featured Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 6 "Pathétique" and concluded with Claude-Joseph Rouget de Lisle's "La Marseillaise." There, in the midst of artists, musicians, actors, intellectuals and public figures, including acclaimed Russian ballerina Anna Pavlova, Duncan was given a standing ovation for her final number: a rendition of France's national anthem. Her body was folded in a crimson-colored robe that bared her shoulders and, according to some reviewers, bared a breast at her moment of triumph. She was Lady Liberty, leaping into action as the music sounded the call to arms. She portrayed the departure of troops to battle against the invading army. By the end, she seemed beaten to her knees, yet unconquered, and rose to triumph.[11]

She repeated the program, which had been widely reported on by the press, for the public on March 6, 1917. On the eve of American's entrance into the war, she commanded one of the largest audiences of the season at the Metropolitan Opera. At the evening's end, after dancing *La Marseillaise*, Duncan made what was the most celebrated gesture of her American dance career. She peeled away her crimson robe, reveling the silken folds of the Star and Stripes underneath. The orchestra struck up the "Star-Spangled Banner" and the audience cut loose, some yelling "bravo" others giving out a rebel yell. [12]

Duncan's performance appealed to the revival in American patriotism, which had begun to stir even before the war. Hardly anyone in the United States remained unaffected by the growing patriotism. The Greenwich Village radicals were a major exception, however, and Duncan's enthusiasm for the war and avocation for intervention cost her the support of the anti-war bohemians who had once idolized her. Radical intellectuals were dismayed by her patriotic dances. Newspaper editor and literary critic Floyd Dell heaped "bitter scorn" on the woman he had once called a revelation.[13]

In spirit, Duncan was an anarchist, not a socialist, referring always to a higher authority than the state. In her mind, this higher authority was art, beauty, and dance. Soon, she would call herself a Bolshevik and a "red." When Russian revolutionaries overthrew their tsar in March 1917, Duncan paid tribute to the revolution with another celebratory performance at the Metropolitan Opera House. Besides France and America, Russia had been, and would continue to be, an important host to her art. Since 1906, Duncan had toured Russia six times, enjoying the luxuries of the Russian elite who celebrated her grandly. In the Russian revolution, her philosophy of liberation and self-expression found its ideal domain. "In my red tunic" she later wrote, "I have constantly danced the Revolution and the call to arms of the oppressed." She was enthralled by the urgent drama of oppression and grief. "On the night of the Russian Revolution," she wrote, "I danced with a terrible fierce joy. My heart was bursting within me at the release of all those who had suffered, been tortured, died in the cause of Humanity."[14]

In April of 1917, Duncan added to her patriotic repertoire another solo, this one to Tchaikovsky's *Marche Slav*. It was similar in its dramatic interpretation to the *La Marseillaise*, but this time represented the Russian people rising from slavery to freedom.

> With her hands bound behind her back, groping, stumbling, head bowed, and knees bent, she struggles forward, clad only in a short red garment that barely covers her thighs. With furtive glances of extreme despair she peers above and ahead. She does not spread her arms apart with wide gestures. She brings them forward slowly and we observe with horror that they have practically forgotten how to move at all. They are crushed, these hands, crushed and bleeding after their long serfdom; they are not hands, but claw, broken, twisted piteous claw.[15]

Marche Slav was greeted as enthusiastically as *La Marseillaise*.

At this point, before the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia, Duncan could intertwine the revolution with allied patriotism for the war in Europe by appealing to her American audience's sympathies for the politically oppressed as well as to their belief in the moral crusade of the war. After the war, the public's sympathies shifted radically. The sort of innocent, utopian revolution that Duncan was expressing was no longer possible. Being a revolutionary was no longer a romantic badge of honor. Now she was identified as a dangerous communist sympathizer out to destroy that American way of life. Where her enraptured audiences had once seen freedom and beauty in the dancer's body, they now saw sedition and treason.

To Duncan, communism was simply the renewal of democracy without the greed, villainy, and class injustice of capitalism. She saw no contradiction between her own American ideals and those of the Soviets.[16] Yet Duncan found herself increasingly out of step with American culture. She was greeted with hostility, not only because an anti-communist public perceived her politics as seditious, but also because the postwar avant-garde considered her self-expression through dance as old-fashioned. Her aesthetics failed to resonate with the culture of the Ziegfeld Follies girls and the Flapper. After she left America permanently, the press continued to publish news of her life in Europe, covering her financial woes, love affairs, and even her suicide attempt. She made for good media with a colorful, eccentric life that could be be rewritten for entertainment.

The 1920s was an era of conspicuous consumption for the well-to-do, the dawn of the advertising industry, and, with the expansion of radio and movies, the start of a mass media culture. Trends were set by the young in the beauty parlor, on the sports field, and on the dance floor. Artists were less interested in the fusion of art and life and more interested in artistic experimentation for its own sake. They were no longer driven by a desire for self-expression, but were propelled forward by a desire to discover the new.[17] Duncan took note of this new

aesthetic: "I don't believe in the narrow bourgeois formula of art for art's sake. Art must be based upon and flow from life." To Duncan, the dance mania that had seized America in the 1920s was a dancing beset with spams and harsh angles, not grace and curves. Whether in discussing classical ballet or jazz, her argument remained the same: the dancer was a "soul striving upwards, through labor and harmonious life."[18] She failed to find this in the popular Charleston or the "animal dances" such as the fox trot, the bunny hug, or the grizzly bear. For her, dance was "the living leap of the child, springing towards the heights, toward its future accomplishment, toward a new great vision of life that would express America."[19]

Her conflicted feelings about America were never resolved. While she was living in Paris in 1927, the execution of Italian anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti became Duncan's new *cause célèbre*. Shoemaker Nicola Sacco and fish market worker Bartolomeo Vanzetti were arrested for a robbery and murder in Braintree, Massachusetts. Neither Sacco nor Vanzetti had been in the area of the crimes at the time and both had alibis to prove it. Instead, it was their involvement in political agitation, labor strikes, as well as anti-Italian propaganda that led to their conviction. Called "Bolsheviks" and "anarchist bastards" by the presiding judge, they were both sentenced to the electric chair. After the sentence, humanist solidarity requested a retrial and protests were sparked in major cities throughout the world.

"The Sacco-Vanzetti case is a blot on American justice," Isadora told an Illinois superior court judge who was visiting Paris in 1927. "It will bring down a lasting curse on the United States, a curse deserved by American hypocrisy."[20]

It was raining on the night of August 23 when Duncan set off down the Boulevard Raspail, followed by a small crowd, and walked for two miles to the American Embassy on the other side of the Seine. Before the locked gates of the Embassy, guarded by a platoon of gendarmerie, she silently held high a burning taper candle. A gendarme recognized her and said indulgently, "Madame, go home. This is no place for artists."[21] Undaunted, Duncan threatened to remove her clothing and dance in the nude in front of the embassy in protest. She kept vigil in the rain for the rest of the night. When Sacco and Vanzetti were put to death hours later, rioting broke out around Paris.

Duncan's life necessitated beauty and self-expression. She believed that these ideals would triumph over humanity's darker impulses. On the night of September 14, 1927, she wore an iridescent silk shawl that she described as "absolute magic." The piece was two yards long and five feet wide. It was made of red silk crepe, with great yellow birds nearly covering it, with blue Chinese aster and Chinese characters in black. "A marvelous, lovely thing," described a friend. "The light of Isadora's life. She would go nowhere without it."[22] It was a warm evening in Nice when Duncan went out for a drive on the Promenade des Anglais with Italian racecar driver Benoît Falchetto. Their open-air Bugatti was a low, two-seat racing model with the left

side passenger seat staggered slightly back from the driver's seat on the right. As the car took off, she shouted to her friends, "Adieu, mes amis, je vais à la gloire!" - "Goodbye my friends, I go to glory!"[23] These hopeful words were the kind that Duncan would have said at anytime throughout her remarkable life. As she sat down, the long fringes of her shawl fell over the side of the car and, unbeknownst to Duncan and Falchetto, caught in the spokes of the rear left wheel. With the first sharp turn on the Promenade des Anglais, her neck was broken and she was dead.

"The woman I am is that artist I am," explained Duncan. "There is no difference."[24] Her art was a prominent participant in America's social, political, and cultural life. Her stage was a setting where liberation, self-expression, nationalism, and war were explicitly discussed. Bohemians and radicals, modernists and realists alike recognized the force of change encompassed within her dancing which they, in turn, applied to their own artistic, intellectual, social and political projects. "Isadora was our symbol," recalled an American dance critic, "the symbol of a new art, a new literature, a new national polity, a new life."[25]

[1] Isadora Duncan, "The Dance of the Greeks," *The Art of the Dance* (New York, 1928), 96.
[2] Elizabeth Francis, "From Event to Monument: Modernism, Feminism and Isadora Duncan," *The University of Kansas American Studies Journal* 35, No. 1 (Spring 1994): 2.
[3] Ibid., 32.
[4] Ed D'Angelo, "Anarchism and the Beats," *The Philosophy of the Beats*. Ed. Sharin Elkholy (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2012), 232.
[5] Ann Daly, *Done into Dance: Isadora Duncan in America* (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1995), 180.
[6] Ibid., 182.
[7] Ibid., 181.
[8] Ibid., 182-83.
[9] Ibid., 18.
[10] Peter Kurth, *Isadora Duncan: A Sensational Life* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2001), 361.
[11] Daly, 185.
[12] Ibid., 186-87.
[13] Kurth, 363.
[14] Daly, 195.
[15] Carl Van Vetchen, *The Dance Writings of Carl Van Vetchen*, Ed. Paul Padgette (New York: Dance Horizons, 1975), 25-26.
[16] Daly, 197.
[17] Sean Cashman, *America in the Twenties and Thirties: The Olympian Age of Franklin Delano Roosevelt* (New York: New York University Press, 1990), 59.
[18] Kurth, 11.
[19] Daly, 216.
[20] Kurth, 539.
[21] Noel Fitch, *Walks In Hemingway's Paris: A Guide To Paris For The Literary Traveler* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin Press, 1992), 133-34.
[22] Kurth, 553.
[23] Ibid., 555.
[24] Ibid., xii.
[25] Daly, 8.

The Theatre of Salvation: Punitive and Ascetic Pain in Late Medieval Europe

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For the men and women of the medieval period, pain was an essential element of what it meant to be a creature of the flesh. Human beings, however, were the sole earthly creatures to be of the spirit as well—beings with souls capable of either ascension to the divine or damnation to hell. In the late medieval period, both the criminal justice system and religious ascetics developed means by which to utilize this cultural worldview on the utility of pain in systematic ways that would contribute to the soul's divine ascent. While the law courts did indeed utilize pain to benefit their own jurisdiction, deter other possible criminals, broadcast the details of the offense, and symbolically retaliate against the crime, it was also used in a fashion which resembled the religious currents of the day that sought to purge the sins of the world in order to cleanse both the community at large and the sinner's soul .

To the modern viewer the medieval utilization of pain seems alien and even brutal in its extensive and detailed nature. Approached from their contemporary angle, this embrace of pain can be seen as the logical utilization of an ever-present sensation. This utilization is grounded in one of the society's central tenets—Christianity. Most poignantly, Christ's salvation of humanity through his passion and death upon the cross exemplifies the inherent embrace of pain in the religion. Through his suffering and undeniable pain as a man incarnate, Christ was able to atone for the many sins of man and pave the way for every human being's salvation. More than a mere theological tenet, this narrative permeated the medieval worldview in the ever-present form of sermons, artwork, and literature. Likewise, it cemented the ancient theory that blood may serve a purgative function in washing clean the impurities of man, a sentiment which is also interestingly reflected in medical treatises that sought to cleanse the body through bleeding.[1] It is Christ's blood which cleansed man's sins and his flesh which nourishes the sinner's souls in the Eucharist. This was by no means limited to the savior's actions but applied to every human being as well due to the Biblical translation that man was made from clay.[2] His body, formed of the clay of the earth, was the nucleus of his malleability and thus "tempered in the kiln of pain and hardened into impermeability."[3] Pain was thus viewed as salvific to the everyday man; both the torment of Christ and an individual's pain in atonement for sins could elevate the penitent closer to the divine. Such a sentiment was not limited to the extreme asceticism of bodily pain practiced by the mystics but also meant to pertain to lay repentance of emotional distress over sins.[4] These permeating religious notions point to the fact that while pain in the penal setting was indeed motivated by secular concerns, it was likewise steeped in the culture's multitudinous religious sentiments toward pain.

In order to fully address the many purposes behind punitive pain and the religious sentiments entailed, a brief survey of the punishments themselves is in order. While monetary fines and imprisonment were the most common punishments, there exist three other categories of punishment which pertain most to the subject of pain in judicial punishments: shaming, mutilation, and capital punishments. These three punishments were very often combined and depended equally upon social rank and gender as they did upon the crime committed.[5] At the bottom tier of this hierarchy of painful punishments was the ritual of shame. While all punishments entailed a vast amount of shame for the convicted, these left no permanent bodily mutilations and derived most of their pain from the emotional effects of being defamed. Those sentenced to these punishments were mainly petty moral offenders such as adulterers, price gougers, card shippers, or gossips. Crimes such as these usually mandated that the offense be made public by exposing the offender in a way that signaled his or her crime. For instance, one could be tied to the pillory, a pillar or platform placed near the town hall, in the marketplace, or close to church. The prisoner would remain here for one to two hours, often repeating the punishment weekly, so that the entirety of the town could know of his or her offense. Some type of identifier was also placed near the criminal so that onlookers could know exactly what had been committed. For example, the German custom was to have harlots hold wreaths of straw and blasphemers a rod and candle. Likewise, this symbol of shame could be extended beyond the pillory for the offender to wear in his or her daily activities.[6] A similar, although more extreme punishment was public whipping wherein the offender was whipped in a highly trafficked area, usually on Sundays when townspeople had emerged for Church. Much like public shaming, an object could be displayed above the convict's head so that onlookers would know of the crime. As this was a punishment often employed for those who had wounded or committed armed robbery, a weapon was usually on display.[7] Usually, the road to either of these punishments entailed a grand ceremony, with music and spectacle, as to increase the humiliation upon the individual.[8]

Much more severe were the corporal and capital punishments that entailed not only a vast amount of shame but also varying degrees of intense bodily pain. These were usually performed on more severe or repeat offenses such as theft, petty larceny, fraud, and blasphemy.[9] Crimes such as these were most often met with the punishment of mutilation directed at the part of the body which had committed the offense. For example, those who had committed manslaughter, perjury, or fraud had their hands cut off by an axe and then displayed above them during their time in the pillory.[10] Criminals in this category also faced the sentence of branding, which was most commonly done on the cheek or forehead in order to better expose the offender for the crime he or she had committed.[11] Those condemned to branding were usually thieves who thus bore either the symbol of the gallows or the city's coat of arms.[12] Shaming and such mutilation

were interrelated insofar as these punishments had the effect of making an offense known to the public before the criminal reentered the community. Those exposed at the pillory were to face perpetual judgment from the community and those whose hands had been cut off could never hide the crime that they had committed. Execution, however, incurred no such continuously stigmatizing effect but meant to eliminate the criminal from the community entirely.

While execution was intended for what the society considered the most heinous of offenses, its methods and severity varied greatly due to both crime and social rank. The swiftest and least painful method, beheading, was reserved for only the highest ranking members of society whose families wished to save themselves from the disgrace of an execution. The next most common method, hanging, was viewed as a much more defaming method of death. Hanging (or garroting, in some areas) was usually used for convicted arsonists, thieves, or murderers. More extreme crimes were treated with more extreme death sentences. Adultery, murder of one's spouse, or infanticide could be sentenced with being buried alive beneath the gallows. Child murderers, adulterers, and heretics could be drowned by having their arms and legs tied behind their back and being thrown in a river. Witches, heretics, sodomites, and forgerers could face the sentence of death by fire.[13] While the first and penultimate were usually reserved for women, the latter could be used on either men or women. Reserved for men were the sentences of breaking on the wheel, quartering, or dismemberment. These extreme butcherings were only performed on those the society considered the most horrible of criminals --serial murderers, traitors, or regicides.[14] Those convicted of treason were usually given the worst of punishments, which could be as extreme as hanging, disembowelment, castration, beheading, and finally quartering all in one sentence.[15] Each method could be made either more or less extreme by the addition of other punishments to the sentence (such as mutilation) or by the means which the criminal was taken to his or her death. The culprit could be dragged to the site of the execution or pinched on the route with red-hot tongs.[16] All of these methods usually entailed a grand and meticulous ceremony wherein a procession was led down a symbolic route (arranged around the scene of the crime and other significant locations) and interrupted by sermons, prayers, and various declarations of guilt. Thus, contemporaries describe them not as the brutal, senseless messages of power seen by modern eyes but as dignified educational events adhering to a strict ritualized format.[17]

Such statements about the educational and dignified nature of these bloody spectacles immediately bring to mind the question of what was the purpose of these punishments. Why was such pain being utilized in the name of justice? As with all issues of historical inquiry, the answer is entangled and multifaceted. An oft-discussed theory is that they were tools wherein the state could bloodily show that they held the power not only to make rules but to enforce them.[18] After a convict was whipped or branded in the city of Amsterdam, they were expected to kneel before

the judges and thank them for their kindness and righteousness; such phenomenon exposes that the intentions of the judges may indeed have been to cement their own power.[19] Another explanation which centers upon the intentions of the courts speculates that these gruesome spectacles were meant to act as deterrents for any future crime. Not only the does the public nature of these events support this theory, but documents such as the 1461 Council of Strasbourg explicitly state that "the sight of misery would produce anxiety and fear, so that many a person would refrain from stealing because of it, from fear of being hanged too."[20] While these court-centered explanations undoubtedly do have validity concerning the intentions behind these punishments, they do not suffice to explain the exact and differentiated methods in which pain was implemented.

The varied and specific punishments carved upon the body of the convict testify to the fact that the judges intended to announce the crime of the offender and symbolically recreate the sin in order to achieve retribution. Except in England, the community had been marginalized in the court process due to the transition from the accusatorial to inquisitorial process; thus, a great portion of their knowledge of the crime came from the punishment inflicted on the criminal.[21] Most simply, such a phenomenon can be seen in the rituals of the pillory, whipping, and mutilation. Those condemned to shaming were accompanied by some symbol of their offense and the mutilated man or woman was forever marked by a deformity which signified their crime. The penalty of mutilation also serves as a poignant example of symbolic retribution: the offending member was in turn punished for its blunder. The community was thus able to know the truth of something that the society considered a "secret" and individuals such as false beggars, dishonest food-dealers, or slanderers would be marked to caution the community.[22] This practice of utilizing the body to tell the crime is even more vividly seen in the practice of "multiple deaths" wherein the offender was killed in the manner specific to each of his crimes. For example, William Wallace was to be killed three times, by quartering, burning, hanging, and finally disembowelment, each corresponding to a different crime committed against the English crown.[23] Beyond the explanatory nature of these extreme punishments, they also harkened back to older medieval notions of equal retribution as these crimes were considered the most heinous and therefore their punishments the most extreme.[24] The symbolic ritual procession toward the punishment (most often execution) also served to tell the crowds of the details of the punishments and likewise craft a spectacle of equal retribution by parading by the crime sight and assigning specific punishments (such as wearing a dead bull's skin to the site of execution) to particular criminals.

These explanations not only equate the body in pain to clay upon which the authorities imprinted their power and tortured as a means to instill fear but also, as Katherine Royer states, "reducing him to a body that served simply as a symbol of his crime."[25] Considering the tangled

web of religious iconography and theology on the matter of pain, these three explanations may not suffice to explain all that was inherent in the medieval penal punishments. Just as Christ's blood, the life force spilled from the pain of judicial punishments had the ability to heal in the minds of medieval spectators. A crime not only tainted the soul of the offender himself but brought a certain type of "miasma" to the community as a whole.[26] The medieval anxiety of an improper death is vividly seen in their fear of a sudden, unconfessed death. This viewpoint is one that must have likewise applied to the penal system in the sense that even a criminal's death must occur with all ends "tied tight."[27] One practice which reflects such a desire is the "last supper" held before an execution wherein the judge, executioner, priest, and offender would all gather for a meal in order to make peace with each other.[28] The fear of the stigma associated with such violence is also reflected in the medieval community's attitude toward the executioner. Beyond executions, he was responsible for removing dead animals from the town and cleaning sewers; he thus never truly freed himself of the stigma associated with inflicting death and torture in exchange for money. For this reason, he was expected to live outside of the community, wear special garments, and marry within his own circle of executioners.[29] Such sentiments are further reflected in the site of executions, all of which were held beyond the city walls.[30] By hosting such events, however, the hope was that God's anger with the offender may be diverted from the community at large.[31] Further, the offender's proper death could lift the miasma that tainted both his soul and the community itself.

If such a taint surrounded executions, only the proper method of death and the criminal's compliance with community expectations could sanctify and edify this spectacle of pain. The offender, although now known to the community as a horrendous sinner, must thus exemplify the good thief and play his part in the theatre of salvation. After Pope Clement V issued the papal bull in 1312 all courts were required to offer a condemned criminal confession to a friar or priest who was waiting at the scaffold.[32] Just like the good thief crucified beside Christ, this criminal was most likely a lifelong sinner. In the fashion of this thief, however, the power of Christ gave even the most depraved sinner a chance to confess and redeem himself. The bad thief, however, represented the other extreme of this culture's antitheses of pain: the unrepentant man experienced his pain as a foretaste of the fires of hell.[33] If the criminal were to humbly accept his punishment and properly give his confession, this could lend a sort of "mystical meaning" to the death—cementing the admitted guilt without the opportunity to commit more sin and thus ensuring a less damnable afterlife.[34] After the confession and just before death, the criminal was often encouraged to give a speech of remorse, begging the forgiveness of those he hurt, thanking authorities, blessing the spectators, and promising to intercede for those offended in the presence of God. The present priest would thus give a sermon, edifying his words, praising the change of heart, and utilizing the event as an example of the grace offered to all repented sinners.[35] In this

sense, punitive pain was more of a public spectacle concerning salvation and damnation than a festival of fear.[36] The scaffold could thus become the battleground seen in contemporary *Ars Moriendi* in the most extreme sense, wherein the doctrine of absolution for repented sinners at death was at its most heightened example.[37] Surprisingly, this could mean that while the pain and gore of the experience could disgust the viewer, the process of seeing a heinous sinner confess his crimes and receive absolution could be comforting to religious sentiments.[38]

This mode of dying well was viewed with particular dignity by the community, who thus saw the offender as a quasi-martyr. If he or she approached their death with humility and thanks, he was seen as one who not only purged himself of his crime but also cleansed the community of the sins that he had committed against it. Conjoined with the sentiments on the mystical nature of a death immediately after confession and doctrines concerning the pain in this life that would contribute the betterment in the next, the one-time criminal could then also intercede on the community's behalf as he or she now sat in the ethereal realm. For this reason, the vestiges of pain left behind after the execution (blood, bones, rope, etc.) were then collected by the onlookers. Some magistrates actually allowed executioners to collect the blood of the criminal as it was believed to help the ill if they drank it; likewise, bones were collected and viewed as relics of the dead criminal.[39] Such practices immediately call to mind medieval artwork showcasing Christ suckling sinners with the blood from his wounds or saint's relics enshrined in Cathedrals.[40] Thus, the measures of punitive pain may indeed have served the secular courts, but they were also capable of elevating a criminal to the realm of the blessed.

If the crowd could view the spectacle of death in such a purifying manner and the criminal himself as a martyr, it is also possible that spectators internalized the events as religious symbolism. In 1491, a Holy Mountain was built near Milan, Italy. Here, pilgrims would traverse through 45 churches wherein they would see life-size reenactments of the Bible's most notable events in the tale of salvation—from the creation to the incarnation. Upon reaching the top of the mountain, visitors were then confronted with over 600 life-size dolls adorned with real hair, clothing, glass eyes, and props that portrayed the passion. This harkens to devotional writings that call for believers to put themselves in "direct and imaginative contact with the people and events of the passion."[41] Much like the painted altarpiece, community plays, and devotional woodcuts, such objects invited the spectator to utilize symbolic recreations as a space for imaginative deployment in visualizing Christ's passion.[42] This imaginative devotion would place practitioners in a direct relationship with the suffering Christ and give them a deepened appreciation for pain and the religious possibilities it could entail. Arguably, however, only martyrs could truly imitate Christ and comprehend the pain Christ experienced during his passion.[43] There is a divide between the extreme pain of such a torturous death and the lives of

the average medieval Christian; for these believers, the act of truly amalgamating their everyday experiences with such a narrative may have been a difficult process. Thus, the theory that the spectators of an execution utilized the ritual as a point of imaginative devotion is not only supported by the view of the "good thief" as a martyr but also the multitudinous encouragements to use images of the passion as a departure for devotion.

The art of the 1400s strongly reflects this connection between execution rituals and religious devotion. When comparing images of the crucifixion made for religious devotion and secular images of those executed on the wheel, there is a distinct and direct resemblance between the thieves beside Christ and the limbs broken in the punishment. This shows that either in a religious narrative or in the judicial sphere pain can bring about two things: penitence or impenitence, redemption or damnation.[44] Such connections are poignant because the medieval viewer would be familiar with both of them, hinting at the recollections and references the viewer would have experienced when viewing either one. Through methods such as this, the scholar sees that sacred history was connected to mundane life in nuanced ways, and believers themselves could have made the devotional connections between holy spectacles of pain and those that they experienced in their lives.[45]

While punitive pain itself shows many reflections of the religious attitudes toward the sensation, the religious utilization of pain also testifies to the fact that such torturous methods were viewed as a means of repentance in purely theological terms. Before the sixth century, Christ's image was as a majestic and powerful ruler while the passion was viewed more as a victory than a narrative of suffering. Emerging in the eleventh century, however, an ever increasing concern with Christ as a human and his passion as a spectacle of pain and sacrifice came to dominate religious iconography and thought.[46] Likewise, Christianity in antiquity tended to view martyrs as impassible due to divine grace; in the late middle ages, however, their pain became amplified in order to appeal to the human pain of a growing sect of ascetics.[47] As Bert Roest explains, "The bleeding human body was henceforth central: it was what Christ and man had in common and was the actual battlefield upon which the salvation of the soul was contested."[48] The profusion of humanizing artwork of the event and the ever-growing field of martyr literature in the later Middle Ages also testifies to this growing fascination.[49] Enforcing this growing sensation of humanization was the emphasis the church placed on penance in the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. By mandating yearly penance, this council cemented contrition as the driving force of lay spirituality and the nucleus by which to conform to the suffering Christ and participate in his salvation.[50]

This trend of pain as a means of religious devotion had both its common manifestations and its extreme adherents. Men such as William of Auvergne said true repentance actually entails the emotions of fear, shame, pain, anger, indignation, abomination, expulsion of horror, hatred, and finally the detestation of the sin.[51] Yet emotions were not the commoner's only means of subscribing to the growing cult of human repentance: they could participate in mass pilgrimages, witness the multiplying miracles, or partake in the blossoming area of devotional literature.[52] It is undoubtable that some of these devotional items adhered to the formula of encouraging believers to deploy their imaginations to scenes of the passion, contributing to growing sentiments about the possible meanings inherent in executions. This focus on pain is also inherent in the devotions such as counting Christ's drops of blood or strokes of the whip and matching them with *Paternosters* and *Aves*. This meticulous obsession of the relation between somatic pain and religiosity could not have eluded the punitive sphere.[53]

Some sought a more extreme path than mere emotions and imaginative devotion and utilized actual physical pain for the same repentant and pious means. Saints and mystics jumped into ovens or icy lakes, drove knives or needles into their skin, whipped or hanged crosses on their backs in order to caricature of Christ's suffering.[54] When a Dominican had a vision of his friend Lukardis of Oberweimer, she was placed on the crucifix as Christ while his other companions represented as the two thieves. God then informed him that it was Lukardis who was identified with Christ because it was she who had suffered the most.[55] Even pain that wasn't self-inflicted, such as illness, was seen as a means to suffer in the name of faith. Alpais of Cudot, Elsbeth Achler, and Catherine of Sienna all spoke of curing their illness as a "temptation."[56] In return for such piety, Catherine of Sienna had visions of Christ nourishing her from his wounds —a familiar sentiment as those toward the blood spilled from the suffering in the penal sphere.[57] Beyond individual ascetic devotion, the Italian peninsula saw bands of wandering penitents flagellating themselves in order to repent for their sins and those of their communities.[58]

While the modern eye could view such practices as the denial of the body, these practitioners would have seen it in a much more positive light; by controlling, disciplining, or torturing their flesh, these penitents believed that these practices were an elevation of their flesh. By suppressing their flesh in this way, ascetics could focus on the other half of their being—the spirit. This ascension to their spiritual nature thus allowed these mystics to achieve divine union. The result of these painful processes was thus ecstatic, if not erotic, and filled with the bliss that eluded the human condition in life.[59] As the production of ecstasy from pain in this scenario undoubtedly proceeds from the conscious will to embark upon it and pursue it with a systematized goal, it is doubtful that this mystical element pervaded the criminal's suffering. In the vein of penal punishments, however, there is a similarity insofar as ascetics also utilized these

painful practices in order to purge themselves of committed sins. Likewise, both could also profit from pain by gaining merit in the fires of purgatory—the body which suffers in this life could gain favor in the next.[60]

In the medieval period, there were a plentitude of ways to profit from the pain that was an integral and immutable aspect of the human condition. Focusing merely on punitive pain, one can see that these punishments were used with a vast array of intentions—securing the power of those in charge, deterring spectators from crime through fear, telling the community of the crime committed, and symbolically attaining retribution for the offense. Yet for those steeped in medieval culture, pain was a sensation saturated with religious meanings with the power to both purify and save. For this reason, these secular explanations of the intentions and meanings behind the spectacle of painful punishment cannot be enough—the authorities, the offender, and most of all the community of onlookers would have viewed these measures with greater depth. If Christ's pain could free humanity and offer the hope of salvation to all, wouldn't every man's pain have religious value? Supported most poignantly by the ascetics of the late medieval period, one can come to view the pain of judicial punishments as a theatre of salvation and damnation—a means by which to purge the community and criminal of a sin committed.

[1] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1991), 100.
[2] Esther Cohen, *The Modulated Scream: Pain in Late Medieval Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 20.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Richard Van Dülmen, *Theatre of Horror: Crime and Punishment in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1990), 44-45.
[6] Ibid., 51-52.
[7] Petrus Cornelis Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering: Executions and the Evolution of Repression...* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 68.
[8] Helen Carrel, "The Ideology of Punishment in Late Medieval English Towns," *Social History* 34, no. 3 (2009), 304..
[9] Dulem, *Theatre of Horror*, 46.
[10] Ibid., 48.
[11] Spierenburg, *Spectacle of Suffering*, 69.
[12] Dulem, *Theatre of Horror*, 49.
[13] Ibid., 88-91.
[14] Ibid., 92-95.
[15] Katherine Royer, "The Body in Parts: Reading the Execution Ritual in England," *Historical Reflections* 29, no. 2 (2003), 323.
[16] Dulmen, *Theatre of Horror*, 77.
[17] Cohen, *The Modulated Scream*, 46.
[18] Spierenburg, *Spectacle of Suffering*, 54-55.
[19] Ibid., 59.
[20] Ibid., 58.

[21] Mitchell B. Merback, *The Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 132-33.
[22] Carrel, "The Ideology of Punishment,"305.
[23] Royer, "The Body in Parts," 329.
[24] Dulmen, *Theatre of Horror*, 92.
[25] Royer, "The Body in Parts," 331.
[26] Merback, *The Thief, The Cross, and The Wheel*, 146.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Dulmen, *Theatre of Horror*, 63.
[29] Ibid., 67-68.
[30] Ibid, 70.
[31] Ibid., 92.
[32] Merback, *The Thief, The Cross, and The Wheel*, 148-149.
[33] Ibid., 221.
[34] Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering*, 60.
[35] Dulmen, *Theatre of Horror*, 123.
[36] Ibid., 119
[37] Merback, *The Thief, The Cross, and The Wheel*, 145.
[38] Ibid., 143.
[39] Dulmen, *Theatre of Horror*, 120-121.
[40] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 206.
[41] Merback, *The Thief, The Cross, and The Wheel*, 41-43.
[42] Ibid., 45.
[43] R.N. Swanson, "Passion and Practice, The Social and Ecclesiastical Implications of Passion Devotions in the Late Middle Ages," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, by A. A. MacDonald, Bernhard Ridderbos, and R. M. Schlusemann (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 14-15.
[44] Merback, *The Thief, The Cross and The Wheel*, 101.
[45] Ibid., 125.
[46] Cohen, *The Modulated Scream*, 209.
[47] Ibid., 229.
[48] Bert Roest, "Meditative Spectacle: Christ's Bodily Passion in the Satirica Ystoria," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, by A. A. MacDonald, Bernhard Ridderbos, and R. M. Schlusemann (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 31.
[49] Cohen, *The Modulated Scream*, 258.
[50] Merback, *The Thief, The Cross, and The Wheel*, 263.
[51] Cohen, *The Modulated Scream*, 29.
[52] Merback, *The Thief, The Cross, and The Wheel*, 68.
[53] R.N. Swanson, "Passion and Practice," 17.
[54]Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 184.
[55] Ibid., 181.
[56] Ibid, 189.
[57] Ibid., 206.
[58] R.N. Swanson, "Passion and Practice," 16.
[59] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 185.
[60] Ibid., 231

IN DEFENSE OF THE MOLLY MAGUIRES: THE CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION OF IRISH IMMIGRANT LABORERS IN THE PENNSYLVANIA COAL MINES

REILLY WHITE

INTRODUCTION

On June 21, 1877, twenty Irishmen were hung at the gallows in Pottsville County, Pennsylvania. The men were executed for their alleged participation in a violent underground organization of Irish-Catholic coal miners known as the Molly Maguires, responsible for the murders of fifty Railroad superintendents and executives. It was the largest civilian execution in American history, spearheaded by the President of the Pennsylvania Reading & Railroad Company, Franklin B. Gowen, who hired the Allen Pinkerton Detective Agency to infiltrate the organization.[1] At the time, the executions were hailed as a triumphant end to a 'reign of terror' in the coal regions—but in reality, the investigation, trials, and prosecution of the Molly Maguires was a corrupt campaign by Gowen to deter organized labor, equate unionism with terrorism, and maintain a capitalist monopoly of the Anthracite coal region.[2]

Because of the extreme secrecy of the organization, no direct evidence exists of the Molly Maguires; however, their motivations and actions are best understood with reference to a tradition of Irish-agrarian violence in response to unbridled capitalist oppression, the mass emigration of Irish during the Great Famine, the anti-Irish mentality of American 'nativists' upon their arrival, and the dangerous and exploitative conditions of the coal mining communities where they settled. The Molly Maguires were by no means 'innocent'—they employed violent tactics of intimidation and assassination to attain their demands; however, they were desperate, impoverished, and angry men, who realized that their low socioeconomic status as Irish-immigrant laborers could not defeat the capitalist machine through passive means. Though the Molly Maguires failed, they were at the forefront of the American labor movement—their steadfast determination for fairer wages, safer working conditions, and the right to unionize continues to be fought for and achieved by laborers today.

THE HISTORY OF IRISH AGRARIAN VIOLENCE

The tradition of underground, Irish-agrarian violence heavily influenced the tactics of the Molly Maguires, and is rooted in the Irish Catholic response to despotic British control of Ireland in the 16th and 17th century, and the enforcement of divisive Penal Laws that sought to disenfranchise native Irish Catholics and maintain Protestant control of the region.[3] Despite the fact that over 75% of the Irish population practiced Catholicism, the Penal laws imposed severe regulations on the political, social, and economic rights of Irish Catholics, and created an abiding sense of separateness and persecution at the hands of the government.[4] Penal statutes implemented in 1695 denied Catholics the right to bear arms, and forbid them from traveling

overseas for education and teaching in local Irish schools. This severely limited Irish Catholics' opportunities for intellectual advancement for generations, restricted their contact with global allies, and made the possibility of retaliation (without weapons) more difficult to organize and enforce. The Bishops' Banishment Act of 1697 forced members of the Catholic clergy to leave Ireland within the year; an additional 1704 statute forced the remainder of Catholic priests and bishops to register with British authorities (those who failed to do so were castrated), limited parishes to one priest, and forbade the entry of future clergy.[5] Thus, Protestantism dominated the region through intimidation and force; it institutionalized a prejudicial system and imposed violent political sanctions to deny Irish Catholics the right to religious freedom and weaken the influence of the Catholic Church.

The tactical suppression of Irish Catholics by Protestants extended far beyond the religious realm, and enforced harsh restrictions on their property rights and economic freedom. In 1704 "The Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery" was passed, which prohibited Catholics from purchasing property or signing leases for more than 31 years, forced them to lease the poorest quality land, and did not allow them to inherit land from Protestants or Catholics.[6] Furthermore, the Act disinherited Protestant women who married Catholics; this discouraged bipartisan intermingling and unity, and removed the possibility of social and economic advancement through marriage. Catholics were denied representation in local government; they could not join Parliament, the army, or civil services, and in 1728, a British statute denied their right to vote entirely. Because of these severe restrictions, Irish Catholics, once respected landowners and elite members of society, found themselves at the bottom of the social, economic, and political hierarchy, faced with a terrible choice: conform to Protestantism, or lose their power, rights, or lives entirely. Laws were implemented as incentives for religious conversion: children who converted gained sole inheritance of their parents' land, which allowed English Protestants to overcome familial traditions of Catholicism.[7]

Despite the persecution and poverty of Irish Catholics at the hand of the government, they maintained tremendous strength and a tradition of defiant unity in their local communities. There was a monetary reward for the killing of priests, yet Irish Catholics—clergy and parish members alike—responded with fierce bravery and determination: they continued to practice their faith in secrecy, and responded with violence to ward off 'priest hunters' in the Irish countryside.[8] Though some of the Penal Laws were revoked in 1793, they created extreme poverty and a 'land of peasants' among Irish Catholics that would last for generations. In response to this oppression, Irish Catholics developed a steadfast resolve for political and religious rights in the face of persecution, and several secret, radical, agrarian liberation societies emerged in the 17th and 18th century.

Among these groups were the Defenders and Ribbonmen (an outgrowth of Defenderism), who formed in the eighteenth century in opposition to Protestant Orangeism that sought to repress Irish-Catholic demands for Emancipation. Like the Molly Maguires, both groups employed extreme secrecy to retain the strength and existence of their movements—Tom Garvin's account of Pre-Famine Ireland explains:

> The secrets of the society, the names of its leaders, its methods of government and of action were far more successfully concealed than those of any other oath-bound combination among the Irish people. This was due, primarily, to a wise precaution among keeping books, documents, or records that would reveal information if lost or seized. In this respect, these peasant conspirators…the more or less uneducated Ribbonmen have shown themselves to be more skilled in the methods of secret conspiracy than the more cultured class of their countrymen. [9]

Like the Molly Maguires, historical narratives of these groups are widely disputed—most of the primary evidence that exists is from the trials of suspected members, overseen by biased Protestant judges and courts. Despite these limitations, historical speculation generally purports that members were Irish Catholic laborers, clergymen, schoolteachers, and ale-house keepers, who employed passwords and met in secrecy to plan revolutionary acts.[10]

The groups were notorious in the Irish countryside, and became scapegoats for the political motivations of Protestant landowners: On April 8, 1861, a landowner in Donegal, John George Adair, evicted 47 Irish Catholic families from his 12,0000 acres of land—he claimed his tenants were Ribbonmen who had murdered his sheep, but in reality he sought to gain full control of the land. The events became known as the 'Sheep Wars', and historian Kevin Kenny explains: "[Adair] had a peculiar capacity to detect Ribbonism in every instance of rural discontent, however slight, that came to his notice".[11] Thus, Irish Catholics were often treated as disposable—subjected to the lowest quality land, and evicted at the whim of greedy landowners. By understanding motivations of the Ribbonmen and Defenders, the Molly Maguires' strategies can be framed in light of their Irish ancestors—they faced extreme persecution and poverty in the American coalmines, and drew upon the successful tactical violence and secrecy of their ancestors in response to oppression.

The majority of Irish Catholics in the eighteenth and nineteenth century were impoverished peasants, who relied heavily on the cultivation of potatoes for food—it was nutritious, and grew well in the poor quality soil they tended. As a result, the Great Famine of 1843 affected the Irish peasantry more than any other European group: "Everything depended on how the government responded to the crisis. But Ireland did not have its own government; instead it was ruled by Britain as a colony".[12] The Great Famine was caused by a fungal

infestation, which caused the entirety of the potato crop to rot and decay—but scientific research was not advanced enough to recognize the cause of the blight, and despotic British rulers attributed the mass starvation of the Irish-Catholic peasantry to divine will, and famine ensued with minimal government intervention.

The Great Famine reduced the Irish population by one-third, and Kenny explains it was "one of the greatest demographic disasters in modern history".[13] The Irish peasantry who was most affected by the blithe was faced with a terrible decision: flee their homeland, or remain and starve to death. Ireland did not have enormous industrial cities or opportunities for labor, and many peasants were forced to sell their animals and few possessions in attempts to afford the journey to America or Britain—knowing, in all likelihood, that they would never return: "Between 1846 and 1855, more than one million Irish people died of starvation and disease and another two million left the country, three quarters of them for the United States".[14] The Molly Maguires were among this wave of Irish-Catholic immigrants, and arrived in America as impoverished, uneducated, and unskilled laborers, desperate for income and opportunity.

The Irish in America: the Capitalist and 'Nativist' Response

The wave of Irish immigration coincided with the Industrial Revolution in America, and capitalists took full advantage of the influx of immigrants who were willing to work for meager wages in the most dangerous conditions. This was deeply apparent in Pennsylvania, where the emergence of canals, Anthracite coal and Railroad expansion had turned the eastern seaboard into a booming Industrial economy: "the anthracite districts appeared quite tiny…but these densely packed fields contained an estimated twenty-two billion tons of anthracite coal"[15] (53) Between 1820 and 1815, anthracite sales increased from 365 tons to 33,393 tons per year —"expanding production was possible by simply hiring more hands to raise the coal".[16] Though capitalists benefited from the endless supply of laborers, the influx of immigration angered 'nativist' Americans, who perceived the Irish as a major threat to the social and economic hierarchy of the time, and sought to limit immigrants' opportunities for advancement. As a result of centuries of English-Protestant repression and the dire indigence of Irish peasants in the Great Famine, the Irish-Catholics that arrived in America were the most impoverished Europeans that Americans had ever met. They arrived as uneducated and unskilled laborers with no marketable skills, and Anti-Irish nativists distorted a history of oppression and lack of opportunity and attributed it to an innate lack of intelligence and weak character of the Irish culture. Nativist propaganda depicted the Irish as unskilled, unintelligent brutes with no capacity for intellectual advancement; employment ads stipulated that 'No Irish Need Apply', and there were widespread images of the 'wild Irishman' who drank excessively and was only capable of physical labor.[17] The majority of Irish-Catholics found work as domestic laborers and formed the lowest class of

whites in America, subject to the extreme bigotry of elite white Americans: "their tasks so closely resembled those performed by free and enslaved blacks that they were often called 'nigger Irish', while African Americans were sometimes referred to as 'smoked Irish'."[18]

This discrimination was not merely imposed by nativist whites, but those of Irish ancestry that had emigrated earlier and sought to distinguish themselves from the new wave of Irish peasants: "In the 18th century America, Presbyterian immigrants from Ulster were known simply as 'the Irish', but when massive numbers of Catholics began to arrive from Ireland after 1800, Ulster Americans needed a way of marking themselves as different from these unseemly hordes".[19] Prominent American leaders such as Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun cast off their Irish heritage and referred to themselves as simply 'American'—thus, the emergence of a hyphenated 'Irish-American' identity became synonymous with a lesser, ethnic, working class, and furthered the sense of separateness among immigrant laborers in the New World.[20] An 1830 jest explained: "Paddy arrived in America to find that not only were the streets not paved with gold—there were not paved at all, and *he* was expected to pave them".[21]

Despite this nativist rejection, "the Irish did not become less energetic, for they were the great labor resource of what had grown to be the country's paramount industrial center…they turned their energies into their own subculture and built a parallel set of Irish Catholic institutions".[22] Among these institutions was the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH), an Irish Catholic fraternal organization founded in 1836 with its headquarters in Pottsville County, Pennsylvania. The AOH provided protection and served as a philanthropic, social organization for Irish-Catholics across the United States. In the 1840s and 1850s, the organization supplied guards to protect Catholic churches and meetings following a wave of Anti-Catholic riots where countless churches were attacked and burned to the ground.[23] Irish immigrants settled heavily in the mining communities of Pennsylvania, and their participation in the coal mining and railroad industry allowed members of the AOH to network and expand with Irish-Catholic immigrants across the country: "The railroads the country's primary communication system, and the Irish on them, in an informal but very real bonding, related to one another across great differences".[24] This national communication system proved vital to the tactics of the AOH, Molly Maguires, and labor movement as a whole; miners and railroad workers were subjected to long hours, poor wages, and limited safety regulations—they were able to coordinate national strikes against capitalist Railroad owners, and developed a collective identity that distinguished them as Irish-Americans in the 19th and 20th centuries: "identification with the working class and the common people of democracy".[25]

Corruption, Exploitation, and Poverty in the Pennsylvania Coal Mines

This collective identity was particularly evident in the mining communities, where tyrannical railroad companies controlled every facet of Irish laborers' lives, and systematically reduced miners' labor to indentured servitude. The dangerous conditions and lack of safety regulations in the mines, along with the oppressive nature of the company stores formed the basis of the miners' grievances, and compelled the Molly Maguires to take action against their capitalist oppressors. In the quarter century before World War I, there were over 75,000 fatalities on the U.S. railroads, and the fatality rate in the coal mines was triple that of the United Kingdom.[26] Marc Linder explains:

> [There is] a close relationship between the seemingly limitless expansion of capitalism and its merciless subordination of all activities to the criterion of profitability. The monomaniacal drive to reduce production costs on which U.S. capital's successful "struggle…for an international industrial supremacy" and conquest of the world market hinged was in large part made possible by a stupendous loss of life.[27]

Miners' families were required to live in housing communities owned by the Railroad Company, where they were charged exorbitant rates for rent, healthcare, education, and mining tools, and were forced to shop at company stores that charged 25% higher than other retailers.[28] The Financial Crisis of 1873 furthered the power of Company Stores; there was almost no U.S. monetary circulation, and Henry Frick developed a credit system among Philadelphia wholesalers that allowed the Railroad to gain complete financial control of the miners.[29] He introduced 'Passbooks', in which miners' (and their families') every purchase was recorded and automatically deducted from their paychecks. Currency was replaced with 'Scrips', which were coupons redeemable for merchandise at the Company Stores, and completely eliminated the financial freedom of miners: "the condition which forced people to buy everything from a postage stamp to a coffin from their employer…rankles in the flesh of those who were compelled to submit to it".[30]

Irish laborers entered the mines as young as eight years old out of social and economic necessity; oftentimes, their fathers were killed in a mining accidents and they became the sole providers of income for their families. If a miner died and his family could not afford the rent, the Railroad Company evicted them immediately from their homes—thus, the Irish laborer entered the mines daily fearing not just his death, but the fate and security of the family he left behind. Among the most dangerous jobs in the mines was the Fire Boss, who was sent into the mines first to detect the presence of methane gas and black damp, which indicated an oxygen deficiency unfit for survival. To test this, fire bosses burned a hemp rope that would glow in the presence of methane, but because the flame was not enclosed (prior to the invention of safety

lamps), this 'safety measure' was often the cause of fatal explosions.[31] Another risky job was the shotfirer, who was responsible for drilling holes into the walls and setting off small explosions to blast the coal loose. The shotfirer would yell "Fire in the hole!" prior to detonation; if the holes were not drilled to the proper depth or other miners were in the danger zone, the results were often catastrophic.[32] Miners quickly learned the subtleties of life underground—first and foremost, *never kill a rat*. Rats avoided areas with gas and black damp, and would run towards areas of the mine with clean air—some miners also believed rats could tell if a roof was unstable.[33] Miners would 'sound the roof' as they dug through the mines and placed timber beams to support the excavated areas (called 'gobs'); a hollow sound indicated weak structural support and the possibility of a collapse, and miners had to stop loading coal and immediately correct the problem. Because miners were required to haul 16 tons of coal per day, any structural issues meant a longer workday; if a cart tipped over with a load of coal, miners were required to reload the entirety of the coal for no additional pay. Miners were encouraged to work quickly and efficiently, and superintendents often overlooked safety regulations in favor of productivity. In the event of an accident in the mines, a whistle was blown through the community to indicate disaster or near disaster—families would gather outside the mines, and hope their loved ones survived the day.[34]

Despite the oppressive conditions miners faced on a daily basis, Irish laborers recognized that they would find no relief among higher powers—there were almost no Irish barons to advocate for them in the Railroad and Mining industry, and "unfettered company power was rampant legally and in the ideology of the time".[35] An 1860 report commissioned by the Delaware and Hudson Railroad Company explained that they would "resist to the end, and at any cost, every attempt, by combination of working men, to dictate the manner in which its business shall be conducted"—thus, the Molly Maguires emerged in response to the totalitarian rule of the capitalist monopoly, and resolved to resist to the end, at any cost, every attempt, by combination of railroad and mining executives, to dictate and exploit the lives of Irish-Catholic laborers.[36]

The oppression of Irish-Catholic laborers in the anthracite mining communities paralleled the exploitation of the Irish peasantry under British rule—Harold Aurand explains:

> An often absentee landlord, in this case the mine operator, enjoyed the privilege of arbitrary eviction. He exploited his employees with the ruthlessness of the old landlord's agent. Protestant Welsh, Scotch, and English miners maintained a monopoly over the more lucrative positions inside the productive system. The Irish immigrant responded in the old-fashioned way by invoking the familiar name of Molly Maguire.[37]

The name 'Molly Maguire' was derived from an Irish story tale of a Catholic peasant woman in Ireland, who faced eviction after the death of her husband. The story portrays the extreme

economic and social divide between elite landowners and unskilled laborers: "The peasant tilled his plot of land and earned his daily bread by the sweat of his brow. The times in which he lived were, for the most part, not his friends, nor were they his co-religionists…He had no hold upon the land, he simply suffered to live".[38] Like the peasant in the tale, the miner did not see the benefits of his labor—he was merely part of the industrial machine, whose individual worth was valued at the 16 tons of coal he produced per day. The story explains, "A peasant dies and instead of the tenancy passing to his son or his widow the weeping mourners were thrown upon the roadside ere the body of the dead had been long consigned to the earth".[39] Miners related to this struggle; they were treated as disposable laborers, whose death was a mere side effect of the American Industrial boom. In the tale, Irish-Catholic men gathered in defense of the widow; "with hearts big enough to think of others people's troubles as well as their own", they donned blackened faces, and went to her landlord's home in the dark of night and demanded that the widow keep her land and home. Fearing for his life, the landlord submitted to their demands, and the widow and her children lived in peace, "for no planter dared to take the farm after".[40]

The tale of 'Molly Maguire' provided members of the AOH with a collective identity as 'rebels for a cause': "In the absence of a responsible labor organization to contend for their rights, the miners fought injustice with violence".[41] Following the tradition of the tale, the Molly Maguires of the Pennsylvania coal regions donned blackened faces, and approached hated railroad executives, superintendents, and mine bosses in their homes and streets in the middle of the night. They posted 'coffin notices' to intimidate the men, which included images of coffins and skulls, and explained that failure to meet their demands would result in sudden death; these notices were effective because their threats were carried out, and established a fearful precedent to submit to demands or face death.[42] They also used the Pennsylvania countryside as a resource for execution; they approached their targets in the dark of the night (often on a walk home, when they were alone and unarmed), shot them, and fled into the mountains where they could not be seen or caught. These tactics created a widespread fear of Molly Maguires among capitalist executives, and the society embraced their notoriety as a mechanism to propagate social and political power.[43]

The Molly Maguires relied on a system of national secrecy, loyalty, and reciprocity: "The Irish political tradition is one of chieftains and tribesman, of lords and liegeman, of leaders and followers. The Irish viewed politics as a hierarchal system in which loyalty and service were rewarded with patronage and protection".[44] Because of the extensive communication network of the AOH, the Molly Maguires recruited men from different regions to carry out the murders. This allowed miners to settle personal grievances against local mining executives without fear of suspicion by members of their local communities, and by carrying out the murders in other regions (whether by volunteering or command), members gained rank and respect for their

allegiance to the organization. Because the Molly Maguires were an underground society, members relied on secret passwords and quarreling toasts to recognize one another.[45] These changed every three months, which made it difficult for outsiders to distinguish the phrases as 'Molly Maguireisms'—new passwords were distributed by the body-master of the "patch" (regional division), and if someone attempted to gain access with an old code, it was a warning sign that they were not to be trusted.

FRANKLIN B. GOWEN & THE ALLEN PINKERTON DETECTIVE AGENCY'S INVESTIGATION

By 1873, Franklin Benjamin Gowen, the President of the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad Company, owned over 125,000 acres of land in the Pennsylvania anthracite regions; Gowen and his associates controlled 28% of the coal-mining industry, and blacklisted Union leaders who protested wage cuts.[46] Gowen enlisted the Allen Pinkerton detective agency to infiltrate underground labor organizations and prevent the rise of further unions that might compromise capitalist gains from the Railroads and coal-mining communities. Though Gowen was aware of three underground organizations responsible for a wave of violent attacks in Pennsylvania, he issued a memorandum declaring a manhunt for members of the Molly Maguires: "What we want, and what everybody wants, is to get within this apparently impenetrable ring… to probe to its core this festering sore upon the body politic, which is rapidly knowing into the vitals and sapping the life of the community".[47] Hans Ulrich Wehler explains: "By defining deviants…as the proverbial 'negative other', the dominant majority actually uses them to define itself…the strength the majority's sense of togetherness and sameness".[48] By attributing the entirety of violence and terror in the Pennsylvania coal mines to the Irish Catholic Molly Maguires, Gowen portrayed himself as a 'peacekeeper' in the mining communities—despite the fact his corporation's greed and carelessness had resulted in the death of thousands of miners.

Gowen's wealth and high social status was vital to the success of his counter movement; he appealed to the safety and wellbeing of Pennsylvanians in his campaign against the Molly Maguires, and was depicted as a hero for his efforts. The resource mobilization theory explains that in order to appeal to isolated adherents, movements must "link names of important people to the organization, thereby developing and maintaining an image of credibility".[49] Gowen's efforts were widely voiced in the media, and journalists employed dramatic rhetoric to propagate fear among readers, garner public support for the investigation, and make Molly Maguireism a major "issue attention cycle" of the time. [50]

The Pinkerton Agency resolved to send James McParland, a 29-year-old Roman Catholic Celt whose heritage would provide credibility and access into the secret society. McParland was born in Ulster's County, Armagh Province of Ireland in 1844; He immigrated to the United

States in 1867, and settled in Chicago where he opened a liquor store. After the Great Fire of 1871 burned down his business, Allen Pinkerton hired him as a detective.[51] Though he worked on behalf of the agency, McParland also fell prey to anti-Irish sentiments of his employers—the agency's recommendation to Gowen explained: "he had beheld and brushed against the people of a considerable portion of the New World during the short time he had been in it…he was, in fact, a fine specimen of the better class of emigrants to this country".[52] McParland was the ideal detective for the Railroad because he could fulfill two necessary (perceived) roles: as both an intelligent, respectable, and shrewd detective for his Protestant employers, and as the raucous drunk Irishman, who could blend amongst the laboring class in the mines. Furthermore, he was a bachelor—he had no familial ties within the mining community, and thus pursued the investigation without fear of retaliation or the responsibility to protect and provide for a wife and children. The resource mobilization theory explains: "outsiders were much more prone to be active in other causes or to shift their allegiances from movement to movement . . .The more unlike one another workers are, the less likely there is to be organizational unity, and the more likely it is that separate clique structures will form".[53] McParland's Irish heritage allowed him to blend in with the Molly Maguires and fellow coal miners, while masking his true allegiance to Gowen and the Railroad elites.

On October 27, 1873, McParland left Philadelphia and assumed the identity "James McKenna", an Irish miner from Colorado looking for work. McKenna traveled throughout Pennsylvania counties, and learned that Mahoney City (outside of Tremont County) had a large number of Molly Maguires who were members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH).[54] McParland determined that the AOH served as major feeder into the Molly Maguires; it provided a network for Irish-Catholic laborers, who held similar grievances in the mining communities.[55] The resource mobilization theory explains: "federation developing out of preexisting groups can occur quite rapidly, while organizing unattached individuals probably requires more time and resources".[56] McParland relayed this information to Gowen in Philadelphia, and in December of 1873 he settled in Pottsville, where he befriended Pat Dormer, a member of the AOH who owned a saloon and was the keeper of the Sheridan House where Molly Maguires met. To gain Dormer's trust and secrecy, McParland claimed he was a member of the AOH in New York, but fled and lost contact with the organization in fear of being discovered and charged for a murder he committed.[57]

The Molly Maguires' extreme secrecy made it difficult to attain access to the organization; new members expanded their force, but increased the risk of betrayal and the discovery: "Decisions must be made concerning the allocation of…resources, and converting bystander publics may not aid in the development of additional resources".[58] McKenna (now McParland) recognized the Molly Maguires' hesitancy to accept and trust outsiders, and used his

relationship with Dormer as a mechanism to convert from bystander to insider in the organization. Dormer introduced McKenna to Michael "Muff" Lawler, the body-master of the Shehandoah division of the AOH, and in April 1874 McKenna was initiated into the organization. McKenna reported to Franklin that Schuylkill County was the "stronghold of Molly Maguireism" and slowly worked up the ranks within the organization: [59]

> The citizens of Pottsville, the largest and most cosmopolitan urban setting in the lower anthracite region, referred to the wild territory around Shenandoah as 'over the mountain,' and it was there that most of the violence in the 1870s occurred.[60]

Following "The Long Strike" of the railroads in 1875, RJ Linden, an assistant superintendent of the Pinkerton Agency, was sent to Shenandoah to assist McKenna; Gowen appointed Linden captain of the Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron police. Linden's close proximity to McKenna allowed him to oversee his safety, and they met frequently in secrecy to discuss the investigation and relay the information to Gowen.[61] McKenna met with Linden frequently, and disclosed plans of attack for Benjamin Yost and John P. Jones—a policeman and superintendent who had aggrieved members of the Molly Maguires by blacklisting union leaders on strike.[62] McKenna was appointed to carry out the murder of Jones; he claimed he attempted to delay his companions in the murder, but Molly Maguires from the Tamaqua division killed Jones instead and were eventually captured. James Kerrigan, a body-master in Pottsville, later revealed information about the murders of Yost and Jones—but transcripts from his case were not made public, and the reality and contents of his exact "confession" remain unknown and distorted.[63]

McKenna continued to work up the ranks of the organization, and had become secretary of the Molly Maguires when suspicion arose that he was an informant, and he fled to Pittsburgh. On May 6, 1876, McParland revealed his identity and testified against John Kehoe, James Carroll, James Roarity, James Boyle, Hugh Mcgheehan, Jack Donahue, and Thomas Duffy; the men were charged with first-degree murder and sentenced to death. "[McParland] gave the most damaging testimony when he stated that the Order (AOH) had only one objective, that of protecting and avenging its members".[64] By disregarding the Molly Maguires' grievances against the mining companies in his testimony—the lack of safety regulations, meager wages, and desperation of the miners—McParland depicted the Molly Maguires as senseless, dangerous, men who killed without a purpose.[65] Furthermore, McParland's high position in the secret society could not have been attained without violence on his own part—he claimed that he never partook in the killings, but in reality, he had orchestrated several attacks to gain the trust of fellow members.[66]

A New York Times article was published on March 26, 1876, and discussed the impending trials for the murder of a mining superintendent John P. Jones. The article illustrates how the media distorted the case and reinforced the bias against the Molly Maguires throughout their prosecution. The article claimed:

> The identification of the murderers has been so complete, all the links in the chain of evidence so close and unassailable, that there is little doubt in the public mind that Kelly's fate will be that of Doyle . . . national and religious prejudices have been so stirred up by the fact that the men now awaiting their doom are Irishmen and Catholics, but this state of feeling will prove no bar to their receiving a patient and impartial hearing before the court, and full justice to their cases.[67]

The reality was that almost no evidence existed against the Molly Maguires; the majority of the charges were based on McParland's uncorroborated testimony, and Gowen served as the prosecutor in the case. Furthermore, Irish Catholics were excluded from the jury in the Molly Maguire trials, and the majority of jurors were German or Welsh immigrants that did not speak English. As Pennsylvania Judge John Lavelle explained in his 1994 book, "Any objective study of the . . . entire record of these cases must conclude that they did not have fair and impartial juries. They were, therefore, denied one of the fundamental rights that William Penn guaranteed to all of Pennsylvania's citizens".[68] The biased news article provides an example of how interpretive framing defines the public perception of criminals; the rhetoric used by the author depicted the accused men as guilty without a doubt, and though it recognizes the national and religious prejudices that existed, it denies the enormous role they played in the prosecution and execution of the Molly Maguires.

CONCLUSION

Gowen and the Pinkerton Detective Agency employed resource mobilization tactics as a countermovement to infiltrate and undermine the organization of the Molly Maguires; they took advantage of their high social and economic status as capitalist leaders to gain media support of the investigation and prosecution, and in doing so, they condensed the entirety of Irish culture with the violent actions of the Molly Maguires, and manipulated the public to view all labor unions as violent terrorist organizations. The Molly Maguires were rooted in their Irish-Catholic heritage, and employed Irish traditions of agrarian violence in response to the abusive tyranny of capitalist control of labor in the mines. The Railroad elites recognized the importance of collective identity, and used McParland's Irish heritage as a resource to blend in with the immigrant coal mining community and gain the trust of leaders of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. Harold Aurand explains: "The hanging of 20 men in the southern anthracite regions

proclaimed a new order—the corporation dominated society".[69] Despite the fact that the Molly Maguires' grievances were in fact the grievances of the entire mining community—staggeringly poor wages, unsafe working conditions, the high fatality rate in the mines, and the Railroad's monopolistic control of every facet of their lives—Gowen managed to attribute the 'reign of terror' to the Molly Maguires, and gained the support of a terrified community. He depicted the 'real' tragedy as the death of corrupt, greedy men, while turning a blind eye to the thousands of immigrant laborers' whose deaths he knowingly permitted and ignored in the name of industrial productivity.[70]

Though the Molly Maguires were executed, their actions were at the forefront of the labor movement; as unskilled, immigrant laborers in mining communities, they experienced continual oppression at the hands of a government that favored money and industrial production over citizens' quality of life. Thus, the Molly Maguires took justice into their own hands and demanded change, fighting injustice with violence. Because of the widespread suspicion of unionism that Gowen created, labor movements that followed the Molly Maguires adapted to appeal to the public masses, and depicted themselves not as 'rebels for a cause', but as everyday laborers, who simply wanted to make a decent wage and provide for their families: "the time had come to abandon the mumbo jumbo of passwords, grips, initiation rituals and to come out in the open with the aims [of the movement], before their enemies further confused the public. How tame in comparison to the reported conspiratorial aims were the fifteen points of the published Constitution!" [71] Following their executions in 1877, there was an enormous succession of violent strikes and labor uprisings in the eastern coal mines and railroad communities; in 1890, the Pennsylvania Secretary of Internal Affairs' report stated:

> The capitalist must remember that the laborer must live, that he must maintain his family, that he must educate his children, and have a share of relaxation and enjoyment, without which life is a burden. He must not forget that the best way to make a laborer work is to pay him well; to keep him happy and cheerful, strong and healthy; and that if he will deal justly by his laborers, they will neither neglect their labor nor be disposed to strike—they will neither complain nor be disaffected.[72]

Nearly 100 years after his execution, John Kehoe—the alleged 'King of the Molly Maguires', was posthumously pardoned by Pennsylvania Governor Milton Shapp—his statement explained: "The Pennsylvania Commonwealth…reflects the judgment of many historians that the trials and executions were part of a repression directed against the fledgling mineworkers' union of that historic period."[73] The Molly Maguires lost their lives at the gallows, but thousands more lost their lives in the mines—the fight for fair wages and better safety regulations in the coal mines

continues, and while the Molly's crusade was not successful in their lifetime, it was an impetus for a more successful labor movement and better quality life for miners today.

[1] Dennis Clark, *Hibernian America: The Irish and Regional Cultures* (Westport: Greenwood, 1927), 31.
[2] Harold W. Aurand, *From the Molly Maguires to the United Mine Workers: The Social Ecology of an Industrial Union, 1869-1897*, (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1971), 71.
[3] M. Patricia Schaffer, "LAWS IN IRELAND FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF POPERY commonly known as the PENAL LAWS," last modified 2000. http://library.law.umn.edu/irishlaw/intro.html.
[4] M. Patricia Schaffer, "STATUTES BY SUBJECT- -RELIGIOUS PRACTICES," last modified 2000. http://library.law.umn.edu/irishlaw/practice.html.
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From Fighting the State to Dying for One: The History of the Kurdish Political Movement

Outstanding Senior Thesis Award

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Foucault wrote that a good "genealogy of values… will never confuse itself with a quest for their 'origins.'"[1] Origins are a messy subject in history, and any quest to find a pure "moment of birth"[2] for an idea is indeed quixotic. However, scholars have still invested much time into understanding the origins, or at least beginnings, of ideas regarding identity. In the case of Kurdistan, there has been much interest in understanding the beginnings of Kurdish nationalism. This nationalism has become an especially important force in the contemporary shaping of the Middle East, particularly in Iraq today. In the hunt to find the beginning of this political force, scholars have greatly disagreed as to when Kurds and Kurdistan became the Kurdish nation. In drawing this line between the national and the pre-national, historians have awkwardly bifurcated history and ignored import pre-nationalist historic currents that were fundamental in the shaping of the contemporary national movement. Historians of Kurdistan have largely fallen prey to the trap that is the search for origins, ignoring how political movements before nationalism in Kurdistan shaped the way that the Kurdish nation was imagined. I will show that one can trace the Kurdish national movement of today directly back to at least the 1840s, well before nationalism was present in Kurdish politics, in an uninterrupted manner.

The word Kurdistan first came on the map, quite literally, in twelfth century, though Xenophon described the land of "Kardoukhoi," inhabited by "Kardakes" in the general vicinity of modern Kurdistan in the 3rd century BCE.[3] The term "Kurd" has existed for some time before Islamic conquest, but as Martin Van Bruinessen points out, this was really a marker of whether someone was a pastoral nomad in the region generally around the Zagros mountains in its early history. It was not until the 11th century that there is evidence of the first person person with the surname "Al-Kurdi" who was not a nomad. Before that, people may have been called a "son of a Kurd" in written sources, but if they were a settled professional then they would not be considered a Kurd.[4] Therefore, by at least 11th century, Kurds were a group that could leave Kurdistan and become settled yet still maintain their Kurdishness. At the end of the 16th century, Kurdistan was given its first historical survey, *Sharafname*, by Sharaf Khan Bidlisi. The book, written in Persian, traced the history of various Kurdish kingdoms in a region that was generally analogous to the Kurdistan of today. In the book, Bidlisi was fairly explicit about his desire to return to days of Kurdish rule. A little over 100 years later, Kurdistan received what would become its national epic, *Mem U Zin* by Ehmedi Khani. The poem, a love story written in

Kurmanji Kurdish, stated the desire for Kurdish autonomy even more explicitly then *Sharafname*.

Historians have argued about what exactly these two works mean for the history of Kurdish nationalism. Amir Hassanpour argues that Bidlisi's 16th century work "demonstrates a conscious effort to assert Kurdish statehood,"[5] while *Mem U Zin* was "establishing the distinctiveness of Kurds as a people with a claim to sovereign rule."[6] Hassanpour, working under a Marxist framework, believes this nation was consolidated by "feudal nationalism," beginning in the 17th century with the publication of *Mem U Zin*. Hassanpour argues that "middle class nationalism" began in the early 1940s. For Hassanpour, Kurdish nationalism began in the 17th century, but became the kind of nationalism we recognize today ("bourgeoisie nationalism") during World War II when the Kurdish middle class took up the cause.[7]

Other contemporary scholars have taken issue with Hassanpour's periodization of Kurdish nationalism. Martin Van Bruinessen argues that there was no historic, linguistic or cultural unity between Kurds in the pre-modern era.[8] He disputes the claims of Hassanpour and others who include *Mem U Zin* and other classics in the history of the Kurdish national movement.[9] Van Bruinessen argues that those who read Khani's *Mem U Zin* as a call for ethno-nationalism are misinterpreting class identities as ethnic ones. The word "Kurd," according to Van Bruinessen, did not refer to those whom we might call Kurds now but to the aristocratic tribal elite. According to Van Bruinessen, what Khani is really arguing for is a multi-ethnic state ruled by a tribal elite living in a certain area.[10] Van Bruinessen's argument seems far more compelling as it is not projecting contemporary ideas of Kurdish identity to the 1600s. According to Benedict Anderson's seminal work on nationalism, *Imagined Communities*, nationalism did not come into existence until the 18th century, and took much longer to spread from the Americas and Western Europe.[11] Still, Hassanpour's observations that early Kurdish literature expressed Kurdish desires to remain free from the control of larger governing bodies relates to the later resistance of Kurdish leaders to the Ottoman state in a way that would gradually become nationalistic.

These Kurdish kingdoms described in Sharafname and lauded in Mem U Zin lasted until the 1840s, when a final push by the Ottoman state in the context of the 1839 Tanzimat reforms finally broke down the power structure of the traditional emirates in Kurdistan. The last Kurdish emirate to exert notable power was the Bohtan emirate ruled by Badr Khan Beg, who launched a violent campiagn against Nestorian Christians in the 1840s and was overtaken by Ottoman forces in 1945. This new Ottoman control was incredibly week and would go largely unchallenged until 1880, with the rebellion of Sheikh Ubaydullah in Van province. Wadie Jwaideh argues that the

crushing of the autonomous emirates Kurdistan by Ottoman authorities caused a communal embarrassment that led "the Kurdish national mind" to yearn "for one of their own kith and kin to wield supreme power over them."[12] For Jwaideh, there is no doubt that the Kurdish national movement had began by Sheikh Ubaydullah's rebellion in 1880. For Jwaideh, Ubaydullah (d. 1883) is a "national leader" who combined his goal of creating an independent Kurdistan with Islamic restoration theology. Jwaideh compiles a large number of reports from British officials and orientalist scholars from the 1880s who claim that Ubaydullah was a nationalist leader who was incredibly popular in the regions he conquered and rose up with the goal of creating a Kurdish state.[13]

More recent scholarship has generally refuted this understanding of Badr Khan Beg and Sheikh Ubaydullah's rebellion. Contemporary scholars doubt that Ubaydullah was truly a nationalist, but his rebellion should still be seen as important in the history of Kurdish nationalism. In *The Modern History of the Kurds*[14], a massive survey of the whole of Kurdish history, David McDowall refutes the presence of nationalism in various Kurdish movements throughout the 19th and 20th century. McDowall claims that "Shaykh Ubayd Allah remains for many the first great Kurdish nationalist, but the evidence is hardly conclusive."[15] Though the Sheikh employed nationalist language in communications with Ottoman or British officials, his "revolt bore little evidence that it was anything other than the kind of tribal disturbance, but on a larger scale, that already bedevilled the region."[16] McDowall has similar remarks for Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji, a Kurdish Sheikh from Sulaymaniyah who staged a rebellion in 1919 (and continued an insurgency for many years) against the British colonial government in Iraq. Sheikh Mahmud did this under the auspice of Kurdish Nationalism, and like Ubaydullah was very clearly nationalistic in his writings. However, for Mcdowall, "it is tempting retrospectively to clothe Shaykh Mahmud in the garb of modern nationalist ideas. But it is clear that he had little in common with today's Kurdish leaders.[17]

Though McDowall is probably right in his assessment that none of the large Kurdish revolts before at least the 1920s were nationalist, he erroneously removes them from the history of the current national movement. McDowall does not provide us with a precise "moment of birth" for the Kurdish national movement, but generally marks the 1946 or 1947 as the start date. This is is the same date that I will argue for, but I take issue with the fact that Mcdowall removes the events that took place before WWII from this history. McDowall ignores the importance of pre-national events that Jwaideh, Olson, and Hassanpour correctly placed within the history of Kurdish nationalism, but incorrectly labeled as nationalist. Though he does not claim to have found the pure origin of Kurdish nationalism, his historical survey makes the same mistakes the quest for origins would, unnecessarily separating pre-national and national Kurdish politics into

separate movements. I argue instead that there has been an uninterrupted Kurdish political movement against larger governing structure that has existed since at least the early 19th century. The political movement to create an independent Kurdish state that exists today is not a different one then the rebellion of Badr Khan Beg, it is just now couched in the language of the state. The Kurdish political movement went from one that sought to keep modern state structures away to one that eventually sought its own state, thus becoming nationalistic.

The theoretical framework that best illustrates this telling of Kurdish history is the understanding of nationalism advocated by Partha Chaterjee and Prasenjit Duara that comes out of Subaltern and post-colonial studies critical of Benedict Anderson's popular theory on nations.[18] In "Whose Imagined Community," Chaterjee criticizes Anderson for his claim that nations are modular ideas exported from the West, leaving nothing for colonized people to "imagine" when they conceive the nation.[19] Chaterjee, in his brief discussion of Bengali history, argues that there existed an imagined community in Bengal that sought to be spiritual and culturally "sovereign."[20] Duara expanded this notion in his coverage of pre-national political communities in China that formed before the conception of a nation-state that defined and drove the nation once it came into being.[21] In other words, the political community that would constitute the nation and the political movement that would become the Kurdish national movement began well before the modular concept of nationalism dominated political discourse in Kurdistan. By tracing back the genealogy of the Kurdish national movement in Iraq to various rebellions against the Ottoman state, I will show that same line of tribal and religious leaders have led the this political movement through both its pre-national and national phases. I argue that it was in Mahabad in 1946, with the creation of the KDP, that nationalism became the dominate dialogue in Kurdish politics.

This work will trace the nationalist organization that came out of the Republic of Mahabad to the pre-nationalist rebellion of Badr Khan Beg and show that there is a clear political lineage between the two. I will call this the Kurdish political movement or simply Kurdish movement, and show that it has existed continuously as an anti-state movement and transitioned into nationalist movement, so that mainstream Kurdish politics cannot be split between pre-nationalist and nationalist. Of course there have been countless political movements led by Kurds, but this is the study of one overarching movement that exists today in the Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq's largest party, the KDP, and can be traced back to Badr Khan Beg. This is not an analysis into the identity beliefs of individual Kurdish people on the ground, but a large political trend dominated by elites that concerned identity. I will trace the genealogy of these elites, both of the traditional tribal and religious stratum and the modern nationalist line, and show that Kurdish politics has been dominated by the same political lineage. In this way I

will show that nationalism was a continuation of an indigenous political structure, not simply a modular idea that was adopted from the West in 1946.

CREATING A STATE, IMAGINING A NATION

On December 17, 1946, a mob formed in Mahabad, a small city in Iran's Kurdish frontier. The rebellious mass made their way to the center of the city, where they eventually arrived at the Iranian Ministry of Justice. The building was one of the sole hints of the power of the Shah in this far flung corner of his domain. The Ministry of Justice had the uncomfortable job of mediating conflicts and doling out punishments in a cold, bureaucratic fashion unfamiliar to those who relied on informal authorities, like local leader Qazi Muhammad, to help settle disputes. Those amassed demanded that the building be burned down, but their calls for arson were quelled by local men of importance at the scene, who instead shot the Iranian coat of arms off the building. In its place, they raised a red, white, and green flag with a rising sun and the tip of a pen in the center.[22] This was the flag of the Republic of Mahabad, the first and only Kurdish state.

This episode in the streets of Mahabad was caused by the words of Qazi Muhammad, a local Islamic jurist and secular figurehead who was taped by the soviets to lead a future Kurdish state who had the previous month declared his intention to create a such a state in Mahabad. Muhammad was then the leader of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan (DPK), whose plan to form a Kurdish state was expedited following the incident at the Ministry of Justice. The Russian-backed state was formally declared five days later and lasted for just under a year before it was crushed and reintegrated into Iran. Within that short year, the Republic facilitated an event of great importance in Kurdish political history. That event was the creation of the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) by Mullah Mustafa Barzani. The party was meant to be the Iraqi counterpart of the DPK, and its rapid growth and influence represented a shift in the direction of the Kurdish political movement, shifting the movement from an anti-state movement to a nationalist one.

The Barzanis, tattered and homeless, arrived in Mahabad as a party of up to 10,000 with a fighting force of 1,000 to 3,000 men.[23] Mustafa Barzani quickly came it to contact with soviet officers and Qazi Muhammad, whose command he looked up to. Barzani pledged his fighting force to Mahabad and became one of four generals of the republic's disjointed army, formed in March of 1946.[24] Barzani was no mercenary or ordinary tribal leader. He came from a lineage of Naqshbandi Sufi leaders who could trace their lineage back to the court of Badr Khan Beg, the last great leader of the independent Kurdish emirates. Barzani was part of a network of leaders within a larger Kurdish political movement that had been fighting off the efforts of state

centralization for about 100 years. Barzani's experience in Mahabad would alter the momentum of the movement, from a movement fighting against state control in favor of traditional leadership to a movement fighting for its own state that also protected the traditional Kurdish political system.

From Mahabad onward, the Kurdish political movement in Iraq was outwardly nationalist. Where as Barzani may have paid lip service to nationalist ideas before Mahabad, his KDP was explicitly nationalist. The creation of the KDP within Iraq, where Mustafa Barzani was unable to travel, was done largely through *Rizgari Kurd (*Kurdish Liberation). *Rizgari Kurd* was the largest nationalist party at the time, though it was, like all nationalists before the KDP, still quite small and stuck in an urban, intellectual bubble in Baghdad and Sulaymaniyah. *Rizgari* leaned hard left and had an explicitly nationalist agenda and charter.[25] The organization had even sent proclamation to the newly formed United Nations General Assembly in September 1946, calling for an end to "imperialism" in Iraqi Kurdistan.[26] By forming the KDP, Barzani essentially shattered Rizgari Kurd, with members feeling to either the new KDP, the Iraqi Communist Party, or other small, highfalutin nationalist groups. The KDP had its own form of nationalism, which was decidedly quiet on matters of economics and was dominated by traditional landholders.[27] Its top three members were all tribal cheifs, two of whom, Sheikh Latif Barzanji and Mustafa Barzani, came from the same ideological lineage of influential Naqshbandi Sheikhs and had been influential in non-national rebellions against the Iraq state. Though the KDP may have shared ideas with revolutionary organizations, the KDP itself was the continuation of a political network of traditional Kurdish authorities. The movement was the same, it had simply adopted the language of nationalism.

The KDP remains the most popular political party in the Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq today and both the current president, Massoud, and prime minister, Nechirvan, are Barazanis and the son and nephew of Mustafa Barzani, respectively. One can trace Massoud and Nechirvan Barzani's impressive lineage back much further, to the court of Badr Khan Beg, the last ruler of a powerful Kurdish Emirate. There, Sheikh Sayyid Taha acted as the spiritual cheerleader for Badr Khan's violent campaign against the Nestorian Christians. Sayyid Taha and his mentor Sheikh Khalid were the political ancestor of the great Kurdish rebellions in the Ottoman empire and Iraq. A new political movement did not come out of Mahabad, but a movement that began in Badr Khan's rebellious emirate of Bohtan changed from an anti-state movement to a nationalist movement within the context of the Republic of Mahabad.

KURDS AT THE FRONTIER

Over 100 years before the Republic of Mahabad was formed, Badr Khan ruled over another kind of independent Kurdish territory. Kurdistan in the former part of the 19th century was ruled chiefly by small, independent kingdoms born out of tribal allegiances. Many of the families ruling the various emirates, such as the Azizan in Bohtan, could trace their rule back many centuries through Bidlisi's *Sharafname*. These independent kingdoms were often ruled, as will be shown below in the case Moush and Bidlisi by related *mirs* (the Kurdish honorific of the time equivalent to *emir*) simultaneously and were often aligned with other emirates. They all also fell under the authority of the Ottoman Empire. However, even though the emirates were linked through blood and politics in a Kurdish region, they did not represent a sovereign Kurdistan. Nor was Ottoman Kurdistan at the time really Ottoman at all. Horatio Southgate, an American Missionary traveling in Kurdistan between 1836-39 remarked on the political situation:

> The Bey of Bitlis is himself a Kurd, and a brother of the Pasha of Moush, within whose province the city falls. The manner in which he received me shows with how free a spirit he holds his authority. He seemed, indeed, more like an independent chieftain, ruling in his own hereditary right, than a governor deriving power from another. The same spirit prevails among the people. The name of the Sultan seldom reaches their ears. This indeed, to some degree, is Eastern[28] feeling everywhere. The Turk has no name for patriotism. His local attachments seldom reach beyond his own village or town.[29]

This Kurdish local patriotism meant a rejection of centralized power and "foreign" rule, be it from Turks, Europeans, or other Kurds. Mir Muhammed of Rawunduz claimed that his province was never "subjugated to the Pashas, or paid taxes to the Sultan."[30] This situation was the status quo in Kurdistan[31] and was one that benefited the traditional power structure enough for them to fight to protect once centralization reforms set in in the 1830s. However, this would begin to drastically change following the Tanzimat reforms and state centralization campaigns in the late 1830s. By 1845, the last independent Kurdish emirate had fallen. The last stand of its leader, Badr Khan Beg, began a movement to contain state authority in Kurdistan through violent insurrections. This movement had several characteristics that would define it into its nationalist period. The movement was comprised of traditional authority figures, not urbane intellectuals. In particular, It was comprised of a network of leaders who were all connected through a Naqshbandi Sufi order created by Sheikh Khalid in Kurdistan in 1811. The connection was generally a social one between Shiekhs of the same order, with Sheikh Sayyid Taha and Sheikh Ubaydullah being the only major figures who were related in a familial manner. The movement always came into conflict with dominant state structures, but also with Christians who were seen as a potential political and demographic threat to traditional autonomy. This movement would

dominate mainstream Kurdish politics in the Ottoman empire and then Iraq into the contemporary era with theses traits, only losing its animosity towards Christians in the recent nationalist iteration.

Badr Khan Beg was the leader of the Bohtan Emirate in what is now the far Southeast of Turkey. Badr Khan had laid low when Rashid Muhammad Pasha was crushing other Kurdish chiefdoms in the late 1830s and was eventually called upon to fight with the Ottoman's against Muhammad Ali Pasha of Egypt. In 1843, with what seemed to be Ottoman approval, Badr Khan attacked the Nestorian tribes along the Zab river, massacring whole villages and selling whomever he did not kill into slavery. This move was likely done to help shore up alliances with the weakening Hakkari who had been locked in a bitter conflict with an embattled Nestorian tribe and to prevent European encroachment in the region.[32] Christian strongholds brought Western missionaries who provided the Armenians and Nestorians with capitol that helped them draw military and commercial strength away from the Kurdish tribes and emirates. In addition, Russian rule, which was far more heavy handed than Ottoman governance, was generally welcomed by Christian communities, especially Armenians.[33] Campaigns against the Christians were encouraged within Bohtan by Sheikh Sayyid Taha, the leading Naqshbandi Sheikh in Bohtan. In this way Badr Khan was connected to a larger network of Naqshbandi sheikhs who would go on to confront state structures in ways often disastorous for Christians. However, by massacring Christians, Badr Khan was the first to fail in the great balancing act that Kurdish separatists tried to achieve before World War Two. Christians brought Europeans and threatened Kurdish power, but attacking Christians too heavy-handedly brought in Ottoman forces to provide security. By trying to roll back state power by breaking Nestorian power, Badr Kahn had brought about the end of his empire as reactionary Ottoman forces rolled in in 1845.

The fall of Badr Khan Beg completed what the Ottoman military forces had started when they closed in on Mir Kor; the end of the Kurdish emirates. This of course did not bring about the end of the traditional power structure, which I will show remained in place in Iraq to this day. Nor did it bring about direct, centralized Ottoman rule to Kurdistan. The new system made it so that no more large Kurdish kingdoms could exist, and no large state government would interfere either. Kurdish leaders, it would appear, were relatively accepting of this compromise. However, they would fight back later when the threat of a larger state became to great. It was the fall of these to kingdoms that brought a new reality to the region and a new movement, one that sought to keep the state away without letting one Kurdish chief grow to powerful. However, this was not the end of Badr Khan Beg's family being involved in the Kurdish movement. His grandsons, taught by famed Kurdish poet Haci Qadri Koyi, were the first people to create publications specifically devoted to Kurdish poetry and to print overtly nationalist material. Miqdad Midhat

Badrkhan started publishing the journal *Kurdistan* in Cairo in 1898.[34] The journal published Sorani Kurdish poetry, including a publication of *Mem U Zin*, which before than was not particularly well known. It also published the highly nationalist poetry of Haci Qadri Koyi, who wrote with despair about the fall of the great Kurdish emirates in the mid-19th century.[35] Celadet Bey Badrkhan would go on to publish *Hawar* in Damascus in 1932, a highly influential Kurmanji literary journal with nationalistic themes. These ideas and literary traditions espoused by the descendants of Badr Khan Bey would go on to influence the Kurdish political movement in Iraq some years later when it become nationalistic, with leaders frequently referencing *Mem U Zin*.[36]

The changes following the fall of the emirates came swiftly. Fraser, traveling in the region immediately after the fall of Mir Kor, noted that poor Kurdish tribes had become destitute following novel Ottoman taxes.[37] Multiple Kurdish leaders who Fraser spoke to were already waxing nostalgic about the Kurdish emirates in the late 1830s. "Roostum Beg" was one who lamented about the state of his region:

> The golden days of Koordistan are gone… all the good soldiers and stout horseman are dead, or have fled the land, or have taken to the plough [sic] per force, to make as much money as will pay the Pasha and feed their wives and children.[38]

Other observers note that many formerly nomadic Kurds who relied on raiding were partially settled during this time.[39] Clearly there was a sense of Kurdistan as a place that had a system of governance and way of life that depended on that system, which was on its way out at this time. However, to assume that this change in the political structure meant that Kurdistan was fully integrated into the Ottoman empire would be a gross overstatement. There was no real presence of Ottoman authority, only the ability to occasionally quash any Kurdish Beg who grew too powerful.[40] The course of Kurdish politics then would be to keep the status quo of statelessness in the region. This movement would be taken up by notable sheikhs and tribal leaders with a lineage clearly continuing until the nationalist movement of today. The movement would not become active in its rebellion for about 30 years, when a new threat of state control came to Kurdistan.

REBELLIOUS SHEIKHS

Following the collapse of the Kurdish emirates, Sheikhs, particularly of the Naqshbandi Sufi order, became the prominent leaders in secular society, working alongside their tribal counterparts and eventually becoming somewhat indistinguishable from the traditional patriarchal leaders. [41] These sheikhs, and particularly one network of sheikhs, are the glue that connect the Kurdish political movement against state powers that would become the National

movement. The first Naqshbandi Sheikh to gain influence in Kurdistan was Shaikh Khalid, who traveled to Sulaymaniyah from India in 1811. He immediately became incredible influential, and was kicked out by the local Barzinji tribe, who were also Naqshbandi, but not followers of Khalid's particular Mujaddidi ('revivalist') order.[42] The Naqshbandi sheikhs of Khalid's order would return to Sulaymaniyah when Sheikh Ahmad Barzinji (who was taught as a child by Sheikh Khalid himself before he was expelled from Sulaymaniyah) and Shaikh Ahmad would blend his tribes Naqshbandi sensibilities with that of Sheikh Khalid's followers in the mid 19th century. This allowed the Barzinji Sheikhs (who were also the secular rulers) to join a larger network of Mujaddidi Naqshbandi Sheikhs.[43] This network would go on to include the Barzanis, the Sheikhs of Nihri, and Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji, the grandson of Sheikh Ahmed Barzinji who would lead the first Kurdish revolt in the state of Iraq. The Sheikhs of Nihri and the Barzanis would also lead massive revolts against state structures, with the Barzanis leading the first the early nationalist phase of the Kurdish political movement.

The Barzanis and the Sheikhs of Nihri can trace their history back to Sheikh Sayyid Taha of Nihri. Sheikh Taha was a follower of Sheikh Khalid and became a very influential Sheikh in the Emirate of Bohtan, acting as the spiritual voice behind Badr Khan Beg's military campaign against the Nestorians.[44] Following the collapse of the Emirate, Sheikh Taha moved to Nihri, where he converted a man named Tajuddin and commanded him to spread their Naqshbandi order in Barzan, creating the Barzani line of Sheikhs.[45] Sheikh Taha's son, Sheikh Ubaydullah, would succeed him as the leader of the Sheikhs of Nihri. As will be shown below, Sheikh Ubaydullah of Nihri and a series of leaders from the Barzani line of Sheikhs would be defining characters in the Kurdish political movement, alongside the Barzinjis. In fact, Shiekh Latif Barzinji, grandson of Sheikh Ahmad Barzinji, would be the vice president of the political party established by Tujaddin's descendent Mullah Mustafa Barzani that marked the transition of mainstream Kurdish politics to a nationalist discourse. Through Sheikh Khalid and Taha, we can connect the major players of the Kurdish movement in the Ottoman empire and later in Iraq and see that they were part of the same network of power. The people who would later lead the Kurdish national movement are all directly descended from the same line of sheikhs that dominated the Kurdish political movement against state authority.

The Russo-Turkish war was fought from 1878-79 and changed the internal dynamics of Ottoman Kurdistan. Russia invaded Turkey from both the Balkans and the Caucasus in 1878 on the heel of Balkan national uprisings. The Russian Army captured the heavily Armenian province of Kars and established the Oblast of Kars in the modern day border between southwest Armenia and Turkey. Russians were also stationed in Persian Kurdistan and in pockets throughout Kurdistan and Armenia. With the Russians and other Europeans came a stronger force of

government than Kurdish chiefs could tolerate. One observer traveling in Kurdistan in 1856 noted that the "neighbourhood of the Russians has considerably broken the power of the Koords, who have learnt to tremble before...the [European] Consuls, and a tolerable degree of security, reigns at present, in this desolate district." [46] An incredibly similar account of the situation regarding Russian governance was noted by another traveler in 1879.[47] Russian and other European presence was then more directly felt than Ottoman presence, and therefore the Kurdish movement to prevent state structures would fight back in order to maintain their autonomy.

One of the most important effects of the Russo-Turkish war was the Treaty of Berlin, ending the war on July 13, 1878. Article 61 of the treaty stated that "the Sublime Porte engages to carry out without further delay the ameliorations and reforms which are called for by local needs in the provinces inhabited by Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and the Kurds."[48] The treaty forced the Ottomans to force greater control upon the region of Armenia and Kurdistan. The first British councils arrived to oversee the enforcement of the treaty in June of 1878 and were met with great resentment. Sheikh Ubaydullah expressed concern at this time that the Armenians were going to raise the British flag and declare themselves British subjects.[49] The fear of European or Armenian threats to the status quo is probably the major reason behind Ubaydullah's eventual rebellion and invasion of Qajar Iran.[50] However, this was not because he was trying to set up a Kurdish state, despite the argument of Jwaideh. Ubaydullah worked with the Ottoman government to call for *Jihad* against the Christians who supported Europeans, and Shi'is, who were the Persian rivals of the Ottoman state.[51] Sheikh Ubaydullah was then not a nationalist, but a Kurdish leader opposed to direct state authority where he maintained religious and secular power. This trend would continue, being led by other descendants of Sheikh Sayyid Taha until 1946.

AGHA, EFFENDI, AND BEG

Kurdistan at the time of the Committee for Union and Progress ("Young Turks") rise to power was still a land with little to no functional Ottoman government. Edgar and Reverend W.A. Wigram provide a telling account of the life of a standard Ottoman official in Kurdistan at the time:

> One is completely outside the power of the Government in the Barzan-Neri district, but not quite out of touch with its officials notwithstanding. In one of the remotest of villages... we actually found a Government mudir. It is true that he had no power; and any collecting of taxes that took place in the neighborhood was done by wholly unauthorized agencies; but there he was, presumably as a testimony to the existence of the Hukuma [government]...For years in that remote glen, he had enjoyed no conversation with any but policemen and Kurds.[52]

Indeed, Ottoman officials with no work to do seemed abound in Kurdistan at this time. Two Ottoman officials that the Wigrams encountered were living lavishly in apartments given to them by Shiekh Saddik of Nihri, the powerful grandson of Sheikh Ubaydullah. The two men worked for the state tobacco monopoly, but failed to enforce any of its policies because their patron Sheikh Saddik was making a fortune smuggling tobacco.[53] This was the status quo that Sheikh Ubaydullah tried to maintain with his rebellion and one that, as demonstrated by Sheikh Saddik, was maintained largely by a network of powerful Kurdish leaders connected to Ubaydullah by blood or through Naqshbandi networks.

Ely Bannister Soane, an Englishman who had lived in Shiraz and Persian Kurdistan for many years and spoke fluent Persian and Kurdish gives probably the best account of the political situation in Kurdistan in the years preceding World War One. Soane was Kurdistan's answer to T.E. Lawrence. Soane had "gone native," and would later advocate for an independent Kurdistan while working for the British government. Though Soane's claim that he went undetected (outside of one incident in Halabja) posing as a Persian merchant returning from Hajj through Kurdistan is hard to believe, his observations are still prescient. Soane too noticed myriad "uniformed Turks" who seemed to have nothing better to do than drink coffee and smoke all day.[54] The Kurds were either keeping Turkish officials from doing their jobs or the government in Istanbul sent them there knowing full well that they would get nothing done. Though there were probably more "uniformed turks" in Kurdistan than in 1845, the stalemate between traditional leaders of the Kurdish political movement and the Ottoman government persisted. So long as there was a comfortably level of Ottoman inefficacy, then rebellions from Kurdish leaders did not erupt as relative autonomy and lack of government obtrusion was still the lay of the land.

These Turks that gained so much disdain in Kurdistan were, importantly, Turkish more because of their affiliation with the government then with their ethnicity. Soane gives interesting insights to what it means to be a Turk in Kurdistan. While carrying a conversation in Kurdish with a Naqshbandi dervish in a small town, Soane switches his Kurdish style headdress for a fez and his acquaintance immediately switches from calling him brother to "Effendi," a formal Turkish honorific. Upon hearing that his speech is peppered with Persian words, he switches to calling him "Agha," a Persian honorific.[55] Here we see the idea that high status or wealth outside of the traditional Kurdish power structures makes someone a "Turk" in Ottoman Kurdistan, even if he is a native Kurdish speaker (as Soane pretended to be). That same person, however, is Persian when he occupies this elevated position in Persia. "Turk" then is not just an ethnic description, but a way to describe someone who is connected to the Ottoman state at a high level. Therefore, when accounts of Kurds opposing Turkish rule in the Ottoman empire appear, we can

understand them as opposition to a state system, not opposition to a different ethnicity controlling that state system. This becomes most ardently clear in Soane's description of his friend Mustafa Beg. Beg was an Ottoman accountant who traveled to Halabja only to find himself hated and without any work as the "Kurds would not consent to his presence amongst them, for he was a Turk."[56] However, as Soane notes many times, Mustafa Beg was an Arab from Tripoli. Almost anyone, it appears, who did not come from the traditional power structure and represented Ottoman authority was a Turk and therefore thoroughly despised.[57] In this context one can see that rebellions at this time, which Soane causally notes were "a quite usual occurrence," were against centralization of power, not rule by non-Kurds.[58] These means that the Kurdish political movement was moving against a state based on its threat to local power, not out of a nationalist drive for Kurds to rule over Kurds.

Despite the despise of "Turks" in Kurdistan, there seems to be little in the accounts of the period concerning Kurds suggesting any rule besides Ottoman or Persian. The goal of rebelling Kurds before World War Two seems to have been keeping the states that governed them impotent but not absent. This is highlighted by a series of conflicts at the Ottoman-Persian border. In 1902, a serious Kurdish disturbance in Persian-controlled Urmia over reforms that would increase government presence in the city were met by both Turkish and Persian troops, accompanied by Russians. The Kurds and Seyyids who started the revolt, instead of pushing for independence, welcomed the Ottomans.[59] The Ottoman dynasty was then still led by the decentralist Abdulhamid II, who would presumably leave the region more autonomous. With this context we can understand the calls for Ottoman control of Urmia not as a cry to join the caliphate, but as a strategic move to be controlled by the weaker state that would allow more localized political control. Just seven years later, Soane noted that a Kurd from Turkish-controlled Sauj Bulaq (later Persian-controlled Mahabad) lamented that he was under Turkish as opposed to Persian rule, a sentiment that was shared widely along the border.[60] No one in the account seemed to be asking for Kurdish rule. The Qajar dynasty at this time (1909) was weak and fending off revolution, while the Ottoman empire was ratcheting up a new centralization campaign. In other words, Kurdish loyalties switched between the Ottoman and Persian empires based on witch would interfere the least in their affairs. When Persia was a stronger state, Kurds in Urmia wanted to be Ottoman subjects, and when the Ottoman empire began centralizing, Kurds in nearby Sauj Bulaq wanted to be Persian subjects. This shows that there was not a strong nationalist desire to be independent, but there was a political movement to maintain autonomy. Furthermore, an international group sent to clear up the Ottoman Turkish border issue in 1915 found many "octogenarians ready to swear that they passed their infancy under the benign rule of Shah or Sultan."[61] The mission, which was supposed to establish the boundary based on the 1848 border,

noted the frequent problem of towns where the Turks were in control only because a local Kurdish Bey had called on them to help dispose of enemies getting in the way of their rule over the region.[62] Power had been switched between the two empires with the invitation of Kurds, and so frequently that people could not even remember who ruled over them. The only constant appears to have been powerful Kurds playing the two rivals off of each other in order to maintain their traditional governing structure in the face of a larger state, but not advocating for a state of their own.

The most thoroughly autonomous province before World War One was likely Barzan, west of Erbil. Sheikh Abdul Salim Barzani was the absolute ruler before WWI and dating back to about the beginning of the century. The Sheikh had broken into open revolt in 1909 when a Pasha at Mosul tried to bring in some of his territory under direct Ottoman control. [63] The Sheikh was briefly displaced and some of his followers arrested, but the Ottomans soon had the Mosul Pasha end his land grab. Within a few years, Ottoman soldiers would not even enter Barzan territory to escort European travelers. Travelers noted that Sheikh Abdul Salim kept his territory tightly controlled and was followed with almost religious devotion.[64] The Sheikh was a Naqshbandi sufi who descended from a Naqshbandi tradition beginning in Nihri began by Sheikh Sayyid Taha.[65] Not only was he liked by his fellow Muslim Kurdish followers, he was highly regarded by the Christians due to his uncharacteristic tolerance of Christianity as compared to other Sheikhs. The Sheikh even went so far as to title himself the "Sheikh of the Christians."[66] The Barzanis would lead a series of rebellions following Sheikh Abdul Hamid, however the character would change from maintaining autonomy to advocating for a Kurdish state. The lineage of these rebellious leaders who later adopted nationalism, which traced the Barzanis to the court of Badr Khan, would remain the same.

MOVEMENTS IN MESOPOTAMIA

The British began state building actions in Iraq immediately following World War One. The British appointed Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji (1878-1956) as district governor of Sulaymaniyah, the most cosmopolitan city of Iraqi Kurdistan. Sheikh Mahmud was popular in Sulaymaniyah. This can be seen in his appointment as spokesperson of a committee of leaders in Sulaymaniyah gathered by the British at the beginning of occupation.[67] As A.T. Wilson put it, with some hyperbole, "for one who opposed his appointment there were four others who professed to welcome it."[68] Wilson went on to say that the one in five who opposed Mahmud were a form of landed elite outside of Barzanji's kin-based power structure, the same who benefitted under lax Ottoman civil administration and looked for something similar from British rule. Despite British attempts to show his overwhelming popularity, Sheikh Mahmud's claim to

power was dubious. Multiple tribes in and around his municipality were upset over his appointment, like tribes around Kirkuk and Kifri who, in the words of British civil official Gertrude Bell, "emphatically denied any intention of acknowledging him as an overlord."[69] In other words, these rival tribes were more inclined to be ruled by the British than fellow Kurds if British rule was more lax. Even after a nation-state was imposed upon Iraqi Kurds, the main political desire seems to have been to weaken state authority, not create a specifically Kurdish state.

Those who supported Sheikh Mahmud often did so because they felt that the British had blessed him and that their receiving of British financial aid was dependent on him. As Bell puts it:

> So anxious were the Kurds at that time for peace, so reduced by privation, that they were ready to sign any document or make any statement to procure tranquility and food. Thus tribe after tribe which hitherto had been barely cognizant of Shaikh Mahmud... signed the stereotyped memorial praying for inclusion in the new State under Shaikh Mahmud, a condition which they imagined the British Government to have made essential, for reasons of its own.[70]

Here one can see that Kurdish leaders were not supporting Sheik Mahmud because he was their nationalist hero, but because signing on to his quasi-state under a British umbrella was seen as the only way to obtain immediate post-war relief aid and avoid the ire of the British.

In 1919, Sheikh Mahmud started a rebellion against the British under the claim of Kurdish independence, ejecting all British officials from Sulaymaniyah. His first revolt would be short lived and crushed by the Royal Air Force (RAF), but he would continue a low intensity insurgency for many years, until the Barzanis (not to be confused with the Barzanjis) took over the reins of violent insurrection in Iraqi Kurdistan. Barzanji was nationalist, creating a new Kurdish flag for his proposed state and calling his fighting force a national army.[71] Still, scholars have disputed his nationalism or claimed that though he was a nationalist, his rebellion should not be considered an intrinsic part of the history of Kurdish nationalism, as its true intention was to create a "personal fiefdom."[72] David McDowall forwards the latter interpretation, which seems to discredit Sheikh Mahmud's nationalist credentials because of his rampant nepotism and tribalism, and claim that this tribalism is one of the major reasons for the fact that his particular nationalist movement failed to achieve saliency. However, McDowall would have to answer for Barzini's post-war success as a popular nationalist leader despite the fact that he exhibited many of Sheikh Mahmud's traits, as will be shown below. As we shall see, the Barzinjis would go on to be important parts of the post World War Two nationalist discourse, having extended from a long line of autonomous rulers around and in Sulaymaniyah. Sheikh Mahmud was not representative

of a nationalist movement in 1919, but he was representative of a larger Kurdish push against state powers and later for a Kurdish state, particularly within his own family network. In this way he continued the lineage of the Naqshbandi sheikh network of which the Barzinjis were a part in fighting back against the state and would serve as an important point on the road to the movements evolution towards nationalism, which his brother Sheikh Latif Barzinji would help lead.

THE BARZANIS REBEL

Barzan had been exerted independence and influence for some time, but it was not until the mid 20th centruy that the Barzani sheikhs began to dominate Iraqi Kurdish politics. As noted above, the Barzani family's rule can be traced back to the Naqshbandi order at Nihri, along with Sheikh Saddik and Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji. While Abdul Salim had gained much prominence in Ottoman Southern Kurdistan, Barzani prominence in Iraqi politics began with Sheikh Ahmed of Barzan's (1896-1969) rebellion in 1931. However, this did not cement their role as the leaders of Kurdish nationalism in Iraq. It would be a long process from the 1931 rebellion to the creation of the KDP in 1946 that truly represented Mulla Mustafa Barzani's (brother of Sheikh Ahmed) status as the first leader of a popular nationalist movement in Iraqi Kurdistan. First there would be a tribal rebellion against the state, then a rebellion for better treatment within the state, and lastly by a popular nationalist movement. By examining the history of each of these three episodes in the history of the Barzanis, I will show how they are different, with only the latter being truly nationalist, but that they were all part of the same political lineage. This conception of events is helped by the fact that he and his followers were crushed with incredible violence by the RAF and received asylum to Turkey, a country trying to upset British control over the region. The accounts of Sheikh Ahmed's rebellion vary widely, with some claiming it was a nationalist revolt and others saying it was a sort of wildly heterodox Jihad. The truth probably lies somewhere in between. It was religiously motivated, but only so far as the settlement of Christians in the region affected the salience of the state in Barzan. Therefore, it was a rebellion against state control clothed in the language of religion.

The Barzani rebellion was caused not by resentment of being ruled by the foreign British, but a fear that their plan to resettle Christians in and around Barzan would reduce their autonomy. British and Arab Iraqi observers began to become concerned about the situation regarding Sheikh Ahmed in Barzan in 1927 when reports of strange religious practices came to their attention. Though all reports on the sheikh differed in some way, it appears he was practicing some heterodox form of religion and had made his followers eat pork, a practice clearly banned in Islam and associated with Christianity. British Administrator W.C.F Wilson

claimed that the Sheikh had ordered his followers to eat pork and burn the Qur'an (the only report of this practice). His followers, Wilson reported later, revered the Sheikh so much they proclaimed him a god and became violent missionaries, to the point where the British had to step in.[73] Stephen Longrigg, another British Official in Iraq, stated that Sheikh Ahmed had declared himself god and preached of the "Assyrian Trespass" before converting to Christianity, an act which sparked the war as "Shaykh Rashid of Baradost expressed his disapproval by raids."[74] Ismail Beg, a Kurdish chief from Rawanduz whose remarks were recorded in the autobiography of a British engineer in Kurdistan, claims that Sheikh Ahmed was "half-Christian," unfairly rumored to be allied with the Assyrians, and was attacked by Sheikh Rashid because he was a *kaffir* (apostate or infidel). The fighting eventually came to be a reason for the British to enter the region. This Jihad of Sheikh Rashid, Ismail Beg claims, was encouraged by a "mysterious political agent."[75] This air of conspiracy was due in large part to the British plan to resettle Assyrians in large numbers to Baradost and Barzan. Sheikh Ahmed himself was fearful of the prospect of an Assyrian resettlement plan and wrote to King Faisal in 1932 that he felt "that unseen hands are busy behind the scenes trying to eject us from our lands with the intention of settling the Nestorians [Assyrians] therein."[76] Barzan was clearly willing to work with the Iraqi king, but would not accept a threat to his power on the ground in Barzan represented by Christian settlement.

The events that led to massive RAF bombing operations in Baradost and Barzan and more complete British control over Barzan, generally called Sheikh Ahmed's rebellion, could have began in one of two ways. The first is that, based on the reports noted about Sheikh Ahmed being Christian and allying with the Assyrians, Sheikh Rashid of Baradost attacked Barzan to prevent an Assyrian-Barzani alliance in his backyard. Another possibility, favored by Jwaideh, is that Sheikh Rashid was encouraged by the British to attack Sheikh Ahmed so that he could be defeated, making Assyrian transfer to his region possible.[77] Sheikh Ahmed, in his correspondence with the king along with a long history of Barzani autonomy, did not seem likely to let the Assyrians simply move into his fiefdom or to ally with them. He likely saw the British resettlement plan as a threat to central government power if the Assyrians were concentrated in one politically mobile and potentially more autonomous block that already had an armed contingent in the Assyrian Levy forces, which were supported and employed by the British. [78] Regardless of the cause, clearly there was a sentiment among the Kurdish leaders of the region that an Assyrian threat to their autonomy was unacceptable. The Assyrian resettlement plan was abandoned by 1933, however, the Barzanis had failed to keep away threats to their autonomy and an Arab Iraqi garrison was placed in Barzan in 1933.[79] Sheikh Ahmed's rebellion was one against incursion by threats to his tribal autonomy, though it was certainly not nationalist. Its it

interesting to note that Sheikh Ahmed succeeded Sheikh Abdul Salim, the "Sheikh of the Christians." Here we see how the changing pressure of centralized state encouraged a shift from simply fighting back against the state, as Sheikh Abdul Salim did, to a fight to maintain autonomy and the demographics of the area under autonomous control. This mirrors the change in Bitlis and the Hakkari region discussed above. The Sheikh of Bitlis was incredibly tolerant of Christianity in the mid-19th century and the Hakkari (aided by Badr Khan Beg) only fought Nestorians who were part of their own autonomous tribes. Later, in the 20th century, Bitlis and the Hakkari mountains were home to some of the most extreme cases of ethnic cleansing against Armenians.[80] We can see the Kurdish movement in the 20th century shifting from a goal of simple autonomy to a goal of autonomy and a lack of what might be perceived as a non-Kurdish demographic threat. In this way, the movement became more about maintaining Kurdish power then just repelling state power. Nationalism is the obvious scion of this, and would indeed follow in 1946.

Sheikh Ahmed's family was exiled from Barzan following the British quelling of the rebellion. His brother Mulla Mustafa Barzani was sent to Sulaymaniyah. There he was bound to be in contact with many nationalist ideas, and was believed to have been contacted by multiple nationalist organizations. In addition, his escape back to Barzan in 1943 was orchestrated by Sheikh Latif Barzanji, the brother and former collaborator of Sheikh Mahmud.[81] Barzani decided to return to Barzan after hearing troubling news of government practices there, such as the establishment of a tobacco monarchy which negatively affected Kurdish farmers. In addition, there was a severe famine at a time when Iraq was producing export levels of grain.[82] Barzani returned and found the reality of the situation to be as dire as the reports he had heard. He appealed to the British for economic aid but was rebuked and instead his arrest was ordered.[83] He responded by destroying multiple police posts around Barzan and causing general disorder under the vague idea of Kurdish rights. In this incident, significantly, Mullah Mustafa is not asking for the dismissal of state authority, but a change in policy and even help from the state. Barzani was attacking the infrastructure of the state, but his request was for better governance, no autonomous, tribal governance. This is a remarkable change, one that would immediately precede the nationalist epoch in Kurdish politics.

It was not until Majid Mustafa, a Kurdish official in the Baghdad government, visited Barzan that he agreed to enter into talks with Baghdad.[84] Barzani's initial demands mostly involved the inclusion of Kurdish officials into more government seats, a restructuring of Kurdish provincial districts to increase Kurdish representation in Baghdad, and to make Kurdish an official language.[85] Clearly Barzani had developed a non-tribal political savvy that went beyond the tribal quarrels with the state that his family had been involved in the previous decade.

In the end he settled for an agreement with Majid Mustafa that pardoned his family, only dealt with the administration of the Barzan region, granted Barzani safe travel to Baghdad where he would receive a government audience, and made a vague promises of economic development for his province. Barzani may have used the rhetoric of a pan-Kurdish struggle at first, but he was more than willing to accept a deal that only helped his own region. Here we see that Barzani was still mostly fighting for the benefit of his own family network, and only employing the rhetoric of nationalism. However, when the repelling the state became an insurmountable task in northern Iraq, Barzani came to see a Kurdish state as the solution.

The British ended up canceling their agreement with Barzani and remained unchanged in Barzan. Barzani then launched into a second rebellion in 1945 that was short lived and eventually led to his exile to Iran.[86] During this time, Barzani appears to have become more prominent across Iraqi Kurdistan and seen as a nationalist leader outside of Barzan. In March of 1945 he received two letters that began with "Long live the Kurds and Kurdistan." One, by a man who was not a Barzani, called him "my Lord and Commander."[87] Later letters in 1945 from Kurds across Northern Iraq often referred to Barzani as "esteemed leader" or "his eminence" (as translated from the Kurdish by his son Masoud, the current president of the KRG).[88] Barzani even came to join a nationalist political party called the *Hiva*, or Hope Party. The party based itself in Barzan and had a political agenda of tribal unification emanating from Barzan with the end goal of a unified and eventually autonomous Kurdistan.[89]. In many ways, its plan was how Kurdish history and the post-WWII nationalist movement would play out. Its existence and that of other nationalist parties were important, but the creation of the Republic of Mahabad and the KDP would be the event that truly tipped the historical scales and cause the Kurdish political movement to become largely nationalistic. The movement's rebellious leaders shared a heritage in the Sheikhs of Nihri, and would then adopt the ideas of Kurdish nationalism first espoused in print by Miqdad Midhat Badrkhan, the grandson of Badr Kahn Beg, the last king of the Kurdish emirates. The movement against state control comes from a shared lineage of elites who shaped Kurdish power structure, and would, upon Mustafa Barzani's, take up the nationalist cause.

NATIONALIST RHETORIC, TRIBAL AUTHORITY

It was in the Republic of Mahabad that the organization linking the kind of Kurdish nationalism of Haci Qadri Koyi, published by the grandsons of Badr Khan Beg, and the traditional power structure of the Kurdish political movement was formed.[90] In August of 1946, the KDP formed a congress in Baghdad, with Barzani as its president in exile (then in Mahabad, later in the Soviet Union). Barzani, based on his experiences in Mahabad, had created the most important political entity in modern Iraqi Kurdish history. To the dismay of some leftists, the

KDP incorporated tribal leaders into its leadership, particularly Sheikh Latif Barzanji and Ziyad Mohammad Agha, under the belief that they were necessary allies because of their military strength and connection to a tribal support base.[91] Barzani made Barzanji and Ziyad Muhammad his representatives in his absence and later the party's vice presidents. McDowall claims that Barzani's inclusion of tribal leaders in the KDP would "dog the maturation of the Kurdish movement in Iraq well into the 1970s."[92] This, I argue, incorrectly asserts that pre-national power structures are incompatible with national movements. I argue exactly the opposite, as this history should show that the framework of the Kurdish nation was already created by the traditional leadership networks in Kurdistan dating back to the early 19th century at least. A Kurdish national movement could not truly exist without incorporating this traditional, tribal authority because they provide the content of the national imaging. McDowall is incorrectly separating the national and pre-national into opposing forces, when in fact the national movement is the same as the pre-national movement for tribal and regional autonomy, but with an altered goal. Instead of being opposed to the state in order to assert traditional tribal or religious authority, Kurdish leaders were now opposed larger state structures in order to create their own Kurdish state.

CONCLUSION

From this history one can see that there has been a continuous political current in Kurdistan, what I call the Kurdish political movement, dating from Badr Khan's emirate of Bohtan to the beginning of the nationalist movement in Iraq in 1946. One could easily trace this movement to today, as the son of Mullah Mustafa Barzani, Massoud Barzani, is the president of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) in Iraq today. This line began in the 19th century with Sheikh Khalid of Nihri, and extended to the Emirate of Bohtan through Sheikh Sayyid Taha, and finally to the Barzanis, Barzinjis, and the Sheikhs of Nihri, all of whom led major rebellions against state structures, eventually leading into a nationalist movement led by members of the former two families. The movement continued through failures in Iraq, eventually shifting to a nationalist movement led by the KDP, which dominates politics in the KRG today. When one examines the history of Kurdish nationalism in this way, they see that the rebellions that happened before WWII were not nationalist, but the laid the groundwork for the national movement and composed the political network that would compose the national movement. One can't trace the origin of the national movement, because they would either follow an endless hunt through Kurdish history or do it a disservice by unnaturally bifurcating it between national and pre-national. We can only see the point at which the Kurdish political movement began to be nationalist, which I argue is 1946. In this way, we are not dividing

Kurdish history into different epochal periods based on Western ideas, but examining the dynamic history of a particularly Kurdish movement.

[1] Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, and History," 77.
[2] Ibid., 79.
[3] Wadie Jwaideh, *The Kurdish National Movement: Its Origins and Development* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse UP, 2006), 11-12; and David McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1996), 6.
[4] Hakan Ozoglu, "The Impact of Islam on Kurdish Identity Formation in the Middle East," in Mohammad M.A. Ahmed and Michael Gunter, *The Evolution of Kurdish Nationalism* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2007), 18.
[5] Amir Hassanpour, "The Making of Kurdish Identity: Pre-20th Century Historical and Literary Sources." In Abbas Vali, *Essays on the Origins of Kurdish Nationalism*, (Costa Mesa, CA.: Mazda Publishers, 2003), 112.
[6] Ibid., 137
[7] Ibid., 146.
[8] Martin Van Bruinessen,"Kurdish Nationalism and Competing Ethnic Loyalties," *Peuples Méditerranéens* 68-69 (1994): 12-13.
[9] Martin Van Bruinessen, "Ehmedi Xani's Mem U Zin and Its Role in the Emergence of Kurdish National Awarness." In Vali Abbas, *Essays on the Origins of Kurdish Nationalism* (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 2003), 44-45.
[10] Van Bruinessen, "Ehmedi Xani's Mem U Zin," 44-45.
[11] Benedict R. O. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism Rev. and Extended Edition* (London: Verso, 1991).
[12] Jwaideh, *Kurdish National Movement*, 76.
[13] Ibid., 77-88.
[14] David McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1996).
[15] Ibid., 53.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid., 158.
[18] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.
[19] Partha Chatterjee, "Whose Imagined Community?" In *The Nation and its Fragments* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).
[20] Ibid., 44.
[21] Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).
[22] William Eagleton, *The Kurdish Republic of 1946* (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1963) 60-61.
[23] *Kurdish Republic of 1946*. 56, claims 10,000 people and 3,000 armed men, with 3,000 people settling in the city of Mahabad itself. "The Kurdish Republic of Mahabad." 256, claims there were 1,000 armed men and gives no total estimate.
[24] Eagleton, *Kurdish Republic of 1946*, 78.
[25] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 295-298.
[26] Rizgari Kurd, "Memorandum of the Kurdish Rizgari Party" to The United Nations Organization. January 18th, 1946.
[27] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 295-298; Nader Entessar, *Kurdish Politics in the Middle East* (Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books 2010), 75-76. Entessar claims that Rizgari "transformed itself" into the KDP. McDowall's account, which states that the KDP eclipsed Rizgari, is far more detailed with more sources.
[28] Here "Eastern" means the Eastern edge of the Ottoman empire.
[29] Horatio Southgate, *Narrative of a tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia, and Mesopotamia: with observations on the condition of Mohammedanism and Christianity in those countries* (London: Tilt & Bogue, 1840), 220.
[30] James Brant, "Notes on a Journey through part of Kurdistan in the summer of 1838" *Geographic Journal*. London, (1841): 356.
[31] Outside of Van and Diyarbekir, which were subject to more centralized Ottoman control.
[32] McDowell, *Modern History of the Kurds*, 39-47.

[33] "Notes on a Journey through part of Kurdistan," 348. Brant claims that Kurds had been massacring Armenians because they were "partisans of the [Russian] invaders."
[34] Van Bruinessen, "Ehmedi Xani's Mem U Zin and Its Role in the Emergence of Kurdish National Awarness," 50.
[35] Ibid., 48-49.
[36] Ibid., 52-57.
[37] *Travels in Kurdistan*, Mesopotamia, &c. 176.
[38] Ibid., 190
[39] "Notes on a Journey through part of Kurdistan," 348. "Since the operations of Reshid Mohammed Pasha... the Kurds do not venture to rob openly, and even instances of secret theft have become rare: the effect of the last measure has imposed a moral restraint on this wild race,"
[40] Helmuth Von Moltke, "The country and the people of the Kurds" in *Essays, Speeches, and memoirs of Count Helmuth Von Moltke* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1893), 277-78. The German observer noted in his 1841 Essay that "Kurdistan has never been assimilated into it, but has only been for a time mechanically mixed with the other provinces. In its present condition it is not to be regarded as a conceding cancer, but as a dissevered member of that great political body of which so many limbs have already perished. It is also quite possible that the Turkish army now available for use in Asia may, by once more marching through these lovely valleys, burning the villages and trampling down the crops, force a few Kurdish districts into renewed obedience to the Padishah. But the fact, that it would be necessary to repeat the same bloody work again and again, and that every levy of recruits or collection of taxes would demand a similar display of power, suggests serious considerations as to the state of the Empire."
[41] Martin Van Bruinessen, "Shaikhs: Mystics, Saints, and Politicians," in *Agha, Shaikh, and State* (London: Zed Books, 1992), 203-257.
[42] McDowell, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 50-51.
[43] Martin Van Bruinessen, "The Qadiriyya and the lineages of Qadiri shaykhs in Kurdistan," *Journal of the History of Sufism*, 1-2 (2000): 137-8.
[44] McDowell, *Modern History of the Kurds*, 52.
[45] Michael Gunter, *The A to Z of the Kurds* (Manham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2009), 146.
[46] Dr. Moritz Wagner, *Travels in Persia, Georgia, and Kurdistan with sketches of the Cossacks and the Caucasus* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1856), 59-60.
[47] James Creagh, *Armenians, Koords, and Turks*, (London: Samuel Tinsley & Co., 1880), 181. The accounts are so similar, in fact, that one must wonder if Creagh is plagiarizing Wagner. Creagh states that "The neighbourhood of the Russian has considerably broken the power of the Kurds; wherever there is a European council, a certain degree of security reigns in the neighbourhood."
[48] "Signature of the Treaty of Berlin," *The Tablet* Vol. 52, No. 1992. London (July 20, 1878): 11.
[49] Robert W. Olson, *The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism and the Sheikh Said Rebellion 1880-1925* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989), 1.
[50] This is the argument of Jwaideh in *The Kurdish National Movement* and Olson in *The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism*.
[51] Olson, *The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism*, 6-7.
[52] W.A. Wigram and Edgar Wigram, *The Cradle of Mankind: Life in Eastern Kurdistan* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1922), 161-62
[53] Ibid., 164.
[54] E.B. Soane, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise: with historical notes on the tribes and Chaldeans of Kurdistan* (Boston: Maynard and Company Publishers, 1910), 136.
[55] Ibid., 114-115.
[56] Ibid., 208.
[57] I did not find any accounts of a Kurdish person "becoming" Turkish through appointment in the Ottoman state in the documents I reviewed. Based on Soane's account, it seems that one can have multiple identities as he was considered both Kurdish and Persian simultaneously in Ibid., 82.
[58] Ibid., 75.
[59] Wigram and Edgar Wigram, *The Cradle of Mankind*, 205-220.

[60] Soane, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in disguise*, 116.
[61] G.E. Hubbard, *From the Gulf to Ararat: an expedition through Mesopotamia and Kurdistan* (New York: Dutton, 1917), 198.
[62] Ibid., 205
[63] Wigram, *The Cradle of Mankind*, 139-141.
[64] Ibid., 138, 142.
[65] McDowell, *Modern History of The Kurds*, 56.
[66] Michael Gunter, *Historical Dictionary of the Kurds* (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc, 2004), 1.
[67] Stephen Hemsley Longrigg, *Iraq, 1900 to 1950; a political, social, and economic history* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), 97.
[68] Arnold Talbot Wilson, *Mesopotamia, 1917-1920; a clash of loyalties; a personal and historical record*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), 134.
[69] Gertrude Bell, "The Kurdish Question." In *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia 1914-1920* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1920), 60.
[70] Ibid., 61
[71] Susan Meiselas and Martin van Bruinessen, *Kurdistan: in the shadow of history* (New York: Random House, 1997), 82-83.
[72] McDowall, *Modern History of the Kurds*, 155.
[73] Wadie Jwaideh, *The Kurdish National Movement: Its Origins and Development* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2006), 221.
[74] Longrigg, *Iraq, 1900 to 1950*, 194-195.
[75] A.M. Hamilton, *A Road Through Kurdistan: The Narrative of an Engineer in Iraq* (London: Faber and Faber, 1937), 299-300.
[76] Jwaideh, *Kurdish National Movement*, 226.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Peter Sluglett, *Britain in Iraq: Contriving King and Country* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 152-153.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Justin McCarthy, *The Armenian Rebellion at Van* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2006), 156-157.
[81] Kurdish National Movement. 230.
[82] Elphinston, W.G. "The Kurdish Question." International Affairs 22 (1946): 99.
[83] Jwaideh, *Kurdish National Movement*, 231
[84] Longrigg, *Iraq, 1900 to 1950*, 235.
[85] Jwaideh, *Kurdish National Movement*, 232.
[86] Ibid., 233.
[87] Mustafa Khonshaw to Mustafa Barzani, March 18, 1945, in *Mustafa Barzani and the Kurdish Liberation Movement*, ed. Massoud Barzani (New York: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2003), 238.
[88] Massoud Barzani, *Mustafa Barzani and the Kurdish Liberation Movement*, (New York: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2003) 239-243. These letters were compiled by the son of Mustafa Barzani and current president of the Kurdistan Regional Government, so a selection bias should of course be considered.
[89] Jwaideh, *Kurdish National Movement* 239.
[90] McDowall, *Modern History of the Kurds*, 296-297.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.

WOODY GUTHRIE: INSTRUMENT OF CHANGE: WOODY GUTHRIE AS A SOCIAL JUSTICE ADVOCATE, LEADER, AND ENDURING INSPIRATION

UNIVERSITY HONORS PROGRAM THESIS AWARD
MARA STEVEN

Though he grew up as just another ordinary, hard-working Midwesterner, Woody Guthrie grew to prominence, both during his lifetime and afterward, as a musician, artist, and advocate for social justice. He not only entertained his own and countless other children with silly songs and witty lyrics, such as "My Yellow Crayon," but he also chronicled American history through heart-wrenching ballads, such as in the Dust Bowl collection, the numerous tilling's of the Great Depression, and the wonder of the Grand Coulee Dam. Patriotic Americans still today sing what is perhaps his most famous song, "This Land is Your Land." Yet beneath the witty words and the catchy tunes, Guthrie wrote of the desperation and the maltreatment of ordinary people. He defined his life through his undying and creatively inspired backlash against social injustice, and today his legacy as a social justice leader lives on in American folklore and songbooks.

In the summer of 1912, Charley and Nora Guthrie welcomed their third child, a son. Avidly active in the local government during the spring months, Charley named his son after the then-governor of New Jersey, Woodrow Wilson, who had been nominated recently as the Democratic Presidential Candidate. Little Woody came into a world that was struggling with political and social change. Though his own family differed in opinions from their fellow citizens, Woody grew up in a progressive area of Oklahoma that would help to shape his worldview. This breadbasket state stood apart from its Midwestern neighbors with its strong socialist orientation, an attitude of rebellion left over from the agrarian radicalism and populism of the late nineteenth century. Over half of the local farmers reported allegiance to the socialist party in the 1910 census.[1] Furthermore, Oklahoma was home to a vast population of independent African Americans relative to the rest of the country at the time. The Native American slave owners of Oklahoma had been more lenient owners, and emancipation further promoted liberty and a progressive business lifestyle amongst local freemen and ex-slaves that migrated to the state from the Deep South.[2] This progressive, opinionated environment provided a constructive setting for the beginnings of radical ideas.

Woody spent his relatively privileged early childhood in Okemah, toddling around after his father, Charley Guthrie, a local businessman and politician, listening to his impromptu political orations around town and absorbing wide-eyed, the European folk songs and ballads his father crooned. A staunch democrat, Charley stood apart from most of his constituents in his

aversion to socialism. He worked tirelessly to oppose the leftist perspective and impose democratic ideals upon his community. Unfortunately, Charley also left the legacy of a race hater, which would haunt Woody for the rest of his life. A little over a year before Woody was born, there were rumors that Charley rode alongside the many white supremacists involved in the lynching of L.D. and Laura Nelson.[3] The African American mother and her son were kidnapped from jail following their indictment for the murder of a police officer. The posse rode out of town with their victims to a bridge that would soon become photographically famous for the victims swinging from its beams. Some accounts even claimed that the posse stole away Laura Nelson's infant as well, though the future of the baby was lost to history.[4] The circulating rumor that Charley may have been involved disturbed Woody deeply and caused his to wonder if his father was a member of the Ku Klux Klan, a group against which Woody would take a firm stand in his later life.

Young Woody's easy life soon turned upside down with the whirlwind of misfortune that hit Okemah and his family. Under suspicious circumstances, Clara Guthrie, Woody's sister, burned to death when Woody was only seven years old. As the family tried to deal with the death, losing their father more and more to grief each day, greedy prospectors, salivating over a nearby oil find, stormed the city. Though good fortune did come along with the rapid building of saloons and hotels, the profits dried up with the oil shortly after the discovery. Less than a year later, the famous stock market crash ruined any last chances of a comfortable life. Okemah was left dry and deserted, with the locals left to pick up the pieces. Charley, severely injured by a similarly suspicious fire, fled to Pampa, Texas to scrape up enough money to pay back debts incurred from failed real estate ventures. He was, as Woody later wrote, "the only man in the world that lost a farm a day for thirty days."[5] With her family falling apart and her own suffering from the slow decay of Huntington's Disease, Nora Belle Guthrie's "nerves gave away like an overloaded bridge,"[6] and she was institutionalized in the Central State Hospital for the Insane. With the remaining children relying on the eldest brother, Roy, for sustenance, Woody learned to play music on the guitar and honed his skills. Soon he was singing and playing familiar, classic tunes in exchange for coins and small meals. But as the oil boom faded from the wallets and memories of the Okemah locals, no one had enough money to hear a tune anymore. Packing his bags, Woody Guthrie began to develop his wry acceptance of life's brutal surprises and headed to meet Charley in Pampa, Texas. While there, Woody refined his love for and ability to paint and made money here and there painting billboards, which everyone in the town adored. Nor did he abandon his musical talent; Woody met two other young gentlemen, Matt Jennings and Cluster Baker, who also had an ear for music. Together they formed Woody's first performance group, the Corncob Trio.[7] Falling in love with his newfound performance lifestyle of making occasional radio appearances and entertaining guests at dances, Woody also fell in love with a young

woman, Mary Jennings, the sister of a fellow musician. In 1933, Woody snatched her up as a young wife. Two years later, Mary gave birth to a daughter, Gwendolyn Gail. With another mouth to feed, Woody was thrown into the working class, doing whatever work presented itself in order to make ends meet. But disaster was not ready to let the Guthries carry on; the dust storms of the 1930s hit Pampa with all of their desiccating rage. Years of government-incentivized over-farming of the Great Plains, drought, over-grazing of livestock, and failure to adopt proper preventative agricultural techniques created conditions for wild winds to capture and disperse the dry ground. The agriculture that had been holding together not only Pampa, but also the entire Midwest, perished a dry, dusty death. Figuring that Pampa too had at last been sucked dry of any possible fortune, Woody hit the road, singing, "So long, it's been good to know yuh,"[8] and left his young wife and child behind to find peace and fortune in the West with all the other refugees.

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"My sweetheart and my parents I left
in my old hometown I'm out to do the
best I can As I go ramblin' round"[9]

Unfortunately, the extravagant promises of the West turned out to be vicious lies. The famed "Route 66 was 'a highway marked with blood where a million feet have trod,'"[10] At the end of the long journey, the California borders were inhospitable to the approximately 90,000 "Okie" refugees fleeing the Dust Bowl. The state borders bore signs insisting that outsiders go back to where they came from, that the Californian bounty was not for them to share. In a wry description of the harsh, unfriendly attitude towards starving migrants, Woody described a scene with ripe fruit lying upon the ground, with signs and snarling dogs forbidding anyone from snatching it up before it began to rot.[11] Luckily for Woody, he was able to escape unemployment by landing a job on the KFVD radio station and thus set himself apart from many of his fellow, starving travelers, who had been forced to take up residence under bridges and in railcars. At first, Woody sang traditional ballads and tunes that everyone could sing along to with his musical sidekick Maxine "Lefty Lou" Crissman. Over time, though, Woody began to introduce some of his own opinions and commentaries into the conversation between songs. Though he was in a new state, he was in company with many other Dust Bowl refugees, who liked to listen to a "back home" voice on the radio while they struggled alone. The over air bond that formed between Woody and his fellow Okies ostracized him as an outcast as well, but this didn't impede Woody in the slightest. Growing bolder, Guthrie began to insert sly and snide comments about local politicians, the greed of businessmen, and anything else he saw fit to rail on. Soon Lefty Lou and Woody were testing out some of his original lyrics, with distinctly socialist slants. In

writing his own music, Woody gave his singular, socialist messages their own unique sound. From innocuous lyrics despairing over the Dust Bowl to bold encouragement for the mission of "Pretty Boy Floyd," Woody began to stand out in the western radio world as a persona with whom to be reckoned. Woody rejoiced on air when Tom Mooney, an activist and labor leader, was released from jail having been cleared of false bombing charges. Other activists and leaders lent an ear to what Woody had to say and his reputation as an opinionated torchbearer grew.

Soon Woody had his own column, "Woody Sez", in *People's World*. As his popularity and media reach increased, so did Woody's affinity for social justice topics. Now that he had a captive audience, he said what was really on his mind about injustice in America. Throughout all of his episodes, Woody continued to self-identify with the cast-outs of society and the marginalized working population, whom he had recently abandoned to pursue his music career. Nevertheless, they too began to identify with Guthrie as a voice of the truth and of hope for respite. Despite the fact that Woody himself did not fit into the group for which he advocated, he was an attractive spokesperson for the plight of the workingman. Not fully understanding the nuances and details himself, Woody described the local politics and his worldviews in simple, comprehensible terms and analogies. Consequently, the working class finally had someone who spoke about the big topics and the oppression they experienced in a way to which they could relate. Since Woody's intuitive and simplistic descriptions garnered so much support on air, fellow radio commentator and left-wing activist Ed Robbin identified Woody Guthrie as a radical and first invited him to sing about Tom Mooney at a rally. Robbin attributed Guthrie's appeal to the "instinctive nature" of his radicalism and continued to set up gigs that labeled Woody as an activist, jumpstarting his recognition as such.[12] Modern writer Ronald Briley agreed with Robbin's opinion, writing, "The political ideas of Guthrie were unorthodox and often paradoxical. He envisioned a commonwealth in which working people would receive their fair share of the nation's resource, and Guthrie did not seem to care whether the means for achieving this came through communism, Christian socialism, or traditional American radicalism."[13] In a sassy musing about the injustice of the legal system as it interacts with the working world, Guthrie published:

> "I never stopped to think of it before, but you know – a policeman
> will jest stand there an let a banker rob a farmer, or a finance man
> rob a workin man.
> But if a farmer robs a banker – you would have a hole dern army
> of cops out a shooting at him.
> Robbery is a chapter in etiquette."[14]

Guthrie's words reveal the simplistic nature of his political understanding, but also show how his style had an approachable, conversational, down-home tone that easily attracted the other marginalized workers to whom he was writing.

He was able to monopolize off of his newfound popularity by traveling across the state, helping out where he could. With the help of the John Steinbeck Committee to Aid Farm Workers, Guthrie was able to send truckloads of supplies to strikers who appealed to the show for help. As his recognition as an advocate for justice increased, however, Guthrie's eyes were opened wider to the political and business problems of the country. The KFVD show and his newsprint commentary, "Woody Sez," provided the perfect outlets for his simple understanding of these big issues. Always couched in funny metaphors and jokes, Guthrie became increasingly aggressive with his attacks. By the time that the Hitler-Stalin Pact was signed in 1939, Guthrie was blatantly criticizing President Roosevelt for imperialist attitudes that directly countered the socialist needs of America's poor.[15]

Within short order, Woody met and banded together with other radicals such as Will Geer and John Steinbeck. The three put their heads together to found the "John Steinbeck Committee to Aid Agricultural Organization," raising funds through singing and helping with everything from moral support to holding picket signs and rallying during strikes. By this point, Guthrie had attracted such a following and status that when cotton workers began to starve from a prolonged strike without any relief, one man from the group called in to Woody's station to plead for help. Guthrie did not disappoint – he soon sent an overly laden car full of food supplies, complete with treats for the children. As organizations and leaders such as Geer, Steinbeck, and Guthrie, stepped up to help the hapless migrants, the unwelcoming west coast also became more vocal and persistent in their backlash against the outsiders. The California Citizens Association but together an "anti-Okie" petition that was advertised in all of the main media outlets. Soon signs were popping up all over California, declaring the "No Okies [were] Allowed" in stores and restaurants.[16] Law enforcers even went to so far as to erect illegal blockades that physically made California inaccessible to the refugees from the eastern states. Guthrie was disgusted by the utter lack of hospitality showed to fellow Americans who were just trying to make a living. He critiqued this unwelcoming attitude in his song, "Do Re Mi," telling travellers that they simply couldn't share in the land and the bounty if they "ain't got the do re mi." California was already saturated with migrants and people desperate for work, so the displaced Americans should just stay in their home states to struggle.

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> I was standing down in New York town one day,
> Standing down in New York town one day, I was

> standing down in New York town one day, Singing
> hey, hey, hey, hey.[17]

Woody Guthrie moved on again, this time choosing the Big Apple as his next town to explore. The city provided many new, important contacts for Guthrie, such as Alan Lomax. Lomax was a folklorist and a field collector, recording countless songs chronicling the musical history of the country. During the New Deal, Lomax and his father, John A. Lomax, collected thousands of recordings for the Archive of American Folk Music, located at the Library of Congress. An enthusiast for music, Lomax continued to collect musical culture for years after government funding disappeared. He traveled all over the world, sampling artists in the United States, the Caribbean, and Europe. Woody Guthrie began to professionally record albums in New York with Lomax, jumpstarting his path to national recognition and adding his name to the great folk legends in American Musical History.[18]

More importantly, however, Guthrie was able to form friendships with like-minded, leftist activists in the Big Apple. He met Pete Seeger while playing for a benefit hosted by the John Steinbeck Committee to Aid Farm Workers, an introduction to which Lomax attributed the birth of the "renaissance of American folk song."[19] More important to the cause of social justice, however, was Guthrie's interaction with the poor and destitute of New York. He was shocked and disgusted by the conditions he came across and the stories he heard of the meager wages paid for honest work. This would feed in to his hatred of minimum wage and the way that salaries worked in the United States. Furthermore, the presence of such poverty next to the riches of New York (the art, Wall Street, and the newly erected Empire State building) made Woody Guthrie turn a critical gaze at the way Americans allocate their resources. In his column *Woody Sez*, Guthrie reflected,

> ...the Skiddiest Row I ever seen is the Bowery in New York City. I didn't know human beings could get so broke, hungry, and so dirty and ragged, and still remain alive... Draped around light posts, slumped over fire plugs, and sleeping around up against the bronze statues in the parks – and any one of them statues cost enough to feed a man a solid year. If you happen to have the notion in your head that there aint no work to be done except to spend all your money on bombs – I suggest that you take a look at Skid Row and invest your money in making men out of bums.[20]

Soon Guthrie was a part (and the most published and influential at that) of the Almanac Singers, formed by himself, Millard Lampell, Pete Seeger, and Lee Hays. The group of folk artists collaborated on music and shared leftist ideas, spreading them across a wide audience. They formed "to write new songs of [their] own and parodies and poetry, and sing them so

loudly that all the warmakers and native fascists and enemies of the peace will hear ... and tremble in their counting houses... Remember that a singing army is a winning army."[21] The singers were particularly influential in that they introduced the folksy country songs that they all grew up with, such as "House of the Rising Sun," to the city audience, making folk music a language that all Americans could speak.

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> "Boy look what I'm into. Some town Washington. That's where you go to make laws, break laws, rake laws, fake laws, take laws, and shake laws."[22]

Never one to linger too long in one place, Guthrie made it to Washington D.C., back to California, around the Southwest and Washington state, and all the way back to New York before his eventual surrender to Huntington's Disease. During this time, he took up more social causes, from condemning fascism and communism, to supporting socialism and patriotism. Documenting all of his experiences and changing perceptions in music, writings, and art, Guthrie left behind a record of his adventures.

WOODY GUTHRIE'S INVOLVEMENT IN SOCIAL JUSTICE

Through the spontaneous pathway of his life's journey, Woody Guthrie established himself as an authentic and dedicated social justice leader and activist. Though Guthrie never considered himself a political voice, per se, he still used music to express his message. Lyrical expression transformed Guthrie's transient but deep thoughts into workable communications that could be understood by politicians, businessmen, and illiterate workers alike. He not only explored the topics to which he had been exposed personally, but he also dabbled in putting his thoughts about bigger issues to paper. From poverty and migrancy to racism and worker's rights, Guthrie advocated for the social justice of anyone who had hard times through his music.

Woody Guthrie was a staunch proponent of the promotion of the equality for the common man in nearly every applicable aspect of social life. He was truly a "ramblin' man," never quite making more than enough to scrape by for himself and his family. His experience with the misfortunes of poverty started at a young age when the Dust Bowl arose from the over-farming of the American breadbasket. Having been abused for too long, the environment struck back against agriculture and starved many Midwesterners, forcing them to relocate. Never one to react to a situation with complacency, Guthrie was determined from then on to fight back against what was wrong with this dusty old world. He bellowed out his determination in a song entitled "Blowin' Down This Road," singing about how he would not take this disaster sitting down, but

would instead use the catastrophe as an impetus for changing some of the injustices that he saw.[23] By the time that Woody had hitchhiked all the way to the Golden Coast, he realized that the country was not as open and welcoming as advertised. Woody's harsh and disappointing experiences with the barred paradise of California not only inspired countless of his lyrics and doodles but was also perhaps the most important incident that urged him towards speaking out on behalf of the downtrodden. In a song that would soon hit the radios of the West Coast, he wryly commented that the beauty of California was advertised only for tourists with open pocketbooks and not for the refugees who needed a helping hand.[24]

Though Woody Guthrie firmly established his point of view on a range of social justice issues through his expansive collection of lyrics, manuscripts, correspondences, and doodles, his message might have been lost were it not for his activism throughout his life. His "career" as a social justice activist first began with his spot on the KFVD radio show in California. Though, over time, his outspoken political comments cost Woody the show, he had just stepped into his role as a self-appointed activist for justice for all.

This was a role that Woody developed and expanded as he moved across the country. New York provided the best opportunities yet for Woody Guthrie to embrace and further his activist agenda. Banding with likeminded songwriters, Woody Guthrie set to work writing new lyrics for the Almanac Singers: Millard Lampell, Lee Hayes, Pete Seeger, and himself. In their publication, Hard Hitting Songs for Hard-Hit People, Woody wrote a retrospective prologue about his own history and how his personal dialogue fit into the greater scheme of American dreams and tragedies. He exhorted that the simple nature of workers' songs cannot be dismissed or criticized, since they are "easy and simple" and "ca[tch] on like a whirlwind" because they are meant for people to sing while they work and they have content and meaning that anyone can understand.[25] "...These are the kind of songs that folks make up when they're a-singing about their hard luck, and hard luck is one thing that you sing louder about than you do about boots and saddles, or moons on the river, or cigarettes a shining in the dark."[26] Not only did the Almanacs sing out their songs loudly, but they also raised a nation of workers to their feet on a tour of the nation's union halls. With songs that could be customized to any group or situation, anyone could join in and bellow out the union fight. Guthrie recognized this natural union of his hard-hit people and music[27] and set out to join them together for all it was worth.

After cavorting around New York City for a time, growing in popularity, fame, and infamy, the government retained Woody to apply his viewpoints and talents to a message that would help their New Deal attitudes and goals. Soon Guthrie was writing about the awesome power of the Grand Coulee Dam and the jobs that it provided. But after just a month of earnings from the Bonneville Power Administration, Guthrie again packed his bags to move on to a different mission.

Back again in New York City, Woody became increasingly involved in the war effort as the European activity grew increasingly violent. Singing for concerts in the name of peace and speaking out against Hitler,[28] Woody became increasingly frustrated with the passive pacifism of his fellow Almanacs. In a letter to his soon-to-be-wife, Marjorie Mazia, Guthrie wrote a song on behalf of the Almanac Singers, "What are we waiting on?"[29] He began to use emphatic, fighting language, foreshadowing his deployment as a Merchant Marine and army soldier for the United States military. That same year, Woody bragged in a letter to Marjorie about the growing popularity and universality of his messages, telling her a story of his interaction with a little boy who commented about his guitar sticker, "This Machine Kills Fascists," and agreed heartily with the message.[30] He was pleased by the attention and support that his message had attracted. It is important to emphasize, however, that despite Guthrie's newfound passion against fascism, he never forgot the union and social justice roots from which he came. Drawing attention to the day he wrote the letter, Pearl Harbor day, Guthrie signed with a bold declaration that encompassed all that he fought for:

> REMEMBER PEARL HARBOR! REMEMBER THE COMMON PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION! REMEMBER SOCIAL SECURITY! REMEMBER SLUM CLEARANCE! REMEMBER UNIONS! REMEMBER LIDICE! REMEMBER MADRID! REMEMBER WARSAW! REMEMBER NAZI OCCUPIED EUROPE! REMEMBER MUNICH! REMEMBER LINDBERGH! REMEMBER HOOVER! REMEMBER FATHER COUGHLIN! REMEMBER THE ASSOCIATED FARMERS! REMEMBER THE OAKIES! REMEMBER THE VIGILANTES! REMEMBER WESTBROOK PEGLER! REMEMBER TO DESTROY THE FASCIST KKK! REMEMBER TO KILL THE POLL TAX! REMEMBER TO KILL JIM CROW! REMEMBER EVERYTHING!"[31]

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In taking on a multiplicity of activist roles, Guthrie was able to assert himself as a spokesman of his age for social justice. His legacy, however, is in the lyrics and messages that he left behind. From poverty and workers rights to racism and politics, Woody sang a tune that transcended time to rally the downtrodden of any age.

Coping with poverty amongst the riches of the West and East coasts sparked inspiration for hundreds of lyrics. Guthrie understood the struggles that existed alongside insecurity and that

this was something to which people would want to listen. An unfortunate bond emerged between him and his audience who also understood hunger pains and migrancy. In "Christmas Talking Blues," a holiday song that was more concerned with reality than spreading cheer, Guthrie bemoaned the annual struggle of families who wanted to gift their children the best presents at the holidays but were sorely limited by their resources.[32] The unhappy kids of parents who could barely make ends meet were painfully aware of the fact that Christmas held a lot more excitement for the children who would be receiving copious toys and treats.

Always perceptive to the people and circumstances around him, Guthrie modeled songs after other dismal realities people experienced across the country. In 1949, he adapted a heart-wrenching tale reported by the Brooklyn Eagle about a family that was forced into abandoning their sick baby on the hospital steps as a "Doorstep Baby." The song personalizes the article, allowing the complex emotions behind such a decision to shine through as the parents realize that, with their meager means and unemployment, they would never be able to pay for the treatment their baby needed to survive.[33] Interestingly enough, though Guthrie knew the limits of poverty and spoke out against the inequality of the money distribution in the United States, he still embraced and promoted a socialist viewpoint of equality. Somewhere between debilitating poverty and unnecessary affluence lay a paragon of prosperity. In a snide condemnation of unwarranted prosperity, Guthrie warned the rich of the world that no matter how full their bank accounts and wallets, money would not guarantee them the good life here or thereafter: "God c'n help you if you go ; to my church u'r money wont buy ; to my church up in my sky."[34]

Woody Guthrie also had a strong affinity for the strife of downtrodden workers; a significant portion of his songs was dedicated to the sickening conditions of the coal mines and the greed of the bosses that kept it in place. Whether it was due to his adolescent memories of painting and jumping at the chance of odd jobs, or because Guthrie had a heart for anyone hurting, he was attuned to workers' unique struggles and became a champion for workers' rights and unions. He lyrically lashed out at the managers of unsafe workplaces, condemning coal operation heads to the fiery depths of hell if they didn't pay their workers fairly and address deplorable and dangerous conditions.[35] Again drawing from real tragedies that struck because of these problems, Woody wrote a song from the words etched in the walls of a burning coal mine by the dying miners trapped inside.[36] In what is perhaps the more heart-wrenching song of Guthrie's entire repertoire, while one man asks his beloved to name his unborn son after him, another bids his family farewell and begs,

> "I love you lots more than you know
> Just work and fight and fix up these mines, so fire can't kill daddies
> no more."[37]

Using imagery of dark and deplorable nooks and crannies, jails erected by the greedy bosses, and wage slavery, the songs spoke out to the men who understood the plights of their fellow workers while also attracting the attention and sympathies of those who lived safely in the cities, benefitting from the labor of these sufferers. Indeed, Guthrie went so far as to call out these bourgeois citizens for profiting in this way while turning a blind eye to the suffering behind their gain. The penned workers pointed out that, without their hard work, none of the America that everyone else enjoyed would even exist. One bedraggled and starving miner calls out to the rich that, "If I quit my crazy digging your factery'd shut blind ; your town and your nation they'd nail shut your doors."[38] One song called "Choppin Axe Blues" went so far as to merge a political message against privatization of public goods with the knowledge that this country was built by the sweat of marginalized workers. Guthrie's imaginary worker shook a fist at a private property gate erected around the work of his own hands:

> "You got no rightz a tall ta tell me when my hot weathery time comes round
> keep outta yr privates swimminhole that my axe built up'n down
> Yr private property is a fine thing ifn it does moste my kids most good
> Yr personal property's mighty bad ifn it don't hope nobody but youe."[39]

Union songs provided popular material for the Almanac Singers as they traveled coast-to-coast, encouraging workers to unionize and stand up for their rights. The group sang Guthrie's songs about unions, such as "Cumberland Mountain Farms," to encourage workers to never give up and to fight "the battle of the rich 'ginst th' poor" to win a better world for the children.[40] Though it is not possible to say just how many of Guthrie's songs dealt directly with unionization, an analysis of a sampling of the lyrical database revealed that as much as thirteen percent of the thousands of songs that Guthrie wrote dealt with workers' rights. Forty-four percent of those were specifically attuned to unionization.[41] From songs with angry titles, such as "1913 Massacre," and "Dark as a Dungeon," to songs with sad and lonesome lyrics, like "Coalery Kampy Blues" and "The Dying Miner," Guthrie attacked and promoted awareness about workplace injustices from all angles.[42] As Guthrie first realized while he serenaded migrant workers in California and later embraced with the John Steinbeck Committee to Aid Agricultural Organization and Almanac Singers, songs about justice had a potent power to attract support and rally the oppressed. Guthrie commented in the margins of an old English song that the crew frequently sang that a song didn't even need to mention politics or have a specific call to action to incite a fire of fury and activism in a wearied soul. He mused,

> Actually the word 'union' as such is not even mentioned in this song. But no politician, no union leader, no speaker, no pamphlet, no editorial, no speech caught hold of the whole terrible condition in the mines as this young child did in its dream, that is, after waking from its nightmare which was caused by the mine owners greed. This song is still being sung in our forty eight states and it is a great piece of art because it is a fighting song, and as such, it is a union song, because it drives you to meet together and to work together and to fight together to fix these awful conditions that give our children nightmares.[43]

Through both emotively reporting the vile conditions of labor sites and taking advantage of excitatory language to rally supporters, Guthrie used his passion and talent for music to light a fire about unionization and reform for working conditions in America.

Though Woody, as a white male, never directly experienced the ostracism and cruelty of racism, he was familiar with how it felt to be unwelcome from his time as an Okie outsider in California. Whether it was because of this connection or simply his awareness for social plights, Guthrie offered his third party perspective on the issue of race in a significant portion of his music.[44] It is likely, too, that Woody was writing against the actions of his own blood, Charley Guthrie, and condemning him what he heard of his father's racist, unforgivable actions decades ago. Though he was never able to personally confront Charley about the incident that happened before his birth, Woody was able to address the topic of racism and emphatically protest against the disgusting institution through his heartfelt lyrics.

Though his early days of activism on the KFVD show were marred with racist slants, Guthrie underwent a dramatic change of heart as he heard feedback from insulted African Americans and learned more about the world.[45] This transformative period of his life is usually cited by critics who would like to reduce what Woody proclaimed to be his few instances of imperfection; however, it does not at all represent the loving, encompassing feeling of brotherhood with which he came to regard every common man, regardless of color. In his typical rustic eloquence, Guthrie penned vivid descriptions of the injustices that provided an image of the violence and hurt in a way to which news reports could never aspire. Always one to personalize a situation, he emphasized the common humanity of the oppressed with the majority.

In a manuscript contemplating the Southern White and all his quirks, Woody reflected harshly against the prevalence of race hate in the South. In what is perhaps his more philosophical but platonic discussion of the topic, Guthrie wrote:

> 'Race hate!' What is it? How can one describe it? ... These two little words don't need describing. The effects of Race Hate are all around us. Eyes can be shut...ears can be closed to all of life that exists, and the bitterness and fear resulting from 'race hate' will still make itself felt... through seen and unseen ways...through heard and unheard ways. Race hate is a part of this south. ... the need to hate, exists in these southern whites; the hate lies dormant when there is a living to be won, or when there is whisky to be drunk, or when there is a woman to be had, but it is there, always...let the subject of discrimination arise, and the southern white will defend his credo of hate as though his very life depended on it.[46]

Though this was a very pensive discussion of race, Woody Guthrie usually dealt with the topic in his most comfortable form: song. "The Blinding of Isaac Woodard" told of a war hero who escaped death and disfigurement during World War II only to be blinded on his way home by a racist bus driver and policeman. Woody had read the story along with other patriotic Americans in the newspapers after Word War II and chose to do what he could to promote awareness of the unfortunate event. In this abhorrent but true story, Isaac Woodard realized that the evil he thought he was fighting abroad was, in reality, alive and thriving at home.[47] Isaac's only crime was asking the bus driver humbly to let him use the bathroom before pulling out of a truck stop while he was on his way home from the war to see his wife. After a few curses and glares, the driver begrudgingly let Isaac off, only to plot the end of the traveler's journey. The driver was mad enough to rally the police at the next bus station to stop Mr. Woodard's travels. Before he could explain what happened, the white policemen were hitting and beating him up while Woodard lay on the ground and took the abuse without resistance. The racial anger drove the policemen to gouge out the veteran's eyes in a bloody scene on the side of the road. The next day, the blinded Mr. Woodard had to pay a fine for disturbing the peace. As he left again for home, his pride and body beaten by racism, Isaac Woodard realized, "I thought I fought on the islands to get rid of their kind; But I can see the fight lots plainer now that I am blind."[48]

Another sad song appeals more broadly to American families and mothers, the "hometown" folk to whom Guthrie usually appealed. "Burshywawe Towne" relayed the all-too-true story of a young husband and his pregnant wife who couldn't find an apartment to rent on account of Jim Crow Laws.[49] With imagery that begs Christian minds to think of Joseph and Mary, searching for a place to birth Jesus, the song sorrowfully relates the fruitless travels of the weary couple. Though Guthrie's songs about racism illustrate the humanization common in Guthrie's social justice pleas, the severity of the situation called him to use harsher language. This type of song allowed Woody to specifically call out the men and government that he disrespected for the hate they perpetuated. In "Death Row," condemning the racist aspects of capital punishment in America, Guthrie blatantly charged police and law forces with upholding

Jim Crow laws to unrightfully kill black men.[50] If one is white, he claimed, he has a good opportunity to evade the cells of Death Rows blocks. But if one is black, there was not a chance in the jails; the prison system preserved the racism that flooded the other parts of daily life.

Perhaps some of the most aggressive campaigning for equality came out when Guthrie took a stand against the Peekskill riots. In 1949, Paul Robeson was to perform at a benefit concert for the Civil Rights Congress. The People's Artists had asked Robeson to represent the cause at the concert at a park in Peekskill, New York. The day of the event, masses of anti-communist and anti-black protestors blocked Robeson's travels and burned him in effigy in a violent portrayal of their attitudes. The event was not be put off—soon the organizers were up and ready with another concert, where Robeson sang before a tree, surrounded by supporters singing with their loud voices. Once the singing was done, disaster commenced. The police of the area directed the departing crowds straight into the thrown rocks and jeers of the rioters, staged outside the area. Woody took particular offense and produced over twenty songs speaking out against the rioters. "My Thirty Thousand" became the most popular of the collection, touting the strength and power of the supporters:

> Paul Robeson he's the man
> That faced the Ku Klux Klan
> On hollow grove's golfing ground
> His words come sounding!
> And all around him there
> To jump and clap and cheer
> I sent the best, the best I had
> My thirty thousand.[51]

Guthrie's focus was not just upon the injustices present in racism against African Americans. He also rallied alongside immigrants who were victim to hatred and oppression by a greedy cities and local governments. He was particularly fascinated with and disgusted by the fire that patriotism took on in sentencing and executing both the Rosenbergs and Sacco and Vanzetti, all of whom had very strong cases for their innocence. With the nation terrified of Commies, judges were willing to point the finger at anyone even remotely foreign. In the case of Sacco and Vanzetti, Guthrie was outraged that these honest workingmen were pinpointed for a crime that, logically, they could not have committed. Though Woody wrote various songs surrounding these social issues, none stand out as much as the ballads surrounding the trial and execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. After seven years of prison time and subjection to questionable trials, Sacco and Vanzetti were put to death on the electric chair. Their deaths on August 23, 1927

later sparked inspiration for twelve songs that were recorded for a collection, "The Ballads of Sacco and Vanzetti." Moe Asch, the legendary music recorder famous for popularizing folk music, requested and eventually commissioned Woody Guthrie to produce these songs in 1945. An immigrant himself, Asch thought it was important that this controversial execution be immortalized -- who better to croon the sorrows of the two convicted men than Woody Guthrie, the champion for social justice?

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were both Italian immigrants who had crossed the ocean to the land of promised freedom and employment in the early 20th century. Much like Woody's dismay and disgust at the unwelcoming borders of California, the two men independently came to realize that the oppressed lifestyle of a European immigrant struggling to make their way in the American melting pot. Moving through their separate lives, the two Italians met in 1917 at strike in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in which Vanzetti played a large organizational role. The two were drawn to anarchy, waging war against violence and oppression at the hands of government. Later, they were alleged to be active members in the violent anarchy group under Luigi Galleani, one of the top most dangerous enemies of the United States government.

On April 15, 1920, in the aftermath of the first red scare, Alessandro Berardelli, a security guard, and Frederick Parmenter, a money carrier, lugged two metal boxes across the sidewalk to the doors of the Slater-Morrill Shoe Company factory in Braintree, Massachusetts. The boxes held the salaries for the factory workers inside. As they made their way to the doors, two robbers, two armed men seized the boxes of money, murdering the two workers in the process. Jumping into a getaway Buick that was later collected, the robbers fled the scene. Weeks later, on May 5, Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested after having attempted to reclaim the getaway car from a local garage. This began a long process of "justice" that would last seven years, up until the execution of the indicted immigrants. Though there was much evidence against the two, a good portion of the "facts" conflicted. Nevertheless the two were found guilty. People all over the world were rising up against the unjust nature of the proceedings against the two immigrants with broken English, and many filed appeals. Sadly, they were to no avail. Riots across seas and within the States called for fair procedures for the foreigners. The investigation did not stop after the execution, either; twenty years later, evidence was still being examined, despite the fact that Sacco and Vanzetti were long gone. It wasn't until 1977 that the governor of Massachusetts, Michael Dukakis, made an official statement acknowledging the discriminatory trial proceedings, affirming "any stigma and disgrace should be forever removed from the names of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti."[52] Though these amends have been now made, the two were never declared innocent.

Woody Guthrie, as always, focused his work upon the human aspects of the case. He

painted a picture of two immigrant men aspiring to achieve the promises and dreams of Americans. The despairing wife and children of Sacco could no longer rely upon his shoe cutters' earnings to get by in the immigrant-hating East Coast towns. Woody branded them as martyrs for the cause of justice and anarchy, lamenting that Judge Wesbter Thayer, who presided over their case, was against them from the start. "Anarchist bastards was the name Judge Thayer called these two good men."[53] Likening their struggle to the trials of all workers and immigrants, Guthrie dubbed Plymouth Rock "Vanzetti's Rock." He assured the martyr that his death was not in vain, that he would make sure his message lived on:

> "Your hopes that you hoped, dreams that you dreamed
> I'll see that your works never stop.
> Those talks for the workers, Vanzetti,
> I'll chisel them down on the rocks;
> I'll tell every worker to fight you fought,
> Like the Pilgrims that docked on this rock."[54]

Though this lyric and others address the suffering of the two immigrants, Guthrie did not shy away from criticizing the government at fault for the death. In one particularly heart-wrenching song, Guthrie condemned the justice system for turning the "land made for you and me" into a death trap for immigrants looking to earn a living.

> "Confined in your jail here at Dedham and under the sentence of death, We pray you exercise your powers to look at the facts of our case; We do not ask you for a pardon, for a pardon would admit of our guilt; Since we are both innocent workers, we have no guilt to admit.
>
> I'm a dreamer, a speaker, and a writer, I fight on the working folks' side; Sacco is Boston's fastest shoe trimmer, and he talks to the husbands and wives. We hunted your land, and we found it, hoped we'd find freedom of mind, Build up your land, this Land of the Free, this is what we came to find."[55]

In other lyrics, Woody Guthrie took his positions farther than addressing specific events, to critiquing the entire institutions of the country. He had dabbled with political commentary while on the KFVD radio show back in California, and his opinions continued to grow as he saw how far corruption and greed could reach. As World War II brewed, Guthrie became even more

avid about the problems he saw whose roots he could trace to crooked leaders. His political war messages arose organically from all of his previous social awareness. When writing to his future wife, Marjorie Mazia, he railed against Hitler and fascism in a draft of new lyrics. He commented that the song was not yet where he wanted it to be, saying:

> A few of the typed words will be changed so as not to poke fun at the lunacy of the man Adolph Hitler but to the slavery of fascism for which he stands. This is not a battle of personalities but a war for the survival of all of us. Our dream. Hopes.[56]

He felt strongly enough about the topic that he became active in the military; by the end of World War II, Guthrie would serve in both the Merchant Marines and the Army. He traveled the seas, condemning the politics and leaders against whom he fought, with his trusty guitar killing fascists all the way.[57] Many songs, such as "Talking Hitler's Head Off Blues"[58] urged Guthrie's fellow Americans to take action against the enslaving institution of fascism, that Guthrie came to regard as the epitome of all of the problems facing the common man. Though Guthrie's approach of hyperbole with this guitar, phrase, and music had been critiqued as helpless and ennobling, his music rallied not only the men on his ship but also patriotic Americans across the country.[59]

By the time that the war had ended, however, Guthrie had become bitter about the ends of war. The the defeat of fascism in Germany did not end the injustices between the races or social classes. In a song entitled, "Boys in Blue," Guthrie relates the deplorable story about a father who arrived at the Express Office to pick up his son from the war. The listener feels the confusion of the clerk, who explains that the Office was for receiving mail, and that the father must instead go the depot for his son. Then, in a heart-wrenching moment of realization, the audience and the clerk learn from the father that his son is dead, and he has come to collect what is left so that he may lay his son to rest. The interaction between the characters in the lyric engulfs the reader in the flurry of confusion and emotion that overwhelm the reader with the reality of death that follows war. In the bottom margin of the lyric, Woody stated matter-of-factly that there was nothing he could wordsmith to make light the situation. Condemning the war from which he too had just returned, Guthrie wrote:

> A billion aged, trembling, poor old dads has got to live this song thru – for What? Freedom? Democracy? Democracy is supposed to be a form of Civilization, not a polite form of blowing fellers brains out.[60]

If the problems were not solved by the World War Two, then the remaining leaders must be culpable for the inequalities. Several songs center on the theme of political responsibility,

condemning a vast array of figures both American - Hoover, Dewey, Vandenberg, Truman - and foreign, such as Chiang Kai-shek, for causing and failing to address the rampant poverty that spanned the whole world over. Guthrie's focus on political ineptness fueled his vision of citizen involvement, for he truly believed that everyone could and should have a say in the environment of their lives.

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Despite the breadth of Guthrie's activism throughout his life, his most lasting legacy is undeniably his large repertoire of music. When Alan Lomax was putting the finishing touches on *Hard Hitting Songs*, he admitted in the prologue that "when Woody Guthrie came along, the whole picture came together…Not only could Woody make songs with the electric impact of our best ballads, but he cared for nothing else."[61] Guthrie built the image of the American laborer over the course of his life and praised the virtues and values he attributed to this ideal man. He articulated his visions of a better America through the songs that detailed his opinions, and even more so through the songs that articulated his aspirations for the future. He wrote about equality, political righteousness, and even about the power of song as a mode of social justice. The theme of the ability to overcome any obstacle stands out in almost all of Guthrie's songs about social justice. He knew it was not easy, that desperate people are seduced by desperate options, but he was not a foreigner to that himself. He asked his listeners to follow his example. In spite of the facet that Guthrie went through many rough times, he reflected: "…I never did get around to robbing or shooting. I found a better way to beat the rich men and the bankers at their own fame, and that's the Union, the C.I.O., or any of it's unions."[62] He wrote to do his part, to pay his debt to the people he owed. He mused that

> … the only way that I can pay back all of you good walkers and talkers is to work, and let my work help you to get work, the kind of work you like best and can best perform. Your labor has already helped me, and it goes on helping me. I've got to know in a sold way that my work is helping you. [63]

Though many lyrics spoke of specific social justice issues, others firmly and proudly announced Guthrie's vision directly. His lyrics boldly declared his vision about hope, politics, and equality. During the later years of his life, Guthrie spoke of a hoping machine, a little mechanism that everyone is born with. People can kick it down and it can wither away if it's not used, but anyone has the power to turn theirs around.

> Now I know from actual experience that what is going to come as a complete surprise to every enemy of mankind is, that the hoping machine, if it is not dead, if it still hopes a little, can, by the simply process of coming in contact with a new, strong, powerful and brilliant hoper, as I say, the seemingly deteriorated hoping machine, attunes itself to the strong beam or ray of the more powerful set, and, in many cases, adjusts its own mechanism in a surprisingly short period of time, and very often springs back to a life of hoping again.[64]

Guthrie saw the good that dwelled in the possibility and courage to fight back, countering a downtrodden song he heard upon the seas in 1944 called "Born to Lose" with an upbeat assertion that he was "Born to Win."[65]

Woody Guthrie summed up his years of fighting all inequalities, from racism and immigration injustices to socioeconomic divisions, in several poignant songs. In "God Made Us All," Guthrie called off Jim Crow laws, as well as racial and religious differences in asserting that we were all made together and we should get along because of that camaraderie.[66] When he took a step back and looked at everyone out of an airplane, he couldn't tell one person from another, they all looked the same.[67] So why, he questioned, should we all be fighting over land when we're all in this together and there's plenty to go around?[68] He challenged his fellow Americans to "Build [Him] a World," where everyone would be fed and clothed, and workers would be paid "honest wages, … a human world and a union race."[69]

Finally, Woody knew that there was more to folk music than just telling stories. Though he could never predict just how far his legacy would carry his message, he did have a deep insight into the power music could hold. He once commented while thinking over a new lyric, "songs don't make history. History makes up songs. Folks just sing their history."[70] If all songs are is the honest truth, then there was no reason they shouldn't raise people to their feet in union. Thinking about the power of music, he wrote that the union halls and the average Joe produced the best singing because this is where people could come together and express themselves.[71] He was definitely on to something, as Americans still rally and sing out for equality with his most famous song, "This Land is Your Land."

This iconic song emerged as a furious reaction to the reverent and praising song, "God Bless America." Having seen the poverty and despair of downtrodden Americans, Guthrie could not accept the idea of America being blessed by the divine. Instead, he wrote a reactionary piece titled "God Blessed America," concluding each chorus with the adamant phrase "God Blessed America for me."[72] In several of the stanzas, Woody specifically addressed the discrimination against poor travelers and people that were having hard times. Guthrie musically reached out to his brethren, who were religious people and hard workers that couldn't catch a break:

"In the shadow of the steeple I saw my people,
By the relief office I seen my people;
As they stood there hungry, I stood there asking
Is this land made for you and me?"[73]

He affirmed to his people that this land of America was for them as well, even if the rich and privileged tried to keep some of it from them:

"As I went walking I saw a sign there
And on the sign it said "No Trespassing."
But on the other side it didn't say nothing,
That side was made for you and me."[74]

Though these powerful stanzas are sometimes left out of the iconic version that we sing today, their meaning and inclusion were very important for Guthrie's purpose. This political and social justice reaction to an important patriotic song framed Woody Guthrie's vision for a united America of equal opportunities.

LEGACY – WOODY GUTHRIE AS A SOCIAL JUSTICE INSPIRATION

The term "social justice" originated from the work of Father Luigi Taparelli D'Azeglio, a priest belonging to the Society of Jesus in the early nineteenth century. He studied in the Age of Enlightenment, when scholars were turning towards increasingly individualistic theories of society, reconsidering traditional and religious approaches to daily life under the auspices of reason. Though Father Taparelli also saw a need for change within society, he wrote that such an "enlightened" trend towards intellectualism, throughout an entire cultural system, led to abandoned morals in an absolutist government. Similarly forgoing the limitations of traditional Catholic teaching, Taparelli thus advocated for a "renewed liberalism" emerging from a holistic perspective of human nature and interaction in society, based on Thomas Aquinas' base principles that morals must begin with loving one another.[75] Taparelli defined social justice as:

> ...a legal order and normative ideal within a society by which individuals and their various associations are given the maximum range of liberty in pursuit of their proper ends, with a minimum of interference from superior authorities, i.e., only to the extent necessary to orient general activity towards the common good, and governed by the principles of conflicting rights, prudence, and, ultimately, of charity.[76]

Following these same principles, Taparelli expounded upon this idea in a definition of the

principle of subsidiarity, the decentralized view that each small unit of a defined society or organization can appropriately complete its own functions without reliance on a larger, centralized system.

Industrialization and immigration in early twentieth-century America called for a reexamination of social reform. Critical eyes turned towards the Catholic Church to address the issues, as Catholic theology impressed the importance of neighborly care upon its congregations. Responding to the social climate, Catholic priest and theologian Father John A. Ryan took up study of Taparelli's social justice. Whereas Taparelli approached the idea from the perspective of religious teaching, Ryan adapted the teaching to address a more socially oriented point of view. He argued for the common man who was struggling through long hours in newly- erected factories to make pitiful earnings. Most famously, Ryan advocated for a laborer's right to a living wage as a measure towards social justice. He declared: "the right to a Living Wage is individual, natural, and absolute."[77] Espousing natural law theory as the backbone of his doctrine, he insisted that such a right is innate, rather than being granted by a great social order. A society is formed so that man can benefit from it, and not the other way around.[78] Therefore, from the basis of a right to dignity and livelihood, workers are entitled to a living wage, determined by the Old Catholic teaching of just prices of goods that spring from the common land. Everyone who is a part of this social function, from the laborer and employer to the consumer and the state, has an obligation to meet this living wage for every man. Seeing a deficiency in the treatment United States workforce and realizing the limits of a religious agenda, Father Ryan became politically active. He became famous for supporting not only President Roosevelt's New Deal but also the concept of the modern welfare state. In this way, Father Ryan refashioned the idea of social justice to take on a social imperative to which everyone, not only religious communities, must heed.

Later on in the century, philosopher and ethicist John Rawls added his own secular perspective to the theory of social justice. Inspired by Enlightenment philosophers such as David Hume and Immanual Kant, Rawls believed that an ordered society was one where resources were adjusted so that they were distributed equally. In his book, *A Theory of Justice*, Rawls wrote that justice, defined by the principles of liberty and wealth, must be applied fairly to society. The suggestion of fairness provided an amalgam of the principles of equality and freedom, the latter of which scholars often used to justify inequality.[79] In order for members of a society to come to fairness, however, everyone must adopt a veil of ignorance and consider each person's position irrespective of his or her own.[80] That is, a rich man must want good for a poor man without taking into account the personal emotions that will arise from his own backgrounds. Out of this brotherly care arose what Rawls coined "the difference principle." According to this model, any

inequality that does exist in society must serve to benefit those that are most disadvantaged.[81] This principle supplemented and promoted the call for social justice to be an active part of society, working for the fair and just distribution of resources.

Thus, social justice has a very precise, yet diverse, definition. Though the comparative meanings of the term have varied over the centuries, the true origins of the term must be considered, acknowledging the subsidiaries of society in the various social classes, in order to understand the imperative campaign for social justice. Consequently, given the natural right and obligation to fairness within these subsidiaries, social justice is an active effort towards the promotion of equality and fair treatment amongst all social classes so that all can operate under the same pretenses and with the same rights in a defined society.

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Through immortalizing his message in songs and poetry, drawings and letters, Woody Guthrie took a stance that not only inspired his contemporaries to work towards the growth of social justice but also transcended into the modern day. His critique of politics and support for the common man were themes that not only applied to the early and mid 1900s, but were relevant to every period after. Woody once reflected: "You sometimes get to wondering how many other folks feel just exactly the same about things as you do, and this is one of the things you turn on your radio for, to get to feeling like you're in touch with everybody else… and this is what songs are supposed to tell you, to … see, hear, and 'believe'."[82] Woody Guthrie knew that his music was sending this message out across the nation and the future. The rallying cry of equality inspired Guthrie's contemporaries, such as Pete Seeger and Lead Belly, to continue to focus their efforts on the cause of social justice. Modern musicians, too, got behind his message and carried out Woody's legacy through their own lyrics. Bob Dylan, Bruce Springsteen, Ani DeFranco, and Tom Morrello all cite Guthrie as a key source of inspiration to the cause of social justice activism through lyrical expression.

After meeting at lively hootenanny that supported the Popular Front, Pete Seeger and Woody Guthrie collaborated on many projects that united their prosocialist agendas. Though the two shared inspiration and combined their creativity to make many songs for the group, with which they invigorated audiences across the country, Pete Seeger developed his own activism apart from Woody as well. Two of his most famous songs illustrate his nature to align with the down and out, marginalized populations. "Where Have All the Flowers Gone,"[83] later added to by Joe Hickerson, lamented the violence present within the nation and turned a critical eye to the passive acceptance of violence as a way of life. Another, and even more radical song, "If I Had a Hammer,"[84] prompted listeners to themselves step up and take action against injustice. It grew so

popular and effective as a rallying song that it later became an iconic song of the Civil Rights Movement.

Although Woody and Pete did not always see eye-to-eye on the best method of achieving change in a society, Pete Seeger always respected the opinion of his fellow artist. Tipping his hat to Guthrie's idea of revolting against the oppressive forces of fascism with the phrase "This Machine Kills Fascists," Pete Seeger adopted his own phrase and embellished his banjo with "This Machine Surrounds Hate and Forces it to Surrender." Though the idea of overcoming a force came out through both phrases, Pete's interpretation of the message aligned more closely with his own personal, pacifist views. Pete Seeger became active in the Civil Rights Movement, obeying his own philosophy of peaceful resistance. He joined the forces of song and resistance during Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, March on Washington in 1963, crying out "We Shall Overcome"[85] with his fellow protestors. Most recently, Pete Seeger honored his country and the memory of his good friend by leading the nation in "This Land is Your Land" at President Barack Obama's 2008 inauguration with his grandson, Tao Rodriguez, and music icon Bruce Springsteen. In this gesture of nationalism, Seeger affirmed the message of Woody Guthrie and ensured that it will last long after we see our own ends.

Following Woody's legacy, Pete Seeger passed on the social justice music agenda to one of his students, Rik Palieri. A modern folk artist and interviewer, Palieri has carried on the Almanac mission through its second generation. Bumming rides and places to stay, Rik Palieri and George Mann retraced the performance path of the Almanacs from coast to coast singing the original songs crafted for the tour in union halls and workplaces. With his banjo proclaiming the same tagline that Pete's did years ago, Palieri sang at twenty-four concerts, sprinkled in union halls across 9000 miles of this land to "bring back the spirit of the Good America."[86] In an interview about his adventure traveling "from California to the New York Island,"[87] Palieri reflected that it was "a dream come true" because "not only were [they] playing the music, but [they] were telling a story." "We put together the jigsaw puzzle of what happened in 1941 as they traveled across the country!" he said. The workers reacted to Palieri and Mann just the way they did to the Almanacs – with loud singing voices and encouragement. Palieri's journey is a testament that the power of prosocial music has not faded since the mid 1900s.

> And, you know, maybe, you know, the things that Pete and other wonderful people who are all gone now have left us is that, try to live a principled life, try to do good things in your life. Just don't think about yourself, think about what you can do in your time here on this planet that can give something to this world! … all you're doing is planting seeds, that's all we can do. You can plant a seed and see if it grows.[88]

Another contemporary of Woody Guthrie, from whom he drew inspiration and inspired as well, was Southern crooner Lead Belly. According to Alan Lomax, "Woody just absolutely venerated Lead Belly."[89] The two artists were both well versed with the blues; Lead Belly authored many blues songs since it was such a popular genre amongst African American musicians and Southerners. A native of Freeport, Louisiana, "The King of the 12-String guitar" wrote of the racism pandemic in the south, as well as prison life, gospel music, and folk songs about working and common folk. Woody Guthrie called his friend "one of the world's very best blues doctors"[90] and helped make him accessible to the Northerners in interviewing him about his music for the nation to hear. Guthrie referred to Lead Belly's lyrics as 'hollers,' explaining: "Hollering is what the little country children do for the fun of it while they are off in the woods or going to some little country school early in the morning but when they get older these hollers turn into work songs."[91] The two performed together at many venues, leaving the crowds at night to retire to their homes and carry on the fun for hours into the night. Lomax believed that the two enjoyed success and each other's company so much because "both of them had the sound of trucks and fast railroads and oil-well pumps and the new opening up of the country, and it also had all the woes that go with it, the feeling of the fragmentation of society that was happening under the pressure of industrialism."[92] Together they sang the song of the oppressed and reached every nook and cranny of their American audience.

Though Pete Seeger and Lead Belly are prime examples of the creative contemporaries that worked with Woody towards his mission of social justice, Guthrie's importance as a musician and activist lies greatly in his legacy. Artist Bob Dylan was able to visit Guthrie and talk with him before his death, and other artists drew inspiration through the lively and intoxicating musical messages of Woody Guthrie.

When young Bob Dylan first read Guthrie's *Bound for Glory*, he knew that he needed to meet the folk legend and share a few words or songs with his newfound musical hero. In January of 1961, Dylan walked up to Greystone Park Psychiatric Hospital with some of his first lyrics, "Song to Woody." He greeted Woody singing, "Hey, hey, Woody Guthrie, I wrote you a song 'Bout a funny old world that's comin' along,"[93] lyrics which he would later include in his first album. The song not only tribute the work and life of Woody Guthrie, but he also paid homage to the brilliant lyricist by mimicking the style of some lines from Guthrie's own works. For the rest of his career, Bob Dylan has maintained the everlasting inspiration imparted by Woody Guthrie on his style and purpose of music. Dylan incorporated activist messages into many songs, one of the most famous being "The Times They are a-Changin.'"[94] Produced three years after his meeting with Woody Guthrie, Dylan wrote all of the songs for this album (of which the song is the namesake) about the same issues Woody focused on, from politics and oppression, to racism and other social dilemmas. Even the folksy name of the song harkens the listener back to the fast

paced, fluid, and homey lyrics of Woody Guthrie. Years later, Guthrie's legacy of social justice music continued to serve as an inspiration for Dylan's music. His 1979 album, *Slow Train Coming*, debuted Christian songs with political and social justice agendas. On "Gotta Serve Somebody," Dylan emphasizes the idea that, no matter who someone is or what status they hold, they owe something to other and must find out who they look to:

> "You may be rich or poor, you may be blind or lame
> You may be living in another country under another name
> But you're gonna have to serve somebody, yes
> You're gonna have to serve somebody"[95]

Other artists were not so lucky as to have met Woody Guthrie, but they still carry on his mission of social justice through their own lyrics. Rockstar Bruce Springsteen cites Woody Guthrie as one of his top inspirations and heroes.[96] In 1996, Bruce Springsteen performed alongside Pete Seeger and others at "Hard Travelin': A Benefit Concert" held by the Woody Guthrie Archives at Severance Hall in Cleveland, Ohio, on September 9, 1996. Springsteen revealed his understanding of Guthrie's message to be the pervasive insistence about lending a helping hand. He was quoted at the event saying,

> the thing he did the most, I think, was he always got you thinking about the next guy, he took you out of yourself....out of yourself, it's hard....that's something to be able to do....and he just got you thinking about your neighbor in some sense, and that salvation isn't individual....maybe we don't rise and fall on our own, you know.[97]

Though the list of prominent modern names that draw inspiration from Woody Guthrie goes on and on, it is most important to recognize those artists that engage in social justice activism in ways outside of their music. In performances reminiscent of the concerts Woody held in California for the Okie refugees and the union hall hootenannies that the Almanac Singers performed across the country, many modern singers and songwriters have performed at rallies of modern protest movements. In a short video about modern social justice involvement of the Guthrie followers, Tom Morello says that Woody Guthrie would have been leading the Occupy Wall Street movement, singing and camping out with the thousands of marginalized, 99% workers.[98] Another modern artist, John Rafael, agreed with Morello, assuring that "Woody could sing the songs that he wrote back then and they would be completely relevant today, because we're going through a lot of the same things that he wrote about."[99] The reality that Woody's songs are still so applicable is a sad one for the cause of social justice, since it suggests that not much has changed in the past fifty years. Ry Cooder, however, claims that we are in a more crucial time for the rights about which Woody sang. According to Cooder, "We're either going to go down this-land-was-made-for-you-and-me road or give it up and give it to the fascists and Woody did everything he could to bring this message out. We must be together. We have to have solidarity. This land is your land. In other words, as we all know, don't let the big man take it away."[100] By aligning himself with Woody's message, and, particularly, the message that "this land was made for you and me," Cooder makes the successes in today's struggle for equality and social justice the successes of Guthrie as well.

Whether or not Woody would have maintained the same political opinions for half a century given the ability is beside the point when considering the opinions of these modern artists. That they believe the message of Woody Guthrie and draw inspiration from it is powerful enough. Morello, for one, pledges that his mission as an artist incorporated promulgating this history and ensuring its life and influence in the modern day as well. He told the interview team that "part of [his] work is continuing the legacy of Woody Guthrie and the many other singers and artists through history who have stood on the side of the people, you know, on the side of social justice."[101] Because Morello and others name Woody Guthrie as their historical champion for the common folk and enduring muse, Guthrie's legacy steps up to the challenge of time and endures.

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Ever since he first learned how to carry a tune in his Midwestern, dusty days, Woody Guthrie had a song in his heart that was on fire with justice for his brethren. Though his vision took time to grow into the all-encompassing social activism he displayed towards the end of his

life, his music and works along the way all pointed to a land made for everyone, regardless of race or socioeconomic status. Guthrie traveled across the country both solo, and with his fellow radicals proclaiming equality, and sent his message to future generations through the permanence of his written word. His work not only inspired his contemporaries to cry out for the common good, but also lit the fire of prosocial musical activism in musicians that never had the chance to have a smoke and share a song with this folk legend. The prevalence of references to Guthrie today prove that, without a doubt, his voice has echoed through time calling together the disadvantaged and urging them to get along and make a difference in this land that we share.

[1] Klein, Joe. *Woody Guthrie: a Life*. Reprint ed. Delta, 1999, 11.

[2] Ibid., 5.

[3] This disturbing tale of racism and hate reflected as a microcosm the widespread persecution and intolerance of African Americans in the Southern Midwest during this period. This particular crime stood out for its particularly brutal and unapologetic nature combined with its occurrence in a relatively peaceful area of the country, as far as racial tensions were concerned. While Klein references that Charley was involved, there is no direct evidence of this, a point to which author Will Kaufman attests in *Woody Guthrie, American Radical*.

The Nelson family had been accused of stealing a cow when a group with a warrant arrived at the Nelson home to investigate, George Loney was shot after a struggle for the Nelsons' gun. Different testimonies and recordings all conflict about how the incident actually happened. Wounded in the leg, Loney bled to death on the property. Austin Nelson, the father, was arrested that same day. A week later, Laura, the mother, and L.D., her son, were also arrested. After pleading guilty to the charge of theft, Austin was transported to the state prison facility in a different city. The night before Laura and L.D. were to be arraigned, a posse arrived at the jailhouse and kidnapped the two prisoners, along with Laura's baby, according to some reports. The two were hanged off of a nearby bridge; L.D.'s clothes had been torn off prior to his lynching. The baby was left abandoned on the road. Okemah photographer George Henry Farnum documented the scene in four iconic pictures that may or may have been converted into postcards. Whereas on newspaper, *The Independent*, recounted the story with relatively unbiased journalism, the description of the event in *The Okemah Ledger* revealed the racist attitude of the white majority, claiming that "it is generally thought got what would have been due them under due process of law."

Later in his life, Woody Guthrie recalled seeing pictures of lynching on postcards for sale around town. These disturbing graphic images, along with the knowledge of his father's involvement, stayed with Guthrie and were unsettling to him for his entire life.
The Independent (Okemah), May 25, 1911.
The Okemah Ledger, May 4, 1911.
The Okemah Ledger, May 25, 1911.
Will Kaufman, *Woody Guthrie, American Radical*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011), 145 -7.

[4] One of the sources that indicate the presence of the baby is Guthrie's song, *"Don't Kill my Baby and my Son."* suggesting that this history was passed down orally amongst the local histories and societies.

Woody Guthrie, *Don't Kill My Baby and My Son* (renewed 1966), http://www.woodyguthrie.org/Lyrics/Dont_Kill_My_Baby_and_My_Son.htm.

[5] Woody Guthrie, "My Life," in *Woody Guthrie*, American Folksong, ed. Moses Asch (New York: Oak Publications, 1961), 2-3, qtd in Will Kaufman, *Woody Guthrie, American Radical*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011), 8.

[6] As described by Woody Guthrie later in life, Ronald D. Cohen, *Woody Guthrie: Writing America's Songs (Routledge Historical Americans)* (Routledge, 2012), 8.

[7] Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc., "Woody Guthrie's Biography 2," WoodyGuthrie.org, 2001-2013, http://www.woodyguthrie.org/biography/biography2.htm.

[8] Woody Guthrie, *So Long, Its Been Good to Know Yuh (Dusty Old Dust)* (New York: The Richmond Organization (TRO), original 1940, renewed 1951), http://woodyguthrie.org/Lyrics/So_Long_Its_ Been_Good.htm.

Woody Guthrie first wrote this song while living in Pampa, Texas in 1935, shortly after the onset of the first dust storms in 1931. He later recorded it in 1940 at Victor Records in New York City as part of his album, *Dust Bowl Ballads*.

Michael Majdic, "Timeline of the Life of Woody Guthrie," Roll On Columbia: Woody Guthrie & the Bonneville Power Administration, accessed February 1, 2015, Ihttps://library.uoregon.edu/ec/wguthrie / timeline.html.

[9] Woody Guthrie, *Ramblin' Round* (New York: The Richmond Organization (TRO), original 1962, renewed 1972), http://woodyguthrie.org/Lyrics/Ramblin_Round.htm.

[10] Kaufman, *Woody Guthrie, American Radical*, 25.

[11] Woody Guthrie, *Bound for Glory (Plume)*, Reissue ed. (New York: Plume, 1983), 223.

[12] Kaufman, *Woody Guthrie, American Radical*,19.

[13] Ronald Briley, *"Woody Sez": Woody Guthrie, the "People's Daily World," and Indigenous Radicalism (California History* , Vol. 84, No. 1 (Fall, 2006)), 35.

[14] Woody Guthrie, *Woody Sez* (Grosset & Dunlap, 1975), 17.

[15] Kaufman, *Woody Guthrie, American Radical*, 23.

[16] This is a phrase that shows up in numerous places throughout Guthrie's writing and drawings. From the manuscripts and art collection to the lyrics and scrapbook collection, Woody doodled and focused on the animosity against the Okie refugees in multiple places throughout his complete works.

The Woody Guthrie Center Archives, Lyrics Series One, The Woody Guthrie Center, Tulsa, OK, United States (WGA).

[17] Woody Guthrie, *New York Town* (New York: The Richmond Organization (TRO), original 1961, renewed 1989), http://woodyguthrie.org/Lyrics/New_York_Town.htm.

[18] Guthrie's interviews and songs were released from the Library of Congress for public entertainment in 2012, as part of a seven disc series that chronicled Guthrie's own history, as situated in the larger context of American history. From the dustbowl to California, Guthrie and Lomax discuss the background behind the now-famous lyrics, and Guthrie then sings his iconic songs for the record.

Woody Guthrie, *American Radical Patriot,* recorded by Alan Lomax, Rounder Records, CD, 2013.

[19] Kaufman, *Woody Guthrie, American Radical*,35.

[20] Guthrie, *Woody Sez*, 55.

Referring to the bombs mentioned – this was around the time that Woody Guthrie became preoccupied with the international politics brewing towards war across the Atlantic. His focus would soon change from leftist, populist ideas centering on Americans to the hypocrisy over the ocean and anti-fascism.

[21] Guthrie to Millard Lampell, April 9, 1941. WGA, Woody Guthrie Correspondence, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 34, qtd in Will Kaufman, *Woody Guthrie, American Radical* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011), 19.

[22] Guthrie, *Woody Sez*, 18.

[23] Woody Guthrie, "Blowin' Down This Road," year and location unknown, v. 5. WGA , Lyrics Series One. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[24] Woody Guthrie, "Do Re Mi," 1938, Glendale, CA. WGA, Lyrics Series One, Box 02. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[25] Alan Lomax, Woody Guthrie, and Pete Seeger, *Hard Hitting Songs for Hard-Hit People* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press,2012), xx.

[26] Ibid., xix.

[27] Woody Guthrie, "Dear Mama & Pete," November 17, 1942. WGA, Woody Guthrie Correspondences Series 1, Box 1, Folder 44. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[28] Woody Guthrie, "Dark Dreary Mine," Back, Program for "People's Artists Present Midsummer Hootenanny, Friday August 26, year unknown. WGA, Lyrics Series One, Box 02. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[29] Woody Guthrie, Almanac Singers, "What Are We Waiting On," 647 Hudson St, New York, 1942. WGA, Woody Guthrie Correspondences Series 1, Box 1, Folder 43. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[30] Woody Guthrie to Marjorie Mazia, 74 Charles Street, December 7th, 1942, (Pearl Harbor Day), New York City, N.Y. WGA, Woody Guthrie Correspondences Series 1, Box 1, Folder 44. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[31] Ibid., 2.

[32] Woody Guthrie, "Christmas Talking Blues," year and location unknown. WGA, Lyrics Series One, Box 02. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[33] Woody Guthrie, "Doorstep Baby," July 6, 1949. WGA, Lyrics Series One, Box 02. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[34] Woody Guthrie, "Church in the Sky," April 1955, v.2. The Woody Guthrie Center Archives, Lyrics Series One, Box 02. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[35] Woody Guthrie, "Cole Operators Hades," May 24, 1955, Brooklyn, NY. WGA, Lyrics Series One, Box 02. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[36] Woody Guthrie, "The Dying Miner," year and location unknown. WGA, Lyrics Series One, Box 02. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[37] Ibid, Copyright 1947 (renewed) by Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. & TRO-Ludlow Music, Inc. (BMI). Woodyguthrie.org

[38] Woody Guthrie, "Dark Dreary Mine," lines 30-31, year and location unknown. WGA, Lyrics Series One, Box 02. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[39] Woody Guthrie, "Choppin Axe Blues," lines 29-30; 32-33, June 5, 1953, Belathahatchee, FL. The WGA, Lyrics Series One, Box 02. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[40] Woody Guthrie, "Cumberland Mountain Farms," line 22, March 11,1941, Los Angeles, CA. WGA Lyrics Series One, Box 02. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[41] The sample on which this conclusion is based is the first 300 lyrics (alphabetically organized) of the nearly 3000 housed in the Woody Guthrie Center Archives. Out of the ten percent examined, 39 songs were concerned with worker's rights (39 / 300 = 13%) and 17 of these mentioned unions (17 / 39 = 43.59%). Though the thematic content of the lyrics is not distributed evenly across the alphabet of lyrics, this sample is broad enough to draw basic conclusions of the content of the archives.

[42] All of the songs referenced are part of the archive collection at the Woody Guthrie Center in Tulsa, OK. All focus on the desperate conditions of the mining lifestyle. (WGA)

[43] Woody Guthrie, "Dream of a Miner's Child," Old English Folk Song, year and location unknown. WGA, Lyrics Series One, Box 02. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[44] In the sample size aforementioned, 4% of the lyrics deal directly with racism.

[45] In the early days of the radio show, Guthrie was known to call African Americans derogatory and racist terms, such as "coons," "monkeys," and "niggers" on air. After Woody performed a song called "Run, Nigger, Run" over the air, one young African American protested the slants in a letter that was so powerful to Woody that he not only read the letter aloud on a following show, but he also ripped up the song in front of his microphone so that everyone would know that he did not intend to do such an offensive act again.

Kaufman, *Woody Guthrie, American Radical*, 149-50.

[46] Woody Guthrie, No Title, date and location unknown. WGA, Manuscripts Series Two, Box One, Folder 25. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[47] Woody Guthrie, "The Blinding of Isaac Woodard," August 16, 1946, CINYC, v.2. WGA, Lyrics Series One, Box 01. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Woody Guthrie, "Bushywawe Towne," May 21, 1955, Brooklyn, New York. WGA, Lyrics Series One, Box 01. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[50] Woody Guthrie, "Death Row," 1963, location unknown. WGA, Lyrics Series One, Box 02. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[51] Woody Guthrie, *My Thirty Thousand* (Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc.), http://woodyguthrie.org/Lyrics/My_Thirty_Thousand.htm. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[52] Bruce Watson, *Sacco and Vanzetti: the Men, the Murders, and the Judgment of Mankind*. Reprint ed. (London: Penguin Books, 2008), 365.

[53] Woody Guthrie, "Two Good Men" (Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc., 2000), 32-33, accessed February 2, 2015, http://woodyguthrie.org/Lyrics/Two_Good_Men.htm. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[54] Woody Guthrie, "Vanzetti's Rock" (Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. c. 2000), 24-29, accessed February 2, 2015, http://woodyguthrie.org/Lyrics/Vanzettis_Rock.htm. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[55] Woody Guthrie, *Vanzetti's Letter* (New York: The Richmond Organization (TRO), 1960), http://woodyguthrie.org/Lyrics/Vanzettis_Letter.htm.

[56] Woody Guthrie, "Dear, Mrs. Maria," December 15th, 1942. WGA, Woody Guthrie Correspondences Series 1, Box 1, Folder 44. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[57] During his time in the Merchant Marines, Guthrie burned his iconic phrase, "This Machine Kills Fascists" into his instruments.

[58] Woody Guthrie, "Talking Hitler's Head Off Blues," WGA, Lyrics Series One, Box 9. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[59] Journalist Cecil Marcus, who has come to be known for his critique of cultural music, embraced this view in a discussion about the efficacy of lyrics to make a change in war. He condemns Guthrie's approach by concluding, "...to say that you could defeat [fascism] by singing songs is not helpful in the war against fascism."
Joe Bonomo, ed., *Conversations with Cecil Marcus (Literary Conversations Series)* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2012), 117.

[60] Woody Guthrie, "Boys in Blue," date & location unknown, WGA, Lyrics Series One, Box 01. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[61] Lomax, Guthrie, and Seeger, *Hard Hitting Songs for Hard-Hit People*, 366.

[62] Ibid., 232.

[63] Woody Guthrie, "People I Owe," date and location unknown. WGA, Woody Guthrie Manuscripts Series 1, Box 4, Folder 24. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[64] "Hello Marjorie", year and location unknown. WGA, Woody Guthrie Correspondences Series 1, Box 1, Folder 44.

[65] Woody Guthrie, "Born to Win," year and location unknown, v.1. WGA, Lyrics Series One, Box 01. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[66] Woody Guthrie, "God Made Us All," May 18th 19 & 55 ; Brookerlny Newdy Yorky. WGA, Lyrics Series One, Box 03. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[67] Woody Guthrie, "Airplane," April 2, Woodstock, NY, v.1. WGA, Lyrics Series One, Box 01. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[68] Woody Guthrie, "Empty Spaces," April 14, 1947 Santa Fe Train, Going to see the Panhandle Cyclone. WGA, Lyrics Series One, Box 03. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[69] Woody Guthrie, "Build Me a World," July 19, 1944, At Sea, SS Sea Porpoise. WGA, Lyrics Series One, Box 01. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[70] Woody Guthrie, "Ain't a Gonna Do," March 11, 1941, Los Angeles, CA. WGA, Lyrics Series One, Box 01. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[71] Woody Guthrie, "Dear Mama & Pete," November 17, 1942. WGA, Woody Guthrie Correspondences Series 1, Box 1, Folder 44. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[72] Woody Guthrie, "This Land is Your Land," February 23, 1940. WGA, Woody Guthrie Correspondences Series 1, Box 09. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Thomas C. Behr, "Luigi Taparelli On the Dignity of Man", *Società Internazionale Tommaso d'Aquino* (21-25 September 2003): 2, accessed October 6, 2013, http://www.e-aquinas.net/pdf/behr.pdf.

[76] Ibid.

[77] John Augustine Ryan, *A Living Wage (classic Reprint)* (Forgotten Books, 2012), 2-3.

[78] Ibid., 51.

[79] John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1999), Section 11.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid., 65.

[82] Woody Guthrie, "War Songs and Work Songs," date and location unknown. WGA, Woody Guthrie Manuscripts Series 1, Box 3, Folder 22. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[83] Pete Seeger, *Where Have All the Flowers Gone*, (Columbia Records 45 single, 13-33088), 1964.

[84] Pete Seeger and Lee Hays, The Weavers, *If I Had a Hammer*, (Hootenanny Records, 101-A), 1950.

[85] Pete Seeger, *We Shall Overcome*, Pete Seeger's Greatest Hits, (Columbia / Legacy), 2002.

[86] Rik Palieri, interviewed by Mara Steven, September 11, 2014, transcript, Documentary and Oral History Studio, Loyola University New Orleans, College of Humanities and Natural Sciences, New Orleans, LA.

[87] Woody Guthrie, *This Land is Your Land* (New York: The Richmond Organization (TRO), original 1956, renewed 1972), http://woodyguthrie.org/Lyrics/This_Land.htm. © Woody Guthrie Publications, Inc. Used with permission.

[88] Rik Palieri, interviewed by Mara Steven, September 11, 2014, transcript, Documentary and Oral History Studio, Loyola University New Orleans, College of Humanities and Natural Sciences, New Orleans, LA.

[89] Alan Lomax. Interview with the Public Broadcasting Service. American Roots Music. 2001.

[90] Huddie Leadbelly. Interview with Woody Guthrie. New York City, June 19, 1940.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Alan Lomax. Interview with the Public Broadcasting Service. American Roots Music. 2001.

[93] Bob Dylan, *Song to Woody*, vol. 7, produced by John Hammond, Columbia/Capitol (US), CD, 1962.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Bob Dylan, *Gotta Serve Somebody*, produced by Barry Beckett and Jerry Wexler, Columbia Records (US), CD, 1979.

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SPECIAL THANKS

The Loyola University New Orleans History Department

The College of Humanities and Natural Sciences

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