

# HISTORY IN THE MAKING

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Journal of History



2008  
California State University,  
San Bernardino

## *History in the Making*

CSUSB Journal of History

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# *History in the Making*

Alpha Delta Nu Chapter, Phi Alpha Theta National History Honor Society

*History in the Making* is an annual publication of the California State University, San Bernardino (CSUSB) Alpha Delta Nu Chapter of the Phi Alpha Theta National History Honor Society, and is sponsored by the History Department at CSUSB. Issues are published at the end of the spring quarter of each academic year.

**ΦΑΘ** Phi Alpha Theta's mission is to promote the study of history through the encouragement of research, good teaching, publication and the exchange of learning and ideas among historians. The organization seeks to bring students, teachers and writers of history together for intellectual and social exchanges, which promote and assist historical research and publication by our members in a variety of ways.

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The journal is a student reviewed journal. Students interested in submitting an article, should follow these general guidelines. To obtain more specific submission guidelines or to request additional information about the journal, please contact Dr. Cherstin Lyon, CSUSB History Department, 5500 University Parkway, San Bernardino, California 92407. Call (909) 537-3836, Fax (909) 537-7645, Email: [clyon@csusb.edu](mailto:clyon@csusb.edu).

To submit a manuscript: provide a complete version of the paper with all references to the identity of the author removed. Submissions should also include a separate cover sheet and separate biographical sketch of the author, including degree anticipated, any previous degrees received, future plans, including graduate school, career goals and areas of concentrated study. Students should submit articles electronically c/o Dr. Cherstin Lyon at the email address listed above with the subject line: "attn Editor in Chief, Journal Article Submission." All submissions should be in Microsoft Word® or Rich Text Format. Editors will check for spelling errors and layout problems, not for substantial revision opportunities. Submissions will be reviewed by a board of student editors and accepted or rejected based on academic standards of scholarly contribution and documentation, adherence to submission guidelines, and the needs of the journal. Papers need to be thematically concentrated in the discipline of history and based on original research. Articles must not have been previously published or be under consideration for publication elsewhere at the time of submission. All papers should conform to Chicago Manual Turabian style of citation.



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## Letter from the Editor

Welcome to the inaugural edition of *History in the Making*! After a year of hard work and collaboration, California State University, San Bernardino now boasts the completion of its first journal of history.

The four articles and one book review featured in the 2008 edition of *History in the Making* are diverse in content and style, showing the variety of research and study being undertaken by some of the most accomplished undergraduate students at CSUSB. Their work is of the highest quality and has been carefully edited by an exceptionally professional staff.

This journal was completely student operated by an editorial board consisting of a chief editor, three associate editors, and five assistant editors. These exceptional students have generously given their time and talents to this project, and without their participation, this journal would not have been possible.

Dr. Cherstin Lyon, Assistant Professor of History and faculty adviser for Alpha Delta Nu, CSUSB's chapter of the national honor society in history, Phi Alpha Theta, has truly dedicated herself to seeing this project through from conception to completion. Her advice and guidance is truly appreciated.

I would also like to thank Dr. Richard Samuelson. His professional assistance to both Alpha Delta Nu and to the Editorial Board of the journal has been invaluable. Dr. Tiffany Jones gave generously of her time and advice in the final stages of editing and digitizing the journal. Additionally, I wish to extend my sincere gratitude to Dr. Pedro Santoni, History Department Chair, the History Department faculty and staff, and Dr. Jamal Nassar, Dean of the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, for their support and encouragement.

Enjoy *History in the Making*!

Holly Roy, Chief Editor

## PREFACE

Welcome to the first publication of *History in the Making*, a student peer-reviewed journal of history sponsored by Alpha Delta Nu chapter of Phi Alpha Theta National Honor Society, and the CSUSB Department of History.

This publication is the capstone achievement of a year of hard work and commitment to excellence as demonstrated by the student authors and editors of CSUSB's first journal of history. It also epitomizes the mission of Phi Alpha Theta. Phi Alpha Theta's mission is "to promote the study of history through the encouragement of research, good teaching, publication and the exchange of learning and ideas among historians."<sup>1</sup>

Publishing this journal represents one milestone in a decades-old story of historical inquiry and academic excellence at CSUSB. For decades, students and faculty have been working closely together to better understand peoples and societies, understand change over time, and engage in a careful and close analysis of the past in part to better understand our present and our future. As Marc Bloch wrote in his book, *The Historian's Craft*, "Misunderstanding of the present is the inevitable consequence of ignorance of the past."<sup>2</sup>

Students who study history at CSUSB learn important skills as a result of their work with some of the top scholars in their fields, including: the ability to assess evidence, analyze conflicting interpretations of that evidence, interpret change over time, and convey their knowledge to others. "Historical study, in sum," wrote noted historian Peter N. Stearns, "is crucial to the promotion of that elusive creature, the well-informed citizen."<sup>3</sup> The publication of this journal is just one part of the CSUSB History Department's commitment to promoting the life-long learning and enlightenment of our students through the rigorous study of history.

Dr. Cherstin M. Lyon

Faculty Adviser for Alpha Delta Nu Chapter, Phi Alpha Theta National History Honor Society

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<sup>1</sup> Phi Alpha Theta, "Mission Statement," (<http://www.phialphatheta.org/>), accessed June 8, 2008.

<sup>2</sup> Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), 6.

<sup>3</sup> Peter N. Stearns, "Why Study History?" *American Historical Association* (<http://www.historians.org/pubs/free/WhyStudyHistory.htm>), accessed June 8, 2008.

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## **The Development of Literature in the Suffrage Movement: Western Successes from Eastern Lessons, 1848-1911**

Michelle Dennehy



**Women's Suffrage meeting, *Punch Magazine* (1911)**

Female suffragists in the United States at the turn of the 20th Century fought to gain more protection under the law than the laws had granted women in entire history of the nation. The suffragist movement symbolically began at the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848, in which the

“Declaration of Sentiments” dictated women’s precise requests for equality.<sup>4</sup>

This early industrialism-era suffrage campaign focused mainly on the East coast of the United States, while the nation expanded into the West.

Ironically, while the first generation suffragists experienced many failures in their efforts for suffrage, the second generation found many successes in the West and subsequently in the East. Western organizers effectively produced literature for segments of society that were the most receptive to giving women the ballot. Suffragists learned the best techniques, layouts, and rhetorical devices to use to and implemented these techniques with little failure, thanks to the experimentation of their predecessors. While many differences existed between the established cities in the East and the more rural areas of the West, many of the same rhetorical arguments applied in both regions, such as the use of revolutionary rhetoric, the argument for working-women and labor, and the argument that women would create a more virtuous government with the ballot.

### **Revolutionary Rhetoric**

Many prominent suffragists linked their battle for enfranchisement to the American revolutionaries’ fight against oppression from England, as an

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<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth Cady Stanton, “Declaration of Sentiments,” *One Woman, One Vote*, ed. Marjorie Spruill Wheeler (Troutdale: New Sage Press, 1995), 39-44.

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appeal to patriots. These women argued that their fight was a modern struggle against oppression remnants from arcane English laws about women and property.<sup>5</sup> Women rights organizers employed the Americans belief of natural rights to argue that equal suffrage would be the only way to achieve social and economic equality between men and women. Suffragists used similar rhetoric as found in the Constitution and Declaration of Independence to achieve this goal. To exemplify this correlation, suffragists, such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, peppered constitutional rhetoric in their speeches to evoke empathy from the males in the audience. For instance, Elizabeth Cady Stanton's 1848 speech at the Woman's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York was one of the first occasions in which women's rights organizers utilized revolutionary rhetoric as a means to gain attention for their cause. Stanton began her groundbreaking speech with an altered version of the Declaration of Independence's famous introduction:

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume... a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they

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<sup>5</sup> Rev. Father Gleason, "Extracts from the speech of the Rev. Father Gleason at Central Theatre, San Francisco," Los Angeles Political Equality League, California May 23, 1911, Women's Suffrage Collection, Ella Strong Denison Library, Libraries of the Claremont Colleges. This document will be referred to this document as: Gleason, "Extracts from the speech of the Rev. Father Gleason," in any future reference.

should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

Stanton altered the remainder of the Declaration to correlate with the women's rights cause and to provoke her audience. Stanton continued,

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men *and women* are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness....<sup>6</sup>

Not all of the women at Seneca Falls supported the resolution for female suffrage; however, the resolution passed and launched the beginnings of the suffrage movement. Suffragists pulled many more of their arguments for the vote from famous statements made during the revolutionary period as this proved to be a successful tool,<sup>7</sup> especially as the vote spread west.

One of the most prominent arguments used in suffrage literature in the West demanded enfranchisement based on the 1776 argument against governments enacting taxes without consent. Suffragists borrowed this sentiment, again, directly from the Declaration of Independence. One such suffragist who used this powerful rhetorical device was Alice Park, who was one of the most prominent leaders of the CESA's literature committee from

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<sup>6</sup>Stanton, 39-44.

<sup>7</sup> Ellen Carol DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), 23.

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1906 and 1911.<sup>8</sup> Park authored and released many leaflets aimed at middle and working-class women. One particular 1910 leaflet by Park, entitled “Women Under California Law,” listed many of the injustices women faced under California law in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Park stated that “Taxation without representation is tyranny now as it was in 1776.” Park also argued that, a democracy is a government by the people for the people. Therefore, she surmised that California law did not consider women people, or, the United States was not a true democracy since half of the citizens could not legally vote.<sup>9</sup>

Many other California suffrage flyers argued against the fact that the government taxed women without allowing them direct representation. One brief 1911 leaflet, titled “Give the Women a Square Deal: They Want the Ballot, Why?” recognized taxation as one of its four main points behind why women needed the vote. Although this leaflet does not explore details as Park’s did, it did make taxation without representation a key element behind working women’s need to vote. The reverse side of this leaflet further demonstrated the interest women had in labor in California by

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<sup>8</sup> Sherry J. Katz, “A Politics of Coalition: Socialist Women in the California Suffrage Movement, 1900-1911,” in *One Woman, One Vote*, ed. Marjorie Spruill Wheeler (Troutdale: New Sage Press, 1995), 252.

<sup>9</sup> Alice Park, “Women Under California Laws,” California Equal Suffrage Association and the Political Equality League, n.d., Women’s Suffrage Collection, Ella Strong Denison Library, Libraries of The Claremont Colleges. This document will be referred to this document as: Park, “Women Under California Law” in any future reference.

recognizing Women's Organized Labor as the largest women's group with over 36,000 members.<sup>10</sup> This number outweighed the organizers in the California Federation of Women's Clubs, who had 35,000 women, and encompassed California's largest civic groups.<sup>11</sup>

Park, as a member and leader of suffrage organizations, mainly concerned herself with the plight of working-class women in California, while other renowned suffragists focused their efforts on broader audiences. The Political Equality League (PEL) released a leaflet in 1911 authored by Carrie Chapman Catt, Susan B. Anthony's successor as president of the National Women's Suffrage Association, which had a similar layout to Alice Park's leaflet. Her leaflet "Do You Know?" appealed to women nationally and possibly internationally, as it proclaimed that women suffrage commands "the attention of the whole civilized world". This statement illustrated Chapman Catt's interest in the international spectrum of suffrage, and as the leaflet indicated, Chapman Catt was the president of the International Women Suffrage Alliance in twenty-one countries. Related to her international position and to spark inquiry, Chapman Catt

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<sup>10</sup> "Women Who Want to Vote" and "Give Women of California a Square Deal," Los Angeles Political Equality League, California 1911, Women's Suffrage Collection, Ella Strong Denison Library, Libraries of The Claremont Colleges. This document will be referred to as: PEL, "Women Who Want to Vote" in any future references.

<sup>11</sup> Gayle Gullett, "Women Progressives and the Politics of Americanization in California, 1915-1920," *Pacific Historical Review* 64, no. 1 (February 1995): 71-94.

listed the twenty-one countries where women and men held equal voting rights or named countries and states where women had significantly more voting rights than their American counterparts.<sup>12</sup>

In returning to revolutionary rhetoric, Chapman Catt described the early English history behind men as the sole voters. She explained that in England, barons, noblemen and rich merchants had the power to vote as the financial supporters of wars. As time passed, this tradition depended less upon funding wars and grew into a social and political display of power and wealth. Later, as the institution of voting changed so too did its requirements. Adult property owning males, who were economically independent, inherited enfranchisement because governmental actions affected these property owners' interests.<sup>13</sup>

Chapman Catt continued to describe that American colonialists adopted this tradition by only permitting taxpayers, i.e. property owners, the right to vote. Chapman Catt dubbed the 1789 American government an

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<sup>12</sup> Carrie Chapman Catt, "Do You Know?" California Equal Suffrage Association; Los Angeles Political Equality League, California, 1911(?), Women's Suffrage Collection, Ella Strong Denison Library, Libraries of the Claremont Colleges. This document will be referred to as: Chapman Catt, "Do You Know?" in any future references.

<sup>13</sup> Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 5.

“aristocracy of property,” not a Republic as it espoused to be and quoted the revolutionary battle cry “Taxation without representation is tyranny.”<sup>14</sup>

Chapman Catt used a particularly interesting argument to arouse interest in the suffrage movement by detailing the reasons why women were not voters, although they paid taxes. She noted that historically few women paid taxes independently from their husbands as the government considered her a dependant of her husband. Through this union of property and resources, the husband gained the right to vote on the women’s behalf. Chapman Catt stated that, under the law, a woman was her husband’s servant and therefore a woman could not be considered an independent member of society with legal rights equal to a man. As the nineteenth century progressed, state governments allowed women to hold property, society accepted a woman who worked outside the home, and all expected taxes paid on an equal basis – yet the federal government still did not allow women to vote!<sup>15</sup>

Chapman Catt utilized poignant terminology to recall memories of key points in American history to stir emotion and, hopefully, political action in leaflet recipients and readers. She began many of the statements in this leaflet with the phrase “Do you Know,” followed by a prominent

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<sup>14</sup> Chapman Catt, “Do You Know?”

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

statement about either the past plight of women or their current situation. Chapman Catt's use of American Revolutionary sentiment appealed to both men and women who drew vivid connections between the struggles for equality in the eighteenth century to women's struggle in the twentieth century. Suffragists ultimately used revolutionary rhetoric to build legitimacy for their movement. These activists knew that more people would accept arguments based on documents created by the founding fathers than arguments lacking that legendary source.<sup>16</sup>

Clifford Howard, a writer for the Southern California Political Equality League,<sup>17</sup> also referenced America's colonial past in an argument for female equality entitled "Man Needs Woman's Ballot."<sup>18</sup> Howard argued that women stood by men through the Revolution as equals where men trusted women to protect the home in those pivotal times, so why should women not be trusted with the ballot? Howard successfully illustrated this conundrum metaphorically by describing the trust men had in women in the colonial period by giving women their muskets, understanding women

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<sup>16</sup> Dubois, 23.

<sup>17</sup> Ronald Schaffer, "The Problem of Consciousness in the Woman Suffrage Movement: A California Perspective," *Pacific Historical Review* 45, no. 4 (November, 1976): 469-493.

<sup>18</sup> Clifford Howard, "Man Needs Woman's Ballot" and "Mothers, Fathers, and all Good Citizens," Los Angeles Political Equality League, California, 1911(?), Women's Suffrage Collection, Ella Strong Denison Library, Libraries of the Claremont Colleges. This document will be referred to as: Howard, "Man Needs Woman's Ballot" in any future references.

knew to use it correctly, competently, and valiantly. He compared the social strife in the colonial time to the current “pioneer days”. Howard described these days as a “frontier of a new social world, a new democracy, faced with new and menacing problems....” However, in this new time of needed social change, Howard stated, the adversary attacked from within – in the form of graft, underdevelopment and disease unlike the outward threat of the American Revolution. Howard wrote that men needed the help of women in the early 1900s, just as they needed women during the Revolution. Howard concluded his argument poignantly, stating that the vote in women’s hands will replace the musket in this new revolutionary period, to combat societal ills that endangered America.<sup>19</sup>

Again, literature that represented different segments of the population displayed similar revolutionary rhetoric as that seen in Park and Chapman Catt’s work. The College Equal Suffrage League (CESL), based in San Francisco, published pamphlets aimed at the large farmer and fruit grower population in California. The author of this pamphlet, Milicent Shinn, was the first woman to receive a Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkley in 1898.<sup>20</sup> As a leading UC Berkley intellectual, Shinn

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Elizabeth Scarborough and Laurel Furumoto, *Untold Lives: The First Generation of the American Women Psychologists* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).

argued that the revolution was not yet over until the government enfranchised women. She recalled:

[The] Embattled farmers' at Concord Bridge that made the first stand and fired the first shot against Taxation without Representation. The Battle Is Not Yet Fully Won. There is still one class of American citizens that is taxed without any voice of their own.... Your own mother, your wife and sister are of that class.<sup>21</sup>

Shinn argued that a farmer understood his wife's equal ability to care for the family farm better than any other man could comprehend due to their interdependent labor on the farm. Shinn further argued that the family's farm will be unprotected if the men died or became incapacitated because women of the family had no legal protection to hold or defend property, due to their inability to vote. Shinn as well as other suffrage authors' emotionally charged language directed at farmers as the first movers of the Revolution, assisted in the development of the large farmer support base for women's suffrage.<sup>22</sup>

Californian Suffragists' petition to farmers contained similar approaches to those used by women's rights organizations in their petition to workers throughout the nation. The large size of the women's rights

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<sup>21</sup> Milicent Shinn, "To the Farmers and Fruit Growers of California," College Equal Suffrage League, California 1911, Women's Suffrage Collection, Ella Strong Denison Library, Libraries of the Claremont Colleges. This document will be referred to as: Shinn, "To the Farmers and Fruit Growers of California" in any future references.

<sup>22</sup> "California Farmers Give Vote To Women," *New York Times* October 13, 1911.

movement created the need to advertise differently to diverse groups in diverse regions.<sup>23</sup> While revolutionary rhetoric appealed to a majority of Americans, many other suffrage literature topics only appealed to somewhat narrow groups in varying geographical areas. For example, suffragists targeted laborers in Southern California as a large support base even though labor groups in San Francisco were not as supportive of the movement. Although suffragists used advertising tactics nearly perfected by their predecessors on the East Coast, the ability to gain the labor vote unilaterally in California proved to be a hard task for Western suffragists.

### **Labor and Pay**

Clearly, one of the central arguments for female suffrage involved obtaining financial security and independence from men. The women at the Seneca Falls Convention unanimously resolved to gain equal rights in the workplace, education, and in the home. This led to their concluding request, although not unanimous, for equal suffrage rights as the means to the end.<sup>24</sup> Since not all women supported equal suffrage, some women worked for labor reform independently from those who worked for suffrage.

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<sup>23</sup> Katz, 249.

<sup>24</sup> Stanton, 39-44.

Many politically active Californian labor-women ultimately recognized the advantage of using their political knowledge to help advance the suffrage cause, as Katherine Philips Edson did early on.<sup>25</sup>

Notable Californian women worked to gain the eight-hour workday, improve the minimum wage for women and actively sought to revise the state's welfare system. Women like Edson experienced some political success under the Progressive Governor Hiram Johnson, who appointed Edson to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. As the Chief Executive Officer of the Industrial Welfare Commission (IWC) Edson researched working-women's wages and drafted as well as proposed minimum wage legislation to the California state legislature. Prominent clubwomen similar to Edson and Park promoted suffrage through improving labor conditions for people of both genders. This ultimately assisted suffragists, in gaining some support from male labor leaders who appreciated added female labor support in Northern and Central California.<sup>26</sup>

The lack of strong unions in Southern California helped suffragists successfully focus their attention on gaining the working-class vote without much opposition. On the contrary, Suffragists faced opposition in San

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<sup>25</sup> Rebecca Mead, "Let the Women Get Their Wages as Men Do: Trade Union Women and the Legislated Minimum Wage in California," *Pacific Historical Review*, 67, no 3 (August, 1998): 317-347.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 322.

Francisco where unions had a strong political and economic hold as well as a more diverse immigrant population who were less supportive of suffrage than European immigrants. These apprehensive unions thought suffragist demanded wage legislation might undermine labor victories in the fight for better pay. Some of the unions were also concerned that wage legislation would create more bureaucracy, especially under Edson at the IWC.<sup>27</sup> Ironically, middle and working-class organizations did not want their hard-won efforts reversed by women's special interest groups that worked for the same end.

Middle and working-class suffrage organizations fought to correct many of the same issues while representing different socio-economic segments of society. Park, a supporter of working-women, and Edson, a middle-class supporter, had similar points of contention against California's labor laws. After the passage of important labor legislation in 1911,<sup>28</sup> suffragist and labor organizations constantly revised their publications to include the most recent information to assure accuracy in their statements and to continue the battle for rights not won. For instance, a 1910 draft of Park's "Women Under California Laws" article discussed the need to for an eight-hour workday. After the passage of the eight-hour law on May 21, 1911,

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<sup>27</sup> Mead, 337.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 325.

the Political Equality League (PEL) released a revised draft of the article to reflect the legal changes.<sup>29</sup> Although workers won this battle, Park continued to argue for equal pay in view of the fact that women received less pay for equal or sometimes more efficient labor than their male counterparts.<sup>30</sup>

A leaflet, printed by the CESA, titled “JUSTICE – EQUALITY: Why Women Want to Vote” listed women’s many societal roles and appealed to each role individually. While many leaflets made efforts to stir more female involvement in the movement, this leaflet specifically focused its attention on men because their vote on October 10, 1911 ultimately decided the fate of women’s suffrage. The format used in this leaflet is particularly interesting in that it states women’s need for the vote, followed by a question regarding men and their need for the same legal protection.<sup>31</sup>

The first role listed in this leaflet is that of the “Working Woman” who needed the vote to empower her to gain control of her working conditions. A question posed to men followed this point; it asked if men

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<sup>29</sup> This also included a new penalty for “girl stealing,” or kidnapping, that increased the punishment from five years to ten years.

<sup>30</sup> Park, “Women under California Law.”

<sup>31</sup> “Why Women Want to Vote,” California Equal Suffrage Association, n.d., Women’s Suffrage Collection, Ella Strong Denison Library, Libraries of the Claremont Colleges. This document will be referred to as: CESA, “Why Women Want to Vote” in any future references.

thought they could protect male working conditions without the vote. The CESA next appealed to “Teachers,” who needed the vote to gain fair pay and social influence to keep stability in their schools. The CESA appealed to male administrators by asking if they could control their schools without the right to vote for the mayor, who nominated the Board of Education. Following the appeal to “Teachers” is an appeal to “Business Women” who needed the ballot to guarantee that their businesses received equal opportunities and fair treatment under the law. The CESA suggested after this statement, that men would not be able to protect their businesses from potentially harmful laws without the right to vote. The list of appeals to men to give working-women the ballot concluded with the familiar question “Do not MEN know that ‘Taxation without representation’ is tyranny?”<sup>32</sup> Through this example, it is apparent that many similarities existed between different generations of literature distributed by suffrage organizations, especially repeated use of the most successful rhetorical devices.<sup>33</sup>

Western suffrage organizations borrowed the successful rhetorical devices used by national organizations and also utilized the names of

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> There is no date indicating exactly when “Why Wage-Earning Women Should Vote” was published. However, it does call for the reader to vote for Amendment 8, which was on the October 1911 ballot.

nationally renowned men and women to gain more legitimacy. To demonstrate this point, national suffragist Maud Younger authored the CESA pamphlet entitled, "Why Wage Earning Women Should Vote".<sup>34</sup> Younger worked as a spokesperson for the suffrage movement and generally fought for female equality, especially in the workplace.<sup>35</sup> Younger's passion to speak about women's need to demand better conditions is evident in this 1911 pamphlet that described the plight of working-women in a male dominated society. Younger introduced her argument with this bold statement:

More than seven million women in the United States daily leave their homes to go out into the world and fight beside men for their living. They work under greater disadvantages and temptations than men, they work for longer hours and lower wages, they bear the greater burdens of our industrial system, yet they have not the protection which men have of the ballot.<sup>36</sup>

Younger argued that women, as mothers of future generations, needed better labor laws including shorter hours, more sanitary conditions, and

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<sup>34</sup> Maud Younger, "Why Wage-Earning Women Should Vote," California Equal Suffrage Association, 1911(?). Women's Suffrage Collection, Ella Strong Denison Library, Libraries of the Claremont Colleges. This document will be referred to as: Younger, "Why Wage-Earning Women Should Vote" in any future references.

<sup>35</sup> National Women's History Museum, "Rights for Women: The Suffrage Movement and Its Leaders. Maud Younger (1870-1936)," 2007 (<http://nwhm.org/RightsforWomen/Younger.html>), accessed February 1, 2008.

<sup>36</sup> Younger, "Why Wage-Earning Women Should Vote."

better protection against dangerous machinery. She noted that English workers suffered from “stunted growth and impaired vitality” due to their exploitation under deficient labor laws. Younger credited labor unions for achieving all of the workplace improvements women experienced.

However, she argued, unions could not provide *every* needed change for women in the workplace. Women must provide this civil luxury, which was only achievable through the vote, for themselves.<sup>37</sup>

Younger, in fact, came from a wealthy background although she still found it necessary to fight for the working class, arguing that “If food is impure, trust prices exorbitant, dwelling houses unsanitary, public schools bad... the rich can pay for private services. The poor have no choice.”

Younger noted that the working person could not afford to lobby the legislature for better conditions and that the vote and ability to elect legislatures was the key to securing better conditions for women. Younger also pointed out that working conditions for women had changed throughout time. Traditionally women worked and produced goods in the home, but the large growth of industry forced production out of the home and into factories where women earned money and paid taxes independently from their husbands. This allowed women to become somewhat self-sufficient and it changed their status in society. Younger

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

contended that this new form of independence required a need for more female protection under the law, as societal progress necessitated legal progress. Younger also questioned women's rights versus new immigrant men who eventually gained the vote, while the government would never permit women to vote under current law.<sup>38</sup> Women across the nation constantly questioned their place in society as they saw African American men and many immigrant men gain the right to vote, while women even of the highest class could not cast a single ballot.<sup>39</sup>

Mary Kenney O'Sullivan, another national suffragist and labor advocate, authored a statement for the CESA titled "Women and the Vote" which solely advocated the vote for working-women. Kenney O'Sullivan was deeply involved in the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and especially interested in organizing women in Boston and Chicago in the late 1890s through the early 1900s. As a national leader in the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), Kenney O'Sullivan also concentrated her efforts on building trade unions for women.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Younger, "Why Wage-Earning Women Should Vote."

<sup>39</sup> Wheeler, "Introduction," in *One Woman, One Vote*, 12-13.

<sup>40</sup> Kathleen Banks Nutter, *"The Necessity of Organization": Mary Kenney O'Sullivan, the American Federation of Labor, and the Boston Women's Trade Union League, 1892-1919* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998).

Kenney O'Sullivan tactfully produced her CESA "Women and the Vote" pamphlet for a male audience. She explained that more women entered industrial labor due to the higher cost of living and the want of a more comfortable lifestyle. Kenny O'Sullivan described the evolution of women's work as Younger, but revealed the detrimental effects this shift of labor had on male workers. She postulated that women could no longer produce in the home for decent pay, which drove women into factory work where they were paid much less than men. She claimed that women's low wages were a danger for both men and women who competed for the same work, causing women's wages to lower men's wages in similar fields.<sup>41</sup>

Kenney O'Sullivan argued that an increase in women's wages would lead to an increase in men's wages. This in turn would decrease the need for women in the workplace because the family would not need the women's wages. While this assumption is faulty, due to the reality that not all women worked outside the home solely to supplement their husband's income, it does offer a win-win situation that made female suffrage more appealing to men.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Mary Kenney O'Sullivan, "Woman Suffrage Co-Equal with Man Suffrage" and "Women and the Vote," California Equal Suffrage Association, 1911(?), Women's Suffrage Collection, Ella Strong Denison Library, Libraries of the Claremont Colleges. This document will be referred to as: Kenney O'Sullivan, "Women and the Vote" in any future references.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

Suffragists used their resources to the best of their abilities, which is why they used known successful arguments throughout a majority of their literature. Suffrages also tried to use their physical resources to the maximal potential by printing on both sides of the leaflets they distributed. The reverse side of the Kenney O'Sullivan leaflet, entitled "Woman Suffrage Co-Equal With Man Suffrage," contained quotes from important male labor leaders who supported women's suffrage. Included in this list of leaders is Samuel Gompers, the first president of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in 1886.<sup>43</sup> The CESA also quoted John Mitchell, the president of the United Mine Workers of America between 1889 and 1908,<sup>44</sup> and Keir Hardie, a leading European labor and militant suffrage advocate who first led the Labour Party in the House of Commons in 1906.<sup>45</sup>

Kier Hardie advised all American workers to fight for women's suffrage and John Mitchell stated, "[I]t would be for the good of US ALL for woman to be enfranchised."<sup>46</sup> It is evident that the CESA used these quotes in an attempt to gain more working-class male support for suffrage in labor

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<sup>43</sup> Samuel Gompers, "AFL-CIO: America's Union Movement, 1850-1924," (<http://www.aflcio.org/aboutus/history/history/gompers.cfm>), accessed January 14, 2008.

<sup>44</sup> John Mitchell, "President, United Mine Workers of America 1870-1911," (<http://www.kentlaw.edu/ilhs/mitchell.htm>), accessed January 20, 2008.

<sup>45</sup> A. E. P. Duffy, "Differing Policies and Personal Rivalries in the Origins of the Independent Labour Party," *Victorian Studies* 6, no. 1 (Sep., 1962): 43-65.

<sup>46</sup> Kenney O'Sullivan, "Women and the Vote."

cities, like San Francisco, where the CESA noted that, “There are 50,000 Working Women in San Francisco alone. Will not a vote be worth as much to them as working men?”<sup>47</sup>

The PEL similarly published articles that listed the labor organizations in support of women’s suffrage based on the CESA “Women and the Vote” leaflet. The PEL’s variation of this leaflet listed over thirty national and international organizations that adopted suffrage resolutions. It also noted that at least five hundred organizations endorsed women’s suffrage between 1904 and 1908. The PEL printed this list on the opposite side of Kenny O’ Sullivan’s one-page article.<sup>48</sup> Nearly one third of the organizations listed in this article consisted of women’s organizations, which prospered in California. Some of the other organizations included in this list were the American Federation of Labor, the Western Federation of Mine Workers, the United Mine Workers of America, the United Teamsters of America and the National Grange and State Granges in 16 states – including California.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Kenney O’Sullivan, “Women and the Vote.”

<sup>49</sup> The male and female organizations discussed here may or may not have been strictly exclusive to one gender. I only characterize them as men or women’s organizations to differentiate the organizations with a female designation in the name from the groups with no designation.

The large agricultural population in the West generally supported women's suffrage as is evident in David R. Berman's examination of voting patterns in the West. Berman concluded that western regions with high concentrations of farmers, native-born Americans, European-born immigrants and Mormons were exceptionally supportive of women's suffrage.<sup>50</sup> Berman did not examine the extreme importance of suffrage organizations in the West; rather he focused on the demographics of actual voter turnout. Berman's study indirectly demonstrated that suffragist organizations efficiently appealed to their agricultural bases. This confirmed the assertion that suffragists knew their target audiences and successfully focused their time and resources to maintain this vote.<sup>51</sup> One shining example of the agricultural support base for women's suffrage is apparent in the actions of the National Grange and individual state Granges throughout the suffrage movement.

The agricultural organization known as the National Grange, also called the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry,<sup>52</sup> supported women's

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<sup>50</sup> David R. Berman, "Male Support for Woman Suffrage: An Analysis of Voting Patterns in the Mountain West," *Social Science History* 11, no. 3 (Autumn, 1987): 281-294.

<sup>51</sup> Holly J. McCammon and Karen E. Campbell, "Winning the Vote in the West: The Political Successes of the Women's Suffrage Movements, 1866-1919," *Gender and Society* 15, no. 1 (February, 2001): 77.

<sup>52</sup> Donald B. Marti, "Sisters of the Grange: Rural Feminism in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Agricultural History* 58, no. 3 (July, 1984): 247.

suffrage, to some extent, in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Through suffragists, who twisted the stated position of the Grange to fit their needs, the Order became the largest rural extension of the suffrage movement. The Grange received this label from their large female base who demanded equal participation in administrative activities. Although not all the male participants in the Grange agreed with women in administrative positions, prominent Grange women forced the issue of equality. As proof of the Grange's commitment to supporting its female constituency, the Order's official Declaration of Purposes in 1874 stated that the organization aimed to instill an adequate appreciation of women into those who lacked it.<sup>53</sup>

The Grange targeted this statement primarily at farmers and their wives, over whom the Order had the most influence. To substantiate this claim, the Grange noted that many farmers treated their wives almost as slaves, which left the wives with little sleep or leisure time while there was farm work to complete. This incessant forced-labor led to a life of "drudgery" for farmers' wives, who had high entrance rates into psychiatric facilities and diminishing intelligence, according to Revered Aaron Grosh, a contemporary observer.<sup>54</sup> Grosh argued that the Grange needed active

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<sup>53</sup> Marti, 250.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 252.

women, who would focus more on domestic issues and not Grange politics. This assertion turned out to be false, however, as an increase in female Grange participants pushed to gain equal rights, socially and politically.<sup>55</sup>

Milicent Shinn argued on behalf of the farmers' wives as the Grange had, although she requested equal suffrage and equal rights for women, unlike Grosh and other leading Grange members. To exemplify the similarities, the National Grange's language in its Declaration of Purpose resembled Shinn's argument for better female protection under the law, in that they both requested protection for women against exploitation. As stated previously, the Grange focused on educating farmers about the proper way to treat their wives to reduce the risk of women's work becoming "drudgery". On the contrary, Shinn argued that the best way to fix farmers' wives' exploitation was to allow women the right to vote.<sup>56</sup> Through the vote, women would gain equal protection under the law and could *create* laws to protect themselves rather than rely on their husbands.

The notion that the West was more egalitarian than the United States as a whole also contributed to more female social equality. Holly McCammon and Karen Campbell used the term "Frontier egalitarianism," or the idea that brutal life in the West forced women and men to work

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<sup>55</sup> Marti, 261.

<sup>56</sup> Shinn, "To the Framers and Fruit Growers of California."

together more equally, as one reason behind why women were able to enter male dominated areas of society in the West more than the East.<sup>57</sup> The increasing need in the early twentieth century for better female labor laws grew out of the influx of women who moved into traditionally male positions. Scholars have discussed the many reasons behind this shift in the West and developed a few key theories.<sup>58</sup>

McCammon and Campbell argued that the increase in women who occupied traditionally male professional positions somewhat distorted the border between male and female public roles in the West.<sup>59</sup> McCammon and Campbell further observe that women in the West sought higher education exponentially more than women in other areas of the country, where society at large did not accept women in predominately male colleges and universities. This again allowed for a considerable amount of societal acceptance of women in traditional masculine roles.<sup>60</sup> For example, highly educated women like Katherine Edson held powerful governmental

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<sup>57</sup> McCammon and Campbell, 68.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 55-85.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 66.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 66-67.

positions in areas women traditionally influenced, like welfare, but she also used her exalted position to influence broader areas of society.<sup>61</sup>

Women also played key roles as lobbyists and leaders of labor organizations that fought actively for legislative reform.<sup>62</sup> The break from traditional gender roles, which influenced Californian workers to give women the vote, occurred much faster in the West than it did in the East. For this reason, much of the national suffrage literature focused on women as domestic moral leaders more so than as laborers who contributed economically to society.<sup>63</sup> Although many people active in farming and labor generally became receptive to female suffrage efforts, a significant amount of people still believed women belonged in the home. In order to appeal to these people organizations such as the NWSA, CESA, and PEL also campaigned under the theory that naturally honest and virtuous women would clean up the corrupt political sphere, essentially acting as the ‘mothers’ of society.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Norris C. Hundley, Jr., “Katherine Philips Edson and the Fight for the California Minimum Wage, 1912-1923,” *Pacific Historical Review* 29, no. 3 (August, 1960): 271-285.

<sup>62</sup> McCammon and Campbell, 85.

<sup>63</sup> Katz, 245.

<sup>64</sup> Schaffer, 475.

## Domestic Women

Women across the United States obtained varying degrees of suffrage rights before 1911, dependent upon the state in which they resided. Although no national consensus existed in reference to suffrage, many American and traditionalist immigrant men and women agreed that women naturally belonged in the home as housekeepers, caretakers and the like.<sup>65</sup> Because of this consensus, women who worked outside of the home on the national market generally found employment in the domestic sphere.<sup>66</sup> The majority of American's ability to accept women as domestic caretakers became a key point of suffrage literature throughout the movement. Suffrage organizations developed arguments surrounding women's ability to act as political housekeepers if given the right to vote. The other main argument that stemmed from the image of women as caretakers dealt with women's inability to keep their homes clean without influence over external factors of the world.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> DuBois, 15.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 128.

<sup>67</sup> Schaffer, 475-477.

Domestic arguments existed in some fashion in a majority of suffrage literature released from Californian equality and suffrage organization.<sup>68</sup>

The National American Women Suffrage Association (NAWSA) also released leaflets about women's domestic role in the home and society. One such article by an unknown author, amply titled "Women in the Home," explored women's helplessness in controlling the cleanliness of her home when she had no social or political influence to change the corrupt and filthy world. The article began by listing women's domestic responsibilities including "cleanliness of her home," "wholesomeness of the food" and the health and morals of the children. The article postulated over the amount of control a woman actually had over these domestic factors and concluded that women actually had little control.<sup>69</sup>

Women could not protect their children adequately from the uncleanly actions of neighbors, unwholesome food, potential infections from filthy streets or an immoral environment outside of the home, without political equality. The author noted that the city was responsible for providing adequate conditions in the interest of the voters. Consequently, men were responsible for children's outcome, not women. Men as the only

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<sup>68</sup> I found these arguments in over 80% of the suffrage literature at Claremont College's Denison Library.

<sup>69</sup> "Women in the Home," California Equal Suffrage Association, 1911, Women's Suffrage Collection, Ella Strong Denison Library, Libraries of the Claremont Colleges. This document will be referred to as: NAWSA, "Women in the Home" in any future references.

legal voters, created the public atmosphere in which children grew. The author argued that women should have the right to influence their children's surroundings because women were the ones held responsible for children and their outcome. The final statement in this leaflet, "Women are, by nature and training, housekeepers. Let them have a hand in the city's housekeeping, even if they introduce an occasional house cleaning," conveyed the domestic argument plainly to all readers.<sup>70</sup>

The CESA produced a similar but broader leaflet that appealed to the many aspects of women, including their roles as mothers and housekeepers. The CESA argued that housekeepers and mothers needed the vote "to regulate the moral [and sanitary] conditions under which their children must be brought up."<sup>71</sup> This argument did not include the detailed description of the NAWSA's argument regarding the many detrimental external influences a mother could not shield from her child. Instead, the "Justice – Equality" article detailed the other positions women held in society and their exploitations in those segments, as previously discussed under "Labor and Pay". While the arguments for women's suffrage differed

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<sup>70</sup> NAWSA, "Women in the Home."

<sup>71</sup> CESA, "Why Women Want the Vote."

in the other labor-related categories,<sup>72</sup> both the “Housekeepers” and “Mothers” arguments asked men solely if they thought they would be able to protect their children from the vices of the world without the power of the vote.<sup>73</sup>

This simple argument, like the NAWSA’s more complicated argument, merely suggested that women needed the vote to protect their children.<sup>74</sup> These arguments demonstrated women’s domestic competency as homemakers and mothers, a position that men comfortably accepted. Suffragists used this aspect of the domestic argument to encourage men to visualize women utilizing their homemaking skills in the political sphere to improve domestic conditions.<sup>75</sup>

The other aspect of the domestic argument focused on women as the moral compasses of society. Under this theory, suffragists argued that women would bring high moral standards and civility into politics, which badly needed these positive qualities.<sup>76</sup> Reverend Father Gleason, a Catholic priest, expressed these sentiments in a speech he gave on May 23, 1911, at

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<sup>72</sup> The other categories included Working Women, Business Women, Teachers, Tax Paying Women, and lastly all women in general. CESA, “Why Women Want the Vote.”

<sup>73</sup> CESA, “Why Women Want the Vote.”

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Katz, 245.

<sup>76</sup> Schaffer, 479.

the Central Theatre in San Francisco, California. Through this speech, Father Gleason attempted to unite all women to stand for equal suffrage and gain more male support for the movement.<sup>77</sup>

The PEL published this speech to expose significantly more people than those present to Father Gleason's message. Father Gleason discussed working-women in his argument, as well as the many other key points found throughout suffrage literature, though his argument mainly focused on women as domestic and virtuous members of society. Father Gleason initiated his argument by stating, "A woman is the mother of mankind. A woman is marked out to bring the rest of mankind into the world, and the old saying was that the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world." Although he followed this statement by a short discussion of women's dignified efforts in labor and business, this statement set the tone for the remainder of his speech.<sup>78</sup>

Father Gleason cited annual reports by the Department of Labor and the United States Commissioner of Education to demonstrate women's equal ability and success in education and labor. He noted from these statistics that strong and educated women formed the values and character of the next generation of children, while those same women had no voice in

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<sup>77</sup> Gleason, "Extracts from the speech of the Rev. Father Gleason."

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

education administration beyond teaching. Father Gleason again argued that women, who possessed “the nobler sentiment, the clearer sight, the more loving heart,” were the people who could advance society morally. He noted that men must recognize morality as their weak point and accept women as the source of improvement in the metaphoric, “one great family”.<sup>79</sup> Father Gleason recognized the anti-suffragist argument, that women would abandon or abuse their families and homes if they received the right to vote, and developed a strong argument against these accusations. Father Gleason argued that mothers would not abandon their families and would actually be better, more careful, voters since they had their children’s futures and best interests in mind. To exemplify his description of the ills children faced in society without the vote of women, Father Gleason exclaimed that:

There is a surging and a boiling going on i[n] our midst, the people are stirred to the depths, and you can notice a scum coming up from the bottom. You see anarchy, you see tendencies of every kind, that have only one finish, one object, and that is the pulling down of everything noble, everything pure, everything high-minded and decent in our American ideals. There is only one way to obviate all of that... let every man here cast his vote that his wife and mother and sister may be as much as he is in the eyes of the law... give nobility and decency and honesty a chance.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Gleason, “Extracts from the speech of the Rev. Father Gleason,” p. 2.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

This description of 1911 society may not have been very different from the truth at the time in San Francisco. A large graft scandal surfaced in 1906 around San Francisco Mayor Eugene Schmitz, the hero of the 1906 earthquake,<sup>81</sup> and political boss Abraham Ruef. Newspaper reports about the scandal included links between the two prominent San Franciscan figures and prostitution, extortion, and an incredible amount of bribery. In total, a grand jury brought sixty-five indictments against Ruef for bribery in relation to the gas rate, the Home Telephone franchise and the overhead trolley ordinance.<sup>82</sup> One of the most damaging accusations of the trial exposed Boss Ruef's attempts to benefit financially from the 1906 San Francisco earthquake and fire, to the city's detriment.<sup>83</sup>

The public obviously felt a sense of disenchantment in San Francisco's government and the public utilities after the series of graft prosecutions that indicted many prominent San Franciscans between 1906 and 1911.<sup>84</sup> Father Gleason used this type of disillusionment to his advantage

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<sup>81</sup> Walton Bean, *Boss Ruef's San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), 122.

<sup>82</sup> Bean, 188-197. The vice president of the Pacific States Telephone and Telegraph Company also faced nine indictments for ordering bribery payments.

<sup>83</sup> Bean, 123.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 256-267.

in his plea to gain more support for women's suffrage. The relevancy of Father Gleason's argument in this political climate was abundantly clear to his audience. Father Gleason pleaded his constituency give women the vote in the October 1911 election, to end prejudice, and follow in the Christian ideal that promoted female equality. The Reverend concluded his speech by asking women and men to convince non-supporters of the benefits of equal suffrage, no matter how resistant they appeared.<sup>85</sup> Suffrage organizations in California and across the country used the domestic argument to prove that women's moral standards in the home could easily extend into the public sphere. While prominent men like Father Gleason spoke about the ways women *could* improve society, few suffrage advocates understood this importance first-hand more than Jane Addams.<sup>86</sup>

Jane Addams, the founder of Hull House, worked to improve the social ills in labor-entrenched Chicago. To accomplish her goals Addams provided comfortable accommodations for many immigrants, poor mothers and children through her settlement at Hull House. Addams and her partner Ellen Gates Starr created educational programs through Hull House and fought for better sanitary conditions on Chicago's streets. As an active

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<sup>85</sup> Gleason, "Extracts from the speech of the Rev. Father Gleason."

<sup>86</sup> Jane Addams, "Jane Addams Wants to Vote" *Ladies Home Journal*, reprinted by California Equal Suffrage Association, January, 1911, Women's Suffrage Collection, Ella Strong Denison Library, Libraries of the Claremont Colleges. This document will be referred to as: Addams, "Jane Addams Wants to Vote" in any future references.

member of society, Jane Addams supported female suffrage as a necessity to help improve city conditions and stop corruption.<sup>87</sup>

The CESA published a leaflet in 1910 that contained an article authored by Jane Addams, entitled “Jane Addams Wants to Vote.”<sup>88</sup>

Addams acknowledged the widely accepted notion that women’s primary roles were those of housekeepers and caregivers. Addams noted that she did not foresee a day when this would change, although she argued, women at the turn of the twenty-first century began to abuse their responsibility as homemakers. Addams based this argument on her observation of a majority of women who took an inactive role in life outside the home. This social inactivity prohibited women from being completely responsible for the home, as children and husbands brought potentially hazardous outside conditions into the home.<sup>89</sup>

Addams established her argument on circumstances in Chicago, an overcrowded city where many families lived in tenements – dependent upon the government for the standards in which they lived. While this description of living conditions did not particularly pertain to life in the

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<sup>87</sup> Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy: A Life* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 89-118.

<sup>88</sup> Addams, “Jane Addams Wants to Vote.”

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

West, the general concept of the city government as the responsible entity for housing protection and cleanliness was not lost. Addams argument in dealing with inadequate building codes and unsanitary garbage disposal was similar to the NAWSA's argument directed at residents of the western United States.<sup>90</sup>

Addams plunged much deeper into the issues women faced in an increasingly modern society. She expressed her concern over women's working conditions, including long hours and unsanitary conditions, as a threat to the home when women between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two, exited the work force and tried to build families. Addams argued that dangerous workplaces caused injury to many working-women to varying degrees. These injuries restricted women from completing their household obligations to the best of their ability and could have possibly posed reproduction problems. In closing, Adams posed the question "May we not fairly say that American women need this implement [suffrage] in order to preserve the home?"<sup>91</sup> Jane Addams, as living proof of what women could accomplish when they forced issues, was a great spokesperson for the national suffrage cause.

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<sup>90</sup> Addams, "Jane Addams Wants to Vote."

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

Other organizations, like the PEL, reiterated Addams' sentiments and included new arguments about the "Commercialized Vice" that infiltrated society.<sup>92</sup> Clifford Howard stated that women needed the vote to protect children from vice and corruption implanted by corporations. Enfranchised women would elect virtuous men, Howard argued, who would lead society in the right direction and protect children against these ills. The argument that enfranchised women would act as mothers in society did not appeal to all women and men equally throughout the country. Some suffragists and many anti-suffragists took issue with the assertion that women needed to use their virtuous nature to clean the political sphere.

### **The Anti-Suffrage Argument**

Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, the President of the National Association Opposed to Women's Suffrage (NAOWS), argued that women and men were specialists in their own separate spheres and that creating political equality would be a step back for women.<sup>93</sup> Dodge noted that education and labor

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<sup>92</sup> Clifford Howard, "Mothers, Fathers, and all Good Citizens," Los Angeles Political Equality League, California 1911(?), Women's Suffrage Collection, Ella Strong Denison Library, Libraries of the Claremont Colleges.

<sup>93</sup> Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, "Woman Suffrage Opposed to Woman's Rights," *Annals of American Academy* (n.d.), 99-104, Women's Suffrage Collection, Ella Strong Denison Library, Libraries of the Claremont Colleges. This document will be referred to as: Dodge, "Woman Suffrage Opposed to Woman's Rights" in any future references.

reform was not government's only responsibility and that social pressure by women would create the need for change without actually giving women the vote.<sup>94</sup> Women entered higher education and professional positions without the vote, Dodge argued, and the positions she could not enter endangered her welfare. Furthermore, Dodge argued that labor organizations would not become more efficient and that the plight of young women in industrial positions would not improve.<sup>95</sup> Dodge's six-page article listed over a dozen reasons why women should not vote, including the argument that voting would be a burden to women.

Similar NAOWS literature released in California may not have been as successful as literature released by pro-suffragists for many reasons. A majority of the anti-suffrage literature found at Claremont College's Ella Strong Denison Library were long essay-format articles.<sup>96</sup> These articles did not attract immediate attention to the key arguments. On the other hand, suffragists used an array of fonts, colors, and pictures to draw the reader's attention. Anti-suffrage literature plainly described their points in paragraph form. At a glance, the reader could decipher suffragists' main

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<sup>94</sup>Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Dodge, "Woman Suffrage Opposed to Woman's Rights."

<sup>96</sup> Prestonia Mann Martin, "An Anti-suffragist's Reply to Mr. Bryan's Reasons for Advocating Woman Suffrage," National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, New York, n.d., Women's Suffrage Collection, Ella Strong Denison Library, Libraries of the Claremont Colleges; and Dodge, "Woman Suffrage Opposed to Woman's Rights."

purpose and the action they asked the reader to take. A person would have to read a multi-page pamphlet to discern the anti-suffragists' proposition.<sup>97</sup>

## Western Success

Suffragists in the United States embarked on the mission for equality, symbolically, at the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848. Sixty-nine years later, women in Seneca Falls, New York gained the right to vote by the passage of a New York state constitutional amendment; three years before the nation ratified the Nineteenth Amendment. The United States legislature voted on the Women's Suffrage Amendment multiple times between its introduction in 1878 and its passage in 1920. Thirty states individually, some after multiple attempts, and the Alaskan territory granted suffrage to women before the U.S. legislature passed the Nineteenth Amendment, named the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, in 1920.<sup>98</sup> Sadly, pioneers of the suffrage movement, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Lucy Stone-Blackwell did not live to see the fruits of their labor on a

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid.; and Dodge, "Woman Suffrage Opposed to Woman's Rights."

<sup>98</sup> Wheeler, Appendix One: "The Electoral Thermometer," in *One Woman, One Vote* (Troutdale: New Sage Press, 1995), 375-377; and Wheeler, Appendix Two: "Chronology of Congressional Action," 378.

national scale, although protégés Carrie Chapman Catt and Harriett Stanton Blanch did witness the victory.

Nearly fifty years before congress passed the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, developing state governments in the West led the nation in granting women suffrage rights. For instance, women in Wyoming and Utah gained the right to the ballot first in December 1869 and February 1870, respectively. National suffrage organizations did not directly open the path to suffrage for these women, as was the case in California and Washington. Similarly, no extensive anti-suffrage organizations existed in Wyoming, Utah, Colorado or Idaho— the four states to grant suffrage before the close of the nineteenth century. Interestingly, these budding state governments used women suffrage, and other social reforms, as tools to draw investors and settlers to their states.<sup>99</sup> Other western states, like California, did not use suffrage as a tool to entice settlers, rather suffragist settlers fought for the vote to increase female equality— socially, economically and politically.

Suffragist organizations in California succeeded in persuading men to give women the ballot through effective fund-raising and organizing. With money and an army of devoted volunteers at their disposal, suffrage

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<sup>99</sup> Beverley Beeton, “How the West Was Won for Women Suffrage,” in *One Woman, One Vote*, ed. Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, (Troutdale: New Sage Press, 1995), 99-115.

organizations saturated Western cities with a barrage of information that appealed to a wide range of groups including labor interests, agricultural workers, educated and professional men, as well as traditional men who saw women as the moral backbone of society.

Western suffrage leaders' ability to learn from Eastern organizations' successes and failures saved the western organizers valuable time and resources, which may be one of the reasons suffrage passed first in the West. For example, Massachusetts suffrage organizers learned after their costly 1895 attempt for the ballot that pro-suffrage literature needed to be universally acceptable while it also targeted specialty groups.<sup>100</sup> This was a tactic Western organizers perfected. Powerful anti-suffrage segments of society defeated the early Massachusetts movements as suffragists spread their resources too thin. This loss spurred the development of the CESA, who used precise techniques to attract followers and rebuild links between suffrage organizations. Ties between suffrage groups in the East with labor leaders, progressives, and powerful ethnic groups created large alliances that also helped the suffrage campaign in the West.<sup>101</sup> Overall, the rhetorical and organizational techniques sharpened in Eastern movements coupled

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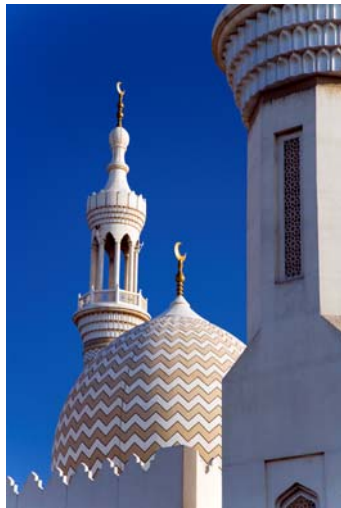
<sup>100</sup> Sharon Hartman Strom, "Leadership and Tactics in the American Woman Suffrage Movement: A New Perspective from Massachusetts," *Journal of American History* 62, no. 2. (September, 1975): 300

<sup>101</sup> Hartman Strom, 304.

with a more receptive audience in the West created an optimal atmosphere for suffrage organizers.

## **A Clash of Paradigms: The Clash of Civilizations in the Worldviews of Samuel Huntington and Osama bin Laden**

**Eric Massie**



Since the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001, the “Clash of Civilizations” theory has become an unavoidable aspect of academic debate between those scholars who either endorse or angrily reject its thesis of a conflict between Islamic and Western societies. During these academic debates, scholars have often compared the world views and beliefs of Samuel Huntington and Osama bin Laden in order to demonstrate the development of a similar intellectual trend in Western and Islamic

societies.<sup>1</sup> The comparison, however, is often made casually, without serious examination or analysis of the significant similarities and differences in their ideas. Due to the sensitive and often emotional nature of the debate surrounding the “Clash of Civilizations,” it is important to determine exactly what similarities and differences exist between the two viewpoints, so as to avoid incorrect generalizations. Whereas Samuel Huntington and Osama bin Laden share a common belief in a “Clash of Civilizations” and utilize much of the same historical evidence, they draw very different conclusions as to the nature and causes of the conflict. As a result, the vocabulary and terminology as well as the established conditions for termination of the conflict are radically different. The purpose of this paper is not to determine the validity of the claims of either Osama bin Laden or Samuel Huntington, but merely to examine and analyze their writings, interviews, and statements<sup>2</sup> to compare the content and themes of their respective paradigms.

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<sup>1</sup> Examples of this tendency can be found in Francis Robinson, “Islam and the West: Clash of Civilizations?” in *Islam and Global Dialogue: Religious Pluralism and the Pursuit of Peace*, ed. Roger Boase (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 77-90; and “Clash of Civilizations?” *Canada and the World Backgrounder* 68, no. 5 (March 2003): 5.

<sup>2</sup> There is naturally going to be a certain degree of variation in the translations of Osama Bin Laden’s works due to the fact that many of them come from different sources and different translators. I have attempted to provide the greatest degree of consistency by relying primarily upon Bruce Lawrence’s compilation in his book, *Messages to the World*. Bruce Lawrence, *Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama Bin Laden*, trans. James Howarth (New York: Verso, 2005).

## **Paradigms of Power**

Political and historical events, when considered in isolation, are never self-explanatory in that they never announce the underlying pattern or theme that might attach those events to a larger historical or political phenomenon. As a result, social scientists often develop paradigms within which they seek to interpret and explain events. Whether it is colonialism, globalism, nationalism, or other “ism’s,” these paradigms serve as reference points, allowing social scientists to explain historical developments within an interpretive framework from which they can make comparisons and predictions. Following in this tradition, Samuel Huntington and Osama bin Laden have established separate, but opposing, paradigms with which to interpret history and recent political events. With a belief in a “Clash of Civilizations” between Islam and the West as their central idea, both are paradigms concerning the distribution of global power among civilizations.

The end of the Cold War brought an abrupt end to the bipolar military and political domination of world affairs long exercised by the United States and the Soviet Union. With the collapse and dissolution of Soviet communism, Samuel Huntington and Osama bin Laden both assert that the end of the Cold War has brought a renewal and intensification of conflict based upon cultural differences. As the person who originally

coined the phrase “Clash of Civilizations” in his 1993 article of the same name, Samuel Huntington contends: “In the post-Cold War world for the first time in history, global politics has become multi-polar and multi-civilizational.”<sup>3</sup> Defining a civilization as the broadest means of self identification in terms of “ancestry, language, history, customs and institutions,”<sup>4</sup> Huntington suggests a post-Cold War multi-polar world in which *civilizations* instead of *ideologies* compete militarily, economically, and culturally. Identifying seven, and possibly eight, civilizations that include Sinic, Japanese, Hindu, Islamic, Orthodox, Western, Latin American, and possibly African civilizations, Huntington’s paradigm predicts that because culture is now more important than any other distinction, societies of the same civilization will cooperate with one another against the others.<sup>5</sup> “In civilizational conflicts,” states Huntington, “kin stand by their kin.”<sup>6</sup>

Similarly, Osama bin Laden believes the end of the Cold War has precipitated a renewal of cultural conflict between the West and Islam. Identifying the United States as the leader of Western civilization, he states

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<sup>3</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 21.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 45-47.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 217.

that “after the end of the Cold War, America escalated its campaign against the Muslim world in its entirety, aiming to get rid of Islam itself.”<sup>7</sup> For bin Laden, this assault upon the Islamic world by the United States is characterized by political, military and economic policies that are seen as specifically targeted at Muslims. These include wars fought against Iraq in 1991 and 2003 which have resulted in the occupation of Baghdad, one of Islam’s former capitals, by American troops;<sup>8</sup> the imposition of a system of economic sanctions against Iraq from 1991-2003, which bin Laden asserts has caused the deaths of “a million innocent children;”<sup>9</sup> air strikes against Afghanistan<sup>10</sup> and Sudan in 1998, the latter of which destroyed a pharmaceutical factory in Khartoum that produced half of Sudan’s medicines;<sup>11</sup> bombing campaigns against Iraq in 1998<sup>12</sup> and 2001;<sup>13</sup> and the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Bruce Lawrence, *Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama Bin Laden*, trans. James Howarth (New York: Verso, 2005), 39.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 180.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 104.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 85.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 67.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 66-68.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 149.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 134.

By equating Islamic civilization with the religion of Islam, bin Laden is, by extension, equating these violations of Islamic territorial integrity as an attack upon Islam and, thus, upon all Muslim peoples. For bin Laden, Islam is more than just a religion; it's an identifiable and contiguous territory, leading him to conclude that "any act of aggression against even a hand's span of this land [Islamic territory]" makes it a duty for Muslims to defend it.<sup>15</sup> The renewal of this conflict is interpreted by bin Laden as a "Crusade"<sup>16</sup> by the Christian West against the Islamic "*ummah* [the global Islamic community]," which requires a civilizational response.<sup>17</sup> Although, bin Laden does not identify any other civilizations specifically by name, his identification of the West and Islam as separate cultural identities suggests the existence of other separate cultural identities that are neither Christian nor Islamic in nature. Since these two specific cultural identities do not encapsulate the entire population of the world, bin Laden is, in effect, recognizing that other cultural identities exist, such as Hindus and Buddhists who are in conflict with Muslims in Kashmir and Xinjiang.

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 49.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 135.

<sup>17</sup> The term "*ummah*" is often used by Osama bin Laden to refer to the global Islamic community, without consideration of national boundaries. For historians, it also represents an early period of Islamic history after Muhammad's emigration to Medina but before its political and doctrinal divisions into Sunnis and Shias.

Thus, it is clear culture is the most significant and important object of self-identification and loyalty in the post-Cold War world for both Samuel Huntington and Osama bin Laden. Yet, each defines culture differently, attributing different processes and attributes to it, and emphasizing different aspects of it. Whereas Huntington identifies the central elements of culture as “language and religion,” of which religion is the most important, he also asserts that historical processes and legacies are also of significant importance in their contributions to the overall culture of a civilization.<sup>18</sup> In defining the attributes of Western civilization, Huntington identifies the Protestant and Catholic character of Western society by including within it those nations that have historically comprised Western Christendom as well as other European settler countries.<sup>19</sup> However, he also attributes to it a historical legacy that includes the separation of spiritual and temporal authority, development of the rule of law, social pluralism, representative bodies, and individualism.<sup>20</sup> These historical and social developments are also largely responsible for shaping Western institutions and cultural practices outside of religious customs and philosophical foundations.

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<sup>18</sup> Huntington, *Clash of Civilizations*, 59.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 46-47.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 70-72.

Osama bin Laden, however, perceives culture in more basic terms. For him, Islamic culture is not the culmination of historical and social processes that have conferred upon Islamic civilization its institutions and customs, but is the abode of the revelations of Muhammad and the religion of Islam. Thus, the most basic religious customs and institutions of Islam transcend and render insignificant other aspects of culture such as language, ethnicity, and a common historical heritage. When he describes Islamic civilization as stretching from “Indonesia, the Philippines, Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan to the Arab world and finally to Nigeria and Mauritania”<sup>21</sup> he is emphasizing the only aspect of culture that they all have in common; Islam as a religion. Due to this perception of Islamic culture as being synonymous with Islam as a religion, bin Laden perceives the actions of the West and other cultures as also being motivated by *their* religions. This leads him to conclude that the actions of the West against Islamic societies are, as he states, intended “to get rid of Islam itself”<sup>22</sup> in which those actions are perceived to be an attack on the Islamic community as a religious entity. For this reason, attempts by the United States to promote the adoption of such Western ideas and institutions as liberal democracy, and their acceptance by portions of Islamic society, are seen by bin Laden as

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<sup>21</sup> Bruce Lawrence, *Messages to the World*, 134.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

the most egregious apostasy, since they are perceived as an attempt by the West to undermine Islamic ideas and institutions. Thus, liberal democracy, along with socialism, communism, and Pan-Arabism, are perceived by bin Laden as “earthly religions”<sup>23</sup> that are threatening to supplant the one true religion of Islam.

It is this differing perception of culture between Samuel Huntington and Osama bin Laden that is largely responsible for their differing perspectives of the conflict that they believe is emerging in the post-Cold War world. Adhering to his perception of culture as an amalgamation of religion coupled with social and historical processes that are unique products of a particular civilization, Huntington envisions the clash of civilizations as one that lies in the “fundamental questions of power and culture.”<sup>24</sup> In his paradigm, the greatest threats to Western civilization are Islamic and Sinic [Chinese/Confucian]<sup>25</sup> civilizations that are experiencing a cultural resurgence and are actively challenging the diffusion of Western values and institutions such as liberal democracy and human rights in favor

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 218.

<sup>24</sup> Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations*, 212.

<sup>25</sup> In Samuel Huntington’s 1993 article, “The Clash of Civilizations?,” he originally described Chinese and neighboring Chinese-influenced societies as a “Confucian Civilization,” but in his 1996 book, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, he redefined this civilization as Sinic, in recognition of the fact that these societies are an aggregate of multiple cultural influences and cannot be defined solely by their Confucian philosophical heritage.

of their own cultural values and institutions. To accomplish this, Huntington states that they will “attempt to expand their own economic and military power to resist and to ‘balance’ against the West.”<sup>26</sup> The main way in which the Islamic and Sinic civilizations are attempting to attain this balance, according to Huntington, is by cooperating with one another against the interests of the West. This “Confucian-Islamic connection” is thus perceived to be the main means by which Islamic and Sinic civilizations can forcefully redistribute global power more equally in their favor.<sup>27</sup>

The religious and cultural considerations that dominate the paradigm of bin Laden, however, prevent him from even considering a Sinic-Islamic alliance a possibility. His perception of Western and Sinic societies are the same; as unbelievers who have not recognized the transcendent truth of Islam. Believing the West is resuming a “Crusader war”<sup>28</sup> against Islam as a whole, bin Laden is primarily concerned with the defense of Islamic lands, the prevention of the slaughter of its people, and the liberation of its occupied holy places for which he believes the rest of the world is complicit. It is for this very reason that he does not even

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<sup>26</sup> Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations*, 29.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 185.

<sup>28</sup> Bruce Lawrence, *Messages of the World*, 183.

mention the Sinic civilization directly, but only calls upon “believers”<sup>29</sup> and “people of faith”<sup>30</sup> to the defense of Islam and Islamic territories. This sole reliance upon Muslims as defenders of the faith is clear when he states that “every Muslim should rise up and defend his religion.”<sup>31</sup> This emphasis upon religion prevents bin Laden from seeking allies outside of Islam, whereas Huntington’s perception of culture does not.

Osama bin Laden, however, is not only concerned with enemies that threaten Islam from outside its borders. Much of his paradigm concerns the occupation of Islamic land and holy places by the “Crusader people of the West”<sup>32</sup> as enabled by the complicity of Muslim rulers. According to bin Laden, these rulers have facilitated this occupation by importing Western values and institutions and by permitting the occupation of Muslim holy places and territory while maintaining the internal divisions of the *ummah*, preventing it from defending itself.<sup>33</sup> Stating that a “major unbelief”<sup>34</sup> takes a

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 202.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 201.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 105.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 134.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 15.

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

Muslim “out of the fold of Islam,”<sup>35</sup> bin Laden proceeds to accuse and condemn Islamic rulers for the “imposition of man made legislation”<sup>36</sup> whose inspiration is perceived as coming from Western civilization, and thus, is in contradiction to divinely inspired Qur’anic law. This betrayal of Islamic cultural foundations is magnified by the close economic and military cooperation of many Islamic nations with the West as embodied by the power and influence of the United States. This is epitomized by bin Laden’s condemnation of the rulers of Saudi Arabia, the country of his birth, as apostates for having committed “an act against Islam”<sup>37</sup> by allying with the United States, which has cast them “outside [of] the religious community.”<sup>38</sup> This economic and military cooperation with the United States is exacerbated by Muslim rulers’ “acceptance of, and appeals to, the heretical United Nations”<sup>39</sup> whose secular authority and claims to international legitimacy has “contravened the legitimacy of the Qur’an and the teachings of the Prophet.”<sup>40</sup> For bin Laden, these apostate rulers are

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 196.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 197.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 136.

they who have cooperated with the United States and United Nations and this cooperation is the reason why Muslims have been unsuccessful in uniting and defending themselves against the aggression of the West. Whereas bin Laden has internal enemies within Islamic civilization to contend with, Samuel Huntington makes no mention of enemies within Western civilization that could threaten the security of the West.

Another significant feature of the paradigms of both Samuel Huntington and Osama bin Laden is the escalation of their respective civilizational conflicts to one that is global in scope. Whereas they initially speak of the dangers of one or two opposing civilizations, both paradigms succumb to an escalation whereby their civilization is placed in opposition to all other civilizations. Huntington's paradigm yields to this escalation when he states the macro level of civilizational competition will be between "the West and the Rest" in that "the Rest," including all other civilizations, will be attempting to constantly assert themselves politically and militarily at the expense of "the West" and its current dominant position in global politics.<sup>41</sup>

For bin Laden, the identification of Islamic civilization solely with the religion of Islam made it somewhat inevitable that the scope of the conflict would be widened. Whereas initially he spoke out against the

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<sup>41</sup> Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations*, 183-185.

global crusaders, identified as the West and anyone who cooperated with the West, his paradigm eventually collapses into a bipolar perception of the world in which the world has been split into “two camps: one of faith, with no hypocrites, and one of unbelief.”<sup>42</sup> This transition is likely due to the fact that all of the aggression perpetrated against Islamic countries could not be justified solely as Christian crusader zeal, especially when considering areas of conflict between Muslims and Hindus in Kashmir, or Chinese oppression of Turkish Muslims in Xinjiang. This transition establishes a stable global paradigm whereas the allegiances of the globe are divided between “global unbelief, with the apostates today under the leadership of America, on one side, and the Islamic *ummah* and its brigades of Mujahidin, on the other.”<sup>43</sup> This transition, in effect, simplifies the conflict wherein those who either are not or can not be considered friends are considered enemies. This applies not only to rival civilizations but to individual dissenters within Islamic civilization who can be easily relegated to the ranks of apostasy.<sup>44</sup> This escalation of the paradigms of both Huntington and bin Laden seems

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<sup>42</sup> Bruce Lawrence, *Messages to the World*, 105.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 250.

<sup>44</sup>This binary perception of world affairs can also be found in American political discourse, such as when President George W. Bush declared, “Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists,” during his address to a joint session of Congress on September 20<sup>th</sup>, 2001. President George W. Bush, Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People, Washington, D.C., September 20, 2001, (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>), accessed on June 6, 2008.

to be the result of a certain degree of cultural narcissism, in which their civilization's cultural values are placed at the center of all others, and thus become the target of all the others. Thus, both paradigms degenerate into bipolar world orders in which their civilizations are attempting to defend themselves from the values and power of all the other civilizations.

Another similarity that exists between the worldviews of Samuel Huntington and Osama bin Laden is both of their paradigms bear the heavy weight of history. Both Huntington and bin Laden claim a larger heritage of conflict between Islam and the West has left an indelible mark on their paradigms. Whereas Huntington suggests that is a "continuing and deeply conflictual relation between Islam and Christianity"<sup>45</sup> that began 1400 years ago with the founding of Islam itself, bin Laden believes the conflict goes back much farther. Stating that, "they invaded our countries more than 2,500 years ago," he attributes the beginning of the East-West conflict to have originated in the antagonisms of the Greek city states and the Mesopotamian and Persian Empires and the invasion of the Middle East by Alexander the Great.<sup>46</sup> By establishing that the first act of aggression was committed by the West, bin Laden is able to portray the West as inherently aggressive, and is able to establish continuity in his assertions that Islam

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<sup>45</sup> Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations*, 209.

<sup>46</sup> Bruce Lawrence, *Messages to the World*, 217.

has been and is currently being victimized by the West. When he says of the Western invaders of 2,500 years ago that their “motive was to steal and plunder”<sup>47</sup> he is attempting to establish a theme within his paradigm that extends to the actions of the West in the modern day. Huntington, however, sees the beginnings of an antagonistic relationship between Islam and the West as beginning with Islamic aggression through the Arab-Islamic invasion of Europe which was halted at the Battle of Tours in 732 C.E.<sup>48</sup> By determining for themselves at which point in history constitutes the “true beginning” of the conflict between Islam and the West, both are able to portray their own civilization as being the initial victim of the other’s aggression.

The nature of this antagonistic relationship between Islam and the West is, for both bin Laden and Huntington, epitomized by the historical period of the Crusades. Occurring mostly between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, the Crusades were a period of intense violence between Islamic and Western Christian societies. Responding to an appeal by Pope Urban II in 1095 C.E. to assist the Orthodox Christians of the East against the Muslim Turks, European Christian armies from various

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations,” *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (1993), (<http://www.alamut.com/subj/economics/misc/clash.html>), accessed on February 6, 2006.

kingdoms attempted, as Huntington states, “with temporary success to bring Christianity and Christian rule to the Holy Land”<sup>49</sup> in what is today modern Israel and Palestine. Culminating in the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 C.E., the Crusaders are credited by some Muslim scholars with the massacre of up to 70,000 Muslims, some of which were ruthlessly dispatched within the sanctuary of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, the third holiest site in Islam.<sup>50</sup> Although, this number is likely exaggerated since it does not appear in the earliest Muslim sources concerning the event, it does reveal the extent to which the brutality of the Crusaders impressed itself upon the psyche of successive Muslim generations.<sup>51</sup> This brutality and the occupation of the third holiest site for Islam, al-Haram al-Sharif or the Noble Sanctuary, invoked an Islamic reaction that remains influential for Muslims to the modern day. This reaction, embodied in the concept of defensive Jihad, was waged by Islamic leaders such as Nur al-Din and Salah al-Din against a perceived aggression from outside and was intended merely to repel the invader, not convert him.<sup>52</sup> For the next two centuries, Muslims and Christians would battle to determine whether Jerusalem would become

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 65-66.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 66.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 246.

part of Western Christendom or would remain a part of Islam, with the eventual victory of Islam in the expulsion of the Crusaders completely from the Levant in 1291 C.E.<sup>53</sup> This concept of defensive Jihad remains a potent symbol for Muslims and has been utilized by bin Laden to describe his efforts to protect the modern *ummah* from outside aggression.

Both Samuel Huntington and Osama bin Laden use the Crusades as a precedent for the cultural and religious conflict they both believe is reemerging in the post-Cold War world. Whereas Huntington utilizes the historical example only briefly in order to demonstrate that his paradigm is one that transcends the modern period and is rooted in history, it is *the* central theme of bin Laden's paradigm. One of the primary differences in the respective paradigms of Osama bin Laden and Samuel Huntington is the ease with which past historical events can be directly related to the conditions of the present. Whereas there are few events that Huntington calls upon from the past to directly relate to the preeminent power position of the West of the present, bin Laden can call upon a plethora of symbols and events from the Crusades that have direct relation to the present for Islam. The Crusades, more than any other event in history, has impressed upon bin Laden a belief that all aggression upon Islamic societies is

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

“fundamentally religious in nature.”<sup>54</sup> This is especially reflected in his paradigm when considering the post-1967 political realities of the Middle East and the occupation of the holy places of Islam. During the Crusades, the occupation of Jerusalem precipitated almost two centuries of intense warfare before the city was reclaimed for Islam by Salah al-Din in 1187 C.E.<sup>55</sup> Yet, despite this victory over the Crusaders, Jerusalem and the Noble Sanctuary have again fallen to a people of a different religious and cultural background in the form of the Jewish Israelis who claim sole religious and political rights to the city.

Occupying a state that is not all that dissimilar in size to the Crusader states of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the Israelis are perceived by bin Laden and most Arabs as having stolen the land of Palestine from Muslims just as the Christians had unsuccessfully attempted to do. This perception is exacerbated by the violence perpetrated upon Arab Palestinians by the Israelis militarily in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which is reminiscent of the brutality visited upon Muslims by Christians during the Crusades. As a result of these similarities, it is unsurprising that the imagery and symbolism of the Crusades would be resurrected by bin Laden and applied to these modern circumstances. Whereas the liberation of Jerusalem was

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<sup>54</sup> Bruce Lawrence, *Messages to the World*, 134.

<sup>55</sup> Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, 246

used as an important symbol in amassing support during the defensive jihad of Salah al-Din,<sup>56</sup> bin Laden is similarly attempting to use the holy sites of the city as a rallying point for his modern defensive jihad against the “Judeo-Crusader Alliance.”<sup>57</sup> Describing the occupation as a “disaster upon Jerusalem,”<sup>58</sup> and accusing the Israelis of “planning to destroy the al-Aqsa mosque,”<sup>59</sup> he is able to capitalize on the potent religious symbolism of these locations in order to garner support for a general defensive jihad against global unbelief. By identifying the Israelis as “an enemy [not] settled in his own original country fighting in its defense...but an attacking enemy,”<sup>60</sup> who is allied with “Global unbelief and it’s leader America,”<sup>61</sup> bin Laden is able to justify the declaration of a jihad in defense of the larger Islamic *ummah* from other civilizations.

Similarly, the presence of American troops in Saudi Arabia is perceived by bin Laden as an occupation of the Holy cities of the Hijaz,

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 246.

<sup>57</sup> Bruce Lawrence, *Messages to the World*, 25.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 164.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 146.

Mecca and Medina,<sup>62</sup> providing him with further religious imagery without the necessity of historical precedence. Stating that “the Crusaders have managed to achieve their historic ambitions and dreams against our Islamic *ummah*, gaining control over the Islamic Holy Places and Holy Sanctuaries,”<sup>63</sup> bin Laden interprets the Israeli and American forces as historical extensions of the Crusader armies of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, seeking to capture the Islamic holy places in the name of Western Christendom. This “calamity unprecedented in the history of our *ummah*”<sup>64</sup> in the form of the occupation of the holiest shrines of Islam, represents for bin Laden the most striking proof of a “global alliance of evil”<sup>65</sup> against the very foundations of Islam. The holy cities of Jerusalem and the Hijaz, more than anything else, are cultural symbols whose occupation by non-Muslims starkly reveals the imbalance of power between Islam and other civilizations. It is for this reason they become focal points, the most visible and symbolically significant acts of aggression that must be repelled if the

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<sup>62</sup> It is important to note here that contrary to Osama bin Laden’s assertions, American troops have never occupied the Hijaz region of Saudi Arabia, where the holy cities of Mecca and Medina are located, but were stationed in the Eastern regions of Saudi Arabia, closer to the Persian Gulf, Kuwait, and Iraq.

<sup>63</sup> Bruce Lawrence, *Messages to the World*, 16. Italics original.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 182.

*ummah* is to regain “its pride and honor.”<sup>66</sup> Their return to “Islamic sovereignty,”<sup>67</sup> thus, has become one of the primary objectives for bin Laden, not only for religious purposes, but as a demonstration of the strength of the *ummah*, and its ability to defend itself from outside aggressors.

This imbalance in power and culture is also demonstrated in the paradigms of both Samuel Huntington and Osama bin Laden by ethnic and nationalist struggles along the edges of Islam in the modern period. Although they use the same historical examples, Huntington and bin Laden draw very different conclusions as to the cause and nature of the conflicts. Whereas Huntington relies primarily upon cultural and social forces to explain the violence, bin Laden incorporates the conflicts into the vision of a global Crusade that must be resisted everywhere. Stating that the overwhelming majority of conflicts “have taken place along the boundary looping across Eurasia and Africa that separates Muslims from non-Muslims,”<sup>68</sup> Huntington suggests the greatest clash of cultures is occurring along the borders of Islam in the modern period. Identifying some of the conflicts between Muslims and non-Muslims as those being fought between

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>68</sup> Huntington, *Clash of Civilizations*, 255.

Arabs and Israelis, Indians and Pakistanis, Sudanese Muslims and Christians, and Lebanese Shi'ite Muslims and Maronite Christians, Huntington states that "Islam's borders are bloody," a phenomenon he attributes to social forces unleashed by both the resurgence of Islamic culture and the dramatic population explosion of Islamic societies.<sup>69</sup> This population explosion caused by high birth rates, which has caused population growth in Islamic countries to exceed two percent annually, has, according to Huntington, inundated Islamic societies with young populations who contribute to instability within their own and neighboring societies.<sup>70</sup> The natural expression of this instability, according to Huntington, is conflict along the borders of Islam as Islamic populations "push out" against the populations of other cultures.<sup>71</sup> These demographic pressures, when coupled with historical and cultural enmities along civilizational borders, result in what Huntington terms as "Fault Line Wars." Defined as "communal conflicts between states or groups from different civilizations"<sup>72</sup> fault line wars go to the very root of the interplay between culture and power. When two populations from different cultures,

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 254, 258. Italics removed.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 117.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 119.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 252.

subjected to population pressures and identifying increasingly with their own cultural values, are presented with divisive issues such as who will yield political power, the likely outcome is a fault line conflict that is bloody and enduring. These conflicts, for Huntington, are a “product of difference”<sup>73</sup> in which recognition of a difference in cultural values or ethnicity increases the likelihood of sparking a struggle for domination. This battle for domination is *the* primary theme of Huntington’s paradigm, in which civilizations attempt to safeguard their own values through domination of the others.

Whereas Huntington portrays somewhat negatively the population explosion of Islamic countries as being largely responsible for the conflicts along Islam’s cultural borders, bin Laden contends that it is not Muslims *pushing out* but non-Muslims *pushing in* that are the root cause of the conflicts. The conflicts in Palestine, Chechnya, Sudan, Kashmir, Bosnia, and the Philippines are all interpreted within bin Laden’s paradigm not as conflicts that have roots in the history of that particular region distinct from an overarching Islamic narrative, but simply as the result of aggression from the powers of “global unbelief”<sup>74</sup> against the “Islamic nation.”<sup>75</sup> The

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 210.

<sup>74</sup> Bruce Lawrence, *Messages to the World*, 75.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 134.

“genocidal war in Bosnia,”<sup>76</sup> the “Jews violation of Palestine,”<sup>77</sup> the “destruction and slaughter being meted out to Muslims in Chechnya,”<sup>78</sup> and the Kashmiri Muslims that have been “tortured, slaughtered, killed, and raped”<sup>79</sup> are but a few examples of this unchecked aggression bin Laden believes is being perpetrated by the world against Muslims. For bin Laden, “the recurrence of aggression against Muslims everywhere is proof enough”<sup>80</sup> of a coordinated, global assault against the territorial integrity of the Islamic world. It is in this milieu, with Islam being assaulted from all directions, that the population explosion Huntington believes is the source of most of the violence is acknowledged by bin Laden not as a curse, but as a blessing. Describing young men between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five as the best suited for waging Jihad due to the fact that they have no family or working commitments, bin Laden views the youth bulge in Islamic societies to be a strength for the defense of those societies.<sup>81</sup> Stating

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 136.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 136.

<sup>80</sup> John Miller, *Frontline: Interview Osama Bin Laden*, May 1998, (<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/who/interview.html>), accessed February 10, 2006.

<sup>81</sup> Bruce Lawrence, *Messages to the World*, 91-92.

that “most of the Mujahidin are of this age,”<sup>82</sup> bin Laden views the young masses of Islam as a means by which the invaders can be repulsed and the holy cities reclaimed. Their religious zeal, which he claims is the most fervent during these years, however, has been wasted by the juridical decrees and lies of the apostate governments who keep the Islamic *ummah* “fettered”<sup>83</sup> and unable to defend itself.<sup>84</sup> By properly motivating the youth of Islam to defensive Jihad, bin Laden hopes to redress the power imbalance that exists between Islam and the forces of global unbelief that are attacking “Muslims as if fighting over a bowl of food.”<sup>85</sup>

The primary reason for these conflicts, however, as stated by Samuel Huntington and Osama bin Laden in different words is the lack of a core state within Islam. Defining a core state as “the most powerful and culturally central state or states”<sup>86</sup> within a civilization, Huntington suggests almost all civilizations, except Islam and Africa, have core states that are able to impose order among its own civilization and negotiate with

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid. Italics in original.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 190.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 190.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>86</sup> Huntington, *Clash of Civilizations*, 135.

states from other civilizations on their behalf.<sup>87</sup> Identifying China as the core state of the Sinic civilization, India as the core state of the Hindu civilization, and Russia as the core state of the Orthodox civilization, Huntington suggests Islam's lack of a core state greatly increases the likelihood of communal conflict along its borders and state to state conflict in its interior.<sup>88</sup> This lack of a core state within Islam is also bemoaned by bin Laden when he states that internal divisions have permitted enemies to invade the "land of our *ummah*, violate her honor, shed her blood and occupy her sanctuaries."<sup>89</sup> In the defense of Western civilization, this lack of a core state within Islam is both a benefit and a detriment. Whereas the rise of a militarily, economically, and culturally strong core state within Islam that has the legitimacy to command the loyalties of Muslims would likely be able to restrain the effects of the youth bulge within Islamic societies and prevent the development of violent conflicts on its borders, it would also be more than capable of militarily threatening the West and other civilizations. This ability of a core state to unilaterally impose a balance of power upon neighboring civilizations and particularly the West has certainly not been lost upon bin Laden. Stating that "this nation should

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 155-157.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 264-265.

<sup>89</sup> Bruce Lawrence, *Messages to the World*, 15.

establish the righteous caliphate,”<sup>90</sup> bin Laden is in effect calling for the establishment of a core state politically and militarily capable of defending Muslims against the core states of other civilizations.

The paradigms of Samuel Huntington and Osama bin Laden, although rooted in a history of substantial conflict between Islam and the West, are intended to provide insight into political events of the present and future. As a result, their suggestions as to what course their respective civilizations should take in a world of competing and aggressive opposing civilizations provide the greatest insight into the natures of their respective paradigms. Relating directly to the global distribution of power among civilizations, Huntington’s paradigm attempts to maintain the current balance of power, while bin Laden’s directly challenges it. Huntington’s suggestions are largely in response to what he considers a “Sinic-Islamic alliance” and the broader implications of “the West and the Rest” tendency of international relations, whereas bin Laden’s are a response to the rise of global infidelity and the disunity of the Islamic *ummah*.

One of the primary themes of the paradigms of Samuel Huntington and Osama bin Laden is an obsession with the decay and renewal of their respective civilizations. For Huntington, this is evident in the declining military and political power of the West in relation to Islamic and Sinic

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 121.

civilizations who are experiencing cultural resurgences. For bin Laden, this is evident in the military and cultural reversals symbolized by the occupation of the holy cities of the Arabian Peninsula and Jerusalem and the penetration of Western inspired secular legislation and institutions into Islamic societies. For both, their primary solutions involve the use of military force, but to very different ends. Huntington's primary means of preventing Islamic and Sinic societies from challenging the West militarily or culturally is for the West to restrain their development of conventional and non-conventional military power so as to prevent them as much as possible from being in a position of strength in relation to Western civilization.<sup>91</sup> Secondly, he advises the West to maintain technological and military superiority over other civilizations so as to maintain Western civilization as the leading global power.<sup>92</sup> These actions are aimed largely at obstructing the progress of Sinic and Islamic civilizations from gaining weaponry that would enable them to gain any meaningful degree of military parity and is intended to maintain the dominance of Western civilization. In this way, Huntington's paradigm is one of domination in which history and recent political events are perceived and interpreted as a means of

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<sup>91</sup> Huntington, *Clash of Civilizations*, 312.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

maintaining Western civilization's dominance over other civilizations that would challenge its power.

Bin Laden's military options, however, rely almost entirely upon deterrence to preserve Islamic territorial integrity and prevent the corruption of Islamic culture by Western institutions and values. Stating that "every state and every civilization has to resort to terrorism under certain circumstances,"<sup>93</sup> bin Laden emphasizes that such violence is conditional. Demanding that the United States "desist from aggressive intervention against Muslims in the whole world"<sup>94</sup> and that "Western and American influence in our countries"<sup>95</sup> end immediately, he is in essence demanding a balance of power between Islam and the West. Believing "reciprocal treatment is a part of justice,"<sup>96</sup> bin Laden hopes to deter the West through a policy of reciprocity to accomplish "a balance in terror."<sup>97</sup> For bin Laden, there are two different kinds of reciprocity. The first involves reciprocity in the mode of killing, as evidenced in his statement "Just as you

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<sup>93</sup> John Miller, *Frontline: Interview Osama Bin Laden*.

<sup>94</sup> Bruce Lawrence, *Messages to the World*, 48.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 173.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

kill, so you shall be killed; just as you bomb, so you shall be bombed,”<sup>98</sup> while the second is reciprocal in the targets of the violence as evidenced by his statement “Those who kill our women and our innocent, we kill their women and innocent, until they stop doing so.”<sup>99</sup> These two different forms of reciprocity are an attempt to accomplish a meager means of deterrence against the superior military might of the West and other civilizations.

This emphasis on reciprocity and a balance of power also extends to the acquisition of nuclear weapons for bin Laden. Distinguishing the division of the world’s nuclear weapons along confessional lines, bin Laden is more than aware of Islam’s meager share. Considering the “hundreds of nuclear warheads and atomic bombs”<sup>100</sup> possessed by Israel and acknowledging the fact that Christians control a “vast proportion of these weapons,”<sup>101</sup> bin Laden states it is “a duty on Muslims to acquire them [nuclear weapons].”<sup>102</sup> The acquisition and possession of nuclear weapons are the ultimate deterrent and this obviously has not been lost on bin Laden. Acts of violent reciprocity through acts of terrorism and

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 175.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 119.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 72.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

encouragements to acquire nuclear weapons are attempts by bin Laden to deter the West and other civilizations from involvement and interference in Islamic affairs. In this way, bin Laden's paradigm is one of deterrence, in which the symbolism of the successful Jihads of the Crusades are utilized in order to establish a balance of power with other civilizations in the present. This balance of power relies entirely upon the ability of Islam to visit reciprocal violence upon its enemies in a manner proportional to that which it received, which is why emphasis is placed upon striking at the enemy's homeland, as occurred on September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 in the United States.

The paradigms of Samuel Huntington and Osama bin Laden also place a great deal of importance upon attaining greater unity within their own civilizations, so as to better resist attempts by the other to exploit divisions. Huntington advises greater political, economic, and military integration within Western civilization so as to better coordinate policies and encourages the "westernization" of civilizations such as Latin America that are similar enough to Western civilization to be easily integrated.<sup>103</sup> Conversely, bin Laden calls for the overthrow of "Apostate rulers"<sup>104</sup> who he

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<sup>103</sup> Huntington, *Clash of Civilizations*, 312.

<sup>104</sup> Bruce Lawrence, *Messages to the World*, 10. Osama bin Laden identifies a wide range of Islamic rulers as apostates including Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, Bashir Assad of Syria, Saddam Hussein of Iraq, the presidents of Turkey, the last remaining Hashemite monarchy of Jordan, as well as the rulers of Saudi Arabia, who have all disobeyed the word of God by allying with the West or removing religion from state institutions.

claims have no authority over Muslims and urges Muslims to “prepare with all their might to repel the enemy in military, economic, missionary, and all other areas”<sup>105</sup> in a manner reminiscent of total war, which requires the coordination that only a unified *ummah* and restored caliphate can provide. Declaring, “we are all together in this”<sup>106</sup> and “if we are silent what happened to Al-Andalus will happen to us,” bin Laden attempts to unite Muslims behind him by utilizing the imagery of one of Islam’s most disastrous military reversals.<sup>107</sup>

## Conclusion

The similarities and consistencies that exist between the paradigms of Samuel Huntington and Osama bin Laden, two individuals who are culturally and geographically distant from one another, regarding the “Clash of Civilizations” may certainly indicate the development of a renewed cultural awareness throughout the world. However, it is also important to recognize that significant differences exist between their respective paradigms. Although both of them perceive the “Clash of

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 42.

<sup>106</sup> John Miller, *Fronline: Interview Osama Bin Laden*.

<sup>107</sup> Bruce Lawrence, *Messages to the World*, 92.

Civilizations” as a modern political reality with which each individual civilization must contend, they differ significantly in how they regard the nature of the conflict. Huntington’s perception of the “Clash of Civilizations” is one of the forceful cultural and military reassertion of non-Western civilizations against Western preeminence and dominance in world affairs leads him to suggest solutions intended to maintain Western dominance for as long as possible. bin Laden’s perception of the “Clash of Civilizations” is primarily one of cultural survival and self defense in which he is much more concerned with attaining a balance of power than he is with domination of any other civilization. In this way their respective paradigms are like the opposite faces of a coin in which they both share the concept of the “Clash of Civilizations” at the center of their paradigms, but very different images of that conflict are etched onto the faces. Thus, one must be careful when comparing the paradigms of Osama bin Laden and Samuel Huntington for although their paradigms share broad similarities, they both see the world in very different ways with very different consequences for their respective civilizations.

## A Study of West African Slave Resistance from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries

Adam D. Wiltsey



Linschoten, South and West Africa, Copper engraving (Amsterdam, 1596.)

Accompanying the dawn of the twenty-first century, there has emerged a new era of historical thinking that has created the need to reexamine the history of slavery and slave resistance. Slavery has become a controversial topic that historians and scholars throughout the world are reevaluating. In this modern period, which is finally beginning to honor the ideas and ideals of equality, slavery is the black mark of our past; and the task now lies

before the world to derive a better understanding of slavery. In order to better understand slavery, it is crucial to have a more acute awareness of those that endured it. Throughout the period of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade in West Africa, slaves consistently resisted slavery as both a condition and as an institution. Slaves represented various ages, tribes, sexes, regions, but resistance was its one true constant theme that crossed all other categories. Examining the different stages of slave resistance during the height of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade in Africa, and the diverse ways in which Africans stood against the practice of slavery, researchers will better understand not only the people who endured slavery, but the institution of slavery itself.

Slavery reached its all time high between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. This span of two hundred years would mark the height of the worldwide shipping and selling of human beings. Millions of humans from West Africa alone were uprooted, transported and sold across the world. The result would be a tremendous and lasting transformation of African society.<sup>1</sup> The vast majority of these slaves were taken from the west coast of the African continent, to be remembered throughout history as “the slave coast.”

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<sup>1</sup> Paul E. Lovejoy, “The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Africa: A Review of the Literature,” *Journal of African History* 30 (1989): 365.

It was in the interior of Africa, not at the coast as some assume, that resistance began. With all of the articles and research available on the resistance of slaves while crossing the Atlantic, strikingly little research has been done on the beginnings of slave resistance at the time of initial capture. It is, however, overwhelmingly obvious that potential slaves resisted their enslavement and all of the atrocities that came with it most strongly at the initial point of capture.

As European demands for slaves increased from the seventeenth century onwards some West African empires such as the Dahomey and the Asante began to focus more on slave trading. Their primary source for their continued power became the capture and resale of human beings to be used as slaves. Samuel Crowther, a former slave himself, in his autobiographical narrative, remembers these groups as having “no other employment but selling slaves to the Spaniards and Portuguese on the coast.”<sup>2</sup> It is important to note that potential slaves forcefully resisted these raiders. Whether they fled, hid themselves, or fought directly, Africans did all that they could to avoid their own initial enslavement. At the mere possibility of being suppressed into slavery, many fled, “only to save themselves and their children,” or worse, only to be “overtaken and caught by the enemies with a

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<sup>2</sup> J.F. Ade Ajayi, “Samuel Ajayi Crowther of Oyo,” in *Africa Remembered*, ed. Philip D. Curtin (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), 300.

noose of rope over the neck.”<sup>3</sup> Others, like Crowther’s father, Crowther recalled, fought to the death to avoid the enslavement of himself and his people. Often, whole villages of men were killed defending the village from the slave raiders.<sup>4</sup>

It is crucial to understand that all of the slaves taken captive in the interior were not exported to the coast to be shipped across the Atlantic. This reveals a number of things about both slavery and the ongoing debate among academics about various forms of slavery. First, while some Africans participated in the slave trade, large populations of Africans resisted not only their own personal capture, but the slave trade itself. Resistance was not merely against slavery or the trading that was taking place with the Europeans, but resistance was against the institution, no matter the final outcome or destination. Instances were recorded where whole villages of men were willing to die in order to stop the enslavement of their people. Secondly, all of the discussions about varying degrees of slavery in Africa turn on the debate of whether a “domestic slave” is the same as a “slave” in the European context of the word. The sacrifice of life during this stage of resistance illustrates the horror with which Africans beheld all types of

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 301.

<sup>4</sup> “Chisi-Ndjurisiye-Sichyajunga” in *Strategies of Slaves and Woman: Life Stories from East/Central Africa*, ed. M. Wright (Lillian Barber Press, 1993), 82.

slavery, domestic and foreign alike. Despite the case that many historians such as Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff<sup>5</sup> had made stating that “domestic slavery” in Africa is more of a kinship based social relationship; such definite resistance at initial contact makes it clear that Africans facing the possibility of becoming enslaved did not distinguish between foreign and domestic slavery in their forms of resistance, risking their lives if necessary to avoid capture. Therefore, from a potential slave’s perspective, scholars need to rethink the distinction between domestic and foreign slavery. Through their resistance at the point of capture, we can see that Africans resisted slavery without regard to destination and may not have had any reason to distinguish domestic and foreign slavery until much later in their journeys.

Although the African people opposed being sold into any and all forms of slavery, with the growth of the Trans-Atlantic trade between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, Africans taken as slaves became even more defiant when being transferred from African to European traders. Often, coordinated revolts took place at holding places where slaves were to be sold from the African raiders to the European shippers. One such

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<sup>5</sup> Miers and Kopytoff are leading historical authorities known for linking “slavery” in Africa more to kinship based relationships and disassociating this sense of slavery from the common “western” perception of slavery. See S. Miers and Igor Kopytoff, “Introduction,” in *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives*, (University of Wisconsin Press, 1979), 3-40.

organized revolt took place in Moriah in West Africa in 1785. A group of slaves being worked in the fields and awaiting sale to the European traders “seized the opportunity presented by an outbreak of war between Moriah and neighboring Soso polities. . . [and] six to eight hundred people residing in slave villages [revolted] torch[ing] the rice fields, the states economic mainstay.”<sup>6</sup> This revolt affected the entire northern rivers region, and the self-freed slaves eventually negotiated freedom from their captors.<sup>7</sup>

Perhaps these slaves were more aware of the horrors of European slavery that awaited them than scholars commonly recognize, or perhaps they merely perceived this point of transfer as a fleeting opportunity to escape while still on land. But individuals may have perceived the point of transfer as a strategic opportunity to challenge their new captors’ authority or ability to hold them captive, since we have little evidence to indicate that slaves would not have attempted the same organized attempts to escape during an African to African transfer of bondage. Regardless of motivation, organized revolts led by African slaves in camps like these show the risks African slaves would take in an attempt to avoid being sold to European shippers. More importantly, instead of marking the origins of resistance, revolts

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<sup>6</sup> Ismail Rachid, “A Devotion to the idea of liberty at any Price,” in *Fighting the Slave Trade: West African Strategies*, ed. Sylviane Anna Diouf (Ohio, Ohio University Press, 2003), 140.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 141.

amongst slaves at the coast represent a continuity of resistance that began at their points of capture. While the intensity of their resistance may have increased as the threat of permanent removal from the continent of Africa became more apparent, or when their transfer from one captor to another provided slaves with a perceived opportunity to escape, organized resistance at the coast represented continuity in their perception of their own status as slaves.

Violence was not the only means of resistance to this stage in the slave process. Crowther's account of his sale into slavery shows further that Africans feared being sold to Europeans on a higher level than that of domestic slavery, indicating either fear of European enslavement or of being uprooted from the African continent. When his master spoke of going to the Popo country he believed this "to be the signal of [his] being sold to the Portuguese" and instead of going with her to Popo he "determined to make an end of [him]self, one way or another . . . [and] attempted strangling [him]self."<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately this is most likely the more common form of slave resistance, that of the unbreakable-will of the individual ready to accept death before enslavement. Suicide took many forms during the slave

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<sup>8</sup> Crowther, 307.

trade, from hangings to refusal to eat to throwing oneself overboard.<sup>9</sup>

What is most devastating is that there is little recorded information on this type of slave resistance at all stages of the slave trade because to raiders and shippers slaves were seen as mere numbers, and while staged revolts merited recording, the death of one or a few slaves by suicide was not important enough to record. This leaves modern historians with few records by which to estimate how many slaves resisted slavery to their death through these methods. Their willingness to abstain from food or water until death, or to throw themselves overboard into the never ending blue of the Atlantic Ocean once aboard European ships, should help to demonstrate how defiantly these men and women opposed being slaves.

Despite the resistance of many of the Africans toward the transfer from African raiders to European slave traders, a vast majority of Africans taken captive during the period between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries in West Africa were sold to Europeans and shipped across the Atlantic to the Americas. Despite the relatively small amount of research on the two points of transfer already discussed, there is a plethora of historical study done on the resistance of slaves aboard ships while crossing the Atlantic. Whether it is a type of European ethnocentrism that inspires

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<sup>9</sup> Antonio T. Bly, "Crossing the Lake of Fire: Slave Resistance during the Middle Passage, 1720-1842," *Journal of Negro History* 83, no. 3. (Summer, 1998): 178-186.

historians to focus on the shipping of the slaves and not their initial capture, or the question of what these revolting slaves hoped to accomplish if successful in taking control of a ship already out to sea, Trans-Atlantic resistance is the best and most thoroughly chronicled stage of slave resistance.

One thing that makes Trans-Atlantic slave rebellions stand out is the frequency with which they occurred. Journals and diaries kept by ship captains, along with manifestos detailing not only the voyage, but the reasons for “losses” in slave freight, help historians to estimate the regularity of Trans-Atlantic slave uprising. A newly compiled and published bank of the records of 27,233 slave ship voyages chronicles the on-board revolts as follows:

The set contains 483 attacks or revolts experienced by 467 vessels. These incidents break down into 92 attacks by Africans who were not slaves, 388 rebellions by Africans held as slaves, and three instances of three or more slaves committing suicide. Of the 388 rebellions, 22 were ‘planned’ insurrections for which the slaves were punished, and eight were described as ‘cut-offs’, a term which could be used to describe an attack from shore, but which is assumed here to mean a revolt.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Stephen D. Behrendt, et. al., “The Costs of Coercion: African Agency in the Pre-Modern Atlantic World,” *Economic History Review* 54, no. 3 (August 2001): 455.

As is well recorded by such datasets, slave resistance was not rare while crossing the Atlantic. From the French port of Nantes, which required ship captains to submit a report of their voyage when entering port, of the 815 vessels that reached port between 1715 and 1777, seventy had experienced slave revolts. This would mean that one in every eleven to twelve ships that transported slaves across the Atlantic experienced some sort of organized revolt.<sup>11</sup> Taking into account all of the small rebellions not reported and captains not wanting to report the rebellions taking place on their watch, it is most probable to figure that near ten percent, or one in every ten ships crossing the Atlantic during the height of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade dealt with some level of slave resistance.<sup>12</sup>

What is most important about these more recent investigations into ship bound rebellions is not only the frequency with which slaves resisted their transport into bondage, but that there is no reason for historians to believe that these numbers and percentages of violent or direct resistance should be any higher than those at any other point of transfer during the slave trade. In fact, logic points to the opposite. Seeing that most Africans were sold from the interior of the continent, being unfamiliar with sailing and Europeans sailing ships in specific, revolts while at sea would logically

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<sup>11</sup> Behrendt, 456.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

be the lowest in frequency. Slaves, at this point in the slave trade, had already been uprooted off of the continent of Africa and were crossing the ocean. Therefore, revolt held less hope of freedom and therefore less purpose at this point in their voyage. It is more logical to suppose that the will of the slave to resist and revolt would be greater and therefore more frequent while still on land. In short, these well recorded numbers of Trans-Atlantic uprisings are crucial to the understanding of the entirety of the slave trade because they logically inform historians that resistance at every point discussed prior would have been both better organized and more frequent.

It is imperative that historians understand that revolts upon ships represent a last effort of resistance for African slaves. To be successful in taking control of the ship would most likely mean death to the slaves while on the Atlantic. One might even question the motivation of a revolt at this point in the journey. Winston McGowan attributed these revolts to the slave's belief that "a horrible destiny awaited them across the Atlantic" with rumors of cannibalism.<sup>13</sup> More likely, these revolts were a reaction to their being taken off of their home continent of Africa. Of the revolts and resistance that took place on the ocean, Captains and other Europeans

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<sup>13</sup> David Richardson, "Shipboard Revolts, African Authority, and the Atlantic Slave Trade," *William and Mary Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (Jan., 2001): 71.

involved in the slave trade recorded that those resisting claimed that their captors were “Rogue[s] to buy them, in order to carry them away from their own country.”<sup>14</sup> As destructive as it must have been to be uprooted from families, homes, and villages, the transporting of slaves away from Africa often served as the final blow to the slaves endurance, and often inspired the on board uprisings.

Despite the odds against a successful Trans-Atlantic rebellion, a very small fraction of these “on board” revolts were successful. With all that stood against them, the “trauma of capture and enslavement, the brutality of the crew, the inhuman living conditions on the ship, the lack of adequate weaponry . . . the Africans found a way to prevail, and countless slaves succeeded in regaining their freedom in the process.”<sup>15</sup> Evidence exists to support the claim that at least 120 successful ship rebellions that led to the freedom of the slaves, and an additional 32 where they took control of the ship but never made it to freedom.<sup>16</sup> The success of slave resistance at this late point in the slave trade serves to further reinforce the overwhelming

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Eric R. Taylor, *If We Must Die: Shipboard Insurrections in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Louisiana, Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 137.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

evidence of the readiness of a slave to sacrifice anything to avoid being subjected to slavery.

In the reexamination of the slave trade in West Africa between seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries, there are crucial lessons taught by resisting slaves at each of the three examined points of transfer. First, it is imperative to note the resistance by “would be slaves” was widespread and constant. There was never a point in the plight of a slave where the captive did not demonstrate a yearning for freedom and willingness to sacrifice everything, even life, to avoid further captivity. Despite conflicting views and differing ideas of slavery, all attempts to enslave Africans were met universally with resistance by those who were threatened the most by slavery: slaves themselves. Secondly, in reviewing the resistance of slaves, scholars of African and African Diaspora history are able to better appreciate the impact that slaves really had on the slave trade. All of the successful and unsuccessful revolts that were led by slaves against their captors had a large and lasting effect on the slave trade. Most recent evaluations of ship revolts have found that “rebelliousness by slaves on ships, and the resulting efforts by European carriers of slaves to curb such behavior, significantly reduced the shipments of slaves.”<sup>17</sup> By recognizing these effects, historians recognize the power that slaves retained in the form

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<sup>17</sup> Richardson, 69.

of agency and resistance. Slaves were not helpless, powerless victims. These revolts empower African men and women of the past and allow historians to reevaluate the roles of slaves, not just as victims of a brutal trade in human bondage, but also agents of power and resistance. These types of conclusions form a new and imperative view of slavery.

Lastly, this study of the resistance of slaves toward capture and transport is most influential in helping historians come to a better understanding of slavery itself. In reexamining the past, it is important to view the events through the actions of those who were forced to live them. For slavery, it is both a very sad and very brave story that history is shown through the continuity of slave resistance. The fate of a vast majority of those who refused to be sold, owned, and uprooted was death, either by their captors or various means of suicide. Despite these odds, however, slaves throughout the period continued to revolt, rebel, and resist. Their sacrifice now gives the world, three hundred years later, a deeper understanding of the horrors of slavery, and the human impulse to resist slavery at any and all cost.

## The Humorist Void: The Clown's Balancing Act throughout History

Stephanie Loera



The image of the clown has held a myriad of aesthetic positions throughout Western history. Traces of this figure are reflected in the current image of the modern and more contemporary version of the popular clown. From the American hobo and ragged carpet clowns, to Bozo the Children's clown and *The Simpson's* Krusty the clown, the modern western clown that we see today has adopted theatrical and material components of historical figures and has been used as guides for their characters. Pantomime, La Commedia dell' Arte, and the court jester have played the most influential role in the formation of the Western clown. Had this sequence of personas not taken place, the western world would not have what it sees today as clown.

This fool entertainer as street performer, theatrical actor, and in general, the paid entertainer is seen in past and contemporary societies

worldwide. In China one finds the various fool jesters of past emperors; in Tamil India the Komali clowns draped in shells set in a permanent smile; in Senegal the fools and outcasts of the Wolof people; and the multiple clown figures of several Native American tribes throughout northern, central and south America, and more.<sup>1</sup> The fool, first serving as an informal source of comedy and entertainment in various communities, later developed into a distinguished and functional member of society. Additional functions, which will be presented later, emerged as a result of their formalized roles; however, the fool has maintained its primary function, and that is as a comedian—a comedian who purposely deconstructs his reality, creating a new humorous lens from which to view the world, and by virtue of his status as “fool”, being allowed to do so. Here in the West we find the most notable fool actor within the clown figure.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Beatrice Otto, *Fools are Everywhere: the Court Jester Around the World* (Chicago: Chicago Press, 2001), 42.

<sup>2</sup> The “clown” figure, in this case, will be used to refer to the modern Westernized version of the clown.

## The Pantomime



Figure 1 *Maccus of Atellan Farce*

As early as the classical period, the Greco-Roman pantomime could be argued to be one of the earliest images of the clown. The roots of this figure can be traced back to a time of intense religious worship of various Greek Gods. Gratitude was commonly expressed through dance and song, and in many cases a disguise was used during such rituals in order to engage freely within an alternate role. The Romans later split this character from its religious and unspecific personality and created within that

isolated figure, the first pantomime.<sup>3</sup> Pantomimes would express themselves through lavished and exaggerated gestures and mannerisms, all the while made up in vividly painted faces, which later evolved into the use of masks.<sup>4</sup> Their functions were twofold; (1) that of an entertainer and (2) of a facilitator of entertainment through their guise and gestures. They were a main source of Greek and Roman entertainment, but they also used their outlandish appearances and behaviors to “facilitate” the entertainment, something that had not been done before.

What was first used as a form of religious expression, was now giving way to a new colorful breed of unconventional acting. The clown appears to have taken two main traits from this figure: (1) the pantomime’s white face make up and—especially in the case of Atellan Farce pantomime<sup>5</sup>—the exaggerated features, such as various character’s oversized nose and mouth, and (2) the pantomime’s preference for action over dialogue.

In this sense, the pantomime set the precedent for what would later become “La Commedia dell’ Arte.”

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<sup>3</sup> Annette Lust, *From Greek Mimes to Marcel Marceau and Beyond* (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, 2000), 21.

<sup>4</sup> In the later years of Greco-Roman pantomime, characteristics were exaggerated and led the way to what would be known as La Commedia dell’ Arte.

<sup>5</sup> Atella was a region in Italy with a high concentration of pantomimic actors. Each Commedia character seems to find its ancient predecessor within a character of Atellan Farce; the more obvious similarities between these characters appear to be physical.

## La Commedia dell' Arte



Figure 2 *Pulcinella and the Harlequin*

La Commedia dell' Arte or La Commedia was first developed in Italy during the sixteenth century by troupes of Italian actors.<sup>6</sup> La Commedia is likely to have originated from the Latin theatre of *fabulae atellanae* in the city of Atella, the roots of which are found in pantomime. All Commedia players appear to be characterized by some pantomimic trait, such as La Commedia's Harlequin whose phallic accessories and dancer/acrobatic persona resembled the early roman mime, and La Commedia's Pulcinella Centrulo and his physical resemblance to Maccus, the bald lumbering

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<sup>6</sup> Giacomo Oreglia, *The Commedia de'll Arte* ( New York: Hill and Wang, 1961), 1.

peasant in Atellan Farce who wore a long pointy nose and patchwork costume.

La Commedia actors also adopted behavioral traits of pantomime to build upon their own characters. Being that the traveling troupes of La Commedia often found themselves in towns where they did not speak the language, they relied heavily on humorous acts that required little to no dialogue. Although this influence was important in their development, La Commedia also added two unique components that distinguished them from the earlier and more traditional art of theatre—the consistency of characters, as well as the improvisation and adaptation of these actors. La Commedia actors often times avoided written text.<sup>7</sup> All of this, along with their emphasis on action, built a familiarity within their audience and allowed them to engage without the limitations of language—transcending cultural barriers, which increased their popularity throughout Western Europe.

The characters that came out of La Commedia dell' Arte differ considerably from the contemporary clown, yet vestiges from these classic characters are nonetheless present today. In particular the characters Harlequin—also known as Arlecchino, the most notable of all Commedia characters—and Pulcinella Cetrulo—the good-hearted character with an

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 4.

extremist personality—both have left the most apparent traces in today's clown character; traces that can be seen among their dress, technique, and role functions.

The Harlequin's most obvious influence is in his dress. This character wore a motley patterned jacket, trousers, and hat covered in colorful diamond-shaped patches. The disorder of his costume may be representative of an intentional disjunction between status and image –the internal and external disjunction of reality in relation to those around him and his skewed perception. In other words, the harlequin's social and cognitive self stood in contrast with his established environment, and this was deliberately reflected in his physical appearance. The harlequin was the "ever-hungry servant...the credulous and diffident, a lazy-bones, but also a busybody, a mixture of cunning and ingenuousness, of awkwardness and grace."<sup>8</sup> These characteristics are ever present in our clown today. The person who took on this character had to master various extremes, from physical extremes, to impromptu verbal and emotional cues. This character was very diverse and diversity, as it were, was especially important in an art where the action carried the performance, even more so than the dialogue.

Similarly Pulcinella Centrulo's clothes and foolish personality can be found within the more contemporary clown figure. Although not as

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 56.

extravagantly colored as the Harlequin, Pulcinella still exhibited an extreme and disproportionate wardrobe. Pulcinella wore an oversized white shirt divided by a rope at the waist and a large sugar loaf hat. In addition, Pulcinella wore a dark wrinkled mask with an exaggerated mold of a large beak shaped nose. He was absurd, often carrying a bowl of macaroni or a shell shaped horn.<sup>9</sup> Just as the Harlequin, Pulcinella's dress and accessory mirrors the disproportion in his personality. As Oreglia notes, Pulcinella was a "contradictory character, dull-witted or intelligent, a feigned idiot or a feigned intellectual, open-minded and yet superstitious, cowardly and reckless, a great beater of others and much beaten himself."<sup>10</sup> Pulcinella, whose character was based on a "country bumpkin," was a contradictory character. Just as the clown is used to make light of a person's hypocritical tendencies by adopting a humorous twist, Pulcinella may have represented the same tendencies of past citizens.

As the popularity of the Harlequin and Pulcinella continued to grow, they were unknowingly creating an important reference for clowns to come. Both characters' extremely colorful and oversized outfits indirectly influenced modern clown attire; it is common for clowns to dress in vibrantly colored outfits, often times including an oversized or undersized

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 93.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

article of clothing such as ties, shoes, ribbons, hats and socks. The red clown nose may also be seen as the remnants of the classic facemask used by actors of La Commedia dell' Arte; facial features, such as the nose, were often exaggerated in La Commedia actors, and although the red clown nose is only a small facial accessory, it is nonetheless considered a mask.

Although appearances present an initial correlation between these classic Commedia actors and the Western clown, the more pronounced and vital influences are found within the personalities and behaviors of the Harlequin and Pulcinella “fools.” Both characters were detached from a balanced mental, emotional, and physical existence. They carried all of the quintessential characteristics of the “fool” – unorthodox yet undeniably human, especially in the most outrageous, awkward and comical moments. These characters remained the same consistent fool actors, only set in different circumstances<sup>11</sup> and because of this and La Commedia's focus on action, more so than scripted dialogue, more room was left for improvisation.<sup>12</sup> These same patterns are seen within the clown today.

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<sup>11</sup> Although each individual clown may vary in name and character, typically a clown, like La Commedia characters, will remain the same character placed in a different circumstance.

<sup>12</sup> Such acts may include, juggling, magic shows, comedy skits, and balloon animals, where a general act was expected however not limited to its sole act.

## The Royal Court Jester



Figure 3 *Stańczyk*

Shakespeare once said, “jesters do oft prove prophets.”<sup>13</sup> This truth must have not gone unnoticed, for the next popular phase in the evolution of the fool is found among the royal court jesters. The popularity of the fool as entertainer inspired its move from the public stage to the privacy of the royal court. The earliest record of the court jester is found within the court of the ancient Egyptian Pharaoh Pepi I, where a dwarf jester served his majesty.<sup>14</sup> Court Jesters were typically defective individuals, deformed, mentally instable, or both, “freakish” hunchbacks, dwarves, cripples and

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<sup>13</sup> William Shakespeare, *The History of King Lear: The 1608 Quarto* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 260.

<sup>14</sup> Otto, *Fools are Everywhere*, 48.

madmen that were bought, or adopted, by the nobility—especially the kings and queens of Western Europe.<sup>15</sup> Despite their entertaining functions, court jesters also acted as unofficial advisors, friends, and companions, links between court and the people, and more. Willeford describes the Jester as being “a domesticated form of the fool who, in other forms, is lawless.”<sup>16</sup> The jester was, in effect, the king’s pet who in being so was no longer subject to the same sanctioning—political, social, familial, and even physical<sup>17</sup> standards.

The jester’s functions were many and more influential than might be initially expected. She or he had a unique relationship with the king that set him apart from others in the king’s life. The nobility’s fascination with deformity and the mental shortcomings of others may have been so for several reasons. Otto suggest that the sobering effects that such unfortunate “creatures” had on their owners not only presented the nobility with a constant reminder of their natural human inhibitions, but the jester, with its humble background<sup>18</sup> provided an essential connection between the king and the kingdom’s ordinary people. The jester could identify with

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<sup>15</sup> William Willeford, *The Fool and His Scepter* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1969), 50.

<sup>16</sup> Willeford, *The Fool*, 30.

<sup>17</sup> Even his deformed state made him an outcast of his surrounding environment.

<sup>18</sup> Jesters were typically of lower socio-economic backgrounds.

the common people and was given the opportunity to speak as an ordinary person within the royal court. “The jester who belongs to nowhere and is at ease everywhere could help the monarch reach his subjects, often being a vital, unofficial link between them.”<sup>19</sup> The jester did not hold a serious position, but because of his dismissal as a harmless fool, an innocent connection between king and kingdom could be established.

The jester was also a close friend of the king; this may have been partly due to the isolation that was attached to the role of fool and king and the connection they felt to each other because of this. The jester in all his mental and physical deficiencies was an outcast of his environment. Comparably, the king was isolated by another type of deformity; his role of royalty and ruler kept him locked in his kingdom, estranged from his subjects, and at the will of his obligations as king. Marais, jester to Louis XIII, is quoted as having boldly said to his king “there are two things about your job I couldn’t handle...eating alone and shitting in company”.<sup>20</sup> The role of the jester was almost indispensable. The king, in need of a politically detached non-familial companion, had discovered in the jester an outlet and a connection to a distant reality away from the restrictions of polity and royalty.

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<sup>19</sup> Otto, *Fools are Everywhere*, 48.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

The jester with all its political and symbolic functions has also contributed to the development of the clown. The jester has left the clown with interesting accessorial traits such as its multi-colored triangle fabric or the jester's initial rooster hat<sup>21</sup>, which may have inspired the rubber chicken. In addition to this, the jester's true physical deformities have been purposely and superficially adopted and emphasized by the clown. This, for example, is seen in the clown's disproportionate physique, i.e. his oversized shoes, hips, nose, and mouth, as well as its sometimes chubby or lanky appearance.

The jester has also left an ideological tie between itself and the clown. Perhaps this is where the greater connection can be made—between the king and his jester and the Western clown and its audience. Just as the king was in need of a playful escape from the confines of his duty, so does the audience of the Western clown search for a similar escape. The clown fool, by its nature is unbound by conventional rules, thus, allowing the audience to briefly experience the same social freedoms from their life experiences and engage in a moment of playful entertainment. In this sense the jester is not only reflected in the clown's appearances, but also in what the clown has come to represent—freedom from convention.

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<sup>21</sup> Willeford, *The Fool*, 8.

## Joseph Grimaldi and the Birth of the Clown



Figure 4 *Mr. Grimaldi as Clown*

The influences of the pantomime, La Commedia dell' Arte, and the royal court jester eventually found themselves in England, where the image and character of the Western clown was finally established. The clown first began to take shape within the Grimaldi family and more specifically within Joseph Grimaldi.<sup>22</sup> Grimaldi's grandfather was a great dancer and his father a ballet master and actor. His father played the role various Commedia characters such as Pantaloon and Harlequin within English theatre.

Although Grimaldi's father was also referred to as "clown," it was Joseph Grimaldi that first established the modern image of the clown, as the

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<sup>22</sup> This is where the term "Joey" for clowns was derived.

West knows it. His debut as clown was as a child when he performed with his father, the “shipwrecked mariner,” as the little clown at the age of only one year and eleven months.<sup>23</sup> It may be said that England’s greatest contribution to pantomime was the introduction of the clown through the Grimaldis. “The English clown indulged mostly in acrobatics and slapstick; instead of half-masked, he wore heavy make-up and, like the ancient mimes, had an enormous nose, large mouth, exaggerated hips, and thin legs.”<sup>24</sup> It was in England where the most notable elements of the clown had finally come together and where we find the first appearance of the Western clown.

### Concluding the Clown

Since Joseph Grimaldi and the birth of the clown several breeds of the clown have emerged. One example is found within the art of “clowning” where the clown is used as a channel for dance competitions, intended to form a “positive release and alternative to violence”<sup>25</sup> among the urban

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<sup>23</sup> George Cruikshank, et. al, *Memoirs of Joseph Grimaldi 1778-1837*, (London: Schulze and Co., 1846), 4-5.

<sup>24</sup> Lust, *From the Greek*, 50.

<sup>25</sup> V.P. Franklin, “Commentary: *Send in the Clowns...Please!*” *Journal of African American History* 90 (2005): 188-189.

youth. Another example is seen within the fetishism of the clown, where the clown has become a sexual object with an entire category of pornography dedicated to its very character (referred to as “pornomedy—a wacky marriage of porn and comedy”).<sup>26</sup> As a final example, the Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army is an alternative activist group that uses the clown character and it’s humor as a means of building social and political resistance.

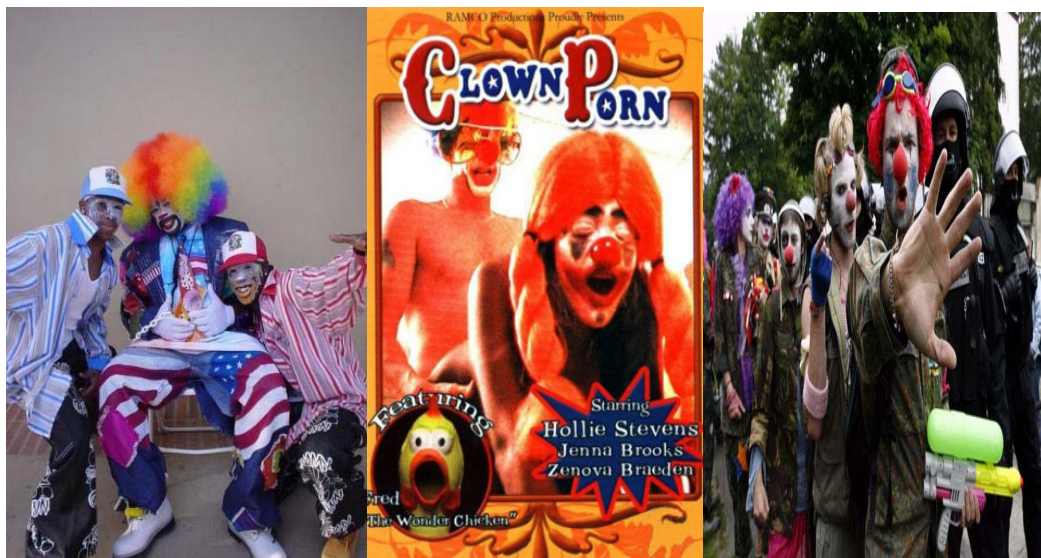


Figure 4 (left) Tommy the clown (Center) Clown Porn, and (right) The Clown Army

The clown has come to inspire innovative creations such as those that I have mentioned above and more. However, the use of the clown and its multiple functions could not have been made possible without the

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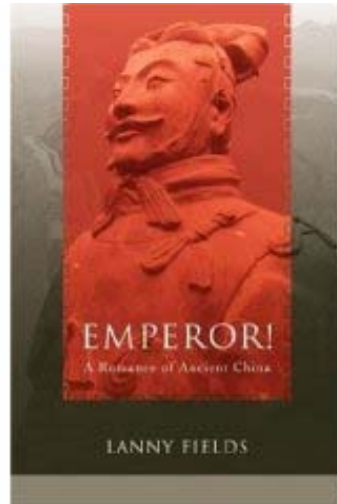
<sup>26</sup> Anonymous, “Clown Porn” Ramco Productions, [http://www.ramcoproductions.com/press/1\\_10\\_05.html](http://www.ramcoproductions.com/press/1_10_05.html), (accessed June 18 2008).

balancing act of those figures who have set the stage for the clown's first grand appearance. The pantomime, La Commedia dell' Arte, and the court jester have played the most influential role in the formation of the Western clown. Had this emergence and sequence of personas not taken place, the Western world would not have what it knows today as the clown.

## **Book Review**

### ***Emperor!* By Dr. Lanny Fields**

**Holly Roy**



*Emperor!* by Lanny Fields, is a romance of Ancient China which highlights the reign of the first emperor, Ying Jeng. The time period covered is 238-210 BCE, with added insights from 98-96 BCE in the voice of Su Ma, China's famed historian. The book is a more of a historical novel than anything, blending historical research with informed imagination to bring the lives and world of ancient Chinese characters to life.

Within the narrative there are three basic story lines. The first covers the life of Emperor Jeng and his closest acquaintances. It begins at the time of Jeng's father's death and his subsequent acceptance of the throne. Fields

documents the many campaigns taken on by the first emperor and concludes with his death and extravagant burial in 210.

The second story line revolves around Marcus Scipio and Ming Tien, an ex-Roman soldier and nun-turned-scholar, respectively. The Roman's affinity for Chinese culture leads him through the pains of self-discovery, love, and loss. Their story is heart wrenching and inspiring, and is the highlight of the book.

The third major story follows the Reds, a gang of thieves and pimps led initially by a dwarf who "adopts" a young boy, Tao. Old Juang, the boss, trains Tao to succeed him in running the crime syndicate, converting the young boy from an innocent child to a cold, greedy criminal.

The purpose of the book is to dramatize and make accessible the life and times of the first Emperor and his contemporaries. Fields achieves much by humanizing the eccentric and brutal Ying Jeng. He places the emperor in the context of the period, and shows that he had a life which included daily interaction with family, friends and foes. Using imagined characters as well as historical figures, Fields presents authors with what he imagines to be the day to day lives of characters often lost in more historically accurate yet dryer accounts of ancient Chinese dynastic elite.

What makes *Emperor!* unique is its short chapters, 152 of them, including the Prologue and Epilogue. The chapters jump back and forth

between characters, keeping the pace of the book rapid-fire if sometimes chaotic. This style is simultaneously helpful and confusing for the reader. On one hand, the reader is able to keep track of the many characters and stories because of the organization of the chapters. It is easy to reference back if details are forgotten. However, as the story progresses, many chapters seem out of place or leave the reader hanging. This hurts the flow of the piece, especially at the end of a good chapter. The reader wants to know the rest of the story, but is left with only a teaser. This is not to say that the reader is unable to follow the plot, but combining some of the chapters would create a better flow.

Overall, *Emperor!* is an accessible way to learn history. Readers do not need an extensive knowledge of Ancient China to enjoy Fields' narrative. The inclusion of the humanistic themes of love, loss, and self-discovery make the book appealing to readers of many backgrounds.

The major criticism that can be asserted is that the author takes unusual license with historical facts, inventing some characters, particularly to imagine the lives of gangs in the absence of available historical data. However, with knowledge that this book is a representation of both historical fiction and historical fact, an otherwise accessible topic comes to life and leaves the reader wanting to know more about ancient Chinese history.

Fields' contribution to the field of history is important because it sparks an interest in looking at historical facts from another angle and with an imaginative twist. His work challenges readers to think critically about the commonly accepted narratives and to recognize the humanity in people who lived so long ago.

## *Student Author/Editor Biographical Information*

### **Authors**

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**Eric Massie** is a senior at California State University, San Bernardino and is a dual major in History and Political Science. He is involved in numerous academic activities, including membership in the Phi Alpha Theta and Pi Sigma Alpha honor societies. His research interests include the role of religious institutions in political dissidence and the role of the Roman Catholic Church in Middle Eastern societies. He is currently writing his senior honors thesis on a comparative analysis of the role of religious institutions in political dissidence in Pahlavi Iran and Communist Poland. In the fall of 2008, he will be attending an MA/PhD program in History at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

**Adam Wiltsey** is a junior at California State University, San Bernardino and is majoring in history with an emphasis on teaching. Adam served eight years in the United States Army National Guard and is a veteran of a foreign war, serving in Iraq from Feb. 2004 to March 2005. His research interests include an overall study of social-political conflict with emphasis how conflict contributed to the formation of the United States political system. Adam is currently continuing his research into slave resistance

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**Stephanie Loera** is a senior at California State University, San Bernardino and will be graduating with a degree in Sociology in December. She is a member of the McNair Scholars Program where she is currently working under the guidance of Dr. Salvador J. Murguia on a research project that investigates humor as a method of social and political resistance and how it is used by an unconventional collective of clown activists as a tactic of demonstration. She was awarded first place winner at the CSU Student Research Conference and has presented her work at the CSU, Long Beach, Social and Behavioral Science Student Research Conference, as well as the McNair Student Research Conference at the University of California, Berkeley. She is a member of the International Sociology Honor Society, Alpha Kappa Delta, an officer of the Students for Social Justice Club, she currently works as a research assistant for the James Irvine Foundation and spends her weekends working as a clown. Her current interests include class stratification, the socialization process and subcultural studies. She hopes to attend the University of East London where she would like to pursue her PhD in Cultural Studies, building her research around class struggles and alternative methods of resistance.

**Holly Roy** is a graduating senior at California State University, San Bernardino pursuing a B.A. with a dual major in Public History and European History. She is the president of Alpha Delta Nu, CSUSB's chapter of the national honor society in history, Phi Alpha Theta, and recipient of CSUSB's College of Social and Behavioral Sciences first annual college scholarship for service and academic excellence. Holly plans to earn a Ph.D. in Middle Eastern History and is especially interested in studying the relationships between the media and the Middle East, specifically in relation to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

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### **Associate Editors**

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**Eric Massie** (see above)

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**Brenna Pye** is a graduating senior at California State University, San Bernardino. She is graduating with a B.A. in History, with an emphasis in Public/Oral History. Brenna is interested in a career with a public history institution and would like to pursue a Masters of Library and Information Science.

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