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All members of NCIS and their affiliate organizations are cordially invited to submit manuscripts to *The Independent Scholar* (TIS). We welcome submissions in the form of traditional essays as well as creative or artistic material on any topic that will appeal to our members. Your manuscript may be presented in any suitable referencing style (e.g. Harvard, MLA) but should be internally consistent; it should conform to the academic standards demanded by NCIS and will be subjected to a robust peer review process. Please consult the [submission guidelines](#) before submitting material, but if you have any queries don't hesitate to contact the relevant member of the TIS Editorial Board. Manuscripts and queries should be sent to the Editor at [tis@ncis.org](mailto:tis@ncis.org).

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# The Independent Scholar

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### FROM THE EDITOR'S LAPTOP

Welcome to Volume 6 of *The Independent Scholar (TIS)*, the peer-reviewed online journal of the National Coalition of Independent Scholars (NCIS).

The 2019 NCIS Conference at the University of Massachusetts (Amherst) "Making Connections, Meeting Challenges" gave us the opportunity to present a volume of conference papers, this one entitled "Meeting Challenges." Another volume of conference papers – provisionally (and predictably) titled "Making Connections" – is currently underway. This present number consists of three papers as well as the winner and runner-up essays of the 2019 Elizabeth Eisenstein Essay Prize, plus six book reviews. This number features Karima Amer's contribution to the historiography of psychoanalysis in which she foregrounds the role of Théodore Flournoy; Renee Elizabeth Neely's paper on the Marrons of the Great Dismal Swamp in Virginia and North Carolina; and Amanda Haste's study of the challenges faced by the British expatriate colony in nineteenth-century Marseille.

Further papers are already under review, and those that pass the peer review process will be published on line, and in either the next conference issue, or in a general issue, as appropriate.

TIS remains a highly collaborative enterprise. Alongside myself, Joan Cunningham as STEM Editor and Amanda J. Haste as Humanities Editor, the TIS Editorial Board now has five Associate Editors, all with their own areas of expertise. Our small army of anonymous peer reviewers toil away in obscurity. As to their identity, only their editors (as it was once said about hairdressers) know for sure. . . Each paper printed is subjected to at least two peer reviews, so without their work, there would be nothing to fill the pages of this journal.

The Editorial Board meets regularly, and have recently made several major decisions concerning the future of TIS: we will be asking authors to submit their manuscripts formatted to the house style; we are currently looking at introducing an automated submissions system; and we will soon be standardizing the referencing style to provide stylistic consistency for the journal. Final decisions on the latter two will be made over the coming months, so in the meantime authors should submit according to the guidelines in force at <https://www.ncis.org/submission-guidelines>.

We invite NCIS members to submit manuscripts to [tis@ncis.org](mailto:tis@ncis.org). NCIS authors are also invited to submit their books for reviews which will appear both online (with the author having the opportunity to respond to the review) and in the next TIS.

Shelby Shapiro, Ph.D.  
General Editor, *TIS*



## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS VOLUME

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# HISTORIOGRAPHIC CHALLENGES IN UNDERSTANDING THE DEVELOPMENT OF PSYCHOANALYSIS: CONNECTING FLOURNOY, FREUD, JUNG AND THE CREATIVE UNCONSCIOUS

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## **Abstract**

*This paper presents a historiographic challenge pertaining to the famous rupture between Sigmund Freud and Carl Gustav Jung, which came about because of controversies surrounding occultism and the research of Swiss psychoanalyst Théodore Flournoy into mediumistic phenomena. Without focusing on the historiographic controversies surrounding Freud and Jung themselves, this study examines the view of the unconscious mind which prevailed in the "Genevan school" to which Flournoy belonged, demonstrating not only that Flournoy's was a seminal scientific discovery, but also that he was particularly significant with respect to Freud. This finding runs counter to the official French historiography, which does not recognize the true significance of Flournoy's work on hypnosis and suggestion. Even though Flournoy and Freud came to convergent hypotheses in many aspects until 1900, Flournoy's creative unconscious differs fundamentally from that of Freud. Taking the intellectual proximity of Jung and Flournoy as a starting point, it becomes clear that the expressed divergences result less from a broadening of the Freudian concept of the libido than from a new and subversive approach to psychoses and their relationship with madness. Evidence of this approach is derived from statements made by Flournoy on subliminal stories produced by the creative imagination.*

**Keywords:** *Freud; Jung; Flournoy; history of psychoanalysis; mythopoetic; cryptomnesia; mediumnity; hypnosis; creative unconscious; dream theory*

## INTRODUCTION

Because the contribution made by Swiss psychologist Théodore Flournoy (1854–1920) to the discovery of the unconscious mind has not been widely acknowledged, this article examines that discovery through a re-reading of the tensions between Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) and Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961), which without doubt influenced the premises of Jungian analytic psychology. Like Jung, Flournoy found parallels between several productions—somniaambulism, early dementia. storytelling—and the creative imagination, in a continuous analogy with the paradigm of dreams. It was at the Munich Congress, where the rift between Jung and Freud became obvious, that Jung



distinguished his thinking from that of Freud on two points: the creative imagination and the fact that psychosis brings out mythical elements.

Both Flournoy and Jung stressed the potential of the psyche to heal the patient. This applies across the psychic productions of mediumnity, psychosis, storytelling, and early onset dementia, because all of these conditions or activities involve the mobilization of the imaginary creation and its theatricalization. Through this creative power of the unconscious mind, human experiences, from the occult to psychosis, share the same mobilization of the imaginary creation and its theatricalization. This is identical to the function which links Flournoy's medium Hélène Smith with Jung's medium Hélène Preiswerk, and also with those diagnosed as suffering from early onset dementia. These latter patients also undergo a dramatic production of imaginary characters (beyond the link with projection, or the link between theatricalization and projection), and both Flournoy and Jung thought that this constituted a stage in their future recovery.

Taking the intellectual proximity of Jung and Flournoy as a starting point, this study begins with a brief review of the origin of the concept of an unconscious mind, and considers the contemporaneous ideas about hysteria and dream theory of Janet, Freud, Jung, and Flournoy. It becomes clear that the expressed divergences result less from a broadening of the Freudian concept of the libido than from a new and subversive approach to psychoses, in their relationship with madness. Evidence of this finding derives from the statements made by Flournoy on subliminal stories produced by the creative imagination. This analysis concludes by considering Flournoy's legacy and parallels between him and Jung. Jung's questioning of the place of mythology, morals, and religion undeniably places him closer to Flournoy than to Freud.

#### CONTEMPORANEOUS THOUGHT ON THE UNCONSCIOUS

The genealogy of the concept of the unconscious mind before Freud contextualizes the work in French-speaking Switzerland, and led to the discovery of a subliminal, creative and mythopoetic unconscious at the end of the nineteenth century. Modern approaches to the unconscious date from the heart of the nineteenth century, with the convergence of three sources: the philosophical, the psychophysiological, and the psychopathological. The latter is the most visible part of this story and explores the phenomena of dual personality, hysteria, and neuroses through those "strange states of conscience" of hypnosis and somnambulism.<sup>1</sup>

#### ***Pierre Janet's Automatism***

In an age when the phenomena of hypnosis and dual personality were in vogue, the French psychologist Pierre Janet (1859–1947), a contemporary of Freud, thought of these as the expression of subconscious phenomena. In his 1889 thesis, *L'Automatisme psychologique* (p automatism), Janet studied what were then called "hysterical women," using hypnosis as an experimental method. He highlighted activities that he qualified as inferior or automatic, in normal subjects usually inhibited by the superior functions. Janet was interested in phenomena which cannot be controlled by the subject: for example, the way in which hypnotized people and spirit mediums wrote texts, while apparently unaware, in an automatic fashion. For him, these facts could not be reduced to psychological causes. This was contrary to the thoughts of Théodule Ribot (1839–1916), the founder of psychology in France, and of Jean Martin Charcot (1825–1893), with whom Janet studied. However, such examples of automatic writing do have a psychological character in that they are accompanied by a rudimentary form of consciousness. Janet thus talked about subconscious phenomena, meaning situated below consciousness, and this opened up the possibility which led to much discussion, at the time, of the idea of a psychological subconscious.

For Janet, the conscious mind of hysterics resulted from subjects' somewhat congenital psychological weakness, was exacerbated by emotional shocks suffered over the course of a lifetime. Such a mind could contain and synthesize only a small number of mental states. The "shrinking of the field of consciousness," as he called it, explains the dissociation of the self which can lead to the formation of a dual personality.<sup>2</sup> To summarize, the subconscious to which Janet referred is the site of expression of a consciousness which is inferior and pathological. Psychologists, including Janet, who claimed priority over Freud, were thus still far from considering possible explanations that were as radically new as

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<sup>1</sup> I explore these issues more fully in Le Coq-Héron, n° 218, 2014, pp. 46-61; and in *The Independent Scholar*, vol. 5 (2019).

<sup>2</sup> P. Janet, *L'Automatisme psychologique* (1889). Paris : Réédition L'Harmattan, 3 vol., 2007.



was the unconscious according to Freud. Indeed, for Freud, the unconscious mind is a constituent of all human psyches, whether normal or pathological.

### ***Freud's Repressed Unconscious***

At the end of the nineteenth century, Freud and Janet were perceived as researchers and therapists and were engaged in researching the psychology of hysteria and later of *psychasthénie*, or mental strain, and of obsessive-compulsive disorder. This meant they often cited each other in their publications. However, from this point onward, each developed different concepts of phenomena beyond the conscious mind. From 1895, Freud (also a student of Charcot) proposed a form of hysteria resulting from defense mechanisms rather than from psychological weakness; this led him to formulate the hypothesis of an unconscious mind, which cannot become conscious because it is repressed. Indeed, in 1895 Freud's book *Studies on Hysteria* was published, and it was the problem of hysteria which, through Jean Martin Charcot, Josef Breuer, and Anna O., and maybe also through Janet's *Psychological Automatism*, that set Freud on the road to his later discoveries.

In 1896, Freud proposed a general theory of neuroses as opposed to neuroses in their true sense. For him, neurasthenia and anxiety disorders originated in the patient's sex life, and psychoneuroses (hysteria and obsessive-compulsive disorder), were linked to sexual trauma, real or imagined, in early childhood. Freud then applied to dreams the model he had devised for hysteria, and to what we now call *actes manqués* (Freudian slips) the symbolic realizations of unconscious desires. This led to very hot debate between Freud and Swiss psychologists Flournoy, Edouard Claparède, Alphonse Maeder, and Jung. Nevertheless, the current study argues that these different theorizations of the world of dreams were not at the center of the theoretical rifts between Jung and Freud. Freud's 1900 "Interpretation of Dreams" and his 1901 "Psychopathology of Everyday Life" unquestionably represent a reconsideration of the primacy of the consciousness in classical philosophies. It is because thereafter the subject appeared divided that Freud, starting in 1900, could state that "the unconscious is the psyche itself and its essential reality."<sup>3</sup> Jung, on the other hand, relied on two models: Janet's for the understanding of psychopathology, and Flournoy's for the subconscious elaboration of creative fantasies.

### ***Flournoy's Unrepressed Subconscious***

Flournoy belonged to the Society of Psychic Studies in Geneva and studied spirit and parapsychological phenomena. He developed his notion of the subconscious in situating himself more toward the thinking of Frederick Myers (1843–1901) and his theory of the subliminal self in a dynamic creative conception of the subconscious, than toward that of Pierre Janet, who attributed a passive and automatic dimension to the subconscious. Even so, Flournoy rejected the metaphysics associated with Myers' work, and differed from him on certain points. Flournoy considered that behind the potentialities of certain mediums lie only normal mechanisms, including dream work. As a result of his studies, he postulated the efficacy of a subliminal unconscious mind, which differs from Freud's unconscious mind through its compensatory cryptomnesic and, above all, mythopoetic dimensions.

## **DISCUSSION**

Even if Flournoy's propositions are close to Freud's in many respects, the fact is that Flournoy does not mention repression, or the return to repression, through which Freud devised dynamic therapeutics. Flournoy only mentions cryptomnesia, a forgotten memory that returns without being recognized as such by the subject, who believes it is something new and original. Cryptomnesia is, thus, a way of finding the path of consciousness in subliminal productions. The remark of Flournoy's grandson, Olivier, also a psychoanalyst, is extremely illuminating in this respect: he states that Théodore Flournoy described cryptomnesia at the same time as Freud was describing infantile amnesia. Indeed, for Olivier Flournoy, it is a question of showing that two unconscious personalities are developing at the same time: one subliminal in reference to the unconscious work of cryptomnesia, and the other dynamic in reference to repression.

### ***Flournoy, Freud and the Dream***

In Flournoy's work, dreams constitute a real paradigm of understanding of mediumistic phenomena. As Pierre Bovet points out in an homage to Flournoy, his work is situated at the boundaries of three different fields of research: medical, metaphysical, and theological. Freud's "Interpretation of Dreams" (1900) was published at the same time as the book

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<sup>3</sup> Sigmund Freud, "L'Interprétation du rêve," *Œuvres complètes*, IV (Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 2004).



which made Flournoy famous, *From India to the Planet Mars*, in which Flournoy traces the mediumistic potentialities of Hélène Smith, the young woman with whom he worked, while always closely relating this to dream work. He put forward novel ideas on the connections between médiumnity and madness: such concepts were groundbreaking because they deviated from the prevailing discourse, which for example envisaged mediumnic productions based on Janet's pathological model of automatism. In fact, Flournoy never for a moment considered the "subliminal creations" of Hélène Smith to be pathological. The teleological and compensatory value of these subliminal productions, that we also find in his ideas about dreams and their interpretation, leads to a position of the emancipation of mediumnity, with regard to the pathology subscribed to by William James, Frederick Myers, and their disciples. Additionally, this same teleological and compensatory value leads to a reconciliation of mediumistic productions with dream-like constructions, in a clear affiliation with Frederick Myers, who above all developed knowledge about dreams' premonition powers. Indeed, Myers acknowledged that dreams were related to mental layers about which the conscious mind no longer knows anything. Faced with dreams, as he was faced with psychosis, hysteria, hypnosis, genius, and sleep, Myers emphasized their positive aspects and refused to assimilate them into a particular degeneration or to consider them primitive remains.

In spite of the incoherence of dreams, Myers felt that they work on images which are the same as those which inspire genius. They do not simply copy lost memories, but actually "reason" on buried facts of the past.<sup>4</sup> Myers put sleep, possession, ecstasy, and dreams on the same level, considering them all to contain inexplicable psychic powers. He thus emphasized the metaphorical role of dreams, and the power of their symbolism.

In his 1896 "Notice sur le laboratoire," Flournoy states that dreams are particularly important for psychological research, and in 1899 he wrote the following statement in the *Revue Philosophique*:

*En somme, ce que l'automatisme traduit au dehors . . . c'est une sorte de petit roman, élaboré subliminalement au moyen des données de la mémoire et de la perception, sous l'impulsion d'un état émotif plus ou moins intense, et avec l'aide de cette curieuse faculté de dramatisation et de personnification que, sans sortir de la vie quotidienne ordinaire, chacun peut y voir à l'œuvre dans le phénomène du rêve.*

[To put it simply, what automatism expresses outwardly . . . is a sort of short novel developed subliminally through the information stored in the memory and the perception, driven by somewhat intense emotional state, and with the aid of this curious faculty of dramatization and personification in which, without leaving the context of ordinary everyday life, everyone can find themselves involved through the phenomenon of dreams.]

And, still in 1899, during a course notated by Pierre Bovet, Flournoy cites the studies on hysteria by Freud and Breuer. It is thus quite understandable that in 1903, Flournoy felt the need to write a review of Freud's "Interpretation of Dreams" in the *Archives of Psychology*, and his reservations about Freud's manner of interpreting dreams would later be reflected in the amendments and modifications of Freudian theory.

### ***Freud versus Jung – And the Legacy of Flournoy***

It is worth remembering that when Jung met Freud, he already held a conception of the unconscious and of the psyche that he had inherited from Flournoy, Janet, and all those who had worked on the subconscious. This was a "subliminal" legacy about which we must ask ourselves whether Flournoy had not influenced the development of Jung's work and contributed to the differences between Jung and Freud, given the silence which surrounded the discoveries in Geneva concerning the mythopoetic unconscious. Or indeed whether, in the end, the controversies surrounding the libido were not simply an "epiphenomenon" of much deeper divergences, related to the place both Freud and Jung assigned to mythology, and susceptible to questioning Freudian psychoanalysis on a more fundamental level in its relationship with

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<sup>4</sup> I explore these issues more fully in *Le Coq-Héron*, n° 218, 2014, pp.46-61; and in *The Independent Scholar*, vol. 5 (2019).



the unconscious. Indeed, Flournoy's cautiousness when faced with the Romanesque creations of "his" medium, Hélène Smith, show that at the heart of his discovery is a questioning of the place of mythology, morals, and religion which undeniably places him closer to Jung than to Freud.

#### CONCLUSION

For both Flournoy and Jung, the emphasis is on the creative potential of the psyche to lead to a patient's healing. This applies across the psychic productions of mediumnity, psychosis, storytelling, and early onset dementia, because all of these conditions or activities involve the mobilization of the imaginary creation and its theatricalization. For both Jung and Flournoy, the creative potential of the psyche is directly related to dream work. In this respect, Jung's thinking is distinguished from that of Freud on two points: the creative imagination and the fact that psychosis brings out mythical elements. Jung thought of the imagined blossoming, the characters, and theatricalization as a phase in the healing process, a journey through insanity which was necessary to achieve a superior integration of the personality. From Flournoy to Jung, the emphasis is on the creative potential of the psyche to lead to health and mental stability, those teleological aspects of the psyche which give us a reference point in the development of analytical psychology.

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# NAVIGATING FREEDOM, CREATING SUSTAINABILITY: MARRONAGE IN THE DISMAL SWAMP OF VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA (CA 1800 – 1850)

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## **Abstract**<sup>1</sup>

*The phenomenon of fugitive slave communities, or marronage, is immediately associated with Jamaica, Suriname, Brazil, and parts of South America, as well as Florida and Louisiana in the United States.<sup>2</sup> A lesser-known history is that of the Dismal Swamp Maroons in an ecosystem abutting the southeastern border of Virginia and the northeastern border of North Carolina. To this geography, self-emancipated African slaves, members of indigenous communities, and whites fleeing cruel indentures escaped to create a safe haven in the midst of the Tidewater slavocracy. The inhabitants of the swamp were feared by slaveholders as rebels and threats to their authority, yet to the women, men and children who chose this harsh environment instead of bondage, the Dismal Swamp<sup>3</sup> became a landscape of freedom.*

*This environmental study explores the history of the Dismal Swamp Maroons and suggests that the thinking, resource imperatives and social interactions linking freedom and green might hold insights for those seeking solutions to environmental problems that can help improve the contemporary lives of society's most marginalized communities in ways that are both sustainable and just.*

**Keywords:** *Dismal Swamp Maroons, maroon traditional ecological knowledge, indigenous environmental knowledge, environmental stewardship, community operational research*

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is an expanded version of the author's presentation for the European Working Group for Operational Research and Development (EWG-ORD) held at *Facultad de Ciencias Matemáticas de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid* in July of 2018.

<sup>2</sup> The focus of this study is marronage in the Dismal Swamp of Virginia and North Carolina (circa 1800-1850). The author acknowledges the existence of similar communities throughout the upper and lower southern United States and along its eastern seaboard. Further investigation will expand this topic regionally, nationally and globally.

<sup>3</sup> The terms *Dismal Swamp* and *Great Dismal Swamp* are used throughout this study interchangeably as found in geography, history and literature about this region.



**Fig 1** Lake Drummond at Great Dismal Swamp National Wildlife Refuge in Virginia.

Wikimedia Commons

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Photo\\_of\\_the\\_Week\\_-\\_Great\\_Dismal\\_Swamp\\_National\\_Wildlife\\_Refuge\\_\(VA\)\\_4578425529.jpg#metadata](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Photo_of_the_Week_-_Great_Dismal_Swamp_National_Wildlife_Refuge_(VA)_4578425529.jpg#metadata) (accessed 10/28/19)

## INTRODUCTION

The history of the Dismal Swamp Maroons crosses boundaries of political freedom and environmental stewardship, linking freedom and green. This environmental study does not argue that Dismal Swamp Maroons saw themselves as environmental stewards or proponents of environmental justice within the realm we know today. It does argue that by virtue of their response to the challenges of their environment to successfully remain free, Dismal Swamp Maroons created a new position and a new way of understanding environmental stewardship.

The study of Dismal Swamp marronage offers a broad-based understanding of heroic human adaptability to ecosystems thought uninhabitable. How was this accomplished? Maroons achieved and maintained their autonomy by reliance on strong societal and familial ties, and the practice of traditional ecological knowledge systems (TEK).<sup>4</sup>

This environmental study originated as a presentation to the European Working Group for Operational Research Development.<sup>5</sup> It proposed a new perspective on marronage in the Dismal Swamp as a river culture. This study has implications for thinking through OR models designed for marginalized communities today. Those populations are overwhelmingly people of color, in similar riparian habitats. The working group explored global concerns for sustainable

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<sup>4</sup> Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK); or Indigenous Knowledge (IK); Indigenous Technical Knowledge (ITK); and Traditional Knowledge (TK) refer to: "A body of knowledge maintained by a native people, often over a number of centuries in response to specific environmental and social stimuli" (Mirovitskaya and Ascher 2001). Additionally, traditional knowledge (TK) (or other coterminous terms such as indigenous knowledge and local knowledge) generally refer to the long-standing information, wisdom, traditions and practices of certain indigenous peoples or local communities (Kothari 2007). Dismal Swamp Maroons were local self-identifying communities.

<sup>5</sup> Operations research (OR) is a discipline that uses advanced analytical methods (largely mathematical) in problem solving. It has been termed a management science (quality management, knowledge management, data analytics, etc.) that relies heavily on technical applications to problem solving.



development.<sup>6</sup> The mathematical methodologies associated with traditional OR practices have been challenged for not considering the social components necessary in solving environmental challenges. Additionally, recent studies towards *new thinking*<sup>7</sup> in bridging OR and sustainable environmental research promote the practice of meaningful community engagement (Community OR) to better understand challenges faced by marginalized communities. This participatory methodology seeks to deter communities' further marginalization by well-intended practitioners (Midgley and Reynolds 2004).

This study sheds light on an aspect of United States and global environmental history seldom discussed: the environmental history, practice and values of the enslaved. Consider the worst conditions, in which enslaved peoples' survival strategies created adaptable behaviors that in turn positioned them as environmental stewards.



**Fig 2** Aerial view of Lake Drummond at the center of the Dismal Swamp Virginia USA  
Wikimedia Commons

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lake\\_drummond\\_virginia\\_usa.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lake_drummond_virginia_usa.png)

(accessed 10//28/19)

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<sup>6</sup> The term *sustainable development* (SD) first came to vogue in the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future*. It was here defined as development that "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Kothari 2007).

<sup>7</sup> *New thinking* in OR refers to the added component of "meaningful engagement of communities, whatever form that may take" (Midgley et al 2017). Community OR expands the technical methodologies of OR to include social considerations for a better outcome in the decision making that concerns that community.



## WHO WERE THE DISMAL SWAMP MAROONS?

### ***History and geography***

It is necessary to define the terms *wetland*, *marsh* and *swamp* within their historical and present-day contexts as key to this environmental study. Each denotes low-lying land, partially or at some time inundated with water. In the popular vernacular, the terms *wetland* and *marsh* do not carry the negative political connotations of the term *swamp*. The Dismal Swamp, for example, was historically considered the undesirable landscape of fugitive slaves, renegade whites and violent remnants of Tidewater indigenous nations.

It was to this beautiful and foreboding place that many slaves came. The inhospitable nature of the swamp and the widespread belief that blacks' constitutions were more suited for its conditions led to a larger number of blacks than whites living and working in the swamp. (Blogger 1982)

The Dismal Swamp, an area once estimated to have exceeded a million acres, forms a natural border between southeastern Virginia and northeastern North Carolina (Leaming 1995). The Dismal Swamp Maroons were a diverse community of women, men and children bound by a common determination to live free within the Tidewater slavocracy. White colonists' inability to survive the challenges of the swamp's ecosystem, did not mean it was uninhabitable. Tuscarora, Nanticoke, Powhatan and Croatoan are a few of the indigenous nations that inhabited the Dismal Swamp thousands of years before the first white Tidewater colonists arrived in the mid-seventeenth century (Sayers 2014).

Historically, Tidewater indigenous nations had long hunted and fished in the swamp. The ecosystem supported a large number of wildlife: snakes, bears, wildcats, raccoons, opossums, rabbits, squirrels, quail and turkeys. The small islands within its recesses on higher ground could sustain small crop farming. Additionally, domesticated cattle and hogs often wandered into the swamp from nearby farms. These also contributed to the food supply. Species of black gum, red maple and sweet gum trees were in abundance. The cyprus and juniper trees formed the bulk of the swamp's commercial timber and logging businesses (Blogger 1982). Contrary to popular historical beliefs, freedom seekers did not run off into nothingness.

In 1728 William Byrd II, a wealthy Virginia slaveholder, surveyed the Dismal Swamp for potential profit from its vast timber resources. The more important goal of Byrd's expedition was the establishment of a political border between North Carolina and Virginia. Until that time none existed between the two colonies (Leaming 1995). During the expedition his description of "a miserable morass where nothing can inhabit . . ." is perhaps Byrd's most quoted comment on the landscape. Throughout *The History* he refers to the swampland as "The Dismal," which became its colloquial name, the Dismal Swamp (Byrd 1728). Byrd proposed using slave labor to dig a canal to transport the swamp's rich timber resources.

In 1763, The Dismal Swamp Land Company, with George Washington as a key investor, built a series of ditches to facilitate exploitation of its natural resources (Sayers 2014). The company's larger scheme of draining the wetland for farming failed and was abandoned. It took twelve years to complete the main canal, which was originally six feet wide, four feet deep and twenty-two miles long. The Dismal Swamp Canal remains the oldest operating man-made canal in the United States.

In 2004, an archeological dig was begun (and is still ongoing) that unearthed the remnants of permanent Maroon settlements in the Dismal Swamp. Very little archeological work had been done prior to that time. This has greatly impacted the Dismal Swamp Maroons' historical record (Sayers 2014).

### ***Borderland, hinterland and the plantation landscape***

A look at the landscape of slavery offers a window into how freedom seekers understood their natural environment as a liberating space. Consider the plantation grounds: a great house, generally on raised land with carefully manicured lawns; gardens in the forefront and surround areas; the slave shacks in the background, sometimes miles away (Smith 2007). Slaveholders, obsessed with imprinting their authority on every aspect of their chattels' lives, used the land and its architecture to reinforce hierarchy of place. Their disdain for the disruptive ugliness of slave labor on this idyllic landscape often placed slave cabins on the underdeveloped borders of the plantation. Tidewater slaveholders



underestimated enslaved peoples' relationship to their environment. Their aspirations for freedom knew no tangible boundaries. Enslaved women and men crossed the plantation borders and hinterlands. They formed complex relationships between those remaining in bondage and those who fled. Witnessing the selling of children; separation of spouses; indiscriminate and cruel abuse of men, women and children in a systematic attempt to turn human beings into expendable commodities, forced many to intervene and take back their lives. Women and men faced hard decisions in choosing freedom while sustaining familial ties with those still in bondage and all the risks therein. Yet, these ties existed in strength and number.

The maroon communities represented one of the gravest threats to the planters . . . these communities undermined the master's authority and emboldened other slaves to join them. (Blassingame 1972)

This constant back and forth movement was largely ignored by planters as long as it did not interfere with economic productivity. Was this hubris on the part of slaveholders to so grossly underestimate the intelligence and determination of women and men who sought freedom?

Moreover, Virginia's and North Carolina's intricate intercostal tributaries, coupled with the impenetrability of the woods and wetlands, gave opportunity to Tidewater freedom seekers. Maroons created and sustained communities in the midst of the Tidewater slavocracy:

Inside the Dismal Swamp of Virginia and North Carolina there were settlements of escaped slaves, not merely guerrilla bands but true settlements in that they were permanent, and included women and children. Over a span of more than two generations before the Civil War this was alleged by many American and foreign visitors to the region around the Swamp and by other authors. Characteristically these statements were to the effect that some two thousand escaped slaves and their children had long lived within the Dismal Swamp. Further details were rarely given. (Leaming 1995)

Slaveholders' lack of acknowledgement of Maroons' successful autonomy did little to diminish their power as unchallenged beacons of freedom to those still in bondage.



**Fig 3** *Osman*, a escaped slave in the North Carolina part of the Great Dismal Swamp, by David Hunter Strother, originally published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1856

Wikimedia Commons

<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:GreatDismalSwampMaroon1856.jpg>

(accessed 10/29/19)



### **Popular perceptions**

The fear of bands of *negroes lurking and lying out*<sup>8</sup> roaming the borderland and hinterland was fueled by popular fiction of the period. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, printed *Osman, a Great Dismal Swamp Maroon* (1856) by David Hunter Strother. *Osman*, was depicted as an armed, half-clothed, wild man coming out of the tangled vines of the swamp. That same year Harriet Beecher Stowe, published *Dred; A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp*. Dred is a maroon who advocates slave rebellion. The character, though heroic, is doomed because to preach freedom is treason. *Dred* was loosely based on the lives of freedom fighters Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner.<sup>9</sup>

These popular, yet false representations of Maroons as violent subhumans were seen as a direct result of their lives in the hidden recesses of the Dismal Swamp. The images saturated the white population's imagination and heightened their fears of *lurking negroes* under cover of the swamp's menacing and impenetrable vegetation. They fueled already festering hostilities. Under the pretext of ridding the swamp of fugitives, renegades and criminals, Tidewater slaveholders and their less wealthy cohorts armed themselves and with the help of regional militias (Aptheker 1939) and attempted to *clean out the swamp*. Maroon women, men and children were murdered and their settlements destroyed. Maroons fought back.

### LABOR AS A LIBERATING PRACTICE

I am glad to say also that numbers of my colored brethren now escape from slavery; some by purchasing their freedom, others by quitting . . . (Grandy 1844)

The Dismal Swamp offered an alternative to human bondage in several ways: a safe haven for those who chose to live free within the Tidewater; a pathway for those fleeing the area through the underground railroad; and a means of labor to buy one's freedom if so desired. Captain Moses Grandy (ca 1790 – ca 1850), an enslaved man from Edenton, North Carolina, chose labor.

Captain Grandy navigated the waterways of the Dismal Swamp as a shingle and timber barge captain. His labor bought his freedom and that of several members of his family. Captain Grandy's autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Moses Grandy, Late a Slave in the United States of America*, is a unique primary source. He details the harsh conditions of slave labor, the small opportunities for refuge and his self-sufficiency in working the swamp's waterways.

The labor is very severe. The ground is often very boggy; the negroes are up to the middle, or much deeper, in mud and water, cutting away roots and baling out mud; if they can keep their heads above water, they work on... (Grandy 1844)

Many maroon and enslaved men and women died in the process of building the canals and ditches in the swamp. Captain Grandy's autobiography gives us access to the geography, challenges, labor and determination of one who knew the landscape intimately.

The swamp offered a safe haven from punishment and frustration. The swamp's dark brown sulfuric waters were believed to have healing properties (Leaming 1995). Captain Grandy describes absenting himself in a lighter<sup>10</sup> to the other side of Drummond's Lake to recover from an illness:

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<sup>8</sup> The terms *negro*, *negros* and *negroes* are used in their period context from both popular and historical reference. Additionally the phrase *lurking and lying out* is within this same context: "And whereas, many times, slaves run away and lie out, hid or lurking in swamps, woods, and other obscure places ...." cited in "An Act Concerning Servants and Slaves 1705," *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619*.

<sup>9</sup> David Hunter Strother, aka Porte Crayon, was a popular illustrator and author of travelogues. Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, penned the novel *Dred* in response to criticism from African Americans and abolitionists that the character Uncle Tom supported the image of the docile, illiterate slave. Through art and fiction, both authors influenced popular notions of what maroons were like.

<sup>10</sup> A lighter is a type of flat-bottomed barge used to transport goods and passengers.



I therefore had myself carried in a lighter up a cross canal in the Dismal Swamp, and to the other side of Drummond's Lake. I was left on the shore, and there I built myself a little hut, and had provisions brought to me as opportunity served. (Grandy 1844)

The system of hiring out skilled slaves was widely practiced in the Tidewater region. Slaveholders could increase their wealth, and slaves might manage to keep a small amount of their earnings for themselves. Occupations included ironsmiths, draymen, nailers and tinsmiths. Skilled boat pilots, like Captain Grandy, were in high demand (Sayers 2014). He, in turn, hired men to help him ship the shingle barges out of the Dismal Swamp. These men would have been maroons. It was often remarked that the enslaved men who worked as shingle getters produced more material than possible for one man, often with the help of a shadow force of maroon laborers (Aptheker 1939; Blogger 1982; Sayers 2014).

Canal camp overseers turned a blind eye to those working for them, interested only in the end result of profit. Poor landless whites,<sup>11</sup> low on the economic totem contributed to this workforce, finding commonality with Maroons as social outlyers. The Dismal Swamp offered a liberating space for them also.

Like Captain Grandy, many enslaved and free men worked the docks and navigated the waterways of Tidewater as sailors, ferryman, longshoremen, draymen and in related occupations. Their close contact with a transient, multi-ethnic population leads to speculation about their communication and knowledge of events beyond the region. We can assume that many languages other than English, including those from their African origins, were spoken among women and men, both slave and free.

The Negroes have a wonderful art of communicating intelligence among themselves; it will run several hundreds of miles in a week or a fortnight. . . (Aptheker 1943)

In the period of 1800-1831, a series of pivotal, well-planned slave revolts crossed the borders between North Carolina and Virginia: Gabriel's Rebellion (1800), Sancho's Rebellion or The Easter Plot (1802), Denmark Vesey's Revolt (1822) and Nat Turner's Revolt (1831) (Aptheker 1943). Each rebellion had connections to the Dismal Swamp and vicinity for strategy, refuge or battleground.<sup>12</sup>

Captain Moses Grandy's autobiography remains the definitive primary source cited by historians and researchers of the nineteenth century Dismal Swamp. Moreover, it is the only known autobiography to date from the perspective of a formerly enslaved man who labored on the swamp's waterways and knew its ecosystem intimately.

#### MAROON ENVIRONMENTAL STEWARDSHIP AS LIBERATING PRACTICE

The history of Dismal Swamp Maroons illuminates a co-dependency on nature born out of their determination to remain free. That freedom depended solely on their successful adaptation to the swamp's ecosystem. In creating and sustaining this relationship, Dismal Swamp Maroons created a new position of environmental stewardship linking free and green.

The Maroon settlements of the Dismal Swamp no longer exist. Their communities disbanded with the ending of United States slavery in 1865. Yet their survival for hundreds of years can offer a broad understanding of human capability to adapt to ecosystems thought uninhabitable. Dismal Swamp Maroons relied on the same survival strategies, reciprocities and strong familial and societal ties practiced by indigenous communities today.

Maroons would have developed flexible and responsible environmental strategies based on indigenous and traditional ecological knowledge practices: herbal medicines, biological pest control and natural systems of intercropping and irrigation as practiced by indigenous communities today (Mirovitskaya and Ascher 2001). Additionally, Dismal Swamp Maroons sustained themselves through hunting, gardening and aquatic-based occupations such as crabbing, shrimping, fishing and oystering native to coastal Tidewater (Blogger 1982).

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<sup>11</sup> Note: this population historically was overwhelmingly of Irish descent (Leaming 1995) and will be a topic of expanded research.

<sup>12</sup> The author acknowledges the upheaval associated with slave revolts throughout the Atlantic World during this period, however, the specific scope of this study is the direct relationship of the Dismal Swamp's ecosystem as cover for the genius of rebellion in the Tidewater. This is an ongoing investigation and will continue to broaden its focus.



**Fig 4** Maroons of Eastern Jamaica (c1900) New York Public Library Digital Collections. <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47df-8d42-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99> (accessed 10/29/19)

***Jamaican Windward Maroons as a parallel community***

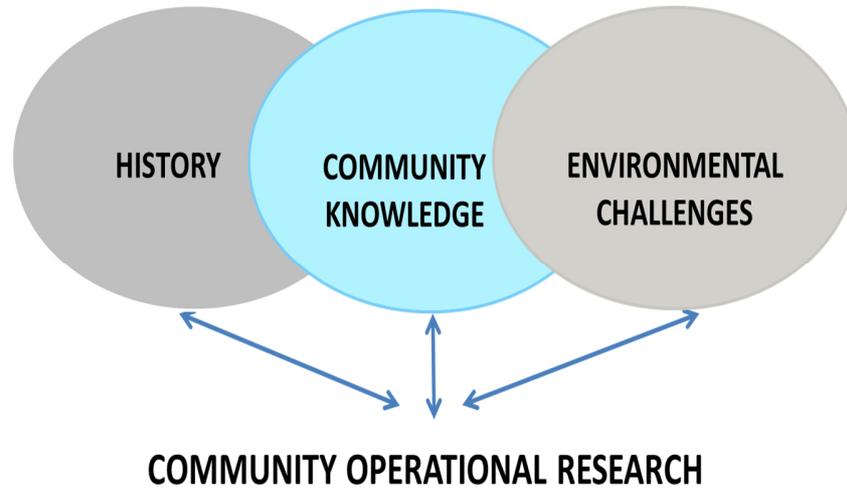
We can look at the present-day Jamaican Windward Maroons as a surviving indigenous community. Both the Jamaican Windward Maroons and the Dismal Swamp Maroons are river cultures. The Nature Conservancy of Jamaica asked the Maroons to share their knowledge as partners in a study of their traditional systems of water resource management:

The Jamaican Windward Maroons are a continuous link with pre-colonial Jamaica and have a more than 300-year legacy of intimacy with forest and aquatic ecosystems and communal ownership of these resources . . . The main premise is that the Maroon's history of autonomy, semi-isolation and dependence on local natural resources would have fostered home-grown natural resource management knowledge, systems and traditions. The study started with the prospect of uncovering an indigenous Maroon freshwater conservation ethic and values that can inform and guide the management of habitats in the national park and the rest of the island. (Kimberly 2007)

Further investigation connecting Maroon environmental history and present-day conditions in the remaining Dismal Swamp Nature Refuge will raise questions regarding gaps in conservation, aggressive deforestation, fires and the loss of acreage to industrial development.

**LINKING HISTORY, COMMUNITY AND GREEN**

In thinking through a model that might represent this environmental study, I submit the following design that allows adaptation to many circumstances:



**Fig 5** Model linking history, community and green

**History:** The environmental history of the Dismal Swamp dates thousands of years starting with its first Native American inhabitants and later Maroon settlements documented from the seventeenth century. Maroon sustainable practices developed over long periods of time and mirror those of communities today in similar riparian habitats. Traditional ecological knowledge practices have historically been responses to specific environmental and societal stimuli (Mirovitskaya and Ascher 2001). In the case of the Dismal Swamp Maroons, that stimulus was freedom.

**Community Knowledge:** Maroon's hard-won independence was achieved through survival strategies based on the indigenous knowledge of Tidewater Native Americans, the endogenous knowledge enslaved Africans brought with them to the region and the blended knowledge systems practiced by enslaved African Americans in response to their environment and their contact with Europeans. The successful longevity of Dismal Swamp Maroon communities was grounded in TEK survival strategies practiced globally today.

**Environmental Challenges:** The most critical and ongoing environmental challenge faced by Dismal Swamp Maroons was freedom versus slavery. Maroons mastered their inhospitable environment as a requisite for freedom. Their history reflects the absolute worst human conditions. Yet freedom seekers' determination created adaptable behaviors that in turn positioned them as environmental stewards. This history suggests a way of looking at environmental challenges faced by marginalized communities today, overwhelmingly populations of people of color, in similar riparian habitats.

**Community Operational Research:** Centering community knowledge as the focal point between history and green offers a holistic approach to finding solutions to environmental challenges. Community Operational Research is a participatory practice based on meaningful engagement with communities (Midgley et al 2017). The goal is to seek collaborative solutions to those problems that impact the contemporary lives of society's most marginalized communities in ways that are respectful, sustainable and just.

#### **What are the Environmental Lessons Learned?**

The UN Declaration on Indigenous Peoples, endorsed by the UN Human Rights Council in June 2006 with a recommendation for the UN General Assembly to adopt it recognizes "that respect for indigenous knowledge, cultures and traditional practices contributes to sustainable and equitable development and proper management of the environment." (Kothari 2007)



*Let us consider:*

- 1) The history of the Dismal Swamp Maroons offers an incredible example of the human will to successfully adapt to environmental challenges as a solution to eliminating one of the worst imaginable conditions – human bondage.
- 2) How did Dismal Swamp Maroons accomplish this? The successful autonomy achieved by these freedom takers was grounded in a combination of blended traditional ecological and indigenous knowledges.
- 3) Today much of the Dismal Swamp has been lost to aggressive deforestation, fires and neglect of the canals' infrastructures. How much of this can we contribute to an unconscious and lingering lack of respect for its original inhabitants? How might this have affected the ecosystem's conservation?
- 4) TEK is not static. It allows for innovative and flexible use of its knowledges for problem solving and adaptable environmental practices that can continually benefit indigenous communities and the larger external communities when respectfully coupled with scientific methodologies. Within the scope of this initial study, we viewed Dismal Swamp Maroons as an extinct community and the Jamaican Windward Maroons as an extant community.
- 5) Perhaps the basic underlying lesson of this study points to having respect for the traditional and indigenous knowledges of maroon communities past and present



**Fig 6** Great Dismal Swamp, National Wildlife Refuge, North Carolina and Virginia  
U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service

[https://www.fws.gov/refuge/Great\\_Dismal\\_Swamp/about.html](https://www.fws.gov/refuge/Great_Dismal_Swamp/about.html)

(accessed 10/30//2019)

This environmental study proposes a first step in opening a discussion of the history of marronage in the Dismal Swamp as an environmental history. Further investigation will build on this initial study and broaden its scope to include a larger environmental and historical context.

#### CONCLUSION

This environmental study proposes an alternative view of the history of Dismal Swamp marronage. Historically branded as outlyers, violent fugitives and subhuman criminals, Dismal Swamp Maroons stand as a testament to the human will. Their autonomy was grounded in a deep understanding of their environment. This study does not promote the idea that Maroons of antebellum Tidewater saw themselves as environmental stewards as we use the term today. Yet their survival strategies and co-dependency on the swamp's ecosystem, shaped a particular kind of environmental stewardship. That relationship coupled green and free. It is estimated that over hundreds of years the settlements of



the Dismal Swamp Maroons numbered in the thousands. Nevertheless, this remains a largely fragmented and under-documented history.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps we can best remember these freedom takers as early proponents of environmental justice. Their ecological footprint, though faint, is a tribute to their adaptation to the natural world to hide in plain sight.

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<sup>13</sup> This study acknowledges that in the last ten years there has been increased interest in the history of this community brought about through the ongoing archeological studies of Professor Daniel Sayers started in 2004.



## THE BRITISH COLONY IN MARSEILLE: MEETING THE CHALLENGES OF MIGRANT LIFE, 1850-1915

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### **Abstract**

*The busy French seaport of Marseille has long been an important trading post, and the demands of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century industrialisation and colonisation created new opportunities for many. Among those who came to Marseille were British merchants, engineers, shipping agents and bankers, but also telegraph boys, nannies and governesses. Some came willingly, while others had little choice, but all were strangers in a new country. Although the British regarded themselves as “ex-pats” [ex-patriates] rather than immigrants, they faced the same challenges as other migrants: cultural differences, the language barrier, loss of personal support networks, loneliness and depression. The emergence of a ‘British Colony’ led to the establishment of an Anglican chaplaincy in 1849, which aimed to minister to the local ‘Colony,’ and, importantly, to British seafarers who found themselves in very real physical and moral danger when putting into the port. The chaplaincy became known as ‘The English Church’ and provided a valuable cultural reference point, a ‘home from home’ in a shifting and ultimately foreign world, drawing hundreds of worshippers to its regular services of the ‘Established Episcopal Church of England.*

*Using information gleaned from church registers, consular correspondence, and local municipal archives, this paper draws on the emerging literature on migration studies and identity studies to examine the role of the English Church in the lives of the British Colony and to explore issues such as social mobility within this microcosm of British society; the symbiosis between church and congregation; and the reinforcing of group national identity while integrating into French society. I further hold that these challenges, and the role of the English Church in meeting them, still holds true today.*

**Keywords: Ex-pat, migrant, Anglican, Marseille, cultural identity, personal identity**

### INTRODUCTION

If I may begin with a personal note, this is a story of migration, through choice rather than forced exile, and although it concerns nineteenth century migrants, it resonates with my own experience of finding myself transplanted into a foreign country as a “trailing spouse”, with all the challenges that entails.

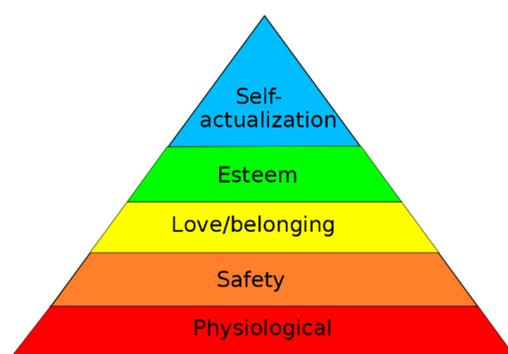
As with many voluntary migrants, popularly known as “ex-patriates” or “ex-pats,” when my husband’s work took us to the south of France we gravitated to the local Anglican church in Marseille, reassured by the familiar ritual, in English, of the Established Church of our home country, and the opportunity to meet up with others from our own culture. Needless to say, I soon started researching the history of the church, and quickly realised that not only were the challenges I was facing mirrored in the nineteenth-century experience, but that it was the needs of that ex-pat community which had led to the creation of this church, which serves a far wider purpose than that of religious worship. In this paper I will first briefly outline



the political background to economic immigration to France, and the various transnational communities which emerged in Marseille. I will then describe the demographic of the British Colony, followed by a more detailed discussion of the ways in which the English Church addressed the challenges faced by these nineteenth-century economic migrants, and which are still faced by the present-day British Colony in Marseille.

Among the challenges facing ex-pats are social isolation, often due to language issues; a sense of rootlessness; and, underpinning everything, the loss of personal and cultural identity. For the nineteenth-century Colony, being transplanted from the class-ridden expectations of British society to the egalitarian French ideal must also have been a destabilising experience. As Janssen says, “Our societal background is altered by transitioning to another country/culture. Not only must our lower-level needs be met anew within that host environment, our sense of identity is affected too”.<sup>1</sup>

**Figure 2. Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs**



Janssen’s reference to “lower-level needs” refers to the human ‘hierarchy of needs’ Abraham Maslow expressed as a pyramid, whose bottom layer contains basic physiological needs (e.g. food, shelter and warmth), moving up to the need for safety (including love and belonging) and then esteem (confidence, self-respect and respect from others). Maslow considered that one’s needs must be met on one level before one becomes concerned with the next, so it is only once one has satisfied the first four levels that one is capable of ‘self-actualisation,’ or “realizing the innate need to meet [ones] fullest potential,” for instance through “creativity, problem-solving [and] behaving morally.”<sup>2</sup> As Janssen points out, “our individualism exists within the broader society, country and culture in which we find ourselves”<sup>3</sup> and, for the “global nomads,” of the British Colony, the English Church provided a “clearly bounded horizon”<sup>4</sup> to their immediate environment, thus protecting them from the “jarring nature of culture shock”<sup>5</sup> in the wider French society and culture.

This research is situated within the wide Anglo-centric literature on Anglicanism as an imperial force by scholars such as Rowan Strong (2007), Stewart J. Brown (2008) and Hilary M. Carey (2011),<sup>6</sup> and also draws on the finely detailed work of scholars such as Martin Farr and Xavier Guégan on Britons abroad,<sup>7</sup> Marie-Francoise Berneron-Couvenhes on mail contracts,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Linda Janssen, *Emotionally Resilient ExPat* (Kindle), Ch.2: Identity Issues in Expat Life : Identity and why it matters, para 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Emotionally Resilient ExPat* (Kindle), Ch.2: Identity Issues in Expat Life : Identity and why it matters, para 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Emotionally Resilient ExPat* (Kindle), Ch.2: Identity Issues in Expat Life : Identity and why it matters, para 6.

<sup>4</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. [1983]. Rev. ed. London ; New York : Verso, 2006. p30.

<sup>5</sup> *Emotionally Resilient ExPat* (Kindle), Ch.2: Identity Issues in Expat Life : Culture Shock, para 10.

<sup>6</sup> Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, c. 1700-1850* (Oxford, 2007); Stewart J. Brown, *Providence and Empire 1815-1914* (Abingdon; New York, 2008); and Hilary M. Carey, *God’s Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c. 1801-1908* (Cambridge, 2011).

<sup>7</sup> Martin Farr and Xavier Guégan, eds., *The British Abroad Since the Eighteenth Century, Volume 1: Travellers and Tourists* (Basingstoke, 2013).

<sup>8</sup> Marie-Françoise Berneron-Couvenhes, “French Mail Contracts with Private Steamship Companies, 1835-1914,” *Business and Economic History On-Line*, Vol. 2 (2004).



and Jean-Yves Carlier of Brest University on bethels (sailors' homes)<sup>9</sup> which together serve to flesh out Marseille's crucial role on the touristic, commercial and maritime circuits between the British and French Empires. Brown has noted that, while "the nineteenth-century United Kingdom was highly religious" with "the overwhelming majority" of its inhabitants regarding themselves as Christians,<sup>10</sup> by 1851 only half of English churchgoers, a third of Scottish and a fifth of Welsh churchgoers were attending the established churches, with the rest being Dissenters.<sup>11</sup> While scholars such as Strong have claimed that ex-pat Anglican churches attract primarily the Anglican faithful,<sup>12</sup> I argue that the English Church in Marseille played a pivotal and proactive role in constructing professional and social networks for Anglicans and Dissenters alike, and that it provided a means of reflecting and reinforcing common British cultural values through an anglophone environment. I further hold that these challenges, and the role of the English Church in meeting them, still hold true today.

Using information gleaned from church registers, consular correspondence, and local municipal archives,<sup>13</sup> this paper draws on the emerging literature on migrant/ex-pat studies and identity construction (e.g. Benedict Anderson on imagined communities, Janet Bennett on cultural marginality, Barbara F. Schaetti on cultural identity, and Nancy L. Green and Roger Waldinger on transnationalism)<sup>14</sup> to examine the role of the English Church in the lives of the British Colony and to focus on the issues of social mobility within this microcosm of British society; the symbiosis between church and congregation as both supported and supporters; and the reinforcing of group national identity while integrating into French society<sup>15</sup>

#### THE BRITISH IN MARSEILLE

The busy French Mediterranean seaport of Marseille was the gateway to the colonies of both the French Empire and the British Empire, and the demands of nineteenth-century industrialisation and colonisation created new opportunities for many.<sup>16</sup> The British Colony was only one of several transnational communities which emerged in Marseille, as a result of political situations and conflict and the mass recruitment of foreign workers for the burgeoning industries which often involved the processing of colonial imports such as sugar and tobacco. As Wiseman tells us, the economic boom that began in the 1830s led to the recruitment of thousands of unskilled foreign workers, in particular Italians, whose numbers increased from 50,000 in 1876 to 100,000 by 1914 (Temime 1985:45): by the latter half of the century "the majority of industrial and unskilled workers on whom many industries relied were foreign; and by 1896 only 43% of Marseille's residents were originally from Marseille (Temime 1985:40-42; Hayot 1985:5)."<sup>17</sup> There were thus substantial communities of Italian, Spanish, Greek and Algerians, many of which established their own centers of worship. The

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<sup>9</sup> This research is published online on <le-blog-de-jean-yves-carlier.fr> and is to be integrated into a book on seamen's clubs around the French coast.

<sup>10</sup> Brown, *Providence and Empire*, 2.

<sup>11</sup> Brown, *Providence and Empire*, 4.

<sup>12</sup> Rowan Strong, "Anglican Emigrant Chaplaincy and the British Empire, c.1840-90", communication given at the 2016 Ecclesiastical History Society's Summer Conference, 26 July, 2016.

<sup>13</sup> I am grateful to the staff of the London Metropolitan Archives, the National Archives, and the Office of the Diocese in Europe, all in London, England, as well as the Archives municipales in Marseille, France, for their unfailing patience and helpfulness. A style guide for the entries pertaining to thèse, and to on-line archives can be found at the end of this paper.

<sup>14</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. [1983]. Rev. ed. (London ; New York : Verso, 2006) ; Janet Bennett, "Cultural Marginality: Identity Issues in Intercultural Training," *Education for the Intercultural Experience* ed. E. Michael Paige (Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press, 1993); Barbara F. Schaetti, "Phoenix Rising: A Question of Cultural Identity," online <https://www.worldweave.com/BSidentity.html>; and Nancy L. Green and Roger Waldinger, eds., *A Century of Transnationalism: Immigrants and Their Homeland Connections* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2016).

<sup>15</sup> I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer who brought to my attention the work of Nancy L. Green and A. Whitney Walton.

<sup>16</sup> The founding of the English Church in 1849 came the year after the revolutionary events in France which led to the overthrow of King Louis Philippe and the start of the French Second Republic with Louis Napoleon Bonaparte as its President. In 1851 Louis Napoleon organised a *coup d'état*, establishing the Second Empire in 1852 and taking the throne as Napoleon III; the French Second Colonial Empire lasted until 1870, during which time it doubled in size. Meanwhile, the British Empire was also expanding rapidly, and the twin colonial powers of France and Britain formed an alliance to send an army to China to fight the Second Opium War, and combined forces against Russia, notably in the Crimea. Marseille was also the site of industrial innovations and manufacturing growth, with maritime opportunities increasing with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869.

<sup>17</sup> Nicole Wiseman, *The Construction of Marseille and the Racialized Immigrant*, 3. [https://www.academia.edu/11575136/The\\_Construction\\_of\\_Marseille\\_and\\_the\\_Racialized\\_Immigrant](https://www.academia.edu/11575136/The_Construction_of_Marseille_and_the_Racialized_Immigrant).



*Indicateur marseillais* directory of 1852 states that, according to the census returns for this city of 195,138 inhabitants, 189,218 self-identified as Roman Catholic, 4,247 Protestant, and 1,488 "Israelites", with 185 belonging to *autres cultes ou communions* [other religions or denominations]<sup>18</sup> and while many Italians and Spanish would no doubt have worshipped (in Latin) in the many local Roman Catholic churches before establishing their own, the British Church rubbed shoulders not only with the French Reformed Church and the Evangelical Church, but also the Jewish synagogue and the Greek Orthodox Church.

Historically, the relationship between England and France has been complex, and at the time that the trickle of British economic immigrants to France became a steady flow towards the mid-nineteenth century, the last major conflict between the two countries had been the Napoleonic Wars, a series of wars against the First French Empire which lasted two decades and culminated in the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815. However, despite later tensions, such as over the Suez Canal and rivalry over African colonies, a peaceful and tolerant atmosphere prevailed, especially in the interests of industrial growth. The skills of British engineers were highly sought after, and others came to seek their fortune, and even to escape sticky situations back home following failed businesses and even lawsuits. These included such captains of industry as Philip Meadows Taylor, son of Philip Taylor from Norwich, who left England to escape bankruptcy following an expensive patent dispute, and who ended up running large engineering projects, and owning one of the largest steam engine factories in France. There were also high-ranking officials of French companies, such as Arthur Scott, managing director of the railway company. But they were by no means all well-to-do. There were also small shopkeepers like the confectioner Charles Henry, and hotelkeepers, who often specialised in catering to an English clientele, and of course the many British employees working in factories, small businesses and private houses. The need for reliable communications led to the setting up of mail routes and telegraph systems, for which English-language skills were in demand. We find the British working for the French postal service, and for the Peninsular and Oriental Line (P & O), which held the British government mail contracts for Alexandria, Calcutta and China.<sup>19</sup> While some were transient, enough settled in France with a view to the long-term that, by the 1840s, a stable core community had emerged.

The Colony thus comprised all social classes, and included merchants, shipping agents, bankers, and their entourage of maids, nannies and governesses, as well as telegraph boys, translators and language teachers. And there were of course many British ships putting into this major port. So the British Colony can be divided into three main groups: the residents; the seamen; and those transient visitors such as tourists, missionaries and colonial officials passing through the port.

#### SOCIAL ISOLATION & PRECARIETY

But where should they go for help and support? There was no focal point to the Colony, but both the British residents – and those putting into port – sought to continue the Sunday worship which was so much a part of their social fabric. Some frequented the Protestant "temple," with the liturgy of the French Reformed Church, in French. But this didn't always satisfy the needs of the Colony's members, especially if they did not speak French well, and if a visiting priest were available Anglican services were occasionally held in the Protestant temple. So in 1849 an Episcopal Anglican church was established as a consular chaplaincy. Services were held in a rented upper room in a spacious building within walking distance of the port; a chaplain was appointed, and the room was fitted out with benches, a lectern, pulpit, and a *séraphine* (a type of harmonium). Like most ex-pat Anglican churches, it soon became known as "The English Church".

As Catherine Transler says in *Turning International*, "we humans are genetically wired to be tribal, connected individuals" and the English Church offered this connection to the homeland, through a common language, and through reinforcing social norms. The chaplaincy also offered a strong connection to Great Britain through the British Consulate in Marseille, which was responsible for supporting British nationals in the city; it was established as a consular chaplaincy, closely overseen by the British Consul who chaired meetings and approved the annual allowance from the Foreign Office.<sup>20</sup> Chaplains were

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<sup>18</sup> Source: *Indicateur marseillais*, 1850. p. 735. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9687007j>.

<sup>19</sup> There is evidence of British economic immigration to Marseille from the mid-eighteenth century, although regrettably there are no reliable statistics. However, their increasing presence on the Marseille industrial and commercial landscape, and the social scene, and the annual subscription lists kept by the Anglican chaplaincy, provide evidence of a considerable presence from 1850 onwards.

<sup>20</sup> This allowance did not cover all the overheads involved in running the Church, and the trustees relied on subscriptions from the resident Colony, donations from visiting tourists, and a levy from British ships putting into port.



also recruited through the British Foreign Office, and only British nationals could be appointed as church officials,<sup>21</sup> all of which reinforced the colonial nature of the expat situation.

Importantly, attendance at the church also centred on the time-honoured ritual of the Church of England. As Linda Janssen reminds us in *The Emotionally Resilient Ex-Pat*, "Rituals not only remind us where we came from, they also reflect where we've been along the way, resulting in who we are today. They are a form of shared memories and help to create and maintain bonds."<sup>22</sup>

Given that the Anglican Church had for three centuries been the Established Church of England, one might assume that the Anglican ritual was the norm, and that all those attending the English Church were practising Anglicans. However, what we find is that the bonds which connected the British Colony were often more cultural and linguistic than religious. For example, the leading lights in establishing the Marseille chaplaincy were the industrialist Philip Taylor and his son (also Philip), whose family back in England were staunch nonconformists; and Henry and Frederick King, two of the first church officials, also came from nonconformist families.

It would seem that the initiative to create an English Church in the city was borne out of a need for a cultural centre, which would serve as a focus of British life and culture, and provide a social service and pastoral as well as spiritual care to British residents and visitors.

#### FOR THOSE IN PERIL ON THE SEA.....AND ON LAND

Probably the most important social care provided by the English Church was that given to the many sailors who put into the port. Life at sea and ashore was dangerous: quite apart from the moral dangers of drink and 'loose women', there were very real physical risks for British sailors abroad, as illustrated in this vivid snapshot later written by a locum priest in the chaplaincy:<sup>23</sup>

Marseilles has acquired] a reputation for peril and adventure which still holds, and not without cause. [...] The sounds of struggle, stifled screams, and the sudden report of firearms, followed by as ominous a silence, are no infrequent occurrences in the night there [...] Some, not infrequently, are waylaid thus even now, robbed, mishandled, even murdered, their bodies being found later in the water, 'cause of death unknown'.

Sailors had no trades union support, and could be put ashore, abandoned, or stranded if their ship sailed without them. The British Consul could repatriate a stranded sailor by requiring a British captain to provide passage and board back to Britain, but this generally meant finding someone to liaise between sailor and consulate and it was not unusual for sailors to find themselves in hospital or prison with no hope of reprieve.

Marseille's first chaplain, the Revd. Michael John Mayers (1850-64), therefore lost no time in establishing a Sailors' Home, or bethel. The traditional Bethel, or 'House of God' was a chapel, and sometimes a hostel, for sailors, and Mayers' Marseille bethel provided everything the British sailor could need: food at cost price, and drink – but only tea, or an infusion of eucalyptus, because the bethels were strictly teetotal. The Sailors' Home had rooms for conversation, for meetings, and for worship, as well as a library. Importantly, sailors could also rent accommodation at a very reasonable rate, thereby saving them from the bars and brothels.

Using money drummed up during a fundraising trip to the United States, the Revd. Mayers was able to open his Sailors' Home in 1854. This was just in time, because over the following two years (1854-6) France and her British allies went to war with Russia, notably on the Crimean Peninsula. Hundreds of thousands of sailors and soldiers flooded through the port, and Mayers was soon able to report that:<sup>24</sup>

The Home is going on very satisfactorily, and is fully answering my expectation. The house has been full for the last three weeks. It is quite evident, even to the worldly minded, that our undertaking is, through

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<sup>21</sup> This remained the case until well into the twentieth century.

<sup>22</sup> Linda Janssen, *The Emotionally Resilient Ex-Pat: Engage, Adapt and Thrive Across Cultures* (Summertime Publishing, 2013), Kindle ed., chap. 14: Factors in Emotional Resilience, Kindle loc. 5911.

<sup>23</sup> *Gibraltar Diocesan Gazette* (Dec. 1925), 34-6.

<sup>24</sup> *Sailors Magazine*, 1855, n.p.



God's blessing, productive of great good; in the first place, to keep men away from those dens of iniquity and destruction, the gin-shops, and to bring them within reach of the means and ordinances of grace. All those seamen who are lodged in the Home, attend on the Sabbath the ordinance of public worship."

Over the rest of the century, successive chaplains would count the British sailors' welfare as an important part of their duties, celebrating a service at the Sailors' Home at least once a week, and visiting those unfortunate enough to find themselves in hospital, in the asylum or in prison.

Residents and visitors also came to depend on this Anglican – and anglophone – presence, as can be seen in a plea for support in 1858. The chaplain was away, and the chaplain from neighbouring Nice, Mr Horwood, should have been covering:<sup>25</sup>

The Committee of the English Church present their compliments to the Revd. Mr Horwood and request he will inform them what probability there is of his returning to Marseilles or of procuring a successor [...] the immediate presence at Marseilles of an English Clergyman is absolutely necessary. An English Lady died this morning, and there are many English Sailors in hospital requiring Spiritual Assistance.

For some, the English Church could do nothing, but at least the English clergyman was there to give them a decent burial. For others it had an important role to play in providing spiritual and social care, especially for those who found themselves stranded in a foreign land, often knowing nobody and unable to speak the language.

For example, Elizabeth Severn, the wife of the newly appointed British Consul in Rome, was taken ill at Marseille in December 1861, while en route to join her husband in Italy. Too ill to continue her journey, she languished in a Marseille hotel for several months, accompanied only by her nineteen-year-old daughter Eleanor who dared not leave her dying mother's bedside in a strange city where "the doctor, the English clergyman, and the wife of the British Consul were her only friends in Marseille."<sup>26</sup>

The English Church also provided a support network for those whose lives could be precarious. There was considerable insecurity in terms of jobs, and accommodation; even those teachers of English who practised in Marseille over several decades are usually listed at a different address every year or so. Women were especially vulnerable, and many of those who frequented the church were servants, who, if they lost their jobs for any reason, would soon (if not immediately) be out on the street. The English Church provided them with a network through which they find other work and a roof over their heads. In other words, as long as there was an Anglican presence in Marseille, they were never abandoned and alone. Or were they?

At the end of the century, the Colony succeeded in raising their own church building, All Saints' Church, which was consecrated in 1903. Not long after, in March 1911, a tragic event took place in that very church, of which a report appeared in newspapers across the world.<sup>27</sup>

*Grand émoi, ce matin, pendant l'office divin, à l'église anglicane de Marseille, rue de Belloi : tandis que les fidèles, recueillis, étaient prosternés, un coup de feu retentit. On s'empresse et au pied d'une des colonnes de l'édifice on aperçut, baignant dans son sang, le corps d'une femme mise avec élégance. C'était Mme Eugène Priou, femme d'un négociant anglais, qui, dans un accès de neurasthénie, venait de se faire sauter la cervelle. La malheureuse fut transportée expirante au domicile de sa famille éplorée. Cet événement a provoqué une grande émotion dans la colonie anglaise.*

[Great commotion this morning during the Divine Office, at the Anglican church of Marseille, rue de Belloi: while the faithful were gathered together, their heads bowed in prayer, a gunshot rang out. We hurried to see what had happened, and at the foot of one of the columns of the church we saw, bathed in her own blood, the body of a woman lying gracefully. It was Mme Priou, the wife of an English

<sup>25</sup> London Metropolitan Archives, Letter to the Revd. E. R. Horwood, Anglican chaplain at Nice, Marseilles, 31 May 1858, MS, FO 698/16.

<sup>26</sup> Sheila Birkenhead, *Illustrious Friends: The Story of Joseph Severn and his Son Arthur* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1965), 139.

<sup>27</sup> Leicester Daily Post, 13 March 2011. Accessed 21 August 2019.

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0002148/19110313/160/0008>



merchant, who, in a fit of neurasthenia, had just blown her brains out. The unfortunate woman was transported, dying, to the home of her grieving family. This event has been the cause of great emotion among the British Colony.]<sup>28</sup>

This account in French was reproduced in papers across France and beyond, while similar accounts appeared in numerous newspapers across England. Details varied, the unfortunate lady having been reported to have either shot herself in the left temple, or having pointed the revolver into her mouth, and having been taken home or to the nearest hospital to expire. However, several do mention that she had been in bad health for some time, with the most specific report stating that she had been "suffering from melancholia induced by neurasthenia".

In fact the report cited above is factually incorrect in one important detail: Mme Priou was the English wife of a French merchant, and as such I find her dramatic gesture very telling, in that she chose to carry out this dreadful act in full view of the very community of her compatriots: people who could have been expected to supported her, as an Englishwoman. This seems to me to have been a very powerful symbolic gesture, publicly to the British Colony – her people – in the building that represented their spiritual "home" in so many respects.

#### SYMBIOSIS

There was a deep symbiotic relationship between the Church and its congregation. Not surprisingly, local British business owners gave generously to the church, which depended on subscriptions from those who attended. In return, the Church provided a valuable means of endorsing British-owned businesses: an advertisement for the Hotel de Genève stated comfortingly that it was "under English management"; and in the case of the Grand Hotel it was spelt out that "the wife of the proprietor is English" and that the establishment was "recommended by the English chaplain."<sup>29</sup> Such endorsements not only advertised the comforting news of an Anglican – and thus English – presence, but reinforced its pivotal role in British society in Marseille.

To support the Church's ministry to seamen, a levy was also raised from all British ships putting into port, which raised a small but steady income, and there were some generous private benefactors. However, the Church was mainly dependent on subscriptions from those attending the church. Money was a constant problem, as evidenced by the not infrequent pleading letters between chaplains, consuls, and the Foreign Office 'back home'. Unlike the Riviera churches, who could reckon on support from a rich congregation, the British Colony in Marseille was essentially poor, and the effect on the chaplaincy's finances is clearly seen in this letter from the British consul:<sup>30</sup>

Marseilles is a port where a great many British subjects are glad to find a church [...] on their way abroad to the Far East, Egypt, the Riviera etc. The post of the Chaplain is no sinecure. The visiting areas are enormous [,] living is by no means cheap [...] and we are entirely dependent on voluntary subscriptions. To sum up, therefore, the services of a Chaplain are needed:

- 1) By the resident British Colony, which is poor.
- 2) By seamen, who can contribute nothing or little.
- 3) By a category of persons who are in the city for a very limited time, and from whom it is impossible to obtain more than the trifle they may choose to put in the offertory.

We may add that during the summer months the Marseilles Chaplaincy is the only permanent one in the South of France as far as Nice.

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<sup>28</sup> Author's translation

<sup>29</sup> *Gibraltar Diocesan Gazette* (1912), n.p.

<sup>30</sup> National Archives, Letter from the British Consul in Marseille to the Foreign Office, MS FO 698/18.



## SOCIAL MOBILITY

The British Colony in Marseille comprised a vibrant, shifting ex-pat community, which made a valuable contribution to the cosmopolitan life of the city.<sup>31</sup> As one chaplain reported wryly, “the British community is very important – nearly as important as it thinks it is; [...] the Britishers are not numerically the largest colony, but in influence they are not the least considerable; the *Maire* delights to honor the colony with his presence at all public functions”.<sup>32</sup>

Being seen at social events was important, and the local press provided gushing descriptions of social occasions at which all the women were beautiful and charming, and all the men eminent and well-respected, as can be seen in these accounts of a charity sale and a charity concert, both from the social columns of *La Vedette: Politique, sociale, et littéraire*.<sup>33</sup>

*Dans les luxueux salons Pain a eu lieu jeudi dernier la vente de charité, organisée, comme toutes les années par les dames et jeunes filles des colonies anglaises et américaines. Parmi les jolies vendeuses Mmes et Mlles Mirzayantz, Skeggs, Morton, Damiano, Carr, Bendit, Earce, Fritsch-Estrangin, Couve, Velten, Musgrave, Hamling, Kelsey, Dubourg-Bell, Nepbeu, etc. Fête charmante dont le resultat a été très productif pour les malheureuses familles, que secourent ces charitables dames.*

[On Thursday last, in the luxurious Pain salons, the charity sale took place. The sale was organised, as it is every year, by the ladies and girls of the British and American colonies. Among the pretty sellers were Mesdames and Mesdemoiselles Mirzayantz, Skeggs, Morton, Damiano, Carr, Bendit, Earce, Fritsch-Estrangin, Couve, Velten, Musgrave, Hamling, Kelsey, Dubourg-Bell, Nepbeu, etc. It was a charming occasion which raised a great sum for the unfortunate families whom these charitable ladies support.]<sup>34</sup>

*Une assistance très élégante s'était donné rendez-vous mercredi à la salle Pain, où avait lieu le concert organisé au bénéfice du Sailor-Home. [...] Un des attraits principaux de ce concert était aussi d'entendre Mme Marie Laure, l'éminente artiste, qui préside à la satisfaction de tous la classe de déclamation du Conservatoire. Mme Marie Laure a joué, en anglais, langue qu'elle parle aussi bien que le français, c'est dire dans la perfection, une des plus belles scènes de Macbeth. Elle avait comme partenaire Mme Biddlecombe et M. Vernon [...] Cette soirée a été terminée par une comédie : Un mari dans du coton, jouée en anglais par Mme Biddlecombe et M. Vernon, qui y ont obtenu un succès de fou-rire.*

[A most elegant audience turned out to the Pain Room on Wednesday, to attend the concert organised in aid of the Sailors' Home [...] One of the concert's principal attractions was also the chance to hear Mme Marie Laure, the eminent artiste who, to everyone's satisfaction, directs the declamation class at the Conservatoire. Madame Marie Laure played one of the finest scenes of *Macbeth*, which she delivered in English, a language she speaks as well as she does French, that is to say perfectly. She was partnered by Madame Biddlecombe and Monsieur Vernon [...] The evening was brought to a close by a comedy, “A Husband in a Fix,” played in English by Madame Biddlecombe and Monsieur Vernon, a great success which had everyone in fits of laughter.]<sup>35</sup>

Such networking provided social opportunities which inevitably led to marriage, and the resulting family ties often led to social and professional advancement. Attendance at the English Church provided a local network, and the attendant social opportunities inevitably led to marriage between members of the Colony. For example, in 1877 Jane Lockwood, daughter of Richard Lockwood, a foreman at the new gasworks, married a mechanic, Thomas Carlyle Bell, and all their children were baptised by the English chaplain. Other marriages at the English Church seem to have given people a step up the social ladder: Charles Grant, who was earning his living teaching English, married the daughter of the

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<sup>31</sup> Arthur Taylor, brother of founding trustee Philip Meadows Taylor and a regular subscriber to the Church, served on the committees of several cultural associations, notably in music and in photography, rising to become vice-chairman of the latter for several years.

<sup>32</sup> *Gibraltar Diocesan Gazette* (March 1929) 8.

<sup>33</sup> *La Vedette: Politique, social et littéraire*. (12 March 1898) 179.

<sup>34</sup> Author's translation.

<sup>35</sup> Author's translation.



industrialist Philip Taylor Snr., a move which certainly did not harm his prospects. Grant succeeded his brother-in-law Philip Meadows Taylor as a trustee of the church, and later made his fortune in property.<sup>36</sup> But if one could climb the social ladder – and many did, in the egalitarian republican ethos of France – there were also others who fell out of favour.

**Figure 1. Wallner Hawthorn (1843-1915) and his French wife Josephine née Audin (1844-1908)**



The young industrialist Wallner Hawthorn arrived in Marseille in his twenties, and quickly became a trustee of the English Church in 1865, aged only 23. He held this post for ten years, was clearly a man of substance within the Colony, and even served as deputy British Vice Consul in 1867. Over the next twenty years Wallner built up a successful company, married a French girl, Josephine, had three sons. But then, in 1884, he disappears from Marseille.

An announcement posted by his son Edouard in the *Journal officiel de la République Française* of 9 March 1909 reveals that Wallner had indeed abandoned his French wife and young family (and that Wallner's eldest son had also disappeared some years later). After some 20-odd years, Wallner's wife had started describing herself as a widow, and at Edouard's wedding in 1905 his father was described as "the late" Wallner Hawthorn. This notice was placed after Josephine's death in 1908, and the question of succession and inheritance would have become a serious issue.

*Par jugement en date du 17 February 1909, le tribunal de premier instance de Marseille (Bouches-du-Rhone) a ordonné une enquête à l'effet de constater l'absence des nommés Wallner Hawthorn et Henri Hawthorn, père et frère du sieur Edouard Hawthorn, docteur en médecine, domicilié en dernier instance à Marseille, disparus : Wallner Hawthorn depuis l'année 1884, et Henri Hawthorn depuis l'année 1893.*

[By judgement of 17 February 1909, the Court of First Instance of Marseille (Bouches-du-Rhone) has ordered an inquest in order to establish the absence of Wallner Hawthorn and Henry Hawthorn, father and brother of Monsieur Edward Hawthorn, medical doctor, last domiciled in Marseille, disappeared: Wallner Hawthorn since 1884, and Henry Hawthorn since 1893.]<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Such networking also occurred on a wider imperial level, with the busy chaplaincy and its mission to seamen becoming known far beyond the shores of England or indeed France. International trade across the Empire resulted in meetings, friendships and kinship networks, and may have led to at least one clerical appointment, that of the high churchman Thomas Skeggs (1852-1927; chaplain 1885-1900). His father, Charles Skeggs, was based in Shanghai for over twenty years between 1861 and 1885, where he had his own company and operated as a public silk inspector and assessor for Western silk merchants. Charles Skeggs knew all the British consular staff in Shanghai and Peking (who were helping to develop trade with China), and probably introduced his son (Tom) to William Frederick Mayers (1831-1878, son of the Revd. Mayers, first consular chaplain at Marseille) in about 1872. William Mayers was a renowned sinologist before dying young after contracting typhus fever in Shanghai, and it may well be that Skeggs' initial contact with William Mayers occurred when Tom was living in Shanghai before he left in 1874 to study theology at Oxford.

<sup>37</sup> Author's translation.



In fact, not long after his disappearance, and unbeknownst to the Marseille Colony, Wallner reappeared in England with a new English 'wife,' Alice. They are listed in the 1891 British census, and twenty years later, and still together, Wallner and Alice report in the 1911 census that the date of their 'marriage' is 1878, when Wallner was most certainly still living with Josephine and their sons in Marseille.

Despite belonging to a well-off medical family in North East England, Wallner spent the rest of his life elsewhere in England with Alice, frequently moving from job to job and eking out a modest living as an estate manager, then a bookshop manager, and later as a 'teacher of French' until his death in 1915. Maybe he did not contact his English family, or maybe they wanted nothing to do with him. Certainly, he would no longer have been welcome in Marseille society, where his French wife and eldest son – an eminent doctor who supported his abandoned widowed mother – were still prominent members of the British Colony.

Hawthorn's disappearance must surely have put a strain on the British community, exposing the ways it depended on the good faith of its members to counteract its precariousness. For Hawthorn himself, his change of circumstances between leaving England from a position of some economic and social security, and his return there "post-Marseille" to a reduced, and somewhat isolated situation, provides a piquant counterpoint to this account of community building but, rather than unravel, the Colony closed ranks.

## CONCLUSIONS

Despite the effort expended by the British ex-pats to build a strong community, and despite the structures, systems and relationships they forged, this community was still vulnerable. The considerable political turbulence in France, along with social unrest, cultural biases, and economic upheaval, were all forces which would affect the expat community more profoundly than they would people with a stronger legal or cultural "claim" to their place in the country. There is also a vulnerability inherent in a group of people brought together by common nationality living in a nation not their own—particularly in an era where concepts of "rootedness" when it comes to national identity and national culture were becoming more and more significant.

That said, the British seem to have been accepted into French society *en masse* in a way that other migrant populations such as the Italians and Algerians were not; these latter communities consisted mainly of poor workers who were exploited, and therefore prone to striking and rioting in an effort to fight for their rights and indeed their survival. That is not to say that the British Colony consisted only of the rich, successful and influential businessman, merchants and engineers, or that all Italians and Algerians were poor and disenfranchised, but I have yet to find evidence of any widespread unrest by British workers in France. The most successful individuals will always be more visible than those in the lower échelons of society, whose presence often only comes to light through census returns, marriages, and the birth of their children (if solemnised and recorded), and the occasional press reports of criminal behaviour (often born of desperation) or grisly deaths. Otherwise, those in the lower social strata remain to all intents and purposes invisible. It may be that, by plugging into the British community in Marseille they were protected, and were found jobs and lodging, or helped to repatriate, and this – and the phlegmatic British temperament – probably meant the British did not mean trouble for the authorities.

Another relevant aspect is that communities such as the Italians tended to congregate in the port areas, where the work was, in close proximity with each other, resulting in the fostering of a strong sense of community and of shared cultural values, but also fomenting unrest. The British Colony, on the other hand, does not seem to have had a well-defined urban center, but rather extended over a wide area from the port into many *quartiers* of the city. As Paul van De Laar says, "Migrants are looked upon either as members of a hard working community, or as distrusted people experiencing intense social exclusion,<sup>38</sup> and it would appear that, as far as French society was concerned, the British Colony belonged firmly in the the former category. Also of note is the fact that the British were less numerous than the large migrant worker populations which flourished in the port areas, and were thus better able to integrate into the life of the city. This lack of an urban center of British culture, also feeds into the need for a worship/social hub in the form of an English Church.

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<sup>38</sup> Paul van de Laar, "Bremen, Liverpool, Marseille and Rotterdam: Port Cities, migration and the transformation of Urban space in the long Nineteenth century," *Journal of Migration History* 2 (2016): 278.



The history of the English Church in Marseille demonstrates the imperial momentum which created communities of British ex-patriates, and the significance of this study lies in its close reading of one particular chaplaincy, whose mission was supporting a consciously British presence within the very centre of another colonial power. Micro-histories such as this can afford valuable insights, identifying underlying trends, and suggesting future directions for research into British colonies abroad, through their expression of faith, their commercial activities and means of cultural exchange. Comparative studies of other Anglican chaplaincies founded in busy port cities such as Trieste (Italy), Rotterdam (Holland) and Tangiers (Morocco) may prove particularly useful, because some, such as Rotterdam, enjoyed a favourable religious climate, while others in traditionally Catholic countries such as Italy faced substantial difficulties because Anglicanism was considered a “cult,” and “Anglicans could only worship on British soil [within] the confines of the British Consulate”.<sup>39</sup> Studying chaplaincies operating in these very different circumstances of religious acceptance may well produce interesting data on the relative composition of these British Colonies, their level of integration into local commercial and social life, and the effect on their sense of British – and Anglican – identity.

In terms of this current study, France is an interesting case because she offered a solid Christian basis through a nationwide network of Catholicism and reformed churches – and tolerance of other religions – in a climate of secularism which did not impose any particular belief system. It is clear that the ‘English Church,’ bereft of any legal authority in France (the Anglican wedding ceremony having no meaning under French law) provided not only a religious centre but a very valuable cultural reference point, a ‘home from home’ in a shifting and ultimately foreign world. In this instance, being British seems to have overridden the requirement to be Anglican.<sup>40</sup> In providing a strong sense of British identity, and a sense of purpose through charitable works, as well as providing pastoral care, the Church enabled individual members of the Colony to satisfy their own higher-level needs (approbation, respect, usefulness) and thus to construct for themselves a personal identity anchored within this visible manifestation of the British presence in Marseille. The Church thus provided stability in otherwise unstable lives, through the medium of a common language and the upholding of social mores, and provided social and professional networking opportunities for Anglicans and Dissenters alike through a common national identity. As it still does today.

#### ARCHIVAL RESOURCES & STYLE GUIDE

- Archives municipales (AM), Marseille. Physical repository of the city’s administrative records. Includes census returns, BMD records, local press, books on local history.
- British Newspaper Archives (BNA). On-line database of British press.  
Press articles referenced by: Date of issue.
- Bibliothèque nationale française, Paris (BNF). Gallica on-line resource of digitized records: BMD, press, books, photos.  
Digitized records referenced by Gallica URL.
- Diocesan Office, Diocese of Europe (DO). Repository of diocesan magazine, formerly the *Gibraltar Diocesan Gazette*, now the *European Anglican*.  
Magazine articles referenced by: Date of issue, page no. (no cataloguing system in place).
- London Metropolitan Archives (LMA). Repository of London-centric records; includes church records for the Diocese of Europe, including partial records for the Marseille chaplaincy.  
Referenced by: Date, Type of resource, e.g. MS; LMA folder and file no.
- National Archives, Kew (NA). National repository, includes foreign office correspondence, and consular correspondence including chaplaincy AGMs and annual reports 1850-1902 when Marseille was a consular chaplaincy.  
Referenced by date, NA folder no.

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<sup>39</sup> The present Christ Church in Naples was dedicated in 1865, and is still one of the very few non-Roman Catholic churches in Naples. <http://www.napoliunplugged.com/Christ-Church-Naples.html>.

<sup>40</sup> Indeed, the deed by which the English Church was established stipulated that only British subjects were entitled to subscribe or hold office, and even regular worshippers from French families were listed as ‘foreign’ residents, which could only reinforce the sense of the Church as a little piece of England to which all else was foreign.



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## **THE ELIZABETH EISENSTEIN ESSAY PRIZE 2019**

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The Elizabeth Eisenstein Prize is open to all NCIS members and recognizes excellence in independent scholarship. The Prize is awarded annually for the best peer-reviewed published article submitted by a member of NCIS, and brings the winner an honorarium, which this year is \$350. The article must have been published in a peer reviewed journal or edited academic book within the last two years, and all authors must be members of NCIS, whether the authorship is single or multiple. Details at <https://www.ncis.org/grants>

The Eisenstein Prize was established in April 1993 and is named for Elizabeth Lewisohn Eisenstein (1923–2016), Professor of History at American University (1959–1979) and the University of Michigan (1975–1985), and mother of Margaret DeLacy, one of NCIS’s founders, in recognition of Professor Eisenstein’s long-standing support of NCIS. After 2012 the Prize lapsed due to lack of funding, but was revived following Professor Eisenstein’s passing in January 2016.

In 2019, a strong field produced two front runners, and after deliberation the jury awarded first prize to Boria Sax, with Stephanie Harp as worthy runner-up – congratulations to them both. 2019 was also noteworthy in that Boria Sax became the first person to win the Eisenstein Prize twice, having previously been awarded it in 2010.

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## 2019 Eisenstein Winning Essay

### WHEN ADAM AND EVE WERE MONKEYS: ANTHROPOMORPHISM, ZOOMORPHISM AND OTHER WAYS OF LOOKING AT ANIMALS

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#### Introduction

In September 1906, a pygmy named Ota Benga (Figure 12.1) was exhibited in the monkey house by the New York Zoological Park. Bones scattered around his enclosure, in the context of common racist stereotypes, suggested savagery and perhaps even cannibalism. His teeth had been filed to points, so they looked a bit like the fangs of a crocodile. An orangutan was placed in the cage, ostensibly to keep him company. Benga brought in huge crowds, but the exhibit immediately provoked protests, especially from the African-American community. After a while, Benga, who had up till then shown a pleasant disposition, became uncooperative and almost violent, so he was allowed to move freely on the grounds, but thousands of raucous tourists followed him about. After only three weeks, the zoo ceased to display Benga.<sup>2</sup>

It was not unusual for indigenous people such as the Inuit or Saami to be exhibited alongside beasts in the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although placing a human being in the monkey house had been unprecedented. The permeable boundary between human beings and animals was a constant source of uneasy, boisterous humour. It was not always easy to tell whether people were laughing at the animals, at themselves, or at society. It was not always easy to separate showmanship from science or entertainment from education. Perhaps the public enjoyed the presentation of Benga as a sort of proverbial 'wild man', including the titillating suggestion of cannibalism, while knowing full well that it was just a show.

When Benga departed from New York, the gap he left was filled within a few months by a popular chimpanzee named Baldy (Figure 12.2), who was constantly mentioned in the newspapers, and, though he did not cause much controversy, may well have been as big an attraction as the pygmy who preceded him. Like Benga, Baldy was originally from the Congo.

Upon arriving at the Bronx Zoo in January 1907 at approximately the age of four, he quickly acquired a reputation for unusual intelligence, and may have been accorded a status a bit above that of other animals. According to an article in a Jeffersonville, Indiana newspaper, Baldy was allowed to move freely throughout the monkey house when no visitors were present. One day he found a keeper's set of keys on a table, went to the keeper's room, tried a few keys in the lock until he found the one that fitted, opened the door and walked in. When he found the keeper washing his face with soap and then drying himself with a towel, Baldy immediately went to the sink and did the same.<sup>3</sup> He was becoming 'human'. Many such anecdotes were told of Baldy, who was studied by



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primatologists, fraternised with by zookeepers, and adored by the public. But several points in the news story strain credulity. Did the zoo really allow a chimpanzee that much freedom? Were those accomplishments real? In parts of the account at least, the journalist was probably conflating Baldy and Benga.



Figure 12.1 Ota Benga at the Bronx Zoo, 1906. Courtesy Wikipedia .

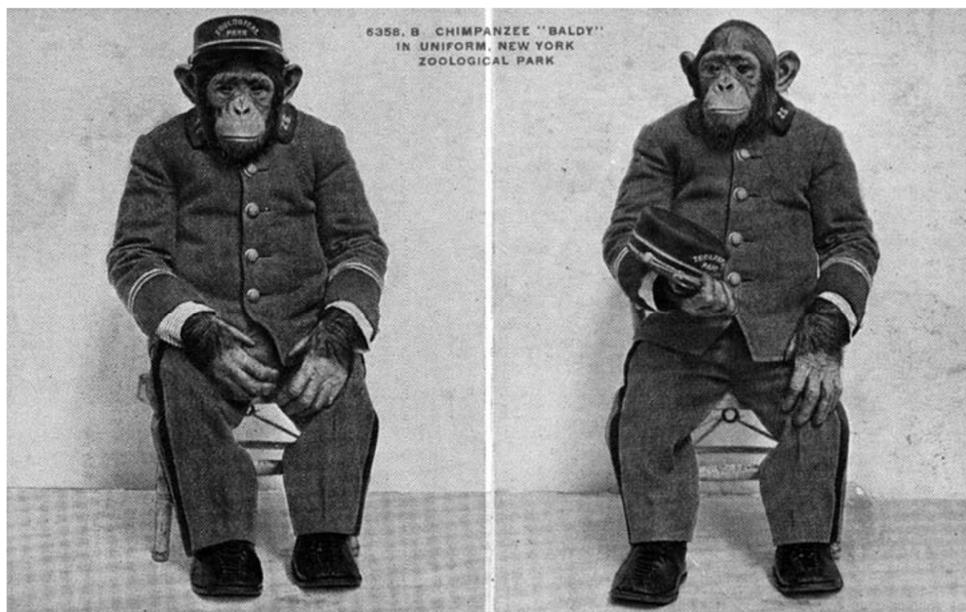


Figure 12.2 Postcard showing two pictures of Baldy in his zookeeper uniform, sold by the New York Zoological Park. Author's collection.

Indigenous people on public display had been, at the time, shown in settings that emphasised their reputedly 'primitive' character. The apes, by contrast, were presented in ways that made them appear as 'civilised' as possible. In both instances, stereotypic images were used to construct a sort of 'missing link' between life in the wild and in modern society.<sup>4</sup> At many zoos around the turn of the century, apes were taught to smoke pipes or cigars, guzzle alcoholic drinks from bottles, type, play musical instruments, roller skate, and ride in carts drawn by dogs. At the New York Zoological Park, they would, among other acts, be displayed sitting at a table and drinking tea from fine china.<sup>5</sup> A newspaper article reported how Baldy was the first ape to learn to eat with a knife and fork. He was then assigned to teach this skill to the orangutans, who sat with him in chairs around a table. Soon, a quarrel broke out over food, and Baldy hit one of the orangs with a chair.<sup>6</sup>

At times Benga had been characterised by the zoo administration and the press as a 'zookeeper'. When criticised for racism, a menagerie official once explained, 'If Benga is in a cage, he is only there to look after the animals.'<sup>7</sup> The zoo later decided that Baldy would also be promoted to the rank of keeper, and he was given a custom-made uniform including shoes to wear on the job. Then it was time to show him about the entire zoo. Everything went well, and a crowd of over a thousand visitors soon gathered to watch, until Baldy entered the reptile house and was spooked by the anaconda. He tore off his shoes, ran off, and started climbing around the grounds, tearing his uniform to shreds, until the keepers finally managed to lead him back to the monkey house. Needless to say, the crowd loved the spectacle.<sup>8</sup> Baldy continued to represent the zoo, often dressed in human clothes, and greeted visiting dignitaries including President Taft by shaking hands with them.<sup>9</sup>

After his release, Benga learned considerable English, moved to Virginia, took a job, and became accepted by the local community around Lynchburg, but committed suicide in 1916.<sup>10</sup> Baldy also became depressed, which might have been due to psychological trauma or, more likely, physical illness. A report in the *New York Zoological Society Bulletin* stated that he had become '... so savage at times that it is difficult to enter his cage.'<sup>11</sup> He died a week or two afterwards in January 1914, probably from simian tuberculosis.<sup>12</sup>

The zoo in the early twentieth century was, in many ways, unlike the sanitised institution that we know today. People would often put on formal attire to visit, but, otherwise, it was a pretty rowdy place, and there was a good deal of interaction between animals and human beings.<sup>13</sup> Despite the



claim of being educational, the zoos were often not very different from the side shows, 'freak shows' if you will, in the circus. The zoo made little or no pretence of placing the animals in a natural environment. There was, from our contemporary point of view, amazingly little care taken for safety of either the animals or the people. One brilliant but eccentric herpetologist, Grace Wylie, at Chicago's Brookfield Zoo allowed poisonous snakes to move freely about her office and possibly beyond, convinced that they had been tamed.<sup>14</sup> The feeding of live rodents to anacondas and other snakes was at times a popular, though controversial, event, which brought gasps of horror and fascination.<sup>15</sup>

The traditional zoo is a very anthropocentric institution, since it assumes a sharp divide between the animals, who were there to be looked at, and human beings, who do the looking. The concept of 'anthropocentrism' can often seem very abstract and elusive, but, as I wish to show in this essay, its manifestations can be very tangible. These include perceived zoomorphic hybrids, such as Ota Benga, and anthropomorphic hybrids, such as Baldy. In the first instance, traits associated with animals are projected onto human beings. In the latter instance, human traits are attributed to animals. The way Baldy could immediately fill the role of Benga illustrates how zoomorphism and anthropomorphism address much the same need. Neither of these would be possible without the ontological division between the two realms of human beings, or 'civilisation', and animals, or 'nature'.<sup>16</sup>

### **What is anthropocentrism?**

It is easy to use events of the past to foster a feeling of superiority, but much harder to apportion responsibility for them, and hardest of all to draw useful lessons. Many newspaper articles from the beginnings of their sojourns at the New York Zoological Park speak of both Benga and Baldy with affection, yet the treatment was of Benga was, in retrospect, very exploitative. Baldy was never, so far as we know, treated abusively, though perhaps the uncertain status between ape and human being was stressful for him as well. Should we blame the zoo authorities? The public? The spirit of the times? It could even be that Benga, despite his traumatised condition, knowingly acted out the role of a wild man, becoming a party to his own exploitation. It may also be that Baldy thought of himself as 'human' and behaved accordingly or at least enjoyed being the centre of attention. Spectators may have mistaken fear for excess energy or anxiety for merriment. At any rate, the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic displays addressed psychological needs that were ultimately a product of anthropocentrism. The ontological divide between the human and natural realms creates a need for mediators, which must be alienated from both domains.

The term 'anthropocentrism' literally means 'centred around human beings', and was initially a theological concept. It referred to the Jewish, Islamic, and Christian practice of attributing qualities borrowed from human society such as 'just' or 'righteous' to a transcendent God. The question addressed by philosophers such as Maimonides and Aquinas was whether this implicitly accorded an exaggerated importance to humanity, thus undermining our humility before the Deity.<sup>17</sup> The concept sank into obscurity during the Renaissance, as humankind, at least in the West, gained in collective self-confidence. It was revived in the early twentieth century, but it was used mostly to designate an exaggerated sense of human significance in relation to the natural world. Ecological thinkers such as Aldo Leopold and John Muir argued that all forms of life had value independent of their relationship to human beings, a position that came to be known as 'biocentrism'.<sup>18</sup> In the latter twentieth century, the concept of 'anthropocentrism' was also taken up by the animal rights movement, as a means to criticise a humanism that ignores or slights the interests of animals.<sup>19</sup>

In this chapter, I will use the term 'anthropocentrism' as it is understood by anthropologist Philippe Descola. This is one of a handful of ontologies with which cultures endeavour to make sense of the world. Others are animism, totemism, and analogism. All of these may be found to some degree in many, possibly all, human cultures, but one or another may predominate in certain times and places. Animism prevails in most of Africa and in most indigenous cultures of the Americas, while totemism does in the aboriginal culture of Australia; analogism is the norm in East Asia.

Only in the modern West is anthropocentrism the primary means of organising experience. It involves a sharp division of the world into the realms of humanity (i.e., 'civilisation') and nature.<sup>20</sup> Bruno Latour has written at length of how anthropocentrism, understood in this way, entails the endless task of trying to purify both the human and natural realms, yet constantly produces hybrids, since the division is highly artificial. The two domains are in perpetual contact in a virtually endless number of ways, so there are constant occasions for blending and merging. The methods of natural science, for example, are applied to society, thus undermining the idea of human autonomy. The methods of the humanities are then applied to science, which is pronounced 'socially constructed'.<sup>21</sup> Trying to keep the two realms pure is a bit like trying to keep sand from falling into the ocean or waves from breaking onto the land.



Understood in the broadest way, 'hybrids' would include sociobiology and deconstruction. In this chapter, however, I will use the word 'hybrid' in a less inclusive way than Latour, to refer to what I believe is a special instance of this blending. I have in mind figures that combine not only the domains but also the physical and social characteristics of both animals and human beings. One identity must be primary, whether it is as an animal, in the case of Baldy, or as a human, in the case of Benga. There is usually friction between the two identities as animal and human, which can result in laughter, pathos, aggression, or terror. Since both zoomorphism and anthropomorphism are based on an assumption of radical human distinctiveness, they are often, as examples in this chapter will demonstrate, found together. In many cases, one may even be substituted for the other, much as Baldy was used as the replacement for Benga.

### **The development of anthropocentrism**

In the inner caverns of the cave paintings from Paleolithic Europe, there are relatively few hybrids of animals and human beings, but one is the famous 'sorcerer' at Trois Freres in France, which shows a man bearing the horns of a stag.<sup>22</sup> Early towns and cities, especially when surrounded by walls, mark off a human realm, distinct from the natural world that surrounds it. Composite figures of animals and people become more common in Neolithic times, and they then proliferate dramatically in the depictions of Egyptian deities, which frequently combine human bodies with animal heads. Thoth, the god of wisdom, often had the head of an ibis, and Anubis, god of the dead, had that of a jackal. But, while these figures blend the physical features of animals and people, it is very questionable whether the mixing extended to fundamental ontologies. The general absence of humour, revulsion, or fear suggests a lack of tension between their human and bestial identities.

In moderate instances, it can be very hard to distinguish anthropomorphism from empathy for animals or even distributed consciousness. There are legitimate debates about this today in the field of psychology, but when animals are depicted speaking human languages, wearing human clothes, or participating in parliamentary debates, the anthropomorphism is unmistakable. Both the Mesopotamians and Egyptians did, however, occasionally produce clearly anthropomorphic figures, cartoonish images of animals standing on two legs and acting 'human'. The best known example is the Sumerian Harp of Ur, now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archeology, dated from around 2800 BCE. At the top is the golden head of a bull with a beard of lapis lazuli. Inlaid figures along the side depict as a lion, a bull, a deer, a scorpion, and a fox playing musical instruments, drinking from vessels, and conversing like people.<sup>23</sup>

Anthropocentrism intensifies in Greece, where the deities are consistently given human form. The Greek idealisation of the human figure seems intended in part to distinguish people sharply from simians and other animals by emphasising such features as high foreheads, ease of balance on two feet, and a relative lack of body hair. A very anthropomorphic portrayal of animals is found in the fables traditionally attributed to the half-legendary Aesop, a slave on the Isle of Samos in the seventh century, who was allegedly given his freedom and made advisor to the king for his skill in telling stories. These tales developed from the tradition of Sumerian-Akkadian animal proverbs, but the degree to which Aesop's lions, donkeys, and foxes speak and interact like men and women had few if any recorded precedents.<sup>24</sup>

Zoomorphism, the sister quality to anthropomorphism, is a bit less dramatic in Greek culture, though it may be seen in many Greek myths of transformations. The sorceress Circe changed men into pigs and other animals. Zeus, who usually had a human form, changed himself into a swan to seduce the maiden Leda. His wife, Hera, changed Io, one of Zeus's mortal mistresses, into a heifer, and then sent a fly to drive her through the world. Zoomorphism is even raised to the level of philosophy when Aristotle writes in *Politics* that non-Greeks, since they do not take part in political life, are essentially animals.<sup>25</sup>

Greco-Roman culture may border on being anthropocentric, but there is less ambiguity about Western culture in the modern period. When artists and writers of the Renaissance revived the Greek tradition of idealising the human form, it was an attempt to purify the human essence of bestial contamination. The same period brought the depiction of countless fantastical hybrids, figures that blended features of animals and human beings. These monsters appear in the margins of illuminated manuscripts and later in the work of artists such as Hieronymus Bosch, Martin Schongauer, and Pieter Bruegel the Elder.<sup>26</sup>

Many people read Descartes' *Discourse on Method* (first published 1637) as the manifesto of anthropocentrism, since he makes a very abrupt distinction between human beings, which have a soul, and all other creatures, which lack one. Although Descartes never denied that animals have



emotions, he believed they were without reason or language and, therefore, completely lacking in autonomy, while people alone had free will.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, Descartes is often given too much credit or blame for ushering in the modern era. His readers were confined to the intellectual elite and, even there, most of his ideas were never very widely accepted.<sup>28</sup> But, although there have always been many countervailing tendencies, the abrupt distinction between civilisation and nature has gradually come to pervade Western intellectual life.

It is particularly difficult to lay aside anthropocentrism, since this is not only implicit in the way we answer ethical questions, it is even more central to the questions themselves. Suppose, for example, we ask whether it is ethical to hunt. Well, for whom? Nobody is likely to question the morality of a chameleon hunting flies or an American robin hunting worms. A few farmers might consider it wrong for wolves to hunt sheep, but most people would accept that as natural. Clearly, we mean the question to apply only to human beings, who live by a unique code. Should we decide that hunting is not ethical but make an exception for, say, American Indians, on the basis of their culture and history, we would at least partially dehumanise them. Anthropocentrism is inherent in the very idea of rights, which implicitly divides creatures into those that have them and those that do not, and that boundary itself is not affected at all by shifting certain animals such as apes and dogs from one side to the other.

### **Drolleries**

The West has held what may well be a uniquely negative view of apes and monkeys at least since the Greco-Roman civilisation. Up through the Renaissance, scholars often quoted the dictum Cicero has attributed to Ennius in *De natura deorum: simia quam similis turpissima bestia nobis* ('The ape, vilest of beasts, so much resembles us').<sup>29</sup> The West has no simian culture heroes similar to Hanuman, who fights alongside Krishna in India or Old Monkey, who becomes a Buddha in China. It is a paradox that the evolutionary kinship of man and ape in evolution should have been discovered in precisely that part of the world where one might have expected it to encounter most resistance. Nowhere outside of Western culture has evolution been perceived as especially humbling to humankind.

For much of the Middle Ages, apes and monkeys in Western art were generally devils. These were, however, only vaguely simian figures which owed virtually nothing to observation and were based mostly on Greco-Roman mythological creatures such as satyrs or on Egyptian deities such as Thoth.<sup>30</sup> Tompkins observes that 'their dark, spidery bodies bristling with a vaguely sexualized menace . . . seem to compress within itself everything in the natural world that was frightening or troubling to the Christian mind'.<sup>31</sup>

This changes around 1200, as macaques, imported and displayed to the public by travelling menageries, grow increasingly familiar.<sup>32</sup> Monkeys, since they were expensive and difficult to maintain, became a status symbol in the homes of aristocrats and some clergy, though other clergy railed against them as an indulgence.<sup>33</sup> In the drolleries, whimsical fantasies in the margins of illuminated manuscripts of the Middle Ages, mon-keys were the animals depicted most frequently. They would be shown doing just about everything that people did, such as fighting with swords, jousting, dancing, playing bagpipes, or minding human babies, in a way that set a clear precedent for the anthropomorphised apes such as Baldy in zoos of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>34</sup> Some of these pictures probably show acts by trained monkeys, which were taught to perform tricks such as somersaults and services such as collecting and eating lice.<sup>35</sup>

There is obviously a good deal of irony the illustrations, yet, as with apes like Baldy, it is not always clear at whom it is directed. Are the monkeys in illuminated manuscripts mocking human pretensions? Or is it the simians that are being mocked? In societies where weapons such as swords, activities such as hunting deer, and even the wearing of certain colours was prohibited to the peasantry, allowing monkeys to indulge in such acts freely could also have been a way of taunting the lower social orders. Perhaps, sometimes at least, the aristocrats were claiming a sort of solidarity with the natural world in their domination of the peasantry. Above all, however, the simians represent a primeval innocence, unimpeded by the bonds of law and social convention, like that of Adam before the Fall.

### **The monkeys of Eden**

By the early modern period, the boundary between human beings and animals becomes a subject of contention, and zoomorphism becomes far more pronounced. Simians no longer represent demons but sinners.<sup>36</sup> Since, however, Christians related to God primarily as sinners, this made



apes and monkeys into quintessential human beings. With sin came the possibility of redemption through repentance. Depictions of monkeys begin to take on complex, allegorical meanings, which are not easy to interpret, in the Renaissance and early modern periods. One example is a page from *La Bible en François*, published by Verard Antoine in Paris around 1500 (Figure 12.3), which shows a scene of the Garden of Eden in a sphere that is emerging out of the root of a tree. Depicted in the centre of the sphere is the Tree of Knowledge, around which the serpent - which bears the torso and face of a woman - is coiled. On the left side of the tree is Adam and on the right is Eve, each of whom is holding an apple. A monkey eating an apple sits on the far right. Adam's gaze points to Eve, but both she and the serpent are looking over at the monkey. Eve is about to follow the example of the simian, after which Adam will copy her.

The monkey is the major centre of attention here, not the first couple or the snake. The animal seems to bear much responsibility for the fall of humankind, yet there is nothing the least bit diabolical about it. On the contrary, the simian is portrayed with a good deal of affection. Its diminutive size suggests a child, and it could perhaps represent the future, the (somewhat degenerated) progeny of the first man and woman. The monkey, in other words, is all of us. The Fall is portrayed essentially as a natural event, without anguish or moralising. In the foreground in front of the tree is a panther, a traditional symbol of Christ, looking at Adam.<sup>37</sup>

This essential symbolism is made even more complex in an illustration to the Matthew Bible, first printed in 1537, by Erhard Altdorfer (Figure 12.4). Adam and Eve are sitting beneath an apple tree. Above them are two monkeys cavorting in the branches. The smaller monkey is giving an apple to the larger one, a very clear anticipation of original sin. God is looking down at the face of Adam, whose gaze is fixed on Eve. The first woman looks upward and points at a third monkey, smaller than the other two, which is hanging upside down from a branch.<sup>38</sup> That monkey seems to be an offspring of the simian couple, so perhaps Eve is asking Adam for a child. The way she is looking upwards suggests religious devotion, and, though the idea may at first seem blasphemous, it is not too far-fetched to see a symbolic relation between the baby monkey and Christ. It was, at any rate, entirely usual to view imagery of the natural world as a sort of book in which one might read religious parables.



Figure 12.3 From the Bible initially published by Antoine Verard, 1510 edition. Courtesy Cambridge University Library.

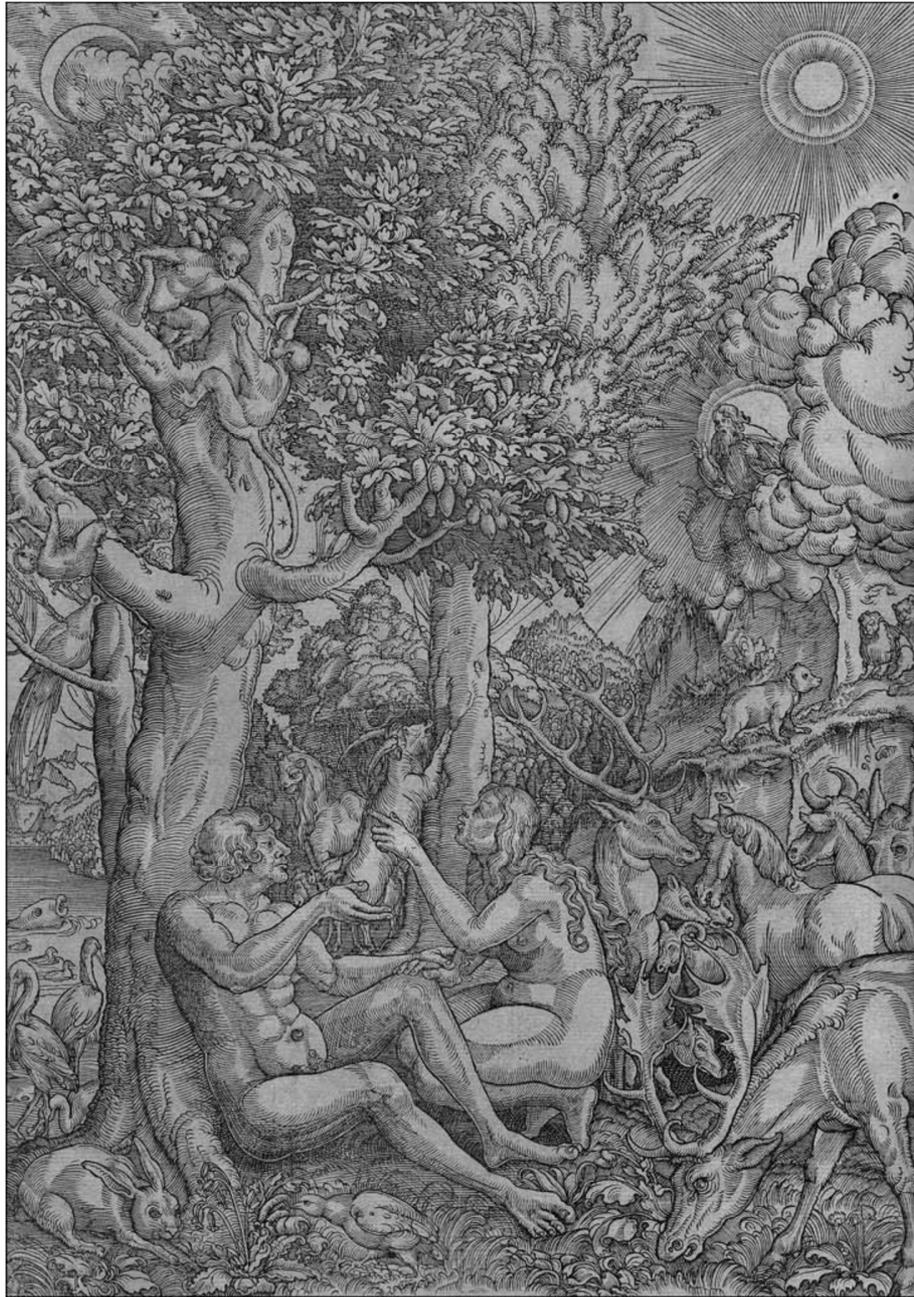


Figure 12.4 Erhard Aldorfer, illustration showing Adam and Eve, from the Matthew Bible, first published in 1537. Courtesy Cambridge University Library.



Figure 12.5 Jan Brueghel the Younger, 'Terrestrial Paradise', c.1620. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, photographer Jörg P. Anders. Courtesy, Wikipedia Commons.

Altdorfer may be the first landscape painter in Western art, and he was certainly among the first to consider the natural world an entirely worthy artistic subject. In his historical, religious, and mythological paintings, the trees and lakes in the background very often overshadow the human beings.<sup>39</sup> Like Eve in the woodcut, his attention very often turned away from people to the natural world. Perhaps he understood the biblical story of Eden as an allegory with significance that went beyond humankind to encompass animals and vegetation.

The depiction of simians by Jan Brueghel the Younger, unlike those of Verard and Altdorfer, is anthropomorphic, since it projects a human story onto a group of animals. A simian Adam and Eve possibly first appear in painting about 1620 in his 'Terrestrial Paradise' (Figure 12.5). It shows verdant forest in which the animals from lions to deer are living together peacefully in mated pairs. No human beings are present, but, in a high tree, one monkey



is holding out an apple to her mate, as a red parrot, one of very few solitary animals in the picture, looks on.<sup>40</sup> All three animals are perched on a horizontal branch, and between the two monkeys rises a large twig, which resembles traditional depictions of the Tree of Knowledge. The two monkeys correspond to the first humans in the story of Eden, and they establish an iconographic pattern that will be repeated in many natural history books through at least the nineteenth century.

### **Man, ape, or satyr?**

Throughout recorded history the status of human beings in relation to animals has been a point of ambiguity, and our own era is, in this respect, less different from previous ones than many people think.<sup>41</sup> Widely disseminated tales of talking animals and shape-changers in all eras have made human beings and animals appear to interact on an everyday basis. At the same time, there have been legal, religious, and traditional practices that differentiated radically between the human and animal realms. As long as the social order seemed relatively stable, and people believed it was ordained by God, questions of nomenclature were no more than intellectual exercises. But, as that order was increasingly questioned, these definitions increased in importance.

Before the work of Linnaeus in the early eighteenth century, there had been very little aspiration to a modern sort of scientific precision in the classification of animals and, for that matter, human beings. Designations were taken eclectically from old mythologies, biblical lore, traveller's tales, and observation. Labels such as 'human', 'wild man', 'ape', 'satyr', 'siren', and 'sphinx' were used fairly loosely, and they were not necessarily mutually exclusive. For many purposes, this informal system functioned pretty well, until explorers and traders created confusion by bringing back ever more accounts of exotic animals and people to Europe. Early modern culture faced a crisis of language that was, in many ways, similar to what we are experiencing today, as we struggle to make sense of a world in which robots are taking over many traditional roles of human beings. The old vocabularies were inadequate to integrate the new information. Reports constantly confused indigenous people, apes, and legendary creatures.

Early modern descriptions of apes reflect this consternation. The scientific study of simians dates from 1641, when the body of an ape was dissected by the Dutch anatomist Nicolaas Tulp. It may have been a chimpanzee, since he states that it came from Angola, but the picture that accompanied his description looks far more like an orangutan. He found that the anatomy of the creature was, in most respects, nearly identical to that of human beings, but concluded that it was the satyr of Greek mythology, because such creatures in Borneo reportedly captured and ravished women.<sup>42</sup>

The binomial classification of Linnaeus, in which all living things were included in a single system of hierarchic classification, was intended to banish such confusion by placing creatures in an unambiguous order, which would show the wisdom of God. Apes and human beings, however, did not seem to fit easily into his system of classification. Linnaeus troubled many of his contemporaries simply by including humankind in his taxonomy at all, thereby acknowledging that people are animals, but his love of order took precedence over his belief in human exceptionalism. Leaving men and women out would have made it impossible to address questions of human identity.

In the tenth edition of his *Systema Natura* (1758), which laid the foundation for modern taxonomy, Linnaeus classified human beings as primates, together with apes, monkeys, and bats. He further divided people into *Homo sapiens*, or people with knowledge, and *Homo troglodytes*, or cave dwellers. *Homo sapiens* was further divided into five subspecies. In addition to the Asian, European, American, and African varieties, there was an additional category called *Homo sapiens monstrosus*, which could accommodate any anthropoid figures that did not fit neatly into the other classes, such as Patagonian giants, people with birth defects, and, quite possibly, some apes.<sup>43</sup> *Systema Natura* may have changed the terms of the debates, yet it did nothing to alleviate the confusion.

### **Zoomorphic humans**

At least until the early modern period, simians are conspicuously absent from most paintings of scenes such as Noah's Ark or the Garden of Eden, in which artists tried to show an inventory of the animal kingdom.<sup>44</sup> The reason for this absence is probably that artists felt they were already implicit in the human figures, in Noah, Adam, and Eve. While the relationship may not have been formally codified as a point of taxonomy, people intuitively felt that simians were not entirely distinct from men and women.



The idea of kinship between human beings and apes goes back to very early times, and observation of simians formed the basis of legends of giants, wild men, and other folkloric figures. Mythological figures such as satyrs, cynocephali, and sphinxes that were basically human in form have often been considered apes. According to many legends, simians were human beings that had degenerated or been punished for bad behaviour. In one, they were people who built the Tower of Babel, and then ran into the forest as it collapsed. In another, Enos, Adam's grandson, was punished by God for idolatry by being given the features of an ape, which were then passed on to his descendants.<sup>45</sup> In many legends from Northern Europe, Adam originally had a tail. In a story from the Talmud, God simply removes Adam's tail to increase his majesty by setting him apart from the animals. In some legends, Eve is made from Adam's tail rather than from his rib, an idea used to explain why women are supposedly more bestial than men.<sup>46</sup>

The early modern shoemaker and folk poet Hans Sachs wrote that the apes were the result of a failed attempt to imitate the miracles of Jesus, when a smith placed his mother-in-law in a furnace and then doused the flames with water, believing this would make her young again. Her screams terrified members of her family, who, together with the elderly woman, all turned into apes.<sup>47</sup> Such tales are zoomorphic in that they transfer the behaviour and appearance of animals, in this case apes, to certain human beings. They regard the boundary between human beings and animals as being easily permeable, and consider human status as something that can only be maintained through vigilance.

One early work which combines anthropomorphic representation of animals with zoomorphic depiction of human beings is *Gulliver's Travels* by Jonathan Swift, first published in 1726-35. One of his journeys takes the hero, Gulliver, to the island ruled by talking horses called 'Houyhnhnms', who are notable for their high level of civilisation and generosity. Living alongside them are savage humans known as 'Yahoos', who wallow in filth and constantly fight over stones. Gulliver is taken under the protection of a horse, which becomes his 'master', and then attends a meeting where Houyhnhnms, debate whether to exterminate the Yahoos. One of those in attendance alleges that 'the Yahoos were the most filthy, noisome, and deformed animal that nature ever produced'.<sup>48</sup> The Yahoos were inspired by reports of 'primitive' people in exotic lands, and Swift was saying, in effect, that the level of civilisation rather than species determined the worth of a creature, and an animal such as a domestic horse counted for more than a savage.

Westerners of pre-modern times generally viewed history as a gradual process of degeneration that would lead ultimately to an apocalypse. In the latter eighteenth and through to about the mid-twentieth century, this progression, for many people at least, was turned around, becoming the ideal of progress. All along, people generally assumed that apes were similar yet inferior to human beings. If the world was getting worse, humans were becoming apes; if it was improving, apes were becoming human. When the outcome appeared uncertain, you might find elements of both.

For artists such as Altdorfer, zoomorphic representation of apes had been a means to comment on the universal human condition. Over the next several centuries it increasingly became a way of denigrating people, especially those of certain races or ethnicities. Black Africans were especially often portrayed with simian features, and so, to an extent, were East Asians, Germans, Jews and many other groups of people.<sup>49</sup> But, according to Curtis, in England, 'By the 1860s no respectable reader of the comic weeklies . . . could possibly mistake the sinuous nose, long upper lip, huge projecting mouth, and jutting jaws as well as the sloping forehead for any other category of undesirable or dangerous human being than that known as Irish'.<sup>50</sup>

For the most part, the caricatures of 'Negroes' in the American South or of the Irish in the English press were not very different from the anthropomorphised monkeys and apes of the modern era (Figure 12.6). All of these were frequently portrayed dancing, playing musical instruments, idling about, getting drunk, and fighting. While there were clear differences in emphasis, both the simian parodies and the racial stereotypes appeared to go about normal human activities without the accompanying cares, and both were viewed with a blend of scorn and muted admiration. But this sort of patronisation could easily give way to hatred. During World War II the Nazis depicted the races they considered 'degenerate' with simian features, while Americans portrayed the Japanese as monkeys.<sup>51</sup>





mid-nineteenth centuries maintain human posture with the assistance of a cane. Occasionally, an ape will have a staff in one hand and a fruit in the other, as though to acknowledge the possibilities of both progress and decadence.

The motif of a simian Adam and Eve would appear regularly in illustrations to popular books of natural history throughout the Victorian era (Figure 12.8). The couple might be chimpanzees, orangutans, tamarins, howler monkeys, or any other variety of primate.<sup>54</sup> The smaller primate would have a more cunning expression and be holding out an apple, at times even offering it to the larger one. As the controversy about evolution in the nineteenth century intensified, the idea of Adam and Eve as apes combined the biblical and evolutionary perspectives. According to Corbey, 'By the nineteenth century, apes had begun to take over Adam's ancestral role'.<sup>55</sup> As Haraway puts it, 'Implicitly and explicitly, the story of the Garden of Eden emerges in the sciences of monkeys and apes, along with versions of the origins of society, marriage, and language'.<sup>56</sup> It is hard to know to what extent the religious references were conscious, but they probably comforted people by placing the relatively innovative idea of evolution in a familiar context. In assuming Adam's position as the progenitor of humankind, apes and monkeys inevitably also took over symbolism, themes, and motifs from the biblical story of the first couple. Most especially, attention to primates focused on loss of primeval innocence and acquisition of knowledge.

An apex of anthropomorphism came, as we have seen, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when zoos constantly displayed simians clothed and engaged in human activities. That tradition was revived briefly in the 1970s, when efforts to teach human language to apes produced a generation of simian celebrities similar to those in zoos around the start of the twentieth century. Perhaps the most popular of these was Nim Chimpsky, whose role as a mediator between the human and bestial worlds makes him especially reminiscent of Baldy. Nim was raised as a human being, fed human food, dressed in human clothes, and imperfectly toilet-trained, before Herbert S. Terrace at Columbia University attempted to teach him a variant of American Sign Language. When his trainers reported dramatic initial success, Nim became a media star, and was also drawn into a vortex of personal feuds and academic politics. Eventually, Terrace concluded that Nim was mechanically repeating signs without understanding, and withdrew his original claims.<sup>57</sup> As researchers scaled back their initial contentions about the linguistic ability of apes, public interest in them also faded.<sup>5</sup>



Figure 12.7 Illustration to *Captain Cook's Voyages*, 1785, showing many examples of anthropomorphism and one of zoomorphism (lower left). Author's collection.



Figure 12.8 Howler monkeys in the role of Adam and Eve. Illustration to *Geographical Distribution of Animals* by Adam White, 1867. Author's collection.

### Evolution

In the latter nineteenth century, there was a relatively brief return to the early medieval practice of showing apes as demonic, in reaction against Darwin's theory of evolution. The gorilla, especially, was often shown as a vicious monster, capable of killing indiscriminately and even raping human women.<sup>59</sup> Apart from this, however, the immediate impact of evolutionary theory on the depiction of apes, monkeys, and human beings is not easily apparent.<sup>60</sup> Many had already, as we have seen, generally thought of the boundary between humans and animals as permeable. Several thinkers such as Aelian, Plutarch, and Montaigne had already questioned, or at least significantly qualified, the idea of human superiority long before Darwin, and the theory of evolution did not immediately lead to any dramatic increase in such scepticism.<sup>61</sup> If human beings were animals, they had to be superior animals, the most 'advanced' on the proverbial 'scale of evolution'.<sup>62</sup>

Any doubts about human superiority were initially overpowered by the excitement that people felt at dramatic changes. When Darwin published his *On the Origin of Species* in 1859, steam power was transforming daily life, railroads were starting to link major urban centres, European colonial empires were expanding, and confidence in human progress was near an apex in the West. It would not be until around the end of the twentieth century that, facing the prospect of ecological disaster, many people would begin to seriously question the idea of human superiority.



Darwin, for all his importance as a scientist, was in ways a fairly typical Victorian gentleman who took the 'civilising' mission of the British Empire for granted. In his book *The Descent of Man*, we find the combination of anthropomorphism and zoomorphism that runs through modern culture, as he repeatedly contrasts the moral and intellectual refinement of certain animals, especially dogs and monkeys, with the crudeness of indigenous peoples. The book concludes, « For my part, I would as soon be descended from that heroic little monkey who braved his dreaded enemy in order to save the life of his keeper . . . as from a savage who delights in torture of his enemies . . . and is haunted by the grossest superstitions.»<sup>63</sup>

### **Beyond anthropocentrism**

The display of Benga had been, or at least was sometimes rationalised as, an attempt to show the kinship of man and ape in Darwin's theory of evolution, and that surely applies to Baldy as well.<sup>64</sup> The nervous titters and slapstick routines that accompanied both exhibitions suggest that the zoo authorities and the public may have felt greater anthropological anxiety than they were aware of. Both exhibitions, especially that of Baldy, came on the eve of World War I, which marked the start of a gradual but intense disillusion with the idea of human exceptionalism, though it would often resurface in both open and covert ways.<sup>65</sup>

Both Benga and Baldy had been, at least since they were taken to the zoo, profoundly alienated figures, cut off from their original environments yet unable to adapt to their new one. The contexts in which they were exhibited were designed not to alleviate that alienation but to dramatise it. Benga was deprived of his humanity, while Baldy was severed from his simian character. Both were called 'zookeepers', but if Benga had only worn a uniform while Baldy had done without one, the displays would not have been nearly so dramatic. Their popularity may owe much to the way in which visitors to the zoo saw their own alienation as human beings from nature mirrored in the solitary figures. Although this was certainly not a matter of conscious intent, the exhibits may echo a religious paradigm that had been passed on over millennia. Within the world of zoo animals, Benga and later Baldy represented the human race, assigned dominion over lesser creatures, a bit like the Biblical Adam.

In summary, both zoomorphism and anthropomorphism are ways in which, after dividing the cosmos into the human realm or 'civilisation', ruled by autonomous choices, and nature, ruled by instinct and necessity, we create hybrid identities. Zoomorphism absorbs animals, or 'animalistic' traits, into the human sphere; anthropomorphism projects human traits into the natural realm. There is nothing fundamentally wrong with either of these processes, particularly when indulged in moderation, but in practice they are usually predicated on absurdly simplified notions of both human beings and animals.

Traditions that go back at least to the eighteenth century maintained that 'man is the tool-using animal'.<sup>66</sup> Researchers then very belatedly, in the later twentieth century, discovered the use and even the creation of tools by many other creatures such as apes, crows, and octopuses. In consequence, we raised the status of those creatures and started to think of them as at least partially 'human'. But the definition of 'man' as a 'tool-using animal' was, from the beginning, preposterously simplistic. It might, had it been accurate, set us somewhat apart from other beings, but it could not possibly have done any justice to the intricate blend of qualities that really do make human beings special. When we then partially extend this stereotypical definition to other animals, we inevitably stereotype them as well.

We may also say, following the tradition of Descartes, that, man is the animal with language. That claim has never been very widely accepted, and has now, at least in its extreme forms, been refuted in so many ways that it seems redundant even to list them. We not only share language with animals from vervet monkeys to ravens but also with computers and strands of DNA. A scholar might consider the electric impulses released by many fish, the colour changes of many lizards, and the chemical signals of many plants to be language, in that they can disseminate information with considerable precision.

But let us suppose for a moment that the definition of 'man' as the only animal with language were accurate. It would still do no justice whatsoever to the richness and complexity of human identity. What makes us special is not language so much as the things that we say by means of it. Following Chomsky, one might modify the initial definition and say that the unique feature of human beings is our grammar.<sup>67</sup> If true, it does not have the cosmic significance that polemicists for or against Chomsky (though not Chomsky himself) at times ascribe to it. While a remarkable ability, the use of grammar conveys no more superiority than the strength and suppleness of a spider's thread. When we base claims of status on such narrow criteria, we trivialise our human identity. If we then extend those claims to other creatures such as apes, we belittle them as well.



Zoomorphic hybrids are based on similarly stereotypical understandings. Suppose, for example, somebody calls a group of people 'apes'. Theoretically, this could mean all sorts of things, and by no means all of them are insulting. It might simply mean that the people in question are good at climbing or very strong. In practice, however, the words are certain to be understood in a derogatory way. We would take them to mean the individuals are crude, foolish, and impulsive.

We now seem to be as incapable as ever of viewing apes and monkeys as anything but incomplete human beings. We make a great deal of fuss, for example, about their tool use, but, while more sophisticated than many researchers had once anticipated, this is still an area in which people vastly excel them. The amazing leaps of gibbons among branches in the forest canopy, which no human being in his right mind would even attempt, are at least as impressive as elementary use of tools, yet human beings give gibbons very little credit for them.

We might do more justice to both other species and our own by viewing human beings as an amalgamation of features that are complex, elusive, mysterious, and utterly unique, yet impossible to capture in a simple formula. Humanity, in this sense, is in perpetual flux, and neither good nor bad. We might regard other creatures from monkeys to octopuses and butterflies in a similar way, without trying to reduce their existence to any single quality. There is nothing wrong with taking a degree of collective pride in our linguistic ability as human beings. If we can only do it without triumphalism and/or orgies of guilt, identifying the unique qualities of our species may help us to find our place in the community of living things. We should not judge people according to their resemblance to animals, nor animals by their similarity to human beings.

This, in my opinion, was intended by Pico della Mirandola in his *Oration on the Dignity of Man* of 1486, the original manifesto of Humanism, when, citing a Chaldean proverb, he proclaimed, 'Man is a living creature of varied, multiform, and ever-changing nature.'<sup>68</sup> This is clearly a description, not a definition by exclusion. Would Pico have extended this to other creatures such as apes or octopuses? My impression is that he would, though, because of Pico's cryptic style, that is not entirely clear. At any rate, we certainly can, and that would make both us and other living things a lot more interesting.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> This chapter incorporates material from my review essay entitled 'The cost of human exceptionalism (review of *Spectacle: The Astonishing Life of Ota Benga* by Pamela Newkirk)', published in *Humanimalia* 7, 1 (2015) and available online at [www.goo.gl/aAWrqc](http://www.goo.gl/aAWrqc), accessed 24 August 2015. I would like to thank my wife, Linda Sax, for her help in editing this chapter and for useful suggestions. It was she who first noticed the religious symbolism in some of the pictures of apes that I had collected from books of natural history.

<sup>2</sup> P. Newkirk, *Spectacle: The Astonishing Life of Ota Benga*, New York: HarperCollins, 2015, 3-78; P.V. Bradford and H. Blume, *Ota: The Pygmy in the Zoo*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992, 179-204.

<sup>3</sup> 'Baldy also a Missing Link', *The Daily Reflector*, 11 February 1910, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Bradford and Blume, *Ota*, 183.

<sup>5</sup> These examples of ways in which simians were displayed are all depicted on postcards printed by prominent zoos in the latter eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which are in my private collection. The last example given may have been copied by keepers from displays in Britain and Continental Europe, where such shows were called 'chimpanzee tea parties'. See D. Hancocks, 'Zoo animals as entertainment exhibitions', in R. Malamud (ed.), *A Cultural History of Animals in the Modern Age*, Oxford: Berg, 2011, 95-118, 102-106.

<sup>6</sup> "'Baldy" hits "Babe" with chair; reduced to nurse, he repents', *Portsmouth Daily Times*, 10 October 1910, 3.

<sup>7</sup> Newkirk, *Spectacle*, 47, 50, 209-210. There are confused and contradictory accounts as to whether or to what extent Benga was held captive. We have no photographs of the enclosure where he was on display, and the issue may never be clarified entirely. For a rebuttal of the claims that he was held prisoner, see: M.S. Gabriel, 'Ota Benga having a fine time', *New York Times*, 13 September 1906, 6.

<sup>8</sup> 'Ape dislikes garb: simian protests against wearing guard's uniform; simian "Baldy" begins to disrobe in tree as big crowd follows and cheers', *The Goshen Mid-Week News-Times*, 3 October 1911, 7.

<sup>9</sup> 'Taft mits monkey at Bronx Zoo: feeds elephants and sees Roosevelt rhinoceros', *The Boston Post*, 24 May 1911, 16.

<sup>10</sup> Newkirk, *Spectacle*, 242-246.



- <sup>11</sup> 'The anthropoids', *New York Zoological Society Bulletin* 43, 1 (1914): 1078.
- <sup>12</sup> 'Baldy of Bronx Zoo dead', *New York Times*, 21 January 1914, 7.
- <sup>13</sup> H. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in Victorian England*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1989, 205-242.
- <sup>14</sup> B. Sax, *Imaginary Animals: The Monstrous, the Wondrous and the Human*, London: Reaktion Books, 2013, 27-28; K.A. Menninger, 'Totemic aspects of contemporary attitudes towards animals', in G.B. Wilbur and W. Munsterberger (eds.), *Psychoanalysis and Culture*, New York: International Universities Press, 1951, 42-74, 62-63.
- <sup>15</sup> W. Blunt, *The Ark in the Park: The Zoo in the Nineteenth Century*, London: Hamish Hamilton/ Tyron Gallery, 1976, 226; D. Rybot, *It Began Before Noah*, London: Michael Joseph, 1972, 145-146.
- <sup>16</sup> E. Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture*, Chicago IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000, 4-8.
- <sup>17</sup> E. J. Silverman, 'Anthropocentrism and the medieval problem of religious language', in R. Boddice (ed.), *Anthropocentrism: Humans, Animals, Environments*, London: Berg, 2011, 117-138, 117-134.
- <sup>18</sup> E. D. Jonge, 'An alternative to anthropocentrism: deep ecology and the metaphysical turn', in Boddice, *Anthropocentrism*, 307-320, 307-311.
- <sup>19</sup> T. Milligan, 'Speciesism as a variety of anthropocentrism', in Boddice, *Anthropocentrism*, 223-243, 223-226.
- <sup>20</sup> P. Descola, *Beyond Nature and Culture*, Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 2013, 91-231.
- <sup>21</sup> B. Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. C. Porter, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1993, 10-59.
- <sup>22</sup> B. Sax, *The Frog King: Occidental Fables, Fairy Tales, and Anecdotes of Animals*, New York: Pace University Press, 1990, 126.
- <sup>23</sup> L. Kalof, *Looking at Animals in Human History*, London: Reaktion, 2007, 14-15.
- <sup>24</sup> B. Sax, 'Animals in folklore', in L. Kalof (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Animal Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017, 456-474.
- <sup>25</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, Indianapolis IN: Hackett, 1998 [c.325 BCE], 2-5. 26 Sax, *Imaginary Animals*, 95-129.
- <sup>27</sup> R. Descartes, *Discourse on Method and the Meditations*, New York: Penguin, 1968 [1637], 142-149.
- <sup>28</sup> H. Ritvo, 'Animal consciousness: some historical perspective', *American Zoologist* 40, 6 (2000): 847-852, 850.
- <sup>29</sup> H. W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore, in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1952, 9.
- <sup>30</sup> L. Lorenzi, *Devils in Art: Florence, From the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, Florence: Centro Di, second edition, 2006, 130.
- <sup>31</sup> P. Tompkins, *Monkeys in Art*, New York: M.T.Tain/Scala Books, 1994, 28-29.
- <sup>32</sup> Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore*, 30.
- <sup>33</sup> K. Walker-Meikle, *Medieval Pets*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012, 13-14.
- <sup>34</sup> Tompkins, *Monkeys in Art*, 33-37.
- <sup>35</sup> Kalof, *Looking at Animals*, 64. Walker-Meikle, *Medieval Pets*, 14. 36 Tompkins, *Monkeys in Art*, 30.
- <sup>37</sup> Tompkins, *Monkeys in Art*, plate XVI.
- <sup>38</sup> Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore*, plate XIXa, 128. Note that Janson misreads the direction of Eve's gaze and mistakenly thinks she is pointing to the monkey couple.
- <sup>39</sup> J. Guillaud and M. Guillaud, *Altdorfer and Fantastic Realism in German Art*, New York: Rizzoli, 1985, 35-36.
- <sup>40</sup> L. Impelluso, *La Natura e i suoi Simboli*, Milan: Mondadori Electra, 2004, 193.
- <sup>41</sup> For a discussion of the apparent contradictions in contemporary attitudes towards animals, see: H. Herzog, *Some We Love, Some We Hate, Some We Eat: Why It's So Hard to Think Straight about Animals*, New York: HarperCollins, 2010.
- <sup>42</sup> J. Marks, *What it Means to be 98% Chimpanzee: Apes, People, and Their Genes*, Los Angeles CA: University of California Press, 2002, 5-17.
- <sup>43</sup> Marks, *What it Means to be 98% Chimpanzee*.
- <sup>44</sup> To check this observation, on 8-10 June 2015, I counted the number of simians in pictures of Noah's Ark that had been placed online by the following museums: the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), the National Gallery of Art (Washington DC), the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam), the Louvre (Paris), and the Tate Gallery (London). In pictures showing the animals in Noah's Ark before 1600, I found 51 without simians and only one with them.
- <sup>45</sup> Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore*, 94-97.



- <sup>46</sup> Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore*, 134-135.
- <sup>47</sup> H. Sachs, 'Ursprung der affen', *Hans Sachsens Ausgewählte Werke*, I, 1940 [c.1530], 166-171, 168-171.
- <sup>48</sup> J. Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*; New York: Barnes & Noble, 2003 [1735], 307-308.
- <sup>49</sup> L. Boia, *Entre l'Ange et la Bête: Le Mythe de l'Homme Différent de l'Antiquité à Nos Jours*, Paris: Plon, 1995, 127-130.
- <sup>50</sup> L. P. Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*, second edition, Washington DC: Smithsonian, 1971, 29.
- <sup>51</sup> B. Sax, *Animals in the Third Reich*, second edition, Providence RI: Yogh & Thorn, 2013, 37-46.
- <sup>52</sup> Tompkins, *Monkeys in Art* 60-80. 53 Tompkins, *Monkeys in Art* 60-79.
- <sup>54</sup> I have personally collected illustrations from books of natural history, mostly from the latter nineteenth century, in which a simian couple resembling Adam and Eve takes on all of these forms.
- <sup>55</sup> R. Corbey, *The Metaphysics of Apes: Negotiating the Animal-Human Boundary*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 47.
- <sup>56</sup> D.J. Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science*, New York: Routledge, 1989, 9.
- <sup>57</sup> For a biography of Nim Chimpsky, see: E. Hess, *Nim Chimpsky: The Chimp Who Would Be Human*, New York: Bantam/Dell, 2008.
- <sup>58</sup> Though the ambitions have been drastically scaled back since the 1970s, researchers continue to experiment with teaching human language to apes. The consensus among scientists is that their ability to comprehend grammar is very limited. For a review of this research, see: C.D.L. Wynne and M.A.R. Udell, *Animal Cognition: Evolution, Behavior and Cognition*, second edition, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, 277-291.
- <sup>59</sup> Sax, *Animals in the Third Reich*, 39.
- <sup>60</sup> R. Preece, 'Thoughts out of season on the history of animal ethics', *Society and Animals*, 15, 4 (2007): 365-378, 371-376.
- <sup>61</sup> Sax, *Imaginary Animals*, 73-74.
- <sup>62</sup> The model used to enhance the status of human beings in relation to other animals was the 'great chain of being', which goes back at least to Plato, in which all living things from plants to archangels were ranked in an ascending order of spirituality. As the ideas of Darwin gained acceptance, this was interpreted in a temporal way as a status determined by the degree of evolutionary progress toward perfection. For a detailed discussion of this process, see: A.O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- <sup>63</sup> E. J. Larson, *Evolution: The Remarkable History of a Scientific Theory*, New York: The Modern Library, 2004, 97-100.
- <sup>64</sup> Newkirk, *Spectacle*, 46.
- <sup>65</sup> For a discussion of 'anthropological anxiety', see V. Richter, *Literature After Darwin: Human Beasts in Western Fiction 1859-1939*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, 8. 66 L. Winner, 'Resistance is futile: the posthuman condition and its advocates', in H.W. Baillie and T.K. Casey (eds.), *Is Human Nature Obsolete? Genetics, Bioengineering, and the Future of the Human Condition*, Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2005, 385-411, 394-395.
- <sup>67</sup> N. Chomsky, *Language and Mind*, third edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 88-101.
- <sup>68</sup> G. Pico della Mirandola, *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, Washington DC: Gateway, 2012 [1486], 13.

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## Eisenstein Runner-up 2019

### STORIES OF A LYNCHING: ACCOUNTS OF JOHN CARTER, 1927

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In April 1927, in the panicked midst of that spring's disastrous Mississippi River flood, a young white girl named Floella McDonald disappeared on a rainy afternoon in Little Rock. When an African American janitor found her body three weeks later in a church belfry, his teenage son Lonnie Dixon was indicted for rape and murder. That night and the following, frenzied white mobs threatened law enforcement and searched area jails for young Lonnie, until the mayor appealed for them to stop and assured the city of a death sentence. On the third night, the city was calm.

But the next morning, a report reached Little Rock that a white woman and her teenage daughter had been confronted by an African American man on the outskirts of town. Peace officers and citizens hunted, found, and hanged John Carter and dragged his body to Broadway and West Ninth Streets, in the heart of Little Rock's black business district. Thousands of whites gathered and rioted around a bonfire-cum-funeral pyre for three hours, until the governor dispatched the National Guard, which finally dispersed the crowd. Despite claims that law officers and city officials were negligent, if not complicit in the lynching and rioting, a grand jury disbanded after some members refused to indict them, and others resigned in protest.

Lonnie Dixon died in the electric chair less than two months later, on his birthday.

The stories of John Carter's death on May 4, 1927, and the events surrounding it, have been told in many ways, by different sources, and for different purposes. White-owned dailies in Arkansas and beyond, nationally distributed newspapers with primarily African American readers, and a Kansas journalist all published varying accounts, interpretations, and opinions. And Little Rock residents—who were children or adults in 1927—remembered and passed down information not published anywhere at the time.<sup>1</sup>

Considered together, the accounts paint conflicting pictures of the events, reveal holes in some documents and published reports, and raise significant questions: Was Lonnie Dixon's confession coerced? Was John Carter mentally impaired? Was Carter assaulting the women or helping them, or was his capture a case of mistaken identity? Were peace officers complicit in the death of John Carter, were they complacent while others acted, or were they overpowered by the mob gathered on that county road and later at Ninth and Broadway? This examination outlines a chronology of the main events, highlights disparities among primary sources, and considers what really might have happened and



how—and why—it is remembered.

As the great Mississippi River flood roared down the Arkansas and Mississippi rivers toward the Delta, the rushing water broke levees, washed away homes, vehicles, livestock, and people, and eventually flooded more than five million acres.<sup>2</sup> Everyone was tense and anxious, and the eyes of the nation were on the plight of Delta residents. On April 12 in Little Rock, eleven-year-old Floella McDonald (who also was reported as twelve or thirteen<sup>3</sup>) left the public library, having checked out *Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch*, but she never arrived home. The day before, another white child, thirteen-year-old Lonnie White, had disappeared, too.<sup>4</sup> The city mobilized a search for both children, fueled by rumors. A gas station attendant saw a girl crying in the back seat of a car with Texas plates, so a handful of deputies headed west, only to find their way blocked by high water. A woman reported a large object floating in a creek, which turned out to be a dog. Little Rock police chief Burl C. Rotenberry feared “that a fiend may have captured both children, or perhaps only one and is hiding with his victim or victims in the black Fourche [Creek] bottoms.”<sup>5</sup>

Notices went out by telegram and radio, planes dropped leaflets bearing the children’s pictures, and towns throughout the South received flyers from the Little Rock police. Troops of Boy Scouts and volunteers combed woodlands and swamps, empty barns, warehouses, and storage sheds. Reward money grew to \$1,500, at a time when local department store M. M. Cohn’s spring sale offered linen golf knickers for \$3.50 and union suits for \$1.19.<sup>6</sup>

When the overflowing Arkansas River reached Little Rock, six days after Floella’s disappearance, news of the flood edged the missing children off the front pages. Pressed into flood relief duty, peace officers halted their search. The children were presumed dead.<sup>7</sup>

Three weeks later, on Saturday, April 30, while a choir practiced and a group of Campfire Girls met in Little Rock’s “fashionable” First Presbyterian Church at Eighth and Scott Streets,<sup>8</sup> the white church’s African American janitor climbed a ladder to the belfry to investigate an odor he had noticed for several days. There he found a decomposing body and called the police. The body was identified as Floella’s by her clothes, rolled stockings, and sandals. As police lowered the blanket-wrapped body out of the belfry to the waiting ambulance, crowds began to gather.<sup>9</sup>

Police immediately questioned Frank Dixon, the church’s janitor, and then his teenage son Lonnie. Through four hours of grilling, both denied any knowledge of Floella’s death.<sup>10</sup> The nearby *Pine Bluff Daily Graphic* reported, “A round-up of negroes was started immediately by the police” of between six and twelve African American males “known as [the Dixons’] associates.”<sup>11</sup> A search of the church turned up blood-stained clothes in a church cabinet, identified by a cleaner’s tag as Frank Dixon’s.<sup>12</sup>

The news of Floella’s discovery brought W. R. Kincheloe to police three hours later with his daughter Billie Jean—age five in one account, age eight in the others.<sup>13</sup> They told of an young African American man who recently had “accosted” Billie Jean near the church “two weeks or longer ago,” promising little Billie Jean a toy if she returned to the church that afternoon. When the child picked Lonnie from a three-member lineup, police “tightened up on Lonnie.”<sup>14</sup>

The next day, “it was learned” that the conversation between Billie Jean and the young man had been the same day as Floella’s disappearance.<sup>15</sup> That afternoon—after between sixteen and twenty-four hours of questioning, most of it endured while standing and without food or legal counsel—Lonnie gave an oral confession, police announced.<sup>16</sup> But he did so only after “added pressure was brought on the youth by police and when he was told that his failure to tell the truth had caused his mother to be brought to jail he weakened and said that he killed Floella McDonald.”<sup>17</sup> Lonnie was reported as fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen at the time.<sup>18</sup>

According to the confession, police said, Floella climbed the church steps that day to take shelter from the rain. Lonnie, across the street at the Little Rock Boy’s Club, crossed the road to open the door for her, so she could go inside and get a drink. He promised her gifts (variously stated as little chairs she had admired or tickets to an “Our Gang” theater show<sup>19</sup>) if she would climb to the belfry with him. After she did “what he compelled,” a euphemism for rape, she threatened to tell her father. He then hit her in the head with a brick, killing her.<sup>20</sup>

Police said Lonnie led them to an abandoned garage on Fourteenth Street where he had hidden her hat and library book.<sup>21</sup> An oddly prescient report in the *Democrat* two weeks earlier had theorized that, if Floella had been swept away by the flood, “the child’s hat or the book which she carried might have been found.” And in the following paragraph: “Another theory advanced in the girl’s disappearance is that she was kidnaped by a negro fiend and held prisoner by



him. He may have killed the child and carefully hidden her body."<sup>22</sup>

Though coroner Samuel A. Boyce had pointed out the impossibility of determining whether the girl had been "ravished," the oral confession, circumstantial and concealed evidence, and identification by the young Billie Jean Kincheloe were worth more than a written confession, said Police Chief Rotenberry. He charged Lonnie with criminal assault and murder.<sup>23</sup> The *Chicago Defender* reported to its largely African American readers that Lonnie repudiated his confession the day after his arrest.<sup>24</sup>

At Floella's Sunday afternoon funeral, held at the same time as police later reported that Lonnie had confessed, reverend J. O. Johnston warned, "A lynching right now, when the attention of the nation is focused on Arkansas as a result of the flood situation, would cause irreparable harm to the reputation of the state. I beseech you to leave the matter of punishment to the courts."<sup>25</sup>

Prosecuting attorney Boyd Cypert and a resolution by the Little Rock Bar Association both assured the city that Lonnie's age—sixteen—would not save him from execution: "In the event he pleads guilty to an assault charge, his plea may be accepted by the court and capital punishment imposed without a jury, according to local criminal lawyers."<sup>26</sup> And Kansas journalist Marcet Haldeman-Julius, who was in Little Rock at the time, quoted mayor Charles E. Moyer's plea to let justice take its course: "Lonnie will not escape the electric chair. We allow [*sic*] Lonnie's execution to be done according to law."<sup>27</sup>

Almost immediately after Lonnie confessed, a white mob formed outside City Hall, which had a basement jail, and grew to between three and five thousand, demanding that police turn both Dixons over to them. But Chief Rotenberry, who had faced down four previous mobs and protected prisoners under his command, instructed his officers to sneak Lonnie and his father away in separate cars, at different times, to destinations three hundred miles apart. Chief Rotenberry armed his officers with sawed-off shotguns and successfully held off the mob, who gathered for more than five hours.<sup>28</sup>

Southwest of the city at the "Walls," as the Arkansas State Penitentiary was commonly known, a mob of several thousand made the same demands of warden S. L. Todhunter.<sup>29</sup> When Todhunter insisted the Dixons were not there, a member of the mob shot through the screen door to his office, injuring no one. Todhunter demanded at gunpoint that the mob leave, then allowed them to choose a committee to search inside the prison. While the committee searched, others broke the lock on the penitentiary gate and surged inside. When the four- or five-member committee returned empty-handed, the mob broke into groups to search the premises themselves, including the warden's home. Word finally circulated that the Dixons had been taken to other jails. Frustrated and angry, as many as five hundred left in cars to search jails in the nearby communities of Benton, Hot Springs, Malvern, Pine Bluff, and Sheridan.<sup>30</sup>

Todhunter had requested police aid for the penitentiary from Chief Rotenberry, but officers were too busy controlling the mob at City Hall. Governor John Martineau urged city officials to disperse the crowd, but the mayor and city council refused to use force. National Guardsmen readied tear bombs, if needed. The crowd hooted down a succession of local authorities who pleaded with them to leave, including Mayor Moyer, law enforcement officers, and several ministers.<sup>31</sup> When Rotenberry approached the edge of the crowd, "he was attacked and had to be rescued by his men." He exited City Hall in secret and called Sunday night's mob the worst he had seen, but said he never was concerned for his own safety.<sup>32</sup> The *Baltimore Afro-American* reported that whites "invaded the colored section seeking Lonnie Dixon, 15 year-old half-breed, who confessed [to] the murder of a white child."<sup>33</sup>

On Monday morning, city officials breathed sighs of relief. Eighteen mob members had been arrested, but no violence resulted from Sunday night's demonstrations, though they were the largest ever in Little Rock and did not disperse until two o'clock in the morning.<sup>34</sup> Monday night, however, crowds again gathered and turned their frustrations on the officials who were thwarting their quest to seize the Dixons. They cut tires on police vehicles and went to the homes of Mayor Moyer, Chief Rotenberry, and the chief of detectives, Major James A. Pitcock to demand the prisoners' whereabouts. By order of the mayor, Rotenberry had left town with his family.<sup>35</sup> At one o'clock, Pitcock, who once had dispersed a mob in Crawford County, told the City Hall crowd, "I'll give you ten minutes to get away from here, everyone [*sic*] of you—and three of the ten minutes are gone." The crowd left.<sup>36</sup>

By Tuesday, May 3, three days after Floella's body was found, mob activity seemed to have stopped. A morning *Gazette* editorial praised "the authorities and the peace officers to whom it fell to handle a peculiarly difficult situation" and who



averted a lynching, despite “the crime of all crimes to rouse public anger and spread, like fire in tinder, an unreasoning desire for summary and terrible vengeance.” Always a moral disaster, the editorial continued, a lynching would have been “especially deplorable at this time when Arkansas is in the eyes of the nation” due to the flood.<sup>37</sup> Mayor Moyer praised the city’s return to calm and the police chief’s successful protection of Lonnie.<sup>38</sup>

That same morning, the Pulaski County Grand Jury indicted Lonnie Dixon for assault and first-degree murder and set a trial date two weeks later on May 19.<sup>39</sup> The Grand Jury warned, “We are asking aid and assistance from the outside world for our many thousands of penniless and distressed citizens. We are advertising ourselves as honest, law-abiding people and we cannot afford to do other than let the law take its course in this case.”<sup>40</sup> And the *Democrat* editorialized, “The law requires that men must have a trial. The negro youth must be returned here to face trial. *When convicted* the legal time limit must expire before he can be executed.” Mayor Moyer also chimed in: “I sincerely hope that the trial and execution of Lonnie Dixon will be allowed to proceed legally and lawfully. It is certain that he will be executed, and I sincerely hope that no further violence will be resorted to.”<sup>41</sup> Police were prepared for mob violence Tuesday night, and were “Ordered to Resist Any Attack by Would-Be Lynchers of Negro.”<sup>42</sup>

On Thursday, May 5, Floella’s family, the McDonalds, published a “Card of Thanks” in the *Arkansas Democrat* to their “many friends for their kind words of sympathy during our time of trouble.”<sup>43</sup> An adjacent column continued the front-page story of an event that appeared to be entirely different but, in the minds of the actors and the collective memory of Little Rock, never really was.

On the morning of Wednesday, May 4, two white women—Mrs. B. E. Stewart and her seventeen-year-old daughter Glennie—had been driving a wagon toward Little Rock from the southwest, with a load of eggs and butter to sell. They lived in a wooded area, a mile and a half off the Twelfth Street Pike, seven miles from Little Rock.<sup>44</sup> At the base of a hill, they drove past an African American man walking along the road.<sup>45</sup> Greatly varying reports said that he asked them the location of a bridge, or whether they were going to town, or if they had any whiskey; that he ran and caught the wagon, jumped in, and grabbed the reins; that either he threatened to kill the women or he beat them with an iron bar; that Glennie fought back with a whip; that he knocked both of them out of the wagon or that they fell or jumped, and that Mrs. Stewart broke her arm; that he threw rocks at them, or chased one or both, and caught up with Glennie—or her mother—and attacked with a tree limb, and beat the mother unconscious.<sup>46</sup> When a passing car stopped, the man fled into the woods, and the driver picked up the women, stopped at a nearby house to phone the sheriff, and took them to the hospital, telling the news along the way.<sup>47</sup> These were reports in white-owned publications.

But others, particularly in the African American community, remember the story differently: a backfiring car scared the horse, the women screamed, and the man jumped up to help them control the wagon; when they protested to other whites that he was helping—not hurting—they, their pleas went unheeded.<sup>48</sup>

Word spread quickly. Pulaski County sheriff Mike Haynie hurried to the scene, followed almost immediately by four carloads of his own deputies, officers, and volunteers. He stationed men at regular intervals along two main roads, and the rest began combing the wooded area; runners were told to keep him informed. More volunteers arrived from Little Rock, eventually totaling as many as fifteen hundred. “Estimates vary so widely as to the number of people who were meanwhile beating the woods to drive [the man] toward one or another of these pikes that it is very difficult to come at the truth,” wrote Haldeman-Julius. “Certainly the timber was alive with posses.”<sup>49</sup>

At midday, a woman—presumably white—reported seeing a black man crouching near a road. Searchers rushed to follow his trail.<sup>50</sup> As the *Chicago Defender* described it, “he was walking along the highway when he heard and saw the howling mob, and fled in terror from the road, plunging into the forest. . . . His flight was the only evidence of guilt his frenzied pursuers had.”<sup>51</sup> No one was cornered until much later in the afternoon, when a carload of officers and volunteers fired two shots at a man.<sup>52</sup> Within an hour, two volunteers pointed their guns at a wounded man in a tree, perhaps the same one at whom they had fired. He climbed down—or was snatched—and begged the men not to shoot.<sup>53</sup> They fired into the air to alert others and put him into a nearby car, while others came running.<sup>54</sup>

At this point, a detective reportedly recognized the captured man as John Carter, who, the previous August, had been fined \$500 and sentenced to one year “on the Pulaski county farm” for entering a woman’s home on East Eleventh Street and beating her with a hammer. That man had escaped from a work crew on Saturday—the day Floella’s body was found—and was said to have been hiding in the woods.<sup>55</sup> Differing accounts would state Carter’s age as twenty-



two, twenty-eight, or thirty-eight.<sup>56</sup>

With Carter in a closed car, the gathered posse sent a messenger five miles into Little Rock to bring teenage Glennie Stewart to the scene; her mother was in the hospital. By the time the young woman arrived at close to half past five, as many as two hundred people had congregated by the car, but no senior law officers were reported to be among the gathered crowd.<sup>57</sup> That morning, having determined that the mob fever of the previous several nights was quelled, Governor Martineau had left town to attend a strawberry festival 125 miles away in Van Buren and planned to return that evening.<sup>58</sup> Mayor Moyer had ordered Police Chief Rotenberry out of town and had left as well, later saying he thought any crisis could be handled by men “in better mental and physical condition than the chief or myself.”<sup>59</sup> Neither was Sheriff Haynie at the scene of the capture; he told different sources he was either two or seven miles away.<sup>60</sup>

While waiting for Glennie, the mob granted Carter water and a cigarette and peppered him with questions. In various reports, he denied the attack, or blamed someone else, or did not know why he did it—or all three.<sup>61</sup> When Glennie arrived, she identified him (“‘That’s the man, that’s the man,’ the girl cried,”) and peace officers prepared to take him into town. But others seized Carter from the officers, who were described as “threatened” and “powerless” against the gathered mob.<sup>62</sup> “Lady,” a member of the mob later told Haldeman-Julius, “there wasn’t anyone in the woods that aimed to do anything but lynch that nigger from the time they started huntin’ fer ‘im.” Asked why, he said, “Why you could jest hear people sayin’ right and left, ‘Rotenberry . . . ain’t goin’ to get away with *this* nigger like they did Lonnie Dixon.”<sup>63</sup>

The *Chicago Defender* article explicitly blamed the lynching on the tenor of the city in the days after Floella McDonald’s body was discovered: “Therefore the report of this latest attack was like setting a match to a gasoline torch.” A week later, a letter writer agreed: “After they failed to lynch Dixon, they were determined to lynch somebody. They put out a report that a bright Race man, the color of Dixon, had attacked a white woman and lynched a real black man.”<sup>64</sup> In published photographs, Lonnie Dixon and John Carter bear little resemblance to each other.

After Glennie identified Carter, the mob led him to a telephone pole. “Officers attempted to bluff the crowd out of its intention to lynch the negro, but they were themselves threatened and the crowd remained firm in its intentions,” the *Gazette* reported.<sup>65</sup> Someone brought a rope, tied it to a chain, and looped a noose around Carter’s neck and then over the crossbeam of the pole; a man lying in a ditch held the other end. Carter asked permission to pray: “God, here I come on this fourth day of May, 1927.”<sup>66</sup> The mob interrupted his prayer to tell him to climb on top of a Ford roadster. When he could not, they pushed him partway up and drove the car from underneath him. He hung for two minutes before a line of between twenty-five and fifty gunmen fired two to three hundred shots into his body.<sup>67</sup>

The Little Rock daily papers reported that Sheriff Haynie arrived fifteen minutes after the shooting had ended. But B. E. Stewart, husband and father of the women in the wagon, told Haldeman-Julius that as he himself fired the last shot, “Sheriff Haynie was lookin’ right at me.”<sup>68</sup>

Someone suggested taking the body down, but someone else said only the coroner could do so. The mob scattered at a directive from the sheriff, who turned the still-hanging body over to Dr. Samuel Boyce, the same coroner who had been called to the scene of Floella’s discovery only four days earlier. A crowd gathered again, but Boyce “could find no one who would admit having witnessed the lynching.”<sup>69</sup> The death certificate, signed by Boyce on May 8, lists Carter’s death by “Multiple gunshot wounds (killed by parties unknown in a mob).”<sup>70</sup>

Haynie left again, as did Boyce to call an African American undertaker. The re-assembled crowd voted to take John Carter’s body to Little Rock and burn it. His body was placed on the front, or inside, of a roadster and, with dozens of cars following, was driven to the city in a procession that eventually stretched to twenty-six blocks long. Someone said the lead car carrying Carter’s body drove by Sheriff Haynie, who made no move to stop it.<sup>71</sup>

When the chain of cars reached Fourteenth and Ringo Streets in Little Rock, the body was tied, head first, to the back of the car, and the procession continued for more than an hour, down Main Street and Markham Street, west on Broadway Street past City Hall, police headquarters, and the courthouse to Sixth, Louisiana, and Ninth Streets, finally stopping at the intersection of Ninth and Broadway, the heart of the black business district. There, they placed Carter’s body at the intersection of two streetcar lines, doused it with gasoline, and set it on fire using pews from nearby Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, Little Rock’s largest African American church.<sup>72</sup> “No better spot could have



been selected in order to humiliate colored people," the *Baltimore Afro-American* told its readers.<sup>73</sup>

Thousands of white men, women, and children, in cars and on foot, converged on Ninth and Broadway from all directions, blocking roads and sidewalks. On a corner opposite the church, women gathered on the steps of the Mosaic Templars building, national headquarters of the Mosaic Templars of America, an African American fraternal organization founded in 1883.<sup>74</sup>

The crowd was estimated at between four and seven thousand.<sup>75</sup> "Boxes, limbs, furniture, gasoline, oil, kerosene and whatever else that could be procured by the mob were thrown upon the charred body of John Carter," according to the *Democrat*, "while men and women, many with babies in their arms, danced in a circle and howled and jeered. At intervals the mob, unable to express its contempt as loudly and as vociferously as it wished, resorted to firearms."<sup>76</sup>

Aaron (or Aren) Christian, a young African American man who wandered onto the scene with a gun, was seized and badly beaten. When several called for lynching him, too, and tossed him toward the fire, others pulled him to safety and put him in a car. The would-be lynchers fired at the car, and a stray bullet injured Robert Love, an eighteen-year-old white man.<sup>77</sup> From the steps of Bethel AME Church, another young white man reasoned with the crowd, admonishing them to send the injured black man to police headquarters, "since there seem to be no policemen handy," at which the crowd laughed and jeered "when it was apparent to them that the police were in their own headquarters and were not abroad." They did as he suggested.<sup>78</sup>

Police, as the crowd obviously knew, indeed were holed up in the basement of City Hall. Heavily armed with shotguns, rifles, and thousands of rounds of ammunition, they played cards while awaiting orders to go quell the rioting. With the police chief and the mayor still out of town—and with their whereabouts and return plans apparently unknown—alderman Joe H. Bilheimer Jr. reportedly was acting mayor (but another source said Little Rock had no acting mayor that night).<sup>79</sup> Assistant police chief E. W. Crow was commanding the police force but would not act without direction from city council.<sup>80</sup> Bilheimer went to the scene at Ninth and Broadway, where someone reportedly threatened him with a pistol. At City Hall, he and the rest of city council conferred about the mood and armaments of the crowd and deemed inaction to be the best course. Chief Detective Pitcock begged permission to take fifty men and disperse the crowd. "We may lose a few," he said, "but we'll stop the riot." His request was denied, per the mayor's absentee directive that no force be used except in self-defense.<sup>81</sup>

"During the several hours in which the mob milled around Ninth street and Broadway and streets leading to it," the *Gazette* reported, "not a police officer in uniform was visible for several blocks around, and no plain clothes men made their presence noticeable, if they were in the vicinity."<sup>82</sup> However, from his hiding place in the basement of Bethel AME Church, an eyewitness saw identifiable officers; friends later advised him to keep his observations to himself, which he did.<sup>83</sup>

"The situation is very bad," Moyer admitted to the press the next day, "but I don't see how it could be improved by mourning today over the bodies of 250 officers and citizens such as I believe would have been the result had the police and sheriff's forces attacked the mob last night."<sup>84</sup> The police had received repeated pleas for aid, and each caller was told that police would soon be in control. But at nine thirty that evening, "police still were making preparations to 'get the situation in hand.'"<sup>85</sup>

Black Little Rock residents stayed inside and well away from the melee. As "rumor after rumor was circulated in the mob that white men had been shot by negroes" or that "negroes were mobilizing or were arming themselves," the mob scattered to search nearby neighborhoods. Alderman Bilheimer told police he saw armed white men on porches of African American homes, waiting for police.<sup>86</sup> But the *Chicago Defender* reported whites disbanding on the news that blacks were mobilizing.<sup>87</sup> Both the *Democrat* and Haldeman-Julius credited Little Rock's black population with having the "good sense and restraint" to stay inside and away from the crazed mob and not making the situation worse.<sup>88</sup>

When Governor Martineau, in Van Buren, learned of the situation, he deployed the National Guard. At ten o'clock, Captain Harry W. Smith, Adjutant General J. R. Wayne, Major H. F. Fredeman, and Lieutenant Carl Scheibner led sixty Arkansas National Guardsmen of Company H, 206th Coast Artillery, armed with rifles, fixed bayonets, and tear bombs, to the intersection of Ninth and Broadway Streets, converging on the site from four directions.<sup>89</sup> They found a chaotic scene, completely devoid of law enforcement, in which people had poked sticks into Carter's corpse and were carrying



around pieces of the charred body; someone directed traffic with a burnt arm.<sup>90</sup>

Within ten minutes of their arrival, the National Guard had dispersed the crowd that had rioted for three hours. By ten thirty, they notified City Hall of their success in breaking up the gathering, and in another quarter hour they had sent a Dubisson and Company ambulance to police headquarters with the remains of Carter's body. The Guard blocked all access to several blocks around the intersection, including to police cars. At least one African American shop owner, who had been hiding in his business, was provided an escort home.<sup>91</sup>

The National Guard continued to patrol the city's streets Thursday and Friday, May 5 and 6. On Friday, police arrested a young man on Main Street who was selling photos of the lynching for fifteen cents.<sup>92</sup>

Reaction the next day was strong, swift, and mixed. In a front-page editorial, the *Arkansas Gazette* deplored the "shame of being delivered over to anarchy," calling the scene at Ninth and Broadway a "Saturnalia of savagery." Throughout America, the *Gazette* continued, "the name of Little Rock will be read with expressions of horror," and the paper demanded an accounting from "the officers who have failed us."<sup>93</sup> On its front page, the evening's *Democrat* printed without comment the relevant state laws addressing citizen aid to law enforcement and police duties to prevent and suppress rioting and unlawful assembly. The next day, an editorial placed blame squarely at the feet of the mayor and the aldermen, as well as the mob's leaders.<sup>94</sup>

Also on Thursday, Governor Martineau called a meeting of city and law enforcement authorities, but Chief Rotenberry "could not be found."<sup>95</sup> That same morning, the Pulaski County Grand Jury convened under the leadership of foreman Gordon N. Peay with a strongly worded charge from First Division Circuit Court judge Abner McGehee:

This community is not going to permit mob rule. You are not going to permit it, and to the limit of every faculty I possess and every power conferred by the office I hold, I am not going to permit it. . . . The most sacred institutions we possess have been endangered by this outbreak. . . . If we permit the overthrow of the law's majesty, we invite an intolerable situation in which the security of every home is threatened and the life of every innocent child is endangered.<sup>96</sup>

Elected and appointed city staff issued statements deploring the riot and disorder, but declaring "They Acted in City's Best Interests." The unapologetic mayor said he headed back to Little Rock at 10:40 p.m., when he was notified of Carter's capture. "I have no criticism to make of the members of the council who decided against this attack," he said, "but on the other hand, want to commend them on their foresight and good judgment. As it is only one death resulted. The criminal law should be changed so that an attempted assault or attack on a woman by a man would be a capital offense." He again assured citizens that Lonnie Dixon would be executed.<sup>97</sup>

Sheriff Mike Haynie called the search and lynching "orderly." The situation did not get out of hand, he said, until Carter's body was dragged to town. Saying that he was two miles away when Carter was caught, he "immediately made [his] way to the scene and when [he] arrived the negro was hanging from a telephone pole." When the coroner arrived, Haynie said, he left for his car a quarter mile away; when he returned to the scene, Carter's body was gone.<sup>98</sup>

Coroner Samuel Boyce denied that Carter's body had been taken from him and used Haynie's word—"orderly"—to describe the crowd. He said that when he left to find the ambulance driver, the body was removed "by persons unknown to me. Legally, I was in no way responsible for the body after I had completed the inquest."<sup>99</sup>

In a meeting attended by many prominent citizens, the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce adopted a seven-point resolution praising the National Guard, praising the press for its condemnation of the events, promising "any amount of money that may be necessary," and urging the Grand Jury to return indictments "against every officer shown by the facts to have been guilty of a dereliction of duty, to be followed by removal from office and by punishment under the criminal laws of the state."<sup>100</sup> Among those issuing statements condemning the riot were the Second Presbyterian Church and the Pulaski County chapter of the American Red Cross, which had been engaged in flood relief since mid-April.<sup>101</sup> A Little Rock Bar Association resolution said, "The evidence points to such weakness and cowardice on the part of our public officials charged with the preservation of the public peace as have never before been displayed in any English-speaking community."<sup>102</sup>

The Grand Jury requested and received from the sheriff newly deputized guards for its proceedings. By the end of the



week, thirty witnesses had testified, and the jury adjourned until Tuesday.<sup>103</sup> One Alabama man had been arrested in Hot Springs for having participated in the lynching and burning; he was found to possess grisly souvenir body parts wrapped in a handkerchief.<sup>104</sup>

Sunday afternoon, May 8, a week and a day after Floella's body was discovered, police found the body of Lonnie White, who had disappeared the day before she did. They promised a full investigation into his apparent accidental drowning.<sup>105</sup>

On Tuesday, May 10, the Grand Jury resumed its work and heard twenty more witnesses. But by the end of the day, Foreman Peay and six others had signed a letter of resignation to Judge McGehee, citing the impossibility of securing the 75 percent vote necessary for indictments.<sup>106</sup> Peay wrote, "I know I have the confidence and respect of [Little Rock's] good citizens, and I feel that I cannot hold either their respect or my own if I allow this situation to be whitewashed and forgotten. I am not afraid to do my duty, and I positively refuse to concur in the inaction of this jury."<sup>107</sup>

Peay later told an investigator from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) that he had evidence against Mayor Moyer and Sheriff Haynie and "ample proof" to indict known mob leaders. But, he said, fellow juror H. A. Cook and five others wished to indict only minor players to avoid naming officials or influential city leaders. Cook confirmed his reluctance to charge officers ("I do not think the officers in question should be indicted unless more evidence than we have heard is procured"), but blamed Peay for the breakup of the jury. It was the Grand Jury's duty to indict mob leaders and participants, he said, "if it appeared that their identities could be established."<sup>108</sup>

Two days later, Judge McGehee dismissed the Grand Jury without comment.<sup>109</sup> The *Democrat* condemned both the Grand Jury for disbanding and the court for allowing it. "If the courts permit such a fizzle, then we have no haven of protection against repetitions of mob rule—we must advise the world that the citizens of Little Rock do not disapprove of mob rule. . . . And a whitewash of the disgraceful episode would be even worse than a compromise."<sup>110</sup> In a sharp turn from his strong charge convening the Grand Jury, McGehee did not call a special jury, as some had anticipated, but said he would delay the investigation to the next Grand Jury, scheduled for nearly four months later.

The subsequent NAACP investigative report cites McGehee as later seeing "no reason why the subject of the burning and lynching should come before this Jury or, in fact, ever be brought up again."<sup>111</sup> Prosecuting attorney Boyd Cypert also told the NAACP he thought it best to let the matter drop, as did Chief Rotenberry, Major Fredeman of the National Guard, and numerous others who refused further comment. Cypert said, according to the report, "If indictments were brought the sympathy of the majority would be on the wrong side, acquittal would be certain, and the lasting impression would be that the action against white persons in such a matter was an outrage and race hatred would be strengthened." The NAACP investigator found that "the better class of white people, including those whose indignation had been highest last summer," agreed with Cypert. He also said the well-known local African American attorney Scipio Jones "advised [him] to see very few colored people as it was, he thought, likely to injure them if it became known, and they could give [him] very little help."<sup>112</sup>

On local editorial pages in the days immediately after the lynching, letter writers alternately praised and condemned city officials, officers, and the newspapers' stances. They debated whether a show of force would have prevented the lynching and riot or, as Mayor Moyer had postulated, would have escalated the violence.<sup>113</sup> Before it stopped accepting unsigned letters, the *Gazette* printed one that read, "There are times when it is necessary to make an example of a negro to protect our girls."<sup>114</sup> In mid-June, the *Chicago Defender* printed a letter from a white man who signed himself, "A Citizen for 35 Years, Little Rock, Ark." He said, "The Ku Klux elected the city officials and those officials who were not in the mob were hidden away, so that everything was done in an orderly way." He called Little Rock "a Ku Klux town" and "hell on earth." Indeed, Mayor Moyer and Sheriff Haynie previously had been members of—or endorsed by—the local Klan.<sup>115</sup>

Police had hidden Lonnie Dixon in a jail in Texarkana. On Monday, May 16, he was brought back to the "Walls" state penitentiary and kept under the heavy armament of the same National Guard unit that had so effectively quelled the rioting. The next day, Lonnie, without counsel present, entered a "not guilty" plea in Floella McDonald's death.<sup>116</sup> His first court-appointed lawyer had announced he would be out of town the day of the trial and thus could not serve. On Tuesday afternoon before the trial on Thursday, with Judge McGehee's consent, the Pulaski County Bar Association appointed new attorneys—Ector Johnson and J. F. Willis—using slips of paper drawn out of a hat. That afternoon, only



two days before the trial, Lonnie's new capital defense team had "not yet mapped out a defense," nor had they seen a copy of the indictment.<sup>117</sup>

Jury selection took most of Thursday morning, May 19, with the courthouse surrounded by National Guardsmen and 150 special deputy sheriffs.<sup>118</sup> When testimony began, Lonnie's attorneys positioned him as an accessory to the crime committed by Eugene Hudson, age sixteen, who had been arrested earlier in the week in anticipation of his being named.<sup>119</sup> Floella's father and sister testified, as did motorcycle patrolman Homer R. Barrett (the first officer to have arrived at First Presbyterian Church), Chief Rotenberry, and other officials. The sole witness in his own defense, Lonnie said he had only made the oral confession because he needed food and sleep and had wanted his mother released from custody. Cross-examination by prosecuting attorney Boyd Cypert did not shake Lonnie's account.<sup>120</sup>

The jury received the case at 6:05 p.m. and returned to the courtroom, having found Lonnie guilty, in only seven (or ten, or twelve) minutes. Waiving his right to a two-day waiting period, Lonnie was given the sentence of death in the electric chair on June 24, his seventeenth (or eighteenth) birthday.<sup>121</sup>

On June 22, Lonnie's mother visited him for the last time. At her urging, he signed a new confession that implicated Eugene Hudson, as he had testified at the trial.<sup>122</sup> But in the early morning of June 24, a few hours before his death, Lonnie dictated yet another confession to assistant prosecuting attorney Carl E. Bailey and warden S. L. Todhunter, after they "had remained in the death house for two hours after midnight, stressing the advisability of a confession," and after Bailey had lectured Lonnie on the sin of lying and the pending injustice to Hudson. Bailey and Todhunter said the confession, which Bailey typed and which was witnessed by ministers M. V. Hudson of Alexander and O. A. Perry of Plumerville, was "given willingly with the horrible details and with no attempt to introduce mitigating circumstances or a color of pathos."<sup>123</sup> This confession corroborated little Billie Jean Kincheloe's story that he had stopped her, too. New details included that Lonnie had assaulted Floella in the church basement and choked her, forced her to climb the ladder to the belfry, saying he would let her out there. When he told her he was going to kill her, she asked to go see her parents and promised to return the next day so he could kill her then. He hit her in the head with a brick, climbed back down and changed shirts and then, hearing her moan, returned to the belfry and slit her throat. He blamed two Texarkana jail mates for his having implicated Eugene Hudson to try to save his own life and apologized to his mother for lying to her.<sup>124</sup>

He repeated his acknowledgement of guilt a few hours later in the electric chair. More than twelve hundred people had applied to witness the execution; thirty were admitted.<sup>125</sup> He died in either eight or twelve minutes, longer than some reports of the time the jury took to condemn him.<sup>126</sup>

The lynching of John Carter and the riot that followed were reported by the Associated Press, and in newspapers as far away as Chicago, New York, and Washington, DC.<sup>127</sup> Some sources described it as the first recorded mob violence in Pulaski County for thirty-six years, though this was in error.<sup>128</sup> (See chapter 7 for accounts of the 1892 lynching of Henry James in Little Rock and the 1906 race riot in Argenta.) Because of the flood, all eyes were on this region of the country, where levees were breaking and residents were being forced from their homes.<sup>129</sup> Little Rock leaders immediately recognized the potential damage that a lynching could do to the region's reputation at a time of great need. Even before the mob began the search that resulted in John Carter's death, Rev. Johnston at Floella's funeral, an editorial in the *Gazette*, and the Grand Jury that indicted Lonnie Dixon all emphasized that the state desperately needed national sympathy and aid for flood relief. In other words, a lynching would look very, very bad. The morning after the lynching, the *Gazette* editorialized that, across the country, "the name of Little Rock will be read with expressions of horror."<sup>130</sup> Research into whether or to what extent the violence may have impacted flood aid would be revealing.

The 1920s press, dependent on advertisers and subscribers, largely reflected the attitudes of its readers. Headlines and articles about Floella McDonald, Lonnie Dixon, and John Carter were no exception, using condemnatory language prior to any specific suspicions of guilt. During the extended search for the missing children, police chief Burl Rotenberry's suggestion that they may have been "kidnapped by a 'fiend'" was inflammatory enough, as well as unfounded, in the midst of the raging flood, and then he suggested they were captive in an African American section of town.<sup>131</sup>

After Floella's body was found, though the coroner pronounced it "impossible to tell if the girl had been ravished," the same article reported, "Before folding the sheet over the form, [funeral home employee Neil] Smith picked up a silk undergarment that lay beside it, telling the tragic story of the horrible ordeal that apparently preceded Floella's



death."<sup>132</sup> Lonnie's final, dictated confession said he assaulted her in the church basement. Why would he have carried her underwear to the belfry, unless she held onto it herself while climbing the ladder? Or if she put it back on in the basement, did one of them remove it again in the belfry?

Publicized as happening at the same time as Floella's funeral,<sup>133</sup> Lonnie's first, oral confession was variously placed at 2:00, 2:30, 4:00, or even 4:30 p.m. and took place under circumstances that were questionable, at the least, and today would be called coercive. Still a minor by all accounts of his age, Lonnie had been denied rest, food, and legal counsel for between sixteen and twenty-four hours.<sup>134</sup> "He consistently denied all knowledge of the crime until late [Sunday] when Chief Rotenberry took his turn at questioning," the *Gazette* wrote. "No promise of escape or lenience was made to the negro boy as an inducement for him to confess. He was told, according to the police and the assistant prosecuting attorney, that the best he could expect would be a speedy execution and that the worst a torturing death at the hands of a mob."<sup>135</sup> No doubt he knew that crowds were gathering, that he and his father already had been announced as suspects, and that little Billie Jean had identified him the previous day. "You know, if you had a mob out there and you're a child, you would admit to anything as well," one of Lonnie's nieces pointed out.<sup>136</sup> Newspapers reported that he "held out until he was told that his mother had been arrested and was being detained in jail" because he had not yet told the truth.<sup>137</sup> But whose version of the truth—his, or what Little Rock officials wanted to hear?

"There was much speculation about the force used to get the confession," Clifford E. Minton, an eyewitness to the spectacle at Ninth and Broadway Streets, reported in *America's Black Trap*. "The proceedings involving the sheriff, prosecutor and the court left important unanswered questions. With 'expedited due process' . . . Lonnie Dixon was convicted and electrocuted."<sup>138</sup> Another of Lonnie's nieces described conversations in her family: "After I listened to some people, it was like it was a set-up. You listen to other family members and he actually did it. . . . I have questions about it, but I know he admitted he did it. But after being questioned, and I'm sure abused, for so long, you admit anything for people to leave you alone."<sup>139</sup>

Lonnie recanted this oral confession the next day, according to the *Chicago Defender*; something Chief Rotenberry had predicted: "Sufficient corroborative evidence was obtained by the police to convict the janitor's son," the *Democrat* reported on May 2, "even though he should repudiate his confession, according to Chief Rotenberry."<sup>140</sup> Did the circumstances of the confession lead Rotenberry to assume he would recant?

On the witness stand at his trial, Lonnie said he had only confessed because he wanted food and rest, and wanted his mother to be released, and then said he was not guilty. A month later, facing death in a few hours, he reverted to an enhanced version of the same confession Rotenberry had first reported. But that came only after an extended session with Bailey and Todhunter. Why did the *Democrat* feel a necessity to make explicit that the final dictated and signed confession was "given willingly"?<sup>141</sup> To emphasize his guilt to eager readers, or to reassure them about a possibly questionable situation?

The entire scenario would have played well to conditioned white cultural assumptions that black males were dangerous to white females. The initial "round-up" of suspects, including janitor Frank Dixon and his son, apparently included no whites at all. One white woman, who was a Little Rock child of Floella's age in 1927, noted that arresting only African American suspects "threw the white fellow in the clear, if it was a white fellow, you know, because they blamed it on the black. . . . That just cleared the case." She went on to say, "It was many times when the blacks were accused and, you know . . . I don't think they were guilty. . . . Just to get, get it moved away from the real one who did it, you know. Closed it up."<sup>142</sup>

Some speculated about a romantic relationship between Floella and Lonnie, and here the conflicting reports of their ages become important. Floella was generally reported as eleven or twelve, though by the time of Lonnie's execution she was listed as thirteen. The death certificate says twelve.<sup>143</sup> One source reported Lonnie as fifteen when he was arrested, but elsewhere he was reported as sixteen or seventeen. According to his family, he was sixteen when arrested and died on his seventeenth birthday.<sup>144</sup> If Floella was eleven and Lonnie eighteen when he died, even a friendship would have been less likely than if they were at the other extremes—thirteen and fifteen. In her memoir, Edith McClinton tells of knowing Lonnie Dixon because he "dated a friend of mine and was from a very good family." As McClinton had heard it, "It was rumored that the girl was seeing Lonnie at the same time she was going steady with a white boy. When the white boyfriend found out, allegedly, he killed her and framed Lonnie for the crime."<sup>145</sup> In 1929, Simon and Schuster



published a novel, *Violence*, by Marcet Haldeman-Julius (the Kansas journalist) and her husband, Emanuel, based on the Little Rock story and promoted as “A Novel of Love and Justice in the Central South.” They wrote of interracial friendships, a lynching, and an execution, predating Richard Wright’s *Native Son* by eleven years and Lillian Smith’s *Strange Fruit* by fifteen.<sup>146</sup>

Local news reports described Lonnie as a “half-breed” and “polyglot,” based on his skin color, and his mother as “mullato” [*sic*].<sup>147</sup> “I could see where, if one thought he was white, then it is very possible that he could have had a relationship with another white person,” acknowledged his niece, who said people often thought her mother (Lonnie’s sister) was white.<sup>148</sup> As another niece remembers, “I do realize that was rumored. . . . I heard my mom and my dad say that is what the case was, and it basically just got out of hand.”<sup>149</sup> The Dixon family, which remained in Little Rock, never again learned the whereabouts of Lonnie’s father, Frank Dixon, nor regained contact with him, despite a newspaper report that he was released from custody and immediately left the state.<sup>150</sup>

On the notion of Lonnie being framed, Marcet Haldeman-Julius pointed out that the entire city had been thoroughly combed during the search for the missing children: “It is during this time that I think it not in the least improbable that the little girl’s book and hat may have been found.”<sup>151</sup> On April 17, only five days after Floella disappeared, the *Democrat* had reported the theory that, if Floella had drowned, “the child’s hat or the book which she carried might have been found.” Also: “Another theory advanced in the girl’s disappearance is that she was kidnaped by a negro fiend and held prisoner by him. He may have killed the child and carefully hidden her body.”<sup>152</sup> So someone expected that her body and her possessions might be found in two different places. That circumstances seemed to bear out this speculation at least raises questions about what some officers already may have known nearly two weeks before finding her body.

The day of Floella’s funeral, the *Democrat* reminded its readers, “Every vacant house in the city was searched thoroughly for traces of the children and not a single clue was found.”<sup>153</sup> The circumstances of Lonnie’s several confessions, the possibility that the hat and glove might previously have been discovered, and the city’s frenzy following the discovery of Floella’s body should have poked holes in what officials presented as an airtight case against him. As Haldeman-Julius wrote to NAACP president Walter White: “Of course it is in just such a case as this that a trial is necessary. But Lonnie is not going to get a trial. The best, the very best that he can hope for is a legalized lynching, and he will only get that because governor John Martineau is ashamed for the good name of Arkansas, of the recent disgraceful unchecked trampling upon law and order.”<sup>154</sup>

City officials already had assured their constituents either of Lonnie’s guilt or that his age would not save him from the electric chair. In an apparent attempt to absolve Lonnie’s lawyers from blame for defending him, Judge McGehee emphasized that they had been randomly chosen. Jurors, hardly comprised of his peers, took only a very few minutes to decide on death for the young man with conflicting confessions, no other witnesses in his defense, and appointed lawyers who had a single day to prepare.<sup>155</sup> A nephew of Floella’s, an attorney himself, agreed: “He was lynched, too.”<sup>156</sup>

As in most lynchings, guilt of a capital crime—in addition to the question of vigilante “justice”—hardly was determined in John Carter’s death, either. Although white-owned newspapers reported that he had attacked the Stewart mother and daughter, that account was not universal. Reporting from Little Rock on May 6, *Chicago Defender* writer Lewis J. Walker wrote, “Somewhere in the vicinity, after hours of searching, [the mob] sighted Carter.” He was walking down the road when he “saw the howling mob, and fled in terror from the road, plunging into the forest.” His flight, the *Defender* pointed out, was “the only evidence of guilt his frenzied pursuers had.” When they caught him, Carter “steadfastly denied the charge,” even when mob members hit him with a revolver, kicked him in the knees, and demanded, “Say you did it! Say you did it! You — —.” The reporter based his article on “stories of the capture as related later by members of the mob.”<sup>157</sup> For “telling the truth about the reign of savagery that has gripped Arkansas’ chief city,” the *Defender* was barred from distributing in Little Rock for two weeks. And “because he had bared their fiendishness,” a mob drove Theodore Holmes, the associate editor of the African American *Little Rock Survey*, “from his home . . . and [he was] forced to flee to St. Louis.”<sup>158</sup>

In *Scars From a Lynching*, Edith McClinton wrote that the mob had decided to choose “any black man and lynch him in Lonnie’s place.” After the entire day, she wrote,

the mob chose its innocent victim and came down the street yelling like a pack of wild dogs. All the commotion excited a horse that was carrying a white woman and her daughter. The horse ran wildly



down the street and a black man named John Carter was on his way home when he saw the runaway horse. He leaped into the wagon and stopped the horse. The angry mob . . . misconstrued the incident. . . The men grabbed John Carter and drug him away.

The women screamed, "No! No! He was helping us. Don't hurt 'em [*sic*], please! Please don't hurt 'em!" She kept screaming as they drug him out of sight.<sup>159</sup>

McClinton's version compresses and reorders events that were reported differently virtually everywhere else. Such a conflation is not uncommon in complicated situations, and the Little Rock case is no exception.<sup>160</sup> Nor would it be unusual that memories of African Americans differ from those of whites. "I heard some stories about what had happened, how it had happened," said a lifelong Little Rock resident who is African American, "but not one of those stories ever said that John Carter was guilty of anything other than trying to help someone." Clifford Minton also did not trust the published version of events. "There was more than one version of what happened on May 4, 1927," he wrote. "These versions of the story came from Whites. All of the pieces did not appear to fit in the guarded press reports. Blacks expressed the opinion that the daily papers wrote both facts and fiction."<sup>161</sup>

The white-owned dailies had written that the women were taken to Research Hospital for treatment. But the NAACP report had this to say:

[Grand Jury Foreman] Peay said one of the leaders of the procession and burning was Dr. L. L. Marshall, head of the Research Hospital on West 14th Street, to which the two women were taken after the attack of the Negro. Dr. Marshall is (Mr. Peay said) a man with a criminal record, having served two penitentiary sentences for criminal operations. His hospital has a shady reputation and he is considered a person of very poor standing in the community.<sup>162</sup>

The hospital's reputation and the involvement of its director could cast doubt on the reported injuries for which the women were treated.

John Carter was variously listed as age twenty-two, twenty-eight, and thirty-eight. Little Rock's 1926 City Directory included eight individuals named John Carter in Little Rock and North Little Rock; by 1928, there were only four.<sup>163</sup> On Carter's death certificate, coroner Samuel Boyce wrote that he was "about 38," with no other known information.<sup>164</sup> But a detective was said to have recognized Carter as an escaped prisoner, raising the question of whether more records would have been available regarding a previously convicted man. Two published photographs, one of a man sitting in a car, labeled "10 Minutes Later He Was Lynched,"<sup>165</sup> and a head-and-shoulders image labeled "John Carter,"<sup>166</sup> portray a man who appears much closer to twenty-two than to thirty-eight.

The family of one of the Little Rock area's John Carters says their John Carter was never incarcerated, that he vanished one day on his way home from work. He very well could have been the man captured on the road, but of course they were not called, as Glennie Stewart was, to identify him, and the published photographs do not seem to match the family's own.<sup>167</sup> So whose photo was in the newspapers, and what happened to their relative, if this was not him?

Carter was widely reported to be mentally disabled. "There seems to be no question in anyone's mind that he was a moronic type," Haldeman-Julius said.<sup>168</sup> The *Democrat* took the events at hand as proof because "the fact that he attacked the women on a main traveled highway at a time of day when vehicles were almost constantly passing strengthens the belief that his actions were the result of insanity."<sup>169</sup> Even the NAACP report said he was "known to be insane and feeble-minded."<sup>170</sup> But no substantial evidence, other than bad judgment, is offered anywhere.

In light of so many inconsistencies, we may ask how anyone could have been certain of the identity of the man lynched that day on the Twelfth Street Pike, what might really have happened between him and the two women, and whether, in a less charged atmosphere, he might not have paid for the encounter with his life.

The divided reaction among Little Rock's white residents to police protection of the Dixons and to the lynching and riot illustrates the inherent conflict between the region's need to be seen as law-abiding, and therefore worthy of flood relief, and the southern white societal dictate to protect white females from the perceived threat posed by African American males. Several whites were questioned about thirteen-year-old Lonnie White's disappearance and dismissed.<sup>171</sup> But even before Floella's body had been discovered, Police Chief Rotenberry blamed African Americans



for her absence, and, as soon as she was found, no whites were reported to have been “rounded up.” During the search for Floella, “police feared that the child might had [sic] been grabbed up by a negro.”<sup>172</sup>

That Lonnie was charged at all was based on his identification by a five- or eight-year-old white female, whose word was given primacy over that of an African American male twice her age. “I do not . . . put any stock into the little girl who said, ‘Well, just last week or two weeks ago or last month he approached me, too,’” said Floella’s nephew. “I don’t believe that. . . . She probably just wanted to be part of it, part of the deal,” he said, wondering whether she may have had help picking Lonnie out of the line-up.<sup>173</sup> When Frank Dixon was pointed out to her, she said no, and then she picked out Lonnie. Why was the elder Dixon specifically identified to her first, especially when the newspaper noted that father and son looked very much alike?<sup>174</sup>

“Accost” was most often the word of choice to describe what otherwise sounded like simply a conversation between Billie Jean Kincheloe and “a negro who tried to talk to her as she passed the church two weeks or longer ago.” Her parents “thought nothing of it at the time,” possibly because, until Floella’s body was found, the child had omitted that the young man was African American.<sup>175</sup> “When Billie Jean heard that the body of the McDonald child had been found in the belfry of the church, she told her parents she believed “‘that negro’ did it.”<sup>176</sup> Several weeks after the incident that ultimately would doom Lonnie, the child added the race of the teenager. And the day she pointed to Lonnie, her parents did not recall when she had told them the story; but the next day, they remembered exactly, and that sealed Lonnie’s fate: “Definitely determining that date that Billy [sic] Jean Kincheloe, aged five was accosted by Lonnie Dixon, but not harmed, as April 12, the day when Floella disappeared, caused police Sunday to center their accusations against the son of the janitor.” With her accusation against him, police “turned their entire attention on him with the result that one of the most brutal murders in the history of the state was solved.”<sup>177</sup>

Perhaps little Billie Jean told exactly what happened. But the sequence raises questions.

An unsigned letter to the *Gazette* on May 7 says John Carter’s lynching was necessary to “protect our girls.”<sup>178</sup> The girls on everyone’s minds were Floella McDonald and Billie Jean Kincheloe, as well as seventeen-year-old Glennie Stewart. The letter, therefore, already shows a melding of the Lonnie Dixon and John Carter stories. The Saturday morning *Gazette* would have been printed only two nights after the National Guard dispersed the rioting mob.

Floella, Billie Jean, and Glennie all would have known, to varying degrees based on their ages, what 1920s southern society expected of white females and assumed about black males.<sup>179</sup> In an editorial that differed in numerous respects from the white Little Rock press, the *Chicago Defender* said “even the woman said to have been attacked was not there to identify Carter.”<sup>180</sup> This may have been a reference to Mrs. Stewart, who reportedly was in Research Hospital at the time. But Glennie was the one brought to face the man they had caught. Whether or not he was the same man she had seen that morning, and whether that man had been helping the women control their horse, seeking directions, or trying to harm them, the roused white mob of hundreds of Glennie’s neighbors, law enforcement, and Little Rock residents all believed that they had caught a guilty party. They expected her positive identification, and, just like little Billie Jean Kincheloe, that is what she gave them.

In the aftermath of all that happened, some African Americans moved away from Little Rock. “As a result of the trial [of Lonnie Dixon] and the lynching of John Carter, thousands of our people left Little Rock,” the *Chicago Defender* reported, citing record ticket sales by Missouri Pacific Railroad officials, including \$2,000 worth “to members of our Race” the day after the lynching and riot.<sup>181</sup> African Americans in Little Rock did not forget what had happened, nor its inherent danger. Thirty years later in 1957, as the Little Rock Nine prepared to desegregate Little Rock Central High School, Mrs. Birdie Eckford feared for her daughter Elizabeth. She told NAACP state president Daisy Bates, “When I was a little girl, my mother and I saw a lynch mob dragging the body of a Negro man through the streets of Little Rock. . . . Mrs. Bates, do you think this will happen again?” And at a 2013 public presentation in Little Rock about the 1927 events, an audience member recalled that when she graduated from high school in in the late 1970s, twenty years after desegregation, her mother was afraid: “The fear was that someone would come into our house and take me away.” She traced this fear to the community’s continued awareness of the lynching.<sup>182</sup>

The memories of many Little Rock residents soon followed the lead of the *Gazette* letter writer: that the mob had caught and lynched the man who murdered the little girl. “Carter and Lonnie Dixon, they were all mixed into one,” said a Little Rock area gentleman born in the early 1930s; “To me, Lonnie Dixon was the one who was drug.” Floella’s nephew said,



"I knew the story but I would hear stories that John Carter was the one who murdered Floella McDonald." A niece of Lonnie's had this analysis:

What I think happened was, and from what I was told, when these gangs of people—the whites—did not find Lonnie nor Frank, they branched out. They searched everything that they could and . . . someone told them that John Carter was Lonnie Dixon. Now that is the way I heard it. They were looking for Lonnie, and poor John Carter got in the way.<sup>183</sup>

With the mental substitution of one African American man for another already firmly in place by the time the lynch mob on the county road had caught John Carter, the long-standing conflation in Little Rock's common memory is not surprising.

In light of so many inconsistencies—in news accounts, in statements by public officials, and in the memories of eyewitnesses and other primary sources—what do we really know about the whole story, ninety years later? That a child, a teenager, and a man were all brutally killed in 1927, and that the three deaths were inextricably intertwined. Much analysis remains to be done. In 1998, a white man who was fifteen in 1927 encapsulated the situation. Some of his memories conflict with memories of others and with published reports. But the atmosphere of the times—laden as it was with racially charged fears, assumptions, and expectations—is abundantly evident:

But you know, they caught that colored guy, bunch of white guys, and they was transferring that colored guy from one place to another, and they got that colored guy . . . who committed the rape and everything on this little white girl. They took him up on the Main Street Bridge in Little Rock, or Broadway Bridge in Little Rock. Burnt him up! Everything except his heart. They couldn't burn his heart up. Do you know for the next four or five years after that there wasn't a rape in Little Rock?<sup>184</sup>

## NOTES

1. The following recounting of events is drawn from April–June 1927 articles in the *Arkansas Democrat*, *Arkansas Gazette*, and the *Chicago Defender*, and from Marcet Haldeman-Julius, *The Story of a Lynching: An Exploration of Southern Psychology*, Little Blue Book 1260, ed. E. Haldeman-Julius (Girard, KS: Haldeman-Julius Publications, 1927), which first appeared as "The Story of a Lynching: An Exploration of Southern Psychology," *Haldeman-Julius Monthly* 6.3 (August 1927), 3–32, 97–103. Hereinafter Haldeman-Julius refers to Little Blue Book 1260, unless otherwise noted. Discrepancies among these and other sources will be addressed below.
2. Pete Daniel, *Deep'n As It Come: The 1927 Mississippi River Flood* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1996), 7; John M. Barry, *Rising Tide: The Great Mississippi Flood of 1927 and How It Changed America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997); Frederick Simpich, "The Great Mississippi Flood of 1927," *National Geographic* 52 (September 1927), 243–89. The magnitude of the flood's human toll is fictionalized in William Faulkner, "Old Man," in *Three Famous Short Novels* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 77–184; Richard Wright, "Down By the Riverside," in *Uncle Tom's Children* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1938), 54–102; and Richard Wright, "The Man Who Saw the Flood," in *Eight Men* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1996), 102–8.
3. "Patrolmen Aid in Search for Girl," *Arkansas Gazette*, April 13, 1927; "Officers Hunt Two Children Who Vanished," *Arkansas Gazette*, April 14, 1927; "Martineau Demands Order at Dixon's Trial," *Arkansas Democrat*, May 15, 1927.
4. "Young Negro Slayer Rushed from State," *Arkansas Democrat*, May 2, 1927; "Parents Fear Son Has Been Kidnapped," *Arkansas Gazette*, April 13, 1927.
5. "Search for Missing Children Is Broadened," *Arkansas Democrat*, April 14, 1927; "Still No Clue to Missing Children," *Arkansas Gazette*, April 16, 1927; "Missing Girl May Be Flood Victim," *Arkansas Gazette*, April 17, 1927; "Officers Hunt," *Arkansas Gazette*, April 14, 1927.
6. "Still No Clue," *Arkansas Gazette*, April 16, 1927; "No Trace Found of Missing Children After Four Days' Hunt," *Arkansas Democrat*, April 17, 1927; "Hunt for Missing Children Futile," *Arkansas Democrat*, April 24, 1927; Advertisement, *Arkansas Gazette*, May 1, 1927.



7. "Missing Children Believed Drowned," *Arkansas Gazette*, April 20, 1927; "Flood Relief Halts Search for Children," *Arkansas Democrat*, April 20, 1927; "Hunt for Missing Children Delayed," *Arkansas Gazette*, April 21, 1927.
8. Peg Smith, interview by the author, Springdale, Arkansas, April 15, 2000; "Death Sentence Dealt to Negro," *Harrison Daily Times*, May 20, 1927.
9. "Eight Negroes Arrested in Murder of Floella McDonald; Janitor Is Center of Probe," *Arkansas Democrat*, May 1, 1927; "Missing Girl's Body Found in Church Belfry," *Arkansas Gazette*, May 1, 1927; Haldeman-Julius, 17.
10. "Eight Negroes," *Arkansas Democrat*, May 1, 1927.
11. "Corpse of Little Rock Girl, Missing Three Weeks, Found in Church Belfry," *Pine Bluff Daily Graphic*, May 1, 1927.
12. "Eight Negroes," *Arkansas Democrat*, May 1, 1927; Haldeman-Julius, 17; "Missing Girl's Body," *Arkansas Gazette*, May 1, 1927.
13. "Young Negro Slayer," *Arkansas Democrat*, May 2, 1927; "Eight Negroes," *Arkansas Democrat*, May 1, 1927; "Missing Girl's Body," *Arkansas Gazette*, May 1, 1927; Haldeman-Julius, 17.
14. "Missing Girl's Body," *Arkansas Gazette*, May 1, 1927; "Young Negro Slayer," *Arkansas Democrat*, May 2, 1927; "Negro Youth Confesses to Brutal Crime," *Arkansas Gazette*, May 2, 1927; "Little Girl's Testimony Is Cause of Confession," *Arkansas Gazette*, May 2, 1927; "Eight Negroes," *Arkansas Democrat*, May 1, 1927; Haldeman-Julius, 17.
15. "Young Negro Slayer," *Arkansas Democrat*, May 2, 1927.
16. Haldeman-Julius, 9–10; "Negro Youth Confesses," *Arkansas Democrat*, May 2, 1927; "Lonnie Dixon to Die at Sunrise," *Arkansas Gazette*, June 24, 1927; "Girl's Murderer Sentenced to Die," *Arkansas Gazette*, May 20, 1927.
17. Haldeman-Julius, 9; "Young Negro Slayer," *Arkansas Democrat*, May 2, 1927.
18. Haldeman-Julius, 64; Maudella Morehead-Parham, interview by the author, Little Rock, Arkansas, February 16, 2013; "Young Negro Slayer," *Arkansas Democrat*, May 2, 1927; "Takes Full Blame for Crime Before Going to 'Chair,'" *Little Rock Daily News*, June 24, 1927; "Dixon Assumes All Blame for Killing," *Arkansas Gazette*, May 25, 1927.
19. Haldeman-Julius, 10; "Takes Full Blame," *Little Rock Daily News*, June 24, 1927.
20. Haldeman-Julius, 6, 10; "Young Negro Slayer," *Arkansas Democrat*, May 2, 1927; "Negro Youth Confesses," *Arkansas Gazette*, May 2, 1927.
21. "Young Negro Slayer," *Arkansas Democrat*, May 2, 1927.
22. "No Trace Found," *Arkansas Democrat*, April 17, 1927.
23. "Young Negro Slayer," *Arkansas Democrat*, May 2, 1927; Haldeman-Julius, 10–11.
24. "Flee Little Rock after Lynching Bee," *Chicago Defender*, May 28, 1927.
25. "Negro Youth Confesses," *Arkansas Gazette*, May 2, 1927.
26. Haldeman-Julius, 22; "Young Negro Slayer," *Arkansas Democrat*, May 2, 1927; "Boy Fiend Liable to Death Penalty," *Arkansas Gazette*, May 3, 1927.
27. "The Story of a Lynching," *Haldeman-Julius Monthly*, 3; Haldeman-Julius, 12.
28. Haldeman-Julius, 19; "Early Trial for Killer Is Planned," *Pine Bluff Daily Graphic*, May 2, 1927; Haldeman-Julius, 11, 18; "Young Negro Slayer," *Arkansas Democrat*, May 2, 1927.
29. "Prison History and Events, 2011–1838," Arkansas Department of Correction, <http://adc.arkansas.gov/about/Pages/PrisonHistoryPage2.aspx> (accessed October 26, 2015).
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31. "Young Negro Slayer," *Arkansas Democrat*, May 2, 1927; Haldeman-Julius, 19–20.
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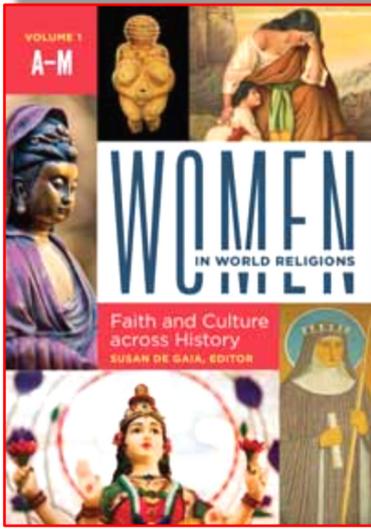


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## BOOK REVIEWS

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### ***Encyclopedia of Women in World Religions: Faith and Culture across History (2 volumes)***

***Ed. Susan De-Gaia***

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#### **Review by Amanda Haste**

The two-volume *Encyclopedia of Women in World Religions: Faith and Culture across History* is a comprehensive work, over three years in the making, which features the work of no fewer than 126 contributors. Many are independent scholars, including several members of NCIS.

Editor Susan De-Gaia states in her introduction that these contributors were chosen for their "wide range of experience" rather than academic rank (xxxiv). They are therefore not only academics (including professors emeriti and adjuncts) but are sometimes both academics and religious leaders. The religious leaders "include Wiccan priestesses, Jewish priestesses, rabbis, Christian ministers and lay leaders, a former nun, and a Native American shaman," and there are also "healers, ritualists, artists, performers, and museum directors" (xxxiv-xxxv).

This breadth and depth of experience is evident in the *Encyclopedia*, with its eclectic view of faith and religious culture which goes far beyond the canon of organized religion and the Abrahamic religions: its 17 sections also include the role of women in religions such as Baha'i,

Buddhism, Confucianism, Daoism, Hinduism, Indigenous Religions, Jainism, Paganism, Prehistoric Religions, Shinto, Sikhism and Spiritualism.

However, the *Encyclopedia* does not provide an overview of these, but rather tackles topics demonstrating in detail the role of women as "creators and sustainers of culture" and the "enormous contributions" they have made, and continue to make in world religions, as well as covering issues concerning women.

The richness of these topics is revealed in the alphabetical list of entries, in which we find such eclectic juxtapositions as this under Buddhism:

- Buddhism in the United States
- Dance
- Dance of Tara
- Engaged Buddhism
- Female Divinities
- Funeral Practices
- Gender Roles

For such a comprehensive, cross-cultural work, effective cross-referencing is a must, and this is achieved through an excellent, thorough structure which makes searching the book an easy process. The entries for each religion are each prefaced by a general introduction, followed by substantial articles (from 500 to 2000 words) on topics which are also covered from the perspective of other religions: these include those on "marriage" from Hindu, Jewish, Islamic, Native American, Ancient Greek and Christian points of view.

In addition to the Table of Contents detailed by religion, there is also an Alphabetical List of Entries, giving the section in which they appear, and a Comprehensive Index in the back of each volume, which together allow the reader to cross-reference topics longitudinally as well as laterally. All the front page matter – alphabetical list of entries, acknowledgements and introduction by Susan De-Gaia, and a wonderful timeline by Harald Haarmann giving periodization and developments in religion from the Paleolithic Age (2.5 million years BP)<sup>58</sup> to the Modern Era (from the latter half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century to today), appear in both volumes, and provide a comprehensive overview which effectively contextualizes what could otherwise be a challenging work to navigate.

Volume 1 contains the entries from "African Religions to Hinduism," while Volume 2 runs from "Indigenous Religions to Spirituality." In case you are wondering why an encyclopedia would end at Sp, you can be assured that "Spirituality" includes excellent articles on Spirituality and Gender in Social Context, and on Yoga, and you will also find for example Wicca under "Paganism," Writers and Poets under "Ancient Religions," and Women Warriors under "Native American".

Susan De-Gaia has been careful to use language in a way which does not "perpetuate old prejudices" (xxxii). For example, she replaces the word *cult* with "more exact terms, such as *religion*, *worship*, and *ritual*" (xxxiii) and explains the rationale for the capitalization of terms such as *pagan*, *gods* and *goddesses*. She uses Wach's schema of three forms of religious expression – theoretical, social and practical – as a starting point for her focus on women "as active agents in religion" (xxvii). Examples of this include the articles on women's rituals, meditation, pilgrimage, art,

and drumming (*practical expression*), women's ordination, priestesses, rabbis, shamans, and gurus (*sociological expression*), and myths, such as those of Lilith (Judaism) and the Fall (Christianity), and female divinities (*theoretical expression*).

This impressive work thus provides an enormously rich resource for all those with an interest in religion and spirituality in all its manifestations, women's studies, ritual, sociology of religion and more. The editorial brief was to make the articles academically rigorous, but also accessible to students, with a minimum of referencing but with lists of suggested further reading. The result is a fine addition to the literature on women in religion which affords a detailed, deeper reading of women in religion which will complement existing general studies of religion.

This reviewer would like to see a copy of this fine work in every library, and recommends that you suggest it to your local or university library for purchase, citing the ISBN number given above. It should be essential reading for all those with an interest in the field.

**Amanda Haste** teaches as adjunct faculty at Aix-Marseille University, France and is an independent scholar, notably of 21<sup>st</sup>-century convent culture and identity construction through music and language. Her research is published in the *Journal for Religion, Media and Digital Culture* and *Culture & Religion*, and *The Languages of Religion: Exploring the Politics of the Sacred*, ed. *Sipra Mukherjee* (Routledge, 2018), among others. She translated archival manuscript sources for, and copy edited, *The Chronicles of Nazareth (The English Convent) Bruges 1629-1793*, ed. *Caroline Bowden* (Boydell, 2017) and co-authored (with Prof. James Block, DePaul University) *Constructing Identity in an Age of Globalization (Paris: Ex Modio, 2015)*. Dr Haste is currently preparing a monograph on the British Colony in nineteenth-century Marseille, focusing on this ex-pat community's founding of the city's Anglican church and their engagement with this and the Protestant temple.

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<sup>58</sup> Before Present.



## ***Little Quick Fix: Write a Questionnaire***

**Helen Kara**

London: Sage Publishing, 2019. 124pp. ISBN: 9781526467751

\$9.00 / £6.99

<https://us.sagepub.com/en-us/nam/write-a-questionnaire/book265899>



## ***Little Quick Fix: Do Your Interviews***

**Helen Kara**

London: Sage Publishing, 2019. 124pp. ISBN: 9781526467744

\$9.00 / £6.99

<https://us.sagepub.com/en-us/nam/do-your-interviews/book265898>

### **Reviews by Amanda Haste**

The Little Quick Fix series of books is designed to “provide quick but authoritative answers to the problems, hurdles and assessment points students face in the research course, project proposal or design.”<sup>59</sup> Designed to be read in an hour, they focus on the main issues which can faze students when faced with a mass of dense reading material – a boon in this Twitter-fed age of short attention spans.

Helen Kara’s two contributions to this series are on writing questionnaires and conducting interviews, topics which may seem simple enough but which involve important aspects the novice researcher may well overlook.

In *Little Quick Fix: Write a Questionnaire*, the sections outlined on the Contents page are phrased as questions, including: “How do I know I should use questionnaires in my research project”, “What kinds of questions should I use?”, and “How do I find people to fill in my questionnaires?” The next page elaborates on

these questions, with each section beginning with an encouraging “60-second summary” before presenting the nuts and bolts of constructing a questionnaire in a very informal, conversational style, much as one (and certainly this reviewer) would address a class. There is plenty of color, with pretty (and pretty random) pictures galore reminiscent of the graphics-heavy appearance of social media.

The questions are short and to the point, and the seven sections cover the questions students are likely to ask...or maybe daren’t ask for fear of looking stupid...or again don’t even think of asking. Each section ends with a “checkpoint” in various formats (gap-fill, checklist, spot-the-error, etc.) – repetitiveness is never an issue, despite the closely structured form of the Little Quick Fix books.

The final section, on preparing and processing the data collected by questionnaire, includes information on “preparing your data for analysis”, “dealing with

<sup>59</sup> <https://us.sagepub.com/en-us/nam/lqf>.

missing data” etc., and the book ends with a glossary....and an invitation to explore the next element in the research process – data analysis (handily supplied in the Little Quick Fix series).

Helen Kara’s second contribution to the series, *Little Quick Fix: Do Your Interviews*, is similarly structured: as the author herself says, she was writing to a series template in which she needed to “cover the same ground three ways – in under 25, 130 and 600 words – without being repetitive” and then had to “devise interactive exercises to reinforce and embed the points” she had made.<sup>60</sup>

As with the book on questionnaires, this book on interviewing “speaks” conversationally, and goes on to introduce research terminology clearly: the first section introduces the concepts of structured/semi-structured/unstructured interviews producing rich/thin data, while the section on choosing interviewees introduces populations, sampling etc. As well as sections on the most effective types of questions in different contexts, this little book includes the important issue of care for the interviewees, including “dealing with distress”, and self-care for the interviewer. Indeed, the last page before the checklist for the last section of *Do Your Interviews* features the caption “Congratulations! You are ready to do your interviews” (complete with a picture of a luscious-looking celebratory slice of chocolate cake), tempered with an ersatz-handwritten note pledging that “I will follow the steps in this book with care for my interviewees, my research, and myself” (115), a statement that all ethnographers could usefully post above their desks.

All in all, I found these little books beautifully written, and chock-full of key information, dealt with in a jargon-free but never condescending way. They initiate a mature understanding of both the practical issues and the human factors at play in both questionnaires and interviewing, and end with a “What next?” section which makes it clear that this is only one stage in the process of building a set of research skills.

As an independent ethnographer who has stumbled through constructing questionnaires for my own research with no institutional support, I would very much have welcomed these resources as an introduction to the process. I would therefore recommend these to undergraduate students and, given the welcoming layout and the clear use of language, I would also recommend them to non-native-English speakers learning research skills in English.

**Amanda Haste** is a British musicologist and academic translator whose research interests include identity construction through music and language. She is a member of the Chartered Institute of Linguists (London, England) and teaches courses in Translation and in English for Specific Purposes as adjunct faculty at Aix-Marseille University, France. Her largely ethnographic research has been published in leading journals and in books by major editors such as Palgrave MacMillan, Taylor & Francis, and Routledge; she co-authored (with Prof. James Block, DePaul University) *Constructing Identity in an Age of Globalization* (Paris: Ex Modio, 2015).

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<sup>60</sup><https://helenkara.com/2018/10/17/little-quick-fixes-for-research>



## ***Little Quick Fix: Use your interview data***

***Helen Kara***

London: Sage Publishing, 2019. 120pp.

\$9.00 / £6.99

ISBN-10: 1526491109 ISBN-13: 978-1526491107

<https://us.sagepub.com/en-us/nam/do-your-interviews/book265898>

### **Review by Linda Baines**

“Little Quick Fix: Use your interview data” by Helen Kara is part of a series issued by Sage Publishing. The books in the series claim to offer quick and clear answers to the problems and challenges which a researcher can encounter in undertaking a research project.

The book – and indeed the series – is aimed at and is ideal for students who are new to research; it also offers experienced researchers new insights and suggestions for looking at things differently.

In this book Helen Kara discusses approaching your interview data systematically, getting to know your data, devising and using a coding frame, devising and using emergent coding, analysing your data, and what to do next after identifying themes in the data. Helen presents her material in seven short sections which are written in an easy-to-read style. The text explains complex concepts clearly and is free of any jargon.

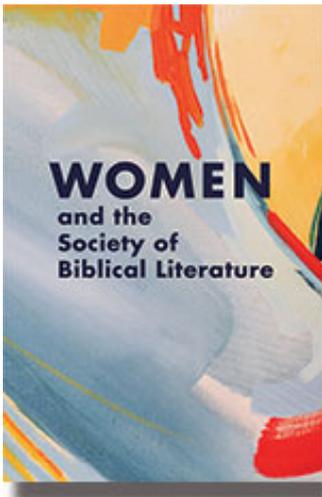
The book includes checkpoints and quizzes along the way to reinforce key learning points. There is also a glossary of

key terms and concepts. The books are beautifully designed, small enough to slip into a pocket, and can be read in a short lunch hour or long coffee break, so they are tempting in their own right.

Helen Kara’s approach to her material helped me to frame my own approach to interview data and gave me ideas for new approaches; as a result, I came away feeling reenergised about my own current research project. I will also be using the book as a guide and reference for future research.

Essential reading - highly recommended.

***Linda Baines, PhD*** is an independent researcher and a visiting researcher at the University of Southampton (Great Britain). She has experience in commercial contract management and is currently researching and writing about disability in the context of business and management research, and about social responsibility.



## ***Women and the Society of Biblical Literature.***

***Ed. Nicole L. Tilford***

Published by SBL Press, Atlanta, GA, 2019

Paperback (September 2019) 364 pages \$40

ISBN: 9781628372496

<https://secure.aidcvt.com/sbl/ProdDetails.asp?ID=061129P&PG=1&Type=BL&PCS=SBL>

### **Review by Valerie Abrahamsen**

It comes as no surprise that most established American professional societies were founded, staffed and populated primarily by white men. The Society of Biblical Literature (SBL), the “largest learned society of scholars who teach and research biblical studies” (page xi), is no exception. Several decades into the current wave of feminism and the field of women’s studies, the SBL remains mainly comprised of men; only 32 percent of the membership in 2017 was female (<https://www.sbl-site.org/SBLDashboard.aspx>).

In *Women and the Society of Biblical Literature*, editor Nicole Tilford seeks not only to trace the history of women in the Society but also to show the myriad ways in which SBL has honored women (or not), involved women in leadership positions, helped women to grow in their professional lives, enlarged and expanded its program units to include topics of intersectionality, and worked to become truly international in scope. The volume succeeds admirably.

Tilford lays out the origins of SBL origins by introducing us to the first few women members and providing short biographies of the ten female Presidents (the first being only in 1987, 107 years after the Society’s founding in 1894). The volume then includes readable, wide-ranging essays grouped in five sections: “Presidential Reflections,” “Reflections by Communities,” “Professional Life,” and

“Looking Forward.” In the interests of full disclosure, I am a biblical scholar myself and have been an SBL member for over 40 years. Reading these collected essays is a mostly fond journey down memory lane, an encounter with the names of admirable, familiar, and some quite well-known women and men in biblical scholarship. That said, there is

much more to this history for a wider audience than personal memories.

The women whose thoughts are included in “Presidential Reflections” set the stage for themes that recur throughout the book: courage, inclusiveness, and justice. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, now at Harvard, the first female SBL President and a pioneer in the field of feminist biblical studies, described formative initiatives taken by SBL in the 1970s and 1980s to promote the role of women and include the study of ancient women in the fields. Schüssler Fiorenza knew that she needed, in 1987, to give “an explicitly feminist presidential address;” in it, she called “for a paradigm shift in the self-understanding of biblical scholarship” and “a disciplined reflection on the public dimensions and ethical implications of our scholarly work” (52-53). No longer could religion professionals be content to examine texts and traditions from a supposedly “objective” perspective; scholars must engage the wider world in all its fullness.

The other women Presidents – and indeed most of the rest of the writers in this volume – take up Schüssler Fiorenza’s motifs. They discuss how the Society has aided women by adding program units at the Annual Meeting on women’s issues and new methodologies, invited women to serve on committees at all levels of the organization, instituted practices to combat sexual harassment, encouraged the mentoring of graduate students and junior faculty, and facilitated networking.

In “Reflections by Discipline,” we learn how women SBL members found their way in male-dominated fields of archaeology, Hebrew Bible, and New Testament. The

authors document, in one scholar's words, women's attempts to question "the systemic biases in modern scholarship that have absented ancient women from most scholarly works" (Nakhai, p.122). This questioning vastly opens up the fields to new discoveries and insights.

Community reflections are extremely important for both the SBL and our wider society. The authors highlighted in this section hail from African American, South American, Latina, European, South African, LGBTQ, trans, Jewish and Asian contexts. These essays are at once poignant, difficult to read and inspiring. Each writer has had to contend with misunderstanding, silencing, and discrimination (if not also violence), yet they have managed to contribute significantly to biblical studies and their communities.

In "Professional Life," authors discuss mentoring, the unrealistic expectations of "work-life balance," "writing as a sacred practice" (DeConick, p.266), the challenges of working in religious contexts where white men still hold most of the power, and "teaching as a mother" (Malbon, pp.310-12). One of the most engaging essays in the entire volume is that of brilliant Jewish scholar of the New Testament, Amy-Jill Levine of Vanderbilt Divinity School (for whom I had the privilege of writing an article some years ago). Levine packs her piece with laugh-out-loud tidbits alongside her stellar observations. One sentence hints at her heroic life: "Only in this strange world does a Fundamentalist Christian call a Jew who belongs to an Orthodox synagogue and who teaches at a very left-leaning Divinity School to find out if it is kosher to report a church elder for child abuse" (283).

In "Looking Forward," authors offer suggestions for the SBL to improve itself, its field/s, and even higher education in general. According to Kelly J. Murphy, the Society's "education problem" is related, in part, to the question of the place of the humanities in the academy. As colleges and universities cut those departments and a segment of the US population questions the validity of a liberal arts education, "the Society must expand its networks, seek out new contributors, and explain what we do to the outside world (Murphy, p.334) to keep itself relevant.

While this might appear to be a niche volume for religion professionals in the academy, clergy, and women, the

essays can speak to a larger audience. First, men are widely featured, on both sides of the equation. Positively, male mentors and professors have aided these women in their careers and have been exemplary role models. Male readers can also learn from the more painful stories about ongoing male privilege and how deeply hurtful (often inadvertently) their actions can be.

Secondly, while biblical studies is significantly different from the sciences, for instance, other professional organizations can use this volume as a model for what to include and how to approach its own history.

In the end, suggestions made by final author Sarah Shectman can apply to other guilds and be of great interest to independent scholars:

Add more contingent faculty to committees.

Educate members on the "pipeline" problem and job numbers.

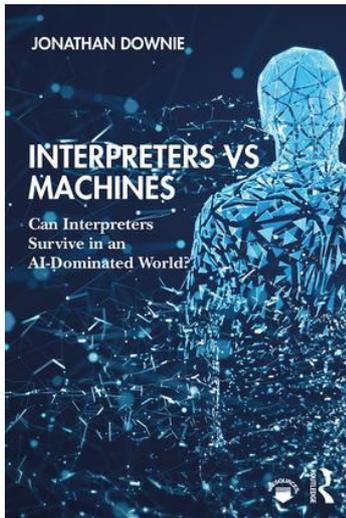
Provide more travel funding to professional meetings.

Support unionizing contingent faculty.

Increase enforcement of harassment and discrimination policies.

I would add, in the American context, that organizations can also advocate for a universal health care system, enjoyed by our sister advanced nations but not the US; fixing health care would go a long way toward eliminating the myriad financial and related challenges facing contingent scholars and citizens alike.

*Valerie A. Abrahamsen gained her doctorate in New Testament and Early Christian Origins from Harvard Divinity School, and her research focuses on women in antiquity, New Testament, early church history, and social justice issues from a progressive, feminist perspective. In 2015 she published her book Paranormal: A New Testament Scholar Looks at the Afterlife, and she gives regular lectures as well as leading discussions, retreats and workshops.*



## ***Interpreters vs Machines: Can Interpreters Survive in an AI-Dominated World?***

***Jonathan Downie***

Routledge, December 2019. 162 pages

ISBN: 9781138586437 Paperback \$39.00 / £30

9781138586420 Hardback \$156.00 / £120

9781003001805 (E-book) \$39.00 / £30

<https://www.routledge.com/Interpreters-vs-Machines-Can-Interpreters-Survive-in-an-AI-Dominated-World/Downie/p/book/9781138586437>

**Review by Amanda Haste. First published online 23 December 2019.**

**To be published in *The Independent Scholar* Vol. 6 (forthcoming, 2020).**

The job of language professionals such as translators and interpreters is to convey meaning, while considering cultural differences and expectations, shifts in register<sup>61</sup> as well as content. While translators work with the written word and can revise their work at their own pace, interpreters work “live” with the spoken word. Both translators and interpreters are nowadays often required to use the available technological resources such as Computer Assisted Translation (CAT) and Machine Interpreting or “speech translation” software which are deemed to improve productivity and consistency, and ultimately to reduce the cost to the client). As technology advances, we are often told that Machine Translation and Machine Interpreting have become so effective that they can replace the need for human intervention. But how realistic is this,

and how can interpreters in particular ensure their future survival, while making best use of the advances in Artificial Intelligence (AI) and the tools available to them?

In *Interpreters vs Machines* consultant interpreter Jonathan Downie recognizes that “interpreting is under threat like never before” (xi) and asks whether computers might soon be able to “make the final leap” to “replacing humans”. He goes on to unpack the complex work of interpreting to explore the qualities that AI will need to accomplish if it is to replace human interpreters, and offers practical advice on how interpreters themselves can respond to this threat, and thus to take charge of their own future.

Downie uses an accessible, conversational register, and demonstrates a solid understanding of current research in Interpreting Studies, illustrating his points through interesting case studies which draw the reader into the complex and fascinating world of interpreting. He has chosen to construct *Interpreters vs Machines* “like a good computer game,” in which the reader is

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<sup>61</sup> <https://www.thoughtco.com/register-language-style-1692038>

taken through five “levels” which introduce them to the basics of what interpreting is and how it is done, progressing through a detailed schema for “keeping humans at the forefront of interpreting” (xii).

In Level 1, Chapter 1 asks “What is Interpreting” and compares the “unmistakably robotic” conduit model in which interpreters are present simply to “process language” with the triadic model in which interpreters are “partners and participants” who “work with people to make meaning” and that this is what makes interpreting “a very human occupation” (15). Cognitive models are clearly explained (24), as is the all-important fact that “context changes everything” (26-29). Chapter 2 explores the models and theories produced by the relatively new discipline of Translation Studies, while recognizing that interpreting is undeniably an interpersonal skill, and Chapter 3 then explores how computers “interpret” – the author’s use of quotation marks is deliberate.

Level 2 (Chapters 4 and 5) delves into interpreters’ presentation of themselves, setting this against the often “wild and nearly unbelievable claims” (xiii) of the machine interpreting industry. Level 3 (Chapters 6-9) “Choose Your Interpreting Future” provides a toolbox for interpreters to negotiate a future where human interpreting is the gold standard of the language industry.

In Level 4 (Chapters 10-13) “Translating to Beat the Bots” Downie identifies the problem of effective marketing for human interpreters, and that this needs to be addressed if interpreters are to not only survive but thrive. There is “a yawning gap between understanding a language and being able to understand what the language is doing” (137), and Downie argues in Chapter 12 “Deliver more than words” that while “machines can’t ever ‘get it’ ... “humans can” and that “maybe the greatest thing we have to sell is precisely our humanity” (125).

The ‘game’ culminates in Level 5 “Game Over” (or maybe not) (143) in which Downie acknowledges that his book “has just scratched the surface” and that the technology is advancing so fast that some of what was considered state-of-the-art when the book was written will already be “yesterday’s news” by the time it is read (150). That said, he challenges his fellow professional interpreters to continue to “make a difference” at conferences, courts, doctors’ surgeries and anywhere else where they work, by being prepared to “continually learn, grow and deliver added value ... using whichever technologies are appropriate”: “in an

age of growing artificial intelligence, it is down to human intelligence to deliver when it really matters” (150).

*Interpreters vs Machines* is an intelligently written work, with a sound theoretical basis. Well referenced, with a useful list of works cited for each chapter as well as a comprehensive bibliography, its clear, jargon-free explanations will please and inform the non-specialist, while providing an eminently practical resource for the professional interpreter to enrich their professional life. This reviewer has no hesitation in recommending it.

*Amanda Haste is a Franco-British academic translator and musicologist whose research interests include identity construction through music and language. She is a member of the Chartered Institute of Linguists (London, England) and teaches courses in Translation and in English for Specific Purposes as adjunct faculty at Aix-Marseille University, France. Her largely ethnographic research has been published in leading journals and in books by major editors such as Palgrave MacMillan, Taylor & Francis, and Routledge; she co-authored (with Prof. James Block, DePaul University) Constructing Identity in an Age of Globalization (Paris: Ex Modio, 2015), and she is currently researching a monograph on the British Colony in Marseille.*