The Atlantic Millennium

A Graduate History Journal on Atlantic Civilization

Editors' Note

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Since the mid-fifteenth century, the Atlantic has provided the corridor for the exchange of people, ideas, and technologies defining and challenging entire communities across vast amounts of time and space. The *Atlantic Millennium* capitalizes on these multiple dimensions and seeks to publish works to enhance our program's focus.

The purpose of the journal is to provide an academic and scholarly forum for both graduate and undergraduate students. The Department of History Graduate Student Association (DOHGSA) published its first journal in 1993, under the title *Southeastern Historical Journal*. In 1994, the name was changed to *The Atlantic Millennium* and the following year the subtitle *A Graduate History Journal on Atlantic Civilization* was added.

Article or book review submissions should be sent to the Managing Editor, *Atlantic Millennium,* Department of History, Florida International University, DM 397, University Park, Miami, Florida, 33199. Articles should include two paper copies of the manuscript at a length of 20 to 40 pages, double-spaced, with footnotes formatted in Chicago Manual of Style. Book review submissions should not exceed 1250 words, double-spaced, with all citation page numbers in parentheses, and include all bibliographic informa-

tion (indicate number of pages, price, cloth or paper, and ISBN number). Author's name, department, and address should be on the title page. Style and format of all papers should conform to the fifteenth edition of the Chicago Manual of Style.

Atlantic Millennium is not refereed but all submissions are carefully evaluated for content, analytical skill and style by an editorial board composed of senior graduate students with expertise in the various content areas. DOHGSA disclaims responsibility for any statements made by contributors.

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Loraine de la Fe

Introduction

In December 1790, the Captain General of Florida, Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes, sent a petition to the Governor of Cuba on behalf of widow Margarita O'Neille, the wife of Officer Don Enrique O'Neille, who had been killed during his service to the Spanish Crown. The Captain General pleaded to the governor to acknowledge the urgency of awarding Doña Margarita her *limosna* (alms), noting that she was a widow with "nine children and without any provisions which to sustain them."[1] In April 1791, Doña Margarita's petition was granted and not only was she awarded a salary, but also the *hacienda*.

Doña Margarita O'Neille's petition was typical of many requests that were submitted to the Crown by or in the name of women of many social strata in St. Augustine. Being a female head of household, Doña Margarita carried on the responsibilities that her husband left behind, including managing their property and securing a military post for her son.

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1. Captain General of Louisiana and Florida petitions for Doña Margarita O'Neille, St. Augustine, 29 December 1790, expediente 28, legajo 6916, Guerra Moderna (hereafter GM), Archivo General de Simancas (hereafter AGS); Response to Petition for Margarita O'Neille, St. Augustine, 3 April 1791, legajo 6916-51, GM, AGS.

This paper will examine the female household heads' strategy for survival during the Second Spanish Period (1784-1821) in St. Augustine and what makes them particularly unique in the context of all of Latin America during the colonial period. During this period, St. Augustine remained a military society after the peninsula was transferred from British control. This created a heterogeneous population mixing Anglos and Spaniards, which was also exceptional amongst Spanish colonies. It also created a tension between the Spanish and Anglo population with regard to behavioral norms.[2] While Spanish society allowed for women to bend societal expectations, upper-class Anglo urban women were relegated to the confines of their home while the ability to engage in economic and social activities was generally associated with lower-class women.[3]

Margarita O'Neille's petition is one of the many examples that demonstrate how women survived in the military environment. Her situation exemplifies a common method of survival that is consistent with behavioral norms in St Augustine. On the other hand, it represents an unusual circumstance in colonial Latin America, that a British woman sought help through a legal system intended for Spanish subjects, despite the ongoing hostility between the British and Spanish empires. As in any society in late eighteenth-century Latin America, female household heads could be widows or women whose husbands were *ausente* (absent). These were women whose husbands were away on business, were missing, or had left them. A census taken in St. Augustine in 1784 (the year after the Spanish regained full control of the peninsula from the British), shows that out of 64

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2. Griffin explains how during the development of the St. Augustine communities in 1760s allowed for households to "establish themselves without being restricted by plantation life and follow traditional Spanish patterns of settlement and household composition." Patricia C. Griffin, *Mullet on the Beach: The Minorcans of Florida 1768-1788* (Jacksonville: University of North Florida Press, 1991), 126.

3. Wood's work is one of the few recent pieces of scholarship to study women's "extraordinary" roles in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American society. She also establishes the behavioral norms which these women inadvertently went against. Kirsten E. Wood, *Masterful Women: Slaveholding Widows from the American Revolution Through the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 2-6. See also Sara M. Evans, *Born For Liberty: A History of Women in America*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997), 35.

household heads, thirteen were female. Of those, eight were widows and five were classified as *marido ausente*.[4] Throughout the duration of the Second Spanish Period, female household heads increased in population. The 1793 census reveal that out of 220 household heads, twenty-three were female, seventeen were listed as *viuda* (widow), two *marido ausente* (husbands away), and even four were acknowledged as *soltera* (single). Most of the single women that were represented were identified as *negra libre* (freed black woman).[5] Towards the end of the Second Spanish Period, St. Augustine still had a considerable amount of female household heads. A survey of homes revealed that in 1811, out of 290 property owners, ten were owned by women.[6] Regardless of their status as *viudas* or *marido ausente*, the female household heads during the initial stages of the Second Spanish Period in St. Augustine were active members in colonial society, a segment of society often overlooked by Latin American gender historians.[7]

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4. Census of 1784, St. Augustine, 1784, bundle 323A, reel 148, East Florida Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
(hereafter EFP with appropriate reel and bundle number), microfilm copies in P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, and Miami-Dade Public Library, Miami, FL.

5. Census of 1793, St. Augustine, 1793, bundle 323A, reel 148, EFP.

6. Census of 1811, St. Augustine, 1811, bundle 323A, reel 148, EFP.

7. One of the earliest studies that challenged the historiographical discourse on Colonial Latin America, Lavrin's work marks a milestone in the field of gender studies. In her essay, she asserts that in order to have an accurate social history of Colonial Latin America, these women must be included. She focuses on what she refers to as the "middle group of women" which are neither the most venerated women nor the "lowest" women. Rather, she studies women who held various positions in society because of their circumstances resulting from marriage which could have left them either prosperous or destitute. Lavrin weaves gender theory into her work, such as the notion of "public vs. private sphere" based on American historiography, in order to explain how women who held certain "outside" jobs, such as seamstress, were associated with the lower marginal class. Meanwhile, women who were left with their husbands' estates were able to manage their households without any social stigma. Seen as privileged and well-respected, they took on roles previously designated to their husbands including business dealings. Asunción Lavrin, "In Search of the Colonial Woman in Mexico: The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Latin American Women: Historical*

The roles that these female household heads in St. Augustine were forced into by necessity reveals a tension between their traditional roles, which is a primary theme in Latin American gender scholarship. The notion of honor in colonial Latin America is crucial to understanding societal and behavioral expectations. Concepts of honor migrated from Europe to the New World requiring that women adhere to patriarchal laws and submit to the will of men by being good virginal daughters and dutiful wives.[8] This stringent code of honor was mostly practiced by upper-class members of society. It was also inherited, meaning that titles of Don and Doña were passed down from generation to generation. This made it even more important for women to live their lives modestly, privately, and obediently because societal stigmas were just as easily inheritable.[9] Thus, the roles that they took on were seen as methods for survival. More importantly, many female household heads were often granted the rights and permission to obtain property and manage business dealings by both their husbands and the local government. This situation is more complicated in St. Augustine because of the return of Spanish rule.

In St. Augustine, not all women submitted to Spanish customs regarding normative female behavior. Census records, notarized documents, and military pensions reveal the ways in which

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Perspectives, ed. Asunción Lavrin, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978).

8. Johnson and Lipsett-Rivera provide a comprehensive portrait of the complexity of the ideology of honor in various regions in Colonial Latin America. They achieve this by showing the migration of this ideology from Old Spanish society to the colonies governing every aspect of the colonists' lives with respect not only to elite Spaniards, but also looking to its affects on various races while placing emphasis on gender relations. Lyman Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, eds., *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998). See also Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

9. Martinez-Alier includes race in her discussion of honor and status within society, and how it was not necessarily a physical prejudice, but how the race determined place in society which was the cause for the prejudice. Verena Martinez-Alier, *Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974). See also Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets.*

female household heads in St. Augustine managed not only their homes, but also their family businesses. Other business dealings that St. Augustine female household heads performed were similar to colonial American Southern widows, such as the buying and selling of slaves. By doing so, they acquired high status and respect not only in their households, but also in the public sphere, much like their Southern counterparts.[10] In numerous instances, many female household heads not only assigned power of attorney to prominent male members of the community, but many of these women were assigned this role themselves, either by their husbands or their fathers. In addition to requesting pensions and engaging in business transactions, female household heads also used the legal system to administer *dotes* (dowries) for their daughters as well as request redress for various acts including permission bonds and complaints.

How then, were these women able to maintain respect within their community without acquiring any social stigma? In the case of St. Augustine, the social environment and the political instability caused a sense of urgency, or what has been termed as a "defense function."[11]

In order to understand how the St. Augustine female household heads were able to adapt to these roles and live in a militaristic environment, it is important to look back two decades prior to the Second Spanish Period. In the early 1760s, Spain's King Charles III allied with the French in the Seven Years' War to fight the British, just as the war was coming to an end. The subsequent Spanish and French loss resulted in the Peace of Paris of 1763.[12] One of the provi-

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10. Wood, *Masterful Women,* 11-14.

11. Johnson's essay shows how women coped in Havana's militaristic society during the British occupation in 1762. Johnson's study challenges previous scholars in their assertions that these Cuban women were traitors accused of sleeping with and accommodating British soldiers. Through archival research, Johnson contends that these women had to take on their husbands' roles in society in order to survive. Sherry Johnson, "Senoras en Sus Clases no Ordinarias," *Cuban Studies* 34, no. 13 (2003). See also Luis Arana, Juan Marchena, Verne Chatelain, *The Defense of Spanish Florida 1565-1763* (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1941).

12. Peter Bakewell, *A History of Latin America* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1997), 286. Parker explains how the social situation changed after the return of Florida to the Spanish Crown. She adds how the attitudes

sions of the treaty mandated the transfer of Spanish Florida to British control. Consequently, many Spanish women evacuated to Havana. Rather than be segregated from their Cuban counterparts, their husbands took military positions and the family integrated seamlessly into Cuban society.[13] In 1781, the Spanish Crown managed to regain Florida with full recovery in 1783. Thus began the Second Spanish Period in Florida which resulted in an exodus of some families leaving Havana and returning to their former residences in St. Augustine. The East Florida Papers reveal that this continued to be a period of militarization and defense.

Although St. Augustine's population consisted of mainly Spanish ethnicities in the late eighteenth century, there was considerable ethnic and class diversity within the city including Greeks, Italians, Americans and British—those who chose to stay behind when the British Crown surrendered the peninsula. Nevertheless, most female household heads, regardless of their ethnic background, were able to take advantage of the system.

Categories of Female Household Heads

Female household heads in colonial St. Augustine can be placed within four prominent categories. The first of the group are government-affiliated women who survived by seeking pensions using the Spanish system *Montepio*.[14] The second category includes wives

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between the Anglos and the Spanish differed. The rift between them was mainly due to religious differences. These religious lines blurred as Protestant Anglos assimilated their children into society by baptizing them—a more traditionally Catholic practice. According to Parker, the only times where these differences were observed were during holiday rituals and festivals. As many studies show, the Anglo men, and apparently women, were not prohibited from integrating in St. Augustine society. Susan Parker, "Men without King or God: Rural Settlers of East Florida, 1784-1790s," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 69, no. 2 (Oct. 1990).

13. Sherry Johnson, "Casualties of Peace: Tracing the Historic Roots of the Cuban Diaspora 1763-1804," *Colonial Latin America Historical Review* 10 (Winter 2002), 91-125.

14. Susan Midgen Socolow, *The Bureaucrats of Buenos Aires, 1769-1810: Amor al Real Servicio* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987). See also D.S. Chandler*, Social Assistance and Bureaucratic Policies: The Montepios of Colonial Mexico 1767-1821* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press,

and widows of merchants, also referred to as the commercial class, while the last two are classified as *marido ausente*. This category is broken into two. Since they were officially identified as *marido ausente*, they had their own distinctions in that their husband was on business or military assignment or they were abandoned.

Military and Bureaucratic Class

During the Second Spanish Period, St Augustine was a military society. Therefore, many St. Augustine males were deployed to military duty or trading service, leaving their wives and children alone. Evidence shows how women took responsibility for their households in various ways, be it through business transactions or petitions for *limosnas*. These petitions were originally established for women whose husbands were in service to the Crown or the militia. Yet, by the Second Spanish Period, the *Montepio* was extended to women whose husbands held bureaucratic positions. The law stipulated that widows, or those whose husbands were missing, would be allotted pensions and, in some cases, their husbands' property.[15] In addition, petitions tended to reveal the widows' urgency and desperation to entreat the crown for aid. Similar to the petition of Margarita O'Neille's, Rafaela Capo's pension notes that her husband was killed by Indians while performing services to the Crown. It also pleaded to "alleviate her miseries and that of their one daughter."[16]

In St. Augustine, the *Montepio* was not restricted to a particular race stratum of society. Even if military officers were dark-skinned, their wives were still eligible to apply for the pension. For example, Ramona Viasu's petition states that her husband Jorge was a *moreno* (dark-skinned) military leader who had designated 100 *reales* to her monthly while she resided in the city. This also reveals how the Spanish system of honor was not strictly followed in St. Augustine.[17]

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1991).

15. Pension to Widow for Military Purpose, St. Augustine, 17 December 1791, bundle 56D5, reel 20, EFP.

16. Memo enclosing petition request for Rafaela Capo, widow of Antonio, St. Augustine, 22 January 1801, bundle 28B3, reel 10, EFP.

17. Scholars of Latin American gender studies argue how there was hypocrisy in the system and a way of "elasticizing" societal codes. In the context of gender, high society women were able to hide their pre-marital

Many scholars examine how race was a factor in determining status in Latin America in which dark-skinned people were generally discriminated against. In St. Augustine, while the system still applied, it was not as harsh or exclusive to *castas* (castes). However, the documents also show that widows' petitions were not always granted. In 1793, for example, the governor of Florida denied a pension to Doña Maria de Los Angeles Florencia.[18] Women who were denied pensions or who were not eligible candidates were forced to find alternatives to survive.

Commercial Class

　　　While upper-class widows of militaristic and bureaucratic classes' petitions to the government were accepted as a means of survival, St. Augustine female household heads whose husbands were *ausente* were successful in finding other means of survival without losing status in society.[19] One of the most common tasks women classified as *marido ausente* did was to take over their husbands' former jobs. An American of English descent, Doña Rachael Murray took care of her husband's shop and conducted business during his absence. Murray took store inventory and maintained a clientele comprised

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pregnancies and transgressions by either staying at home or not acknowledging their children in birth certificates. See Lyman L. Johnson, "Dangerous Words, Provocative Gestures, and Violent Acts," in *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Latin America,* eds. Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997). In the context of how racial issues were manipulated with marriages, those considered to be lower status because of skin color were able to rise in society through interracial marriage, see Martinez-Alier, *Marriage, Class and Colour.*

18. Josef Pablo Valiente to the Governor of Florida denying petition of Maria de Los Angeles, Havana, 23 January 1793, bundle 56D5, reel 20, EFP.

19. Stern discusses how the lower classes in Mexico, particularly men, stigmatized widows. They were suspicious of their "independent social lifestyles, prone to marital treachery, [and] sexual evil." This posed a threat to the patriarchal system which declared that men were the primary breadwinners and thus held more power. Steve Stern, *The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men and Power in Late Colonial Mexico* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 117.

mostly of St. Augustine's leading (male) citizens.[20] Elizabeth Bentley Nixon was also responsible for maintaining the family business. When the new governor took office in Florida in 1790, he required that all shop owners show proof of license. In her husband's absence, Nixon requested that Commissioner Fernandez Bendicho give her such a license.[21] Although it reveals one way that female household heads in St. Augustine were able to integrate into the public sphere, sources lead to a conclusion that most of the women in the commercial class were Anglo. Also, the women in the commercial class category overlapped with those who are *marido ausente*.

Permanent *Marido Ausente*

Female household heads who could not account for their husbands acted on their own. This category suggests that these women lived apart from their husbands for a long period of time, which allowed them to govern themselves as they wanted. The two most prolific women in this category are Minorcans Maria Triay and Ysabel Perpal. Triay continued to conduct her husband's business dealings in order for her to maintain her property. She engaged in selling slaves and also managed to collect a debt that was owed to her husband.[22] Likewise, Ysabel Perpal was constantly active in business, especially lending money to men, even sailors.[23] With her status as permanent *marido ausente*, Ysabel Perpal lived a rather scandalous life without regard for traditional roles and codes of honor and, by looking at the repetitive cases against her, without caution. Many complaints against Perpal came specifically from her neighbor, Agueda Villalonga. In March of 1788, she petitioned the governor that Perpal repair her wall

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20. Rachel Murray to Governor of Florida, St. Augustine, 27 July 1787, bundle 179J14, reel 77, EFP.

21. Elizabeth Bentley requests store license, St. Augustine, 11 September 1790, bundle 180A14, reel 77, EFP.

22. Sale, St. Augustine, 24 December 1793, bundle 366-371, reel 55A, EFP; Sale, St. Augustine, 15 Janurary 1794, bundle 366-371, reel 55A, 169-171, Escrituras, EFP. For the debt that owed, it states that Juan San Salvador owed her money borrowed from her husband to buy a schooner. Promisary Note, St. Augustine, 8 July 1785, bundle 366-371, reel 55A, 169-171, Escrituras, EFP.

23. Ysabel Perpal to Govenor of Florida, St. Augustine, 21 July 1787, bundle 179J14, reel 77, Memoriales, EFP.

to keep her chickens on her own property.[24] Only a few months later Villalonga petitioned the governor against her again, this time requesting action to make Perpal stop her pigs from destroying Villalonga's garden.[25]

Sources show how the case of Maria Oliver is extremely rare. It is the only one throughout the Second Spanish Period which listed her as legally divorced. The record shows that since she was "divorced 12 years ago," she bequeathed her property to the bachelor, Captain Juan Rivero. [26] By bequeathing her property to another man, Oliver knew how to make use of the legal system, which declared a man missing for seven years legally dead. Since her husband left her, or as stated in the document divorced her, she showed agency by determining to whom her property should be given.

Female Household Heads Activity

Regardless of whether labeled as *viuda*, or *marido ausente*, St. Augustine female heads of households used a variety of methods to sustain themselves as well as their families. The following records show fluctuations within women's activities during the first half of the Second Spanish Period. The census records show that in the beginning of the Second Spanish Period the household heads in St. Augustine totaled 60. Out of the 60, 46 were men and fourteen, nearly one quarter, were women. Of the fourteen, nine were considered *viudas* and five were declared *marido ausente*.[27]

In the first ten years of the Second Spanish Period, the *escrituras* (notarized documents) reveal a pattern of women's activities reaching its peak in 1788, particularly in designating power of attorney. In 1789, Latin America underwent a reformed economic

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24. Agueda Villalonga to Governor of Florida, St. Augustine, 11 March 1788, bundle 179J14, reel 77, Memoriales, EFP.

25. Agueda Villalonga to Governor of Florida, St. Augustine, 18 September 1788, bundle 179J14, reel 77, Memoriales, EFP.

26. Will, St. Augustine, 21 October 1802, bundle 88, reel 55A, 170, Escrituras, EFP.

27. Census of 1785, St. Augustine, 1785, bundle 323A, reel 148, EFP.

Table 1.1 Female Household Heads Notarial Activities

Year	Slave Trans.	Sold	Bought	POA (to)	POA (from)
1784	1	1	1	1	0
1785	0	9	5	3	6
1786	0	1	1	1	7
1787	0	0	0	1	1
1788	1	0	0	2	8
1789	2	2	1	3	12
1790	2	0	2	0	7
1791	1	3	2	0	3
1794	7	1	1	1	1
1797	5	1	0	1	3
1798	7	4	2	4	4
1799	15	0	3	3	5
Total	149	35	24	18	54

Note: "Slave Transactions" includes the purchasing and selling of slaves.
The "Sold" and "Bought" columns refer to house transactions.
POA stands for power of attorney to or from women.
There was no data for the year 1795 and 1796.

Source: Data from Sherry Johnson, "The Rise and Fall of Creole Participation in the Cuban Slave Trade," *Cuban Studies* 30 (2000).

system known as *commercio libre*, in which it experienced another wave of commercial reform that had important consequences for St. Augustine. In addition, the reform policy opened trade and Spanish competition with foreign businesses.[28] In 1787, there are only two activities recorded that women were involved with, and both dealt with administering power of attorney. The following year a total of ten powers of attorney were designated. In the subsequent years, more women engaged in buying and selling property including slaves and houses. There were a total of 149 transactions with female participation during the first fifteen years of the Second Spanish Period.

Of those transactions, 35 slave deals were conducted, 24 homes were sold, 18 houses were purchased, 21 powers of attorney were transferred to women, and 54 were transferred from women. From 1784 to 1798, sixteen women in St. Augustine gained the title.

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28. Johnson, "The Rise and Fall of Creole Participation in the Cuban Slave Trade," *Cuban Studies* 30, (2000).

Women had the authority to appoint power of attorney to whomever they saw fit.

In addition to women taking care of their husbands' businesses, female household heads also held property either through their dowries or by power of attorney as granted to them by their husbands. In 1785, the St. Augustine officials took an extensive census that shows how Minorcan widow Isabel Perpal acquired ownership of "500 acres of land…3 houses, 2 horses, and 1 cow during her husband's absence."[29] The Irish widow Honoria Clarke owned a total of 2,500 acres of land throughout the city as well as 15 slaves.[30]

Female household heads who owned property also had the luxury of selling it for financial gain. In addition, all of the notarized transactions indicate that these women performed a number of business exchanges revealing their participation in the public sphere. For example, while her husband was living in Baltimore, *marido ausente* Margaret Ryan owned goods in a shop that she lived in having bought in her husband's name.[31] Furthermore, in 1785, Isabel Perpal sold a house to Domingo Martinely.[32] Another example of female household heads selling property includes Dominga de Zespedes, daughter of Governor Zespedes, who sold property to dispose of it since she was leaving to Cuba. What makes her situation unique is that she did not seek power of attorney from her husband to do so, but rather sought permission from the governor. This illustrates how women in St. Augustine were able to obtain relatively autonomous roles, independent from their husbands.[33]

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29. Census of 1785, St. Augustine, 1785, bundle 323A, reel 148, EFP.

30. Census of 1785, St. Augustine, 1785, bundle 323A, reel 148, EFP. Under Spanish law, Doña Honoria Clarke was able to hold a prestigious position in St Augustine Spanish society which earned her the privilege to acquire and manage property. By contrast, this was impossible for a woman in the New England colonies.

31. Will, St. Augustine, 11 November 1791, bundle 366, reel 55A, 169, Escrituras, EFP.

32. House Deed, St. Augustine, 8 October 1785, bundle 366, reel 55A, 169, Escrituras, EFP.

33. More specifically, Dominga de Cespedes, *marido ausente*, wife of John O' Donovan, "brought houses near the barracks." House Deed, St. Augustine,

Selling houses and lands did not represent the only outlet these women had for financial gain. As shown in the table, female household heads also had the authority to sell slaves. Rachel Murray, in addition to managing her husband's shop and selling property, also participated in the slave market by selling one of her slaves to Miguel Ysnardy.[34] This implies Rachael Murray's high prominence since only the upper classes participated in the slave trade, and even then predominantly men.

The upper-class women of St. Augustine were not the only ones who at times had to manage their households alone. Census records indicate that many women from the lower classes held traditionally female jobs. The two most prominent jobs taken by lower-class female household heads included working as a seamstress or laundress. For example, Minorcan widow Juana Hernandes worked as a seamstress.[35] Likewise, Pennsylvanian widow Barbara Simpson held a job as both a seamstress and a laundress. She also acquired property, a small house with some land, through a debt which reveals that even lower-class women performed independent business transactions, much like their upper-class counterparts.[36] Although she was not a member of the lower class, American Doña Maria Evans, a *marido ausente,* held a job as a midwife in 1786. Her position was even more unique as she oversaw her male apprentice, Juan Teats' work.[37]

At the turn of the century, women's public activities increased dramatically, particularly in slave transactions. More women engaged in slave transactions where they were not only selling and buying, but also administering manumissions. The *Escrituras* reveal how Ryan took advantage of the *commercio libre* and engaged in even more complex businesses within the community. Between March 1 and

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11 August 1789, bundle 366, reel 55A, 169, Escrituras, EFP.

34. Slave Sale, St. Augustine, 28 November 1789, bundle 366, reel 55A, 169, Escrituras, EFP.

35. Slave Sale, St. Augustine, 28 November 1789, bundle 366, reel 55A, 169, Escrituras, EFP.

36. Slave Sale, St. Augustine, 28 November 1789, bundle 366, reel 55A, 169, Escrituras, EFP.

37. Census of 1784, St. Augustine, 1784, bundle 323A, reel 148, EFP.

April 4, Ryan borrowed 450 pesos from Manuel Solana.[38] In April 21 of the same year, she sold her shop to Michael McDonnell in order to pay off her debts.[39] From the years 1800 to 1816, the overall transactions that female household heads engaged in were 233. Of those, 123 slave deals were conducted, 41 houses were sold by women, 24 homes were bought by women, 10 women received title of power of attorney, and 35 women administered such titles.

In Spanish society, fathers generally administered the brides' dowry, her primary source of wealth. During the Second Spanish Period in St. Augustine, female household heads arranged dowries for their daughters. For example, Isabel Perpal gave her daughter 1,000 pesos upon her daughter's marriage.[40] Like all other transactions, Anglo women in St. Augustine, such as Irish widow Honoria Clarke, also dealt with administering dowry bonds.[41] Victoria Guillen gave her daughter who was about to be married, two houses and lots of which the net worth was 60,000 *reales*.[42]

Women in St. Augustine also used the legal system for redress in economic issues and for political leverage. *Marido ausente* Margarita Capella was reduced to find other means of making a living, such as sewing and laundry, due to her husband's negligence in taking care of her. Capella repeatedly petitioned to the governor to legally forced her husband to give her a monthly allowance.[43] In another case, she requested payment of a debt for washing and sewing sailor Juan Car-

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38. Mortgage Bond, St. Augustine, 21 March 1800, bundle 372, reel 55A, 171A, Escrituras, EFP; Mortgage Bond, St. Augustine, 4 April 1800, bundle 372, reel 55A, 171A, Escrituras, EFP.

39. Sale, St. Augustine, 21 April 1800, bundle 372, reel 55A, 171A, Escrituras, EFP.

40. Dowry Bond, St. Augustine, 7 October 1791, bundle 368, 433L, reel 55A, 169, Escrituras, EFP.

41. Dowry Bond, St. Augustine, 14 January 1797, bundle 371, reel 55A, 170, Escrituras, EFP.

42. Dowry Bond, St. Augustine, 25 September 1793, bundle 369, reel 55A, 170, Escrituras, EFP.

43. Margarita Capella to Governor, St. Augustine, 13 May 1793, bundle 182M14, reel 78, EFP.

reras' clothes.[44] In her final petitions, Capella complains to the governor about her marital problems and asks that her house be transferred to her ownership so that she can sell it and move to New Orleans.[45] Likewise, Cristina Mortgansan requested to go to Savannah to locate her husband because she could no longer maintain her family.[46] This was a common petition for women to request permission to leave St. Augustine for US territory because of their need to collect property or because of their inability to support themselves.

Conclusion

St. Augustine's military environment played a crucial role in developing a new niche for women, particularly the female household heads. With the Florida and Spanish governments recognizing the necessity of women taking on new roles which did not quite fit in the Spanish system, allowances were made for the acceptance of independent women integrating into society. These women played an active economic and public role in the colonial social structure. Without their husbands, these women took charge and engaged in business, financial and legal administration, and property management. The evidence suggests that these women were anything but passive, as they reacted quickly to familial disruptions and were successful in maintaining their places within the public sphere. Such examples include the widows who were aware of the system of laws that allowed for them to receive pensions and made use of the system that ensured their survival.

The female household heads in St. Augustine were unique in that they maintained their honored status, despite their independent and relatively powerful roles in society. Unlike other colonial Latin American societies, St. Augustine's heterogeneous population had an impact on how everyday business was performed. As a result, widows and *maridos ausentes* were not stigmatized, nor were they perceived as

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44. Margarita Capella to Governor of Florida, St. Augustine, 14 June 1792, bundle 182M14, reel 78, EFP.

45. Margarita Capella to Governor of Florida, St. Augustine, 13 May 1793, bundle 182M14, reel 78, EFP; Margarita Capella to Governor of Florida, St. Augustine, 23 August 1796, bundle 182M14, reel 79, EFP.

46. Cristina Mortgensen to Governor of Florida, St. Augustine, 2 December 1806, bundle 375, reel 55A, 171A, Escrituras, EFP.

a threat to their community. In addition, St. Augustine's diverse society did not discriminate against women of other ethnicities nor women of lower classes in its business practices. The unique socio-political environment created by the upheaval of the time, coupled with a population merged together from numerous heterogeneous groups, predicated such widespread acceptance in most cases out of sheer necessity. Female household heads, using the system in these unique circumstances, were able to maintain power in their own households. Simply put, the needs of the time were so great that, when presented with a feasible alternative, even honor had to give way to logic.

Say it Loud, "I'm Black and I'm Argentine!" The Reconciliation of
Race and Nation in Buenos Aires, 1820-1905

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Introduction

The reconciliation of national and racial identities among members of the African Diaspora has its origins in the nineteenth century. Throughout the Americas, peoples of African descent made the legal and social transition from slaves to freedmen and women. Although the legal transition was clear, the social transition was more complicated. During slavery the priority was survival but, as freed peoples, their trajectory remained in doubt. Socially, they found themselves questioning where they belonged in the nation.

In the Latin American context, blacks formed *cabildos* in countries such as Brazil and Cuba. *Cabildos* functioned as social welfare and social gatherings. Blacks could come together to celebrate carnival, provide financial aid to their members in order to gain their freedom, or aid during times of sickness. They functioned during the colonial and post-colonial regime, which demonstrated their endurance and ability to adapt during the nineteenth century. Moreover, *cabildos* represented a traditional cultural agency in the black community. *Cabildos* afforded blacks the opportunity for semi-autonomous gatherings to honor their African ethnicities through ceremonial events, such as dances and burials.

In North America, blacks had the press. The black press revealed a unique understanding of the social reality in the African community. Composed of primarily elite free blacks, the newspaper

served as a forum for African-Americans to discuss their social, economic, and cultural surroundings. A common theme that appeared throughout the nineteenth century was their place within the nation.

The traditional cultural agency of *cabildos*, which were officially recognized in the 1820s, and the modernity of newspapers co-existed in the Argentine context. Having both forums, *cabildos* and the black press, provided the ability to trace a shift from a more traditional social gathering to the more modern creation of the press. This transition reflected a growing tension in building the Argentine nation. Two distinct ideologies emerged shortly after the declaration of independence. One focused on provincialism and nativism while the other used international paradigm as the model for the nation. Provincialism dominated the first half of the nineteenth century while internationalism emerged during the second half.

This transition can be attributed to economic and cultural changes led in particular by the reformation of the educational system. This was crucial for national ideology. Thus the *Afro-porteño* (blacks in Buenos Aires) community attempted to shape the conflicting ideologies of Argentine nationality during the nineteenth century. Two distinct temporal and racial periodizations, racelessness and heterogeneity, coincided with conflicting Argentine national identities and provide a chronological methodology for examining the transition of black culture in the nineteenth century.

African Diaspora and Nation-Building

Scholars have agreed that the African Diaspora's paradigm theorizes, documents, and strives to understand the movement of black peoples from their ancestral homelands to a variety of host countries. This was done by explorations into the social, physical, political, cultural, and economic meanings of black movement and the interrelationships Diasporans maintained among themselves, their host societies and their original homelands. In general, the African Diaspora borrows from the Jewish Diaspora's experience, because of its association with traumatic movement.[1]

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1. Ben Vinson III, "Introduction: African Diaspora History, Latin American History," *The Americas* 63, no. 1 (2006): 7; Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); Isidore Okpewho, and Carole Boyce Davies, *African Diaspora: African Origins and New World Identities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press,

Two prominent methodologies of the African Diaspora are the retentionist/comparative historical approach and the creolization approach. The retentionist/comparative historical approach juxtaposes black populations that are geographically separated in order to understand the diasporic experience. The other is the creolization/survivalist approach which focuses on the influences and impact of Diasporans upon the regions where they have migrated. In general, the retentionist school stresses slave resistance while the creolization school focuses on slave adaptability. These frameworks have been used within Afro-Latin American historiography in order to answer questions of local and regional development within the nation-building context.[2]

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1999); Brent Hayes Edwards, "The Uses of Diaspora," *Social Text* 19, no. 1 (2001); Patrick Manning, "Africa and the African Diaspora: New Directions of Study," *Journal of African History* 44, no. 3 (2003): 487–506; Tiffany Patterson, and Robin D. Kelley, "Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World," *African Studies Review* 43, no. 1 (2000): 11–45; Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "Rewriting the African Diaspora: Beyond the Black Atlantic," *African Affairs* 104, no. 414 (2005): 35–68; Kim Butler, "Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse," *Diaspora* 10, no. 2 (2001): 189–219; Colin A. Palmer, "Defining and Studying the Modern African Diaspora," *American Historical Association Perspectives* 36, no. 6 (1998): 22–25; Paul Gilroy, "Diaspora," *Paragraph: The Journal of the Modern Critical* XVII, no. 3 (November 1994): 207–15; Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997).

2. Ben Vinson III, and Stewart R. King, "Introducing the 'New' African Diasporic Military History in Latin America," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 5, no. 2 (2004); Aline Helg, *Liberty and Equality in Caribbean Colombia, 1770–1835* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Kim Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post Abolition São Paulo and Salvador* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1998); George Reid Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800–1900* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980); Geroge Reid Andrews, *Afro-Latin America 1800–2000* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Jane G. Landers, "Cimarrón and Citizen: African Ethnicity, Corporate Identity, and the Evolution of Free Black Towns in the Spanish Circum-Caribbean," in *Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives: Blacks in Colonial Latin America*, eds., Jane Landers, and Barry Robinson (New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 111–46; Aline Helg, "Race in Argentina and Cuba, 1880–1930: Theory, Policies, and Popular Reaction," in *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940*, Richard Gra-

The concept of the African Diaspora within a national framework can be useful to analyze the black press in Argentina. Marvin Lewis, a retentionist, and Alejandro Solomianski, a creolizationist, have examined the Afro-Argentine press during the mid to late nineteenth century. Lewis examined black poetry in various black newspapers and argued Afro-Argentines were left out of the national equation, except in times of need such as war. Then they could be "good criollos" because they responded "to the demands placed upon them by the country, but as blacks they were never considered integral components of Argentine society."[3] Their race excluded them from the greater society and thus there was a constant lament and sadness in the poems that were chosen. In response, Afro-Argentines nostalgically looked to their African past—an imagined homeland.

In contrast, Alejandro Solomianski proposed that the struggle for national acceptance was not unique to Afro-Argentines but rather marked a constant struggle between those of subaltern status and those with hegemonic social and economic power. Moreover, *la negritud*

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ham (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1992), 37–70; Rebecca Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860–1899* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); Alejandro de la Fuente, *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868–1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Karen Morrison, "Civilization and Citizenship Through the Eyes of Afro-Cuban Intellectuals During the First Constitutional Era, 1902–1940," *Cuban Studies* 30 (1999): 76–99; Alejandra Bronfman, *Measures of Equality: Social Science, Citizenship, and Race in Cuba, 1902–1940* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Rebecca Scott, "Fault Lines, Color Lines, and Party Lines: Race, Labor, and Collective Action in Louisiana and Cuba, 1862–1912," in *Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, Citizenship in Postemancipation Societies*, eds. Frederick Cooper, and Rebecca Scott and Thomas Holt (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 61–106; Carmen Bernand, "La población negra en Buenos Aires (1777–1862)," in *Homogeneidad y Nación con un Estudio de Caso: Argentina, Siglos XIX y XX*, eds. Mónica Quijada and Arnd Schneider (Madrid, Spain: Consejo Superior de investigaciones científicas centro de humanidades. Instituto de Historia, 2000), 93–140.

3. Marvin Lewis, *Afro-Argentine Discourse: Another Dimension of the Black Diaspora* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996), 83.

Argentina could be applied to other marginalized groups such as the gauchos and the native populations. This struggle between the subaltern and the elite marked the continuing formation of the Argentine nation.[4]

The creolizationist theory is more applicable to the Argentine economic context. During the nineteenth century, Argentina experienced an export boom that allowed for socio-economic growth throughout Buenos Aires. As a result, there was a rise in the number of black elites making class a pertinent issue within the Afro-Argentine community. Unlike Solomianski's conclusions, Afro-Argentines attempted to reconcile and/or incorporate both their racial and national identities.

Race and national history can be divided into two periodizations: racelessness (1810-1860) and heterogeneous (1860-1860). These overlapped and blended contradictory discourses of racialized nationhood during the nineteenth century. During the first period of presumed racelessness, liberal patriots had to create citizens out of "colonial subjects—raised on the ideas of a hierarchal society" and forged a national community. Racial boundaries established in the colonial era continued to exclude non-Europeans from the high positions of economic and political power. In response, liberalism presumed "an unmarked, raceless individual." Nonetheless, nineteenth-century liberals described the ideal qualities of citizen and nations in racialized and gendered terms. For example, literacy, property ownership, and individual autonomy signified whiteness and masculinity and females and *gente de color* did not conform to this ideal.[5]

In the Argentine case, the first periodization was marked by the wars of independence and the creation of *cabildos*. The army represented a vehicle for transforming the colonial society of estates into a "new democratic community composed of men who in their military and civic actions exemplified the kind of public virtues that might make possible a government based upon the 'general will.'"

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4. Alejandro Solomianski, *Identidades secretas: la negritud argentina* (Rosario, Argentina: Beatriz Viterbo Editoral, 2003).

5. Nancy P. Applebaum, Anne S. Macpherson and Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, "Racial Nations," in *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, eds. Nancy P. Applebaum, Anne S. Macpherson and Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt (Chapell Hill: The University of North Carolina, 2003), 4.

The government sponsored manumissions, buying slaves from slave owners initially willing to support the independence movement.[6] Slave soldiers proved to be successful because they proved loyal to the independence movement and demonstrated their potential integration into post-colonial society as active citizens.[7]

The decision for the government to enroll slaves into the army and emancipate them afterwards was therefore a distinguishing mark of the early republic. The military became an engine of social modernization as states found traditional hierarchies an obstacle to increasing military manpower or their base of support. This was an example of the soldier-citizen ideal. This ideal emphasized that a politicized soldiery was key to nation-building. It stressed civic and military participation as keys to citizenship. Moreover, citizenship was a learned activity that engendered the kinds of new identities, values, and capacities that made a government based on "the will of the people possible."[8]

Yet this period was also marked by hypocrisy. Liberalism stressed a "raceless" and "genderless" person but in practice, blacks continued to be discriminated against. Although, they participated in the wars of independence, many continued to live a life of poverty and marginalization. Though this has not been directly linked to the official recognition of *cabildos*, it more than likely influenced the government's decision to issue a formal decree in 1821. *Cabildos* had existed since the late eighteenth century, but the state never officially recognized them. By the 1820s, the government could no longer ignore the growing numbers of *cabildos*. The new republican state required the *cabildos* to use the same state-sponsored constitution. The constitution stated the goals, procedure for elections, admission for new members, finances, and more importantly, required that they be supervised by the police. At all elections police officers had to be

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6. Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines*, 116.

7. Seth Meisel, "'The Fruit of Freedom' Slaves and Citizens in Early Republican Argentina," in *Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives: Blacks in Colonial Latin America*, eds. Jane Landers and Barry Robinson (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 275.

8. Meisel, "'The Fruit of Freedom'," 288.

present, collect and count ballots, and announce winners.[9] The need for a presence of police officers revealed that the state did not completely trust black autonomous activities.

The second periodization occurred during the late nineteenth century. Governments sought to maintain the social and labor order that they considered fundamental to national economic progress. Argentina entered the era of modernity, exports rose dramatically, slavery ended in 1853, though Buenos Aires continued to allow slave ownership until 1861, and proletarianization spread.[10] Many intellectuals conceptualized their nations as racially heterogeneous, without abandoning the whitened civilization ideal of nationhood. National leaders promoted education and immigration to turn a racially and culturally mixed population into one that was hard-working, progressive, and cultured in the way posited by the normative whitened definition of citizenship.

In Argentina, intellectuals such as Domingo Sarmiento and Juan Batista Alberdi, of the Generation of 1837, became strong proponents of education and immigration.[11] Having had the opportunity to visit other nations, Sarmiento was strongly influenced by the educators James Lancaster in England and Horace Mann in the United States. Under Sarmiento's direction, education served as an important controlling factor for the masses. Sarmiento believed in the school's control over children as a way to free them of the repressive social norms represented by their parents and grandparents.[12] Under his education system, he would form future homogenized citizens that would put the state before their individualistic desires. Fear of the popular classes, *gauchos*, Indians, and blacks forced the Argentine state of late nineteenth century to take extreme measures to monitor the people. Sarmiento's presidency stressed social control. Education provided the means to contain any potential challenges to the state.

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9. Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines*, 143.

10. Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines*, 57.

11. Richard M. Morse, "Toward a Theory of Spanish American Government," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 15, no. 1 (January 1954): 83–85.

12. Mark Szuchman, "Childhood Education and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Argentina: The Case of Buenos Aires," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 70, no. 1 (February 1990): 124.

Moreover, he promoted immigration from northern Europe, which would play essential role models for the popular masses to follow.

Immigration would be the second characteristic needed to form a more modern national identity. Having adopted liberal ideas from France and England, these intellectuals stressed that the intellectual potential from Northern European immigrants was needed to develop Argentine socio-economic growth. Undoubtedly, the economic opportunities available in Argentina attracted immigrants. At the same time, the determination of the elite to make their nation a country of immigrants played an important role in the massive influx of Europeans. Alberdi especially believed the massive immigration of hard-working farmers and artisans would force the popular classes into a productive labor force and towards a national material progress.[13] Thus immigrants would serve as role models for the masses to emulate. They would have a chance to participate in the nation provided that they learned how to be efficient and productive citizens.

Race and national identities often proved to be contentious and contradictory. Though the beginning of the nineteenth century promoted a classless and raceless society, a stricter and more exclusive definition of heterogeneity developed over the course of the century. The independence movement proved too long, difficult, and bloody. For those reasons, the elite stressed social control in the new nation-state by the mid-nineteenth century. Racelessness and heterogeneity are thematic periodizations that provide a temporal framework for the study of black agency. Moreover, acknowledging how racial and national identities evolved reveals how black agency was created and transformed.

Racelessness: The Fruition of Black Pride

The ideology of racelessness at the beginning of the nineteenth century provided for black culture to thrive in the public sphere. *Cofradías*, *cabildos*, and mutual aid societies provided space for cultural agency. Afro-Argentines first organized *cofradías*, or religious brotherhoods, as a means to maintain their African heritage. The first *cofradía* in the city of Buenos Aires appeared in 1772, after the Archbishop of Buenos Aires authorized its establishment in the

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13. Donald Castro, *The Development and Politics of Argentine Immigration Policy 1852–1914: To Govern is to Populate* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1991), 17.

church of La Piedad. Both freemen and slaves were eligible for membership in *cofradías*. In addition, both men and women were allowed to join, although female officers were not permitted to hold offices at the same level as their male counterparts. In order to maintain membership, members had to pay dues, participate, and live a Christian lifestyle. Joining a *cofradía* guaranteed a funeral with a set number of masses said in honor of the deceased member.

Cofradías provided testimony to slaves' efforts to preserve an African identity even in the framework of colonial institutions. Celebrations known as *tambores* and tangos or *candombes* centered around public dances, drum ceremonies, the election and crowning of a "king" and the ritual of ancestor homage.[14] Black autonomy within *cofradías* was limited. A local priest or chaplain always retained absolute control of the brotherhood. For example, members were not permitted to speak without permission and officers could not spend money without the priest's approval. Additionally, the officer in charge of the money had to be an outside member, white, and appointed by the priest. All other officers were elected.[15]

African *cabildos* became the next area in which black culture developed in 1821 under the direction of Bernardino Rivadavia. They continued under the dictator Juan Manuel Rosas, who was known for supporting black cultural events. Under these two leaders, black culture in Buenos Aires was open to the public and used as a gathering mechanism for Afro-Argentines. Divided loosely by their ethnic origins, nations such as the Cambundá, Benguela, Lubolo, Angola, and Congo were officially acknowledged by the government in the 1820s. Unlike *cofradías*, these nations had greater autonomy. After police permission was granted, nations could spend their money as they saw fit. The money went to various ventures that helped black members purchase their freedom and establish schools for their children. Nations also aided their members when they became unemployed or when they needed financial assistance for their farms or businesses.[16]

One function of *cabildos* in the Diaspora was to meet to dance, often on a weekly basis, and parade publicly in big festivities

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14. Meisel, "'The Fruit of Freedom'," 280.

15. Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines*, 139-141.

16. Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines*, 141-47.

such as Kings' Day on January 6 and Saint John Eve on June 23. In some countries, the creation of *cabildos* overlapped with religious brotherhoods such as in the case of the Brazilian cities of Ouro Preto, Rio de Janerio, Pernambuco, and Bahia. In Cuba and the Río de la Plata, on the other hand, *cabildos* acquired formal status independent of religious brotherhoods. Local governments chartered the *cabildos* to provide social aid to their members and to tighten the surveillance over a part of the population perceived as dangerous. In practice, both secular and religious African associations were dance troupes, burial societies, mutual aid organizations, and peer groups.[17]

The decline of the *cabildos* roughly coincided with the fall of Rosas in the 1850s. The elimination of the slave trade, aging membership, and conscription took its toll on the nations' membership. With their numbers rapidly declining, these societies attempted to recruit younger Afro-Argentines.[18] However, this attempt failed because black youths showed little, if any, interest in African nations.

Culturally, blacks continued to partake in carnival. *Comparasas*, or marching and dancing bands, were first permitted in Buenos Aires during the Carnival of 1836. All the African nations mustered ensembles to parade throughout the streets in brilliant costumes, each with its own drum corps and dancers. They existed from roughly 1844 to the 1870s. Based upon the following account, it became clear that the experience of carnival was a vibrant experience that involved all types of people. An ongoer exclaimed, "I walked with a friend down Florida Avenue, looking peacefully at the chorus lines of all types of carnaval participants. Dukes, Kings, Emperors...locos alegres, locos tristes...bears, monkeys and the devil

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17. Oscar Chamosa, "To Honor the Ashes of Their Forebears: The Rise and Crisis of African Nations in the Post-Independence State of Buenos Aires, 1820–1860," *The Americas* 59, no. 3 (January 2003): 349.

18. The slave trade was officially abolished in 1813, but reopened briefly again under General Juan Manual Rosas in 1831. Rosas responded to the growing need for domestic servants in Buenos Aires. Under the pressure of the British anti-slave trade efforts, this slave trade ended two years later. Interestingly enough, as late as 1853, one hundred Africans were brought to Patagonia, the south of Argentina. Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines*, 56-57.

himself."[19] *Comparasas* such as *Las Esclavas*, *Las Libres*, *Las Bonitas*, *Las Feas*, *Las Bromistas*, *Las Serias*, *Las Verduleras*, *Las Compradoras*, *Las Limosneras*, *Las Aristocráticas*, also revealed that women joined in the festivities of carnival.[20]

During the second half of the century, as African nations gradually faded away, the government, in alliance with upper-class social clubs and civic organizations, sought to further "civilize" Carnival. In civilizing the carnival, elites believed that they would then be able to control a potentially dangerous crowd. During the late 1800s and early 1900s, the focus of the event shifted from unruly street parties to public and private occasions organized and sponsored by local elites such as parades of cars and floats representing elite clubs and comparasas and formal balls and dances held at the major social clubs and hotels.[21]

Dances, in particular, came under attack. Traditionally they had served as an important area of gathering because they brought the community together on a regular basis strengthening the ties of friendship and community identity. They provided a source of recreation and rejuvenation and a means of self and group affirmation. Yet, as Argentina adopted more "modern and civilized" venues for cultural expression the council's complaints objected to carnival based on moral, economic, and political grounds. Morally, the councilmen declared that these gatherings were offensive to God and man. Acts committed at these weekly gatherings raised fear among white men especially for "the little girls and innocent people" in attendance who could only be corrupted by the spectacle.

Economically, the dances were dangerous for two reasons. First, the black nations and *cofradías* collected money to sponsor the festivities and other social activities. According to councilmen, this money could only come from slaves robbing their owners. Second, the slaves became so vice-ridden and irresponsible as a result of these

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19. Tomás Platero, *Piedra Libre para nuestros Negros: La Broma y otros periódicos de la communidad afroargentina (1873–1882)* (Buenos Aires: Instituto Historico de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, 2004), 150; *La Broma*, 13 March 1880.

20. Platero, *Piedra Libre*, 82; "Sociedades carnavalescas," *La Broma*, 13 July 1879.

21. Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines*, 123.

dances that they had become utterly useless to their owners. They would "think of no other thing but of the time when they can go dance."[22]

The councilmen also believed the dances had negative political consequences. They realized that as the elite of a slave-holding society they were living on the summit of a volcano that could erupt at any moment and they feared the dances as a potential source of discord, agitation, and a catalyst that might trigger the explosion. When royal control was terminated by the revolution and the local elites were free to rule as they pleased, they took the opportunity to ban black street dancing in 1822 and public black dancing of any kind in 1825.[23]

Some elite Afro-Argentines also joined the ranks of their elite white counterparts in order to be accepted into the national equation. The economic security achieved by the prosperous blacks had brought about two important changes. First, the black elites financially supported the rest of the black community. For example, Juan Pablo Balparda's cigarette factory and dance halls, owned by blacks, regularly supported black newspapers by supplying advertisements of their businesses in black newspapers in order to reach the black community.[24] Eugenio Sar appeared as a donor on subscription lists that supported black newspapers.[25] Second, the black elite's adoption of "values"—honor, virtue, and privacy—caused the black elite to express their black culture privately and in literature. As a result, a quiet disdain developed when black elites observed more public displays of carnival, African *cabildos*, *cofradías*, and the *candombe*.

The transformation of black culture from a traditional to modern forum reflected an important change within the black community and their attempts to be included in the nation. It became necessary for some elites to adhere to what greater society claimed to

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22. Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines*, 125-27.

23. Andrews, *Afro-Argentines*, 156-58.

24. Andrews, *Afro-Argentines*, 191.

25. Jorge Miguel Ford, *Beneméritos de mi Estripe* (La Plata, 1899), 73–74; George Reid Andrews, "Race Versus Class Association: The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1850–1900," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 11, no. 1 (1979): 24.

be "civilized, obedient, and docile." By the end of the nineteenth century, heterogeneity demonstrated that there was a place in the nation for blacks, but they would have to conform to the greater society's willingness to adopt positivist theories in regards to national development. This meant that their culture would have to be within the realms of what was considered modernized. In doing so the black press became the next important forum for the community.

Heterogeneity: a Search for National Belonging

During the second periodization of heterogeneity, national leaders focused on defining the community in a more progressive and modern era. Immigration was the key to end their issues with the "old society." This old society was described by the Generation of 1837 as Spanish from the countryside, phenotypically dark, Catholic, and rudimentarily educated. An immigrant from a European city, phenotypically light, an enlightened Christian from the coast, and rationally educated would personify the new society.[26] The creation of a modern nation signified the complete rejection of the old and the embrace of a new and cosmopolitan nation. By the late nineteenth century, their ideals were put into practice. In the midst of this transformation from traditional and conservative to a more modern and liberal state, black Argentines debated their role in the nation by way of the press. The black press began with the inauguration of *El Proletario* in 1858. This was five years after the official abolishment of slavery in 1853. The press provided a forum for the social and legal ramifications of emancipation.

Lessons of Citizenship

As president from 1868 to 1874, Sarmiento implemented various educational reforms such as the Normal School, the nationalization of the educational system, and the professionalization of educators. The importance of educational reforms directly affected the black community. In the black press, it became one of the most important issues for the uplifting of the race. Education provided the means to create noble citizens that would provide stability and strength for the black community. As noted in *La Broma*, "education minds human passions, and defines the love and benevolence between men,

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26. Nicolas Shumway, *Invention of Argentina* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 167.

that mitigates the aspiration of at social equality and marks the first steps of true happiness for el pueblo?"[27]

The black poet Mateo Elejalde also noted in his poem "La redención" that education was the key to raise the community out of ignorance and backward thinking: "forward, yes forward, each time with more persistence...Eternal hate for ignorance, love for education! Divine education, inextinguishable light and heavenly messenger of sublime redemption."[28]

Knowing education was central to social mobility, the main issue for the black community's leaders was the creation of schools for their black children. In *La Aroma,* it was noted that funding was needed to start their schools. Members of the black elite such as Casildo G. Thompson, Ernesto Mendizábal, and Juan Blanco met on various occasions to address how they would form schools that would teach their black youth.[29] Moreover, they discussed financial backing for schools. Money, however, was not the only problem. Even if there was enough financial backing, schools remained largely segregated which caused many intellectuals to question the ideology of the Constitution versus actual daily practices. In *La Broma*, the editor continued to complain about the fight for equal education. He noted that a school to educate "los niños de color! Uff...it would sow the germ of discordance between two races that stretch themselves day by day, with indissoluble links, morally elevated by this beautiful concept that was established in our Constitution: equality."[30]

This example demonstrated that a segregated black school would not serve the purpose of equality. Integrated schools would be the only way for black children to be included into the nation. Furthermore, black female education also came to the forefront. In regards, to female education it was noted,

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27. Platero, *Piedra Libre*, 160; "Nuestro Deber- Educacion!" *La Broma*, 8 April 1878.

28. Lewis, *Afro-Argentine Discourse*, 30–32; *La Broma*, 3 February 1881.

29. Platero, *Piedra Libre*, 157; *La Broma*, 8 February 1878.

30. Platero, *Piedra Libre*, 161; "Escuelas y Bromas," *La Broma*, 4 April 1878.

today she is free, today she can say: I am no longer the ser-
vant but the señora. Now we must ask about this liberty, is it
apparent or true? We believe that it is apparent, the women
continues to remain a slave in her familial dwellings. She
must have the same science of a man, the same freedom,
morally and materially.[31]

This was particularly important because by the end of the nineteenth
century, black females outnumbered black males. The education level
of these women would be crucial to the social advancement of the
black community. They would become the next leaders and thus they
would need to have a certain level of education.

Education became an important characteristic for citizenship
in Buenos Aires by the end of the nineteenth century. A national edu-
cation system would create children that would be obedient under the
state. Blacks in particular focused on how education would give their
children more socio-economic opportunities. More importantly, the
knowledge learned in schools would teach them about their rights and
privileges. This was key especially since the black community
remained largely marginalized.

Citizenship in Action

After the fall of Rosas, in roughly 1852, Buenos Aires experi-
enced an unprecedented expansion of associative practices. These
activities were not new in Buenos Aires. In the past, the organization
and membership of brotherhoods, co-fraternities, artisan guilds, and
the like had rested mainly on tradition, ascription, and custom. In
contrast, the new associations were organized on a voluntary basis by
free and equal individuals brought together by a common purpose.
These associations were targeted by the elite political machines who
considered them to be modern forms of sociability an ideal site for the
breeding of new citizens, and thus they promoted the creation of civil
voluntary association of all sorts. Mutual aid societies, would become
a large player as one of the city's leading associations. There were
three types of mutual aid societies: national, occupational or profes-
sional, and ethnic (in this case Afro-Argentine).[32]

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31. Solomianski, *Identidades secretas*, 196; *La Juventud*, 5 March 1876.

32. Hilda Sábato, *The Many and the Few: Political Participation in Repub-
lican Buenos Aires* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 32–35.

As representatives of these groups of people, these mutual aid societies would become involved in politics. Oftentimes, this culminated in their support for political clubs and parties. These clubs served an important service for political machines in that they represented the link between the political elite and the popular masses. Yet, tension existed between the aspiration of political parties/clubs to represent the people as a whole and the need to organize as a group in order to win at the polls.[33] It was within this realm that Afro-Argentines, members of various mutual aid societies, and other associations found that they could have some political influence.

Having been granted male suffrage in 1821, blacks continued to attempt to use their political clout in the political sphere.[34] Yet, in the black press, Afro-Argentines began to question the ideology of racelessness which had granted them the right to vote and its actual daily practices. In particular, black editors focused on the hypocrisy of liberalism's "racelessness." For example, *La Broma* noted that the Constitution stated there was no nobility or hierarchy and that all citizens were equal under the law. In practice, "they do not observe at all the Constitution when dealing with the rights of the blacks."[35] The ideology of liberalism's racelessness, which had supposedly done away with racial and class differences, still had not come to fruition by the 1880s.

Nonetheless, black men had been granted suffrage, which still gave them some leverage in politics. Potential political leaders still had to cater to them. In 1880, *La Broma* noted that each time politicians jockeyed for votes, they saw certain individuals who sought them out "and why? because they need our vote."[36] The elections provided moments of "racelessness" in action. The right to vote equaled participation in the nation-state. Afro-Argentines also acknowledged

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33. Sábato, *The Many and the Few*, 174-75.

34. Mark Szuchman, "Imagining the State, Building the Nation: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Argentina," *History Compass* 4 (2006): 20.

35. Platero, *Piedra Libre*, 55; "Discusion libre. Carta al director de 'La Broma' ," *La Broma*, 20 March 1881.

36. Platero, *Piedra Libre*, 50; "El ciudadano Bernardo de Irigoyen," *La Broma*, 21 March 1880.

that although the vote may be color-blind, their social reality continued to be challenged by racial discrimination.

As far as political clubs, *La Juventud*, a black newspaper geared to the working class, approached them with frank and outright cynicism. The editors argued that politics served only to divide the community and did it no good whatsoever. An article on the black legislators of the period described them as party hacks who slavishly followed the dictates of the machine bosses. A later article accused the white press of exploiting the black community for political purposes. It charged that the white dailies only reported on the black community when it organized to support a candidate favored by the papers. When the community struggled to establish an apolitical mutual aid society or newspaper, its efforts went unreported by the major papers. The white press thus encouraged conflict and discord within the community and ignored efforts to mobilize it for constructive ends.[37]

By 1883, *La Juventud* noted that this fight would have to continue in order to incorporate both racial and national identities. They have to continue to fight until the last moment that they had in order to obtain real political and civil rights. It was noted that the black community would have to "assure our public liberties and those sacred rights that gives us calmness."[38]

The fight for acceptance into the national equation would require that Afro-Argentines become ideal citizens. By the late nineteenth century, Argentina's focus shifted to "modernization" and the nation had changed from the ideology of heterogeneity to economic progress. Although they acknowledged a heterogeneous racial nation-state, people of color would have to be groomed into proper citizens. In doing so, they focused on the areas of culture and education. Considered to be a "whitening" act, intellectual leaders in the black community focused on how to become a part of Argentina's national identity.

Social Realities of Citizenship

Comparative studies of free black populations in the Americas argue that those populations experienced upward mobility in direct relation to the prosperity and growth rate of the economies. The

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37. Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines*, 28.

38. Platero, *Piedra Libre*, 172; "Banderas al viento," *La Juventud*, 10 December 1877.

more active the economy, the more social and economic opportunities for black people.[39]   This, however, was not the case in Argentina. Social divisions remained racially defined and impenetrable so competition for upward mobility was fairly low. There was less of a need to overtly discriminate against blacks.[40] Moreover, a stark class division existed within the black community. This problem was often debated in the newspapers of *La Broma*, which provided an elitist viewpoint, and *La Juventud* a more working-class oriented paper.

Regardless of their socio-economic status, by the end of the nineteenth century, blacks did not have a consensus of what to do and the black press constantly reflected the growing frustration and debate within the black community.   Three authors, Hector Mendizábal, Casildo G. Thompson, and José Soiza Reilly chose three different ideologies: racial identity, the nation, and the reconciliation of race and nation.

Hector Mendizábal argued for the race. He proposed fighting racism in his prolific writing. He claimed, "fight and combat the white man, never mix and resist." This may explain why Mendizábal committed suicide at 24. He could visualize the future of Afro-Argentines, forgotten and erased from Argentine history. Interestingly, Mendizábal wrote in one of his final poems that he was isolated in the midst of "su pueblo." He no longer had "patria" and the only right given to them [Afro-Argentines] was the right to die.[41]

Casildo G.Thompson focused on the nation. Thompson was the son of Casildo Thompson, a well-known military officer who founded the mutual aid society *La Fraternal*. Thompson Sr. also composed various national songs during the mid-nineteenth century. His father exposed the younger Thompson to opportunities and publicity at a young age. Casildo G. Thompson followed his father's creative lead and became a renowned pianist, winning admission to the Buenos Aires provincial musical conservatory. Thompson also received numerous awards for his religious compositions. His career continued until his death in 1928 at the age of 72.[42]

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39. Andrews, "Race Versus Class Association," 20–21.

40. Platero, *Piedra Libre*, 17-18.

41. Platero, *Piedra Libre*, 17–18.

42. Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines*, 169.

Thompson's polemical poem "Canto al Africa," published in 1877, openly attacked racism in Argentina.

> Do you know the name of that divine and blessed land, that jewel which God bequeathed to the world, that chaste offended virgin, of humiliated prominence? Its name is Africa, listen, beautiful Africa! It is the birth place of the Black: it is the homeland.[43]

Thompson revealed that there was no shame in being black. If anything,Thompson believed the shame and disgrace belonged to their white oppressors.

In his poem, Thompson switched the negative stereotypes given to blacks and ascribed them to the whites because of their inhumane treatment and enslavement of black people. He wrote,

> Do you know what happens and why sadly the beautiful African virgin takes off her fine clothes and does not wear the smile of a sultan? Because an hour sounded, a wretched hour! From the tall peak to the low forest A lecherous beast named the white man ripped the breast of virgin Africa with brutal greediness, bloody fury.[44]

Thompson also described the inhumane treatment of blacks in Argentina. According to him, the whippings, verbal abuse, and other tortures suffered under the control of whites proved the whites' savagery. Africans conversely represented purity and regal composure. Thompson reclaimed the stereotypes that had been given to blacks and transferred these to his oppressors. Surprisingly, the poem's conclusion requested forgiveness on the part of the black community instead of revenge. "The sun of Redemption: the hour sounded in the quadrant of destiny now in the name of love slaves and tyrants shake hands, thus equality of justice joins them in a confused embrace."[45] Thompson desired unity rather than accusation.

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43. Quoted in Lewis, *Afro-Argentine Discourse*, 55–56.

44. Quoted in Lewis, *Afro-Argentine Discourse*, 57-58.

45. Quoted in Lewis, *Afro-Argentine Discourse*, 64-65.

Thompson proposed putting forth nation and in turn assimilation instead of a racialized identity.

Finally, José Soiza Reilly focused on how race and nation could be reconciled. In an 1905 article titled "Gente de Color," Reilly wrote about the issues facing the diminishing Afro-Argentine community. "Little by little, this race is becoming extinct. With the slow strong destruction, the black race of sons of sun walks toward death. It is sad. It is pitiful...It is pitiful and sad to contemplate the darkness of this wounded race and stoicism..."[46]

Soiza Reilly feared that the black population would become extinct. His article called for awareness as well as attention. Additionally, he disproved the notion that the black population had disappeared. According to Reilly, the main reason for the black population's disappearance was because blacks were becoming lighter. "Meanwhile, the race is losing in the mixture its primitive color. It becomes gray. It dissolves. It lightens. The African tree is producing white Caucasian flowers... "[47]

Soiza Reilly recognized the current dilemmas of the black community. Its numbers had decreased to the point of extinction and the race mixture between black women and white men had also lightened the black community. A sex-ratio imbalance among the black population forced black females who wished to marry to seek out husbands among white male immigrants.[48] Nevertheless, Soiza Reilly argued that the small community had to remain united. *La Ortiga*, a newspaper directed by an Afro-Argentine, was distributed widely in the "homes of the Ethiopian race." Soiza Reilly also noted the existence and importance of *La Protectora*, the mutual aid society

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46. Juan José Soiza Reilly, "Gente de color," *Caras y caretas*, 25 November 1905.

47. Soiza Reilly, "Gente de color."

48. According to the 1810 census, there were unequal number of black women and men between the ages of 10-29. For every 100 white females there were 103 white males. By 1827 the sex ratio imbalance was even more pronounced, as the number of black males had dropped significantly to 69 for every 100 black females, yet the ratio of males to females among the white population remained high at 90 white males for every 100 white females. Andrews, *Los Afro-argentinos de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires: De la Flor, 1989), 89.

founded by the working class in the 1880s which provided various economic advantages as well as social support to its members.[49]

As with other writers of black discourse, Soiza Reilly nostalgically remembered his African roots. For the majority of the article, Soiza Reilly described his black ancestors in a European fashion. His ancestors descended from kings and queens of Africa such as Ramses III of Egypt, who mastered the art of suicide, and Ranavalo of Madagascar, a queen without a crown, scepter, or homeland. Ranavalo transformed into a Parisian lady, "Today she covers her blackness with Parisian elegances...She knows French. She uses a hat, puffed socks, and black boots."[50]

Her transition reflected the desires of all black elites who sought to become Europeanized. Additionally, these lines revealed the potential for blacks to become acculturated and trained in the ways of Europeans. He traced his lineage to powerful African people to legitimize his genealogy for *Caras y Caretas*'s white audience. Afro-Argentines could justify their social status because of their rich legacy. Blacks in the Americas came from a powerful line of influential, strong, and beautiful people. Soiza Reilly also compared blacks in the Diaspora to Buenos Aires.

> Brazil, that still feels the weight of its manumitted slavery, it still has some black villages. North America more. [President Theodore] Roosevelt helps them. He protects them. He has invited to his table 'colored gentlemen' and he embraced them. 'They are men like me,' he says. He is right. Relatively in Buenos Aires there are very little, but enough to divide into categories. Plebeians and aristocrats.[51]

Soiza Reilly had a sense of connection with other blacks in the African Diaspora. Brazil had recently emancipated its slaves in 1889 and some of its black population continued to be concentrated in villages of their own. Juan José Soiza Reilly imagined a country free of racial prejudice in the United States. Black U.S. citizens, according to him, were equal in the eyes of President Roosevelt. His perception

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49. Soiza Reilly, "Gente de color."

50. Soiza Reilly, "Gente de color."

51. Soiza Reilly, "Gente de color."

of the United States as a place of cultural progress, however, impaired his recognition of Jim Crow laws. Soiza Reilly recognized the small number of blacks in Buenos Aires, in contrast to the larger black populations of Brazil and the United States, yet he cleverly disclosed his class views.

Although the black population in Buenos Aires remained small, it still had "plebeians and aristocrats." Two social classes that had emerged in the nineteenth century continued to persist in the twentieth century. Soiza Reilly subtly posited that his black discourse was exclusively for the black middle class.

> ...the people of color in Buenos Aires have literary newspapers, beneficent societies and aristocratic salons, where instead of the grotesque candombe or zemba—lewd like a monkey's grimace—they dance in modern suits in the manner of Louis XV...Now those numerous corrals in which the people of color lived thrown together in a depressing promiscuity have faded into oblivion. Now, there are black families that ride in livery coaches and wear fabulous jewels.[52]

Black newspapers provided a public space for blacks to discuss and/or debate issues that affected the black community. By the end of the nineteenth century, a society which prided itself on being more European had developed. In response, blacks reacted to state-sponsored sanctions such as education and immigration. They promoted education within the black community claiming that it was key to racial upward mobility. Afro-Argentines also voted. This was key to their political maneuvers because unlike the immigrants, Afro-Argentines were citizens. Lastly, the examination of three authors gives insight to the choices Afro-Argentines had to make. Mendizábal chose the most radical and, as his own suicide reveals, race over nation would prove a difficult choice for the black community. Thompson though, acknowledged the negative legacy of slavery but still had hope for the future and promoted the nation over race. Finally, Soiza Reilly was able to reconcile race and nation but only for a select few—the elite. These options epitomized the social realities for Afro-Argentines at the turn of the century and demonstrated that they were not idle participants in the shaping of their own destiny.

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52. Soiza Reilly, "Gente de color."

Reconciliation of Race and Nation

Race and nation have played important roles in the formation of national identity in Latin America. In particular, the Argentine case reveals two distinct racialized periodizations: racelessness and heterogeneity. These periodizations shaped the national ideology of the state and defined citizenship. Black men and women, sought a place and space within the Argentine nation. First, they focused on carving out space in which they could express their African heritage. Similar to other areas throughout the African Diaspora, Afro-Argentines created *cabildos* which served as a cultural marker of their African past. Members of the *cabildo* often participated in carnival. *Cabildos* thrived during the periodization of racelessness during the early nineteenth century.

During the period of heterogeneity in latter half of the nineteenth century, newspapers continued to serve as a forum for blacks to discuss their educational, political, and social realities within a more modern and progressive era. By the end of the nineteenth century, blacks had three choices of discourse: race, the nation, or the reconciliation of race and nation. The choice of racial advancement would eventually fail while the balancing act of race and nation would decline as the black population decreased. This left the only the last option, the nation.

Beyond the Bourgeois and Proletarian: the Trans-Atlantic Roots of Ayn Rand's Individualist Ideal and American Reactions to the Rise of Bolshevism after the Great War, 1905-1922

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Then man shakes himself, and the bonds of custom are loosed. The power of ideas is sovereign, and he listens to whatever instruction of hope, illusion, or revenge is carried to him on the air.
J.M. Keynes

Introduction

In February 1905, Ayn Rand, the American novelist and philosopher, was born Alisa Zinovyevna Rosenbaum in St. Petersburg, Russia. Her rich Jewish parents provided for all her primary needs and then indulged her with extraordinary luxuries and intellectual opportunities. Moreover, Zinovy Zacharovich and Anna Borisovna Rosenbaum loved her precocious nature. They constantly praised her mental gifts. The Great Reforms had allowed Rand's parents to climb the social and professional ladder into positions that freed them to spend time with their children and to enjoy the finer things of life. In the wake of autocracy's collapse in early 1917, the Provisional Government promised the Rosenbaums further social and economic security. That October the Bolshevik Revolution dashed their hopes. This essay examines the Russian intellectual roots of the novelist and philosopher Ayn Rand—an American by choice.

Rand's family fits in the circumstances of the Great Reforms in Russia. The tug-and-push of reform and counter-reform molded

them politically and economically. Zinovy Zacharovich and Anna Borisovna Rosenbaum raised Rand in an environment that agreed with the ideas behind the February and October Revolutions of 1917—some of the same ideas that would transform the American concept of individualism and drive conservatives in the U.S. to attack the chaos of the free market. This paper will also analyze America's place within the intellectual circumstances that Bolshevism unleashed. American individualism changed in response to social leveling in Russia. Although there are few definitive answers available for this second inquiry, this article will attempt to explain the intellectual significance of an American literary icon whose individualist ideal was a trans-Atlantic phenomenon.

Reforms and Intellectuals

In 1856, Britain and France defeated Russia in the Crimean War and reluctantly drew the Russian autocracy into the modern age.[1] The absence of economic dynamism in Russia had put the military at a technological disadvantage that helped to precipitate the disaster of the Crimean War. Unlike Britain and France, Russia, a patriarchal society, had not industrialized. The institution of serfdom created capital deficiencies that made the finance of new investments difficult. Since the 1840s, elites and intellectuals had understood these economic problems.[2] Even so, the autocracy never committed to change beyond establishing commissions to review the situation on the ground. When the Crimean War diminished Russia's major power status in Europe, Tsar Alexander II and enlightened bureaucrats introduced the Great Reforms to return to the nation the strength and stability she had possessed.[3]

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1. Britain and France formed an alliance with a weak Ottoman Empire. The victory humiliated Alexander II (r. 1855-1881). Russia surrendered its title of protector of Christianity in the region and its control over the Black Sea.

2. For studies that underline Russians' reform mentality before the defeat in the 1860s, see Ben Eklof, John Bushnell, and Larissa Zakharova, eds., *Russia's Great Reforms, 1855-1881* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Bruce W. Lincoln, *In the Vanguard of Reform: Russia's Enlightened Bureaucrats, 1825-1861* (DaKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1990).

3. During the Great Reforms, new professions flourished, literacy increased, urban centers grew, and new industries blossomed. The institution of the

The advantages of the reforms for the autocracy equaled the drawbacks. The autocracy craved the benefits of industry and science to make Russia a formidable opponent internationally, however, the political and intellectual ramifications of liberal reform domestically threatened it. The ancient regime defended its prestige and power by appropriating the political and economic liberties of the burgeoning professional class. The autocracy's determination to decide the conservative mood proved tragic for Russia's professionals. The Great Reforms democratized politics, expanded the job market, and reduced quota restrictions, but because the autocratic institution became a vital component of progressive transformations, conservatism lacked a modern pulse.[4]

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zemstvo granted peasants electoral power and increased autonomy in rural areas. The peasantry benefited as well from transformations in the military, law, and education. In the military, conscription became universal. The government reduced the term of service from twenty-five to six years. Minorities and peasants discovered opportunities outside of the army. The judicial statute of 1864 instituted equality before the law and it separated the judiciary from administration. It also established trial by jury, legalized the publication of court proceedings, and professionalized law. Educational reforms expanded the number of elementary schools. The university statute of 1863 gave autonomy to colleges and lessened restrictions on minority groups.

4. Russian citizens gained civil rights during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. O. Crisp and L. Edmondson show that minorities, workers, and intellectuals' respect and concern for civil rights increased after the Great Reforms, especially in the final decades of the Tsarist regime. O. Crisp and L. Edmondson, eds., *Civil Rights in Imperial Russia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). Bruce Lincoln argues the Great Reforms constituted more cautious than daring legislation because any attack on autocratic power threatened reaction. He sees arbitrary authority present behind reforms and counter-reform. Bruce W. Lincoln, *The Great Reforms: Autocracy, Bureaucracy, and the Politics of Change in Imperial Russia* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1990). Alfred Rieber suggests that educated elites' social order accumulated over older, deeper rooted social orders without really transforming them. The top layers, more superficial, proved powerless against the older and culturally more ingrained bottom layers. This resulted in the greater rate of fragmentation among educated society and the survival of the peasantry during the crucial years of 1917-1920. Alfred J. Rieber, "The Sedimentary Society," Edith Clowes at al, *Between Tsar and People.*

An archaic conservative ideology justified the omnipresence of the state in the business sector. Educated elites—the closest thing Russia had to a bourgeoisie—united around cultural institutions such as universities and the press. Here, educated elites exercised considerable power.[5] Universities merged the diverse interests of the professional class with workers, peasants, and minorities fostering a sense of intellectual and ideological fraternity. Individuals of polar political backgrounds shared the trials and tribulations of student university life.[6] Within such a crucible and without political force, educated elites could not institute the political programs that protected their specific economic interests. The Tsar gained an enemy from the estate with the most potential for revitalizing Russia's international strength.

In Russia, class-consciousness was much more complex than Marxists assumed at the turn of the twentieth century.[7] Since all subjects were equally the subordinates of the autocracy, the social borders that divided educated elites, workers, and peasants lacked definition. The professional class shared a culture but not a political authority with the autocracy. It shared the desire for political independence

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5. McReynolds demonstrates that "the battle for freedom of the press reads like a microhistory of the broader political struggle." Louise McReynolds, *The News Under Russia's Old Regime: The Development of a Mass-Circulation Press* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 199.

6. Morrissey argues that the university instilled in students a type of class-consciousness. Susan K. Morrissey, *Heralds of Revolution: Russian Students and the Mythologies of Radicalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998). Fischer argues that professional and student sympathy with radicalism demonstrated they indirectly "aid[ed] and admir[ed] revolutionary sects." George Fischer, *Russian Liberalism: From Gentry to Intelligentsia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 85.

7. Freeze argues that the estate system evolved parallel to the rise of a vibrant civil society and affected the development of the middle class as well as the proletariat. It was active, dynamic, and adapted to the modern age. Freeze contends that the estate system was a nineteenth-century phenomenon that did not give way to the development of class consciousness. Moreover, he shows that the state did not institute it. The collaboration between various groups influenced its rise. Freeze concludes that economic conflict did not drive Russia apart, but "judicial-cultural stratification" did. Gregory L. Freeze, "The Soslovie (Estate) Paradigm and Russian Social History," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 1 (Feb, 1986): 11-36.

with the lower classes and estates. This differed from Western Europe where the rise of modernity was a middle-class phenomenon. In Russia, the Tsar initiated and manipulated it.[8] The pulse of reforms from above preserved the monarchy's arbitrary authority, which protected it against "radicals" who found autocratic progress insufficient. Often, the Tsar distorted the bounds that distinguished lawful from violent opposition and consolidated the antagonism of his subjects against him. If the doctors, engineers, lawyers, professors, and executives held the keys to the development of the country, then their political weaknesses dissipated the energy of their genius. Russia's educated society contained elements of Europe's bourgeoisie, but it lacked the latter's economic and political independence.[9]

Unintentionally, the Tsar further intensified the intellectual bonds—which universities encouraged—between moderate and radical circles. He alienated educated elites from political and economic power and interpreted lawful and violent opposition as equal. Educated elites lost sight of their proper interests as the bearers of progress

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8. The implication is not that Russians had no agency but that the autocracy limited how far into the modern world the rising middle class could take Russia. For studies that discuss the effects of industrialization and urbanization on Russia see Jeffrey Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Literature, 1861-1917* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Daniel R. Brower, *The Russian City between Tradition and Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); M. F. Hamm, ed., *The City in Late Imperial Russia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986); Roberta Thompson Manning, *The Crisis of the Old Order in Russia: Gentry and Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).

9. This collection of essays looks at the diverse and fragmented middling groups of urban Russia. The authors argue it only described the foundation of a middling identity, not a bourgeoisie. They contradict the Marxist thesis that Russia was in a transitional stage before 1917. Edith W. Clowes, Samuel D. Kassow, and James L. West, eds., *Between Tsar and People: Educated Society and the Quest for Public Identity in Late Imperial Russia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991). Rieber demonstrates that the hierarchical structure of Russian society hindered entrepreneurs and merchants from creating an ideology that identified them as a group. Rieber, *Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Imperial Russia*. The authors in the Hamm collection argue that because the workers did not have strong ties to Moscow and St. Petersburg, they remained loyal to the countryside. Hence, a middle class emerged slowly, never very well-defined. M. F. Hamm, ed., *The City in Late Imperial Russia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).

and modern conservatism. They accommodated to autocratic conservatism to avoid reaction from above, but identified with the social subjugation of the workers and peasants.

Family

Ayn Rand's family, as beneficiaries of the Great Reforms, fits perfectly in these shifting economic, social, and political currents. The first of eight children, Rand's father, Zinovy Zacharovich Rosenbaum, was born in the Pale of Jewish Settlement—the western most part of the empire—on November 18, 1869.[10] He grew up classically *schetl* poor. Educational reforms expanded the number of elementary schools and the university statute of 1863 gave autonomy to colleges and lessened restrictions on minority groups, thus, opening opportunities for Zinovy Zacharovich unavailable to his forebears. The quota reduction on Jews permitted Rand's father to study chemistry, a degree that gave him financial independence as a pharmacist.[11] The reforms also allowed him to immigrate to St. Petersburg to establish a private business. By 1900, Zinovy Zacharovich's remittances to his family back home funded the education of his six sisters and one brother.[12]

Similarly, Rand's mother benefited from the Great Reforms but her background contrasted Zinovy Zacharovich's in significant ways. Born October 15, 1880, Anna Borisovna Kaplan grew up in St. Petersburg in a wealthy Jewish home.[13] Boris Kaplan, Rand's grandfather, owned a prosperous tailor shop in the capital and prospered from government contacts. He supplied the Imperial Army with boots.[14] According to their granddaughter, their business contracts to

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10. He was born in Breslitovsk, present-day Belarus. Ayn Rand Institute, "Ayn Rand Timeline," http://www.aynrand.org/site/PageServer?pagename=about_ayn_rand_aynrand_timeline.

11. Jeff Britting, *Ayn Rand* (New York: Overlook Duckworth, 2004), 2.

12. Britting, *Ayn Rand*, 2-3.

13. Ayn Rand Institute, "Ayn Rand Timeline."

14. Quoted in Barbara Branden, *Passion of Ayn Rand* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1986), 6. (hereafter cited in text as *PAR*).

the Romanov dynasty shielded them from anti-Semitism.[15] The type of relation the Kaplans shared with the autocracy reflects the political symbiosis of professionals and the ancient regime. Anna Borisovna's family wealth created jobs and increased urbanization but politically, their successes and security, as Jewish cosmopolitans, depended on their submission to the absolute power of the Tsar.

Rand's parents thrived in the opening years of the century. On May 3, 1904, Zinovy Zacharovich Rosenbaum and Anna Borisovna Kaplan married.[16] Ayn Rand, the couple's first child, was born Alisa Zinovyevna Rosenbaum in February 1905. Two years later, their second child, Natasha, arrived. The youngest, Eleonora, was born in 1910. Zinovy's wealth increased as his family grew. By 1912, they lived in an upper-class neighborhood and owned a building on Nevsky Propekt overlooking Znamenskaya Square (renamed Vosstaniya).[17] Zinovy Zacharovich's business occupied the first floor and his wife made their home above. They lived lavishly and traveled widely. They could afford three-month vacations every year in the Crimea and visits to Western Europe. Rand recalled the decade before the Great War as the "most radiant *cultural* atmosphere in human history."[18] Her remark reflected the cultural independence that educated elites experienced in this epoch.

Between 1905 and 1917, the Rosenbaum girls shared a safe and nurturing home regulated by a strict sense of hierarchy. Rand's close friend related that "the atmosphere in [their] home was… formal."[19] "Children's education," Rand explained, "was totally in the hands of the mother in those days." [20] Zinovy Zacharovich provided for them abstractly by fulfilling his role of patriarch while Anna

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15. Branden, *PAR*, 6.

16. Ayn Rand Institute, "Ayn Rand Timeline."

17. Britting, *Ayn Rand*, 2-3.

18. Ayn Rand, *The Romantic Manifesto* (New York: New American Library, 1971), vi.

19. Mary Ann and Charles Sures, *Facets of Ayn Rand* (Irvine, CA: Ayn Rand Institute Press, 2001), 90.

20. Quoted in Branden, *PAR*, 9.

Borisovna had charge over the home and children. Despite the family's "Victorian values," Anna and Zinovy Rosenbaum deviated somewhat from their prescribed roles. At times, Rand's mother lamented that she wished she never had had children.[21] Her frustrated desire for independence cued her husband to attend to his girls, who felt affectionately committed to him.[22]

Of the three sisters, Alisa Zinovyevna received the most attention from Zinovy Zacharovich and Anna Borisovna. Although Rand considered Natasha a talented pianist and Nora a gifted artist, they lacked Alisa's intellectual gifts. Rand suspected that the adults saw "something unusual in [her]."[23] At social gatherings, Anna Borisovna paraded her daughter before family and friends.[24] Zinovy Zacharovich admired Alisa just as intensely.[25] Though Rand exaggerated such incidents, what matters most is that she interpreted them as an effect of her intellectual gifts. The attention enhanced Alisa Zinovyevna's confidence while her household environment stimulated her intelligence. Rand's parents read voraciously and their pleasure fed Alisa's curiosity.[26] By age six, she read and wrote in Russian and soon she mastered French. To help Alisa learn French, Anna Borisovna subscribed to French children's magazines.[27] Alisa also attended violin, piano, drawing, and German lessons.[28] In the afternoons, Zinovy Zacharovich sat on the windowsill of their apartment and marveled at the streetcars with Alisa.[29] This father and

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21. Britting, *Ayn Rand*, 3.

22. Quoted in Branden, *PAR*, 4.

23. Quoted in Branden, *PAR*, 10.

24. Branden, *PAR*, 7.

25. Branden, *PAR*, 7.

26. Branden, *PAR*, 10.

27. Branden, *PAR*, 11.

28. Britting, *Ayn Rand*, 4; Branden, *PAR*, 10-11.

29. Quoted in Branden, *PAR*, 6.

daughter pastime ignited Alisa's love for technology and industry. As an adult, Rand averred a parent or guardian could "help or hinder" the education of a child. "Whatever a child's natural endowment," she believed, "the use of intelligence [was] an acquired skill."[30] Her parents' attention to and encouragement of her education and intellectual pursuits certainly contributed to the development of Rand's philosophy.

Zinovy and Anna Rosenbaum taught Alisa to think independently. Rand appreciated that her mother "let her grow up as she pleased, without any restraints or influences, and with plenty of everything she needed."[31] At the same time, mother-daughter tensions existed too. Alisa appeared happiest while alone, but Alisa's gravity, uncommon for her age, worried her mother. Anna considered her introspection unhealthy. She pressed Alisa to be more sociable. Rand said her mother "always demanded that [she] be more interested in other children."[32] She added, however, that "She did not make my life miserable with it…she never enforced it nor made it sound like a serious reproach."[33]

Anna hoped that school would develop her social skills.[34] "If

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30. Ayn Rand, "The Comprachicos," in *Return of the Primitive: The Anti-Industrial Revolution* (New York: A Meridian Book, 1999), 58.

31. Ayn Rand, *Journals of Ayn Rand*, ed., David Harriman, (New York: Dutton, 1997), 50. (hereafter cited in text as *JAR*)

32. Britting, *Ayn Rand*, 4.

33. Britting, *Ayn Rand*, 4.

34. In the 1960s, Rand criticized progressive education because she believed it was "militantly anti-cognitive and anti-conceptual." She stated that this type of schooling socially-adjusted children so that they functioned successfully in group activities and "develop[ed] both self expression (in the form of anything [they] might feel like doing) and conformity to the group." Rand, "The Comprachicos," 53. Kirschenbaum examines the effects of the revolution on children and education. Through the lens of child reform policies, she discovers that many conflicts arose in the course of the revolution, civil war, and cultural revolution between ideals for a perfect society and the reality of circumstances. Reformers advocated a state-sponsored wonderland for children that would allow their natural talents to flourish. But the expenses of the Great War and the Revolution made resources scarce. The circumstances

a child does not acquire ideals from school," Anna chided, "he will never acquire them."[35] Alisa shone academically but she sat at the back of the room, isolating herself still from her classmates.[36] Alisa ignored her mother's advice. "A child needs periods of privacy in order to learn to think," Rand retorted retrospectively.[37] She considered her time alone in class an intellectual reward for completing her assignments before the other children. Rand fretted that her mother did not see things so. Alisa sometimes "disliked [Anna] quite a lot" because of her formalism. In this sense, recollecting, Rand claimed that she was the "antithesis" of her mother and she "thought so [even] in childhood."[38] This was their greatest contention and its source was the formal environment that Zinovy Zacharovich and Anna Borisovna created that also allowed space for transcendence.

Religion and Politics

Late nineteenth-century Russia contained five to six million Jews. Anti-Semitism restricted them to the Pale, but the reforms allowed Jews to move outside it and prosper.[39] Many of them

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forced the Soviet idealists to compromise. "Free-upbringing"—a form of teaching that "affirmed the inevitability of the spontaneous emergence of a 'natural' community, in the kindergarten and perhaps beyond"—lost favor. Party leaders emphasized discipline. The kindergarten would become instead, a means of modernizing the patriarchal family. Lisa A. Kirschenbaum, *Small Comrades: Revolutionizing Childhood in Soviet Russia, 1917-1932* (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2001).

35. Quoted in Branden, *PAR*, 17.

36. Branden, *PAR*, 11-12.

37. Rand, "The Comprachicos," 63.

38. Quoted in Branden, *PAR*, 5.

39. Catherine the Great (1762-1796) laid the foundation for what became known as the Pale of Jewish Settlement. The Russian Council of State officially demarcated the borders of this vast area in 1835. The Pale extended as far north as Lithuania and as far south as the Crimea (the shores of the Black Sea). The Western border of Imperial Russia (1815-1917) determined its extremes and in the East it went as far as the boundaries of Bielorussia and the Ukraine. Meant to protect the heartland of Russia from Jewish culture, it

migrated to Russia's major metropolises.[40] Between 1881 and 1900, Jews in St. Petersburg constituted 1.6 percent of the total population.[41] Rand's father had moved with these tides. The advantages of the reforms decreased his religiosity.

Zinovy and Anna Rosenbaum differed about their adherence to traditional Jewish practices. Anna Borisovna was religiously conservative. She observed Jewish holidays and adhered to Jewish traditions. Zinovy Zacharovich never "objected to [Anna's] religious ideas," his daughter noted, but he was "nonreligious."[42] His religious liberalism was typical while her conservatism was less so. In St. Petersburg, Jews forfeited many distinguishing beliefs to better assimilate to Russian traditions.[43] Among many professional and intellectual Jews, eth-

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served as a means of assimilating Jews into Russian culture. Yet, it never fully achieved these ends. The Revolution of 1917 abolished the Pale of Settlement.

40. Brym argues that Jewish radicalism resulted from the state integration then the reintroducing of the quota system in 1887-1888. Robert J. Brym, *The Jewish Intelligentsia and Russian Marxism: A Sociological Study of Intellectual Radicalism and Ideological Divergence* (New York: Schocken Books, 1978), 55. Dubnow emphasizes the autocracy's victimization of Jews. S. M. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland: From the Earliest Times Until the Present Day*, 3 vols., (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication of America, 1920). Nathans shows that Jews in the capital benefited from the 1860s reforms and that even during the crises of the counter-reforms they ingeniously adapted to their circumstances. Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: the University of California Press, 2002).

41. These numbers do not include illegal Jews that inhabited the Russian capital. Mikhail Beizer, *The Jews of St. Petersburg: Excursions Through a Noble Past*, trans. Michael Sherborne (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989).

42. Quoted in Branden, *PAR*, 4.

43. Salo W. Baron, *The Russian Jew under the Tsars and the Soviets* (New York: Macmillan, 1964); Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*; Mark Vishniak, "Antisemitism in Tsarist Russia," in *Essays on Antisemitism*, ed., Koppel S. Pinson (New York: Jewish Studies publications, 1942), 79-110.

nic identity waned with social change.[44] Anna Borisovna was well-educated and cultured.[45] In fact, friends and family considered her "intellectually avant garde."[46] Her rebellious nature, which is apparent from her philosophical and political views, seemed to have propelled her to nurture her Jewish identity as a form of resistance. Rand's father, who moved out of the Pale, had less reason to rebel since the Great Reforms granted him freedom to discover economic independence. Anna Borisovna's family wealth made her crave intellectual independence as well.

Anna and Zinovy Rosenbaum also differed on the Tsar. Anna Borisovna called herself a "revolutionary."[47] She envisioned a future Russia without an autocracy. Anna Borisovna was as liberal about the concept of free will and reform as her husband was religiously broad-minded. She believed "each person [was] the maker of his own happiness," despite a person's social standing.[48] Zinovy Zacharovich thought that the issue of agency was more complex. He found people exercised less free will than his wife assumed. He "considered ideas and the spread of ideas the most important thing of all."[49] He also believed reform and progress were consequential to them.[50] Rand's father suggested to her that the ability to pursue personal happiness depended on the "correct" ideas to open the social structure. In Russia, the institution of the Great Reforms and the rise of a civil society allowed some people, like Zinovy Zacharovich, to succeed. Without

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44. Menahem Brinker, "Nietzsche Influence on Hebrew Writers of the Russian Empire,"in *Nietzsche and Soviet Culture: Ally and Adversary*, ed., Bernice Glatzer Rosenthal (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 394.

45. Britting, *Ayn Rand*, 3.

46. Scott McConnell, "Parallel Lives: Models and Inspirations for Characters" in *We the Living*, *Essay's on Ayn Rand's*, ed., Robert Mayhew (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2004), 58.

47. McConnell, "Parallel Lives," 58.

48. Quoted in Britting, *Any Rand*, 3.

49. Quoted in Branden, *PAR*, 4.

50. Britting, *Ayn Rand*, 3

the ideas that justified such changes, social mobility would have been impossible. Even so, Rand's father thought that progress happened gradually. Leaders instituted change after they absorbed the proper theories. For such reason, he deduced that the ideal government for Russia would be a constitutional monarchy.[51]

Anna Borisovna's "radicalism" was vociferous. The buzz of parties and socializing fascinated her. Ideas mattered less than the "social aspect" of discussing reforms.[52] Rand thought she was intellectually "accommodating" while her mother too often contradicted herself.[53] Anna Borisovna's character supports Shelia Fitzpatrick's generalizations of the educated elite nature.[54] Educated society's superficial attitudes towards intellectual issues perpetuated some of the failures of reform and provided Bolsheviks the opportunity to usurp power.

The contrasting view of Rand's parents reflects the political and economic situation that educated society encountered in late Tsarist Russia. The Great Reforms expanded state functions, stimulated economic development, and increased the demand for professionals. Enrollments at universities rose and graduates initially found work in government, while others worked in private enterprises. As a class, they affiliated through professional associations of some sort.[55] Their liberal ideas constituted a transformative, but not radical, agent. Generally, all professionals desired a representative government and supported moderate measures to implement it. Zinovy Zacharovich fits into this political system. As the supply of potential professionals overwhelmed the market, however, some students became economic exiles from civil society and drifted toward political radicalism. To these individuals, a constitutional monarchy was insufficient to breech

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51. McConnell, "Parallel Lives," 56.

52. McConnell, "Parallel Lives," 58.

53. Rand, *JAR*, 60.

54. See Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Cultural Front: Power and Culture in Revolutionary Russia*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

55. Joseph Bradley, "Subjects into Citizens: Societies, Civil Society, and Autocracy in Tsarist Russia," *American Historical Review* 107, no.4 (Oct. 2002).

the social obstacles to their advancement.[56] These professional exiles who worked hard but to no avail, saw the Great Reforms as a political ruse and developed a radical strand of liberalism that romanticized peasant life, condemned proletariat misery, and advocated the fall of the Tsar.[57] Their radical ideals delegitimized the modern conservatism of educated elites like Rand's father. Anna Borisovna was a decade younger than her husband. She sympathized much more with her radical contemporaries than with him.

As a class, educated elites seemed to lack a proper philosophy that represented and supported their interests. The political arbitrariness of the Tsar weakened bourgeois conservatism and educated elites debated about maintaining order. If some educated elites seemed politically and philosophically conservative, as Rand's father did, the limitations imposed on them made them susceptible to radical ideas. The Rosenbaums certainly represented this case. Zinovy Zacharovich liked ideas and he had "firm convictions." His daughter recalled, "but you'd never know it because he was mostly silent, and argued very little."[58] During the parties Rand's parents regularly gave, Rand's father let Anna Borisovna play the part of "intellectual hostess."[59] Rand reasoned that his silence reflected intellectual confidence.

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56. Rieber discovers that merchants and entrepreneurs occupied a precarious place in Russia. They suffered the anger of workers and government. The state blamed them for worker discontent—which usually stemmed from policies the Tsar instituted. In turn, the government "deflect[ed] the workers' discontent from themselves to the factory owners." Thus, civil society "was boxed in the middle" Rieber, *Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Imperial Russia*, 263. Manning views the institution of serfdom as a mode of being, not solely an economic system that linked the autocracy, gentry, and peasantry in complex ways even after the Great Reforms. The gentry remained opposed to change and pulled the autocracy and peasantry into conflict with the new professional and working class. The gentry lacked the ambition and endurance to lead an industrialized nation. Roberta Thompson Manning, *The Crisis of the Old Order in Russia: Gentry and Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

57. Fischer calls these individuals "have-not" liberals. Fischer, *Russian Liberalism*.

58. Quoted in Branden, *PAR*, 4.

59. McConnell, "Parallel Lives," 58.

Rand's father, who read mostly "social criticism" against the autocracy, harbored ideas that agreed with his wife's revolutionary idealism.[60] Zinovy Zacharovich tried harder than his wife to avoid the philosophical and political contradictions, so he nursed his political theories.

In Western Europe, the bourgeoisie administered society as a means of vitalizing life, not solely as form of dominance.[61] In Russia, educated elites regulated society to resist the crown.[62] Their courting underdogs demanded that they adopt altruist ideals. Hiding their true intentions behind altruist philosophies increased the susceptibility of educated elites to self-destruction. They sought survival as individuals and the administration of Russian society to vitalize their social positions. By making themselves Atlases to all social injustices, they increased their economic and political weaknesses during the four consecutive phases of Russia's revolutionary movements.[63]

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60. Quoted in Branden, *PAR*, 4.

61. Foucault contends that the bourgeoisie regimented Victorian society to gain order in their lives, not to control the proletariat as Marxists believe. He sees professionals at the turn of the twentieth century as being meticulously concerned about their bodies and minds. Nothing links bourgeois ideas to class interests. If it appears so, it is because Marxists disregard the significance of ideas in history. Michel Foucault, *A History of Sex: An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978). For a Foucaultian paradigm examining the reform failures of educated elites, see Laura Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siecle Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

62. Brooks analyzes the influence of popular literature between 1861 and 1917. Looking at evidence from the bottom-up, he discovers that literate peasants and workers showed clear preferences for what they wanted to read. Their tastes contrasted the tastes of the intelligentsia and professionals. The latter cared to have more influence over the materials that peasants and workers read. Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read*.

63. Brower finds that dissent originated among students of gentry descent and the radicalism among them resulted from the alienation of industrialization. Daniel R. Brower, *Training the Nihilists: Education and Radicalism in Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975). Fischer parallels the shift from self-government (*zemstvo*) to mass party (*kadets*) and from gentry to professional intelligentsia. Like Brower, he argues that reformist and revolutionary ideas originated with the gentry but during the transition to popular

The Russian Revolution

For all the theories and interpretations of Tsarism and Russian reformers, this world and the ideas it spawned disintegrated while Anna and Zinovy thrived as educated elites in the capital. On July 28, 1914, a Serbian anarchist assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria. Having promised Serbia support against the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Russia mobilized for war. Thanks to the alliance system created by Germany's Otto von Bismarck created, within weeks, all of Europe was at war. Initial Russian enthusiasm evaporated quickly. By late 1915, Germans controlled most of Russia's western territories. A shortage of ammunition, delays in communications, hunger, and inflation—which made purchasing necessary goods impossible—drained troops and citizens of morale. By late 1916, Petrograd and Moscow were famished and a lack of fuel further chilled popular enthusiasm. The Great War increased the contempt that all Russians shared for Tsar Nicholas II, his family, and their supporters. They blamed the autocracy for the disorganization that permeated the social order.[64] While the middle and bottom classes

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government, the gentry lost control over these ideologies. He blames them for failing to liberalize Russia. Fischer, *Russian Liberalism*. Fitzpatrick demonstrates that the old intelligentsia, who owed the revolution nothing, had much more in common with the pre-revolutionary proletariat. She sees more similarities between workers and educated elites than previously assumed, and concludes that they lost power because they made themselves victims. Fitzpatrick contends, "the Communists' determination to claim victory was equaled only by the intelligentsia's determination to concede it and claim the martyr's crown." Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Cultural Front: Power and Culture in Revolutionary Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

64. Joan Neuberger examines delinquent behavior in St. Petersburg during the early twentieth century. She argues that the expansion of hooliganism into the wealthier neighborhoods signaled the discontent of the under classes. They wanted to expose the triviality of educated society. A dress rehearsal for the Revolution of 1905 and 1917, this behavior tested how far the under classes could push polite society. Neuberger theorizes that it was "a demonstration of popular culture, a nasty way for some lower-class men to proclaim that they would never adopt the respectable conventions of behavior necessary for admittance to society." Neuberger suggests that disrespect for rulers more than oppression by the rulers caused the revolution. Joan Neuberger, *Hooliganism: Crime, Culture, and Power in St. Petersburg, 1900-1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 66-67.

shared a common enemy, they ignored their social differences and primary interests. Tabloids and intellectual journals alike displayed their disdain for the Romanov dynasty.[65]

In February 1917, demonstrators in the capital protested food shortages and the war. When the Tsar sent troops to disperse the crowds, his men, who were as hungry as the people, joined the protest. Tsar Nicholas II abdicated on March 15. Officials established the Provisional Government, composed primarily of Duma members (liberal-progressives) and their rivals, the Petrograd Soviets (Marxist radicals). During its first weeks in power, this Provisional Government abolished the death penalty, stopped the exile of criminals to Siberia, ceased discrimination based on religion and nationality, and promised a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage for the coming autumn. Prime Minister Alexander Kerensky led the new government. Kerensky's popularity gave people hope, but he failed to reverse the economy's downward spiral. Hunger persisted and political frustrations against the Provisional Government eventually erupted. The new government had no effective police force in the cities and lost the minimal authority that it wielded in the countryside because officials refused to consider land reform. When Kerensky decided to remain in the war, he alienated many political allies and supporters. By late summer 1917, military desertions, peasant confiscation of lands, and hunger in the cities had undermined the authority of Russia's Provisional Government.

In 1917, the February Revolution offered educated elites gradual and meditated change. In October of that same year, the Bolshevik Revolution made them enemies of the state. For Zinovy Zacharovich and Anna Borisovna, the greatest obstacle of progress was the autocracy. In her household, Rand recalled, "Everybody…was in favor of the February Revolution. And everybody was against the

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65. Figs argues that the symbols of the revolution were tied to conspiracy theories of all sorts. The ambivalence of these revolutionary symbols gave them their power. Diverse interests among peasants, workers, students, women, socialist, and resentful aristocrats united behind them. Figs contends if moderate socialists would have confronted the social and political divisions of these groups they might have "prevented the collapse of authority which allowed the Bolsheviks to seize power." Orlando and Kolonitskii Figs, *Interpreting the Russian Revolution: The Language and Symbols of 1917* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 70.

[Tsar]."[66] The political phenomena that unfolded in the capital electrified Zinovy Zacharovich's conversations.[67] The fall of the Tsar promised him the security of modern conservatism and it opened political and economic space within civil society to make the world fit to live in for his successors. When the Rosenbaums witnessed the funeral procession of the assembly delegates assassinated by the Bolsheviks, the advantages Rand's father believed he gained at the beginning of that year disappeared.[68] Rand recalled that the fall of the Provisional Government felt "…almost like a fiction taking place in reality."[69] The world they knew disintegrated. Zinovy Zacharovich anticipated the "bloodiest revolution in history." He withdrew all of their money and jewels from the bank.[70] Despite anticipating the worst circumstances, Zacharovich found himself dumbfounded by the state's nationalization of his shop in early 1918.[71]

In contrast to the revolution earlier in 1917, the Bolshevik Revolution established new social models that intensified animosity between educated elites, workers, and peasants. The Petrograd Soviets had shared power with the Provisional Government. After 1917, they took total control of the cities. Their power in the countryside grew as well. Vladimir Lenin led the Bolshevik party, which served as the heart of the Soviets. Rejecting the war constituted their strongest political platform. They criticized liberal officials' war aims and earned the support of the military's rank-and-file. Lenin also promised that the dislocations throughout Europe caused by the war would spread their revolutionary gospel and help communist Russia consolidate its power globally. Marxist theory offered Russians order and a "dictatorship of the proletariat" that would watch over the people, for however long necessary, to ensure that individuals in Russia learned to think and act as one political and economic interest. The Bolsheviks'

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66. Quoted in Branden, *PAR*, 19.

67. Branden, *PAR*, 19.

68. Branden, *PAR*, 20-21.

69. Branden, *PAR*, 19.

70. Branden, *PAR*, 21.

71. Quoted in Branden, *PAR*, 21.

primary program centered on the redistribution of wealth, naturally then, Bolshevism opposed Russia's educated elites, whom they defined as the greedy interests that lived from the production of common folk. Such charges resonated with the values of this class itself. Thus, since the 1890s, educated society had intellectually accepted their role as class oppressors. They had used Marxist ideology to justify a "middle-class" revolution. The rise of Bolshevism in October 1917 ignited a civil war that lasted until 1921, but even after Tsarist professionals surrendered, their role in Soviet Russia would remain unclear.[72]

Zinovy Zacharovich believed he would regain his property despite Bolshevism. His decision to remain in Russia contradicted the wishes of Anna Borisovna who wanted to flee.[73] In late 1919, Rand's father moved the family to Yevpatoria, a small town in the Crimea, where he opened a tiny pharmacy.[74] He assumed it would be "an unpleasant, but short annoyance."[75] In the Crimea, Anna Borisovna enrolled their daughters in a "pro-Tsarist, old fashioned" school and worked part-time teaching French and German.[76] In the midst of the Russian Civil War, restructuring their lives seemed futile. The family's incomes were meager and, even with cash, food was "unobtainable."[77] Then again in 1921, when Zinovy Zacharovich and Anna Borisovna decided to leave the Crimea, Rand's father insisted

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72. This collection of essays examines class politics during the Civil War. The authors find that although "class affiliation had great importance during the Civil War," the bourgeoisie and proletariat constituted a small percentage of the Russian population. In the end, Russia was economically and politically worse off than in 1914 or 1917. Half a decade of war not only decimated the proletariat population, it also destroyed the countryside and urban centers. Diane P. Koenker, William G. Rosenberg, and Ronald Grigor Suny, eds., *Party, State, and Society in the Russian Civil War: Explorations in Social History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

73. McConnell, "Parallel Lives," 56.

74. Quoted in Branden, *PAR*, 30.

75. Ayn Rand, *We the Living* (New York: New American Library, 1936), 22-23.

76. Quoted in Branden, *PAR*, 32.

77. Quoted in Branden, *PAR*, 30-31.

they return to Petrograd, although they had the chance to immigrate to Western Europe.[78] "He still hoped," Rand lamented, "that communism would not last."[79] Her father expected Europe and the "world at large" to save Russia. He assured everyone that "he would get his property back."[80] Zinovy Zacharovich did not understand the future and the spread of Bolshevism. When the Rosenbaums departed the Crimea, the Soviets controlled lands from the Black and the Baltic Seas to the peninsula of Kamchatka on the Pacific. This journey would be Zinovy Zacharovich's greatest political and economic gamble. The state never gave him the opportunity to start again after they "interrupted" his plans.[81]

Life in the Crimea provided Zinovy Zacharovich an initial taste of the physical and intellectual violence that awaited his family if they remained in Russia. The bourgeoisie constituted a motley group for the Bolshevik army.[82] Red soldiers penalized them all and the sorts of punishments they imposed were arbitrary (a clear sign of the organizational chaos that weakened Russian society as a whole). Rand complained that they deprived them of the few comforts they owned such as a few extra bars of soap.[83] Other families were less fortunate and the communists confiscated all their goods and, in many cases, also took their lives.[84] Surviving communist occupation did not lessen the hardships. It meant that anti-Bolshevik forces, when they gained possession of former "Red" territories, suspected the residents of

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78. Quoted in Branden, *PAR*, 38.

79. Quoted in Branden, *PAR*, 38.

80. Quoted in Branden, *PAR*, 32.

81. Rand, *We the Living*, 77.

82. Kolonitskii contends that various revolutionary groups shared the anti-bourgeois sentiment of the Bolsheviks. This factor made agreement between moderates and radicals difficult to achieve and it determined the complete defeat of educated society. Boris I. Kolonitskii, "Antibourgeois Propaganda and Anti-'Burzhui' Consciousness in 1917," *Russian Review* 53, no. 2 (April 1994): 183-196.

83. Quoted in Branden, *PAR*, 37.

84. Branden, *PAR*, 37.

treason.   The nightmare of accusations and harassments started all over again. The Crimea changed hands six times before the Bolshevik army's victory.   The patterns of behavior that Zinovy Zacharovich ignored left their mark on Alisa who was sixteen when the Rosen-baums returned to Petrograd in 1921.

Rand compared living in the Crimea to "living on a battlefield." Literally, she *meant* a battlefield. Metaphorically, she felt the civil war stole her family members' individual identities, forcing them into a collective with no power to decide their individuality. The battlefield was not just a physical place but also an intellectual one that transformed relatives into worst enemies and converted an individual's happiness into a weakness and a mark of selfishness. Rand said she hated how anything having to do with her family bound and defined her.[85] Alisa ignored the propaganda against educated elites. Still, such pressure transformed her professional ambition into a pastime until political and social issues were resolved.

At age nine, Alisa had decided she wanted to be a writer. Her parents' circumstances four years later made her dream appear selfish and irrelevant. Rand admitted the civil war made her insecure about her beliefs. Some time before she left for the Crimea, she began a diary where she expressed "all kinds of anti-Soviet things."[86] In 1921, when her father decided to return to Petrograd, she "burned it."[87]   In the dystopian novel *Anthem*, Rand describes a similar incident.   The protagonist destroyed all evidence of his ideas. He lit a fire that engulfed words he "[spoke] to no ears but [his] own."[88] The Soviets had stolen her family's material possessions and now, Alisa believed, the demands of family life and the state were dispossessing her of her ideals.

During the family's return to Petrograd, Rand first realized what being a Russian writer would demand of her. She was sixteen when the family stopped at the Moscow train station. The collective Rand yearned to remove herself from confronted her. She recalled, "It suddenly struck me…'how enormous [Moscow was]…and it's just one

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85. Britting, *Ayn Rand*, 7.

86. Britting, *Ayn Rand*, 19.

87. Britting, *Ayn Rand*, 19; Branden, *PAR*, 35-36.

88. Ayn Rand, *Anthem* (New York: New American Library, 1938), 17.

city'."[89] She gained a "concrete sense of how many large cities there were in the world" and recalled that "the feeling was marvelously solemn."[90] Rand discovered her social identity as a writer under the extra-ordinary circumstances of the war and revolution that had turned Russia upside-down. She did not learn immediately what would distinguish her as writer. The enormity of Moscow suggested to Alisa that others like her existed and, like her, they needed a strategy to pull themselves out of the social ruins. Her family was the ground where Rand first cultivated her concept of individualism, but revolution and Bolshevism transformed the idea that she was a special and talented girl into a paradigm that could potentially structure her ideas and writing. By the time Alisa arrived in Petrograd, she clearly sensed, if not realized, that her enemies were not a social or ethnic group, but a mode of thinking that class and race did not bound.

<center>The American Context</center>

In America, Rand declared, "The [Great] war marked the end of the world."[91] The circumstances that the war perpetuated in Russia destroyed the order her parents helped erect. The gulf between Rand's life before 1914 and thereafter represents a quintessential aspect of the American novelist and philosopher. "I have often thought that I am a bridge from the unidentified past to the future," she wrote. "As a child I saw a glimpse of the pre-World War I world, the last afterglow of the most radiant *cultural* atmosphere in human history…So powerful a fire does not die at once."[92] Educated society functioned on perspectives that had served the economic demands of the autocracy and the political demands of a socialist future but not the immediate interests of the individuals composing it. This was the source of Rand's philosophy of individualism. The Great War stifled the productive "fire" of the educated elites because they lacked a philosophy that justified their sovereignty. In 1914, Alisa Zinovyevna was not directly conscious of this "so powerful a fire" or its intellectual predicament. Nevertheless, she witnessed the fire reflected off her spirit and body from the happi-

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89. Britting, *Ayn Rand*, 19.

90. Britting, *Ayn Rand*, 19.

91. Quoted in Branden, *PAR*, 14.

92. Rand, *The Romantic Manifesto*, vi.

ness, achievements, and values of her parents. Its memory intensified after 1914 when the disintegration and collectivization of the world around her threw into the harshest light the last time she was happy.

As Rand constructed an individualism that opposed state centralization and regulation, American leaders adapted their individualism to the demands of a regulated economy. In the three decades before the Great War, American social thinkers commended innovative individualism for its technological advancements but grieved its effects on the social realm with its widened distinctions of wealth.[93] The potential for conflict, even violence, existed for these middle-class intellectuals, yet, their perspectives remained optimistic.[94] They expected that in the U.S. "patience and good will," in the words of William James, eventually would drive "evil" and "pain" off the face

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93. Jones analyzes American experiences in the context of social change in post Civil War America. U.S. isolation rendered the country "practically invulnerable" and its endless resources gave its citizenry courage to experiment. These circumstances coupled with the violence and the energy of the Civil War allowed the nation to centralize despite "the sectional animosities, the struggles over race and ideal, cosmopolitanism, and nature." Jones draws a positive conclusion of the acceleration towards national unity that individual genius encouraged. He shows that the Gilded Age founded libraries, museums, hospitals, and other institutions aside from creating an imbalance of wealth. Howard M. Jones, *The Age of Energy: Varieties of American Experience* (New York: The Viking Press, 1970), 46.

94. Sklar searches for that way of thinking "embedded in the nineteenth-century American mind" that explains the shift from competitive to corporate capitalism. He argues that if one analyzes corporate capitalism as a "social movement" (like populism or feminism), then the realization comes that this "was not only something Americans responded to… it was also something they were doing." The pro-corporate capitalists, through compromise and accommodation with the proprietary capitalists, allied to create a more integrative structure. In the context of the closing frontier, Sklar describes the corporation as a substitute for western opportunity—it "offered opportunities of social mobility for middle-class people." Within the bourgeois stratum, rival groups were not "displaced." Instead, the old adapted to the new circumstances simultaneously as new blood entered the circle. Sklar portrays the corporate capitalist movement as an alternative to the socialist one. Martin Sklar, *The Corporate Reconstruction of American Society: The Market, the Law, and Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 13, 26.

of this earth.[95] Americans discussed class antagonism publicly, agreeing that it had a solution that excluded violence and revolution.[96] Whatever crises the nation faced, individuals would voluntarily follow the "correct" path, which meant a gradualist and logical approach to reformers. In a moral universe, knowledge was an organizing factor. Those reformers who accused business of social crimes did so to assure the independence of their opponents, not to limit it. Political and ideological affiliations generated disagreements on the degree of social intervention that progress demanded, but almost all Americans concurred that the United States moved in a progressive course during the quarter century before 1914.[97]

Social thinkers like Walter Lippmann supported the Great War because they assumed that organizational flaws caused social conflicts in Europe. Reformers and professionals of like ideological and political mind surmised that a functional social structure, unlike Germany's autocratic institution, should provide space for all nations and individuals to pursue happiness without threatening the livelihoods of their neighbors. They attempted to construct a social system that would bypass conflict to progress without undermining individualist ideals as had occurred under the new Bolshevik regime in post-1917

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95. Quoted in Jones, *The Age of Energy*, 354.

96. Burke analyzes the political discourse of "class" in the United States from the late eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century. He shows that William Graham Sumner was only half correct when he insisted that America was a classless society. Burke asserts that with "every argument that stressed social discord, counterarguments about class cooperation appeared in abundance." Regardless of whether or not the U.S. was truly a classless society, he proves that Americans debated the issue profusely. Martin J. Burke, *The Conundrum of Class: Public Discourse on the Social Order in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 108.

97. Bender focuses on the "wider cosmopolitanism" instead of on the "narrow parochialism" of American history. He exhibits the anti-nationalistic dimension of ideas despite the nationalistic prejudices of their originators. Thomas Bender, "The Industrial World and the Transformation of Liberalism," in *A Nation Among Nations: America's Place in World History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006).

Russia.[98]

Intervention in Europe failed to deliver the administrative dreams of social engineering. After the war, Americans longed for their unilateral place in diplomatic affairs. Generally, they opposed foreign intervention in principle, but especially the type of international entanglements that Bolshevism introduced. The revolutionary ideals that crossed the Atlantic gave the concept of "individual liberties" in the United States a reactionary tone that contrasted the "individual liberties" promised by Bolshevism. This utopianism was its most menacing aspect. Its second greatest danger was that Bolshevism competed with the "hegemonic destiny" of the United States. Third, Bolshevism made intellectual freedom a threat domestically. The idea of Americans fighting "a war to end all wars" and to save democracy appeared hypocritical. American individualism was at an ideological crossroads.[99] Americans yearned for unilateralism to pro-

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98. Hansen examines what it means to be patriotic in the United States. He finds that before the compromise of 1877, "civic courage" characterized American patriotism better than "military valor." In the former case, "patriotism meant defending sacred principles and resisting tyranny and oppression, often in defiance of the law." Hansen calls this brand of patriotism "cosmopolitan" and it is categorized by intellectuals such as William James, Jane Adams, Eugene V. Debs, W.E.B. Du Bois, Randolph Bourne, and John Dewey. These thinkers did not believe that Washington and Lincoln were defenders of the status quo. Cosmopolitan patriots "recognized that affiliations change with context" and worried that the individualism of elites—the heart of laissez-faire liberalism between 1890 and 1920—"had come…to impose severe economic restrictions of its own." Jonathan M. Hansen, *The Lost Promise of Patriotism: Debating American Identity, 1890-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), xiv, xvi-xix.

99. Conn finds that conservatives and liberals during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century intellectually opposed the status quo with the same vehemence they opposed each other. Peter Conn, *The Divided Mind: Ideology and Imagination in America, 1898-1917* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). Hollinger sees pragmatism as one attempt, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, to come to terms with the overwhelming reliance that contemporaries placed on science but failed because of the diversification of the American population. David A. Hollinger, *In the American Province: Studies in the History and Historiography of Ideas* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985). Diggins contends that the philosophy of pragmatism failed to solve the crises modernism (although he takes a constructive approach). John P. Diggins, *The Promise of Pragmatism: Modern-*

tect their individual liberties. Paradoxically, the shift in the concept of individualism drove the government to institute the Sedition and Alien Acts, and later the National Origins Act, thus, regulating individual liberties.

The Great War disappointed Americans because they conceded that among the infinite possibilities for greatness hid the economic and political interests of the ruling order. The strategy for Woodrow Wilson's predecessors, President Warren G. Harding and Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, to combat such pessimism was a retreat of American individualism. It would cease as an ideal of the Western frontier. Its nature would transcend the "ruggedness" and organization of a Darwinian economy. In the twentieth century, American individualism would account for a representative government and the material needs of the less privileged.[100] Harding and Hoover converted American individualism to fit the system of economic democracy that permitted the state to restrain the greedy rich from monopolizing power and the ambitious poor to advance as far as their strength allowed them.

The experiment in global affairs made Americans weary of international entanglements. In the 1920s, their priorities became their economic endeavors. In his inaugural speech on March 4, 1921, President Warren G. Harding acknowledged that his "countrymen" deserved the independence they desired. He admired his people's fortitude against unknowns and purposefulness to advance civilization. He told the public this was the "ruggedness of the things which with-

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ism and the Crisis of Knowledge and Authority (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

100. Haskell explores the development of professionalization in the social sciences during the early twentieth century. He argues that the individualist theories of amateur researchers, by the 1890s, failed to explain the dynamics of modern society. This intellectual shift towards a more comprehensive theory of society ignited a "new welfare oriented humanitarianism and a new politics" that found causation detached from individual intention and consciousness. If attached to consciousness, it was through such a complex web of causes that "thrift, prudence, and other elements of self-mastery so essential to nineteenth century humanitarianism" ceased to be adequate instruments to understand poverty and other societal problems. Thomas L. Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 255.

stood" the destruction of war.[101]   His address also focused on the necessity for change. He nostalgically praised the virtues of rugged individualism.   American elites should have known better than to interfere in Europe's affairs. Harding witnessed the best intentions in the aspiration to fight "a war to end all wars." He sympathized with the ideals of social thinkers and politicians that campaigned for intervention on these terms. Harding assured the public that "there must have been God's intent in the making of this new-world Republic."[102] Americans were not wrong to think they could bring peace to the world, but God intended them to do so as exemplars. "The recorded progress of our Republic," to Harding demonstrated the prudence, "materially and spiritually…of the inherited policy of noninvolvement in Old World affairs."[103]   The president's suggestion of initiating an "offensive war" to fulfill a destiny that opposed militarism was ironic. Americans had lost sight of their true sensibilities.

Harding's isolationist policy was political.   He primarily intended to arrest social warfare in the United States. He feared that the revolutionary forces of socialism could use rugged individualism as an ideology to their advantage. Harding imagined that all Americans looked at their recent history with some "regret" but also "hope" that a new order could manifest itself where individuals would have "assurance that our representative government is the highest expression and surest guaranty of" "liberty…and civilization."[104]   He insinuated that leaders had acted hastily by entering the war and by continuing to meddle in foreign affairs. In the future, he promised that representative government would act upon public opinion. Harding asked that Americans consider modifying their individualist ideals.[105] The type of independence demanded by the frontier rejected

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101. *Inaugural Address of President Warren G. Harding*, 67th United States Congress, Special Session, *Congressional Record* (4 March 1921).

102. *Inaugural Address of President Warren G. Harding*.

103. *Inaugural Address of President Warren G. Harding*.

104. *Inaugural Address of President Warren G. Harding*.

105. In 1911, Frederick J. Turner suggested similarly that Americans had to alter their ideals of individualism based on cutthroat competition. The new individualism should account for the increasing strength of government and

civilization, respect for traditions, and association. A representative government contradicted the rugged individualism of the past but it still would protect the freedoms of individuals. President Woodrow Wilson had made the war and peace settlement a partisan and personal issue. Harding would make war and peace the responsibility of the entire nation. Every citizen should subordinate his economic priorities to a federal and international order that encouraged "efficient administration" because "any wild experimentation will only add to the confusion" of the modern age.[106] Peace demanded the efforts of all Americans. His ideal of an efficient administration and representative government would force "peoples who resort to" offensive wars in the domestic and international realm to prove first the logic of such actions.[107]

One can say that Bolshevik and Marxist ideology caused a political retreat of American individualism; however, one can also say politicians fitted American individualism to the circumstances of their times. President Harding advocated for business to exercise less power than it had in the past to avoid economic radicalism. In his mind, *laissez-faire* type independence and competition threatened security and stability in the United States. In his inaugural speech, the President expressed concern that executives deliver "equality of opportunity" and "rewards" to all Americans to lessen the competition for resources. As he saw it, material necessity and lack of opportunity excused selfishness, which justified "envy" and "jealously" and transformed the ambition to advance into revolution and "destruction by force."[108] In modern times, order required cooperation and individual purposefulness that considered the "common welfare." An ideology that drove business to profit from others' misfortunes contradicted the "era of good feeling" which Harding hoped to establish.

Like Wilson, Harding engaged in forays against Bolshevism. The points he presented in his inaugural speech justified planned intervention. Like his predecessor, Harding intended to "quarantine"

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corporate power. Frederick J. Turner, "Social Forces in American History," *The American Historical Review* 16, no. 2 (1911): 217-233.

106. *Inaugural Address of President Warren G. Harding.*

107. *Inaugural Address of President Warren G. Harding.*

108. *Inaugural Address of President Warren G. Harding.*

Bolshevism.[109] He believed this approach should arrest utopian ideologies from exciting radicals at home. Those were the exact sentiments of Harding's Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover, who experienced the disasters of radicalism in Europe as head of the American Relief Administration. Two major strikes in the United States during early 1922, which dragged into the summer, worried Hoover that perhaps Americans might let their emotions carry them away. Late that year, he published *American Individualism.* He contended that "equality of opportunity" kept reactionary and radical forces at bay. Hoover wanted business and labor to patiently work for reform that would benefit the entire system and not solely one class or group. *American Individualism* was an ideological defense supporting Wilson and Harding's quarantine policy abroad.

Until 1914, individualism, a spirit that Americans did not understand, drove them to prosperity. Hoover defined this "permanent and persistent motivation" because the modern age demanded appropriate knowledge of it. Hoover observed that competing ideologies challenged "the spiritual and physical forces of America." American individualism was "equality of opportunity" which allowed for a "fair division" of production and restrained the greed of "the strong and the dominant" by opposing the ideals of aristocratic individualism, communism, socialism, syndicalism, and capitalism.[110] Hoover surmised that the incomprehension of the forces advancing American civilization made American labor and business susceptible to the emotionalism of competing ideologies, which enflamed their radical and reactionary natures. Communism and its manifestation in Russia particularly concerned Hoover. The Bolsheviks portrayed American individualism as an "exhausted" philosophy to the public. "Like feudalism and autocracy," they contended, "America's plan has

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109. Davies and Trani argue that parallels exist between Wilsonian policy toward the Bolshevik Regime and the policies that American leaders imposed on the USSR after the Second World War. Wilson's non-recognition or "quarantine" of the new Soviet government expected that Russian radicals would destroy themselves without the U.S. having to waste its resources. Donald E. Davies and Eugene P. Trani, *The First Cold War: The Legacy of Woodrow Wilson on U.S.-Soviet Relations* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002).

110. Herbert Hoover, *American Individualism and the Challenge of Liberty* (West Branch: Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Associations, 1989), 32-35.

served its purpose…[and] it must be abandoned."[111] Such demagoguery inspired hope among the masses but Hoover warned that this was a false hope. Bolshevism had led to tyranny. American individualism, however, would "stimulate leadership from its masses. Human leadership…replenished…by the free rise of ability, character, and intelligence."[112] American individualism for Hoover at least was one that inspired and supported democracy and meritocracy.

Hoover revisits American individualism within the paradigm of progressive reform. He noted, "Criticism of [individualism] has lain in its wastes but more importantly in its failures of equitable sharing of the product."[113] Business had to correct such gaps in prosperity. The less fortunate must see the profits that the nation had achieved before the war. The fulfillment of individualism meant to Hoover the spiritual and material happiness for all "where genius made for great possibilities."[114] Independence needed to account for order and prevent the "envy" and "jealously" of the less fortunate. Rugged self-reliance settled the West but it contradicted the "immediate task" of putting "our public household in order."[115]

Harding and Hoover dissected American individualism to save it and the United States from radicalism and reaction. Harding promoted that business exercise less power but he also supported business in government. The idea was to improve its economic efficiency. Harding thought that only business-minded people had the objectivity to keep the country disentangled from foreign affairs and keep socialism at bay. Business in government, he surmised, organized the state for a "capitalism" that worked. In contrast, Hoover stressed a capitalism that rationalized selfishness in the immediate circumstances but that would teach the benefits of "responsibilities" and "service" and eventually altruism in the future.[116] A government that

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111. Hoover, *American Individualism*, 33.

112. Hoover, *American Individualism*, 41.

113. Hoover, *American Individualism*, 45.

114. *Inaugural Address of President Warren G. Harding.*

115. *Inaugural Address of President Warren G. Harding.*

116. Hoover, *American Individualism*, 38.

encouraged independence required "making all citizens fit for participation."[117] Such a goal mandated a proper division of production so that Americans shared a dollar and cent interest in the development of the country. From both the perspective of Harding and Hoover, government regulation promised a concrete way for citizens to measure their place in society that contrasted the foundations of Bolshevism. Harding and Hoover presented the ideology of socialism as deluded as the ideals of interventionists in Congress and in the White House that intended to change the world through war. In the compromise to prevent social warfare and provide common welfare, elites would not use the government to protect their interests, and in turn, reformers would not use the government to restrain independent initiative. The entire nation would sacrifice to raise the impoverished to levels above subsistence.

Conclusion

The individualism Rand advocated in the United States had its roots outside her adopted nation. Six years before Rand arrived to the United States, Americans sought an individualism that accounted for government regulation. The ideology that conservatives Harding and Hoover supported demonstrates the distance between Rand's ideas and American individualism. Rand's family, at the upper social rungs of Imperial St. Petersburg, was the foundation where she constructed the first concepts for her philosophy of individualism. The Russian revolutions fertilized and further developed her intellectual produce. Rand's individualism was not necessarily a direct reaction to Bolshevism either. Her particular ideas, shaped as they were by her family's experience in late Tsarist and revolutionary Russia, had a deeper foundation in her upbringing and her parents' encouragement of her intellectual growth. Rand's ideology of individualism related to the discourses surrounding the institution of the Great Reforms, the reaction and demise of the autocracy, the discontent and dreams of the people, and the leveling of society. These discourses transcended Russia's borders, crossed the Atlantic, and transformed the nineteenth-century concept of American individualism. In the United States, Harding and Hoover presented two views of the root problems with "rugged individualism" during the 1920s. Their individualism advocated government regulation to defend the U.S. against radicalism and reaction and led the nation into a more intellectually oppressive direc-

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117. *Inaugural Address of President Warren G. Harding.*

tion. Even after Rand crossed the Atlantic in 1926, she never completely escaped Bolshevism. The sunshine of American liberty nurtured Rand's individualism but never had the same impact on her, as did the constant threat of Bolshevism's harsh winters.

The American Press and Juan Perón
in the Shadow of Totalitarianism

Maria Carolina Zumaglini

Introduction

The American Government and the American Cold War Liberal press, while responding to their own interests on the continent, tried to shape the image of Juan Domingo Perón and spread it in Argentina, Latin America, and the rest of the world. Between 1945 and 1946, Argentina created a complex problem for the U.S. The Second World War had just ended, the Cold War was emerging, and U.S. aimed to preserve an aura of the so-called Good Neighbor policy. Having these ideals in mind, the U.S. government and the press were concerned about the outcome of the 1946 Argentine elections. Perón was the strongest candidate, but he displayed anti-U.S. sentiments during his campaign. In different speeches, he had openly rejected U.S. proposals to form a Pan-American alliance and preached the virtues of his so called *Third Position* between communism and capitalism.[1] The United States intended to influence the voters in order to stop him from becoming the president of Argentina. In this context, the United States' State Department and the Liberal Press depicted Perón as the South American Hitler. In order to weaken the appeal of his charis-

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1. Perón stated that the third position "…is not a middle-of-the-road position. It is an ideological position which is in the center, the left, or the right according to the circumstances." Robert Crassweller, *Perón and the Enigmas of Argentina* (New York: Norton, 1987).

matic personality, and his possible ties with other nations, they spread this caricature of him around the world, in the U.S., and especially in Argentina.

The State Department spearheaded the anti-Perón campaign with the publication of the *Blue Book*. This text sought to describe some of Perón's authoritarian characteristics by explaining how he suppressed civil liberties, persecuted and tortured opposition, and reigned through fear. This book also described his political behavior, totalitarian philosophy, and nationalist thinking while he held the Secretariat of Labor and the Vice Presidency of the nation. This publication intended to show the world, and especially Argentine people, how the Argentine Government had suppressed most of their liberties, violating its own constitution and the basic principles of democracy. In addition, various publications in the United States published several articles comparing Perón with Hitler and accused him of trying to build a regime in Argentina similar to Nazi Germany.

By exploring the ways in which Argentina's past actions played on Americans' fears of fascism in Latin America helps to contextualize the dispute. Secondly, an overview of Argentine-U.S. relations focuses on Argentina's tradition of neutrality during the two World Wars and its intention to hold a third position during the Cold War. Moreover, this paper will show the importance of the Good Neighbor Policy in U.S. foreign relations campaigns. Finally, the American print media readership repeatedly received a caricature of Perón as a Latin American Hitler or Mussolini. Journals and magazines continuously published articles and notes on Perón showing he had started to build a fascist regime in his country.

The Context

Juan Domingo Perón was born in Lobos, Buenos Aires on October 8, 1895, and died on July 1, 1974 in Buenos Aires. The son of a wealthy rancher, he received his education at the Military School and at the Superior School of War in Argentina. In 1930, he took part in the first military uprising in the country's history against President Hipólito Yrigoyen. From 1930 to 1935, he served as private secretary of the Minister of War and spent a year in Chile as a military attaché. Perón traveled to Mussolini's Fascist Italy to study military methods and tactics. While in Italy, he became interested in Fascism as a political theory and found it applicable to Argentina. He admired Mussolini's skill in appealing to the masses and social reforms. When

asked about the Italian leader's philosophy Perón answered, "Mussolini was the greatest man of our times, but he made some disastrous mistakes. I shall follow in his steps, while avoiding his pitfalls."[2]

Upon his return to Argentina in 1941, Perón joined other officers in a secret military group that staged a coup d'état against Ramon Castillo in June 1943. General Arturo Rawson, who conducted this movement, assumed the powers of the presidency after its success. Three days later, factions among the armed forces asked Rawson to step down and Pedro Ramirez became president in his place. The new government created the position of Secretary of Labor and Welfare, and Perón became the first to hold the position. His first resolution was to transform the labor movement by weakening the influence of left-wing parties, enacting new laws, enforcing old ones, and creating new syndicates to replace the old unions. He also introduced several changes in the economy of the country in order to help the workers who on average were living in pitiful conditions. By doing this, he started to build the foundations of his political supporters, the working class. Standley Ross observed in *The Nation* that "In the name of nationalism, with the words: 'country,' 'sacrifice,' 'duty,' and 'glory,' all the phases the conservatives mouthed for their own purposes, Perón instituted social reforms in brief months that forever changed the political history of his land."[3] He signed several decrees that favored the popular masses by raising salaries from 15 to 20 percent, passing minimum wages laws for the first time, and instituting paid vacations. The great majority of the working class considered him their savior. In other words, and following an article published in the *New Republic* on February 25, 1946, the underprivileged saw Perón as a prophet. "Perón is one item in the struggle of the Argentine masses to free themselves; a bewitched and false prophet, if you please, but still a prophet."[4]

As the Second World War unfolded in Europe, Perón's power grew in Argentina. At first, due to internal demands, the government tried to maintain its neutrality, but international pressure increased

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2. David Rock, *Authoritarian Argentina* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983).

3. Standley Ross, "Peron: South American Hitler," *The Nation*, 16 Feb. 1946.

4. "Argentine Blue Book," *New Republic*, 25 Feb. 1946.

quickly. The United States, for instance, labeled the government as fascist, and placed several financial and trade restrictions against it. In response to this and other difficulties, Ramirez finally broke diplomatic relations with the Axis. This move alarmed the nationalist wing of Argentina who pushed Ramirez to leave office in February 1944. In his place, vice president Edelmiro Farrel assumed power and named Perón Vice President and Secretary of War.

While Perón was moving up the power ladder, his support within the working class grew fast. However, opposition within the armed forces built up as well. Some officers regarded the relationship Perón was establishing with the working class as detrimental to their interests in the country. They feared that the lower classes were becoming more aware of their political power for the first time in Argentina. Farrel, who could not handle internal pressures within the elites and the military any longer, asked Perón to resign his governmental position and even arrested him.

The result of the arrest failed to solve Farrel's problems. Perón's supporters mobilized on his behalf. Orchestrated by Union leaders and his wife Eva Duarte, columns of workers marched on the *Casa Rosada* on October 17. The demonstrators demanded Perón's return. That day became immortalized in the history of Argentina because of its strong symbolism and meaning.[5] Daniel Friedenberg, a reporter from *New Republic* recreated the situation in a very compelling manner in an article published on September 26, 1955, entitled "Perón! Perón! Perón!"

> Eva Duarte...organized a demonstration, which in terms of genuine feeling dwarfed the so-called Mussolini March on Rome. Out from the slums, the suburbs, the back streets poured a mass of humanity which had never before been seen on the fashionable avenues of Buenos Aires; the people, the ugly and poor and common people who lived in obscurity, rose up and invaded the city cursing and defying the powers that be to oppose them. For the first time in the history of

5. October 17 is still remembered by the Peronistas as the day when the Argentine nation united to oppose imperialism and all those countries who they thought were oppressors. This is the day when they celebrate Perón's importance to the nation. The workers inaugurated a new way of participating in politics through social mobilization, defined an identity, and won their political citizenship, sealing at the same time an alliance with Perón.

> Argentina, the rule of the state momentarily shifted into the hand of the decamisados, the shirtless workers.[6]

Under pressure from popular sectors of Argentina, the government finally released Perón on October 17, 1945.

To understand Perón's personal qualities, character, and appeal is not an easy task.[7] To describe his political beliefs and goals is also complicated. Scholars have different and even mutually contradictory opinions about him. Perón made contradictory decisions himself. Some reflected haphazard policy-making and others were the consequence of an intelligent mind trying to use every possible means to obtain what he wanted. People from different political backgrounds supported him. Daniel Friedenberg wrote, "Perón was not left wing; he was not center; he was not even right-wing but purely and simply *Peronista*."[8] The *New Republic*'s reporter reflected that it was difficult to place him along the traditional political spectrum because he was *sui generis*. Perón even created a new political party in 1947. From then on, Peronism was be a major factor in Argentine politics.

In 1945, the war ended and the dread of fascism was everywhere. The United States and the Soviet Union emerged as the world's two super powers and both tried to mobilize the entire world behind their political, social, and economic views and ideals. In this context, third positions, non-alignment with any of the two super powers, were seen as a possible menace to each bloc. Perón was a strong proponent of a non-alignment position. This, of course, did not align with the U.S.' hopes for a united hemisphere. U.S.-Argentine foreign relations tightened as the Cold War progressed.

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6. Daniel Friedenberg, "Perón! Perón! Perón!" *New Republic*, 26 Sept. 1955.

7. Scholars of fascism have long debated whether Peron's program can be characterized as fascist. Jose Luis Romero, *A History of Argentine Political Thought* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1963); George Blanksten, *Perón's Argentina* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953); Peter Smith, *Argentina and the Failure of Democracy* (Madison: University of Wisconsin); Eugen Weber, *Varieties of Fascism* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1964); Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man* (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1963).

8. Daniel Friedenberg, "Perón, Perón, Perón!"

The year 1946 marked a pivotal year for the future of the Argentine Republic and for its diplomatic relations with the United States. At the national level, on October 22, President Farrel announced that the country would hold free elections. After two and a half years of life under a military regime, the Argentine people would have the opportunity to actively participate in a major political decision. In the coming election, Colonel Juan Perón emerged as the strongest candidate.

In reference to the Argentine-United States relationship, Randal Woods differentiates two phases in Franklin Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy towards Latin America. The first phase of non-intervention and non-interference was welcomed by countries in Central and South American, however, many governments responded less enthusiastically to the second phase of the Good Neighbor Policy. Bryce Wood called this second phase "anticipation of reciprocity."[9] He argues that the United States' decision to avoid interference in Latin American internal affairs was not the consequence of a firm belief in each country's right to self-determination, but a pursuance of its own goals. This became clear when the United States intended to persuade, by different means, every Latin American Republic to join their efforts to build a collective-security organization. From 1939 to 1945, Argentina resisted the U.S.'s idea of converting the Pan-American association into a military alliance. [10] Since this project was central to the United States' foreign policy, Perón's rejection created hostility towards him.

At the international level, the United States had a special interest in Argentina. The country had unique natural resources and grew products needed and desired in many parts of the world. As a result, the United States had a particular interest in Argentina. The Good Neighbor Policy only made sense if every country in the hemisphere followed the U.S. lead. On February 11, 1946, *The New York*

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9. Randall Woods, *The Roosevelt foreign-policy establishment and the "good neighbor"* (Kansas: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1979), 6.

10. The Pan-American Association was founded (1889–90) at the first of the modern Inter-American Conferences as the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics and changed to the International Bureau of the American Republics in 1902. It was created to promote international cooperation; in 1948 it was made the General Secretariat for the OAS, although the name was not dropped until 1970.

Times reported that "Argentina is one of the greatest countries of this hemisphere. Working together, the United States and Argentina could do much to unite the twenty-one republics of the western world into a harmonious family that would serve as a model for other areas."[11] *The Times* commented that "events in Argentina were of vital concern to us."[12] However, for the United States' purposes, Argentina posed an obstacle by not complying with its U.S. requests. Christopher Emmet, writing for *The Commonweal*, summarized why the Argentine situation was important to the United States. He stated, "For more than two years the Argentine question has been one of the burning issues in American foreign policy. It disrupted the unity of the hemisphere war effort, threatened Pan-American solidarity and divided and postponed conferences of American nations."[13]

The importance that the United States State Department gave to Argentina was reflected in several journals and newspapers that illustrated the concern about Argentina's future were Perón elected president. They feared Perón as a resemblance of Hitler and Mussolini. For example, *The Nation* found "…the Perón dictatorship comparable in importance with Nazism when Hitler first came to power."[14] Demonstrating her fear, the writer of this article concluded, "If the Argentine strong man becomes President next week, the situation in South America will continue to be dynamite—or uranium".[15]

The U.S. put pressure on the new military government. In July 1944, the State Department publicly classified the Farrel-Perón government as a totalitarian regime. The U.S. State Department claimed that the Argentine government

> …has rapidly and energetically implanted a dominant totalitarian system that fully complements and supports their pro-Axis foreign policy through control of the press, the

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11. "Perón's Appeal," Editorial, *New York Times,* 11 Feb. 1946.

12. "Our Argentina Problem," Editorial, *New York Times,* 28 Aug. 1945.

13. Christopher Emmet, "Our Argentine Blunder," *The Commonweal,* 8 Feb. 1946.

14. "The Shape of Things," *The Nation,* 19 Jan. 1946.

15. "The Shape of Things."

courts, and other key institutions. The basic civil rights have been either nullified or so as to have no real meaning. Every effort has been made to stamp out opposition to the government's totalitarian program.[16]

Only weeks before the elections of 1946, the State Department published a study that labeled the Argentine government as a sympathizer of the Axis, and singled out Perón as a fascist. This study, called the *Blue Book*, was widely distributed in Argentina.[17] Its publication was only one of the many attempts of the United States, headed by the former Ambassador of Argentina, to keep Perón from winning the presidency. In April 1945, the U.S. State Department appointed Spruille Braden as the new US ambassador to the country. His main mission was to bring down the Farrel government and Perón's political career. Braden insisted that it was the United States' duty and right to combat fascism all over the world, along with the regimes that destroyed civil liberties and denied human rights. He observed,

> There are some who say that it is no proper concern of ours if an armed gang seizes power in a foreign country, destroys its civil liberties, denies human rights and regiment the people... Such persons wishfully disregarding the plain and terrible lesson that has been administered to the world in the past decade, are completely misunderstanding the nature of National Sociology ideology.[18]

Braden hoped that the accusations stated in the *Blue Book* would weaken the candidacy of Perón. However, Colonel Perón took advantage of that text by making foreign domination the central issue of the campaign. He used Braden's words as an example of United States' excessive intervention in Argentina and Latin America.

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16. State Department quoted in "A proposal for action by the United Nations," *The Nation,* 2 Feb. 1946.

17. The full name was "Consultation Among the American Republics with Respect to the Argentine Situation."

18. "It Has Happened Here," *The Nation,* 26 Jan. 1946.

The *Blue Book* exercised a great influence in the elections. As historian Robert Potash describes it, "Given the barrage of words printed in the Argentine press between February 13 and 23, it is difficult to conceive of a voting-age person who had not heard of the *Libro Azul* in one context or another."[19] Perón, presenting himself as the champion of sovereignty, asked the Argentines to choose between "Braden or Perón," the foreign enemy or the defender of national freedom and identity.

The American press believed that the U.S.' policy against the Argentine government during 1943-46, and Braden's campaign against Perón helped him get elected. One correspondent from *The Commonweal* reported that "Braden…produced a reaction which strengthened Perón with other elements of the population who resented such open United States interference."[20]

On February 24, 1946, Juan Domingo Perón won the elections and became the democratically elected-president of Argentina. According to public opinion from various sectors, the election was free and honest. Even the opposition described it as a model of democratic rectitude. The Chargé d' Affaires in Buenos Aires, John Cabot, commented that "Press organs, both Democratic and Peronista, are unanimous in eulogizing conduct of yesterday's election, which are variously described as cleanest in Argentine history and as exemplifying high civic culture of Argentina nation. No case of disorder or intimidation is reported."[21] Moreover, he declared that the voting procedures and counting of ballots had unquestionably been the fairest in Argentine history. "There is no reason to doubt that Perón has been chosen by the will of the Argentine people," he added.[22] The American Press agreed that the elections were clean. *The New York Times*, published on February 26, 1946, that observed, "...the Argentines voted Sunday in greater numbers than ever before, and apparently

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19. Robert Potash, *The Army and Politics in Argentina* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), 42.

20. Emmet, "Our Argentine Blunder."

21. Foreign Relations of the United States, *Blue Book* (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1946), 221.

22. Foreign Relations of the United States, *Blue Book*, 221.

without a single serious incident."[23] Of the 2,734,386 votes cast, Perón received 1,527,231, or 56 percent. As for the representative character of the election, the number of voters in proportion to total population was the largest in the history of the country. Perón had mainly the support of the *descamisados* (the shirtless ones), the Army, and the Catholic Church.

A reporter, from *Time* magazine referred to the day Perón became the legal president of the Argentines as the "Great Day" and commented that "Buenos Aires had never seen anything like it. The day Juan Domingo Perón became president; a million Argentines unleashed their last reserve of enthusiasm."[24]

The Liberal American Press

Paul Lewis affirms a fascist government has three main goals: to control people's participation in politics, to lead the masses, and an impulse towards totalitarianism.[25] The American press used this set of ideals in their discourse to shape Perón's public image. In 1945-46, they placed emphasis on Perón's activities that could be characterized as fascist. Several articles reflected Perón's military background and his authoritarian idea. The press generally understood by listening to Perón's speeches and analyzing his actions that he was planning to form a single party state by controlling opposition. Also, he intended to build a totalitarian state by controlling education, regulating labor unions and the free press, among other institutions. Finally, the press understood that Perón was preparing the country to dominate South America in a fight against the United States. To do this, he exalted national values and Argentine identity.

The press generally agreed that Perón intended to get rid of all political opposition and form a single party state. The press argued that the way he persecuted his opponents and his methods of terror could be compared to Hitler's Gestapo. Many scholars and reporters shared the idea that Perón imprisoned, tortured, and murdered the opposition. Perón had a huge bureaucratic apparatus that functioned like Hitler's Gestapo. Concentration camps were created to hold those

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23. "The Argentine elections," Editorial, *New York Times*, 26 Feb. 1946.

24. "Argentina Great Day," *Time,* 17 June 1946.

25. Paul Lewis "Was Peron a Fascist? An Inquiry into the Nature of Fascism," *The Journal of Politics* 42, no. 1 (Feb.1980): 242-256.

who tried to talk against the government. This idea is repeated in an article published *The Nation* on March 30, 1946 that reported, "Hitler established concentration camps; Argentina too, has concentration camps where prisoners are tortured because they dared assert their inalienable rights as citizens."[26] John White, a writer for *The Nation* who specialized in Latin America affairs, wrote on April 21, 1945, that a great organization specialized in persecution and torture had been created in Buenos Aires with the help of German agents. According to him, this organization had set up concentration camps for political prisoners similar to those in Nazi Germany where they tortured thousands of victims guilty of nothing more serious than belonging to labor unions or democratic political parties. This institution was in charge of killing, or caused the death of, hundreds of people bearing Jewish, Polish, or Russian names, and caused the disappearance of hundreds more.

Different reporters maintained that the Government had embarked on a campaign of intimidation where things that had happened recently in Buenos Aires exceeded anything they could remember occurring in Fascist Italy. *The New York Times* published an editorial supporting this idea on July 25, 1946. Under the title "The Argentines speak," the reporter explained "it has been dangerous for anyone in Argentina to express opposition to the Government or even to express a hope for a return of democratic procedures. Those individuals who did speak out were promptly thrown into concentration camps."[27]

A reporter from *Time,* in an article entitled "Terror," maintained that the Argentine Government was leading the nation to a reign of terror. To prove this, he quoted one of Perón's speeches when he said, "We can govern either with freedom or through fear. We shall govern through fear."[28] The article continued explaining how the opposition was treated and how hundreds of communists, nationalists, conservatives and Argentines with no political convictions at all were imprisoned in concentration camps all over the country.

Perón employed methods of terror to censor and destroy opposition. He was accused by several journals of campaigning in order to

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26. Freda Kirchwey, "Report on Argentina," *The Nation,* 30 March 1946.

27. "The Argentines Speak," Editorial, *New York Times,* 25 July 1946.

28. "Argentina. Terror," *Time,* 4 June 1945.

build up a single party in Argentina, one of the foundations of totalitarian regimes. In this sense, and according to a reporter from *The Nation,* by 1945, Argentina had developed a totalitarian system. "A program of repression and intimidation," Perón claimed, "has been carried out in torture chambers by methods borrowed from the Nazis and applied by a Gestapo."[29]

Scholars agree that building a totalitarian state is a priority of a fascist government. In this sense, the American press used Perón's intentions to control the freedom of the press, the regulation of education and Labor Unions as essential violations of democracy. Reporters provided several examples of how Perón suppressed opposition during his administration. For example, *The Nation* published an article explaining how "The Perón government has imposed direct and indirect censorship upon the democratic press of the country. It has arrested editors and arbitrary suspended the publication of opposition papers. It has harried foreign correspondents."[30] Radio broadcasts also ran into heavy censorship. According to *Newsweek*, Perón had an undeniably clever strategy. Violence, court action, or the cutting off of newsprint from his journalistic opponents would have brought worldwide criticism. Therefore, Perón avoided this by making the paper's readers and advertisers responsible. Perón asked the people not to buy the opposition papers, not to advertise in them and not to allow their employers to do so either. The battle was then fought on several fronts. Many Peronista newspapers started to advertise for free, and also included a special section for job hunters. As well, many propaganda posters against the opposition papers were placed all over the country, addressing them as enemies of the nation.

For the press, the suppression of civil liberties and freedom of the press was the main similarity that Germany and Argentina experienced during Hitler and Perón's government. Some reporters explained how "the Perón regime…has proceeded systematically to destroy the rights of its own citizens, in defiance of elementary principles of human decency…"[31] Several examples are given of the police's assaults against people peacefully celebrating Japan's surrender and other kinds of demonstrations in favor of democracy. The former

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29. Steven Smith, "The Nazi-Fascist Pattern," *The Nation,* 2 Feb. 1946.

30. Steven Smith, "The Nazi-Fascist Pattern."

31. Steven Smith, "The Nazi-Fascist Pattern."

United States Ambassador in Argentina, Spruille Braden, said it in his farewell speech from the United States Embassy in Argentina that "The Argentine government is just as fascist as any which existed in Germany and Japan."[32]

Totalitarian Similarities: Education, Labor, and Military

The regimentation of education is another key characteristic of a totalitarian government. The writer of an article entitled "The Nazi-Fascist Pattern" commented on this point saying that "The regimentation of the education of the Argentinean population is part of the program of the Perón regime."[33] In primary schools there were certain phrases the students were supposed to say every day.[34] The *New Republic* published an anonymous letter on December 9, 1946, from an Argentine that, according to the reporter, had successfully made it past government censorship. The letter observed,

> During this period [1943-1945], teachers in all schools had to lecture their students on "loyalty" to the regime...Each student was also presented with a folder, the cover of which pictured Perón with a couple of children on his knees, containing slogans about Perón which the children were expected to memorize.[35]

 Several professors were dismissed for their political tendencies. The State released all the university presidents, and replaced them by so-called government interveners.

An article in *Newsweek* commented on this, "Perón had also broken the stubborn opposition of the Universities. All unfriendly

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32. Braden, Spruille, "Voice of Freedom will be heard," *Vital Speeches,* 28 Aug. 1945.

33. Smith, "The Nazi-Fascist Pattern."

34. For example, in the primary school, children learned to read with the Slogan: "Eva loves me." Eva, Peron's wife, was in charge of the State's programs for the poor and the needy.

35. "Peron's Paradise," *New Republic,* 9 Dec. 1946.

professors had been fired or retired or had resigned."[36] Students of different national universities showed their discontent in a number of ways. For example, on September 29, 1945, all six national univer- sities decided to suspend their activities as a protest. Two weeks later, the police, who took the University of La Plata by force, imprisoning 315 unarmed students, countered this act. The police themselves reported that 2,100 students were being held in jail and that many deans, rectors, and professors had spent some time in prison. The Press saw in Perón's program regarding education a yearning to eradi- cate any remaining traces of democratic thought or teaching from every educational level.

Journalists found the subordination of labor unions to be an addi- tional similarity between Hitler and Perón's plans of government. Smith remarked that the attempt to take over the labor unions was begun by Colonel Perón in 1943, when he served as Secretary of Labor.[37] At that time, he created a general organization which, fol- lowing Nazi lines, had winning political support of the working masses, especially the unorganized, and unskilled, as its objectives. The writer continues commenting that on September 13, 1945, the police closed the headquarters of the local labor union which included independent groups of workers. During this proceeding, 200,000 members were involved and six leaders were arrested. Seven days after the incident, Perón issued a decree increasing workers wages. Joseph Newman, writing for the *New York Herald Tribune*, character- ized the measure as "clearly designed by its author to win the labor vote."[38] At the end, the writer concluded, "Like Hitler and Mussolini, Perón began to agitate the working masses, making them conscious of their poverty and of the disproportionate wealth of their employers."[39] Standley Ross, writing for *The Nation*, wrote about Perón's "courtship of labor" and commented that "The Colonel's courtship of labor has altered with mass arrests, and torture and imprisonment of labor unions which refused to cooperate. Now the old labor organization had disappeared into the underground, leaving only Perón's Labor

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36. "Argentina: Year One," *Newsweek,* 10 March 1946.

37. Smith, "The Nazi-Fascist Pattern."

38. Smith, "The Nazi-Fascist Pattern."

39. Smith, "The Nazi-Fascist Pattern."

Party."[40] The International Labor Office refused to admit Argentina's delegates to a Conference on October 31, 1945, explaining that under present conditions workers' organizations in the Argentine Republic do not enjoy freedom of association, freedom of action, or freedom of speech.

According to the American press, Perón was planning to prepare the country for war. The press reflected Perón's desires of expansion and his preparation to conquer South America. A piece in *The Nation*, published on February 2, 1946, attributed to Perón war-like and expansionist impulses. "The Perón regime, if left in power, will certainly launch a war in the Western Hemisphere."[41] The press in general exposed Perón's aspirations to seize his own government and lay the basis for a group of Nazi-dominated governments in Latin America.

Smith showed similarities found between the two political figures in this respect.[42] The writer understood that a particular way of preparing a country for war was a common attribute of these regimes. According to him, Perón referred many times to his desire to strengthen the army of Argentina. For example, he gave a speech at the University of La Plata in June 1944, where he stated that "war is an inevitable social phenomenon," that "all activities must be subordinated to the purpose of national defense," and that "all so-called peaceful nations, and among them our own, if they desire peace should be prepared for war."[43] Besides, during the year 1945, the military government was five times as great as that of 1942. During his days in office, the defense budget increased considerably. The writer from *The Nation* provided statistics demonstrating how supplementary arms, a nation-wide secret service and a police force of over 30,000 had been established in the past year. The functions of this organization paralleled those of the Gestapo and Storm Troops in Nazi Germany. He continued explaining how the United States' government had evidence that showed how Perón's government was sending arma-

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40. Ross, "Peron: The South American Hitler."

41. "The Impossible Candidate," *The Nation,* 2 Feb. 1946.

42. Smith, "The Nazi-Fascist Pattern."

43. Smith, "The Nazi-Fascist Pattern."

ments to other republics to facilitate revolutions that would establish governments favorable to him.

A reporter from *The New York Times* explained how Perón was trying to build a South American anti-democratic bloc of states. The correspondent commented how Perón was preparing himself to intervene directly in the upcoming Uruguayan elections. *The Nation* claimed that Perón was not preparing for defense, but "for a particular war"—meaning an aggressive war.

Finally, Argentina's neutrality during most of the Second World War provided reporters with arguments to build up comparisons with Hitler's fascism. The Argentine government was identified as a satellite of the Axis. According to a *New York Times* editorial published on February 3, 1946, the *Blue Book* proves that the Castillo, Ramirez and Farrell-Perón governments of Argentina were active partners in the Axis during the war. Argentina acted in a friendly way with Germany. After the war, many Nazi agents were welcomed in Argentina as refugees. The government started imprisoning some of these men in order to nominally appease the Allies. The government did this in order to show that it was committed to following its international obligations, but never really tried to eliminate them. At the same time, when these prisoners were sent to jail, they enjoyed a special treatment, or were released few days after. Meanwhile, going against its international agreements, the Argentine state gave German corporations and schools the opportunity to prosper. An article in *The Nation* published on February 2, 1946, commented on this point that "While the population of Argentina is suffering cruel oppression and the denial of fundamental freedoms, important Nazi agents continue to find protection, and Axis business and Axis schools flourish."[44]

Conclusion

Many reporters stated that there was a strong resemblance between Perón and Hitler. Some even mentioned that there was a "complete parallel" between them. Newspapers, journals, and official publications of the period showed that Perón's and Hitler's philosophies were identical and their methods, aims, and reactions were the same. Typical characteristics of totalitarian governments were found in Argentina when Perón was ruling the country.

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44. "A proposal for action by the United Nations," *The Nation,* 2 Feb. 1946.

It is sometimes hard to establish conclusions concerning Perón's political career and life. Nevertheless, it is certain that the American liberal press exaggerated many of the characteristics that Perón exhibited. Many of these misunderstandings may be the result of actual beliefs and fears of that time, while some others were probably the consequence of the United States government's utilizalization of the media as a means of propaganda in order to create public apprehension. The same reasoning applies in the case of the United States State Department publication: the *Blue Book*. Some elements of the press, and the government as well, intended to create and spread an image of Perón that followed its particular interests. For instance, although Perón was a dictator and had some fascist characteristics, there is an enormous difference between him and Hitler. Perón curtailed many civil and political liberties, sometimes persecuted opposition, controlled labor unions, and almost eliminated universities' autonomy. However, he never created, nor wanted to create, an enormous state apparatus to control every aspect of each citizen's daily life. It seems fair to say that most of the time the reporters exaggerated some of Perón's ideas and actions in order to easily reach the American public. The conclusions they drew from the facts generally distorted reality.

When comparing two figures in history it is important to consider how hard is to draw lessons from the past and use them in order to understand the present and predict the future. It is important to realize that although the press may sometimes help policy makers, when they are not accurate, they are potentially a great hazard. As Richard Neustadt and Ernest May stated in their book *Thinking in Time*:

> In employment of government power, particulars matter. Ideology, Zeitgeist, or general forces in society or the economy express themselves through given minds employing given means on given days in given places, an results for given people will not be the same when any of those variables changing. [45]

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45. Richard Neustadt and May Ernest. *Thinking In Time* (New York: The Free Press, 1986), 56.

Perón and Hitler's ambitions were very different. Germany and Argentina's power and resources did not have a point of comparison. The atrocities that took place under the Third Reich were far from what happened in Argentina during Perón's government. In this sense, the United States' own objectives in the hemisphere and the pressure of the Cold War drove the State Department and the American Liberal Press to construct an image of Perón that does not necessarily fit reality.

Book Reviews

United States

Woody Holton, *Unruly Americans and the Origins of the Constitution.*
    New York: Hill and Wang, 2007.

When most Americans think of the Constitution they no
doubt envision a series of events similar to those described in Gordon
S. Wood's seminal work, *The Creation of the American Republic
1776-1787.* Delegates to the 1787 Philadelphia convention were con-
vinced of the need to strengthen the federal government. Several
months of debate lead to great compromises where the Founding
Fathers set aside regional and personal differences in an effort to
preserve every citizen's civil liberties. Woody Holton is clearly not
most Americans. An associate professor of history at the University of
Richmond, Holton's thorough reexamination of the "crisis period"
suggests that the Constitution may have been founded on false princi-
ples.

The work questions the motivation behind the framers
actions, but does not challenge the traditional view that the "critical
era" led many Americans to realize that the federal government
needed to be drastically altered. In Holton's view the Founding
Fathers were more interested in stabilizing the economy than protect-
ing civil liberties, and were motivated by the fear that America "would
never be able to attract capital" (23). Holton argues that the framers
considered the increase in democracy following the Revolution to be
the cause for the crisis, and it is his contention that the Constitution
was not designed to protect and preserve rights. The Constitution,
according to Holton, was consciously devised as a vehicle to surrep-
titiously remove power from "We The People."

The initial temptation is to compare this work with that of Charles Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*. *Unruly Americans*, however, is much more than a reevaluation of Beard's progressive era tome. Holton's updated economic interpretation of the "critical era" presents a well constructed challenge to present historiography. By forgoing the traditional Federalist-anti-Federalist debate, it is the citizens who take on the Federalists in this work, Holton is able to successfully return the people to the forefront of American democracy. It is the everyday citizens in their request for a Bill of Rights, and not the Founding Fathers, who were responsible for the freedoms we enjoy today.

Holton presents more than adequate evidence to support his thesis. While most historians focus on the perceived weakness of the Articles of Confederation, Holton uses the words of James Madison, and other Founder Fathers, to demonstrate that there was more concern with the state legislatures than about the weakness of the Federal Government. It was, after all, the state legislatures, who in response to the people granted the tax legislation and debtor relief, which many of the framers feared made the nation less attractive to investors.

The gentry also had several motives for wanting a decrease in democracy. Egalitarian beliefs challenged the social structure of post-Revolutionary America in a manner which many of the elite found troubling. Indeed, the steady declination of deference combined with the framers' newfound desire for, and potential of gaining, political power put many a wealthy pen to paper. One member of the gentry recommended that farmers "be content with the station God has assigned them" while a member of the Virginia House of Representatives warned of the "licentiousness of the people," which he feared even more than the "bad government of rulers" (165).

Fears of the gentry aside, Holton's best evidence is the parties who argued for the ratification of the Constitution. Private creditors and bondholders were "among the constitution's most avid supporters" and it was these very speculators who were the true beneficiaries of the Federal assault on liberal state legislators and tax and debtor relief efforts (22). Many of these speculators, Abigail Adams among them, took advantage of the system by purchasing the soldiers' IOUs, well below face value, and then collecting staggering high annual rates of return. Holton's work, however, draws the line at an outright conspiracy against the people. The push for ratification does not explain why a large portion of the population was "eager to rescue bondholders and private creditors" (22). Furthermore, conspiracy theories can not

explain how Founding Fathers such as James Madison and Alexander Hamilton could be so strongly in favor of the Constitution despite the fact that they were neither creditors nor speculators.

Holton's book seems to fit comfortably between the works of Beard and Wood and will certainly open eyes to the debates over the founding of our country. He successfully demonstrates the "chasm in Americans' attitudes" and yet saves the Constitution as an enduring testament to liberty (175). The Founding Fathers may or may not have had selfish reasons for wanting a stronger central government, but the citizens would not be silenced. The Bill of Rights and subsequent amendments stand as testimony to the fact that the greatness of the Constitution and the "great experiment" is the ability of the government and people to seek and obtain change when it is needed.

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Edward E. Baptist, *Creating an Old South: Middle Florida's Plantation Frontier before the Civil War.* Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina, 2002.

Historians have dedicated much time and effort in researching and deconstructing the essence and origins of the antebellum South. In *Creating an Old South,* Edward E. Baptist challenges much of the past scholarship, arguing that the "Old South" was a social construct that poorly mirrored the reality of the social, political, and cultural differences in the South during the mid-nineteenth century. Baptist builds his argument by focusing on the power dynamics that defined the Florida frontier. He focuses on Leon and Jackson counties, areas in the panhandle that border Georgia and Alabama, to demonstrate how these areas offered Southern "countrymen" new opportunities to secure economic stability. Ultimately, Baptist shows how the notion of a unified "Old South" was merely a "myth" of sorts, one that resulted as a product of desperation and necessity as outsiders threatened the southern "way of life" and the institution of slavery that sustained it. Baptist argues that in reality the history of the Florida plantations shows a power struggle among Southern planters and non-planters who were pitted against one another in this new environment that challenged the previous class hierarchy that permitted poor white families little independence and political and social power.

Baptist begins his work by exploring the various classes of people and their respective reasons for migrating to Leon and Jackson

counties following Florida's entry into the United States in 1821. Primarily, he looks at the elite planter and slave-owning class, the "countrymen" or the yeoman, poor white class, and the forced migrants (enslaved African Americans). Although their motivations differed as a result of class and economic standing, Baptist shows how thoughts of new economic opportunity and fears that soils in Georgia and the Carolinas were growing increasingly unfavorable for cultivation fueled the migration. He also demonstrates how many made the arduous journey to Florida in spite of popular fears of native savagery, barbarism, estrangement from one's kin, and, many times, with limited resources and funds.

Baptist is particularly strong throughout his narrative in exploring the particular incentives of many of the settlers. His research is rich in anecdotal evidence that illuminates our understanding of the power dynamic that ensued as a result of the available land plots in Florida. Baptist's exploration of the squatter culture that permeated in the Florida counties is truly enlightening. It explores how many yeoman benefited from a "preemptive" clause that allowed squatters to purchase land cheaply in the frontier that they had already cultivated and inhabited. Such observations help the reader understand how Florida helped change the power dynamics of the South, granting new opportunities to many and diminishing the role of a predominantly unwavering social hierarchy that existed in the Southern states.

While this work clearly offers the reader a greater understanding of local and regional history, it should also be applauded for tackling the construction of the "Old South" in the pre-Civil War era. Baptist explores this phenomenon throughout. In addition, Baptist's research shows the often reticent attitude women upheld in migrating farther south. He briefly explores notions of female agency, or lack thereof, in the decision-making process. Also imperative to this study, Baptist does not neglect many of the significant characteristics that have historically defined the "Southern" mentality, namely the defense of one's honor, manhood and kin. While these themes appear to be a common thread throughout this work, at times, they appear to be secondary in Baptist's interpretation. His argument that notions of masculinity both drove the migration and sustained the power hierarchy in the Florida frontier is arguably unconvincing at times, as Baptist makes little effort to discuss the construction of masculinity and manhood in the antebellum South. While the power dynamics of the Florida frontier were a departure from the experience in plantations in

Georgia and North Carolina, for example, one may argue that typical "Southern" characteristics did, in fact, translate in this new environment, helping to forge the notion of the "Old South" as northern ideologies threatened to subdue the Southern status quo.

With this work, Baptist offers a significant contribution to our understanding of Southern regional history. While modern perceptions of Florida foster little resemblance to notions of the "Deep South," Baptist challenges the reader to reconceptualize our modern prejudices. This text properly contextualizes the Florida plantation experience as a significant contribution in the creation of the "Old South." Lest we forget, Florida was socially, politically, and culturally "Southern" and ultimately, only a few decades after its acquisition as a U.S. territory, it became a young addition to the Confederacy. Baptist makes excellent use of the available resources including periodicals, correspondence and personal diaries and journals. He draws evidence from an array of archival deposits such as the Florida State Archives, the Jackson County Courthouse in Marianna, Florida, and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (a valuable resource often neglected by scholars in the field). This work also provides the reader with an extremely useful appendix of primary source materials, namely contemporary U.S. census records from Leon and Jackson Counties. Baptist's exploration is particularly valuable as it challenges our preconceived notions of the South. It does so, ironically, by investigating a region often neglected in Southern narratives. While this work may not entirely shatter myths of the "Old South," it challenges our understanding of the region's history, even casting doubt on the origins of the construction of the "New South" following the Union's victory.

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Europe

Molinero, Carmen. *La captación de las masas. Política social y propaganda en el régimen franquista*. Madrid: Cátedra, 2005.

To legitimize itself and to perpetuate its power, the regime of General Francisco Franco (1939-1975) blamed an alleged multifaceted crisis in Spain on the liberal state's democratization efforts during the

Second Republic (1931-1936). This rhetoric justified the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and made scapegoats out of the Republicans. Indeed, the way in which the civil war was portrayed as a necessary evil by the Francoist self-proclaimed *nacionales*, was an effort to convince people of the need for reform and to call for an end to the excessive revolutionary period before the coup on July 18, 1936.

Carmen Molinero's *La captación de las masas* (*The Capture of the Mases*) is a magnificent work that adds complexity to recent scholarship concerning how propaganda has been used for political purposes during the Francoist military regime from the civil war in 1939 through the 1960s. The main thesis of this concise book is the regime's use of the media to project a positive image in the official propaganda of its welfare measures in order to make Spaniards feel that they were part of a major national project to contribute to the building of a new nation.

This work is well documented. Molinero incorporates a comparative methodology which attempts to globalize European history by inserting Spain into the dialogue. The *Fuero del Trabajo* (1938) is examined in comparison to the *Carta di Lavoro* issued in 1927 in fascist Italy. The *Fuero del Trabajo* dictated a corporatist union model. As Molinero explains, the working class was at the core of the dictatorial politics of social propaganda. The focus of social regulation in the eyes of the regime had become "the principal danger of Spain" and was regarded as the "Anti-Spain."

Molinero starts by explaining and unveiling the aims and manifestations of Francoist pretensions of a welfare state. The Falange, the single official party of the new state, dominated the agenda and articulated the regime's mission in the creation of an image of Spanish society as a monolithic bloc that represented Spanish nationalism. The use of public media to achieve a social consensus is particularly useful when there is a strong censorship apparatus. The reform from above was based on a strong rejection of any positive results achieved by any of the liberal or progressive governments in the past. The Falange was charged with the obligation of implementing the social reform.

The final goal was to renew the country as a whole. This goal was to be achieved by "the nationalization of the masses" using political dialogue to advance the material agenda of the disenfranchised. This was a very modern means of propaganda with a select use of techniques utilized to "capture the masses." Molinero uses two examples to illustrate her argument: the proclamation of the Law of the

Press in 1938 and the creation of the newsreel NODO which lasted until 1981. The welfare state that the regime sought to create was constantly diffused by official propaganda as those mentioned above. Molinero explains how information became propaganda orchestrated by the New State in the name of benefiting the Spaniards. The author also suggests in the first chapter that the transmission of National-Catholicism, which defined the regime ideologically was part of the propaganda discourse about social policy.

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Tina Campt, *Other Germans: Black Germans and the Politics of Race, Gender, and Memory in the Third Reich*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.

  In Tina Campt's study *Other Germans*, she attempts to rethink the Holocaust as not just anti-Semitic, but rather as a program against racial impurity altogether. In doing this, she focuses her study on the *Mischehe* or "mixed-race" children of black French occupation soldiers (chiefly) and white German women. Germans came to refer to these children as the "Rhineland Bastards" as the soldiers were stationed in the Rhineland and, as World War II approached, the German government began a propaganda campaign that targeted these children in order to preserve German racial purity. Throughout the book, Campt uses oral history to reconstruct the memory of being black in WWII Germany and attempts to connect that idea to gender, national identity, and the individual crisis faced by those persecuted.

  In the introduction to the work, Campt outlines the various discourses on race that she will discuss including eugenics, threats to national identity, colonial implications, and German victimhood from occupation. Before delving heavily into the oral history section of her study, Campt briefly outlines these discourses. When discussing eugenics, she deals primarily with the Nuremburg Laws and their constructions of the terms "Aryan" (i.e. German) and "non-Aryan." These laws thus outlined the rights of citizens of the Reich and who exactly held claim to those rights. People of "alien blood" (*artfremdes Blut*) or "alien races" (*Fremdrassigen*) as well as those "racially less valuable" than the true German citizens were targeted. In these laws, even though the idea of half-castes (*mischlinge*) is discussed, the laws refer only to gypsies and Jews specifically. There is no discussion or mention of the *Mischehe* group. However, Campt claims that this model was certainly still meant as a frame for black German-ness based on the supplemental decrees added to the statute.

What would be most interesting, in this case, would be a discussion of one, why these laws had neglected to address this population of black Germans to begin with, and two, what sort of actions or reactions prompted the additional legislation to redress the initial omission. With this latter topic, Campt could have greatly expanded the scope of her argument and placed the black German population more firmly within this discussion of racial purity and its legislation and especially emphasized the perceived threat of blackness to national identity.

This sort of expansion and firmer grounding of her subjects within the national discourse would also have advanced Campt's discussion of issues of blackness during the colonial period. She briefly relates the ideas of race associated with colonialism and mentions some studies of colonial race-mixing. Here is where she should have brought in the discussion of the 1912 Reichstag debates on colonial *Mischehe* that she mentions earlier. She claims that, when read in relation to the WWII campaigns, these debates "reveal important resonances and continuities…[about] the danger posed by racial mixture" and how that danger became the focus of political agitation (27). Unfortunately, she does not specifically connect the two and therefore does not fully convey the shifting of race politics from an external focus on the colonies to an internal focus dealing with the occupation by French colonial blacks. This connection shows that race politics, while not new or unique, were reinterpreted and molded to fit the aims of the German government during and after the occupation. In using this argument, Campt could have more fully realized her claims for including blacks within the discourse of German racial purity in WWII.

Another part of this argument left underdeveloped by Campt is how racial purity became exemplified by the concrete figure of the Rhineland Bastard as a visible threat to national identity and the colonial balance of power as well. In this case, the threat from inside was then projected out to a larger political arena. She alludes to these ideas on a number of occasions but never specifically addresses how the changing balance of power exemplified in this figure could then have affected legislation towards the *Mischehe* within Germany. It is plausible to argue that the fear of losing national and imperial power prompted the Reich to retaliate against this group they saw as part of the cause for that loss.

Campt begins to make some headway in her argument when she addresses specific laws concerning the education of non-Aryans.

Here she details how black children could be rejected and expelled from schools simply for being black as seen in the case of Campt's subject, Faisa Jansen. There are many issues that arise from Campt's interviews such as the issue of school acceptance, the "year of duty" for German girls, and sterilization (in both subjects' case), that Campt touches on ever so briefly leaving her readers wanting more. In trying to overturn some of the historiography of Germany's quest for racial purity during WWII, Campt overextends herself. Her study would have benefitted from a more in-depth look at a handful of these ideas rather than trying to extrapolate all of these varying ideas from the interviews of only two children of the occupation. Had she limited her scope, she would have been able to more fully develop the issues and more firmly connect them to history and the historiographical debate around these topics.

As is, the book certainly serves as a call to arms to study this *Mischehe* phenomenon to a much greater degree, though Campt is not entirely successful in her own aims. The merits of trying to address the different discourses of science, colonialism, and national identity are unfortunately overshadowed by the larger lack of qualifying information in this work.

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Latin America

Shawn William Miller, *An Environmental History of Latin America.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

In 1519, Cortéz and his men landed at Vera Cruz and advanced toward the Aztec capital. The conquistadors' accounts, how-ever, made little mention of the volcanoes, mountains, beaches, rain-forests, and crystal clear lakes which surrounded them. Traditional history, similar to the conquistadors' accounts, is concerned with intra-human interaction. Until recently, hurricanes, forests, animals, rivers, minerals, and food crops have played a minimal role in history. *An Environmental History of Latin America* examines the mutual and reciprocal relationship between tropical nature and human culture from the ancient Amerindian civilizations to modern day cities. Mil-ler studies the subsistence strategies of the Aztecs over the course of

six centuries. He also analyzes tropical agriculture during the colonial period, the intersection between discourse pertaining to tropical environments and Social Darwinism at the end of the nineteenth century. Other principal elements of this work include natural disasters, diseases, the commodities of the export boom such as guano, the development of the conservation and environmental movements, air population, urbanization, and ecotourism.

A central theme of the work is to understand how humans made the tropics their "home" over the centuries. Miller seeks to answer a number of questions: what type of settlements humans formed, what type of relationship did humans have with their habitat, whether human habitats have succeeded or failed to provide for Latin Americans, and are Latin American cities destined for cultural collapse. The central theme of Miller's work is sustainability. To better understand sustainability, Miller focuses on four sub-themes including "population, technology, attitudes toward nature, and attitudes toward consumption" (4).

This synthesis is most effective when Miller interprets the classic works of environmental history through his central themes and questions. The cornerstones of the field and this study are Alfred Crosby's *The Columbian Exchange* and *Ecological Imperialism* and Warren Dean's *With Broadax and Firebrand*. The emerging field of disasters studies is integrated into the narrative. Finally, Miller also draws on North American environmental literature, which provides valuable insights into the development of Latin American environmental history and provides questions and theoretical models for future research.

Miller's agenda becomes obvious when the discussion moves into the late twentieth century. Miller states that he is examining sustainability, not sustainable development. The difference between the two is ultimately unclear as Miller chastises capitalism's excesses, western civilization, and the wealthy for developing an unsustainable society and culture while exploiting the world's underdeveloped countries and peoples. When explaining the evils of the car and roads in Latin American cities, Miller blames the wealthy who "impose a multitude of costs on everyone" (178). Furthermore, Miller adds to the mythic reputation of the Brazilian city, Curitiba, as a green city and a shining example of sustainability. Finally, the epilogue examines the success of sustainable agriculture practices in Cuba, which largely eliminated hunger and increased family income by the end of the "Special Period" in the late 1990s.

This analysis is the first treatment of scholarly literature written about Latin American environmental history. Miller concludes that humans have changed and dominated the environment more than the environment has affected mankind over the past six centuries. *An Environmental History of Latin America* provides an excellent examination of the foundational works and central themes the field is based upon. The agenda not only reflects the author's views, but also the political influences that helped to birth the field of environmental history. This synthesis will provoke discussion and challenge scholars to understand and define the purpose of environmental history and its role in today's society, culture, economy, and politics.

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Asia

Andrew Bernstein. *Modern Passings: Death Rites, Politics, and Social Change in Imperial Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

Andrew Bernstein's *Modern Passings* explains the Japanese culture of death throughout history focusing on the "modernization" of death in the Meiji period (1868-1912). Changing perceptions on funeral practices and corpse-disposal were important in Japanese history, especially during the Meiji Restoration or Revolution. The principal conflict centered on differing ideas of modernization between Western and Japanese standards. Bernstein examines how the Japanese dealt with death along historical and cultural lines, despite the taboos of a macabre subject. He argues that Japanese treatment of corpses, funerals, and respect for the deceased mirrored Meiji societal changes by analyzing policies and popular thought. The author's argument is consistent in each chapter, dividing his ideas both thematically and chronologically. This organization provides a narrative of history and tradition focused on death.

Bernstein uses a rich variety of images and secondary documents to explore changes in Japanese culture. Meiji funeral practices show how people reorganized their lives to a new standard. The Japanese land shortage crisis is explored through cremation policies. Japanese topography limited viable land and burying bodies reduced

available real estate. The space that cemeteries took impeded the industrial and urban development of the country. Modern preoccupations with pollution and corpse desecration fueled debate and polarized the nation. Cremation eventually became a solution for Japan's modernization.

This study of death demonstrates how the Meiji period was a transitive period in Japan moving the country toward European values. In the late nineteenth century, Home Ministry laws on funerals altered more than simply traditional burial rites. Modern funerals were much more streamlined than the ceremonies before the Restoration. Temple graveyards attempted to resist the force of change. Modernity was pushed into the forefront at the expense of religion. The government reduced private spaces used for ancestor worship. Bernstein equates governmental policies on religious burial spaces to overall religious policy.

This argument that new traditions developed despite rampant modernization follows current scholarship. The "farewell ceremony" was an invented tradition that reflected the melding of Japanese and North Atlantic culture and allowed Japanese mourners to cope with the loss of their relatives. Bernstein brilliantly develops his argument, showing the societal shift from traditional culture to new invented traditions based on Western European and American values.

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