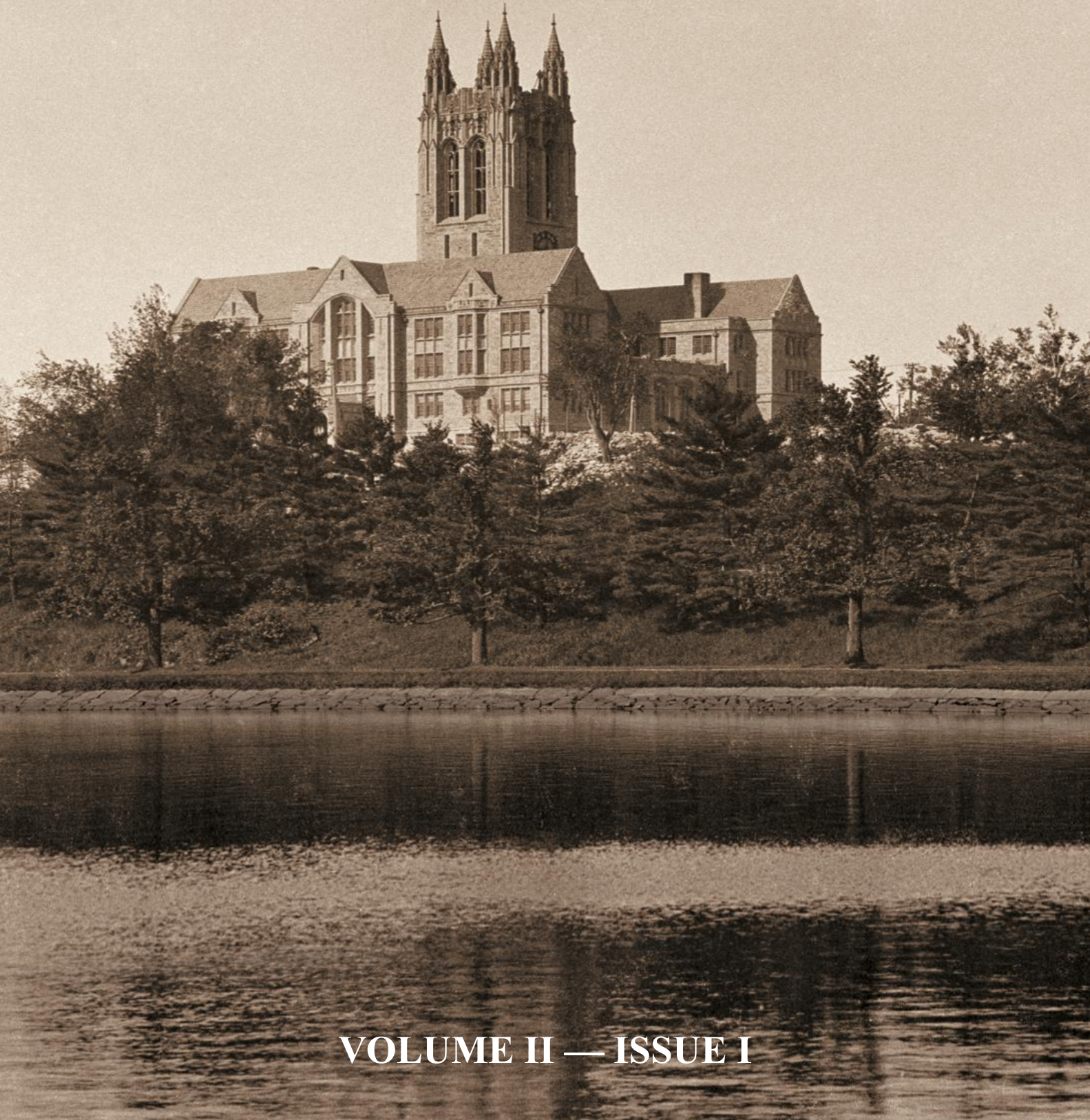# ORACLE

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Layered Social Injustice: The Dislodgement of Jewish Communities in Mattapan, Dorchester, and Roxbury During the 1960s

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LAYERED SOCIAL INJUSTICE:

THE DISLODGEMENT OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN MATTAPAN, DORCHESTER, AND ROXBURY DURING THE 1960s

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Abstract: This article examines the role of housing discrimination in dislodging certain Boston Jewish communities during the 1960s, complicating conventional narratives of "white flight" by highlighting the impact of anti-Semitic housing policies on the migration of Jewish community members. Over the course of two years, the Boston, Massachusetts neighborhoods of Mattapan, Roxbury and Dorchester experienced drastic demographic change, transitioning from predominantly Jewish to predominantly Black areas. While traditional depictions of white flight focus on racist ideologies and fears of diversification as impetuses for the large-scale migration of white residents, this article suggests that structural forms of anti-Semitism including housing discrimination, unsupportive federal policies, realtor profiteering and physical violence against Jewish communities also played a role in the migration of Jewish residents from these neighborhoods.

Introduction

At the beginning of the 1960s, the Boston neighborhoods of Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester were predominantly Jewish. Jews had dwelled there for decades, since the turn of the 20th century. Once deemed the Jewish 'mother neighborhood,' the traditionally-rooted area where hundreds of thousands of Jews had settled transitioned into a majority Black population in just two years between 1968 to 1970. By 1973, Jews had almost disappeared in the area.

By the conventional narrative, as in Richard Rothstein's *The Color of Law*, this is a classic example of "white flight."[2] At first glance, this drastic racial change seems to fit into the

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[2] Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (New York, NY: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017), 93-98. Richard Rothstein argues for the federal responsibility in the segregation of Black people in the United States. He argued that the federal programs post-Great Depression were unconstitutional, and thus the segregation is in some ways de jure instead of de facto segregation purely built on local prejudice and individual will. In the book, he argues for forms of compensation made on a federal level for the suffering of Blacks today due to the unconstitutional acts in the 20th century that forced a second-class citizenship on Black Americans. White flight was a phenomenon he mentioned from page 83-98 in which white residents, in fear of devaluation of their property, moved out when Black people moved into their neighborhoods.

characteristics of white flight—real estate agents targeted Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester for their predominantly white population and induced a panic of 'negro infiltration' in order to profit from selling devalued estates at a high cost to Black residents. That, nevertheless, was not the full truth.

The disappearance of the Jewish population in Mattapan, Dorchester, and Roxbury cannot be readily attributed to 'white flight.' Rather, it had to do with a conception of layered injustice to the Jewish minority. Unlike other cases of white flight, many Jews were not being pulled into new suburbs but were instead pushed out through various processes. There was a discriminatory notion that targeted Jewish neighborhoods first from the Home Owner's Corporation, a federal organization in the 1930s, which later paved the way for an inconsiderate local program launched by the Boston Banks Urban Renewal Group in the 1960s. Then, with leniency in federal and local policies, realtors used a scheme known as blockbusting to scare away Jewish residents. As a result of blockbusting, antisemitic-leaning violence escalated between Jews and other residents. Those acts, combined with a lack of care from established Jewry, ultimately dislodged Jewish residents in the Boston neighborhoods of Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester.

Even though there were signs of discriminatory practices and real-estate oppression, it is important to note that this paper does not intend to draw any sentimental parallel between the dislodgement of the Jewish community and the racism and segregation that African Americans experienced in the housing market. As the paper explains in a later section, the Jews still enlisted help from their communities in their struggle against violent crimes, albeit a lack of active care persisted among most of the Jewish leadership. This paper examines how the dislodgment came to be and aims to address an underemphasized aspect to the conventional narrative of white flight.

Buffer Areas Created by Home Owner's Corporation

The federal policies in the 1930s laid the foundation for dislodgement in the Boston neighborhoods of Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester by making the majority Jewish areas a buffer zone to prevent African Americans from moving in. In the wake of the Great Depression in the 1930s, the Home Owners' Corporation (HOLC) was established by the Federal government in hopes of stabilizing the housing market. In the following decade, HOLC proceeded to create residential maps across the U.S. for more than 200 cities to rank the "mortgage security" of lending to neighborhoods. The HOLC staff used data and evaluations organized by local real estate

professionals in each city not only from the standpoint of the quality of housing and rent values, but also of the racial and ethnic identity of residents. Neighborhoods receiving the highest grade, A, were colored green and deemed minimal risks for banks and other mortgage lenders when they were deciding upon areas for safe investments in the city. Neighborhoods that received the grade B were colored blue and considered "still desirable," C neighborhoods were colored yellow and considered "definitely declining," and D neighborhoods were colored red and considered "hazardous."[3] These maps that helped set the rules for nearly a century of real estate practice are otherwise known as the "redlining" maps.

The HOLC agents adopted a white, elite point of view to grade the neighborhoods. Languages such as "infiltration" were used to denote "subversive," "undesirable," "inharmonious," or "lower grade" populations. Among those deemed inharmonious racial groups were African Americans, Italians, Jews, and Asians. Cases in which Jewish neighborhoods were given a lower rating were not uncommon across the United States.[4] In the case of the Jewish population in Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester, the three areas were marked yellow as C9, C10, and C11 respectively in HOLC reports, despite their good standing in public infrastructure and housing prices.[5] These reports relegated Jews to a secondary citizen class.

According to the HOLC, Mattapan was an affluent neighborhood with an average annual income between "$3000-$6000." According to a report created by the HOLC, it was "considered [a] high class Jewish section with good transportation, schools, shopping centers, [and it was] near Franklin Park with free facilities." A neighborhood with an average income higher than most B-rated area was classified as C11, the reason for this being that "this area has been predominantly Jewish for several years and market is now limited to this buyer [and] mortgage funds are limited

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[3] Robert K. Nelson, LaDale Winling, Richard Marciano, Nathan Connolly, et al., "Mapping Inequality," *American Panorama*, ed. Robert K. Nelson and Edward L. Ayers, accessed May 6, 2021, https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=5/39.1/-94.58&text=intro.

[4] Nelson et al., "Mapping Inequality."

[5] As HOLC resources later reveal, all three neighborhoods were considered part of Dorchester while being independent neighborhoods. To avoid confusion, the three neighborhoods, in the context of HOLC maps and later resources, should be viewed as an entity as the Jewish majority neighborhoods in Dorchester. The paper does not intend to draw distinctions between the three neighborhoods because the complexion is not conducive to understanding the primary resources and undermines the emphasis on dislodgement. If interested in the specifics of Jews' demographics in relation to other racial groups in each neighborhood for more context, suggestions for reference include Isaac Fein, *Boston — Where It All Began: A Historical Perspective of the Boston Jewish Community* (Boston, Massachusetts: Boston Jewish Bicentennial Committee), 1976, and Gerald Gamm, *Urban Exodus: Why the Jews Left Boston and the Catholics Stayed*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press), 2001.

because of occupants but financing is no problem on sales."[6] The report reflects the kind of language that was prevalent throughout the HOLC reports as mentioned: while financing, facilities, and housing prices were not an issue—and the average income was on the higher side—the neighborhood was considered "definitely declining" from the perspective of white HOLC staff members on the ground that Jews were inharmonious due to their culture and perceived secondary whiteness. Such a concept was present in the other two reports as well.

Roxbury and Dorchester, areas C10 and C9 respectively, presented a similar story. According to the HOLC report, Roxbury had "good transportation, schools, churches, etc. [and it was] adjacent to Franklin Park with free facilities." However, the area had an "infiltration" of Jewish people.[7] Dorchester, area C9, had "desirable section of good houses with all conveniences [and] rapid transit" with average income between "$2,000-$5,000." The report even said that "the entire area enjoys a fairly good reputation locally." It was rated C: it had an infiltration of "Jewish threatening."[8] Noticeably, there was a B-rated area inside Dorchester with similar income and terrain. The only difference, however, was a white population without Jewish presence.[9] In these reports, terms such as "infiltration" perpetuated a negative connotation that treated Jewish people as secondary citizens, if not altogether foreigners. Stating that Jews infiltrated areas of Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester facilitated the conception that Jews were enemies who invaded these areas in Boston and needed to be pushed out. These reports stated an obvious preference for the Anglo-white population by prioritizing their mortgage security. In this light, the ratings were not given fairly by the standard of the estates' quality, but by the ethnic group dwelling in the area, which is crucial to the understanding of buffer zones.

Recent reports done by the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago on the effects of HOLC maps analyzed the fallout of rating neighborhoods as C, "definitely declining". C-rated areas, often established between B- and D-rated areas, served as buffer areas in case of "Negroes infiltration." When Black integration took place in the late 1960s, C-rated areas were the first to experience integration. According to the report, there was a steady increase in the segregation gap from 1930

[6] HOLC "Area Description" report for C-11, Boston-Dorchester (1938), in Robert K. Nelson, LaDale Winling, Richard Marciano, Nathan Connolly, et al., "Mapping Inequality," *American Panorama*, ed. Robert K. Nelson and Edward L. Ayers, accessed May 6, 2021, https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=5/39.1/-94.58&text=downloads.
[7] HOLC report for C-10, Boston-Dorchester.
[8] HOLC report for C-9, Boston-Dorchester.
[9] HOLC report for B-8, Boston-Dorchester.

until about 1970 or 1980 before declining thereafter. The timeline fits the context of the Jewish dislodgement at the end of the 1960s when Black neighborhoods started to shift. While Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester had 0% Black population in the 1930s, these neighborhoods experienced drastic changes in the late 1960s, transitioning into Black majority areas. The report also stated that "D areas, [usually Black neighborhoods,] became more segregated than nearby C-rated areas over the 20th century. There is a striking similar pattern between the C-rated areas that bordered B-rated areas as well, where "there were virtually no black residents in either neighborhood type prior to the maps."[10] This further backs up the fact that in the case of Jews living in Mattapan, Dorchester, and Roxbury, their neighborhoods were chosen by the federal organization for gradual integration throughout the middle of the 20th century. In this sense, these three areas were used as buffer areas between D- and B-rated areas to prevent African Americans from moving directly into B-rated areas.

How did the integration come about? It is essential to first note that, different from how later newspapers would simply refer to the Jewish population as 'white' in many instances, the HOLC maps identified Jewish people as comprising a lower-grade white population. The setup of maps—making Jewish neighborhoods C-rated buffer areas separating white and Black Americans—was the first step in turning Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester into Black-majority neighborhoods. What later expedited such a process was an inconsiderate local program called B-BURG.

B-BURG

Boston Banks Urban Renewal Groups (B-BURG) launched their program with an intent that stemmed from a federal policy called the Federal Urban Renewal Program. The Federal Urban Renewal Program, first started in the 1950s, was aimed towards eliminating slums and ghettos and replacing them with improved housing and developed areas for low-income families. Despite its well-intentioned appearance, B-BURG had various devastating effects on cities across the United States. In many areas, it was "a program that enabled local officials to simply clear out Black neighborhoods." James Baldwin, a director who visited San Francisco in 1963 on his journey to film a documentary about racism, commented on the program after interviews with Black residents

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[10] Daniel Aaronson et al. "The effects of the 1930s HOLC 'redlining' maps" (Working Paper, No. 2017-12., Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, 2017), 5.

in the area: "Urban Renewal means 'Negro Removal.'" [11] In the age of the civil rights movement, the federal government unleashed this program that worked against the people it was supposed to protect.

In Mattapan, Dorchester, and Roxbury, this program worked not only against the Black population in Boston, but also against the Jews. When the federal program began, many bankers formed a local consortium and announced the B-BURG program. For bankers, Mattapan, Dorchester, and Roxbury were an opportunity to respond to the racial crisis of the 60s and display their good citizenship without taking on much risk themselves. Their approaches, however, were highly problematic.

B-BURG, an alliance of 22 saving institutions, was established in 1962 and remained relatively inactive for its first five years. Roughly $1 million dollars of loans were distributed to help finance home rehabilitation in Roxbury's Washington Park area. It was not until 1968 and 1969 that it gained immense impetus from Boston mayor Kevin White. In a report done by the *Boston Globe*, between August and October of 1969 alone $3 million worth of home loans were distributed by B-BURG. More than $2 million in home loans were distributed between November and December of the same year. At the year's end, applications amounted to $3.57 million in total for the beginning of the next year. At the end of the report, it was asked: "are these men being charitable?" The response from B-BURG representative was this: "there's no gamble of our dispositor's money involved…the Federal government is assuming the social risk."[12]

[11] Brent Cebul, "Tearing Down Black America," *Boston Review*, July 22, 2020. http://bostonreview.net/race/brent-cebul-tearing-down-black-america.

[12] Peter B. Greenough, "BBURG spells home loans for Hub blacks," *Boston Globe,* January 31,1969. https://www.newspapers.com/image/434635515/?terms=BBURG%20spells%20home%20loans&match=1.
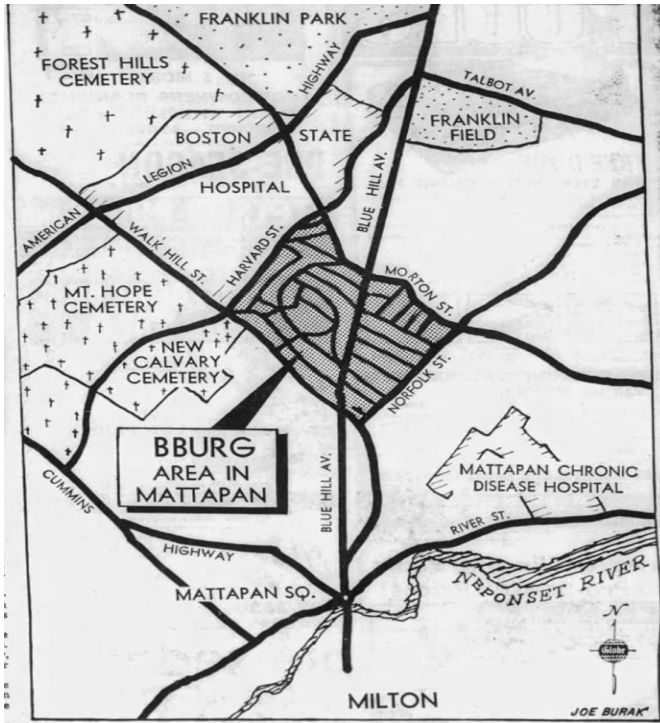
Figure 1. *BBURG AREA IN MATTAPAN*. Photographs in "In Mattapan…BBURG Line," *Boston Globe*, April 7, 1972. B-BURG's efforts lapped over all three areas of Dorchester, Roxbury, and Mattapan. Through a collective effort of B-BURG, the line was drawn running from the South End, through Roxbury and part of Dorchester, into Mattapan.

Behind the seemingly proud achievement and quick growth in loans given out was the beginning of the destruction of Jewish neighborhoods. This was not done by bankers, mayor Kevin White, and federal support alone; real estate agents' blockbusting efforts were the main drive. [13]

In retrospect to the detrimental effects of B-BURG, federal official James J. Barry from HUD (U.S. Housing Department of Housing and Urban Development) commented: there was the "notable exception of predominantly Jewish neighborhoods in Mattapan-Dorchester, most of Boston's white ethnic neighborhoods remained outside the line…. the drawing of the line by banks acted as a catalyst to activate the fears and prejudices and inevitably created a fertile ground for unscrupulous realtors." [14] Although it is possible that the commentary was an attempt by the

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[13] Blockbusting will be explained in detail in the next section. In short, blockbusting happened across the U.S. as real estate agencies made easy, lucrative profits off fear. Realtors spread fear as they set up the illusion that many Black residents were moving into the area; they went as far as breaking into others' properties to reflect the sharp decrease in security in the area. It was noted in "Confession of a Blockbuster," *Metropolitan Real Estate Journal*, May 1987.
[14] Kevin Hartnett, "HUD official tells of Boston Blockbusting," *Boston Globe*, April 9,1972. https://www.newspapers.com/image/435263310/?terms=HUD%20official%20tells%20of%20Boston%20Blockbusting&match=1.

federal official to evade responsibility for the Federal Urban Renewal Program, other parties involved shared similar notions that B-BURG's line and realtor practices targeted Jewish neighborhoods.

Janice Bernstein, a Mattapan resident, recalled hearing about B-BURG from a *Boston Globe* article done by Peter Greenough in 1968 and wrote that blockbusting had already begun then, with rumors flying as early as 1967.[15] Carl Erickson, vice president of the Suffolk Franklin Savings Bank that headed BBURG, defended the planning as "purely a matter of economics." "The lines were arbitrary," Erickson further explained, "and not designed to avoid Italian and Irish neighborhoods where resistance to blacks as neighbors could arise."[16] The Mattapan Organization (TMO), primarily comprised of Jews and Catholics with a five percent minority of Black people, had been trying to address the issues by organizing residents and frequently calling to inform them that TMO could stop the blockbusting campaign in 1968. The Real Estate Licensing Board, nonetheless, told the residents that there was no law against blockbusting. [17] B-BURG was certainly conducive to the blockbusting that drove out many of the Jewish residents of Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester. There was a lack of control on realtors' behaviors at the federal level, which is crucial to understanding the extensiveness of the blockbusting.

What is blockbusting? How did it get out of hand? Contrary to the good intentions of B-BURG, blockbusting was the main drive behind the dislodgement of Jewish residents.

Blockbusting

In *The Color of Law*, Richard Rothstein introduces blockbusting as an activity in which profiteering real estate agents spread fear of "Negro invasion" in hope that white homeowners would succumb to the scaremongering and sell the estate at discounted price to speculators. The realtors would aim to persuade white families that their neighborhoods were becoming African American slums by "making random telephone calls to residents of white neighborhoods and asking to speak to someone with a stereotypically African American name like 'Johnnie Mae'" or

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[15] Janice Bernstein, "Crisis in Mattapan—an Inside view", *Boston Globe,* April 25,1972. https://www.newspapers.com/image/435244377/?terms=Crisis%20in%20Mattapan%E2%80%94an%20Inside%20view&match=1.
[16] "The BBURG Line in Mattapan", *Boston Globe*, April 5, 1972. https://www.newspapers.com/image/435239649/?terms=The%20BBURG%20Line%20in%20Mattapan&match=1
[17] Bernstein, "Crisis in Mattapan."

arranging "house burglaries in white communities to scare neighbors into believing that their communities were becoming unsafe." [18] This strengthened the white supremacist sentiment that African-American integration would cause devaluation and safety hazards. As white owners sold their estates at discounted prices, African-Americans purchased estates at an inflated price due to their high demand for good housing that the market failed to initially supply.

Blockbusting occurred across the U.S. as real estate agencies made easy, lucrative profits off of fear. This was certainly the case in Mattapan, Dorchester, and Roxbury, though the blockbusting story here was a bit different due to additional bank redlining. In an anonymous trade journal from May 1987, the writer offers the details of how he sold Mattapan, Dorchester, and Roxbury estates in the late 1960s. He became friends with some real estate agents while looking for a property in Dorchester, and his friends asked him to join them as "[he] can make ton of money [off blockbusting]." His friends explained that the bank had planned to find an area where minorities were going to be financed and even get a house with no money down.[19] There were many clients, and River Street in Mattapan was the prime target. While the bank drew strict lines as to where it had planned to launch campaigns to aid minorities, real estate agents decided to expand the area. The writer was told that as long as they scared the residents, they could get any listing they wanted. Real estate agents "had fun" and even competed in the kinds of "outlandish threats" they could make people believe in. The realtors described the threats that they made through phone calls:

> Some of the milder things were: property values are going down, you're going to get a thousand dollars less next month than this. Market values really didn't decline that much. They did decline slightly, but the thousand dollars a month, or whatever figure you picked — that was something you pulled out of the air...We weren't subtle about it. You'd say, how would you like it if they rape your daughter, and you've got a mulatto grandchild? I remember one particular family where this little girl was about twelve years old and blonde, she was a very pretty little kid. And I used that on them, and it did sway them. They sure as hell sold! I even used it once on a son, the little boy would get raped. Whatever worked, I would try to use… There were instances of housebreaks that were arranged only to scare people out. That was the worst.[20]

[18] Rothstein, *The Color of Law*, 25, 156-7.

[19] "Confession of a Blockbuster," *Metropolitan Real Estate Journal*, May, 1987, in *The Death of an American Jewish Community: A Tragedy of Good Intentions*, ed. Hill Levine (Lexington, Massachusetts: Plunkett Lake Press, 2012), 3, Kindle Edition. This is in the context of the 1960s Civil Rights movement and the Boston Bank's B-BURG program that meant to help minorities. Numerous amounts of loans with federal support caused this phenomenon.

[20] Lawrence Harmon and Hillel Levine, *The Death of an American Jewish Community: A Tragedy of Good Intentions* ((Lexington, Massachusetts: Plunkett Lake Press, 2012), 4, Kindle Edition.

Nobody was arrested for these actions. In the writer's opinion, the sellers they hurt "asked for it" because they were bigoted and ran from the house on their own terms, writing that "the whole areas [in Mattapan] went from white to black in a matter of month."[21] Realtors, in response to the B-BURG program, sold properties to buyers who did not need to put any money down for the estates, and they utilized residents' fear for safety and their children to prompt them to move. They had been able to make exorbitant profits not only on speculation, but also on commissions from the bank on the sales of almost entire neighborhoods.

What came after blockbusting were complex sentiments surrounding the issue of integration. Local media such as the *Boston Globe* published various reports covering the blockbusting and the complex sentiments, dedicating pages to the housing issues in Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester. One article addressed the instability in neighborhoods due to the increasing numbers of "Negros" in comparison to the neighborhoods in 1960, twice the number in Dorchester (23,107 as to 10,968) and triple the number in Mattapan (54 as to 145). Such statistics indicated to instability and change: "once again, the old fears and prejudices are renewed," the article stated, "change has meant racial incidents—a fight on Lucerne St., shotgun blasts fired through the windows of a Hamilton St. home occupied by Negroes, a fight on Washington St."[22] Racial tensions started to occur between Jews and African-Americans. In this article, Jews targeted their African-American neighbors due to racially-constructed fear that the integration of African-Americans would turn their neighborhoods into slums. That, nevertheless, was not the full picture.

Contrary to the panic-induced attacks from racist Jews reported in the article, many Jews showed understanding towards African-Americans' need for good housing and blamed realtors and their racist neighbors for the issues. In another article, Mark Israel, a Jewish Community Council staffer, noticed that "when a Negro moves into a street, certain real estate agents will simply call everyone on the street and ask if they want to sell their houses…[there were] a couple of cases where whites wanted to buy and were discouraged…[the councils] are sure going to try to stp this practice in Mattapan."[23] Another article interviewed a couple people from Jewish organizations, who did not fear the fact that more Blacks were moving in as much as they feared

[21]Ibid.
[22] "Dorchester and Mattapan: A Historical Area in Midst of Change," *Boston Globe,* August 3, 1967. https://www.newspapers.com/image/433984722/?terms=Dorchester%20and%20Mattapan&match=1.
[23] "HOUSING PROJECTS," *Boston Globe*, August 3, 1967.
https://www.newspapers.com/image/433984722/?terms=Dorchester%20and%20Mattapan&match=1.

their white neighbors who sold low and "might leave them holding a bag in a Negro ghetto."[24] At its core, blockbusting was an admitted issue, and many Jews formed Jewish organizations for the purpose of protecting property values and fighting against panic selling rather than rejecting Black people from moving in. The most overt effect, nonetheless, was the growing racial tension between Jews and African-Americans. Conflicts gradually erupted into violent crimes that damaged the livelihoods of most in the Jewish neighborhoods.

Violent Crimes

Frequent crimes in the neighborhoods contributed to the dislodgement of many who were incapable or unwilling to move out of Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester. Before the violent crimes of the late 1960s, small skirmishes and signs of Anti-Semitism were not unfamiliar to the Jewish residents. In the early 20th century, there was an undercurrent of Anti-Semitism as tensions grew between Jews and Catholics. In the 1940s, Rev. Charles Coughlin broadcast his hateful messages on a nationally-syndicated radio program, urging his listeners to support "a Christian front" and fight against the tragedies of incorporating [Jews] in public and semipublic institutions.[25] The statement garnered national attention and partially reflected factions in America that did consider Jews to be a lower grade of white, akin to the HOLC maps. In the case of Mattapan, Dorchester, and Roxbury, the Jewish residential area's neighbors were often Irish. Irish youth often displayed vehement contempt towards Jews in Dorchester and Roxbury, viewing them as "Christ killers." Interviews with Jewish youth in the 1940s and 1950s revealed gang fights between the two groups, and organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith recorded the many assaults that sometimes involved more than 100 youths fighting pitched battles.[26] With an Irish majority in the Boston Police Department, fights in which Jews prevailed often resulted in court appearances and arraignments. These little skirmishes sometimes also implicated the elderly, middle-aged people, and even children. Such hostility was a consistent

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[24] "Mattapan Neighbors Unite to Combat Race Panic," *Boston Globe*, September 15 , 1967. https://www.newspapers.com/image/433983385/?terms=Mattapan%20Neighbors%20Unite%20to%20Combat%20Race%20Panic%2C%22&match=1.
[25] "PRIEST LOOM," *The Cincinnati Enquirer,* Jan 29, 1940. https://www.newspapers.com/image/103444110/.
[26] Internal memo from I. Zack, April 21, 1951, archives of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, in *The Death of an American Jewish Community: A Tragedy of Good Intentions*, ed. Hill Levine (Lexington, Massachusetts: Plunkett Lake Press, 2012), 21, Kindle Edition.

phenomenon throughout the 20th century until the complete disappearance of Jewish neighborhoods in the Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester areas.

In the late 1960s, most of the tension centered around conflicts between Jews and African-Americans. In addition to the Anti-Semitism in the city, the fast integration of African-Americans into the Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester neighborhoods a result of realtors' blockbusting led to anger on both sides. Some racist Jews panicked and attacked a few African-American residences. Local media reported that apartments were often "jacked up," and those who weren't paying high rents were relegated to living in the filthiest housing conditions by irresponsible realtors and slumlords. "There [was] anger at 'Whitey'('They stand there like they own the streets') and at the landlords('we are at their mercy')."[27] Aside from the obvious racial tensions, there were also attempts to deescalate the tensions from both sides. African-American tenants protested peacefully outside of the infamous slumlord Israel Mindick's house on account of the filthy, hazardous conditions of his estates. Local Jewish leaders responded by trying Mindick at the rabbinic court to pressure him into agreeing to the tenants' demands. The Mindicks backed down and sold the estates to the Boston Redevelopment Authority, which placed them under the control of the South End Tenants Council for management and repair.[28] Violence, however, still pervaded in spite of such pacification efforts.

Frequent, life-threatening crimes occurred in the Jewish neighborhoods of Mattapan, Dorchester, and Roxbury. In most of the events in which Jews were victims, the assailants were Black radicals. Mugging of Jews occurred almost daily. A *Boston Globe* article gave a detailed description of the frequency and severity of the assaults in 1969: there were shootings, and acid had been thrown onto a rabbi around the same time as the integration occurred. Thirty elderly Jews were assaulted on average every week. Residents avoided attending morning or evening services, and everyone was on guard. [29] The Anti-Semitism got the most out of hand in 1970, with the burning of two Dorchester synagogues—Congregation Chevra Shas and Congregation Agadath Israel— in which Holy scriptures that Jews deemed as important as their lives were burned. Rabbi Goldberg said vandalism had occurred in the past, with "window after window being broken" and

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[27] "HOUSING PROJECTS," *Boston Globe*.

[28] Levine, *The Death of an American Jewish Community*, 190-2.

[29] "Attacks upon Elderly Spur Mattapan Action*". Boston Globe*, November 26, 1969. https://www.newspapers.com/image/435195278/?terms=Attacks%20upon%20Elderly%20Spur%20Mattapan%20Action&match=1.

a "small fire set in the back yard." The burnings were viewed by the Jewish community as "a 'part of a pattern' and a continuation of a campaign to scare the Jewish residents out of the area."[30] This shocked the community, prompting various organizations such as the Jewish Defense League, Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Boston, and Anti-Defamation League got involved to ask for preventative programs in the future. The Jewish Defense League called for $50,000 in funds for guards in Jewish neighborhoods. Police canine patrols became a familiar sight. Jewish agencies arranged a host of services for residents in Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester to diffuse the tension and to help those who wished to move out of the neighborhood.[31] Despite these efforts, reports of assaults were numerous. Arsons continued. A woman in her 60s who was unable to move out was a victim of no less than 10 incidents, one of which included her being beaten up in her own apartment.[32] When Soviet dissident Boris Kochubievsky visited Boston and gave a speech in appreciation of the American Jews before thousands of listeners in May 1972, he addressed the violence by stating "even in Soviet Union, Jews are not afraid to walk on the streets in their own neighborhoods after dark."[33]

Finally, in October 1972, *Boston Globe* writer Mark Mursky declared that "the end has come for the Jews in Dorchester."[34] The violence Rothstein mentions in the book *The Color of Law* that whites inflicted on new Black residents in hope of expelling them did happen as well in Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester. Although this paper does not intend to extensively cover this violence, violence from both sides did occur.[35] Nonetheless, when fast integration took place in a

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[30] Alan Sheehan, "Jews Claim Temple Fires Plot to Drive Them Out." *Boston Globe*, May 28, 1970. https://www.newspapers.com/image/435344670/?terms=Jews%20Claim%20Temple%20Fires%20Plot%20to%20Drive%20Them%20Out&match=1. There was a complex nature to the different Jewish groups in how to help their coreligionists in Mattapan, Dorchester, and Mattapan. The inactions of some Jewish groups will be mentioned in later section to be further discussed.

[31] George Collins, "Jewish Groups Hope to Heal Splits in Urban America," *Boston Globe*, December 5, 1970, https://www.newspapers.com/image/435193078/?terms=Jewish%20Groups%20Hope%20to%20Heal%20Splits%20in%20Urban%20America&match=1.

[32] Leo Shapiro, "Center Deals with Jews' Problems," *Boston Globe*, July 10, 1970. https://www.newspapers.com/image/435449618/?terms=Center%20Deals%20with%20Jews%27%20Problems&match=1.

[33] Levine, *The Death of an American Jewish Community*, 322.

[34] Mark Mursky, "Synagogues of Dorchester" *Boston Globe*, October 22, 1972. https://www.newspapers.com/image/436322091/?terms=the%20end%20has%20come%20for%20the%20Jews%20in%20Dorchester&match=1.

[35] There were many accounts as well of white violence towards Blacks. For example, the anonymous writer in his "Confession of a Blockbuster "in *the Metropolitan Real Estate Journal* mentioned how the Black family next to him were stoned every night by white teenagers.

traditionally-rooted neighborhood, Jews suffered from a high level of violence despite their white skin color.

It is important to note that violent crimes were not the only contributing factors to the dislogement. Year later, in retrospect to the violent crimes and hostility, Jonathan Kaufman wrote in his book *Broken Alliance*: "the city is polarized beyond hope… the Jew is the weakest link in the white chain and the black militant knows that few-Jew are concerned with Jew's plight…so now most Jewish neighborhoods are integrated, and the militant blacks there practice terror, extortion, and violence."[36] While Jonathan Kaufman's commentary was not wrong in the discussion of the binary between Jews and Black militants, one must bear in mind that Black leaders strictly opposed the behaviors of the Black radicals, and among the Jews there were established wealthy Jewry and infamous slumlords who oppressed their tenants. Considering the issues in Mattapan, Dorchester, and Roxbury, the Jew's plight and eventual dislodgement was also caused by the inactivity of established Jewry.

The Abandonment from Established Jewry

If the established Jewry had paid closer attention and took active measures to protect their coreligionists, the dislodgement may have been prevented from happening. Jews were not without influence in 20th century Boston. In fact, the areas of Mattapan, Dorchester, and Roxbury alone saw the emergence of John F. Fitzgerald, a U.S. representative and mayor of Boston who was also the grandfather of U.S. President John F. Kennedy, Julius Ansel, a member of the Massachusetts House of Representative as well as the Massachusetts State Senate, and John B. Hayes, a Boston mayor—all of whom were Jews. The residents of Mattapan, Dorchester, and Roxbury felt a strong connection to the neighborhoods with a "part of the pride [that was] deeply rooted in a long history of political consciousness."[37]

Jews had powerful connections through various organizations in Boston and across the U.S. One major power center was the Associated Jewish Philanthropies—called "the federation". The federation, first founded in Boston by German Jews, served as a model for later Jewish developments in Chicago, Detroit, New York, and Philadelphia. In the 1910s, about twenty-five

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[36] Jonathan Kaufman, *Broken Alliance: The Turbulent Times Between Blacks and Jews in America* (New York: Scribner's, 1988), 157, quoted in Hill Levine, *The Death of an American Jewish Community: A Tragedy of Good Intentions* (Lexington, Massachusetts: Plunkett Lake Press, 2012), 256, Kindle Edition.
[37] "HOUSING PROJECTS," *Boston Globe*.

local federations operated in the United States. In the case of Boston, the federation boasted itself as a center of educational, cultural, overseas, and defense needs of Jews.[38] In the 1970s, *Boston Globe* posted an article titled "200 agencies in 66 communities help million people," most of which were Jewish organizations. Yet, when the traditional neighborhoods that gave birth to Jewish leaderships and played a vital role in Jewish power dynamics in Boston faced difficulties on the federal and local levels with the ramifications of violent crimes, blockbusting, and BBURG, many of those with power and wealth chose to flee rather than facing the issues upfront.

The main reason was the layered social structure within the Jewish community. The residents of Dorchester, Roxbury, and Mattapan at the end of the 1960s consisted of a large population of working-class Russian Jews instead of the mostly wealthy and well-do-to German Jews, who, in the 1960s, mostly dwelled in leafy suburbs such as Brookline. Dorchester Jews had to contribute to the federation and the campaign while being well aware that they would not be welcome on the federation's leadership committees. Dorchester residents had their own standards for status locally with membership at, for instance, King Solomon Lodge of B'nai B'rith where members rejected unfair landlords. There were multiple layers of division within the minority group that made it easier for community members capable of making change to simply look the other way.

The story of Levine Weinstein can provide further insights as to the ultimate avoidance of problems from Jewish elites, as he projected the Blacks' takeover of Jewish neighborhoods in 1951. In 1951, Weinstein successfully convinced leaders of the federation to relocate Hebrew College from traditional Roxbury to the western suburb of Brookline. Speaking of the reasons, he has suggested that "by virtue of the fact that blacks and Jews lived in contiguous areas throughout much of the northeast and because Jews related so easily to the problems of other embattled ethnic groups, it was naturally assumed that black would take over Jewish neighborhoods." Weinstein predicted the displacement of Jews in 1951 and presented his projections for the population make-up in 1957: "based on my experience in the national area," Weinstein said, citing his experience in heading a study team on the changing neighborhoods in the United States, "I can tell you that [Roxbury] will be almost 100 percent black in five years."[39] His projection was not wholly accurate

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[38] Daniel Elazar, *Community and Polity: The Organizational Dynamics of American Jewry* (Philadelphia PA: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1976), 33.

[39] Interview with Lewis Weinstein, December 18, 1987, in *The Death of an American Jewish Community: A Tragedy of Good Intentions*, ed. Hill Levine (Plunket Late Press, 2012), 53.

in retrospect, though it did eventually come to pass. Nevertheless, Weinstein's story exemplifies the general notion that Jewish elites were readily complacent with conventional thinking that the integration of African-Americans would cause destruction in Jewish neighborhoods. They expected Jewish residents to move away without considering the actual financial and moving capabilities of their less-to-do coreligionists under such a self-fulfilling prophecy. Given the attitudes of Jewish leaders reflected in Weinstein's story, the various approaches that the leaders took in light of violent crimes, blockbusting, and B-Burg could be summarized into one sentence by Norman Leventhal, the founder of the Beacon company and a former Jewish federation president: "by its own admission, the Jewish leadership generally had one single-track policy: 'urging the Jews to get the hell out of [Mattapan, Dorchester, and Roxbury] as quickly as they could.'"[40] Since the leaders already saw projections of integration and had made preparations to leave years before, their policy was a reflection of their "succession theory" that did not consider those who were unable to move.

Under the guise of suburbanization and "succession theory," the relocation of some of the well-to-do was underway long before the intense change in 1968.[41] An article from the *Boston Globe* reported that with "2500 out of 70,000 Jewish families left," "the death of Jewish mother neighborhood in Roxbury-Dorchester is attributed to the coming of age of the second and third generation…and to the expansion of suburban housing and school systems."[42] It showed the readily moving community under the idea of the "succession theory," but the successful were not the only ones in the community in the mother neighborhood.

For those who were unable to move, the difficulties they experienced were reflected in local reports. While there was an "exodus not only of the young people but by the disappearances of institutions, stores, centers, and synagogues," "only a small percentage…can be moved without difficulty [to new neighborhoods]." Jewish support services were always needed: moving was

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[40] Interview with Norman Leventhal, March 29, 1988, in *The Death of an American Jewish Community: A Tragedy of Good Intentions*, ed. Hill Levine (Plunket Late Press, 2012), 318.
[41] Succession theory is explained in Weinstein, *the Death of an American Jewish Community*. It is a theory that accounts for changing neighborhoods: it was natural for Jews, now they have broken into new social bastions, to find inconsistencies with their success and the fact that they were still residing an inner-city ethnic neighborhood. As a result, those who could escape did, selling estates to Blacks, and those who stayed had particular interests in mind, mostly slumlords and shopkeepers.
[42] Laura Halbrow,"Religion in a Changing City – I: Jewish Community Exodus Leaves Temples Deserted," *Boston Globe,* February 7,1967. https://www.newspapers.com/image/433970894/?terms=Jewish%20Community%20Exodus%20Leaves%20Temple s%20Deserted&match=1.

lethal for elders, and new apartments might not be safe. Although many did not want to leave their neighborhoods for reasons of nostalgia and health, the Associated Jewish Community Council and Jewish Philanthropies—following the one-track policy cited by Norman Leventhal—were focused on helping Jews to move away. [43]

Yet, worse than the passive approach Jewish organizations took to address the problems was the seeming invisibility of the suffering in Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester to the elites and young intellectuals. When the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds were scheduled to meet with the arrivals of Jewish leaders across the country in 1969, the request from members to address the concerns of the Renewal Plan was rejected. Hillel Levine, a Jewish Harvard faculty member, fought arduously for increasing funding for Jewish education but at the same time was completely unaware of the problems in Dorchester and Mattapan. When one of his students told Levine about Dorchester and Mattapan, Levine was confused: "Dorchester and Mattapan? Wasn't that part of Boston, somewhere?"[44] This showed the general lack of awareness of many Jewish elites in Boston to the gravity of the neighborhood changes in Mattapan, Dorchester, and Roxbury. The center of their world was in their new, affluent neighborhoods in Brookline.

In hindsight, many criticized the lack of "sophistication" and "aggressiveness" of Jewish leaders' responses. Norman Leventhal attacked the inability of Jewish leaders to solve the issues in the mother neighborhood. Levine wrote a book partially to point out the responsibility and complex nature of Jewish leadership. The lack of effort of Jewish leaders to resolving the predicament of their coreligionists was to many a contributing factor to the rapid, lethal dislodgement of Jewish neighborhoods.

Conclusion

Rabbi Samuel Kroff angrily challenged historians in memory of the death of his congregant Shumrack in some of the last existing areas of Jewish living space in Mattapan in 1973, asking "How was it possible for a Jewish community of 40,000 soul [in Mattapan] to be emptied in the

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[43] Shapiro, "Center Deals with Jews' Problems."
[44] Levine, *Death of an American Jewish Community*, 251.

course of two years and how much crime was concentrated in the short space of 40 blocks?" [45] The short time span it took for Jewish neighborhoods to change was the same across the areas of Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester. Neighborhoods that had been the center of living for half a century had almost completely disappeared by the early 1970s, whereas drastic change had only started in 1968.

Rabbi Samuel Kroff's question was a hard one to answer. In conclusion, HOLC maps marked Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester as "definitely declining," which set them up as prime targets to be replaced by federal urban renewal program through local consortiums such as B-BURG. B-BURG's line ran through central Jewish neighborhoods; the banks' willingness to give loans to low-income groups gave realtors the ability to sell estates with virtually no down payments. Free from stringent regulations, the realtors used blockbusting schemes in Jewish neighborhoods in Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester. While blockbusting resulted in fast African-American integration into the neighborhoods, escalation grew between Jewish residents and their new neighbors: the long-time Anti-Semitic sentiment in the area combined with Black radical attacks against racist Jews and oppressive slumlords. Frequent violent crimes took place. The lack of proactivity from Jewish leaders left poor, elder, and nostalgic Jews with no option but to be forced out of their neighborhoods. In this situation, the source of the problems that dislodged Jewish neighborhoods was the HOLC maps that saw Jews as a lower grade of white. These maps then led to B-BURG, which incited blockbusting. Blockbusting escalated conflicts between Jews and African-Americans. The apathy from Established Jewry to the violent crimes in Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester completed the dislodgement.

Such a story offers a new approach to 'white flight'. Despite their skin color, HOLC maps associated Jews with terms such as 'infiltration' and 'foreign.' In fact, research in the past has reflected a hierarchy of nationalities and races in real estate texts. From the most desirable to least desirable, the list places the likes of English, Germans, Scots, Irish, and North Italians at the top and ranks Russian Jews, South Italians, African-Americans, and Mexicans at the bottom. [46] When 'white flight' occurred, the reality was not as simple as the apparent explanation that the racist,

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[45] Leo Shapiro, "Murder Victim Eulogized: Synagogue Was His Home," *Boston Globe*, March 21, 1973. https://www.newspapers.com/image/435902644/?terms=Victim%20Eulogized%3A%20Synagogue%20Was%20His %20Home&match=1.

[46] Charles Abraham*, Forbidden Neighbors: A Study of Prejudice in Housing*, (New York: Harper and Bros., 1955), 161.

profit-driven white residents panickily sold their houses under the belief that African-American integration equated to property devaluation and loss of safety. It was sometimes hard for the 'white' residents to move because they were also a minority placed at the bottom of the 'white' category. In the case of Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester, white flight demonstrates a phenomenon of layered social injustice in the United States.

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Wayward Sons: The New British Masculinity in World War I

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WAYWARD SONS:

THE NEW BRITISH MASCULINITY IN WORLD WAR I

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Abstract: At the 1914 outbreak of World War I, the popular image of the British soldier had fundamentally changed from its portrait only three decades earlier. The British public and media hailed the soldier, once seen as failing in his masculine duties, as the new epitome of manhood. Such a drastic reversal suggests that the British government somehow enacted this shift in public opinion out of a need for fighters in World War I. This essay argues instead that a gendered shift was in fact already taking place through the mid- to late-19th century, nudged on by the development of the British empire and European social sciences. Wartime propaganda reflected this shift and used it recruitment purposes. Themes of imperialism and Social Darwinism which appear in propaganda posters are consistent with the evolving public image of soldiers in the decades before the war. The documents and artwork of these years depict a soldier who was productive, protective and primal, all of which we find in the transition from Victorian to Edwardian Britain. Propaganda emasculated civilians who did not fit their narrative, specifically conscientious objectors, while underplaying or censoring the stories of soldiers who challenged it. Thus Britain seized on already shifting trends to weaponize masculinity as a recruitment tactic and motivator in the war.

Introduction

In the 1880s, British novelist Flora Thompson, writing about her childhood in rural England, said that any neighborhood boy joining the army risked committing "social suicide."[2] This fact is surprising on its own by most modern standards. Whatever opinions a person has about war as an occupation, few individuals would describe soldiers as less of a man than their civilian counterparts. Especially considering the mania surrounding enlistment and masculinity that lay only 30 years down the road, Victorian Britain's attitude towards the army is confounding. What did Thompson think at the dawn of the Great War, as those same local boys flocked to recruitment offices? To what did she attribute this change in her country in 1914? One standout reason might have been the barrage of propaganda launched by the British government and tightly-controlled

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[2] W. J. Reader, *At Duty's Call: A Study in Obsolete Patriotism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 58.

media. State institutions poured unprecedented energy into getting boys in uniform. On every street corner and in every pack of cigarettes, they implored, "Britons… Join Your Country's Army!"[3] It is easy to believe that this iconic propaganda campaign mobilized the men of Britain on its own. In reality, however, the war overlapped with a quieter but equally as powerful evolution of British masculinity and patriotism.

This paper will compare the ideal man depicted in British propaganda to the lived experiences of British men at home and abroad. It will show that British institutions did not create a new connection between military and manhood in order to boost recruitment, although they certainly capitalized on it. Developments of the late nineteenth century, including an expanding empire and a new science of natural selection, blended with old masculine ideas to reinvent the soldier as a manly icon. Each of these forces shaped the promises of manhood employed in British propaganda, including motifs of adventure, physical and ethnic superiority, and team identity. Meanwhile, propaganda emasculated men who defied these definitions, specifically conscientious objectors, even though few soldiers even remotely resembled the larger-than-life portraits being painted of them back home. Collectively, these points will demonstrate the centrality of the new masculine ideal in Britain's Great War history.

Glory and Gore

The first asterisk to this argument is a substantial one: it is not true that *all* soldiers underwent a rebranding from 1850 to 1914. Some army men never lacked prestige to begin with. Winston Churchill himself recommended the British cavalry corps for "the young man who wants to enjoy himself" between school and starting a career.[4] The difference between respectable and rejectable soldiers was one of economic class. Churchill came from nobility, a grandson of the Duke of Marlborough, and British aristocrats used the military much like the Roman senators of the republic. Wealthy young men with political ambition would become officers and serve for several years in order to win some recognition. Service provided a chance for distinction, indicating discipline and a robust physicality that elite men approved. Even those who remained in the military often got involved in politics. Meanwhile, many men in the lower classes committed

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[3] Alfred Leete, *Britons. Join Your Country's Army!,* poster, Imperial War Museum, 1918, https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/16577
[4] Reader, *At Duty's Call,* 6.

to a career of desperation with limited upward mobility. Their pay was meager, and their duties mundane. Common soldiers had a reputation as quick-tempered drunks. High recruitment among starving Irish boys demonstrates both the socioeconomic makeup of the army and its equally poor public image.[5] H. O. Arnold-Foster, the British Secretary of State for War from 1903-5, called the infantry "the last step in the downward career of a young man."[6] The public perception was, in basic terms: for a rich officer, the army was resume building, but for a poor grunt, the army was welfare.

This double standard reveals something crucial about Victorian masculinity, making it an excellent place to start analyzing how that masculinity would change. The foundation of British manhood across all social classes was providing for one's family. John Tosh has written extensively on the Victorian masculine ideal and argues from the opening sentences of his book, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, that domestic life was absolutely central for the image of masculinity. The "hard-working breadwinner" journeyed out into the city or the fields each morning, often making physical or moral sacrifices during the day in order to feed his family.[7] This role itself resulted from the Industrial Revolution, before which "most paid productive work was carried on within the home," and the whole family assisted.[8] When this arrangement changed, making men the primary if not sole source of income for the home, their financial responsibility became deeply ingrained in their sense of manhood. Thus Churchill, who used military service as a career stepping stone, was met with approval from his fellow men. A soldier who took glorified charity for unskilled labor was failing in his domestic duties.

Meanwhile, the vocation that did reconcile paternal obligations to a sense of patriotism and militancy was that of the colonial sailor. The career of a seafaring merchant grew in prestige through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A sailor's image may on the surface seem to mirror a soldier's— both occupations required strong physical bodies and strategic prowess to ensure survival in unfamiliar territory. But a man who sailed for a chartered trading company was

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[5] Reader, *At Duty's Call,* 8.
[6] Lois Bibbings, "Images of Manliness: The Portrayal of Soldiers and Conscientious Objectors in the Great War," *Social & Legal Studies* 12, no. 3 (September 2003): 338.
[7] John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 31.
[8] Tosh, *A Man's Place,* 3.

enterprising and self-sufficient, not a deadbeat. He provided a tangible service for his family. The sailor's lifestyle was "explicitly… capitalist" and therefore counted towards a breadwinning masculine ideal.[9] Certainly, the public profile of British soldiers was high during the Napoleonic Wars, when Britain felt threatened and needed a standing army. During peacetime, though, the army only served one of two roles. Either they remained on the island, making a paltry salary running drills with their company, or they were stationed in a faraway land and kept a very distant peace. Sailors existed in both worlds, departing Britain for uncharted lands and returning with wealth for their nation. They mirrored the workday commute that British heads-of-household undertook. Dawson writes that "adventure became very tightly associated with specific circumstances in which men could journey 'abroad' in search of their fortunes."[10] For this reason, sailors represented a masculine idea for Victorian Britain.

However, as the years approached 1900, two trends began precipitating a gradual renewal of the soldier's identity. The work of British social and natural scientists, for one, altered the public's understanding about Britain's relationship to the rest of the world. War and competition came to represent a benevolent struggle. By subjugating other nations with their individual and collective strength, Britain could improve its own population and humanity at large. Alongside and closely related to "survival of the fittest" was a new understanding of a man's connection to the domestic sphere. As the empire expanded, colonies generated more interest within Britain. Colonial soldiers, who had initially seemed far removed from home, were recast as protectors who provided for Britain abroad rather than in the household. They became a subject of national pride. These two trends converged in 1899 for the Second Boer War in South Africa.

New ideas about humanity's "natural" tendencies, developed by British thinkers, created a pseudoscientific mandate for British masculine domination. Thomas Malthus' *Essay on Population* framed life as a meaningful struggle for survival. He argued fundamentally that nature intended everyone to compete in order to make use of their full potential: "to urge man to further the gracious designs of Providence by the full cultivation of the earth."[11] His essay inspired a generation of scientists, including Charles Darwin, Alfred Russel Wallace and Herbert Spencer

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[9] Graham Dawson*, Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 2010)*,* 58.

[10] Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 58.

[11] Gregory Claeys, "The 'Survival of the Fittest' and the Origins of Social Darwinism." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 61, no. 2 (2000): 231.

(though only the former tends to get name-brand recognition), to build on it. They added that "this struggle *improved* species," including humanity, by passing on the best traits.[12] Out of this idea developed the perceived primacy of certain "races" and societies who would eventually dominate the world as a result of natural selection. For a Victorian, it was obvious that women were not up to this task; they needed to stay home and tend to the superior babies. It would be the British man who journeyed out into the world to prove that his lineage was the greatest. The belief caught like wildfire in Britain and spread through European countries, such that "Darwin's metaphorical application of the 'survival of the fittest' to society was in fact virtually a commonplace by 1859."[13]

Meanwhile, the demands of a growing empire rewrote social expectations for men's paternal duties. The role of provider now extended beyond the departure from and return to home as breadwinner. Colonial soldiers protected Britain's economic interests broadly by maintaining its grasp on lucrative overseas resources and trading hubs. They earned the respect and appreciation of the island as colonial economic contributions grew. Britain's fascination with these distant heroes is evident in the popularity of biographies chronicling military adventures in India and South Africa. L. J. Trotter, a British biographer and army captain, storied *The Life of John Nicholson* about a colonial brigadier more than 40 years after the man's military feats in India. It was reprinted six times "within a year of publication."[14] Additionally, for young men, the soldier embodied the thrill and fun of military adventure. Rudyard Kipling wrote extensively about India and created the character of a lovable and troublemaking young private. "Tommy," the everyman British enlistee, "was always brave, always cheerful, formidable in battle yet chivalrous and sportsmanlike."[15] Of course, Tommy did not represent all British privates. Yet the "rough, untutored, even drunken" soldier still embodied the "manly virtues" discussed above.[16] Though paid meagerly, soldiers came to be respected as adventurers who protected and provided for Britain at large. The stage was set, and the dawn of the twentieth century gave the perfect test run for the implications of this new masculinity of soldierhood.

In some ways, the 1899 beginning of the Second Boer War was Britain's Great War experience in miniature. For the first time, public opinion played a huge role. Successful attacks

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[12] Claeys, "Survival of the Fittest," 236.
[13] Claeys, "Survival of the Fittest," 234.
[14] Reader, *At Duty's Call,* 43.
[15] Reader, *At Duty's Call*, 58.
[16] Reader, *At Duty's Call*, 58.

on British troops by the South African Republic and Orange Free State deeply had wounded national pride. Over 10,500 men enlisted to fight without any propaganda posters to help them along.[17] Critically, this war made short-term military service "admirable" instead of "eccentric," opening the door for the peer pressure that defined Great War enlistment.[18] Rather than deciding a career, these boys were making the patriotic and daring choice. Colonial obsession and desire for adventure showed its influence during this war. The first diary entry of Private Walter Putland of the 2nd Middlesex Regiment reveals his fascination with the exotic: one of the first details he notes is the cheap fruit and cigars sold on the boat to Cape Town. Later on, he writes of the "grand" natural splendor of South Africa and the hospitality of the indigenous people.[19] His descriptions also hint at the Darwinian national superiority that the soldiers believed in. His writing is not necessarily derogatory but certainly patronizing, informed by racial and religious hubris. Upon arrival in Cape Town, Putland writes that the hero-worshiping welcome that met his regiment "brought tears to more than one mans [*sic*] eyes to think that people of a strange Country should treat us the way they did."[20] The first days of the Boer War validated the martial masculinity of Britain's young men, providing them with the thrill of adventure and the moral satisfaction of defending their imperial honor.

The struggle in South Africa had several important implications for the Great War. This war was Britain's first experience with volunteer soldiers on a national scale. For the first time, Britons enlisted in the military as infantrymen with no plans to make it their career.[21] Young and inexperienced boys looking for adventure volunteered even after army leadership stopped recruiting. Reader writes that a "new and strange desire… to scramble into uniform and then back out of it again as soon as the fighting stopped," swept through the island.[22] The result was a rude awakening, not only for the relatively few enlisted men who actually made it to South Africa but also for their officers. Within a few diary entries, our cavalier Private Putland starts complaining about the brutal climate and tedious labor. Men like Putland found the war to be increasingly less

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[17] Reader, *At Duty's Call,* 11.
[18] Reader, *At Duty's Call,* 15.
[19] Alan Putland, "The Personal Diary of Private Walter Putland," Dec. 2, 1899 entry. *South African Military History Society,* December 2000. http://samilitaryhistory.org/diaries/diaputld.html.
[20] Putland, "Personal Diary," Dec. 30, 1899 entry.
[21] Bibbings, "Images of Manliness," 339.
[22] Reader, *At Duty's Call,* 9.

"glamourous" as it progressed, tasked with rounding up Boer women and children for detention.[23] Meanwhile, army leadership complained about the ill-prepared and unreliable men that now fell under their command. None of this discontent got much attention in the press of the day, though. British newspapers and government addresses focused on the army's heroic defense of empire. This acquiescence, too, was a precursor for the coming conflict- why worry about a few grumbles when a celebration of victory benefitted the country at large?

Posters, Postcards, and Cigarette Boxes

In August of 1914, Lord Horatio Kitchener left his command in the Middle East to accept a post as Secretary of State for War. He was immediately tasked with raising a fighting force for the escalating conflict in mainland Europe. Unlike his peers in the British government, Kitchener had no delusions that the war would be a brief one; his first calls for volunteers required a stint of three years on active duty.[24] The war would require millions of men, and the challenge of recruiting them would require the whole weight of the British government. Kitchener was the man to do it, for he was what every young British boy now wanted to be, and recruiting efforts would reflect that. British propaganda conveniently rewrote Victorian England's domestic masculinity and doubled down on the modern notions of imperial adventure, survival of the fittest, and the lovable everyman soldier.

Certainly, fatherhood as a masculine ideal did appear in Great War propaganda. Many pieces played on a father's duty to protect their family. In one 1914 poster, published by the Underground Electric Railways Company of London, a pleading army officer points off towards some nondescript violence and urges a British father to leave his wife and baby to join the fight[25]. British propaganda often portrayed the threat to a man's family as immediate, putting the violence of mainland Europe in view of the British Isles and creeping closer. Propaganda also promised shame in the future of men who shirked their duties. A common poster format showed an inquisitive child asking, "What did you do during the war?" insinuating that a man who never served could not be an adequate father.[26] Yet this particular image of a father as a masculine

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[23] Reader, *At Duty's Call*, 14.

[24] Arthur Marwick, *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967), 35.

[25] See Illustration 1.

[26] Savile Lumely *Daddy, what did You do in the Great War?,* poster, Imperial War Museum, 1915, https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/17053

protector and provider might have seemed quite foreign to a Victorian, who perceived the father's protectorate as economic in nature rather than physical. Undoubtedly, the idea that a father ought to risk his life abroad and abandon his post in Britain would not have made sense before 1850. Though propaganda did use paternalism, it was a new and unfamiliar strain.

Illustration 1. Propaganda poster of father and family. Source: Adam Matthews First World War Database.

Recruitment also relied heavily on growing excitement surrounding imperial adventure. Propaganda pieces drew on a new expectation of masculinity: to fully come into manhood, a boy needed to journey abroad on a British mission. Many on the island had started reading Kipling and following news out of South Africa. Dawson writes that "narrative tropes… came to color popular anticipation that the coming war in Europe was going to be an adventure."[27] Boys saw themselves as the main characters of their own stories, not considering any real danger from which their strength and wit could not save them. Propaganda expressly implied that "the sacrifice of

Illustration 2. Poster depicting young soldier and maps. Source: Adam Matthews First World War Database.

service, if it was considered to be a sacrifice, would only be brief… and the rewards great."[28] In one popular poster, reprinted several times for Australian and Canadian recruitment, a map of the homeland is pictured next to a map of Europe. A young soldier is overlaid on top of the maps, rifle in hand, looking off to the east. Jovial and inviting script calls out, "Boys, come over here, you're wanted." Propaganda like this prominently displayed the allure of adventure, especially as a fulfillment of masculine identity.

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[27] Dawson, *Soldier Heroes,* 56.
[28] Bibbings, "Images of Manliness," 339.

Apparently, this propaganda worked (at least in the beginning). Much like the diary of Private Putland, the opening entries of firsthand Great War accounts reflected the craving to go abroad in defense of empire. Raymond Smith, a Worcester boy who enlisted and eventually rose to rank of captain as an NCO, describes only positivity in his recruitment experience. Although he does not mention any particularly impactful propaganda piece, he states that the "martial spectacle" of public drills in his town inspired him to join.[29] He spent 1914 in training, but his unit was mobilized to France in the early months of 1915. He writes about the breathless excitement of embarking on "the second stage of the Great Adventure."[30] Another source, journalist John Maclean, attached to the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, travelled with his assigned unit across the Channel for their first stint in France. He describes an "awesome thrill and fascination," for himself as well as the soldiers, when they hear their first gunshots of the Great War.[31] Oblivious to the slaughter that awaited them, these men bought into the masculine expectation of excitement that British propaganda capitalized on.

Just as important as this new conception of masculine identity were the implications of Social Darwinism and distinctions between European 'races.' Speaking in October 1914, Winston Churchill spoke of the war as more than a traditional battle for territory but "a struggle between nations for life and death."[32] Britons across the island believed that the Great War was a real-life test of survival of the fittest and that they now had the chance to prove their supremacy. Propaganda exploited this belief in interesting ways. One of the most impactful strategies was to depict the German 'race' as under-evolved and animalistic. From the offset, rebranding Germans as Huns helped dehumanize them in the mind of the British. The famous "Destroy this mad brute" poster, which actually an American propaganda effort that was clearly influenced by earlier British pieces like the famous "?" poster, depicts the German as a massive gorilla attacking a terrified and defenseless bare-chested woman. In other cases, propagandists did not bother with characterizations. An advertisement from the English newspaper *The Daily Mail* commanded bluntly, "REFUSE TO BE SERVED BY AN AUSTRIAN OR GERMAN WAITER."[33] Alongside

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[29] Raymond Smith, *A Soldier's Diary: Sidelights on the Great War 1914-1918* (Evesham: The "Journal" Press, 1940), 9.
[30] Smith, *Soldier's Diary,* 21.
[31] John Maclean, *On Active Service with the Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders: A Ranker's Reminiscences and War Notes* (Edinburgh: The Scottish Chronicle Press, 1926), 9.
[32] Marwick, *Deluge,* 51.
[33] Marwick, *Deluge,* 50.

the negative degradation of the enemy was a strong positive force of hyper-nationalism. "Rule, Britannia," an eighteenth-century ode to British militarism, experienced a rival during the enlistment craze. The song is all about British supremacy over "nations, not so blest as thee."[34] Lyrics about the struggle between "foreign" and "native," with Britons eventually coming out on top, embody the influence of Social Darwinism on masculine identity during the war.
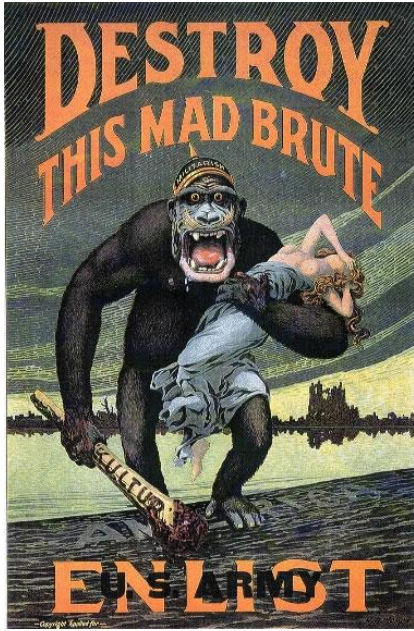
War propaganda promised manhood through adventure and through ethnic supremacy, but it also promised manhood through teamwork. Kipling had created the young rapscallion soldier as a lovable figure in his colonial narratives. Drawing on this image, British propaganda pushed an image of the army that looked more like a soccer team than a fighting force. One 1915 poster asks, "Who can beat this plucky four?" and depicts four infantrymen with Scottish, Welsh, English and Irish flags. The implications of this poster from a Social Darwinist standpoint are very interesting- Irish and English are racial comrades, but Germans are brutish Huns…? The target audience, though, seems to be young boys who love the camaraderie of team

Illustration 3. American anti-German propaganda. Source: Berhing Center, National Museum of American History.

sports. Another propaganda piece, conceived on the British island and circulated in Australia, drives this point home. The words "JOIN TOGETHER - TRAIN TOGETHER - EMBARK TOGETHER - FIGHT TOGETHER" span the top of the poster, above a border of robust, young Australian boys playing different sports. Language of sport and war are purposefully intertwined, implying that the Great War would be the ultimate sport (THE game, as written at the bottom of the poster). Since the ideal man was a soldier, and the ideal young soldier was loveable and

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[34] Ben Johnson, "Rule Britannia." *Historic UK*.

Illustration 5. Australian "Sportsmen's 1000" propaganda. Source: Imperial War Museum.

scrappy, propaganda enticed British boys with the icon of a fresh-faced sportsman surrounded by his mates.

With Tommy as their mascot, these boys enlisted en masse, encouraged by the creation of so-called pals battalions. Young men tended to join in groups, proud to prove their manliness to each other and fearful of being labelled a

Illustration 4. Multinational British propaganda poster. Source: Imperial War Museum.

coward. Lord Derby coined the term "battalion of pals" after the British government noticed this pattern and allowed local groups to serve together.[35] These battalions were massively successful as a recruitment tactic. Ralph Smith, a working-class Bristol boy, wrote in his memoir that "I thought there would be more chance of meeting someone I knew" in his city's battalion.[36] And for those who joined alone, the pals battalions promised a deep bond with other locals. One propaganda poster depicts four Scottish boys marching in a line, laughing and joking with each other.[37] From the viewer's perspective, the identical uniforms and facial expressions almost blend into one another. The message here is clear. The boy who wants to fit in, to meet new friends and work with them towards something greater, will find all he desires in a pals battalion.
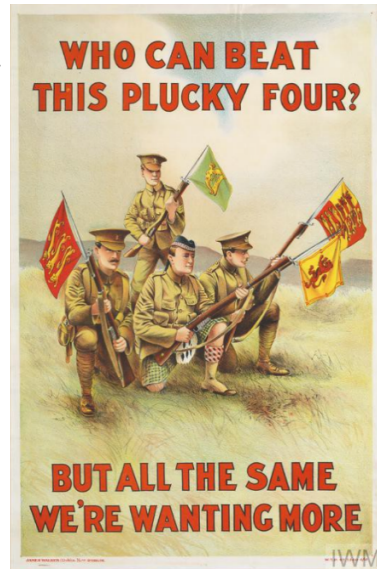

Illustration 6. Poster depicting group of Scottish soldiers. Source: Adam Matthews First World War Database.

[35] "The Pals Battalions Of The First World War." Imperial War Museums.
[36] Clive Burlton, "The Bristol Pals and Recruitment in Bristol and South Gloucestershire (2013" *The First World War*. 2013. Accessed May 11, 2021. http://www.firstworldwar.amdigital.co.uk.proxy.library.nd.edu/Explore/Essays/TheBristolPals.
[37] See Illustration 6.

British propaganda did not invent the exemplary British man. Literature and public opinion show that the man's role in the domestic sphere was changing during the Victorian Era. Meanwhile, due to the expansion of the British empire and a sudden obsession with racial natural selection, the soldier left behind his bad reputation and came to represent the masculine ideal. Print and written propaganda manipulated motifs of adventure, survival of the fittest and fraternal culture to mobilize British men to the war effort. An unspoken promise had been made to the British public: if you enlist, you will become a man. It follows, then, that the politicians and newspapers behind this campaign needed to appear like they were keeping this promise. Any examples of masculinity in opposition to soldierhood, or examples of soldiers who were distinctly unmanly, could easily disillusion the incoming volunteers. Conscientious objectors (COs) posed a direct threat to masculinity and were therefore dramatically vilified in the British press and government. The dissatisfaction and unmanly behavior of soldiers, on the other hand, received no attention and were often covered up.

COs and "Standing for Future Liberty"

So far, this focus of this paper has been mostly on positive motivations in propaganda, with a message of, "Look how strong and manly you can be if you join the army!" But negative motivations were also pervasive and had a serious impact on British men. For example, the White Feather campaign involved the public presentation of a feather, a display of a man's alleged cowardice, by a young woman. Such embarrassment at the hands of a source of masculine validation was crushing. This campaign was effective not least because it provided such an easy answer: join up, and a man can reclaim all of his lost masculinity. Thus British wartime masculinity was simultaneously "aspirational, yet apparently easily attainable."[38] Propaganda seized on these negative motivations, attacking the masculinity of noncombatants. Recall depictions of fathers facing their children, who ask, "What did YOU do in the Great War?" or some variation on that theme. The obvious implication is that to shirk military service was a failure of domestic duties. Other posters disparaged a non-soldier's militancy, like an Irish recruiting poster that shows a woman, gun in hand, pointing across the sea to Belgium and asking a man, "Will you go or must

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[38] Bibbings, "Images of Manliness," 346.

I?" Broadly, the recruitment effort weaponized shame and created an expectation that no real man had any excuse to forgo fighting.

In light of this, COs made the perfect straw man through whom any noncombatant could be emasculated. The problem with COs was not actually a shortage of British soldiers in Europe. About 16,000 to 16,500 British men identified as conscientious objectors, compared to the 4.9 million who fought.[39] This group, consisting of one-third of one percent of British soldiers, disproportionately made appearances in newspaper headlines and parliamentary speeches throughout the Great War. The only way we can possibly understand this spotlight is through a gendered lens. The existence of COs challenged every masculine principle of the recruitment campaign. If boys could become men without enlisting, why would they risk their lives in Europe? If these men loved their country but were not going to fight, why was being a soldier so important? A masculine CO threatened the whole system, so British institutions immediately sought ways to emasculate them.

Illustration 9. Irish recruitment poster. Source: Imperial War Museum.

The most straightforward emasculation that propagandists could manage was through Social Darwinism, an attack on strength and the physical body. Circumventing the conscience in "conscientious objector," they created a caricature of the CO who was physically unfit and therefore too weak for military service. Published tribunals referred to COs as "a shivering mass of unwholesome fat" or "a case of an unhealthy mind in an unwholesome body."[40] In the press, COs had the reputation of being physically defective. A 1913 Daily Mirror article compares a few French war horses, who became anxious and suffered sprains at the front, to CO "shirkers." The piece's subheading says it all: "French Horses Which Have Conscientious Objection to Shell Fire."[41] Reports about COs also placed them in direct opposition to the hypermasculinity of soldiers. Intimidation tactics during CO tribunals were common. Robert Wright, a Lancashire

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[39] Bibbings, "Images of Manliness," 341.
[40] Bibbings, "Images of Manliness," 346.
[41] W. L. McAlpin, "Equine Shirkers," *The Daily Mirror*, May 15, 1916, Adams Matthews First World War Database.

Primitive Methodist preacher, kept a diary throughout his tribunal process and time in prison. He writes that two soldiers threatened him during his trial, and "after some fearful swearing" brought him a gun and began ordering him to suit up.[42] In launching these attacks, Britain reassured the public that COs were incomplete men, inferior to soldiers.

Moreover, COs refused to travel abroad for the war effort, making themselves easy targets for attacks on the basis of empire. If first the sailor and then the soldier drew his masculinity from his dangerous excursions into the unknown defending the interests of Great Britain, then the CO became the lazy and awkward homebody who refused to pull his own weight. Propaganda played up this expectation. Frank Holland, a cartoonist for *The Daily Mail* and other publications, depicted a conscientious objector reclining on a chair, smoking and smiling smugly. His thoughts of the rest of his family scattered across the world does not seem to bother him. The caption gets to the heart of the imperial accusation against COs: "this little piggy stayed home." Adventure and risk-taking must have been substantial in forming masculinity, because even COs who were willing to help the war effort without fighting faced emasculation. Some COs were "absolutists" who refused to help Britain at all, but others were "alternativists" who only refused to kill and took on "work of national importance."[43] Alternativists faced emasculation just the same, as in a British cartoon showing COs "at the front!" The two COs wear the costume of a maid and sweep up the trenches, while the much stronger and more handsome Tommies fire their rifles. Compare this to the ideal

[42] Jill Barber, "Wright, Robert, The Diary of a Conscientious Objector, 1916-18," *My Primitive Methodists*, March 8, 2014, entry for March 18, 1917. https://www.myprimitivemethodists.org.uk/content/subjects-2/first_world_war/conscientious-objectors/robert_wright.

[43] Harold Bing, "Conscientious Objectors In Their Own Words," Imperial War Museums, accessed May 11, 2021. https://www.iwm.org.uk/history/conscientious-objectors-in-their-own-words.

man of Victorian England, defined by domesticity and return to the home, and the centrality of imperial adventure in WWI-era masculinity becomes evident.
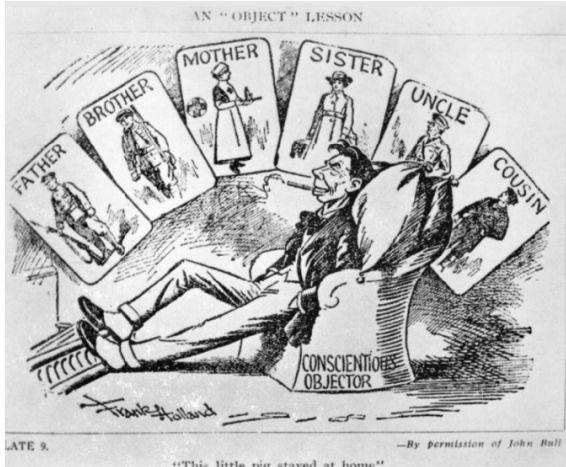

Illustration 10. Newspaper cartoon on conscientious objectors. Source: Imperial War Museum.

Obviously, it was in the best interest of the British government to emasculate COs, but that task did not always come easily. Other standards of masculinity, those that predated Darwin and Kipling, actually worked to the objector's advantage. In the spheres of patriotism and Christian ethics, COs were difficult to degrade. Unreported by British newspapers or government briefs were the "soldiers' respect for and sympathy with objectors,"[44] complicating the story that propaganda told. COs and soldiers were not, in reality, diametrically opposed.

Some soldiers recognized that a CO's unwillingness to fight did not suggest a hatred for Britain and actually understood objection as an expression of masculine conviction. Reframed in different terms, conscientious objection actually becomes massively patriotic. Duty to country, although certainly associated with military service, involves making sacrifices on behalf of one's nation. COs saw in Europe the massacre of Britain's young males, especially the country's "heroic poor who are the salt of

Illustration 11. Postcard depicting COs cleaning the trenches. Source: EnglishHeritage.org.uk

its English earth," as one CO wrote.[45] They all made the difficult choice to face public shaming in order to protest these killings. Some faced harsh physical punishment or jail time. Many lost the love of family and friends. Yet in the diary of Robert Wright, the CO never turns away from the country that turned away from him. He continues to use "we" in reference to Britain and explicitly

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[44] Bibbings, "Images of Manliness," 351.
[45] Bibbings, "Images of Manliness," 353.

mentions his love for various English cities.[46] In prison, reflecting on his choice, Wright says that "I realised that we [COs] were standing for future liberty."[47] In the army, Wright's sacrifice and others like it were met with anything from cynical disbelief to grudging respect to, in some cases, proud optimism. Bibbings quotes Commander Josiah Clement Wedgewood, MP: ""I think I am prouder of my country than I was before, because it has produced people who have sufficient conscientious scruples to enable them to face a long term of imprisonment rather than upset their consciences."[48] The sacrificial nature of conscientious objection harkens back to the role of the provider.

Though the relationship between Christianity and masculinity had shifted during the Victorian era, genuine religious objection to the war was also difficult to undermine and emasculate. By the start of the Great War, the influence of so-called "muscular Christianity" was undeniable. New religious youth programs like the YMCA and Boy Scouts paired well with the social movements overtaking Britain that emphasized equal parts physical and moral strength. One stated aim of muscular Christianity was protection of the weak, which coincided with Britain's entrance into the Great War on behalf of Belgium. Still, though popular, this movement did not encompass all Christians, and many COs spoke out for a more peaceful understanding of their religion. The case against muscular Christianity was not a difficult one to make. Robert Wright's powerful diary entry for December 31, 1916, reads, "May this Christmas be the last when the birth of the Prince of Peace is stained with the sacrifice of innocent men and women."[49] The poor treatment of COs further added to their religious credibility. Their suffering in the hopes of saving others from death certainly mirrors Jesus' own mission in the New Testament. With the moral force of Christianity behind them, the plights of religious COs, especially longstanding pacifists like Quakers, could muster sympathy from the public and even soldiers. Whatever argument could be made about protecting Belgium and standing up to Germany, some Britons understood that COs, as Cpt. Godfrey Buxton said, "took that phrase 'Thou Shalt not Kill', and therefore the matter of 'kill' did seem to be final."[50]

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[46] Wright, Entry for Jul. 19, 1918.
[47] Wright, Entry for June 18, 1918.
[48] Bibbings, "Images of Manliness," 351.
[49] Wright, Entry for Dec. 31, 1916.
[50] "Voices of the First World War: Conscientious Objection," Imperial War Museums, accessed May 11, 2021. https://www.iwm.org.uk/history/voices-of-the-first-world-war-conscientious-objection.

The public image of objectors would begin to change at the conclusion of the war. Some war novels published in 1918 and 1919 had COs as their heroes, often depicted as fiercely brave or patriotic.[51] But during the war, no mainstream newspapers or MP speeches openly condoned conscientious objection. Propagandists emasculated COs where they could, by belittling their physical abilities and adventurous spirit, while ignoring any inspiring virtues they might have like religious devotion or love of country. The same two-pronged strategy, of highlighting convenient truths while censoring inconvenient ones, applied to soldiers in Europe. Across the pond, the average Tommy looked almost nothing like his poster back home. Men left for war believing it would make them men. Many returned with a broken connection to the domestic sphere, a deep cynicism about British control abroad, and physical or mental scars from their experience. In short, the "Great Adventure" had, by the standards of the day, emasculated them.

No Role Models

Even the amended masculine role of the father, with its weaker attachment to home, dissolved for many soldiers in Europe. One unquestionable continuity between Victorian and Edwardian masculinities was marital fidelity. The ideal man fought *for* his wife and children, to keep them safe, as propaganda so clearly depicted. But once in uniform, some soldiers frequented prostitutes or had affairs with local women both in Britain and abroad. Marwick writes about an unspoken sentiment– "Give the boys on leave a good time"–that directly opposed the propagandized image.[52] While holding objectors to stringent standards, Britain collectively turned away from the damages to the household that such affairs created. Although Bourke believes that a majority of soldiers probably did not have affairs,[53] the culture surrounding infidelity forced a generation to rethink their understanding of male-female relationships. Divorce rates tripled between 1913 and 1919.[54] Roughly 400,000 soldiers contracted venereal disease between August 1914 and November 1918. Newspapers tended to ignore the voices of women who dealt with the consequences of this culture, mothers of the so-called "war babies."[55] British propaganda also tried to appeal to the old role of the economic provider through posters that clearly stated a soldier's

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[51] Bibbings, "Images of Manliness," 351-2.
[52] Marwick, *Deluge,* 109.
[53] Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 2009), 156.
[54] Bourke, *Dismembering the Male,* 163.
[55] Marwick, *Deluge,* 108.

pay and how his wife would survive should she become a widow. For many, though, the loss of men's labor on the farm outweighed any payment the government provided. Private H.T. Clements recorded a lyric to a popular soldier's song in his diary while fighting in France: "When next this country has a war on/we'll find a job with better pay."[56] Though British authorities stressed the paternal masculinity of the soldier, that image clashed with the lived experiences of men and their families.

Likewise, the imperial odyssey that British propaganda had promised actually left soldiers disillusioned with their role in the Great War. The allure of travelling the world, getting in and out of danger, disappeared quickly. One can only imagine how a soldier felt when he arrived in France, expecting natural splendor and exotic sights, only to find miles of identical filthy trenches with brief excursions through the moonscape of bombed France. Clements captures the dichotomy in two separate diary entries. At the front, his stories are not tales of worldly daring like propaganda would have us believe. Instead, he chronicles long marches during which "one looses [sic] all sense of time and is conscious of nothing but plod plod."[57] His most animated entries are from his breaks in French towns, and even then, he dissociates from the empire and shows no interest

Illustration 12. Poster showing pay rates for soldiers' families. Source: Adam Matthews First World War Database.

in the adventurous spirit. He writes, "In the countryside it seems hard to think there is a war on. Only my damned uniform spoils the peace."[58] Before the war, the expanding empire had piqued British interest in the furthest corners of their world. Because of the war, the empire's vanguard gave up its craving for adventure.

Most starkly, the British propaganda machine downplayed the war's physical cost for its men and ignored the soldiers' rebellion against "survival of the fittest." Beyond just death count, the casualties of men who fought in the Great War stunned Europe. Families who felt relieved that

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[56] H. T. Clements, *The Diary of H. T. Clements, 1914-1919,* 72. From Adam Matthews First World War Database. https://www-firstworldwar-amdigital-co-uk.proxy.library.nd.edu/Documents/SearchDetails/documents_003413_A.
[57] Clements, *Diary of H.T. Clements,* 78.
[58] Clements, *Diary of H.T. Clements,* 84.

their sons and fathers were returning from France soon discovered that the war had not made them men as promised. Historian Joanna Bourke has written entire books on the impact of the war on the physical body and makes two crucial points for a gendered understanding of what we now call post-traumatic stress disorder: first, the modern weaponry of the Great War had created a new and baffling condition in soldiers, and second, this "shell-shock" was understood to be an extension of fear.[59] As a result, a treatable disease was instead labelled a crisis of masculinity when the first wave of soldiers returned with it. Stories about shell-shock were heavily censored for years of the war in the government's hope of "preserving discipline at the front" and "hiding the psychological harms of war."[60] Even soldiers who made it through the war without psychological damage lost their gung-ho attitudes about militancy. Clements' diary attests to war weariness among men on active duty. He identifies as "a man of peace" who cannot stand constant fighting and bombing as early as May 30 of 1916.[61] He also records the lyrics of a popular soldiers' tune, "Sing Me To Sleep," that laments the miseries of combat and yearns for the calm of home.[62] Yet, no British institutions at home chronicled this breakdown of martial patriotism.

Instead, masculinity was still evaluated by a man's outward presentation. Masculinity came from the outside in, and "bodily exertion was the means to a sound mind."[63] If a man had trouble presenting as a man, he could be cured through physical rigor. The media, while skirting the mental blight of soldiers, opted to magnify and lambast soldiers whose image or behavior did not match British propaganda. Tabloids like *News of the World* particularly emasculated men who cross-dressed as a stand against "masculinity, male bonding, and militarism."[64] Victor Wilson and Frederick Wright were two soldiers who faced public disgrace for dressing as women. The reports about them in *News of the World* implied or claimed that their only motivation for how they dressed was fleeing military service.[65] Ironically, in socially acceptable circumstances like wartime theater, male drag was extremely common. But when gender identity got in the way of being a soldier, propaganda did what it did best. The stories of cross-dressing soldiers were blown out of proportion

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[59] Bourke, *Dismembering the Male,* 109-110.
[60] Bibbings, "Images of Manliness," 350.
[61] Clements, *Diary of H.T. Clements,* 88.
[62] Clements, *Diary of H.T. Clements,* 74.
[63] Michael Roper, "Between Manliness and Masculinity: The 'War Generation' and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914–1950." *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (2005): 343-62.
[64] David A. Boxwell, "The Follies of War: Cross-Dressing and Popular Theatre on the British Front Lines, 1914-18." *Modernism/modernity* 9, no. 1 (2002): 2.
[65] Boxwell,"Follies of War," 1-2.

and made to seem like perversions or anomalies. Thus, the Social Darwinist fixation on physical supremacy remained intact. This strategy kept the public focused on a masculinity that it could understand.

Conclusion

In history, the less complicated a narrative, the less likely it is to reflect reality. The simple story of masculinity in the Great War is that the drawings and newspaper articles shown in this essay created larger-than-life characters in order to entice boys into the army. Primary sources prove this to be false. Masculinity was changing in Britain as early as the 1840s, spurred by rapid changes at home and abroad. Propaganda reflected a new recipe for the ideal man, one with a pinch less of connection to home and heaping cups more of desire for war and adventure. Its role was temptation, amplifying the drums of war too loudly to be ignored, rather than creation. British institutions made promises of supremacy, excitement, and fraternity while shunning men who deviated from the norm, but by no means did wartime propaganda form these aspirations. What would explain the rush to enlist in the 1899 Boer War, when the army actually capped the number of soldiers they accepted, if propaganda were central?

Scholars agree that masculinity changed again in the wake of the war, though they disagree about the timeline. Michael Roper contends that during the 20th century, British middle-class males began to reexamine codes of masculinity and shifted towards a masculine idea focused on the self. He believes that groupthink filtered out of popular discourse as psychology and psychoanalysis filtered in.[66] His research includes books and autobiographies from the era that suggest a deeper reflection on manhood. Joanna Bourke, meanwhile, argues for continuity between pre- and post-Great War masculinities. She writes that experts continued to claim shell shock could be treated with physical exercise and that any accounts of psychoanalysis are exceptions.[67] This would suggest a much longer period of transition out of a one-track minded masculinity. Even if things did get better for COs after the war, Bourke would argue that general beliefs on manhood held for an astonishingly long time.

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[66] Roper, "Between Manliness and Masculinity," 345.
[67] Bourke, *Dismembering the Male,* 115-18.

These arguments alone would require another whole paper to address, even without widening the scope to other questions of post-war masculinity. After all, the world that created Edwardian British masculinity began its slow decline as a direct result of the First World War. The Paris peace conference marked the beginning of the end for *de facto* colonialism, or at the very least questioned the absolute benevolence of empire. The lofty, liberal ideas of self-rule coming out of European countries (though almost certainly not intended for colonial consumption) sparked a wave of national resistance across the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. With Britain's empire slowly being dismantled, what would become of the imperial call to adventure for young boys?

To an average American today, issues of gender may seem to be on the rise in political spheres compared to a few decades ago. Some may pine for the mythic past when discourse over gender was simpler and less divisive. But such a past truly is a myth, as this brief excursion into Great War masculinity has shown. Gender has always and will always be fundamental to humanity's understanding of itself and its past. Beliefs about how the quintessential man or woman should act tend to simplify a complex story and serve an agenda. For this reason, gender remains necessarily political and historical, as it has been since the days of Flora Thompson.

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The History of Florence in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance: A Reexamination of Periodization Through Machiavelli's *Florentine Histories* and Villani's *Nuova Cronica*

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THE HISTORY OF FLORENCE IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES AND RENAISSANCE: A REEXAMINATION OF PERIODIZATION THROUGH MACHIAVELLI'S *FLORENTINE HISTORIES* AND VILLANI'S *NUOVA CRONICA*

XINPENG DIAO [*]

Abstract: This article seeks to reexamine Medieval-Renaissance periodization as it has been presented by historians such as Jacob Burckhardt through the lens of Florentine historiography. By comparing and contrasting the *Nuova Cronica* by Giovani Villani and the *Florentine Histories* by Niccolò Machiavelli, this article will identify two significant intellectual developments that align with the conventional Medieval-Renaissance binary in historiography. This article thus proposes that what one might call 'proto-Italian nationalism' had emerged in the early Renaissance. In addition, this article will assert that while predestination played a significant role in medieval histories, Renaissance histories actively incorporated rational explanations for historical developments.

Since the birth of Renaissance studies, intellectuals have developed a distinct interest in periodization. Influenced by humanist and, in later periods, Enlightenment positivism, the attempt to periodize history into distinct categories often served in the construction of a homogenous, teleological narrative of linear progression—one that places our modern world at one end of the spectrum, representing civilization, and a distant, foreign world at the opposite end, embodying barbarism. Consequently, traditional historiography has long viewed the Middle Ages as primitive while presenting the Renaissance as a period of technological and cultural advancement. This binary paradigm, however, is flawed in many ways. In reconsidering the Medieval-Renaissance periodization—including its changes and continuities—we frequently find ourselves troubled by the issues of relativism, as certain characteristics of modernity often have roots in earlier historical periods. This article will first discuss the ways in which previous scholars attempted to draw chronological boundaries between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance and then respond to past scholarship from the perspective of historiography.

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The modern concept of the Middle Ages, a period of cultural stagnation and disinterest in Greco-Roman antiquity, was invented by one of the earliest humanists, Francesco Petrarch, who applied it to the era preceding his birth. Successors of this humanist view of history, such as Flavio Biondo, reinforced this periodization by drawing chronological boundaries in the recording of history, thereby consolidating the notion of the Middle Ages.[1] The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw a rise of academic inquiries into the causes of the Medieval-Renaissance transition. Enlightenment thinkers typically viewed the Middle Ages and the Renaissance as two distinct periods with clear chronological boundaries. Voltaire, in fact, argued that "the awakening of the Italian genius" had given birth to a more rational culture that ushered in a period of scientific and social progress.[2] French Romantic historians Jules Michelet proposed that the revival of classical antiquity, scientific discoveries, and geographic exploration had facilitated European rediscovery of its true identity, thereby laying the foundation for cultural development during the Renaissance.[3] In 1878, Jacob Burkhardt synthesized a more comprehensive theory in *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. Like Voltaire and Michelet, Burkhardt identified the Renaissance as a transformative era of self-discovery fueled by reinvigorated interest in antiquity, increased rationality, and an enhanced human understanding of nature. In addition, he suggested that the political culture and social instability in Italy had created an individualistic culture that embodied what came to be known as the "Renaissance spirit."[4]

Throughout the twentieth century, however, opposition to this conventional view had garnered increasing support from medievalists who denied the Renaissance as a period superior to the Middle Ages. Charles Homer Haskins spearheaded the criticism towards the conventional perception of the Renaissance and the Middle Ages in his book, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century,* in 1927 — citing evidence in the advent of Gothic architectural style, the growth of vernacular literature, and the establishment of a new legal and education system: all of which originated in the Middle Ages and point to a vigorous and innovative society not surpassed by the Renaissance.[5] In 1933, Norman Nelson attacked the ambiguity of the term *individualism* touted by Renaissance proponents and argued that medieval-era Pope Innocent

[1] William Caferro, *The Renaissance Question* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 1.

[2] Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations. Œuvres complètes*, vol. 7 (Paris: Garnier frères, 1883–5), 167.

[3] J. B. Bullen, "The Myth of the Renaissance in Nineteenth-Century Writing," 1994, 16, https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198128885.001.0001.

[4] Jacob Burkhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy,* trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (New York: Random House, 1954)

[5] Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (New York: Meridian, 1957).

III, too, recognized the independence of the individual conscience.[6] In 1972, Colin Morris rejected Burkhardt's claims from another perspective in *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200,* arguing that the rise of cities and the schisms among the aristocracy had created an individualistic culture that found expression in the vernacular literature and eschatology of the Middle Ages, further proving that Renaissance individualism is not unique.[7]

The problem of Medieval-Renaissance periodization still exists at present. To reconcile the cultural flowerings and social changes throughout the Middle Ages with the traditional Medieval-Renaissance dichotomy, Erwin Panofsky famously established a distinction between the larger "Renaissance" and the smaller "renascences." He stresses the cultural and epistemological changes implicit in the radical shifts in artistic styles, such as the development of a linear perspective in quattrocento.[8] Many art historians such as Johanne Grave, however, point out that the emergence of new techniques in the representation of space only signifies "new approaches to satisfy much older functions and concepts of the image."[9] In a recent article, Robert Black argued against the Burckhardtian homogeneity of previous methods of periodization and views the Renaissance as multiple movements with various roots, such as the changes in Italian Latin education, literary style, and political climate.[10] Scholarly consensus, however, regarding the chronological boundary between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance is still lacking. While some retain Wallace K. Ferguson's dating from 1300–1600, recent scholars like Stella Fetcher put the boundary in the mid-or-late fourteenth century.[11]

This article seeks to offer a new perspective on the existing scholarly debate by examining Medieval-Renaissance periodization through the lens of Florentine historiography. By comparing and contrasting portrayals of correlating historical events in the two Florentine histories, the *Nuova Cronica* by Giovani Villani and the *Florentine Histories* by Niccolò Machiavelli, this article will attempt to infer the respective historical biases and world-views of Villani and Machiavelli and will seek to emphasize two historiographical discontinuities

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[6] Norman Nelson, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 32, no. 3 (Jul. 1933): 316–334.

[7] Colin Morris. *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 188.

[8] Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1965).

[9] Johanne Grave, "Brunelleschi's Perspective Panels. Rupture and Continuity in the History of the Image," in *Renaissance?: Perceptions of Continuity and Discontinuity in Europe, C.1300 - C.1550*, ed. Alexander Lee (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 180.

[10] Robert Black, "The Renaissance and the Middle Ages: Chronologies, Ideologies, Geographies," in *Renaissance?: Perceptions of Continuity and Discontinuity in Europe, C.1300 - C.1550*, ed. Alexander Lee (Leiden: Brill, 2010),

[11] Wallace K. Ferguson "The Interpretation of the Renaissance: Suggestions for a Synthesis," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 12, no. 4 (1951): 483–95; Stella Fletcher, *The Longman Companion to Renaissance Europe, 1390–1530* (London: Routledge, 2016).

from the late Middle Ages to the Renaissance — namely, the emergence of protonationalism and the emphasis of human agency in one's relationship with the divine. Together, they reflect larger socio-cultural changes, which can help us more confidently locate chronological boundaries between the two periods.

Machiavelli's works best exemplify the major differences between Renaissance and medieval histories because his ambivalent attitudes toward religion and expressed desire to see a reunified Italy corresponded with later intellectual developments. Born into the family of a minor Tuscan noble in 1469, Machiavelli received a humanistic education in his youth which laid the foundation for his political, philosophical, and military theories. Thanks to his opposition to the populist Savonarola regime, Machiavelli was elected Florence's chief magistrate in 1502 and assumed military duties during the offensive against Pisa. Commissioned by Giovanni de' Medici in 1520, Machiavelli's *Florentine Histories* constructs a humanist narrative that starts from the city's origin to the Medicis' ascension to power with a distinct emphasis on the dynamic relationship among the *popolo* (people), the plebes, and the nobles, as well as the ever-evolving political factions in Florence. Machiavelli found himself privy to an abundance of medieval and Renaissance chronicles at his disposal such as works by Giovanni Villani, Marchionne di Coppo Stefani, and Leonardo Bruni. Scholars such as Anna Maria Cabrini have been quick to point out a particular pattern in Machiavelli's choice of sources, as he generally preferred medieval authors for their vivid portrayals of the protagonists during civil strife and used humanist historians for details of foreign and military affairs.[12] In moralizing historical figures and their conduct, Machiavelli constructed paradigms of virtue used to address the ruling citizens of the republic: one can maintain unity by learning from both their mistakes and their virtues. In this way, Machiavelli did not hesitate to modify historical details to build a consistent narrative.

On the other hand, Giovanni Villani (1280–1348), a renowned banker, statesman, and diplomat in the late Middle Ages, came from a respected *arti maggiori* family of merchants. Serving on the Mercanzia council, which ruled over international trade disputes between Florentine and foreign merchants as well as domestic financial issues such as bankruptcy and debt, Villani familiarized himself with the various economic activities in the city, especially those of the lower guilds. As a shareholder in the Peruzzi bank, Villani possessed extensive traveling experience, having voyaged to France, Flanders, and Spain for business transactions.

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[12] Anna Maria Cabrini, "Machiavelli's Florentine Histories," in *The Cambridge Companion to Machiavelli*, ed. John M. Najemy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 128–43.

The *Nuova Cronica* and the *Florentine Histories* were written in drastically different contexts, as the former records the history of Florence with limited secondary literature available. Here, Villani stated the intention for which he wrote the chronicle in the first sentence of book one:

> Forasmuch as among our Florentine ancestors, few and ill-arranged memorials are to be found of the past doings of our city of Florence ... I, John, citizen of Florence, considering the nobility and greatness of our city at our present times, hold it meet to recount and make memorial of the roots and origins of so famous a city.[13]

The chronicle is divided into eleven books covering the origin of Florence to the 1300s when Henry, Count of Luxembourg, was made the Holy Roman Emperor. Similar to Machiavelli, the chronicler seeks to uncover the causes behind events and present lessons of virtues in times of adversity for the benefit of the republic. Thirty-seven copies of the Trecento survive to this day, attesting to their success in circulation and extensive influence during this period.[14] Being one of the most important sources for the history of medieval Florence, then, the *Nuova Cronica* serves as a privileged point from which to investigate the practice of history writing in the late Middle Ages.

To lay the contextual foundation for this comparative study, it is necessary to briefly summarize the shifting power dynamics in the Apennine Peninsula for the periods covered in both histories. The Guelph and Ghibelline division originated with Frederick Barbarossa's attempt to impose direct control over the prospering Italian urban communes in 1154. While Pope Alexander II, with the support of prominent Guelph cities such as Florence and Venice, forged the Lombardy League to deter imperial encroachment, other regions like Siena welcomed the Ghibelline military protection from neighboring powers. In a long string of battles, including the famous battle of Montaperti in 1260, the Ghibellines emerged victorious as a result of their tactical genius and superior cavalry and voted to reduce Florence to ruin in fear of revenge. Here, the two chronicles both suggest that Farinata degli Uberti single-handedly rejected the proposal, declaring himself to be a Florentine first and a Ghibelline second, thereby saving the city from destruction. Shortly after the Ghibelline victory, the introduction of new taxes by Count Guido soon infuriated the people of Florence. As a result, the Guelph party routed the ruling Ghibelline nobles in Florence and created the *primo popolo* in 1282, a democratic institution that enfranchised lower guilds and urban artisans in the political process. After the Guelphs dislodged the Ghibellines from Tuscany in 1289 at the

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[13] Giovanni Villani, *Villani's Chronicle*, ed. Philip H. Wicksteed, tr. Rose E. Selfe (London: Archibald Constable, 1906), 6.

[14] Porta, Giuseppe, "Censimento dei manoscritti delle cronache di Giovanni, Matteo e Filippo Villani (II)," *Studi di Filologia Italiana* 37 (1979): 93–118.

battle of Campaldino, however, a rift within the Guelph party emerged as the Florentine Guelphs split into the Black and White factions in 1300. The Blacks continued to support the papacy, but the Whites resisted papal influence, especially Pope Boniface VIII. In 1302, the Black Guelphs exiled the White Guelphs and took control of Florence, setting the stage for Villani and Machiavelli's writings.

The following paragraphs will compare the description of those historical events in the *Nuova Cronica* and the *Florentine Histories*. By analyzing the respective historical biases, political environments, and philosophical beliefs of Villani and Machiavelli, this article seeks to address some of the major similarities and differences between medieval and Renaissance histories and how they reflect larger cultural and intellectual developments. Specifically, this article proposes that their shared expression of local patriotism and reminiscence about classical antiquity reflect a continuous process that eventually gave birth to proto-Italian nationalism in at least several authors during the early Renaissance. This article will also compare the role of fortune in the *Nuova Cronica* and the *Florentine Histories* and in doing so, argue that a significant distinction between the two histories rests in their different interpretation of historical events and understanding of supernatural force in human history due to the rising influence of humanism.

Recent scholarship on nationalism can serve as a theoretical framework through which to understand the connection between nationalism and history. Anthony Smith, for example, highlights the importance of shared common myths and memories in the forging of a national identity.[15] Steven Grosby, on the other hand, describes a nation as a geographically bound community which, among other attributes, possesses "a history that both asserts and is expressive of temporal continuity."[16] The general agreement among scholars of nationalism, however, is that collective remembrance plays a vital role in the nature and development of national sentiment. Having highlighted this consensus, this article will discuss Villani's and Machiavelli's respective treatments of the past through the lens of Roman legacy and communal patriotism, both of which constituted a common founding myth for Florence and beyond.

While intellectuals during the Renaissance often associated themselves with the *revival* of Greco-Roman civilization, scholars throughout the Middle Ages often used Roman engineering and medical treatises for educational purposes. In particular, Villani — a late

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[15] Anthony Douglas Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000).
[16] Steven Grosby, *Nationalism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Medieval writer — makes repeated reference to Ancient Rome in the *Nuova Cronica*. During the Jubilee celebration in Rome in 1300, Villani found inspiration in Roman architectural monuments and sought to record the history of his hometown. With a pronounced respect for Roman antiquity and envy for its well-preserved documentation of its greatness, Villani wrote,

> And I, finding myself on that blessed pilgrimage in the holy city of Rome, beholding the great and ancient things therein, and reading the stories and the great doings of the Romans, written by Virgil, and by Sallust, and by Lucan, and Titus Livius, and Valerius, and Paulus Orosius … [wished to] preserve memorials. ... But considering that our city of Florence, the daughter and creature of Rome, was rising and had great things before her, while Rome was declining, it seemed to me fitting to collect in this volume and new chronicle all the deeds and beginnings of the city of Florence."[17]

In describing Florence as Rome's daughter, Villani expresses a clear sense of patriotism based on the remembrance and glorification of Roman antiquity. One can see that Villani embodies the rhetorical essence of the Renaissance — that is, the claim to a restoration of Roman values in their former glory — while writing in a period intellectuals have previously dismissed as lacking in significant Greco-Roman influences.

Not only did Villani use claims to Roman antiquity to convey his Florentine patriotism, like many early medieval chroniclers, but he also inserted prophetic messages and anecdotes to glorify the city of Florence as one chosen by God and destined to victory. Villani opens the narration on the Farinata episode with a myth set during the *primo popolo* regime:

> A very fine and strong lion ... by lack of care on the part of the keeper ... escaped from its den, running through the streets, whence all the city was moved with fear...and there caught hold of a boy and held him between its paws. The mother ... on hearing what had chanced, ran up to the lion in desperation, shrieking aloud and with disheveled hair, and snatched the child from between its paws, and the lion did no hurt either to the woman or to the child, but only gazed steadfastly and kept still.[18]

Prophecies, divine visions, and even God's direct interference are all themes that are nearly ubiquitous in medieval historical narratives. Implied in this depiction of the defenseless child is an allegory of the Florentine Guelphs, who also found themselves in a dire situation. The mother's desperate attempt to protect the child resembles the catastrophic defeat at Montaperti, wherein the bulk of the Florentine cavalry was destroyed, their infantry routed, and their carroccio captured. In praising the lion as noble in its refusal to devour the mother and child, Villani writes a prelude to the heroic deed of Farinata in an almost cinematic way to show that

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[17] Grosby, *Nationalism,* 321.
[18] Grosby, *Nationalism,* 167.

it was God's will to protect Florence from destruction, a clear demonstration of Villani's Florentine patriotism.

In a bold act in the context of his own Florentine political culture of the early fourteenth century, in which the Guelphs were prominent, Villani daringly praises the Ghibelline Farinata degli Uberti:

> By one good man and citizen our city of Florence was saved from so great fury, destruction, and ruin...We ought to commend and keep in notable memory the good and virtuous citizen, who acted after the fashion of the good Roman Camillus of old, as we are told by Valerius and Titus Livius.[19]

Known as "the second founder of Rome," Marcus Furius Camillus was a Roman patrician and dictator who triumphed five times in the Gallic War and the second regional war and addressed Roman class conflict through the founding of the praetorship. By alluding to a distinctly Roman figure to praise Farinata's commendable actions to save his country in a time of crisis, Villani unwittingly problemized the argument the argument of the Renaissance humanists who denied or rejected late medieval admiration of Roman antiquity. Furthermore, the *Nuova Cronica,* as one of the earliest historical records to glorify Farinata, created a legacy of Florentine patriotism. Villani took considerable political risk when he acclaimed Farinata's heroic deeds due to the city's still-fresh memory of the Guelph-Ghibelline division; however, in praising Farinata, Villani made a conscious decision to prioritize his tie with Florence over his political affiliation.

Machiavelli inherited Villani's legacy of Florentine patriotism and his concern for the *bene commune*. According to the *Florentine Histories*, as the victorious Ghibelline nobles discuss their plan to demolish Florence in fear of its future revolt, Farinata "defended [Florence] openly and without any hesitation, saying that he had not undergone so many perils with so much trouble not to be able to live in his fatherland."[20] Similar use of the word "fatherland" (*patria*) appears 119 times in other places of the *Florentine Histories*. The repetition of the word indicates Machiavelli's strong desire for a powerful Florence to emerge and dominate Italy in lieu of the chaotic political struggles between Italian city-states and duchies. Machiavelli's word choice as he described Farinata as the savior of Florentine people and the embodiment of virtue in his refusal to sack Florence clearly reveal his Florentine patriotism. Machiavelli's appreciation for King Theodoric the Ostrogoth also evokes ideals of classical antiquity. Despite Theodoric's barbarian origin, Machiavelli argued that he

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[19] Grosby, *Nationalism,* 186.
[20] Machiavelli, *Florentine Histories*, 59.

exemplified a virtuous Italian leader as he "enlarged Ravenna and restored Rome, and except for military training, allowed Romans every other honor … [and] built towns and fortresses from the head of the Adriatic Sea to the Alps in order to impede more easily passage of new barbarians who might wish to attack Italy."[21] The repeated references to Rome and the obvious patriotic agenda in both histories, thus, suggest a continuity between late medieval and early Renaissance Florentine historiography in that both sought to establish a collective identity in a prolonged period of political chaos.

However, while Villani and Machiavelli share similar expressions of Florentine patriotism, the two authors differ significantly in their expressions of nationalist sentiment. In praising Theodoric, Machiavelli emphasized the importance of having a leader who can defend the whole of Italy from foreign incursions. This proto-Italian nationalist sentiment found more explicit expression in Machiavelli's work, *The Prince*, wherein he urged Italians in the work's conclusion to seize Italy and free her from the barbarians.[22] Originally used as a geographical term to refer to the Apennine peninsula, Machiavelli's use of the term *Italia* transcended mere geography and assumed a political connotation In doing so, Machiavelli brought forth his imagination of Italy as a unified political entity for culturally and linguistically Italian people, which corresponds with a more modern definition of nationalism.

In comparison, even when Villani presented French intervention in Italy in a negative light, as is the case in his description of the rebellion of the Sicilians against the French in 1282, his motivation remained unclear.[23] According to the *Nuova Cronica*, the revolt commenced with a sexual offense wherein "a Frenchman in his insolence laid hold of a woman of Palermo to do her villainy."[24] The conflict between the two populations quickly escalated as "the [Sicilian] people being already sore and all moved with indignation against the French...began to defend the woman, whence arose a great battle between the French and the Sicilians."[25] In portraying the French as the oppressive despot and Sicilians as liberty-espousing people much like the Florentine people, Villani would have likely evoked a sense of compassion among the Florentine audience and elicited an unfavorable opinion toward the French; however, it is difficult to speculate if Villani did so out of his Guelphic political affiliation or his desire for a unified Italy in a modern sense, as he rarely conveyed any discontent toward foreign dominance over Italy in his chronicle. In fact, due to his Guelphic affiliation, Charles of Anjou, a member

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[21] Machiavelli, *Florentine Histories*, 13.
[22] Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince,* trans. Peter Bondanella (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 66–68.
[23] Villani, *Chronicle*, 286.
[24] Villani, *Chronicle*, 286.
[25] Villani, *Chronicle*, 286.

of the royal Capetian dynasty of France, found himself portrayed in the *Nuova Cronica* as a defender of the church and a man of great valor and intelligence.[26] Thus, at least in this specific instance, Villani hesitated to criticize foreign involvement in Italian politics due to the political culture and geopolitical situations in which he found himself.

One can see that Villani's chronicle focused mainly on the commune of Florence and addressed its internal divisions with past examples of Florentine patriotism. Machiavelli, despite sharing similar practices, expressed concerns well beyond the city of Florence. Thus, while similar in agenda, Villani and Machiavelli fundamentally differ in their expression of nationalist sentiment. By extension, the shared expression of communal loyalty and the invocation of historical figures by medieval and Renaissance historians reflects the persistent link between the practice of history-writing and the ideas of nationalism. Throughout the latter half of the twentieth century, scholars in the field of nationalism studies discredited the proposition that various forms of nationalism had come into being in the pre-modern period. Recently, however, many historians have explored the possibility of identifying nation and nationalism before the eighteenth century. Much work has been done in the study of England as an archetypal modern nation. For instance, Adrian Hastings claims that, from the early fourteenth century, "Englishmen felt themselves to be a nation," and Liah Greenfeld suggests that England became "the first nation in the world" in the late sixteenth century.[27] Stefan Berger notes that the *Duke of Malmesbury's Deeds of the Kings of the English*, written during the twelfth century, "conveys a clear idea of the political and cultural unity of a nation called England."[28] Regarding the European continent, Bavarian historian and philosopher Johannes Aventinus contends that recognizable German nationalism emerged in the sixteenth century.[29] It's clear that nationalism in the early modern period, despite variations in its definition, can grow out of different temporal, social, and cultural contexts. The argument that nationalism cannot exist before a temporal boundary implies a homogenous view of history, already problematized by Robert Black. This article suggests that from the late Middle Ages to the Renaissance, the writing of history has been consistently saturated with the kind of expressions of local and communal pride that provided Florentine elites and intellectuals with an enforced

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[26] Villani, *Chronicle*, 200.
[27] Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
[28] Stefan Berger, "The Power of National Pasts: Writing National History in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Europe," in Stefan Berger, ed., *Writing the Nation: A Global Perspective* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 30.
[29] Caspar Hirschi, *Wettkampf Der Nationen: Konstruktionen Einer Deutschen Ehrgemeinschaft an Der Wende Vom Mittelalter Zur Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2005).

narrative through which to interpret their identity. The attempts by Renaissance and medieval historians to solicit solidarity through the construction of a communal historical narrative hence paved the way for the slow yet incremental development of Italian nationalism from Villani to Machiavelli, as examined earlier.

This argument, however, also has some weaknesses. One should caution that Machiavelli is a highly liminal writer. Specifically, Dante L. Germino, in his work *Machiavelli to Marx, Modern Western Political Thoughts*, points out that "Machiavelli was a nationalist before the emergence of nationalism."[30] Therefore, Machiavelli's nationalist sentiment and desire for Italian unification might not reflect the general intellectual trend in the Renaissance.

In addition to the development of protonationalism, another critical distinction between medieval and Renaissance histories lies in the divergent humanist and scholastic philosophies of the two eras, as revealed by the respective role of prophetic messages and the concept of *fortune* in Villani's and Machiavelli's works. The views of humanism and scholasticism differ in their emphasis on the supernatural. Subservient to the Roman Catholic church, scholasticism devoted a large portion of its study to theological works and their significance and hence always included faith in the supernatural. Humanism, on the other hand, did not focus on the supernatural as a necessary basis for study and work; instead, it placed more emphasis on human reasoning and achievement. As a result, despite medieval scholastic limitations, Italian Renaissance humanists and philosophers, without renouncing their Christian faith, highlighted human agency and capacity in understanding their earthly existence.[31] This intellectual trend finds expression in the difference in the conceptions of virtue and fortune in the histories of Machiavelli and Villani as it reflects a more general shift in the perception of individual agency from the late Middle Ages to the Renaissance.

Derived from the name of the ancient Roman goddess of luck named *Fortuna*—who has an earlier Greek equivalent, *Tyche*—fortune plays an important role in both the *Nuova Cronica* and the *Florentine Histories*. The concept of fortune, often symbolized by the *rota fortunae*, the wheel of fortune, appears frequently in literature from the classical period to the Renaissance to show the capricious nature of life. Roman authors like Marcus Pacuvius used it extensively in the declamation and lamentation of a person's fate. Fortune also served as an allegory in medieval literature and art. The late-Roman philosopher Boethius, widely

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[30] Dante L. Germino, *Machiavelli to Marx: Modern Western Political Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 43.
[31] Charles Edward Trinkaus, *Renaissance Transformations of Late Medieval Thought* (Aldershot, Great Britain: Ashgate, 1999).

considered a major figure in the transition from Roman to medieval philosophy, played a key role in integrating the concept into medieval thinking. In his *Consolatio Philosophiae* (Consolation of Philosophy), he warns against indulgence in worldly possessions and compares fortune to a deceitful friend, "who leaves them [its victims] reeling in agony beyond endurance."[32]

Borrowing from this Greco-Roman cultural symbolism, Villani, much like his medieval counterparts, used the concept of fortune in the *Nuova Cronica* to explain human powerlessness and lack of agency. There are multiple instances in which fortune is used in this fashion. In book two of the *Nuova Cronica*, he foretells the fate of Ugolino della Gherardesca, the Ghibelline ruler of Pisa, writing that "he abode only a short time in the government, for Fortune turned against him, as it pleased God."[33] Although the wheel of fortune can dispense both benefits and harms, medieval writers often focused on its tragic ability to bring about the downfall of the mighty. In Villani's writing, fortune typically represented the might of the divine. The juxtaposition of human powerlessness and God's ability to shape historical events through the intervention of fortune reveals Villani's belief that humans are merely the agency through which God manipulates the world and are hence incapable of fighting against fate. One can see that Villani used the concept of fortune within a scholastically oriented theological framework as he regards fortune as a force with which God manipulates human society according to his desires.

Although the two authors both use fortune to explain political events and historical developments, Machiavelli places more weight on the agency of voluntary human action in shaping history, which reflects the developing influence of humanism on Florentine historians over time from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. All societies, Machiavelli argued, have different fortunes that shape the destiny of the individual and the state. Machiavelli, in fact, saw Florentine misfortune as the cause of repeated factional disputes throughout the city's history. Contrary to Villani, Machiavelli argued that virtue, including human qualities such as bravery and humility, can empower an individual to act against, or at least alongside, the influence of fortune. Machiavelli's description of Farinata exemplifies his understanding of humankind's relations with fortune: "[Farinata] would not now stop wishing for that which he had sought so long or renounce what had already been given him by fortune...And if some among them feared his fatherland and would ruin it, he hoped to defend it with the same virtue

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[32] Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy,* trans. David R. Slavitt (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 19–20.
[33] Villani, *Chronicle*, 281.

by which he had expelled the Guelph."[34] Although fortune enables the Ghibellines to conquer Florence with ease, the virtue of Farinata reacts to the effects of fortune. Machiavelli viewed history not merely as a reality predestined by God but as a dynamic conflict between supernatural tendencies and human wills. While the model of fortune versus virtue was not the only legitimate understanding of the human relationship to the world during the Renaissance, Machiavelli's political philosophy reflects a general humanist tendency to highlight human control over history. This humanist mindset during the Renaissance is notably distinct from the medieval scholastic understanding of human history — and one can see here, from a purely historiographic perspective, the validity of the traditional periodization.

Not only do the two authors differ in their interpretation of fortune and, relatedly, the mode of human interaction with the divine, but Villani's recurrent use of providence in aggrandizing the history of the Florentine Guelph party conveyed a sense of divine predestination that is less easily traceable in Machiavelli's historical narrative. For example, in the *Nuova Cronica*, Villani reconstructed a scene after the battle of Montaperti in which the cardinals discuss the results of the Florentine defeat; Cardinal Bianco, under the Pope's command, professes his vision that "the conquered shall conquer victoriously, and shall not be conquered forever."[35] Villani further explained the prophecy by stating, "This was interpreted to mean that the Guelfs, conquered and driven out of Florence, should victoriously return to power, and should never again lose their state and lordship in Florence."[36] In foretelling the future domination of Florence over Tuscany, Villani glorified the Guelph party by stressing God's favor of the Papacy over the imperial court.

In upholding the validity and prevalence of divine intervention, Villani also emphasized the role of fortune in the origin of the second Primo Popolo regime and the exile of the Ghibellines. To eliminate imperial influence in the kingdom of Sicily, Charles of Anjou, the brother of King Louis IX, through the Pope's invitation and support, defeated King Manfred at the battle of Benevento. As the news of Manfred's defeat reached Florence, discontented Guelph leaders uprooted the Ghibelline government and gave King Charles lordship over the city, resulting in a desperate circumstance in which a mob of Guelph defenders faced a cohort of well-equipped and battle-seasoned German cavalry. Villani attributed the ultimate success of the popular uprising to the work of providence: "It was more the work of God than any other cause for that great and puissant body of horse had not been opposed...when the judgment of

[34] Machiavelli, *Florentine Histories*, 59.
[35] Villani, *Chronicle*, 184.
[36] Villani, *Chronicle*, 184.

God is ripe, the occasion is ever at hand."[37] According to Villani, Count Guido's fatal order to withdraw from the city denotes that God favored the Guelphs' return to power. The manipulation of perceived providential messages as political propaganda shows Villani's intention to emphasize the role of divine intervention in the course of human history. Villani's frequent invocation of the divine in the narration of historical events reveals an eschatological view of history, common throughout early Christian history, wherein historical events serve as a theatrical process leading to redemption. This connection between salvation and history allowed for the politicization of divine grace, as seen in Villani's pro-Guelph political stance. Unlike Villani, Machiavelli considered Count Guido's tactical flaws as the cause of the Ghibelline defeat, writing, "So powerful was this imagination in him that without thinking of any other remedy, he decided to save himself rather than fighting."[38] By attributing this victory to the timidity and impudence of the Ghibelline leader, Machiavelli reiterated his humanist emphasis on history as the creation of human actions. This reading of Machiavelli's philosophy aligns with past scholarship, and especially Quentin Skinner's *The Foundation of Modern Political Thought*, which proposes that Machiavelli's paradigm of opposing fortune and virtue has roots in Augustinian Christianity and fourteenth-century humanism.[39]

Since the nineteenth century, academic discussion regarding the validity of the Renaissance as a unique historical period has attracted a wide range of scholarship on topics ranging from the evolution of Latin literature to the development of artistic styles. By looking at Villani's *Nuova Cronica* with Machiavelli's *Florentine Histories*, this article has proposed that significant continuity exists in the expression of Florentine patriotism, which signifies the gradual formation of proto-nationalist sentiments from the late Middle Ages to the early Renaissance, a significant point of reference that can be used in the field of periodization. Nevertheless, more analysis of Medieval and Renaissance writings needs to be done to substantiate this claim.

Furthermore, histories from the two periods differ in their understanding of the human relationship with the divine. On the one hand, Villani wrote history as a series of events whose results are predestined by God. Fortune, as a result, became the agent by which God intervened in human affairs. On the other hand, Machiavelli viewed history as the dynamic struggle between fortune and virtue, one in which humans can play a more active role in crafting their

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[37] Villani, *Chronicle*, 223.
[38] Machiavelli, *Florentine Histories*, 61.
[39] Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, vol. 1, *The Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 152.

own futures, individually and collectively. What thus emerges from this focused study is a confirmation that noteworthy distinctions between the Renaissance and the Middle Ages indeed do exist, such as an evolving perception of an individual relationship with the divine. By extension, one can propose that the humanist emphasis on the strength of individual virtue in shaping human history corresponds with earlier claims of individuality.[40]

In addition, this article proposes that historiographical shifts may reflect general cultural and intellectual changes that can help us draw the chronological boundary between the two periods. However, as Robert Black has noted in previous works on periodization, the Renaissance is only a collection of movements with shared characteristics. For this reason, any future periodization derived from the historiographical trend may only reflect one of these movements instead of the period in general. Despite this limitation, historiographical inquiries still present immense potential for future scholars to explore the boundary between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

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[40] Douglas Biow, *On the Importance of Being an Individual in Renaissance Italy: Men, Their Professions, and Their Beards* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

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The Dragon and the Eagle: Comparing the Qin and Rome

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THE DRAGON AND THE EAGLE:
COMPARING THE QIN AND ROME

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Abstract: This paper examines the similarities and differences between the Qin state during the wars of unification and the Roman Empire during the Crisis of the Third Century. It explores how the leaders, Qin Shi Huang and Aurelian, used their governmental and martial apparatuses to conquer and unify their respective regions. With numerous similarities in their circumstances, both states would militarily subjugate their geopolitical rivals within a decade. By comparing government and military structures, one can gain an understanding of how these two periods of conquest and integration were instituted, as well as exploring the larger effects of these conquests on the history of the Qin Dynasty and the Roman Empire.

Ancient China and Rome have often been subject to intense comparison as the cultural forerunners of East Asian and Western civilizations. This comparison is made especially with the Han dynasty (202 BCE – 220 CE), the contemporaneous government of China during much of the Roman Empire's reign over Europe. However, if one looks back at the foundations of the first Chinese imperial dynasty, the Qin, one can find numerous similarities between the Qin state's conquest of China and the reunification of the Roman Empire during the crisis of the third century. One can analyze the two states as they adapted to threats from within and outside their territories and reformed themselves to match the challenges of their times. These changes, primarily military and governmental reforms, allowed both states to conquer and assimilate their enemies rapidly. This paper will examine these reforms and their effects to understand better how governance and statecraft can lead to military success.

The Qin's wars of unification help to explain the comparison between pre-unification Qin and third century Rome. In particular, it is similar to Rome's restoration of the imperial borderlands at the end of the crisis of the third century. For one, the unification of China and the reunification of the Roman Empire both occurred during the ancient period. This makes the sophistication of their military equipment comparable, as both states would primarily use infantry armies armed with hand-to-hand weapons. Second, both conquests occurred within a similar timeframe, as the

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Qin conquered China within nine years, and Rome reunified the empire within four. These short timeframes allow for a more focused examination of the inner workings of each empire's government. Finally, both unifications primarily occurred as military conquests of other states. One might argue that Qin's rise to power would be more comparable to the initial rise of the Roman empire, however, this comparison would be less accurate. While the Qin would conquer China in less than a decade, the Roman Empire grew slowly over many centuries and as such Rome's smaller conquest of its political rivals at the end of the crisis of the third century is far more analogous to the Qin experience.

Before examining their comparable governance, it is crucial to first understand the background of the Qin and Rome conquest. The Qin polity found itself at odds with many other regional states for dominance, particularly the Qi and Chu, the two other major forces in China at this time. The Qin were situated at the edge of the Chinese civilization, in the mountainous area west of the Central Plains, with nomadic steppes to its north and competing Chinese states to its east.[2] During this period, the Qin found themselves in the final stages of the iron age and therefore had access to large quantities of high-quality iron weapons for their armies (Figure 3). Wu Qi (440–381 BCE), a prominent military leader and philosopher from the Chu state, described the Qin as follows: "The people of Qin are ferocious by nature and their terrain is treacherous. The government's decrees are strict and impartial. The rewards and punishments are clear. Qin soldiers are brave and high in morale."[3] Wu Qi's words, written far before the First Emperor's reign, clearly show that their disciplined and warlike nature made the Qin a serious threat to their foreign rivals; these traits would eventually allow them to assume a dominant position within China. However, they were not yet able to face the combined armies of other states. Therefore, the Qin created pragmatic alliances to maintain good relations with distant states while engaging in wars against their neighbors. This system, detailed in the Thirty-Six Stratagems in the 2nd or 3rd Century BCE, showed that Qin was sensitive to the geopolitical realities of its region and had responded well to its limitations.[4] This strategy made their enemies divided, which allowed for the Qin to defeat them during the final wars of unification under the First Emperor (r. 247 – 210 BCE).

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[2] Hui Fang, Gary M. Feinman, and Linda M. Nicholas, "Imperial Expansion, Public Investment, and the Long Path of History: China's Initial Political Unification and Its Aftermath," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 112, no. 30 (2015): 9925.

[3] Wu Qi. *Wuzi* (Library of Chinese Classics: Military Science Press, 2005).

[4] Unknown, *Thirty-Six Stratagems,* ed. Stefan H. Verstappen (San Francisco: China Books & Periodicals, 1999).

In the case of the Roman Empire, their position was one of instability and division. After the assassination of the last emperor of the Severan dynasty (193 – 235 CE), the empire underwent continuous usurpations, revolts, and invasions, known as the crisis of the third century.[5] This situation led to the disintegration of the empire into three smaller states: the Gallic Empire, which centered on the province of Gaul and encompassing much of modern-day France and England, the Palmyrene Empire, based out of the city-state of Palmyra in modern-day Syria and encompassing Egypt, the Levant, and a significant portion of Anatolia, and the reduced continuation of the Roman Empire, centered on the city of Rome itself and which held the regions of Iberia, Italy, Greece, and North Africa (Figure 2). Although reduced, the original imperial state retained control over some of the most productive parts of the Empire, making it incredibly powerful militarily and paralleling the strength of the Qin at this time. However, like the Qin, they were vulnerable if attacked by multiple enemies at once. The Romans had already experienced this during the crisis, as uprisings along the Danube River and invasions in Gaul and the Levant were the original cause of the empire breaking apart.

In order to not be overwhelmed, the Romans, under Aurelian (r. 270 – 275 CE), focused on a single threat at a time. Through this strategy, Aurelian would defeat usurpers, barbarian invasions, the Palmyrene Empire, and the Gallic Empire without being overrun. Much like the system contained in Thirty-Six Stratagems Aurelian attempted never to face more than one enemy at once. While outside threats were grave, the Romans faced their greatest threat from the usurpers that prevented lasting stability within the empire and perpetuated a constant state of civil war. Aurelian managed to reestablished legitimacy by retaking the lost lands of the empire through conquest. As Edward Gibbon writes, "Aurelian…triumphed over the foreign and domestic enemies of the State, re-established, with the military discipline, the strength of the frontiers, and deserved the glorious title of Restorers of the Roman world."[6] Aurelian's Roman Empire inherited a military that his predecessors had already reformed in response to the threats of the crisis. For Rome, the importance of military strength helped to maintain internal stability. The emperor needed a loyal military that was large enough to deter rivals within the state and reassure the provinces that he could defend them against the "barbarians" at the borderlands. This protectorate

[5] Alan Bowman, Averil Cameron, and Peter Garnsey, "The Crisis of Empire, A.D. 103-337," in *The Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 28.
[6] Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1845), 572.

relationship with the provinces had granted Rome legitimacy before the crisis of the third century had begun. However, Rome lost this relationship once it could not defend them from their enemies. Afterwards, more rebellious figures revolted, which began in the border provinces via insurrections. In response to this threat, former emperor Gallienus created a rapid response cavalry force mobile enough to respond quickly to threats in any particular region, as well as large enough to intimidate threats both foreign and domestic.[7] Aurelian also benefitted from another of Gallienus's reforms: the end of political appointments to the military. Before the reform, it had been common for upper-class families and politicians to be assigned to military roles without formal training. The elimination of this practice occurred via separating the Senate from the military. This move both created a more meritocratic system in which the best soldiers would be promoted to higher command, while simultaneously removing the Senate's connections to the army, weakening their ability to foment rebellions.

The First Qin Emperor also benefited much from his predecessors' policies. His predecessors had conquered vast amounts of territory and adopted the most advanced military technology. Additionally, their use of a meritocratic system allowed for the most skilled to rise within the ranks, as seen with Wang Jian and Bai Qi. To take Wang Jian, the primary military leader during the unification, as an example, he commanded offensives into the Chu state on a scale that would not be replicated in Europe until the late medieval era. A meritocratic system ensured generals like Wang Jian would have military competency and provided the drive to be promoted and rewarded for victories. While Sima Qian might say that leaders like Wang Jian and Bai Qi had "something short about them"[8] due to their character, there is no doubt that Qin would have been unable to have the success they did without their skills in battle. This also demonstrates the Emperor's ability to command vast scores of soldiers during a period in which communication and logistics were still largely in their infancy. As written by Sima Qian, Wang Jian requested 600,000 soldiers for the conquest of Chu, and this request was filled without argument by the First Emperor.[9] For most ancient societies, an army of this size would have been incredibly costly and difficult to raise, exemplifying the strength of the Qin government in supporting a force of this size.

[7] Bowman, et al., "The Crisis of Empire," 115.
[8] Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Qin Dynasty* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 130.
[9] Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian,* 128.

Looking to Qin's government, one can describe it as broadly authoritarian, which helped to create internal discipline that served the armies in their conquest. An example of this authoritarianism were the legalist reforms that came to the forefront of Chinese political culture during the Qin period. One scholar from Shandong University describes these reforms as "geared for persistent war, conquest, and the bureaucratic redefinition of an expansive domain."[10] This was most visible in Shang Yang's reforms which increased government control over citizens, as detailed in the Book of Shang Yang. During his tenure as the chancellor of Qin, Yang strengthened the Qin's military position by increasing government regulation over the populace. This occurred via breaking traditional community structures and fully linking the traditionally agricultural economy to the military.[11] Yang's tenure led to a significant increase of central government control of the state and this occurred by increasing the state's military power. The purpose of these government reforms had been to make the state more efficient, which helped the state to improve its ability to wage war.

Likewise, the Roman Empire changed significantly during the crisis of the third century as the previous system of the Empire, the *Principate,* was insufficient to face the challenges of a Rome in decline. This resulted in the *Dominate*, a more autocratic, modernized Roman state. Where previously the Empire retained many of the trappings of republicanism, the new Roman state became more autocratic and hostile towards competing internal power structures. This led to the end of the Senate's connection to the military and the formation of an imperial bureaucracy. Emperor Gallienus had begun these changes by curtailing the role of the Senate in a process that could be described as proto-absolutist. The Roman Senate was later excluded from military command, as well as the majority of provincial governorships. Instead, the military apparatus became professionalized, with merit triggering promotion rather than political connections. Subsequently, this led to further exclusion of the Senate from governing, as many provinces were transitioned to imperially appointed governors rather than senatorial rule.[12] This promoted the loyalty of the provinces during times of strife and further separated the Senate (and therefore the elite) from real political power. Roman politics became more and more irrelevant as power shifted from emperor to emperor, with the Senate as little more than an afterthought. This curtailing of the

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[10] Fang, et al., "Imperial Expansion, Public Investment, and the Long Path of History*,"* 9926.
[11] Shang Yang, "Agriculture and Warfare (農戰)," in *The Book of Lord Shang: Apologetics of State Power in Early China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 134.
[12] Bowman, et al., "The Crisis of Empire," 59.

Senate led to the creation of a bureaucracy, as the elites no longer participated in the governance of the empire. The emperor created a separate bureaucracy of administrators that replaced senators, and these bureaucrats reported directly to the imperial office.

The Qin experienced comparable changes as they conquered their neighboring states, as the government and military were often led by commoners who were rewarded with lands after they had won victories. This famously occurred with Shang Yang, who was rewarded with a large fief after the conquest of Wei. Likewise, Wang Jian received numerous rewards from the First Emperor as he led Qin's armies in the conquest of Chu. Following their conquest, the Qin integrated new lands into a centralized state bureaucracy, much like the Romans following the reconquest of their lost provinces.[13] The meritocratic character of both Rome and Qin allowed for both civilizations to have gains in strength, as the ambitious and talented received promotions and rewards, while those that failed would be quickly replaced.

Furthermore, both conquests also had similar legacies. Both Aurelian and the First Emperor retained reputations for cruelty that endured far beyond their reigns. For the First Emperor, the nature of fighting many wars would explain this, but a large part of the residual hostility is due to the harsh rulership the Qin employed. Jia Yi (c. 200 – 169 BCE) was a writer and politician of the early Han dynasty, and he characterized the First Emperor harshly in his work *Transgressions of the Qin*: "[The First Emperor] cast aside the kingly Way and relied on private procedures, outlawing books and writings, making the laws and penalties much harsher, putting deceit and force first and humanity and righteousness last, leading the whole world in violence and cruelty."[14] This general dislike of the First Emperor was shown following his death as the Qin Dynasty was quickly overthrown by an uprising of separatists and usurpers. Jia Yi placed the blame for the fall of the Qin at the feet of the First Emperor as a result of his governance being too cruel.

Aurelian experienced a similar hostility during his reign, as his zeal for reform led to an attempt to remake the Roman monetary system and purge the corruption that was slowly suffocating the economy. This took the form of a new system of coinage (Figure 4) and greater oversight over the mints to prevent illegal debasement, much to the dismay of mint employees, leading to their eventual revolt. While this revolt would be put down at great cost in lives,

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[13] Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian*, 44.
[14] Jia Yi, "Transgressions of Qin," in *The Basic Annals of the First Emperor of Qin,* ed. Sima Qian (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 81.

Aurelian's severe reputation would eventually cause his death as his officers erroneously feared they would be purged and killed him out of their own self-interest.[15] Following his death, the Senate would "secretly rejoice" Aurelian's assassination, likely due to the repression of the senatorial class during his reign.[16] Just as the senators rejoiced Aurelian's death, the scholars of Qin rejoiced in the death of the First Emperor, who had oppressed them in the name of stability.[17] However, it remains undeniable that these rulers caused a great impact on the world during their reigns, and it is part of their nature as historical figures to be complex.

When discussing similarities between the two states, it is also important to discuss the unique aspects of each state during these events. In comparison to the Qin's establishment of the first centralized Chinese empire, the task completed by the Romans is on a significantly smaller scale. They were reconquering lost lands, while the Qin had the challenge of acquiring and maintaining control over vast swaths of new lands and the people that lived there. The challenge presented to the Qin is also visible in the number of enemies each state faced. While both Rome and Qin faced threats on multiple fronts, the Qin faced six major states, while Rome only faced two. This is also supported by the scale of the wars that were fought. As mentioned previously, Wang Jian had requested 600,000 men for the conquest of the Chu, while the number of Romans involved in the campaign against the Palmyrene Empire was likely one-third of this massive force.[18] The difference in the scale of these conquests bestows immense respect to the Qin for achieving what they did, especially as Rome was considered the preeminent masters of logistics in Europe during the ancient period.

In guiding their states, the First Emperor and Aurelian led the Qin and Rome to new frontiers and renewal, respectively. Aurelian restabilized the empire after decades of decay, and the First Emperor created the first centralized Chinese empire. This was done through great efforts by these leaders and their predecessors to reform and innovate both their governments and militaries to face new challenges. Without these reforms, neither Aurelian's campaigns nor the Qin's wars of unification would have been possible. While differences between the Qin and Rome remain, the study of these two societies helps to show the effect of centralizing autocracy

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[15] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall,* 609-612.
[16] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall,* 613.
[17] Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian*, 58-59.
[18] Glanville Downey, "Aurelian's Victory over Zenobia at Immae, A.D. 272," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 81 (1950): 57.

and meritocracy on the power of states militarily. As a result of the goals set by their leaders, both states became significantly more autocratic, and this provided the government with the authority to reorganize their societies in the pursuit of strength. This reorganization also benefited from an increase in skilled bureaucrats and commanders, as the militarizing nations needed both talented generals to lead the armies and bureaucracies that were not linked to the continually discontent elites. While these societies were certainly less free due to these changes, the reforms prevented these states from being destroyed and defeated, at least for some time. This struggle of security against freedom has continued to this day, and the histories of the Qin and Rome certainly do not provide definitive answers. They must be judged based off what they achieved and how they achieved it. From there, it must be determined whether the benefits that these states received were worth what was sacrificed in their pursuit of greater power.

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