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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Dear readers,

Welcome to the seventh edition of the *AUM Historical Review*! This year, we have a selection of fantastic articles on a wide variety of topics, focusing mainly on racial justice and American history.

First, one of our authors presents a look at the atrocities committed by Germans in South-West Africa in the early twentieth century. We then consider the effects of Social Darwinism on the modern Eugenics movement and, later, reflect on the life of Mohandas Gandhi in honor of the seventieth anniversary of his death. Next, we get a look at the journeys of British travelers in Alabama in the nineteenth century, as well as the adventures of American pilots during World War II. We also have an account of a visit to Old Alabama Town, one of Montgomery's cherished historical sites. Finally, another one of our writers reviews George M. Fredrickson's *Racism: A Short History*.

I wish to extend a sincere thanks to each of this year's associate editors – Robert Ashurst, Cole Hamric, Austin Harris, Elizabeth Meads, Emily Witcher, and Christian Wysmulek. Thank you for all your hard work and dedication! I must also thank Dr. Tim Henderson and the Department of History for their continued encouragement, along with Professor Breuna Baine and our student designers, LyAnne Peacock and Amy LaPointe. Likewise, the whole team is grateful to Dr. Terry Winemiller and Tanya Winemiller for their professionalism and promptness in creating a map for one of our articles. They received invaluable assistance from Mr. Eino Mwatanhele at the Namibia Statistics Agency in Windhoek. Further thanks is also owed to the many businesses that supported this issue: the AUM Warhawk Shop, the Capri Theatre, Chris' Hot Dogs, Kayak Fishing Alabama, the Lattice Inn, and McDonald & Hagen Wealth Management.

Of course, the editorial board and I are very grateful to every student who submitted papers for this issue of the *Historical Review* – none of this would be possible without you, and I urge AUM students of any classification to submit their work for next year's edition. A huge thanks is also owed to our faculty advisor, Dr. Steve Gish, for all he does to help bring the journal to life.

Lastly, thank you, dear readers, for supporting the *AUM Historical Review*. May you find something challenging, enlightening, and entertaining in the following pages!

Victoria Kenyon, Editor

A NEW GERMANY ON AFRICAN SOIL

by Cari Rountree

Cari Rountree is a mother of three children, the oldest being special needs, and wife of an Air Force veteran. She received her bachelor's degree at Hardin-Simmons University and is now pursuing a Master's of Liberal Arts at AUM. Cari has a passion for storytelling, specifically stories that few will ever hear.

Just a short distance off the coast of present-day Namibia sits Shark Island, a small peninsula that has transformed into a tourist location. Campsites are available for families who want to spend the weekend angling and fishing or touring the small museum. There is a relatively new restaurant located on the island where guests are treated to South Africa's finest wines and some of the best South Atlantic seafood, all the while taking in the impressive views of the southwest African coastline.¹ Sadly, most visitors are unaware that they are relaxing on the remnants of a horrific grave site that in 1905 became the world's first known death camp. Beneath these diners lay the bones and steel manacles of descendants of the Herero, Witbooi Nama, and Bethanie Nama tribal groups that once carved out a rich life in southwest Africa before the arrival of their German conquerors.

This particular event in history has long been ignored and purposely forgotten by those who committed these atrocities. Historians and governments are still debating whether the term "genocide" is an appropriate phrase to describe the events that unfolded in German South-West Africa during the turn of the twentieth century. There is conclusive evidence to suggest that the Nama and Herero tribes were the focus of what became a German extinction policy that paved the way for a Jewish extermination a few decades later. These particular tribes were deemed racially inferior and an obstacle that needed to be wiped out in order to achieve a peaceful and profitable German territorial expansion or a "new Germany on African soil."²



These Herero survived starvation in the Waterberg only to waste away while in captivity of the German government.
Galerie Bassenge / Wikimedia Commons

Namibia has been described as “one of the strangest places on earth.”³ The mainland is surrounded by what most visitors call the Skeleton Coast, sharp rocky ridges that plunge directly into the freezing waters of the South Atlantic, which open to miles and miles of windblown sand dunes in the Namib Desert. The area is intermixed with rich plateaus that provide abundant grazing area for African cattle. The desert is one thousand miles long and ranges from thirty to one hundred miles in width and is almost completely void of water and vegetation. “Namib,” translated from the Khoi language, means “to shield.”⁴ The fog coming off the bay, sand, and oppressive heat did in fact shield the majority of this region from much outside influence until April 10, 1883, when Heinrich Vogelsang landed off the coast of Angra Pequena (it would later be named Lüderitz) and began a series of land purchases in the name of Germany and his employer Adolf Lüderitz. Although most of Europe had begun colonizing many parts of Africa, Germany’s Imperial Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, urged caution against colonization, arguing that the costs far outweighed the benefits of seizing land so far from the empire.⁵ Bowing to the pressure of his country’s colonial fever, Bismarck hosted the infamous Berlin Conference at his own villa on Wilhelm Strasse, where the powers of Europe and the United States divided up the African continent, allowing Germany to lay claim to fourteen million Africans who had no idea they’d just become colonial subjects of another country. Ultimately, Germany’s rapid industrial decline and rise in unemployment persuaded Bismarck, who used this as an attempt to distract his adversaries in the Reichstag, to support colonization in 1884 when he dictated a telegram officially placing Lüderitz’s acquired territory under direct German protection.⁶

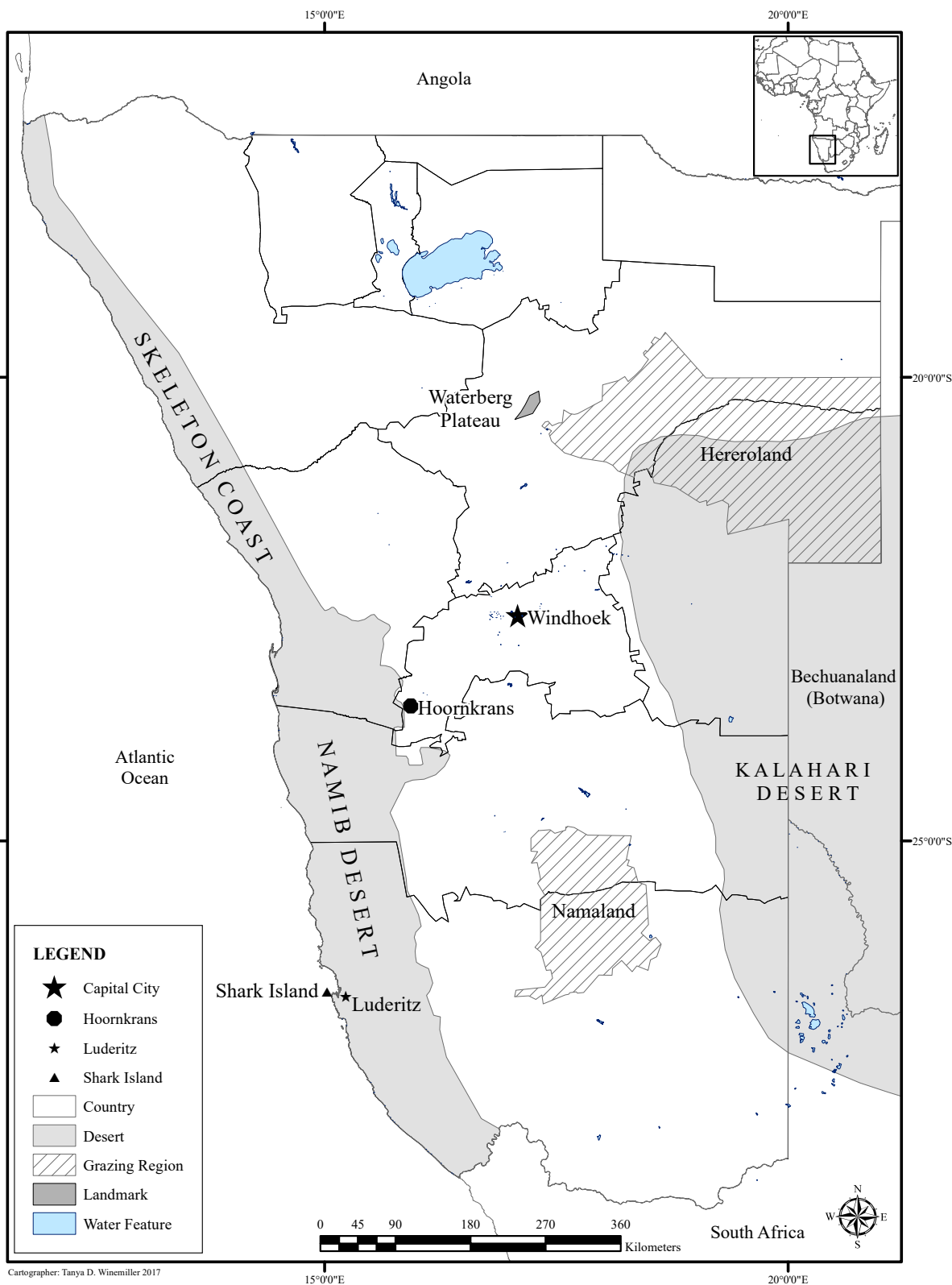
On September 2, 1885, the newly appointed Imperial Commissioner of German South-West Africa (SWA), Dr. Heinrich Goring, arrived at a popular port off the coast of southwest Africa. He was to assist Theodor Leutwein, the head of SWA colonial administration, in negotiating a series of “protection treaties” between the German Reich and the rulers of each tribal group. In exchange for protection and friendship from Germany, the treaties required the Africans to swear loyalty to the new government and promise not to interfere with German rule. Although Goring spoke Dutch, the *lingua franca* spoken most often by the Nama and Herero peoples, the largest of the thirteen tribal groups who called SWA home, he severely underestimated the “savages’” intelligence and believed that tribal leaders would be “easily impressed” with their new commanders.⁷ Goring was an

arrogant and pompous man who believed that African leaders responded best to threats and firm tones. He gave no credence to the knowledge that the men he was dealing with were literate, intelligent, and respected warriors of their tribes: Hendrik Witbooi, Captain of the Witbooi Nama, and Samuel Maharero, leader of the Herero.⁸

Hendrik Witbooi, born in 1830 to the *kaptein* of the Witbooi tribal group, is believed to have been only five feet tall. He was highly educated and an able carpenter, and was exceptionally worldly and understood the empire each European country was trying to create. Witbooi was a devout Christian who distrusted European missionaries and became a religious visionary that developed into a charismatic leader who attracted many Nama people to his tribe.⁹ By 1904, at seventy-four years old, he came to believe that his last mission in life would be to expel the Europeans from his homeland; sadly, he was never able to realize his dreams.

Samuel Maharero, born in 1854, entered a divisive succession crisis in the late 1890s. An educated man who had been expelled from missionary school, he was rumored to have been a very heavy drinker.¹⁰ He emerged from his older brothers’ shadow and eventually ascended to the role of Paramount Chief of the Herero in 1892. The Witbooi Nama and Herero people had long been at war over control of rich pasture lands of the central plateau. The Herero demanded that the German army be true to the protection treaty that Goring had persuaded the new chief to sign, further alienating the tribes from each other and guaranteeing that the two groups would never unite against the forces of the Reich.

In response to Goring’s failed attempts to subdue the African people with treaties, the Reichstag appointed a new commander, Curt von François, who had “unshakeable views on how Africans should be treated.”¹¹ The three years von François had spent as a mercenary of King Leopold of Belgium in the Congo turned him into a racial fanatic. He took everything he learned working for the Force Publique and applied it to the Africans in SWA. He was shocked at how little the previous commander had been able to accomplish in securing land from the African people and “worse still, the Africans remained unbowed, considering themselves equal to the whites.”¹² Von François demanded permission from the Reichstag to conquer the people militarily. On April 12, 1893, as roughly one thousand Witbooi Nama were camped at the Hoornkrans river, von François and two hundred of his men surrounded the tribe as they slept and then fired sixteen thousand rounds of ammunition into the unprotected encampment



South-West Africa, c. 1905.
Tanya Winemiller

full of elderly people, women, and children. A surprised Hendrik Witbooi managed to order all his men out of the camp toward a dry riverbed, in hopes that the soldiers would chase them, leaving the women and children unharmed. Much to the shock of the entire Nama tribe, von François gave the order for a bayonet attack and sent his men toward the unarmed women, children and elders. At the end of the violence at Hoorankrans the German army had killed eight old men, two young boys, and seventy-eight women and children.¹³ The destroyed campground and decaying bodies were raided for treasure and eighty women were taken as house slaves. Von François reported that the attack was a success.

The Hoorankrans Massacre was the first in what would quickly become German policy in dealing with anyone who was deemed resistant to German rule in South-West Africa. These types of atrocities were kept from the general public's gaze. When news reached Berlin of this event, the Witbooi Nama were painted as rapists, robbers, and savages intent on destroying and harming the colony and their countrymen residing in SWA. The displaced Africans were described as hostile and resistant to the Europeans' "peaceful" and "civilized" attempts to build a stable government. According to historians David Olusoga and Casper Erichsen, "the destruction of indigenous peoples was increasingly explained using ideas drawn from science rather than scripture."¹⁴ Germany was particularly interested in the theory of Social Darwinism, a belief in natural selection and survival of the fittest philosophy, which spread the idea that white races were triumphing across the globe by their right of strength and conquest. In short, the German race was destined to win the colonization process because they were, indeed, the fittest. This belief was evident in the German settlers' and soldiers' treatment of the local African population. German officials living in SWA wrote to the Reichstag in the summer of 1900, stating that:

From time immemorial our natives have been used to laziness, brutality and stupidity. The dirtier they are the more they feel at ease. Any white men who have lived among the natives find it almost impossible to regard them as human beings at all in any European sense. They need centuries of training as human beings; with endless patience, strictness and justice.¹⁵

The years of 1894-1903 brought further destruction to the traditional lifestyle of the African people residing in the southwest. The *Rinderpest*, or

bovine plague, swept through the Herero and Nama's cattle herds causing the communities to lose almost two-thirds of their livestock.¹⁶ German settlers fared better as their cattle had been vaccinated against the deadly disease. Epidemics of typhoid fever and malaria spread through each tribe, killing many who were already underfed and malnourished due to the loss of their herds. Coupled with severe drought, the Nama and Herero chiefs were forced to continually sell their land to the Germans and were reduced to finding work in the colony's cities. This period marked a time of colonial expansion and the development of infrastructure built largely on the backs of tribal members forced to work for the colony in order to feed their families.¹⁷ They worked on rail lines, in diamond mines, for missionaries, German troops, and in private homes as slaves. Young women living in German households were routinely mistreated and often sexually violated. Africans were vigorously prosecuted and likely to receive corporal punishment for minor crimes. In contrast, white settlers received much more lenient punishments for more severe crimes. For example, between the years of 1894-1900, the murderers of four African men and one African woman were punished with three-month sentences, whereas fifteen Africans were sentenced to death for killing six Europeans.¹⁸ By early 1904, official reports of beatings, rapes, and murders committed within SWA "speak of a colony slipping out of control" where isolated settlers and the *Schutztruppe* (white officers) were able to enact whatever violence they deemed necessary against any Herero or Nama tribal member.¹⁹

Unrest began to spread amongst the African tribal groups, particularly the Hereros, led by Samuel Maharero, who were tired of being treated as lesser human beings. Angry at the expansion of colonial domination and the loss of pastoral land, they rose up over a dispute involving a stolen sheep in late 1903.²⁰ Lieutenant Walter Jobst, a veteran soldier who had carried out raids in China after the Boxer Rebellion, was known to be impulsive and proud in his belief that African lives held little value. He intervened in a tribal affair by summoning a local chieftain to his office, whom he shot in cold blood when he ignored the lieutenant's summons. Within seconds of the murder, the lieutenant and another soldier were gunned down by the offended tribal community.²¹ The colonial government in Windhoek and the Reichstag in Berlin demanded retribution for the incident, further increasing tension in the area until, finally, Herero forces retaliated against the German government on January 12, 1904.

Herero forces launched assaults on towns, villages, telegraph lines, the Windhoek-Swakopmund railway, and six well-guarded German outposts. The fighters attacked settlements across the central SWA pasture lands, destroying most of the 267 farms in the area and killing between 123 and 150 male German settlers.²² The attacks took the government at Windhoek completely by surprise. The settler population was thrown into a state of panic. Samuel Maharero's forces behaved with considerable discipline and coordination, following his order that white women, children, missionaries, and non-German men were to be spared any harm.²³ In contrast, once the German people recovered from their shock, they launched a full-out war on all Herero people and their allies.

During March and April of 1904, Herero forces fought a relatively successful military campaign against the Germans. They skillfully outwitted the German army by using ambush tactics and drawing them into areas of dense brush where heavy guns were completely useless. German troops were handicapped by poor communication, a lack of experienced soldiers, and the difficulties of waging a war in arid, hot conditions, even with the addition of two thousand new soldiers to their ranks. Members of the Reichstag were furious at reports arriving in Berlin that the untamed Africans seemed to have the upper hand. The German commander in charge, Theodore Leutwein, reportedly was disturbed by the "lust for vengeance that emanated from Berlin."²⁴ It seemed as though the Kaiser and members of his General Staff were demanding not only the defeat of the Herero but their annihilation as well. The German public had been "whipped into a frenzy" by months of colonialist propaganda making it clear that nothing other than a complete and total military victory would be acceptable to Germany's citizens. Leutwein, unable to deliver the crushing blow Berlin required, was replaced in June of that year by a man who would become the architect of the Herero extermination policy, General Lothar von Trotha.²⁵

Lothar von Trotha, an experienced soldier with a reputation for ruthlessness, led successful campaigns in East Africa and China before he arrived in SWA with five thousand additional German soldiers, confident he would be able to control the Herero uprising. His first official act as general was to declare martial law, making himself supreme commander in both civilian and military affairs.²⁶ He then spent two months systematically building up supply lines throughout the Waterberg plateau area, which was currently the home and grazing land of over fifty thousand Herero people,

and shoring up the colonial headquarters. Although Samuel Maharero watched the German soldiers gradually move into position, he failed to withdraw his clansmen from the area and prepare his fighters for an attack. Herero oral history expresses that Maharero believed the war was over and von Trotha would begin peace negotiations soon. Historians such as Marion Wallace believe the chief's actions strongly suggest that the Herero goal was not to end German rule, but to encourage a system where tribal chiefs were seen as racially equal and their tribal authority would not be publically undermined.²⁷ General von Trotha, however, prepared for total war.

On August 11, 1904, almost exactly seven months since the Herero rose up against the Germans, von Trotha ordered his soldiers to attack.²⁸ At six o'clock in the morning German shells exploded into the sleeping encampment. Wave after wave of Herero soldiers attempted to break through the German lines only to be shot down by the army's strategically placed Maxim guns. Nine hours after the fighting began, Herero forces were finally able to punch a hole in the south-eastern flank of the German lines and open an escape path into the Omaheke Desert. Olusoga and Erichsen write that von Trotha left this line vulnerable and "suggested that they (the Herero) be driven into the waterless desert with women and children" to be rid of the Herero sooner.²⁹ By nightfall, tens of thousands of Herero people were escaping through the hole into the desert.

The Omaheke Desert was east of the Waterberg and stretched into the British protectorate of Bechuanaland (now Botswana). It is known for its harsh conditions and lack of watering holes, but is navigable under proper conditions. The speed and unpreparedness with which the Herero were forced to flee from German bullets assured that the desert would become a deathtrap. German soldiers who chased after the defeated tribe described the scene that awaited them in the desert: "the Hereros' cattle lay in the brush with the mass of their people, dead of thirst, strewn along the path of their death march." As soldiers dismounted their horses their feet "bumped up against corpses."³⁰ When it became clear that German soldiers couldn't continue chasing the survivors across the desolate desert, von Trotha ordered his men to guard the watering holes and deny access to anyone not of German descent.³¹ Dehydration proved to be the best weapon Germany could use against the Herero people.

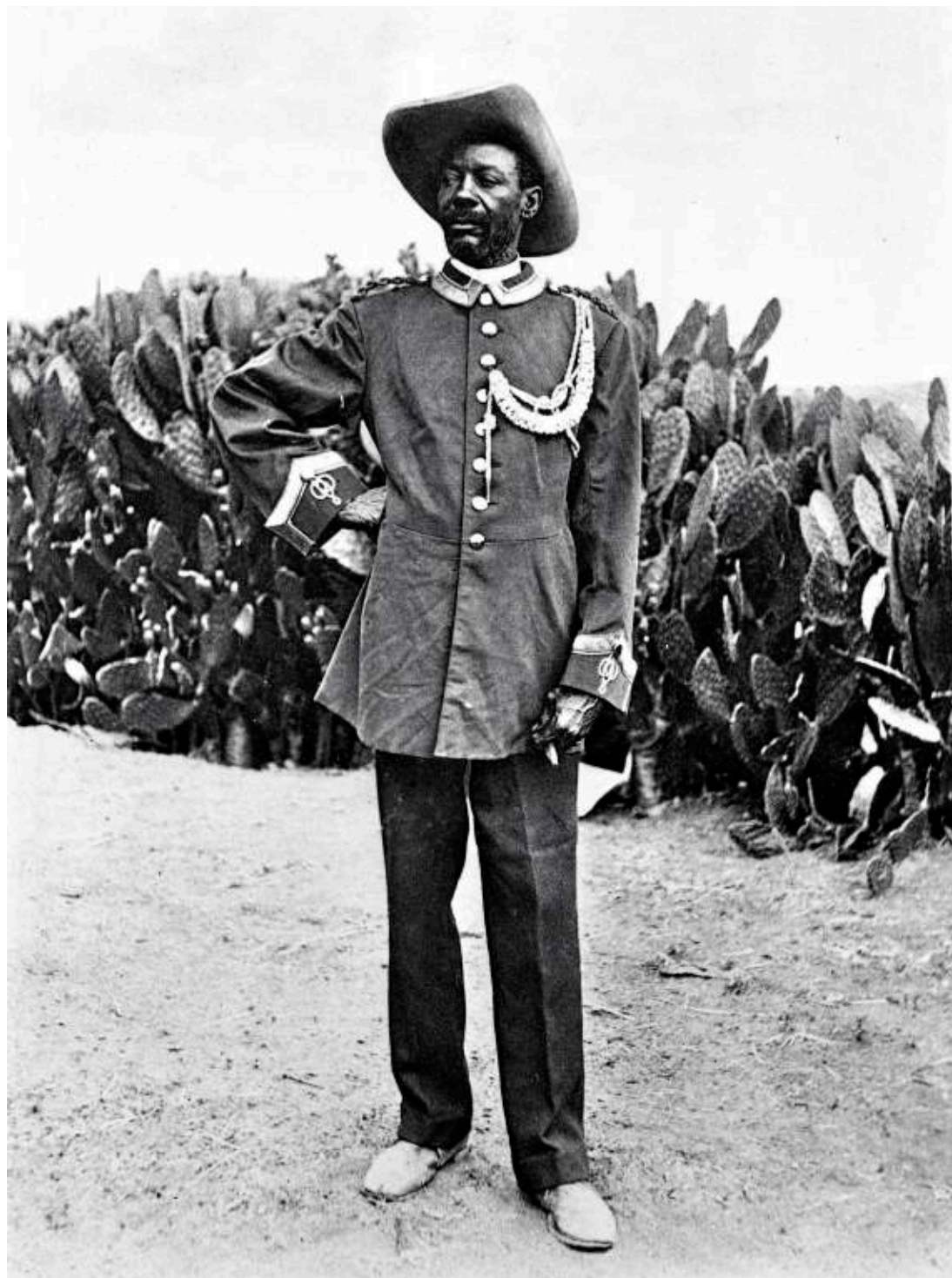
It was after the battle at the Waterberg that Lothar von Trotha's full genocidal plan became clear. It is recorded by his own soldiers that, even

before the fighting began, the general issued orders that no Herero prisoners were to be taken at the battle.³² Men, women, and children were shot dead as they attempted to surrender after surviving the terrible conditions in the Omaheke Desert. Von Trotha adamantly refused peace terms, instead issuing a now infamous Extermination Order. On October 2, 1904, General von Trotha publically issued an official proclamation stating all Herero people had to leave the country or be forced out by "means of guns":

Within the German boundaries, every Herero, whether found armed or unarmed, with or without cattle, will be shot. I shall not accept any more women and children. I shall drive them back to their people—otherwise I shall order shots to be fired at them. These are my words to the Herero people. Signed:
The Great General of the Mighty Kaiser, von Trotha.³³

This edict ended any pretense that a war was being fought to end an uprising. The aim was to eradicate all of the Herero people from the colony either by relocation or by death.

At Waterberg the Witbooi Nama watched the German army attack and murder Herero women and children. Several Nama even acted as guides and helped the German soldiers get into position. They quickly understood von Trotha's aim was complete annihilation and began to prepare for when the Germans would go after them. Early in the Herero War, Samuel Maharero attempted to persuade Hendrik Witbooi to ally with the Herero, but his letter was intercepted and delivered to the German military.³⁴ It wasn't until the day before von Trotha issued the Extermination Order that Witbooi realized the danger his tribe was in and began writing a series of letters to other Nama clans declaring his intention to rise up against the Germans. Despite everything Witbooi knew about von Trotha and his army, he ordered that his war would be fought according to the rules and conventions that had always been an integral part of Nama tradition. His aim was only to drive the Germans out of their grazing lands, not "annihilate" them.³⁵ Witbooi's official declaration of war was delivered by his deputy and addressed directly to the representative of German power in the Witbooi Nama territory. Many historians note that one of the greatest tragedies in the story of colonialization of South-West Africa is that the Nama and Herero were never able to unite and fight their battles against Germany together.³⁶



Chief Samuel Maharero, leader of the Herero nation, led his people in their fight against German colonizers. He died in 1923 after having led the surviving Herero to exile in British Bechuanaland Protectorate, modern day Botswana. Maharero is celebrated on Herero Day, a national holiday commemorating the Namibian War for Independence.

Exampapers.nust.na / Wikimedia Commons

The Nama uprising began in October 1904 with a wave of attacks against German settlements and isolated farms. True to Witbooi's word, the Nama spared all German women and children. It was so widely understood that the Nama would not attack "innocents" that men in German towns in the Witbooi Nama territory took refuge in the local military installation and left the women and children at home alone.³⁷ Witbooi himself took precautions and set up remote encampments for the tribe's elders, women, and children or moved them into British territory before their attacks on the Germans began. In response to the uprising, von Trotha called as many men as he could spare from the chase of the Herero to fight this new insurgency.

Nama fighters, learning from Herero mistakes, adopted the tactics of guerilla warfare and used the harshness of the countryside to their advantage, fighting most of the war with two hundred minor engagements and only one formal battle. In April 1905, General von Trotha issued a familiar sounding extermination order against the Nama, decreeing the Germans would show no mercy to any member of the Nama tribes.³⁸ The proclamation did little to deter Nama resistance and made their successful ambush attacks more infuriating. In each ambush or raid on a German convoy or colony, the Nama would confiscate all weapons, ammunition, horses and cattle. They sold the cattle to British traders to finance the war against the Germans. The Namas' knowledge of the locations of the waterholes scattered across the southern half of the country also aided their abilities to elude von Trotha's army. According to Olusoga and Erichsen, "water, more than any other commodity, determined the nature of the German-Nama War," and also explains how the Nama were able to hold the German army off for so long. By mid-1905, though, the situation looked bleak for both sides.³⁹

Despite all their military success against the German army, the Witbooi Nama people were starving and beginning to show signs of fatigue in their fight for freedom. Still unwilling to surrender, the Nama launched an attack on a German supply convoy in late October 1905; Hendrik Witbooi was hit in the thigh by a shard of metal and died three days later, marking the beginning of the end of Nama resistance.⁴⁰ By November, most of the Witbooi Nama had surrendered to the colonial army, with the rest laying down arms in February 1906. The war was officially over, bringing an end to a period of great suffering. Sadly, this moment would mark the beginning of great tragedy and lead to the almost complete destruction of

the surviving Herero and Nama people.

In Germany's *Official History of the Herero War*, General Lothar von Trotha was hailed as a hero and awarded the Pour le Merite, a Prussian order of merit, which was the highest military order of his day for his achievements in SWA, including the establishment of the world's first *Konzentrationslager*, literally translated to mean "concentration camp."⁴¹ On December 12, 1904, von Trotha rescinded his extermination order for the Herero and shifted German policy toward their imprisonment. While the Nama-German conflict raged in the south, by February 1905, it became apparent that many more Herero had survived the Omaheke than imagined. The general allowed missionaries to establish collection camps for the survivors where roughly thirty thousand starving, malnourished and dehydrated Herero arrived to surrender. Unsure of how to handle the influx of people and oblivious to the obvious humanitarian crisis, settlers watched as hundreds of Herero died on their streets. Orders came directly from Berlin to transfer the prisoners to concentration camps.⁴² Survivors were loaded into open cattle trucks or marched directly to their deaths.

There were five main camps: Windhoek, Karibib, Okahandja, Swakopmund and Lüderitz, which would later feed into Shark Island, the country's most notorious death camp. Von Trotha's initial orders instructed the military commanders at these camps to keep rations to an absolute minimum.⁴³ Women and children, who made up the majority of the camps, were only given half rations. Prisoners were given unfamiliar food and no pots or pans to prepare it, unaware that uncooked rice caused severe stomach problems. Weather at each camp was severe with either high heat or heavy fog and frigid temperatures. Inmates were not given adequate housing, clothes, or blankets. When missionaries and local army commanders attempted to give some of the prisoners second hand clothes, von Trotha personally intervened and issued rough hessian sacks instead with holes cut for their arms and heads.⁴⁴ Predictably, disease spread through every campsite, and the sick were refused treatment and left lying where they died. Prisoners were tagged with identification numbers, but records are unclear as to how many prisoners each camp housed and how many ultimately died.⁴⁵

Regardless of these conditions and their ailing health, the Herero and Nama prisoners were still expected to work as domestic servants and slave laborers. As early as December 14, 1904, the editor of German South-West Africa's largest newspaper openly stated that the "Herero

should not be exterminated, the Nama, yes, the reason being that the Herero are needed as laborers and the Nama are an insignificant tribe."⁴⁶ The colony's new civilian governor, Friedrich von Lindequist, set about exploiting African labor more intently than had ever been attempted by any previous German administration. Forced labor became the defining feature of the concentration camps and their main mission. Prisoners constructed new government buildings, private homes, and railways. Von Lindequist's policies of labor were so severe that the camp system was seen as a continuation of Germany's extermination policy, by non-military means.

The construction of the railways became the "engine driving" the whole concentration camp system.⁴⁷ Two thousand and fourteen Herero prisoners were employed on the Lüderitz to Aus railroad between January 1906 and June 1907. One thousand three hundred and fifty-nine of the prisoners died while building the line, resulting in a casualty rate of 67.48 percent.⁴⁸ It was quickly discovered that the Nama were not suited to rail work and, as far as the Germans were concerned, were quickly deemed poor laborers in general. Short in stature, they were long believed to be warlike and "untamable" people who would be unable to adapt in a civilized world. Germany's Darwinian world view proposed that "those unfit for labor should be allowed to disappear."⁴⁹ By mid-1906, German settlers were demanding that the Witbooi Nama in particular be moved out of camps near larger settlements. Even though most of the prisoners were women, children, and men too sick to work, they were still viewed as a threat to the white settlers. Von Lindequist looked for a solution to the Nama problem. His final solution was to dispatch the Nama prisoners to a concentration camp known as Shark Island.⁵⁰

Situated in the Lüderitz harbor, Shark Island was notorious for its extreme and harsh conditions, quickly becoming the most feared place on earth for the black population of South-West Africa. Before 1904, Lüderitz had only twenty white residents, but with the eruption of the German-Nama war it developed into a bustling port town and became home to an important field hospital. The area had more than eight hundred German residents by 1905.⁵¹ It was a town built on the business of war. At its height the community housed three concentration camps. Records indicate that Herero prisoners were sent to the island as early as 1904, with more arriving every few weeks. Although no population records or prison counts have been recovered, a letter from a missionary associated with the camp wrote that by May 1905 fifty-nine men, fifty-nine women

and seventy-three children had died at the camp, illustrating the camp's "incredibly high" death rate.⁵²

Nama prisoners began arriving in late 1906. On September 9, two thousand Nama prisoners, roughly two-third women and children, were offloaded from a steamer ship in the Lüderitz harbor and then marched single file across the narrow causeway to the island. Already weak by six months of captivity and harsh working conditions, the Nama began dying within weeks of their arrival. A month later, a missionary associated with the island wrote, "Large numbers of the people are sick...and every week 15 to 20 die...of the Herero just as many are dying, so that a weekly average of 50 is counted." Other letters show how high the death toll climbed by documenting that "often days as many as 18 (Nama) people die".⁵³ The dead were casually tossed out into the bay or buried in mass graves close to the harbor.

The Nama and Herero were not simply left to die on Shark Island but were systematically worked to death.⁵⁴ The prisoners on the island were forced to build a new quay on the Lüderitz harbor. There were roughly three hundred "workable" prisoners on the island and everyone able was forced to work, only young children were spared. The tribe members had to carry large stones across the island and drag them through the freezing water to lay the foundations of the quay. One German eyewitness account describes what he witnessed on Shark Island: "On one occasion I saw a woman carrying a child of under a year old...with a heavy sack of grain on her head...she fell forward on her face...the corporal sjamboked (whipped) her for more than four minutes and sjamboked the baby as well."⁵⁵ By Christmas Eve 1906 the workforce had shrunk to roughly thirty to forty prisoners, making completion of the quay project impossible. In mid-February 1907, it was reported that seventy percent of the Nama prisoners residing at the camp were dead.

The death camp on Shark Island was closed in April 1907, over a year and a half after the Nama had begun to surrender and almost three years since the Herero execution at the Waterberg. On April 8, 573 prisoners were evacuated off the island: 151 men, 279 women, and 143 children. Of those, 123 were so sick that German authorities believed they would die in the near future.⁵⁷ According to records that still exist today, by March 1907, at least 1,203 Nama prisoners died on Shark Island.⁵⁸ These figures do not include the Herero death numbers; however, missionaries associated with the island claim they died in similar numbers. The Witbooi

Nama and Bethanie Nama clans were almost completely wiped out (the numbers range from 10,000-15,000 before the start of the war in 1904 and 8,000-12,000 dead by 1909 depending on the source; there was no exact number to quote given the lack of population records that existed during this time and sources varied on numbers). Eighty percent of the Herero nation had been killed or fled the colony by 1908.⁵⁹

Genocide, as defined by the United Nations Genocide Convention of 1948, includes acts "committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, or religious group." It goes so far to include acts like "killing members of the group" or "deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or part." Most historians working on the history of Namibia today believe, "beyond a reasonable doubt," that genocide was committed in Namibia in the early twentieth century.⁶⁰ There is enough surviving proof that the genocidal acts of the entire Namibian War did not occur accidentally or were simply the ideas of one or two men, but were committed "with intent" by the entire German government.⁶¹ In their book, *The Kaiser's Holocaust*, Olusoga and Erichsen cite many letters from the Reichstag and Colonial Department in Berlin that prove the government was aware of the atrocities being committed among the Herero and Nama and sanctioned the military's actions against them. The Reich Chancellery went as far as to recommend the order that General von Trotha build death camps for the African prisoners.⁶² In 1908, the Reichstag released an official document "absolving the colonial government of all blame," claiming the colonial leaders had done everything in their power "to improve the plight of the natives."⁶³

By 1910, it finally felt like German South-West Africa officially belonged to the Germans. The survivors of the concentration camps were distributed among the settlers as slaves and lived as small, isolated groups. The surviving Nama, who numbered only 248 in 1909, were kept imprisoned until Germany was forced to relinquish their colony after the end of World War I.⁶⁴ A broken South-West Africa was handed over to the control of racially segregated South Africa and would eventually face a future of apartheid laws. SWA, now called Namibia, finally gained its independence in 1990. In 2001, the Herero filed a case for legal reparations against the German government. A few years later, the Namibian government formally requested reparations for all the Namibian remains held in German universities, which had been previously used as specimens or subjected to

experiments, and demanded the bones be returned to their rightful home.⁶⁵ On October 7, 2007, in a private act of repentance, descendants of General Lothar von Trotha arrived in Namibia to apologize for their ancestor's ruthlessness, stating, "We say sorry...however, [we] do not only want to look back, but also look to the future."⁶⁶ Although Germany has issued an official "regret" for the atrocities that occurred under its occupation, no actual apology or acknowledgement has been made from the German capital to the offended parties still living in Namibia.⁶⁷

A culture of denial has developed, as well as attempts by historians to point to this event as the precursor to the Jewish Holocaust committed by the Germans a few decades later. Africans, in general, were imagined by Germans as the "epitome of savagery" and "antithesis of civilization."⁶⁸ Herero were "wild beasts" and the Nama were "predators."⁶⁹ Skulls of prisoners were sent to Germany for further study and research into the nature of racial hierarchy and have recently been discovered in the medical collections of several different German universities. The Namib Desert has begun to "yield up human remains" with the 1999 discovery of femurs, vertebrae, and skulls scattered and lying across vast expanses of desert.⁷⁰ Trying to tie this particular genocide of these two groups to the actions of the Nazi regime discredits and diminishes the suffering these tribes were forced to endure. This atrocity cannot just be labeled as a "Namibian" event or a "German" event; it was a mass murder and ethnic cleansing that occurred for no other reason than the indigenous peoples were seen as inferior and worthless. This was a genocide designed to wipe out two separate and distinct African tribal groups. Their memories deserve to be honored independently of any other horrific events their colonizers committed. Their lives warrant an independent and respected place in history.

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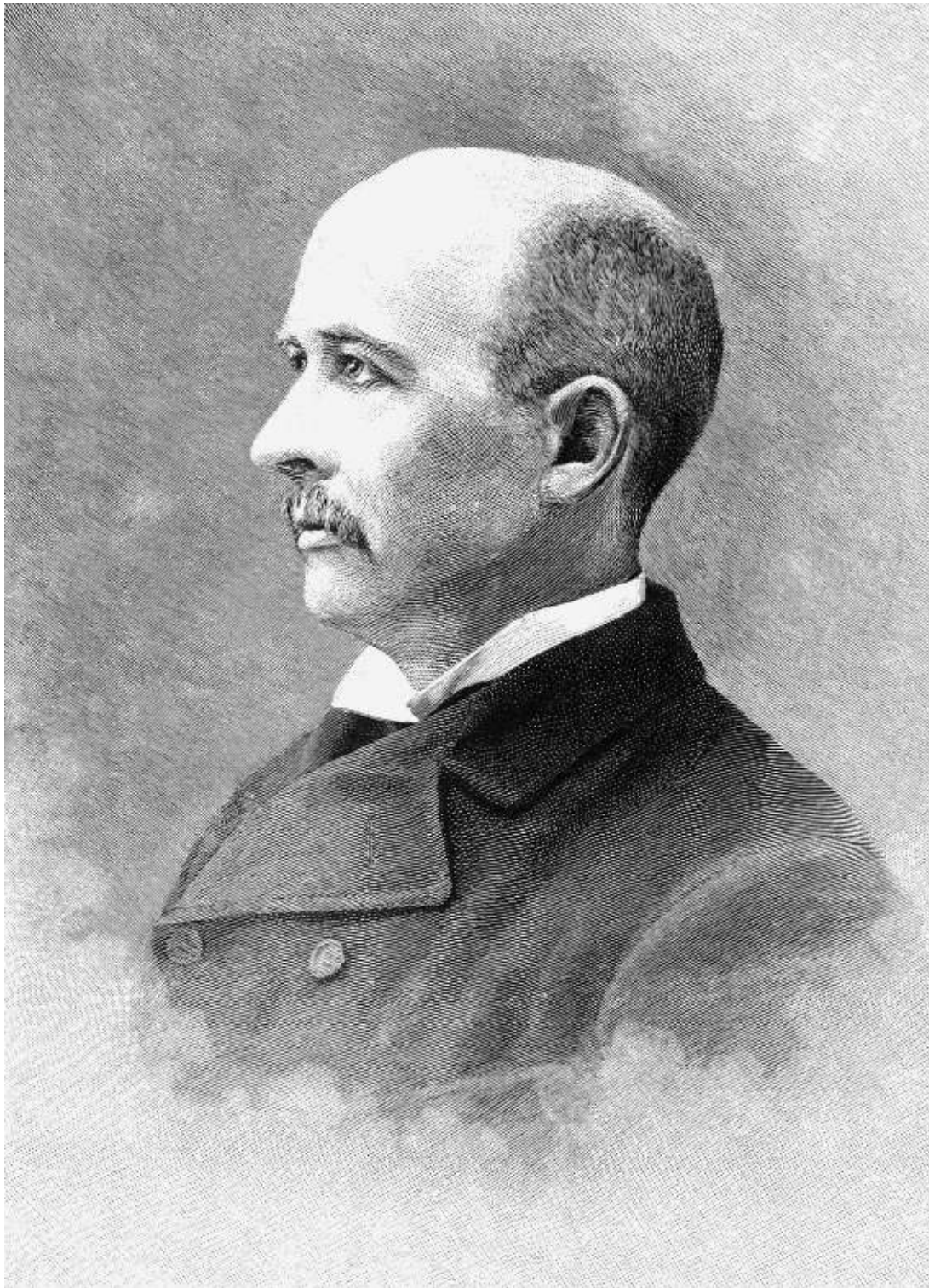
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Sociologists, such as William Graham Sumner (pictured), borrowed ideas from Darwinian biology to justify social class disparities.
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THE CONCEPT OF NATURAL SELECTION IN AMERICAN HISTORY: FROM DARWIN TO EUGENICS

by Cole Hamric

Cole Hamric is a third year history major. His areas of interest include intellectual history and the Cold War. He hopes to one day become a professional historian, teacher, or lawyer. This is Cole's first year on the editorial board.

Near the end of the nineteenth century, the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche declared that "God is dead." This did not mean that God had died in some literal sense, but that Western culture no longer afforded absolute authority to the Christian religion. Nietzsche recognized, however, that this massive cultural shift left the world without an obvious purpose, and nihilism was a necessary consequence. To replace God and what he termed the "slave morality" of Christianity, Nietzsche proposed a conscious endeavor to create a race of morally superior men, the *Übermensch* (often translated to "Superman" and "Overman"). Nietzsche, though, did not prescribe a specific means or end result to this process he termed "overcoming," nor did he mean to promote the creation of a new species. Nietzsche also detested unjustified prejudices, often railing against anti-Semitism, which is ironic given that the Nazis would later use his philosophy to justify their radical program of ethnic cleansing, the Holocaust. This is but one example of how ideas can be adapted to suit an agenda and lose their original intent along the way. Another repurposed idea from the nineteenth century was Charles Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection. Following its American debut, Darwin's theory was slowly taken out of its original scientific (and by extension morally neutral)

context and erroneously conflated with other ideas to mostly support white Anglo-Saxon Protestant notions of social progress to the point of affecting policy and law.

Charles Robert Darwin is rightly praised by modern biologists for discovering the principle by which life can become more complex and diversified: natural selection. Ideas concerning evolution had existed prior to Darwin, and several mechanisms were proposed as to how evolution might occur; Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, for example, postulated that organisms adapted to their environment by passing on acquired traits, which were the results of use and disuse, to their descendants (i.e. organisms in the past may have stretched their necks to reach high-up leaves and over the course of time given rise to giraffes).¹ These pre-Darwinian ideas cannot be considered true theories, though they are often called such, because an accepted theory is able to explain scientific phenomena consistently and repeatedly along with making accurate predictions which can also be tested. A scientific idea which does not have proof to support it is a mere hypothesis at best.

Darwin began collecting the bulk of his evidence while on a five-year expedition to the coast of South America aboard the *HMS Beagle* from 1831 to 1836. One of the most consequential stops on this expedition was at the incredibly diverse (both biologically and geographically) Galapagos Islands.² Looking back over the observations he had made in his notes and the specimens he had collected (especially fossils), Darwin noticed that flora and fauna had adapted to specific regions based on traits that aided in survival while slowly losing traits that impeded their ancestors. Darwin termed this "preservation of favourable variations and rejection of injurious variations...natural selection."³ Darwin still held onto the Lamarckian principle of use and disuse, but he did not claim that evolution necessarily led to any form of perfect adaptation. Natural selection, as it continues to be understood, only works to preserve traits that aid survival in certain contexts, and not to make any one species inherently superior to the one that preceded it. While conferring with other scientists about his ideas over the ensuing years, Darwin came across Alfred Russell Wallace, who had developed similar theories while exploring elsewhere. Seeing the opportunity to claim a tremendous amount of credit and gain fame that was slipping away, Darwin rushed to publish his ideas for a mass audience in a work entitled *On The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* (hereafter referred to simply as *Origin*) in 1860.⁴

Initially, Darwin's theories were given a skeptical reception in the United States since they upset the scientific status quo and made the authority of the Christian religion seem suspect. The predominant scientific theories of Darwin's time were heavily couched in the Western Judeo-Christian tradition, which emphasized a universe specially created by God which only changed in accordance with the desires of the deity. Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection, however, did not necessitate that a deity be directly involved in shaping the course of how life developed.⁵ Though this did not necessarily exclude an initial creation of the universe by a deity, Darwin himself, who had once accepted the world as a totally special and unique creation, would resign to agnosticism as the only feasible stance in later life.⁶ One *New York Times* reviewer in 1860 discredited *Origin* on the basis of Darwin being "but a Naturalist" incapable of appreciating the "sublime unity of design and composition throughout the whole hierarchy of animate organisms" proposed by popular men of science.⁷

Of great concern to his readership was the fact that Darwin did not limit the effects of natural selection to plants and animals, but also extended them to human beings. Darwin elaborated further on the implications of natural selection for human beings and their evolution in his 1871 work *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*. One Swiss-American biologist, Louis Agassiz, had built his entire reputation on the predominant scientific theories that rested on the doctrine of special creation; seeing his reputation being placed under threat, Agassiz staunchly attempted to discredit Darwin's work.⁸ Agassiz found supporters in the clergy and fellow academics. One writer for the *Farmer's Cabinet*, a Reverend Talmage, wrote in favor of Agassiz's scorn for young biologists who adopted evolutionary science and concluded that disagreements among scientists indicated that "Christianity is the only exact science" by virtue of its internal consistency.⁹ Another writer for the same paper favorably reviewed a series of lectures by a Professor Moore, who denounced evolution for associating men with apes in terms of descent and said it "tends to atheism and materialism - the abnegation of God."¹⁰ Agassiz's attacks on Darwinism, however, began to lose support within the scientific community after a series of debates with botanist Asa Gray, a long time correspondent of Darwin and convert to the theory of evolution by natural selection. Over time the public became more and more accepting of Darwin's theories with some even adopting a belief in theistic evolution to more easily reconcile religious conviction with science, which Darwin himself could not do.¹¹

Darwin's theories concerned purely scientific phenomena, but they were later appropriated by sociologists. Herbert Spencer, a Victorian biologist and social philosopher, adapted Darwin's discoveries to promote his own ideas of social progress. Spencer was another thinker, like Lamarck, who had proposed biological evolution before Darwin published *Origin* in 1860.¹² Having read Darwin's work, Spencer relabeled natural selection as the "the survival of the fittest" in his *Principles of Biology* (1864).¹³ Spencer believed that social progress could be achieved by allowing the "fit," those who successfully acquired the means to survive in modern society, to outcompete the "unfit," those who failed to reproduce; this neglected a concept of cooperation, which Darwin emphasized as being key in survival.

Spencer found an American disciple in the form of Yale professor William Graham Sumner, the first professor of sociology in the United States. Sumner extended the "survival of the fittest" ideology to the realm of economics and used it to support laissez-faire capitalism.¹⁴ For Sumner, the rich and industrious middle class were where they belonged, near the top of society. Sumner once said of the lower dregs of society that "a drunkard in the gutter is just where he ought to be, according to the fitness and tendency of things. Nature has set up on him the process of decline and dissolution by which she removes things which have survived their usefulness."¹⁵ Spencer and Sumner's writings were propelled to the public eye, as many popular academics were, by the rising availability and popularity of newspapers and magazines such as *Popular Science Monthly*. As Edward Caudill suggests, the fact that magazines are bought by subscription should give at least some indication of how receptive audiences were to the ideas they found in these writings.¹⁶ This application of Darwinian science to social theory is often called Social Darwinism.¹⁷ Social Darwinism helped turn actual scientific theory, which allows for experimentation and reliable predictions, into social science and outright opinion, which lack the same qualities.

The "survival of the fittest" ideology was propelled further by a notion of social degeneracy. Between 1856 and 1863, through experimentation with crossbreeding pea-plants, the Austrian monk Gregor Mendel had discovered the principles of heredity. Mendel further proposed that heredity was guided by biological units known as "genes."¹⁸ It was even believed that some genes led to the inheritance of undesirable traits which plagued society. A study published in 1877 by American sociologist Robert L. Dugdale titled *The Jukes: A Study in Crime, Pauperism, Disease and*

Heredity purported to trace the lineage of a large, pre-dominantly white New York family, which he referred to as the "Jukes" in order to keep their true identities private. Among the defects of different members of the family Dugdale identified the following: poverty, harlotry, Catholicism, German descent, alcoholism, being a Mulatto, having a Mulatto child, and feeble-mindedness. He even singled out one as being quite simply a "very bad boy" with no further explanation.¹⁹ The consideration of racial and religious status indicates to some degree how accepting Dugdale was of prevailing prejudices in late-nineteenth century America. Dugdale not only claimed that his study served as proof of the inheritance of undesirable traits and the role of the environment in perpetuating them, but he also calculated that the Jukes would cost the public a great deal of money in remedying their antics, "over a million and a quarter dollars of loss in 75 years."²⁰

The Jukes proved incredibly popular, going on to be published in at least four editions, and it even helped to spawn later studies of other families which purportedly suffered from the same sort of afflictions, such as the Kallikaks.²¹ *The Jukes*, and other studies like it, provided what would have seemed to be the necessary evidence of degeneracy being a real social problem. However, there was still no hard scientific evidence at the time which could prove that human beings (or other organisms for that matter) acted solely according to their genetic makeup. DNA could not be discovered until the next century, and the total extent of its effect on human behavior is still unknown to this day.

What accompanied the discussion of degeneracy was a proposal for how this social problem might be solved: eugenics. Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin, proposed the social philosophy of eugenics (meaning "well-born"), which sought to improve the quality of the human gene pool. Eugenics, as it is practiced, can be subdivided into two forms: positive eugenics and negative eugenics. Positive eugenics seeks to improve the availability of "good stock" through the promotion of selective breeding in human beings. Those with traits deemed desirable are encouraged to select their reproductive partners based on a series of pre-existing guidelines. Negative eugenics, on the other hand, seeks to eliminate the presence of "bad stock" by preventing those deemed "unfit" from reproducing. This could be accomplished by a variety of means: infant euthanasia, for infants that were deemed defective based on traits they were born with such



Even Helen Keller (pictured), lauded for accomplishments made in spite of being totally blind and deaf, advocated the application of eugenic methods in dealing with persons possessing certain disabilities.

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as mental retardation or physical handicaps; birth control and preventive actions such as abortion; and even sterilization.

Various intellectual societies and institutions, at home in the United States and abroad, were established to help implement this movement for social progress. The Eugenics Record Office (ERO), located in Cold Spring Harbor, New York, was particularly noteworthy for its research into eugenics and human heredity, gathering large amounts of data and statistics on the American population.²² In 1913, former President of the United States Theodore Roosevelt wrote to the ERO's founder, Charles Davenport, of the importance of his work and agreed "that society has no business to permit degenerates to reproduce their kind."²³ Roosevelt was not the only one championing eugenics, however; in fact, other supporters came from diverse backgrounds of profession, race, and gender.²⁴ Though eugenicists might have had some differences of opinion as to what were the most desirable ends, and had disproportionate political means in achieving those ends, they were all in agreement that the human race could be improved through active involvement in evolution. Eugenics, in both theory and practice, was not without critics though; it also had detractors among various academics and physicians who thought that it was best to engage in real science rather than conjecture about utopian dreams.²⁵

The American eugenics movement found its apogee in the legislation of sterilization. In 1907, Indiana was the first state to adopt laws supporting the compulsory sterilization of individuals deemed "unfit," which included the handicapped (both mentally and physically), criminals, and minorities. Other states would follow suit over time. Sterilization laws gained constitutional legitimacy following the United States Supreme Court case *Buck v. Bell* (1927). In this case, Carrie Buck, an eighteen-year-old woman from Virginia, was deemed by her physician to be a reproductive threat to society based on her own mental condition and that of her mother and daughter.²⁶ The Supreme Court upheld the decision to sterilize Buck, and the Court also concluded that it did not violate the Due Process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment as Buck and her guardian claimed. In writing the majority opinion for the Court, Chief Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. concluded that "it is better for all the world [if] society can prevent those manifestly unfit from continuing their kind...three generations of imbeciles is enough," concerning the Buck women.²⁷ In the following years, approximately 60,000 individuals would suffer the same fate as Carrie Buck, some totally unaware of the fact that they had been sterilized.²⁸ The

interest in eugenics and the use of sterilization to achieve its ends, however, would experience a significant decline following World War II as the movement became associated with Nazis and the Holocaust.²⁹ The Nazis, to the rest of the world's horror, had taken eugenics to appalling extremes (both in terms of "positive" and "negative" eugenics).

At this point, it is evident how scientific discovery can be perverted by prejudice. In this case, Darwin's ideas were twisted by external agendas to justify the systematic breeding of human beings and the denial of reproductive rights to others. Natural selection remains to this day one of the cornerstone principles of the life sciences, as it ought to be. Natural selection, unlike eugenics, can be and has been proven by scientific observation. The problem is not the science itself, but how the science is interpreted. Natural selection can only test how certain traits allow an organism to survive in a certain situation; otherwise there is only flux. The idea of a pure "master race" is absurd because there is no way of finding a universal set of qualities that entail perfection in every context. Certainly no one is exactly equal in any sense, but that does not mean there is no capacity in which an individual can excel. The implications of science, like history, cannot be interpreted too quickly or broadly without enough evidence, or else there may be a terrible consequence. A good deal of groundwork must be covered before real, plausible conclusions can be made.

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A TRIBUTE TO THE MAHATMA

by Robert Ashurst

Robert Ashurst is a sophomore majoring in history with a minor in anthropology. After receiving his bachelor's degree, he plans on attending graduate school to further his studies, and hopes to pursue a career as a curator for a museum. This is Robert's first year on the editorial board.

Gandhi was a man who achieved worldwide fame and distinction for his efforts towards ending the oppression of Indians in the British-owned colonies of South Africa and India. Throughout most of his adult life, Mohandas "Mahatma (or 'Great Soul')" Gandhi struggled alongside his countrymen, willing to give up nearly every comfort of life as he strived to create a better world in the places he touched. He became one of the twentieth century's most influential and revered figures for his unwavering dedication to attaining equality, tolerance, and the right of self-government for his people. The impacts Gandhi had extended to many others whom he inspired, such as Kwame Nkrumah, Nelson Mandela, and Martin Luther King Jr., their subsequent successes proving Gandhi's lasting influence. In remembrance and commemoration of Gandhi and his accomplishments seventy years after his death in 1948, this essay goes out as a tribute to the life of one of the world's greatest men.

Gandhi's journey had a humble yet heartbreaking beginning; he experienced the injustice of racism most prominently in his early life while on a train late at night in South Africa in 1893.¹ He was a young but downtrodden lawyer, having spent many years in Great Britain with little success before eventually finding his big break in South Africa representing a wealthy Indian merchant named Abdulla. Representing the merchant in a civil dispute against his cousin who refused to pay back money that he owed to the wealthy Indian's firm, Gandhi was sent on his way to a city named Pretoria after having been booked for a first-class seat.² The hopeful lawyer, seeing an opportunity to finally make something of all the hard work and dedication that he put into his profession, took his place on the train with pride, oblivious to the rage and hatred such a simple action



Gandhi continuing his journey to the sea with his followers during his famous Salt March in March 1930. This would be one of the first protests conducted by the Indian nationalist that would yield limited success in forcing the government of British India to relax discriminatory laws against the indigenous population.

Yann / Wikimedia Commons

would bring down upon him. Not long after boarding, Gandhi was confronted by a white South African who refused to be seated next to an Indian. This confused Gandhi, but he stood his ground; regardless, when the passenger returned with an official, the lawyer was thrown off the train onto the empty station platform, left alone in the late hours of the night with no way to get to his destination, or even just to return home. While this was not the first time that Gandhi had experienced racism in South Africa, it did have the most impact on him, starting a fire in his heart and opening his eyes to the commonplace and systemic racism which bore down on not just himself, but all of his countrymen.

Inspired by his incident on the train, Gandhi grew determined to seek equality for the Indian people, organizing protests and speeches to try and rally them to his cause. One of the first of these was an act of civil disobedience against identification passes forced onto all Indian and African men in South Africa. Gandhi gathered with a small crowd of Muslim and Hindu Indians to collect and burn their passes in a fire, all while making no attempt to prevent the police from reacting with force against this display of defiance.³ Despite being beaten all throughout the process, Gandhi continued to burn the passes until he was battered so badly that he could not continue. This aggressive retaliation to his peaceful demonstration helped to convince Gandhi that non-violent protest and civil disobedience were the most effective and just ways to bring about positive change, as they allowed him to gain the moral high ground over his oppressors in the eyes of the public.

As the months went on, Gandhi continued to organize both Muslim and Hindu Indians in protest against the South African government, forming the Natal Indian Congress primarily for Indian merchants in the region of Natal, and later the Indian National Congress, as a political party dedicated to bringing about equal treatment for Gandhi's people.⁴ He organized more peaceful protests and acts of civil disobedience, eventually being placed in prison for his actions; however, this only heightened Gandhi's reputation, helping to solidify him as a saint-like figure in the eyes of his countrymen. Eventually, terrified of the effects Gandhi could potentially have on South Africa, Jan Smuts, the Attorney General of Transvaal, a region in South Africa where Gandhi was being held prisoner, let the Indian activist go free only on the condition that he agreed to leave the colony forever. Being able to do little good imprisoned, Gandhi decided to take the offer, returning to

his homeland of India to start a newer and even bolder struggle against British imperialism.

Upon finally arriving on the shores of his native land, Gandhi's reputation preceded him; his work in South Africa was widely known, particularly in India, which allowed him to quickly establish a large group of followers in his home country. His popularity continued to grow as Gandhi travelled throughout India, delivering powerful speeches in support of Indian independence and equality. He rallied thousands to his cause, and brought with him his ideas of civil disobedience and non-violent protest; this inspired many to join Gandhi in his grand demonstrations. One of Gandhi's most famous acts of defiance was his march to the sea in protest of a law which placed a salt tax on all Indians, as well as banning Indians from producing their own salt. For weeks, Gandhi marched south towards the ocean, stopping to rest the night in the towns that welcomed him. Ultimately, his march came to an end upon reaching the southern coast of India, where Gandhi proceeded to make salt from the seawater in direct violation of the law. This act of disobedience forced the British Indian government to lift the ban from certain parts of the country, but it was a far cry from the changes Gandhi really wanted to see. Despite what he perceived as lackluster results, the Salt March proved to be one of Gandhi's first major victories in forcing concessions from India's colonial masters.

Gandhi eventually won Indians the right to have greater, though still limited, self-government in certain provinces throughout the country through a new campaign of civil disobedience and his participation in the Simon Commission, a conference to determine whether or not India was ready to have more control over its own affairs.⁵ It was a huge victory for sure, but this did not satisfy the Indian nationalist; he still described his home as a "prison," incapable of determining its own future despite its rich history and culture. Instead, this pushed him to strive for independence harder than ever before, knowing now that the hope of his people could truly be realized.

Through endless struggle and tenacity, Gandhi did ultimately achieve what he always wanted. In 1947, just after the end of World War II, a newly elected and sympathetic British government controlled by the Labour Party and headed by Prime Minister Clement Attlee agreed to completely withdraw from India, allowing it to become fully autonomous and independent.⁶ This victory, though, was not met with cheers, but suspicion; the Muslim minority feared oppression from the Hindu majority,

and thus decided to break away from India to form what would become the nations of Pakistan and Bangladesh in the northwest and eastern corners of their former country respectively. This fracturing of Indian society came with unspeakable violence as hundreds of thousands of Muslims and Hindus were killed in the migration to the state where they held a majority. Such immense bloodshed caused by the very people whom he wanted to be united deeply troubled and saddened Gandhi, causing him to engage in fasting and hunger strikes in the regions of India where the murders were most prevalent. Despite his efforts, Gandhi was unable to prevent his people from killing one another, eventually being swept up in the violence himself. On January 30, 1948, the peaceful man was assassinated by a radical Hindu nationalist who could not accept Gandhi's willingness to work with Muslims on creating a unified India.⁷ He was stricken down in a broken nation at the age of 79.⁸

Gandhi's life was, in the end, both inspirational and tragic. He devoted himself completely to a cause of justice and equality, though he never lifted a finger with violent intent, so as not to compromise his morals. Gandhi created great change in the places he touched, his actions resulting in greater freedom for the Indian people living in various regions around the British Empire. Particularly in South Africa and India, Gandhi's work helped to improve the lives of many living without rights or fair treatment, though his successes were not perfect by any means; racism and discrimination only grew in severity in the former while his own homeland became more divided than it ever had been under British rule. Although these failings show that Gandhi could not single-handedly bring about an end to racially and religiously motivated hatred, their significance is downplayed by the unbelievable amount of good that Gandhi achieved during his life and the hope that he inspired in others after his death. His incredible victories through non-violent means created a wave of inspiration that washed over the entire colonial world, leading to near-complete decolonization in Africa and the recognition of human rights and dignity for many minorities in nations everywhere. Such widespread and radical change across the world could never have been attained without Gandhi's tireless endeavor to spread his message of equality and self-determination, thus solidifying his place as one of the twentieth century's most influential and beloved figures.

NOTES

1. Zagreb Mukerjee, "Taking a Stand Is at the End of a Long Path: Gandhi's Struggle in South Africa," *New York History*, vol. 87, no. 4, 2006, 477–487.
2. *Gandhi in South Africa*, South African Tourism, gandhi.southafrica.net/#. Accessed June 20, 2017.
3. Richard Attenborough, director, *Gandhi* (Colombia Pictures, 1982).
4. Brian M. Du Toit, "The Mahatma Gandhi and South Africa," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 34, no. 4, 1996, 643–660.
5. C. N. Trueman "India 1900 to 1947," The History Learning Site, March 17, 2015 and August 16, 2016. historylearningsite.co.uk.
6. Trueman, "India 1900 to 1947."
7. Rajmohan Gandhi, "Gandhi and Punjab," *India International Centre Quarterly*, vol. 39, no. 1, 2012, 30–42.
8. Mukerjee, "Taking a Stand Is at the End of a Long Path."

British thought at the time – like identity, superiority, and imperialism – come to the surface. These themes provide an important perspective not only in understanding the Anglo-American relationship, but in understanding imperial thought in general. This article will analyze the evidence of British superciliousness and imperialism as it is exhibited in the travel narratives recorded by these authors. By careful examination of their reaction to the landscape, social norms, and race relations in antebellum Alabama, this article will illuminate the tendency of imperial British subjects toward a sense of superiority.

An examination of some of the secondary source material pertaining to the analysis of travel narratives produces a multi-dimensional picture of both the observed and observant. It becomes clear in diving into travel narrative analysis that it is impossible for even the most professional observers to remove themselves, their culture, their economy, even their emotion from their work. These things are woven in and out of everything the writer does and when one beholds the final tapestry they see not only what the writer intended them to see, but also much about the writer. Three articles on the subject from historians M.B. Hackler, Deborah Anna Logan, and Gordon Baylor Cleveland present three entirely different approaches to travel narrative analysis: the literary, biographical, and critical.

M.B. Hackler's "Condemned of Nature': British Travelers on the Landscape of the Antebellum American South," approaches the topic of British travelers in the American South by examining the Romantic depiction of landscapes. Specifically, this means the use of metaphor in landscape descriptions to convey ideas about the people attached to those areas, as fostered by the school of Romanticism. From 1800 to 1850, Romanticism was at its peak influence among European nations. This school of artistic and literary thought emphasized emotional reaction and individual perception as valid gauges of reality. According to Hackler's work, how landscapes were depicted, either by painters or writers, bore a judgment on the people indigenous to the landscapes. The dark, wild and even dangerous landscapes of the South indicated the perception of a backward and uncivilized population. As a standard school of expression, the landscape descriptions of travelers were widely understood by Victorian readers as an interpretation of the society as a whole.

Hackler argues that British travelers adhering to the Romantic school of aesthetics considered the South's tropical climate, dense uncleared forests, biodiversity, and general lack of "manicure" as a sign that it was

not fit for habitation. More than that, they saw this wild, uncivilized landscape reflected in the people of the South, in their manners and lifestyles, and especially in their perpetuation of slavery. Travelers record a definite and palpable change in environment upon entering the South, as though it were a different world. There is a trend among British travelers of surprise and disgust over the South's "untidiness" and "tolerance for decay."¹ No matter what politics a British traveler adhered to, they all perceive the American South as an exotic place, "even further removed from Britain and Britishness than the American North."² Even among those who had positive experiences of the Southern landscape, there is almost always the suggestion of lurking danger, wildness, or decay just behind the tree line.

Places that fell into the realm of the exotic were also recognized as dens of disease. During the nineteenth century the prevailing scientific opinion was that disease and climate were inextricably linked so that some climates and locales, such as the hot and humid American South, were inherently unhealthy. The British also tended to correlate the prevalence of disease, or perceived disease, with moral decay. Some even argued that climate and environment could corrupt or degrade the inhabitants.

Hackler's article offers a fascinating explanation of an aspect of nineteenth century writing that may otherwise escape a modern reader's attention. This powerful and almost surreptitious use of metaphor allows the reader to see past the façade of British courtesy and understand something of what they truly felt toward Southerners. It is also illuminating in regard to their perception of slavery and race because encounters with such groups tended to occur in the midst of the South's wilder parts. In the narratives examined here it is common for travelers to recount meetings with Indians in the dark depths of the woods or at the brink of a putrescent swamp. Slave owners are described as being as uncouth and unkempt as their wild surroundings. The demeanor of the drivers is often as good or bad as the roads they are traveling. But for the striking similarities between the stylistic aspects of these travel narratives, it is important to consider the individuals as well. In history it is never safe to assume that the majority speaks for the whole.

Deborah Anna Logan's "My dearly-beloved Americans': Harriet Martineau's Transatlantic Abolitionism" addresses just such an individual. Logan's approach to the analysis of British travel narratives in the South is biographical. She examines the travels of the exceptional Harriet Martineau, who set herself apart from other travelers as one who had a greater motive

than just publication. Harriet Martineau stood against slavery in all forms, but particularly as it applied to actual enslavement, gender inequality, and oppressive labor management.

Martineau felt that British understanding of American society was lacking and it was her destiny to round it out. Martineau's main interest in touring America, in the words of D.A. Logan, was "in measuring the practice of America's democratic 'experiment' against its stated principles: individual freedom, social equality, and political representation."³ Martineau carefully observed the behaviors and arguments of both abolitionists and apologists for slavery. She aggressively sought out the American condition, talking to a wide range of people and capitalizing on her fame and gender to gain access to varied arenas of American life from the political to the domestic. "Because to her mind", explains Logan, "the state of a country is reflected as much by its domestic relations as by its political ones..."⁴ Martineau was careful to balance her observations by making it a part of her agenda to exit the world of the American elite in order to observe poor houses, prisons, schools, factories and slave quarters. Because of her liberal views and unorthodox practices, Martineau did not always experience a traveler's immunity from local political tactics. D.A. Logan points out that some of Martineau's hosts attempted to win her over to a pro-slavery position by means of "persuasion, censorship, attacks in the periodical press, or threats of violence."⁵ Martineau took on considerable personal danger by voicing her politics because at that time people were often arrested, tarred and feathered, or even lynched for espousing dissenting political views. Martineau managed to pass through the danger because she was performing investigative journalism, not active protest, but only just barely. After returning to England, Martineau continued her career struggle against slavery with a particular interest in America. She was enamored of what she felt was the martyr spirit of American abolitionists.

Logan's biographical analysis of Martineau's work is illuminating. Not only does it help readers to understand the work of Martineau herself, but to understand British popular opinion of slavery and slave owning people. Through Martineau, whose research and writing thrived due to British demand, readers can draw conclusions about how other travelers from the same period felt toward slaves, even when their readership did not demand such details. Logan's work is not without bias, though. It is apparent throughout the work that Logan sees Martineau in a heroic light and in this work there is no mention of any of Martineau's flaws,

contradictions of character, or even questionable associations. The analysis of Martineau's press connections is also one-sided, focusing predominately on her reception from the press rather than on the press who managed her career as a journalist. While the piece is illuminating, there is another side of Martineau that merits investigation.

For what Logan lacked in critical investigation, Gordon Baylor Cleveland makes up for in spades in his article "Social Conditions in Alabama as Seen by Travelers, 1840-1850: Part I." In his opening statements, Cleveland points out that travel writers had an agenda to publish. Those who were the best storytellers maintained an audience and a career in writing. His thesis states that the analysis of travel writing is the analysis of what travelers "thought they saw."⁶

Travelers to antebellum Alabama recount a rather surprising interpretation of social conditions. Travelers related that during the antebellum period there were a lot of transient settlers in Alabama—people who were passing through, working their way westward in search of better land, or temporary settlers testing their mettle in the Southern climate, but yet undecided as to whether they would stay. In other words, the travelers felt, only a few were fully invested in the area and this was what caused the lack of development and infrastructure they perceived. The slaves attached to these settlers, transient or otherwise, could not have escaped the travelers' notice because they were so common in the area and were even put on display as advertising by slave traders. Travelers record slaves as being proud of the price they were bought for and some even seemed optimistic about their futures. In addition to slaves, travelers may also have had occasion to meet free people of color (who were not freed slaves), Native Americans who owned slaves, and Native American-African American mulattos who owned slaves. Travelers were presented with a paradox in the white/black relationship as slave holders showed a certain comfort around the black population born out of familiarity and even boasted paternal treatment of their slaves, who at the same time had essentially no hope of emancipation. Travelers often maintained that the condition of the slave reflected the moral character of the owner. Some were well fed and well-dressed while others starved in their rags.

Cleveland also notes that most travelers encountered a "universal virtue" of hospitality from Southerners, which is not something encountered in the research carried out here. Despite this apparent hospitality, Cleveland finds that most travelers were disgusted by the prevalence of intoxication

among Southerners, especially through whiskey and tobacco. Eating habits struck travelers as deplorable because they were expected to accommodate themselves to Southern meal times and habits. Southerners ate very fast and vacated hotel tables as quickly as possible, which was bizarre in the eyes of the sojourner. Travelers felt that Alabamians were in the direst moral state on account of their smoking and drinking, their use of churches for the profane as well as worship (lectures, concerts, and dances), their slave holding, and their thoroughly un-British mannerisms.

Cleveland's work is careful at the outset to qualify the unusual observations of travelers by explaining how we are essentially reading entertainment pieces. Cleveland is absolutely correct that readers must consider the business of the British press and public demand in the literary market when examining travel narratives. However, he fails to elaborate on this important point. Some inconsistencies also exist in Cleveland's observations as compared to the travel narratives from the same time period studied here, leading one to believe that Cleveland's research sample was possibly too small. That said, Cleveland's work does draw attention to some of the most important and anomalous aspects of the British reaction to the antebellum South, especially their reactions to race relations, class stratification, and social development.

These three scholars have presented three very different approaches to the analysis of travel narratives, an element of the historical record that is fraught with gray areas, intentional facades, and literary coding. Analysis of the prevailing schools of thought, biographical investigation, and focus on bias have each helped to peel away a part of the complexity of travel narrative interpretation. Collectively, these works have demonstrated the importance of travel narratives to the historical record because they reveal so much about the period in which they were written. They expose not only a firsthand account of the subject location but are just as revealing about the origin country, global politics, schools of thought, and prevailing philosophies. Clearly, interaction between groups creates a phenomenon which exposes both parties.

As the historiography suggests, in order to understand travel journals it is critical to understand the circumstances surrounding their publication. This calls for a brief examination of the nineteenth century British press. The early nineteenth century gave birth to the age of the popular periodical in Great Britain. Literature and public discourse were hot business and at this time it became possible for contributors to British periodicals to make

a decent income on writing alone. Even one submission could earn a decent paycheck and six a year could support a family. While money was a significant motivator that drew scores of writers to the publisher's door step, authors were also drawn by the opportunity to use periodicals as a forum for promoting their ideas, philosophies, politics, and agendas. It also provided a vehicle through which an author could develop a following and relative fame. Those who aspired to novel writing used periodical publication as a stepping stone and as a way to fund the time-consuming work of novel writing. In short, there were many authors, including those examined here, who sought to cut out a niche for themselves through the popular press.

This is an important consideration because the press, as it always does, has a vested interest in maintaining the status quo, which, in Great Britain, meant maintaining a national imperial identity. British imperial identity was fostered through the media. Contributors to the media were participating in this cycle, whether consciously or unconsciously, through their work, and editors were actively serving it. According to historian Andrew King, "here British identities are forged and reinforced by media across the empire."⁷ By the nineteenth century, America was beginning to emerge as a potential competitor in the empire-building game, especially with its victory in the Mexican-American War and westward expansion to the Pacific Ocean. The British media then, as it is now, was a hot bed of political, ethical, and philosophical debate, all centered on the survival and dominance of the British Empire. These insights will help to pierce the veil of Victorian speech and writing style in the travel narratives.

To further understand British travel narratives, it is important to explore the world of antebellum Alabama. The years of 1812 to 1860 marked the antebellum era in the American South. This period was characterized by immigration, agriculture, and political and economic growth in the Southern states. Immigrants from the North and abroad came to settle in and cultivate the Black Belt, a narrow region of fertile soil stretching along the lower states from Virginia to Louisiana. The draw of riches through agriculture was omnipresent among Southern settlers, and while there were distinct economic classes, the lines between classes were often blurred, permeable, and precarious. Rural Alabama during this time looked very similar to the rural Alabama near and dear to its residents today: expanses of dense forests populated by the ubiquitous slash and longleaf pine masked a terrain of undulating hills and intermittent fields

crisscrossed by rivers big and small, gentle and treacherous. Where the forest ceased or was cleared there existed small farms and outposts of settlement. Options for transportation were limited by the region's general lack of infrastructure. One main mail route connected Fort Mitchell on the Georgia border to Montgomery and then on to Mobile. The Chattahoochee and Alabama Rivers were the more commonly used methods of transportation between Georgia, Montgomery, and Mobile. However, most lived outside of organized urban areas such as Montgomery and Mobile, living the life of the yeoman farmer to varying degrees of success. In the choicest locations, near rivers and centers of transportation, rose the vast plantations encompassing hundreds and sometimes thousands of acres, lorded over by the planter elite. Regardless of wealth or success, all Alabama residents were subject to the Deep South climate still taunting residents today. They encountered sweltering summers haunted by clouds of disease bearing mosquitoes, as well as devilishly capricious springs and winters which all too often worked to undo the efforts of settlers by raising violent storms which flooded rivers, washed out roads, and seasonally destroyed property.

Within this landscape a growing number of enterprising farmers tried their luck against Mother Nature in a bid to grow cotton, live contentedly, (maybe even luxuriously), and die with something left to pass on to future generations. In his article "'Of All the Hardy Sons of Toil': Class and Race in Antebellum Southcentral and Southeastern Alabama," Tommy Brown develops an intimate picture of life in antebellum Alabama and its particular modes of social stratification. Brown relates that class in antebellum Alabama was complex and mutable. He lays out a basic structure that includes slaves at the poorest extreme of the spectrum followed by poor landless whites, poor landed whites, yeoman farmers of the middle class, a "middling class" distinct from the middle class as being moderately wealthy and capable of permeating the wealthy class, which was followed by the exclusive and very small but enormously rich planter elite. In every group, save slaves and the landless poor, the growing of cotton is found to varying degrees. The landed poor may grow just enough for home use and to make a bit of money in case of emergency. The yeoman farmer would grow enough to reap four or five bales a year; enough to amass a small savings, improve their land or equipment, or perhaps purchase a single slave. These yeoman farmers would have worked their land largely as a family with all members contributing to labor, but many found investment

in a slave beneficial not only as a status symbol, but as an important source of labor which could grow the wealth of a small holding. The "middling class" as Brown refers to it, includes farmers who had managed to expand their holdings, as well as professionals such as doctors, lawyers, and businessmen who supplemented their wealth through the ownership of moderate cotton farms that included livestock and a few slaves. In each of the classes, diversification played an important role in the household's economic stability. These various classes of farmers would all have kept as much livestock as they could manage and would have grown corn, peas, beans and cotton. However, in the final two classes – the wealthy class and the planter elite – diversification dissipates as the wealthiest funneled their resources specifically into massive cotton farms. Members of the wealthy class could support fifteen or more slaves as well as house and field staff. Finally, the planter elite, who accounted for only twelve percent of slave owners but who held forty-eight percent of the slaves, operated massive cotton plantations spanning close to one thousand acres and employing between forty and eighty slaves.⁸ These were the cotton barons who ruled the economy of the South. Throughout this diverse society, cotton and slaves were the defining features.

Now that the historic terrain of antebellum Alabama is a bit more familiar, it is time to introduce the primary characters of this endeavor. First to tour Alabama was James Stuart, a Scottish author and journalist who passed through Alabama in March 1830 on his way to the American West. Stuart was one of the most adventurous travelers and opted for the nail-biting experience of crossing most of Alabama by land. A year later in April 1831, the Scots-English prose writer Thomas Hamilton arrived by ship to the port of Mobile and travelled up river to Montgomery, then by land to Fort Mitchell near the Chattahoochee River in Russell County. Hamilton, while not as adventurous in his demeanor, was a personable fellow who conversed with locals of all class, color, and creed throughout his journey. In the winter of 1834 Tyrone Power passed along the main route from Fort Mitchell to Montgomery and on to Mobile on his way to the port of New Orleans. Power was a prolific Irish comedian and another traveler with an adventurous spirit, even submitting to "The Box:" a method of postal conveyance not designed with human passengers in mind. George Featherstonhaugh arrived at the port of Mobile in January 1835 and proceeded by steamer up river to Montgomery, then by coach to Fort Mitchell. Featherstonhaugh was an English author and geographer

who spent considerable time in the U.S., even accepting employment for a time at the War Department for whom he completed geological surveys of Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota. Because of his geographic prowess, Featherstonhaugh's journal is one of the most accurate in its description of the Alabama landscape, but he is a curmudgeon and one of the grumpiest travelers examined here.

The popular English abolitionist Harriet Martineau travelled through the Southeast, arriving in Montgomery in April 1835. Martineau is probably the most famous of the travelers to this region during this period on account of her very active participation in abolitionism in Great Britain. Martineau travelled to America more than once seeking both a curative climate and truth about the American slave trade. While Martineau is one of the only travelers to meditate seriously upon the institution of slavery and its impact, one should note that her experience in Alabama was also markedly different from those of her contemporaries because of her connections with the planter elite.

Finally, in the early spring of 1839, English author, world traveler, and retired Member of Parliament James S. Buckingham arrived in Tuskegee, Alabama. Bound for Montgomery and then Mobile, Buckingham was touring the Southern states in preparation for a nine volume work on the United States, two of which he would dedicate to the South. Buckingham, like Featherstonhaugh, tends toward disdain and displeasure in his writings and offers one of the clearest examples of British superciliousness.

Each of these travelers begin their account of Alabama with a reflection on the land and environment as well as on the experience of traversing Alabama's untamed terrain. Stuart traveled as much of the distance as he could by land, meaning that he was hitching a ride with the mail coach, a common practice among locals at the time. On numerous occasions his experience included slogging through swamps that flooded the coach, driving through thunderstorms, and passing over derelict bridges which threatened to collapse. This was the experience of just about every traveler who found themselves aboard a mail coach trying to make it to the next city on their itinerary. Hamilton declared the roads through central Alabama the worst he had ever encountered. Power found himself in an even more harrowing situation when the mail coach he was riding in was unexpectedly retired and swapped for "The Box," essentially a wagon piled with mail upon which Power and his travelling companion had to sit and hold tight so as not to fall off during the ride. The drivers of mail coaches

were simultaneously admired and denigrated as they inexplicably managed to deliver their mail coaches in one piece despite the minefield of natural obstacles, all while often seeming to drive recklessly through the imminent peril present at every turn. The travelers, in general, whether armed with an adventurous spirit or not, found the conditions of land travel in Alabama deplorable, dangerous, and backward.

Those who traveled by steamer down the rivers had a far less harrowing ordeal, but they still found the transportation upsetting. Featherstonhaugh, for one, found the river boats of Alabama dirty and with poor food and accommodations, though he considered them preferable to the outrageous conditions of the roads and bridges in rural Alabama. Most of the travelers who took passage on a steamer recount a similar experience of unclean dining areas, poor food, and dirty conditions. They felt surrounded by the refuse of Southern society's unfortunate habits of smoking and drinking, but still enjoyed the speed of travel and the general lack of obstacles and dangers commonly experienced when traveling over land. As for the land itself, the British travelers recount an experience at once admiring and loathsome. Stuart writes about the richness of the land which produced "succulent and rich food for cattle..."⁹ Martineau fondly recalls "roses and honeysuckles, to which hummingbirds resort, grew before the the door."¹⁰ Others marveled at the diversity of flora and fauna, but each simultaneously suggested underlying decay. Stuart's observation of the wealth of the land was immediately qualified by a criticism of Southerners' inability to fully capitalize on its resources, and she bemoaned the fact that much of the produce of the land was left to rot in the field. Martineau follows her charming recollection of a farmer's garden with the qualification that daylight and stars could be seen through the walls.¹¹ Moreover, the ever-looming threat of rain and storms dampened the outlook of the travelers in many cases, not the least of the reasons being that they tended to wash out bridges and flood swamps which the travelers then had to pick their way across.

How these British travelers reacted to Alabama's landscape is significant because it also provides insight about how they perceived the people and society of Alabama. As explained earlier, if a traveler felt a landscape was wild and untamed, then they would attach equivalently brutish and uncivilized characteristics to its residents. Likewise, if a city was dirty and lawless it was a direct reflection of the moral, personal, and physical state of the inhabitants. Some of the travelers, such as



Drawn with the Camera Lucida by Capt. B. Hall R.N.

Engraved by W.E. Lizars

EMBRYO TOWN OF COLUMBUS ON THE CHATAHOOCHEE.

Etching of an "embryo town" built on the border of Alabama and Georgia. The small residences described by the travelers would have looked very much like this.

Alabama Department of Archives and History

Featherstonhaugh, found the environment downright appalling, filled to the brim with putrid swamps, derelict huts, plagues of blood sucking insects, and a complete disregard for hygiene by all. Featherstonhaugh considered Southerners and their society to exist in a state of moral disrepair, replete with brutish habits, flagrant ignorance, drunkenness, gambling, and debauchery. Other travelers were more judicious in their critique of Alabama and its inhabitants. Stuart, Hamilton, and Power, for instance, carried with them a hearty sense of adventure and found "charm," "nobility," "fertility," and even "beauty" in the environment of Alabama. These travelers also recount meetings with locals who they found quite pleasant and engaging; however their praise is always tempered by a lurking darkness just beyond the tree line or an inevitable encounter with near disaster. A hotel keeper's hospitality is qualified by the primitive state of his log cabin or the villainous nature of the driver he boards in the next room.

The terrain and its perils provided the backdrop for the drama of interacting with the people and institutions of antebellum Alabama. The travel narratives abound with images of the vast estates of the planter elite juxtaposed with yeoman farmers living in the Alabamian forest. They record descriptions of Creek Indians striking a balance between tradition and modernity, of slaves, both content and restless, of gamblers and purists, merchants and traders, couth and uncouth. James Buckingham, for instance, records a wide variety of social types in his journal, including planters, slaves, and children. While travelling between Mobile and Montgomery, he stayed in a cramped log cabin filled with children, slaves and the "incessant creaking of the frogs."¹² Later, onboard a steamship, Buckingham makes the acquaintance of a planter rumored to be worth one hundred thousand dollars, but remarks that he was dressed so appallingly that one could not tell by looking at him that he was in possession of any wealth.¹³ Harriett Martineau, on the other hand, describes the planter elite in all their splendor, recording the elaborate meals they prepared. While the majority of travelers recount simple meals with yeoman farmers or hotel keepers that consisted of deer, turkey, and cornbread, Martineau's illustration of dinner at a plantation continues for nineteen lines. The elaborate meal included champagne, four different meats, a slew of vegetables, jams, jellies, and nuts and fruits from the West Indies. In a less flattering critique, Martineau also described the elite class as "money-getters" so entirely absorbed in the pursuit of wealth that "...the daughters marry almost in childhood; so that education is less thought of, and sooner

ended, than in almost any part of the world."¹⁴ Buckingham, in his account, describes the elite as "partak[ing] much of the hospitality and elegance of Charleston and Savannah" which he juxtaposes with the prevalence of "a large class of inferior persons..."¹⁵ The mannerisms exhibited by this multifaceted society often baffled the travelers. Many of the travelers found the widespread use of tobacco disgusting, with the exception of Tyrone Power who partook himself. In a particularly startling incident Buckingham is baffled by the behavior of a fellow steamship passenger who, without asking, takes one of his books and walks off with it. When confronted the passenger cheerily responds for Buckingham not to worry, he only wants to read it and will return it when he's done, then walks off again leaving a befuddled Buckingham in disbelief.

Despite the more unusual traits of the Southern people, the British found that the region's economy was exactly as expected. Cotton was ubiquitous, and slaves accepted the norm. In Mobile, Buckingham reports that the population is roughly half white and half black, the black portion consisting of both free and slave. He counts among the citizens plenty of doctors and lawyers, as well as very many people engaged in commerce in one form or another. While most he judges as satisfactorily employed, he also notes a class of "inferior persons" who seem to him "the most dissolute and unprincipled of men" who weekly inflict some outrage on the community.¹⁶ However, it was the proprietors of hotels, the crews of steam ships, and coach drivers who came under the harshest scrutiny, most likely because these were the people who were responsible for the travelers' comfort, or lack thereof, most of the time. James Stuart believes that the drivers are unnecessarily careless and feels it may behoove him to bribe them to treat his baggage with more care.¹⁷ Others oscillate between awe and derision at the drivers' ability to navigate Alabama's treacherous rural terrain both skillfully and without paying any apparent attention to the road. By all accounts the proprietors of the hotels in Montgomery were deserving of a lawsuit, excepting in the experiences of Buckingham and Martineau – the highest profile travelers – who found the hotels in Montgomery charming yet pitiable. The merchants and planters are held up in an indirect way as the engines fueling this otherwise disorganized and floundering community. Of course, with the consideration of the elite comes, inevitably, the consideration of that peculiar institution which placed them at the top of Southern society.

Surprisingly, most of the travelers were nonplussed by their encounter with slavery, and mention the presence of slaves in passing but without any further comment on their existence. Some show gratitude to a slave or two who helped them pull their coach out of a rut and at other times simply record that there was at least one nearby almost everywhere they went. It is important to remember that by this time, slavery was illegal and roundly disdained by the British. The South's continuance of the practice was viewed as a sign of their deficiency of civilization. However, with the exception of Harriet Martineau, who was a career abolitionist, most of the travelers simply accept the presence of slavery and only show surprise to find Native Americans keeping slaves in imitation of the white economy.

By and large the travelers find Native Americans a far more interesting topic than black slaves and so spend much more time examining their situation. The tribe encountered by all of the travelers was the Creek. Hamilton describes the Creek in terms of the noble savage, "in figure the Creek Indians are tall and graceful...handsome men, and one in particular might have stood as the model of an Apollo."¹⁸ Featherstonaugh, on the other hand, found the Creek repugnant. He complains that "everything as we advanced was Indian, the road was crooked, bad, and made without any system." He asserted that "nothing could exceed the dirt and stench in these [Indian] places", and "...everything announced the total dissolution of order."¹⁹ There are accounts of Native American sporting events and villages. Thomas Hamilton discussed the slaves belonging to Native Americans and noted that they lived very differently than the slaves owned by whites. Most worked as "dragomen," or interpreters, between the Native Americans and whites. To Hamilton they appeared healthier, did not seem to suffer hard labor, and intermarried with the tribe. Some travelers fondly recall receiving help from Creek Indians who proved astoundingly adept at navigating the wilderness of Alabama, while others bemoan the abject poverty and exploitation of the tribes.

Where slavery is discussed, there are moments of illumination for the student of Southern history. Hamilton, for instance, writes about a Scottish baker who keeps two slaves even though he seems to dislike the institution of slavery. The baker explains that slavery in the South was a necessary evil because white men will not do manual labor in America.²⁰ Martineau visits a slaves' quarters and describes it as "something between a haunt of monkeys and a dwelling-place of human beings."²¹ Martineau felt that blacks possessed a natural heartiness and dignity which was

stripped away through Southern slavery. She laments that black children who were playful and clever were fated to become "slow and stupid" through the neglect and exploitation of their masters.²² Perhaps the travelers do not necessarily feel the need to argue the state of the slaves because they assume their readership is already convinced of its shamefulness. There are suggestions throughout the narratives that the travelers presuppose a common mood among British readers regarding the American South, and it is without exception a mood of condescension.

The prevailing sense of superiority seen throughout these narratives stems from the fact that British cultural identity during this period was so intimately tied to imperialism. In his article "Another Little Patch of Red," John Mackenzie argues that imperialism meant more than just territory or economics to the British. Starting in the seventeenth century – and well established by the nineteenth century – imperialism was a part of the British psyche, even among the Welsh, Scottish and Irish. Despite the loss of the American colonies, the British Empire was still very much alive and expanding during this period. While reports from America held the curiosity of the British public, news from the empire's territorial holdings such as India and Africa tantalized readers as well. Glorification of the empire was a facet of the British press and a demand of the readership of these itinerant authors. Imperialism defined them as a people, and as the research here suggests, fostered a sense of superiority. This sense of superiority is encountered in instances of their disdain and in their romanticizing of Southern people and institutions.

In summary, the sampling taken of British subjects traveling through Alabama in the antebellum period displays remarkable agreement with the norms of British writing at the time. Through the lens of these six travelers the reader can experience the British mindset toward the idiosyncrasies of the American South. Close consideration of this subject is historically important because it offers a valuable insight into how the collective imperial mind works. America, for instance, is in many ways a modern empire. Through the process of globalization, America has come to hold extraordinary power over many foreign governments and economies. Whether or not America colonizes in the traditional sense, for better or for worse, she certainly stakes a claim to numerous territories through military occupation, economic pressure, and global presence. Are Americans, as a people, aware of the imperialist tendencies in their thinking? Are Americans aware of their propensity toward superciliousness? As Michelle Tusan

concludes in her contribution to *The Routledge Handbook of Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, "Such work could provide a clearer foundation for the discourse on decolonization..."²³ The American identity as the decolonized is well researched, but in recent times America has emerged as the empire, and perhaps a discussion of our sense of imperialism and superciliousness is in order.

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THE FLYING TIGERS: MERCENARIES OR HEROES?

by Victoria Kenyon



A Chinese soldier guards a line of Curtiss P-40 Warhawk fighters.
National Archives and Records Administration / Wikimedia Commons

Victoria Kenyon is a senior majoring in history with a minor in art history. She has attended AUM since fall 2015, and is a writing and history tutor at the Learning Center on campus. Victoria hopes to attend law school after receiving her undergraduate degree, and to focus on either environmental or constitutional law. This is her second year serving on the editorial board.

Many heroic American men and women served their country in World War II, but some of the United States' best and bravest did not fight under the American flag. Instead, a company of U.S. pilots flew in the 1st American Volunteer Group (AVG) for the Chinese Air Force (CAF). Nicknamed "the Flying Tigers," the men of the AVG were enlisted to help defend China from Japanese attack, a mission that they carried out with great success during an assignment of less than seven months. Yet even when considering the courage displayed and lives lost by Flying Tiger pilots, there are some who still dismiss the members of the AVG as nothing more than mercenaries. However, the American pilots who served in China from 1941 to 1942 had a significant impact on the war effort. The Flying Tigers were true American patriots, and deserve to be remembered as such.

The American Volunteer Group was formed in 1941. It was brought about with the "official blessing" of the United States government, though it was not a formal American military program.¹ At the time, China was under the direction of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist government. The Generalissimo's aviation advisor was a retired United States Army Air Corps officer, Claire Lee Chennault, who was tasked with managing the creation of the American Volunteer Group to supplement and help train members of the CAF. Chennault oversaw the purchase of ninety Curtiss P-40 Warhawk fighters, and helped to enlist approximately one hundred pilots and two hundred other ground crew members from the

United States.² Three squadrons made up the AVG: 1st squadron — the Adam and Eves; 2nd squadron — the Panda Bears; and 3rd squadron — the Hell's Angels.

Many notable figures served in the Flying Tigers. Chief among them was the previously mentioned commander of the AVG — Claire Chennault. Nicknamed "Old Leatherface" and "Old Man,"³ Chennault was "half-deaf" from his younger days of flying stunt shows, a condition which prompted him to retire from the U.S. Army Air Corps as a Captain in 1937.⁴ He was strict and straightforward, and was remembered by one of his men as being "a very rugged, no-nonsense individual."⁵ This blunt and direct quality of Chennault's sometimes led him to clash with both his superiors and peers, including United States Army General Joseph Stillwell. The two men disagreed bitterly about the use of resources and the approach that ought to be taken in the China-Burma-India Theater, and Stillwell criticized Chennault for being too caught up in Chinese politics.⁶ However, though he tangled with other leadership during his time in the service, Chennault was also a worthy commander. He had high standards for the men who would serve under him, stating at one point that he would "prefer to have the employment quotas partly unfilled than to receive pilots hired on the principle of 'come one, come all.'"⁷ Among the Flying Tigers, twenty pilots successfully downed at least five enemy planes, thus earning the title of "Flying Ace,"⁸ including David Lee "Tex" Hill and Edward F. Rector.

As stated previously, the Flying Tigers were tasked with helping to defend China against assault from the Japanese Naval Air Force (JNAF). China had struggled to hold its own against the powerful JNAF, lacking both the quality and quantity of aircraft necessary to defend itself from Japan's skilled pilots and state-of-the-art planes.⁹ Chennault had trained his Flying Tigers based on strategies developed from his analysis of the JNAF's methods and tactics.¹⁰ Under his leadership, the AVG performed their duty well, with official records placing their number of destroyed enemy aircraft at 296 planes (though some accounts assert much higher numbers). Yet this figure is incorrect according to Daniel Ford, who writes that discrepancies in record keeping, along with the fact that official AVG records counted aircraft destroyed on the ground as equal to aircraft destroyed in air-to-air combat (contrary to standard practice), led to inflated numbers. Ford asserts that the actual number of Japanese planes destroyed by the Flying Tigers totaled 229 aircraft.¹¹ However, this figure is impressive in its own

right, especially when one considers that the AVG was only active for approximately seven months.

Not only were the Flying Tigers successful when it came to sheer numbers of enemy defeated, but they also played an important role in the larger Allied war effort against Japan. They helped to defend the Burma Road — called "China's jugular vein" by one author¹² — by which important supplies were transported from Rangoon to China. The AVG also helped the cause by deliberately holding Japan's attention in China early in World War II.¹³ Through these actions, the Flying Tigers played a vital role in the war effort in the China-Burma-India Theater.

Besides their important military contributions, the AVG also helped boost American morale during the war. Indeed, in their time they were minor celebrities, even inspiring a movie — *The Leathernecks*, starring John Wayne — which was released in 1942. They remained beloved after the war as well, as evidenced by a speech given to the 14th Air Force Association on July 14, 1956, in which radio and television entertainer Arthur Godfrey praised the Flying Tigers and declared that Chennault's American Volunteers "changed the entire course of history."¹⁴

The AVG was officially disbanded on July 4, 1942. After it was dissolved, the group was replaced by the 23rd fighter squadron of the United States Army Air Force, which then took on the name of the Flying Tigers.¹⁵ Sources are unclear and often conflict when it comes to the total number of AVG members who perished in their service in China; AVG Flying Tiger Association records assert that a total of twenty three pilots and ground crew members were either killed or missing by the end of their mission.¹⁶

Since their disbandment, some have questioned the reputation of the Flying Tigers. Even with their record of service and their military feats, there are those who still dismiss the men of the AVG as mere mercenaries. These critics assert that the Flying Tigers were simply after the wealth that could be gained by serving in China, and downplay their role in World War II. In fact, after the AVG left China, the Americans who had flown and fought for the Allied cause were not afforded veterans' benefits, including pensions and disability aid, from the United States government. Though Chennault spoke out against this injustice in 1945,¹⁷ it was not until 1992 — almost fifty years later — that former Flying Tigers were recognized for their service as United States veterans by the Department of Defense.¹⁸ Even at the hands of their own government, AVG veterans (many of whom



General Claire Lee Chennault in his office in Kunming, China, about May 1942.
Daniel Ford / Wikimedia Commons

would return to military service after their time as Flying Tigers ended) were overlooked, and their successes and sacrifices went unnoticed for far too long.

Of course, some critics are correct in saying that the Flying Tigers received generous pay (and a bounty of \$500 for each enemy plane they shot down), and that this was the draw to service in China for some. In an interview conducted in 2001, former AVG pilot Ed Rector cited the "fabulous salary" and promise of adventure as his inspiration to join the Volunteer Group.¹⁹ However, this was not the only motivation for those who volunteered to sail across the ocean to an unfamiliar country. While another former Flying Tiger, Peter Wright, listed the pay as a factor in his decision to join the AVG as well, he also attributed the choice to his being "sympathetic to the plight of the Chinese."²⁰ Chennault knew that some regarded the AVG as little more than a band of rogues and bounty hunters, but he believed that their mission to push back against Japan in the China-Burma-India Theater was absolutely crucial and remained dedicated to the cause, at one point writing defiantly to his brother to say "they can call me mercenary if they want to."²¹ He believed that the cause of the AVG was just and was proud of his men, attributing their success to their strenuous training and resilience, saying that his "tigers [were] fighters."²²

Today, three members of the original Flying Tigers are still living, including 96-year-old former crew chief Frank Losonsky.²³ Many monuments to the AVG have been erected in the United States, including one in Chennault's hometown of Commerce, Texas.²⁴ In China, the assessment of the Flying Tigers is more complicated. After the Communist overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek by Mao Zedong, the reputation of the Nationalist government was smeared by the new regime. As part of the effort to tarnish the name of the Nationalists, their work in the war effort, including that which involved the AVG, was disregarded. However, in recent years, the Chinese government has begun to acknowledge the contribution of its veterans who fought under the Nationalist regime, even to the point of presenting those former soldiers with medals honoring their service.²⁵ This change in the Chinese government's attitude even extends to the American volunteers who worked hand-in-hand with Chiang Kai-shek, as evidenced by sites dedicated to the AVG such as the Kunming Flying Tigers Museum.²⁶

On July 14, 1945, Chennault, then a Major General and 54-years-old, announced that he would retire once again from the United States military. Lieutenant General George E. Stratemeyer, the commander of the

U.S. Army Air Force operations in China at the time, lauded Chennault for his leadership and for the accomplishments of his men during their mission in the China-Burma-India Theater, saying that they had made “every gallon of gasoline, every bomb and every bullet count.”²⁷ Indeed, when one examines the records of the pilots who served in the AVG, it is clear that they did so with honor and distinction. The American volunteers who fought and flew in China during World War II were dedicated and performed their duty even in the face of a formidable enemy. The men of the AVG are often seen as legends, and rightly so; they were willing to give their lives for the mission, and their aid to American morale and to the defense of one of America’s allies deserves to be celebrated. The Flying Tigers may have “passed into history,” as Chennault once said, but they will certainly never be forgotten.²⁸

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Ordeman House
All photos by Austin Harris

A GLIMPSE INTO ALABAMA'S PAST: OLD ALABAMA TOWN

by Austin Harris

Austin Harris is a senior majoring in history with a minor in economics. He has attended AUM since fall 2013, and is particularly interested in late medieval and early modern Europe. After graduating, he plans to go into business or government work. This is Austin's first year serving on the editorial board.

Life in nineteenth century Alabama was drastically different from modern times. There was class hierarchy, patriarchy, slaves, and no modern electrical appliances. People lived much simpler yet much more difficult lives back then. Old Alabama Town in downtown Montgomery, Alabama, provides a glimpse into the lives of the inhabitants of nineteenth and early twentieth century Alabama.

Old Alabama Town is a state-run historical site which contains an array of nineteenth century buildings taken from all over the state and preserved in modern-day Montgomery. Visitors experience the lives of nineteenth century Alabamians by visiting buildings such as homes, schools, and churches. Since most of the exhibits are outside, and since most buildings do not have air-conditioning, it is wise to check the weather forecast before planning a visit. The town is divided into three separate exhibits: *The Ordeman House*, *Living in Alabama's Past*, and *Working in Alabama's Past*.

Old Alabama Town provides a guided tour of *The Ordeman House*, an Italianate style house built in the 1850s. The tour guides are very knowledgeable on the history of the house. German architect and engineer Charles Ordeman built it after he immigrated to Alabama in the late 1840s. Its first inhabitants were the wealthy Mitchell family, who owned over one hundred slaves and exquisite furnishings.



Church

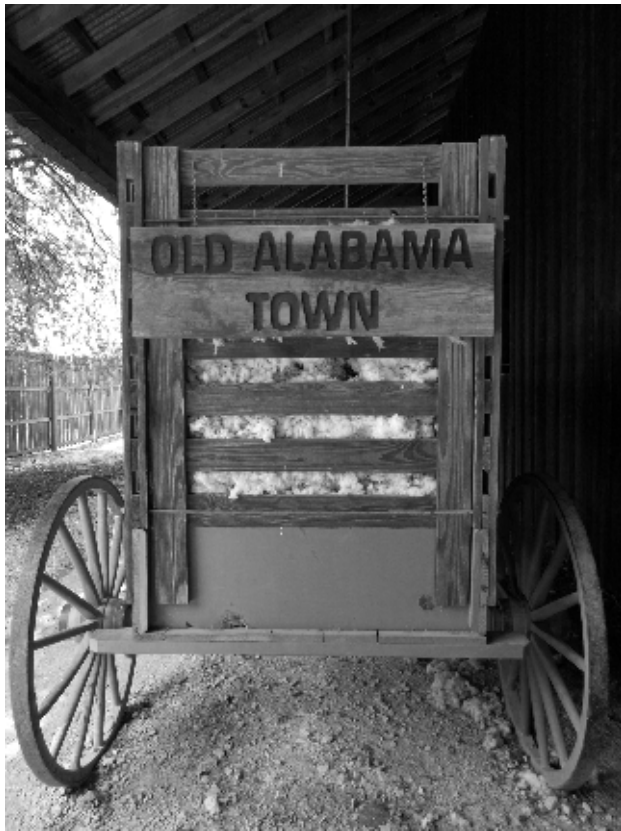
The house itself is two stories tall, and includes a basement. It is fully furnished, although not all furnishings are original. There are several bedrooms and slave quarters on the first and second floors. The basement houses both a formal dining room and a family dining room. The kitchen and the laundry room are separated from the main house. A carriage house and a well house are located behind the main home. As you go through the house, it feels as if you are stepping back in time as you witness how this family lived.

The *Living in Alabama's Past* exhibit allows visitors to experience the life of the working class. Unlike *The Ordeman House*, this exhibit is self-guided. It hosts a wide variety of places people would go to visit, many of which contain authentic artifacts from the era. The 1898 Adams Chapel School is a one-room school with authentic desks and schoolbooks. The church, constructed in 1885, is filled with pews, and it still hosts weddings. The 1892 grocery store is stocked with canned food and a service counter. The doctor's office is small compared to today's standards, but it hosts many medical tools used at the time, such as tools for pulling teeth and amputating limbs. An authentic 1820s pioneer log cabin is also included in the exhibit. Other featured buildings are a carriage house, a shotgun house, a pole bar, and a grange hall. Finally, the Lucas Tavern sits on the property. The tavern served early settlers, one of them being the Marquis de la Fayette, after whom Fayette County in Northern Alabama is named.

In the *Working in Alabama's Past* exhibit, also self-guided, visitors can learn about the various occupations nineteenth century Alabamians had. The exhibit hosts an authentic cotton gin, Eli Whitney's most famous invention, which revolutionized the cotton industry and led to a huge increase in the reliance on slave labor. The print shop lets visitors learn how newspapers were printed before the age of computers. There is an 1893 blacksmith shop, where metal was forged into necessities of the time, such as horse shoes, farm tools, and kitchen utensils. A gristmill, where corn and wheat were ground into meals for people and livestock, is also part of the exhibit. There is also a drug store, a pottery shop, and an 1840s dogtrot house in the exhibit.

School House





Wagon

Old Alabama Town provides visitors insight into what life was like for nineteenth century Alabamians. *The Ordeman House* demonstrates the luxurious lifestyle of the planter elite, while *Living in Alabama's Past* and *Working in Alabama's Past* show how working middle and lower class Alabamians lived. The staff are very friendly and knowledgeable, and the exhibits speak for themselves. If you are interested in the Old South's way of life, come visit Old Alabama Town today!

Cotton Gin



RACISM: A SHORT HISTORY

A book review by Christopher Finley

Christopher Finley is a senior majoring in secondary education. He is a senator for the College of Education in the Student Government Association.

George M. Fredrickson (1934-2008), a highly esteemed and established history professor from Stanford University, earned many accolades and awards for several books he wrote and research he performed. Fredrickson became a pioneer in comparative history with his unprecedented work, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study of American and South African History*. His work won the Organization of American Historians' 1982 Merle Curti Award and became a Pulitzer Prize finalist in the same year. The well-seasoned Stanford professor wrote and edited several other books, focusing on racial ideologies, perceptions, and histories throughout modern times. Fredrickson garnered much respect and acclaim for his works, efforts, and methodologies, establishing him as a proverbial authority on the study of comparative history, race relations, and racism in historical academia.

Fredrickson's *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton University Press, 2002) calls into question the ambiguous use of the term racism, calling it "loose" and "unreflective." Fredrickson emphasizes a deeper definition of the term, stressing "antipathy" towards other groups of people, "single-mindedness," and "brutality" – themes that are consistently paired with the history of racism in this book. Early in the introduction, *Racism* gives a brief history of the term in its most elevated and institutionalized levels through a strong, logical, and chronological style. It highlights Jim Crow segregation in the American South, extreme anti-Semitism with inhumane practices in Nazi Germany, and the system of apartheid that developed in South Africa. The book's scope is mainly from the Middle Ages and onward to recent years, though Fredrickson initially surveys potential racism in the Greek and Roman empires during the classical period. The book also



RACISM

A SHORT HISTORY



PRINCETON
CLASSICS

GEORGE M. FREDRICKSON

With a new foreword by Albert M. Camarillo

examines intertwining stereotypes, circumstances, and phenomena that helped produce the overall climate that spawned formal racism, climaxing particularly in the forms of “overtly racist regimes” within the United States, Germany, and South Africa.

Though he clearly states the book’s purpose in providing a short narrative about racism (as the title entails), Fredrickson also examines the various strata and levels of racism that appear throughout history. Notwithstanding, the book also acknowledges other aversions and fears that can easily be confused with racism, making interesting connections between nationalism, anti-Semitism, and anti-black racism. Ending the introductory chapter, Fredrickson places particular emphasis on the two major components of race – “difference and power.” Fredrickson calls to mind a broad “spectrum” of racist practices and regimes with varying levels of violence and severity, afterwards discussing the book’s arrangement and chronological focus.

Fredrickson expresses that race was not a practical deterministic characteristic in human relations until the late Middle Ages and later suggests that racism’s intensification came with the rise of nationalism. The first chapter, “Religion and the Invention of Racism,” opens with evidence of Greek, Roman, and early Christian indifference toward race, focusing on cultural and religious intolerance towards those who worshipped under the Jewish faith. The chapter strengthens this argument by examining the relatively positive light that was shed upon African Christians and religious inclusiveness extended to dark-skinned people in early Christianity, despite the age-old stereotypes associating white with goodness and black with evil. The chapter also mentions European attitudes towards indigenous people in newly-discovered areas around the world, ultimately resulting in either paternalistic or dominative attitudes towards “heathens” and “savages.”

Religion had a future guiding role in race relations and there was no strong sense of apprehension toward dark-skinned people in Europe at the time. Fredrickson suggests that the earliest comparable instance of modern racism was in imperial Spain from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries against Jews. Fredrickson concludes that, out of the forming justification of anti-black and anti-Semitic actions in religion, it was nationalism, mysticism, and perceived superiority that nurtured the roots of modern racism into the late nineteenth century.

In his second chapter, “White Supremacy and Antisemitism...,”

Fredrickson shows how the foundations of racism were strengthened, rather than weakened, by the rise of the Enlightenment and modernization, additionally addressing how it gained acceptance in Western civilization. According to Fredrickson, the Enlightenment broadened the parameters of racism into science and perceptions of natural cognition and ability. On the other hand, it successfully challenged the acknowledged European position of religion, predominance of Christianity, and social hierarchies that reigned over the Middle Ages. After explaining the new global perspectives and radically different environment that the Enlightenment period influenced, Fredrickson delves into the rise of modernization and urbanization. He introduces a wide array of political, economic, and cultural changes that posed unique circumstances in which old racist perspectives and practices could not endure. Being the most sourced chapter of the book, “White Supremacy and Antisemitism...” goes on to build a strong narrative, comparing American and German acceleration of anti-black racism and anti-Semitism.

In the final chapter, “Racism in the Twentieth Century,” Fredrickson examines the actions of three overtly racist regimes during their respective heights of power. Fredrickson effectively shows, despite the powerful positions these countries held, that racism ultimately undermined the justification, stature, and credibility of these nations. Fredrickson also discusses the pivotal role that World War I, World War II, and other global conflicts played in changing perceptions and motivations among both the oppressors and the oppressed. The three overtly racist regimes – the U.S., Germany, and South Africa – were able to come to fruition through various forms of legislation or practices that perpetuated poverty, prevented interracial marriages, and enforced segregation because the oppressed groups were perceived as irredeemable and subhuman.

Fredrickson produced another tremendous work in *Racism: A Short History*, though one can always find ways to sharpen and hone any work. In spite of its overall clarity and depth, *Racism* has a few weaknesses that make it susceptible to credible criticism. In the first chapter, Fredrickson could have made a stronger connection between the Iberian slave trade and Muslim and Christian sentiments towards the enslaved, focusing on its impact on future anti-black sentiment and racism. While Fredrickson provides an in-depth analysis and insightful narrative in regard to the crystallization and growth of anti-Semitism, this adjustment would have laid an excellent foundation to further examine and analyze the origins of

anti-black racism in Western civilization.

The book exquisitely shows various civilizations hearkening to some higher perception of historical, natural, or divine self-righteousness based on ethnicity and properly distinguishes racism from mild forms of prejudice. In a shortened, focused, and structured form, Fredrickson meets the high standard of thoroughness and form that he sought in his previous works. The book appears to be designed for casual readers and young, capable students who are looking for a new or refreshed perspective on race. The high-quality effort and highly researched arguments Fredrickson invested in *Racism* create an engaging read for a capable student of any academic level above middle school. What is more impressive is the fact that he demonstrates an exemplary ability to comparatively analyze and draw out differences in such a short work. Additionally, *Racism* demonstrates Fredrickson's versatility and finesse in regards to writing style and approach.

Despite its strengths, a restructuring of the second chapter would definitely strengthen the book substantially, perhaps by dividing it into two separate chapters. In fact, where Fredrickson introduces his comparison of Nazi Germany and American Jim Crow legislation and practices, a new chapter could potentially provide a clearer emphasis on the intertwining, yet differing natures of American and German biological racism. In Fredrickson's attempt to provide a short narrative, he does not overstress either similarities or differences. Rather, he writes in a narrative manner with thorough analysis and commentary to survey significant comparability and connection between the American South and Nazi Germany, though wisely isolating South African apartheid into its own geographic, socioeconomic, and political incubator of growth.

Fredrickson's *Racism* offers condensed, yet thorough arguments and adequate defenses that offer explanations to the histories of anti-black racism and anti-Semitism, though it has not garnered the same level of appraisal and accolades as his previous works. *Racism: A Short History's* smooth readability, vast amount of information, and refreshing style make it a wonderful, well-structured work that casual readers can use to gain a more complete view of race relations. Though a few potential flaws in structure, depth, and coverage are apparent, Fredrickson still effectively challenges the stereotypes of racism and offers many plausible arguments that could help all learners understand racism and its relatively recent history.

ADDITIONAL CONTRIBUTORS

Amy LaPointe is a senior majoring in graphic design. She is set to graduate in the spring of 2018, but hopes to return to further her education and explore more aspects of the fine arts.

Elizabeth Meads is a sophomore majoring in history with a double minor in paralegal studies and political science. She is involved in the Honors Program at AUM and the Student Government Association. Upon graduation, she plans to attend law school at the University of Alabama. This is Elizabeth's first year serving on the editorial board.

LyAnne Peacock is majoring in graphic design with a minor in photography, and hopes to continue studying photography in the future. Once graduated, she will be working on finding a career as an art director, a website designer, or something within the editorial field. Although graphic design will be used as a main factor in her search for a career, photography will always be her most passionate area of study.

Tanya Winemiller is a geospatial analyst with Southern Geospatial Consultants and is an AUM graduate. Her niche is remote sensing, geography and GIS technology. She also writes blogs and is currently writing her first children's book and novel. She lives with her husband, Terry, her daughter, Willow, and their dog, Atom Einstein.

Emily Witcher is a junior majoring in history with a minor in theater. She has attended AUM since fall 2015 and currently participates in the university's Honors Program. She plans to go on to graduate school for museum studies and hopes to one day work in a museum as an educator.

Christian Wismulek is a fourth year senior and a history major. Off-campus, he is a docent at the Museum of Alabama in downtown Montgomery. This is his second year serving on the editorial board.

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