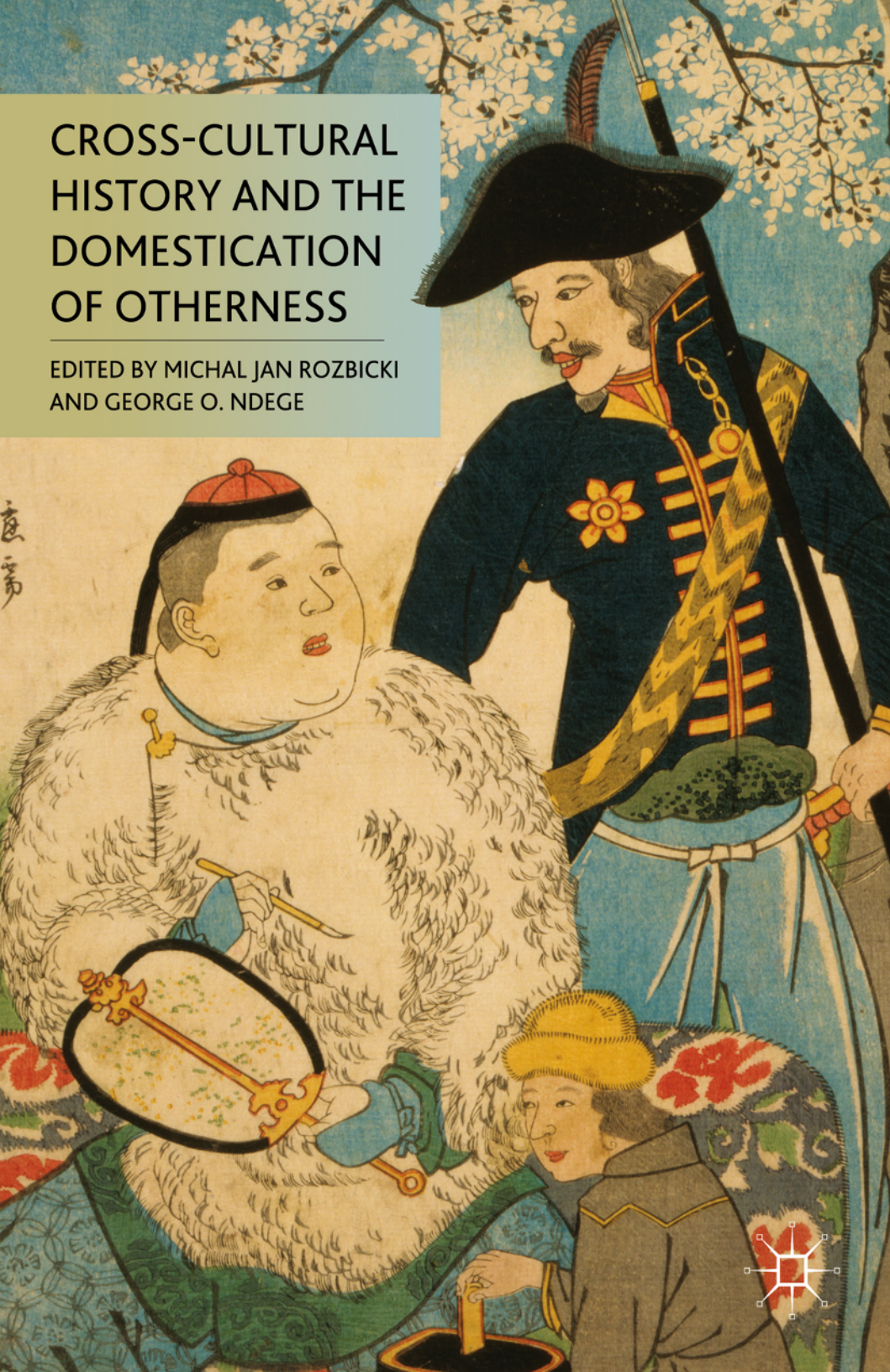
CROSS-CULTURAL HISTORY AND THE DOMESTICATION OF OTHERNESS

EDITED BY MICHAL JAN ROZBICKI AND GEORGE O. NDEGE



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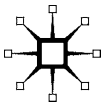

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Introduction

Michal Jan Rozbicki and George O. Ndege

We asked a diverse group of cultural historians from across the United States to come up with case studies that would help answer one question: what exactly happens when two distinct cultures meet? More specifically, we wanted to know what mechanisms govern that particular moment in time and place when external forces—often global in origin—encounter established cultures on the latter's territory. We were particularly interested in the production of culture, which is what happens when a "domestication" of various alien elements and their incorporation into a homegrown matrix takes place. In short, how the presence of otherness causes change—on both sides.

We understand "otherness" as a generalized idea deriving from the concept of "the Other," widely used in the literature on interculturality. The core meaning of the latter term is an outsider—someone that does not belong to the group. Alfred Schuetz, in his celebrated essay on otherness, called such a person "a stranger," one that is not part of the cultural pattern of group life that for the group's members appears as a natural and commonsensical system of reference. The phenomenon of otherness thus involves two or more parties that do not share the assumptions crucial to functioning within their particular systems of reference. A key aspect of this relationship is that mere *knowledge* about the Other's life and society is not enough; to successfully function within it requires *understanding,* an ability to access the Other's web of meanings. For the stranger, this calls for rising above his or her own, hitherto unquestionable way of life and system of reference. One may therefore say that otherness often involves exclusion and rejection, but at the same time it is integral to the construction of a people's identity and group self-consciousness.[1] An important point

to note is that cultural difference can be studied both among distinct societies and within a single society. The "stranger" can surface anywhere and interact with another culture from outside or inside. What matters is the existence of difference and interaction.

It is in this context that the history of intercultural encounters opens the door to many exciting possibilities. We must peek into another world and try to grasp what things *meant* to its inhabitants and then attempt to understand how they perceived their own encounters with foreignness. Moreover, we need to deepen our sense of historicism and become better aware of how we ourselves know things, so that when we explain a past interaction between distinct cultures we do not rely on our own categories to make assumptions about what things signified to the actors. Overcoming these potential misperceptions is a formidable challenge, but it is somewhat mitigated by the fact that—when based on an anthropological sense of culture—studying the history of such contacts carries the advantage of scholarly neutrality and of rising above the various political, ethnic, and religious tensions often involved in such encounters. Cultural change resulting from engagements with otherness does not lend itself well to large-scale analytical frameworks, especially those based on oppositions and antagonisms. This is because such frameworks tend to reduce a complex process to a dichotomy of the actor and the acted upon, diminishing the agency of one side and often missing what was mutually shared or adopted.

Another challenge involves striking an appropriate balance between the role we assign to global and local elements involved in an encounter. A global perspective alone is too broad and too abstract to offer a comprehensive explanation. On the other hand, a solely local focus can be misleading because each culture tends to disguise its inherent hybridity and to depict itself as homogeneous and self-contained. Although the history of cross-cultural encounters can provide useful insights for both perspectives, it remains a relatively little understood area, because of academia's long-time tendency to spotlight nation-states, imperialism, postcolonial developments, and, most recently, world history.

To even begin explaining how people made sense of otherness, we first have to know how they made sense of their own lives. This means that we need a good understanding of culture as such. There are at least three characteristics of culture that deserve our close attention. First, culture is a system of meanings that involves beliefs, customs, values, and rituals that together represent a way of life of a society or a group. Culture offers a prescription for living as well as a sense of order (the latter characteristic requires stability and homogeneity; hence any

outside influence that disrupts such stability tends to be seen as a threat). Such shared ideas and practices had evolved through collective historical experiences. Their meanings were formed in the process of intersubjective communication, when such meanings are exchanged, identities reinforced, and values expressed and reproduced.[2]

Second, culture is subjective. The concern of some historians that paying too much attention to subjectivity disconnects them from pursuing "scientifically" objective truths has an otherwise venerable genealogy going back to the Enlightenment, but in this case it is misplaced. Culture is man-made, it is highly subjective, and it frequently relies on fictions and narratives, but at the same time, it constitutes the deepest reality for its members. Reconstructing that reality is the principal task of a cultural historian, and it requires an acute awareness of not one but at least two subjectivities—that of the investigator and that of the historical actor being studied. In this, it is helpful to bear in mind that both cultures are products of long-term, shared experiences of nations, peoples, and groups, and therefore exert a powerful, often covert, hold on our view of the world and ourselves. This collective attachment to an identity, sometimes called ethnocentrism, may at times be a barrier to change, but it also has a positive role to play—by helping preserve society's normative system and its distinct character developed over extended periods of history. It must be noted that historians are often reluctant to consider subjectivity, despite the fact that the past half-century has seen impressive developments in the theories of culture. This disinclination is not unexpected. It is felt that literature-oriented cultural studies are too abstract to fit well into *historical* methodology, inject too much of the writers' agendas into source documents, reduce the complex flow of history to dichotomic power struggles, and promote a relativism in interpreting texts that goes far beyond the otherwise required awareness of historicism (to the extent that it cuts off the branch, so to speak, where the historian is sitting). Culture, alas, is by nature a province of many disciplines—especially linguistics, communication, and hermeneutics—and cross-cultural historians would benefit by shedding their skepticism and taking advantage of the analytical frameworks such disciplines offer.[3]

Third, culture is ruled by a peculiar dialectic: the claims that its truths are self-evident, even timeless, and yet culture constantly changes. It needs stability to create order and harmonize its diverse ingredients, but it also needs to adjust to the changing world. These changes often take place when it is confronted with outside influences. We may therefore distinguish two recurring stages in the life of a culture. One is a preservationist phase, where the taken-for-grantedness

of its beliefs is accepted and shielded, traditional identity that makes life meaningful is maintained, and defensive mechanisms against otherness engage to maintain the stability of this matrix (the very appearance of alternative options poses a threat because it potentially takes away from the legitimacy of time-honored, homegrown prescriptions). The other is a transformational phase, a dynamic stage when novelty and otherness are infused into the established cultural canon and become local, that is, part of the indigenous matrix (and, as such, are inclined to resist outside change). This stage allows us to witness the production of culture, and that is why cross-cultural historians set their sights on this area. Of course, these two parallel processes usually affect only certain segments of a culture. Also, a particular outside influence—especially one generated by global developments—can be transmitted simultaneously to several different cultures and then exist in multiple incarnations, but its *meanings* will primarily reside at the local level of each society involved. In view of the above, one may say that cultures are hybrids that do not admit their syncretic origins.[4]

When all this is taken into account, it becomes evident that meanings, those building blocks of culture, are locally manufactured. This is why we cannot speak of a culture of humankind, just as we cannot speak of a common human story of beauty or liberty. There are only particular cultures—in the sense of systems of shared, subjective meanings backed by local, collective experience—even if we take into account their genetic hybridity and the continual modifications they go through. It is for this reason that the essays in our volume focus on cross-cultural contacts at the grassroots level, where the encounters with otherness become mirrors reflecting the different subjective meanings ascribed to the world by the participating peoples. This perspective allows the authors to uncover how a culture changes, and, consequently, how it is produced.

Many of the essays in this volume investigate religious life. This is a particularly good area to study cross-cultural mechanisms because, unlike trade or military alliances, which rise above difference relatively easily, it involves transcendent points of reference. Although cultures often absolutize their norms and values, religious beliefs are inherently absolute, and therefore especially illustrative of the prescriptive and essentializing nature of culture, characteristics that are behind the resistance to otherness. Religion therefore serves as a useful lens to magnify the ways people attach meanings to the world around them. This is important because the disposition of modern Western cultures inclines us to treat religious faith either as a sphere *separate* from the secular realm or as an aspect of political and social forces, approaches

that at times distort our understanding of the major role it plays in the world.[5]

A "bird's eye view of human history" is insufficient to capture culture change, although it is indispensable in facilitating our understanding of the broader sources of such change. This is why our enthusiasm for global perspectives on history needs a bit of moderation in its all-encompassing aspirations. It is an enthusiasm that is well grounded and has a long history. Although macrohistory in the style of Oswald Spengler (*The Decline of the West,* 1918) or Arnold Toynbee (*A Study of History,* 1934–61), with its grand narratives and Western bias, is no longer practiced, it continues in new and modernized incarnations as global and world history.[6] The author who has made an outstanding contribution to this renewal of interest in world history is William McNeill, and his work has special relevance for our volume's theme because of its emphasis on the importance of studying cross-cultural encounters as vehicles for change.[7] Global history, in turn, tends to focus on the globalization process and continues to search for world-scale patterns and forces, including such issues as disease and environment.[8]

We can point to at least two powerful motivations that explain the seductiveness of global and world history over the past few decades. The first motivation is the perennial human quest for "universal ideas and ideals."[9] It reflects the faith that there exist patterns shared across various cultures of the world. Not infrequently, the literature on globalization essentializes such concepts—for instance, human rights, justice, democracy, and civil society—into universal facets of peoples' existence as humans. In this, it sometimes tends to disregard the Western sources of meanings that are attached to these concepts by the writers.[10] Human rights, for instance, have not assumed simultaneous presence in all cultures, nor have they been a timeless norm in Western cultures, but instead have evolved over centuries through a painful, halting process of change, marked by various classes demanding the rights that certain groups had "invented" and monopolized at a given time. Under the influence of postmodern philosophy and epistemology, as well as postcolonial studies pioneered by Edward Said, there has been an increasing awareness that universals and commonalities are usually not much more than objectified values and ideas of a particular culture that applies them globally. Such, for instance, was the case with the concept of the "modernization" of the world, popular in mid-twentieth century. As Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz have pointed out, this is a form of academic ethnocentrism; meanings must first be identified at the local level of a particular culture and

their sources linked to the local imaginary through which its members view the world.[11]

The second motivation driving global and world history is the desire to come up with a unified vision of the world. Such a vision is typically seen as serving two larger goals. It transcends the vexingly chaotic and random nature of history and in the process brings the writing of history closer to the "scientific" model by uncovering "deep patterns of human history."[12] How powerful is the attraction of this paradigm is perhaps best exemplified in recent endeavors to teach "big history," that is, human history integrated with the history of the universe. One such course, taught at the University of Amsterdam in the Netherlands, combines sciences and humanities, making the development of human life an integral part of a story ranging from the big bang to the current climate changes.[13]

The other goal—aided by a unified model of knowledge—is to change the world by helping to transcend divisions among peoples, so all would share "a sense of human solidarity or global citizenship" and move beyond the "dangers inseparable from nationalism."[14] Alan T. Wood has recently argued that many of the world's problems "cannot be addressed effectively within the borders of individual nations," and so "we need a new conceptual framework for a global civil society"—a framework that "comprehends the whole of the human experience" and can "overcome the fragmentation of the modern world." Such approaches seem to be, at least in part, a reaction to the transformation of traditional history into meta-narratives by postmodern theorists. Wood, in fact, stresses that there exist recurring and therefore universal structures that can "cast additional insight on individual examples." A global perspective would make such "larger patterns of meaning" visible.[15]

Few would disagree with the view of the world that balances unity with diversity and allows us to see the whole as well as the particular. We would point out, however, that the success of such ambitious visions is contingent on our respect for the ontology of culture. Meaning, even when inspired by global influences, must be domesticated and reconstituted in the context of a local culture in order to be meaningful. Without understanding how cultures universalize their own subjectivities, the globalist dream may, instead of enhancing uniformity, give a boost to difference. In fact, Western historians may find themselves universalizing their own subjectivities by promoting "universals" that carry Western significations, but are not necessarily compatible with those of other cultures that grew out of different historical experiences.

Big questions about the human story will always be needed but that does not mean that there can be a "unified" story. A preferable path to a harmonious world would involve an attempt to move beyond area studies, to a level of understanding *how* each particular culture constructs—in the context of a pluralistic and increasingly interconnected humanity—its own meanings according to its inner dialectic. Such understanding could go a long way toward bridging the gap between the demands of peoples and groups to preserve and freely cultivate their distinct identities and the demands of an informationally, economically, and politically shrinking world. To recover the full significance of global influences, we must translate their macroscale nature into the experiences of local, indigenous cultures. Global patterns are essential to understanding history, but they are relatively distant from peoples' everyday existence. The broader insights they provide can only be productive if these patterns are brought down to earth, where individual cultures actually reside. Hence, the essays in this volume are all devoted to those singular moments in time when local life intersected with macrohistory.

* * *

Section I of this book is set against the backdrop of developments in Early Modern Europe when Christianity and Christian rulers had to come to grips with the twin issues of nation and identity, and when various minorities were facing new restrictions on their religious freedom. The three chapters in this section analyze the nature of cross-cultural interactions that involved reconstituting old identities in a repressive environment.

Early Modern Spain witnessed dramatic confrontations among Christians, Muslims, and Jews that took place in the context of religious, social, and ethnic tensions. Kevin Ingram's essay examines how Spain's conversos—Jews who converted to Christianity—adopted the Catholic faith not only for survival, but also for creating a society that was less restrictive. During the initial phases of the conflict, they were on the defensive, but as time wore on and their business and professional prominence grew they began to question more boldly the Spanish social and religious thought through the humanist movement. At the center of contestation was whether social worth was determined by merit rather than blood and religious observance. The conversos' push for reform was seen by the Old Christians and the centralizing monarchy as an attempt to impose alien worldviews and to corrupt the nation's cultural traditions, an attitude that lasted long after the restrictive *limpieza de sangre* statutes had lost their legal force.

Gretchen Starr-Lebeau's essay further develops the themes of rejection and persecution of Jews in Early Modern Europe that forced many of them to adapt to the realities of local politics and religion for survival. By delving into the realm of trust and religious identity in a hostile environment, she shows how judeoconversos found themselves in a terrain where their loyalty and moral rectitude was questioned, and where their ambiguous status was met with distrust. The essay is an exploration of their destabilized identity—suspended between Judaism and Christianity and shaped by their encounters with the Inquisition—as a case of cultural hybridity, where the conversos were forced to live with their otherness, neither fully integrated into Christian society nor fully opposed to it.

William Childers' essay reminds us of how fluid ethno-religious identity can be, especially in historical contexts where two distinct cultures are in proximity. Their coexistence in Early Modern Spain was problematic because of proto-nationalism, which was defined by conformity to post—Tridentine Catholicism and loyalty to the Crown. In order to meet its strident requirements, moriscos, the converted inhabitants of Muslim heritage, either abandoned their Islamic practices altogether or carefully concealed them. By focusing on the role of the state in controlling cultural identity, Childers is able to move beyond moriscos as an essentialized category, defined mainly by their resistance or victimization, and show that their strategies entailed both integration and resistance.

Section II focuses on missionaries as cultural brokers. Their ability to converse directly with the local populations for the purpose of evangelization was both a challenge and an opportunity. Language is a cultural tool that is used to collect and transmit information. Thus, when two cultures met, the learning and acquisition of language competence became a condition of effective dialogue. The translation of religious texts into indigenous languages constitutes the pivot on which intercultural conversations between the missionaries and the locals revolved. It is through the agency of the translated text that the locals accepted or rejected the content of the foreign message. Acceptance was not a function of the text's referential exactness, but of its cultural relevance for the recipient.

William Farge examines the Jesuit plans to translate European Catholic literature into Japanese and Chinese in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He shows how deeply such translations entailed an intercultural dialogue and adaptation as the missionaries tried to accommodate Japanese and Chinese ways of thought in the translated texts. By appropriating words that spoke to the everyday experiences

of the indigenous cultures, European texts were made meaningful to the local readers. This negotiation, however, was not unidirectional; both sides borrowed and contributed to the project.

Eduardo Fernandez explores the triad of interculturality, change, and manifested agency in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century U.S. Southwest. He presents an analysis of how international Jesuits were able to draw from their cosmopolitan experiences and networks, and how they collaborated with women religious orders as well as the laity in the evangelization of the region. It is instructive that the Mexican and Italian Jesuits found themselves in familiar cultural terrain that was not dissimilar from that of the Hispanic peoples among whom they worked. In addition, the Jesuits' emphasis on education as well as on the expansion of curriculum, to include subjects that were relevant to their students, helped to diminish what would have been a strong resentment toward United States' expansion. Two forces seemed to be at work: first, the linguistic and cultural affinity helped to foster the relationship between the Jesuits and locals, and, second, education nurtured and extended the boundaries of culture.

The American Methodists in Rosario, Argentina, in the late nineteenth century sought to teach Argentine women the responsibilities and public behaviors associated with Protestantism through religious conversion and primary education in a mission school. Mark McMeley shows how women of Rosario were less attracted to the religious message of the mission than to the socioeconomic opportunities it provided. They accepted training for their daughters in the models of behavior prescribed by the Methodists because they were primarily motivated by the desire to maintain the economic viability of their families. Their story is instructive of the selective appropriation of foreign influence as determined by local needs.

The cultural contestation, agency, and adaptation in Africa are the focus of Section III. These themes are critical in uncovering and mapping the modes of social existence and reflexive subjectivity that inform cultural contact. They are examined through two case studies.

Paul Kollman scrutinizes Catholic agency and identity among Africans who converted. He argues that this process of becoming inculturated to Catholicism is subject to local variations and diversities in individual experiences. Using the theoretical model of "generation" developed by Ira Berlin, Kollman identifies various categories—beginning with adherents, followed by conversions, then the formation of local Catholic communities—that share a sense of religious identity. His essay moves beyond presenting difference in oppositional terms. It offers a refashioned understanding of agency

and illuminates both the indigenization of Catholicism in eastern Africa and the links between the local and the global.

George Ndege shows how attempts by the British colonial state in Kenya to acculturate the masses to the Western biomedical practices were resisted by local communities that harnessed their own cultural capital to challenge colonial claims of universality. The tension between the different meanings attached by the two sides to health and healing exploded during the interventional phase of colonial conquest, when public health campaign measures were associated with pacification wars. Ndege contends that the resistance to Western medicinal practices was fueled by the perception that they were alienating and disruptive of the cultural order. As colonial rule stabilized, however, these confrontations gave way to a dialogue resulting in the British colonial state's toleration of certain aspects of local practices as well as in the domestication of some of the biomedical practices by the Africans. This gave rise to medical pluralism, which may be seen as a rejection of the colonizers' homogenizing agenda.

The morphology of social space is at the core of essays presented in Section IV. Christine Skwiot's study demonstrates how the Native leadership in Hawai'i between 1874 and 1904 successfully negotiated the indigenization of Western nationhood by presenting alien influences through the prism of the local. King Kalakaua, whose ascension was otherwise controversial, succeeded in legitimizing his hold on power through genealogy and marriage as well as economic transformation, and by absorbing and redirecting Western "modernity" toward Hawai'ian reality, thus putting the foreign at the service of the local.

Kristen Anderson reveals the complexity of cultural change and adaptation against the background of race relations in nineteenth-century United States. The idea of whiteness and its implied social and economic privileges was alien to the German immigrants when they first arrived in St. Louis, Missouri, but with time they increasingly began to identify with it. Anderson shows that Germans in Missouri saw no contradiction in opposing slavery while simultaneously exhibiting racial prejudice, because they came to believe that free labor and stability of the workforce was in their best economic interest. The essay demonstrates how in the give and take of cultural adaptations immigrants retained part of their values, while under the pressure of the new environment, they adopted some of the host society's values. It also shows that culture above all tries to create order, but that this order does not have to be internally consistent to make sense of life.

Thomas Worcester's essay shows how French culture between 1589 and 1660 absorbed Italian religious influences. Building on the works of cultural historian Peter Burke, Worcester goes beyond the similarities between Italy and France deriving from their Western cultural heritage, and focuses on the differences between the two countries that made cultural borrowing possible. He shows how French Catholicism was revitalized by Italian influences ranging from translations to architecture. These borrowings illuminate how sometime subtle exchanges lead to the production of a new, enriched culture.

The last essay, by Michal Jan Rozbicki, offers some theoretical reflections on the intellectual rewards of cross-cultural history, and on the analytical frameworks for conceptualizing such scholarship.

Notes

1. Alfred Schuetz, "The Stranger: An Essay in Social Psychology," *The American Journal of Sociology* 49, no. 6 (May, 1944): 499. See also Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984).
2. Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method,* transl. William Glen-Doepel (London: Sheed and Ward, 1979), 267.
3. On poststructuralist theory and history, see Saul Cornell, "Early American History in a Postmodern Age," *William and Mary Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (1993): 329—41.
4. On hybridity, see A. G. Hopkins, ed., *Global History: Interactions Between the Universal and the Local* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2006), 2.
5. David Gary Shaw, "Modernity between Us and Them: The Place of Religion within History", *History and Theory* 45 (December, 2006): 3.
6. We use the term macrohistory after Donald A. Xerxa in his introduction to *World History and the History of the West: Historians in Conversation,* Donald A. Xerxa ed. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2009), 1.
7. William McNeill, *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).
8. See A. G. Hopkins, ed., *Globalization in World History* (London: Pimlico, 2002); and Bruce Mazlish, *The New Global History* (New York: Routledge, 2002).
9. William H. McNeill, "Afterword: World History and Globalization" in Hopkins, *Global History,* 286.
10. See Hopkins, *Global History,* 27. For essentialized concepts, see Philip L. White's comment on universal values "peace, democracy,

and respect for human rights," in his essay "Globalization and the Mythology of the 'Nation State"' in Hopkins, *Global History*, 280.

11. Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz, *Culture Troubles: Politics and the Interpretation of Meaning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). On imaginaries, see Miguel A. Cabrera, "A Critique of Ethnocentrism and the Crisis of Modernity," *History and Theory* 47 (December, 2008): 615; and Charles Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).
12. David Christian, "The Return of Universal Theory," *History and Theory* 49 (December, 2010): 20 (patterns), 6 (science).
13. Fred Spier, *The Structure of Big History: From the Big Bang until Today* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996); and Fred Spier, "Big History: The Emergence of an Interdisciplinary Science?" *World History Connected* 6, no. 3 (October, 2009), http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/6.3/spier.html (access date May 2011).
14. Christian, 26.
15. Alan T. Wood, "Fire, Water, Earth, and Sky: Global Systems History and the Human Prospect," *The Journal of the Historical Society* 10, no. 3 (2009): 288–9, 289 (human experience), 289 (framework), 313 (fragmentation), 312 (individual examples), 312 (large patterns). See also Antonio Gallo, "Introduction" in *Hermeneutics and Inculturation*, George F. McLean et al. eds. (Washington, D.C.: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2003), 5–6.

Part I

Recovering Hidden Identities: Moriscos and Conversos

Chapter 1

The *Converso* Phenomenon and the Issue of Spanish Identity

Kevin Ingram

The majority of Spain's New Christians converted to Christianity under duress, first in the aftermath of the 1391 Jewish pogrom, and later in the period directly prior to the Jewish expulsion of 1492. It has been estimated that in the 1391 riots against the Jews around a third of Spain's Sephardic population was murdered, a third managed to flee its assailants, and a third converted to Christianity.[1] In this atmosphere few *conversos* sincerely embraced the Catholic Church or Old-Christian society; indeed, most congregated in *converso* neighborhoods, where the Sephardic culture continued to exert a strong influence on their lives. For its part, Old-Christian Spain did nothing to entice *conversos* to the fold; Old-Christians remained antagonistic toward the new converts, whom they regarded (with some justification) as lukewarm Catholics, and this antagonism grew throughout the fifteenth century as a *converso* middle sort, free from the social and commercial restrictions applied to the Jews, assumed a prominent position in the business and professional life on the peninsula.

Those Jews who converted to Christianity in the wake of the 1391 pogrom found themselves in an advantageous position vis-à-vis both the Jewish and Old-Christian communities. As New Christians they were no longer subject to the restrictions that had hampered Jewish merchants and professionals. As literate men (all Jewish males

were required to gain a basic level of literacy in order to read the Torah), often with a sound knowledge of trade and finance, and with important contacts in Jewish financial and mercantile circles, they were able to compete at an advantage with an Old-Christian urban community. A number of these new converts accumulated large fortunes, which they used to advance their social positions within their cities. One method of social advancement was through the purchase of administrative offices within the church and local government; another method was to form marriage alliances with that other *arriviste* group, Castile's new nobility—families like the Ayala, Mendoza, and Manrique, who through wise political maneuvering had risen rapidly to the top of Spain's fifteenth-century social hierarchy.[2]

The *conversos'* increasing commercial and social prominence in Castile's urban centers inevitably led to clashes with the Old-Christian community. One of the most dramatic confrontations occurred in Toledo in 1449, and led to the *sentencia estatuto,* a civic ordinance prohibiting all *conversos* from entering public positions in the city on the grounds that they were incapable of being good Christians. This soon gave rise to similar legislation elsewhere—known as *limpieza de sangre* (or blood purity) statutes—prohibiting citizens with Jewish blood from accessing town councils, cathedral chapters, guilds, universities, and noble orders. Coming to power in 1478, after a long civil war, the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabel exploited the *converso* issue in their attempts to create a unified and centralized state. In this enterprise the *limpieza de sangre* acts and the Inquisition tribunals became necessary tools in state building, and the *conversos* the necessary Other through which Spain's regionally diverse Old-Christian groups were collectivized and homogenized into true Spaniards.

At first influential *conversos* at court reacted to the *limpieza de sangre* statutes by protesting the sincere Christianity of the majority of the New-Christian community, and underlining the fact that as people of Jewish background (God's chosen people) they were at the very least as noble as their Old-Christian antagonists. However, by the end of the fifteenth century many of Spain's *converso* intellectuals had abandoned these defensive tactics for a more open attack on Spanish social and religious mores through civic and Christian humanism.

While historians of the Spanish Golden Age note the presence of *conversos* in Spain's early Erasmian movement, through ignorance or reticence, most continue to regard it as a curiosity rather than

an important phenomenon. In fact, the *conversos* dominated Spain's humanist movement; furthermore, the contest between this *converso* reform faction and its opponent, an Old-Christian moral majority, was quite simply the single most important sociopolitical issue in early-modern Spanish society. For the former group the objective was the creation of a less restrictive society in which social worth was determined by merit rather than blood, and religious observance was founded on evangelical (or Erasmian) precepts rather than Church tradition. For the latter group, Spanish identity was predicated on honor—based on correct (Old-Christian) blood—and on orthodox Catholic practice. The humanist movement should, of course, have had a wide appeal to both Old-Christian and New-Christian members of Spain's emerging urban middle sort. However, the Spanish Church was immensely adept at associating reform with Jewish subterfuge; and in a society marked by *limpieza de sangre* laws and the belief that honor resided in pure blood, this acted as a powerful stimulant toward conformity.

Limpieza de sangre Legislation and Converso Humanism

The 1449 *sententia estatuto,* usually regarded as Spain's first *limpieza de sangre* act, was a clear attempt by Old-Christian Spain to subjugate its New-Christian neighbors, using the argument that the neophytes were inferior or tainted Christians. The implications of this claim were not lost on the *converso* elite who were quick to contest the accusation. The *converso* courtiers Alonso Díaz de Montalvo, Fernan Díaz de Toledo, Alonso de Cartagena, and Diego de Valera all wrote lengthy replies to the statute. All pointed out that the Jews had occupied a foundational role in Christianity, and all emphasized that through baptism all Christians were equal.[3] Nevertheless, it was clearly not enough to defend the *conversos'* Christian character; it was also necessary to attack the claim—implicit in the Toledo statute—that the New Christians, like their Jewish ancestors, were of an inferior caste, which militated against their suitability for public offices, traditionally regarded as the domain of Spain's Christian nobility.

The Converso Bishop of Burgos, Alonso de Cartagena, answered this attack by emphasizing the theological, moral, and civil nobility of the ancient Hebrew nation. This was not to infer that all Jews were nobles, Cartagena made clear, but to state that they had the capacity to

form a noble class. While this argument may have served Cartagena, whose own ancestors had been members of a Sephardic elite, it was less effective for those *conversos,* the majority, who had acquired their status in fifteenth-century society through their own toil or that of a recent family member. This was the case of Diego de Valera, the son of a court physician, who occupied a number of important administrative positions at the courts of John I and Henry IV. In his *Mirror of True Nobility,* written around 1451, just two years after the *sentencia estatuto,* Valera, like Cartagena, emphasized the noble character of the Jews. However, he rejected the proposition that nobility was based on genealogy. Men gained noble rank, according to Valera, when the civil authority recognized that they had qualities that separated them from the plebeian estate. Genealogy may be a factor in gaining noble title, but virtue (for which read merit) was no less important: "it was through virtue," Valera wrote, "that many men of low lineage were elevated, ennobled and extolled, while others, through living dissolutely, lost the nobility and dignity gained by their ancestors through their great efforts."[4]

The view that character and not lineage was the decisive factor in attaining noble status was one that naturally appealed to Spain's *converso* professional class, beleaguered by accusations of inferior caste. Writing in the same period as Valera, the converso scholars Juan Alvarez Gato, Pero Guillén, Juan Poeta, and Rodrigo Cota (the man at the center of the 1449 Toledo riots) also championed character as the criterion for judging nobility, although these men wisely chose to present their views as Christian moralists and not New-Christian professionals. "I penned this verse," wrote Alvarez Gato, "so that we can see clearly that we are all of one clay, and that those who have more virtue than lineage should be judged the best."[5]

In the 1460s and 1470s Gato, Cota, Guillén, and Poeta formed part of a literary circle established around the Archbishop of Toledo, Alonso de Carillo, a Renaissance-style patron in whose court scholars and cultivated nobles rubbed shoulders. Taking advantage of his patron's interest in the art of war, Pero Guillén used the knight errant as a symbol of nobility through merit, contrasting the nobleman who won his spurs in battle with his counterpart, the sedentary noble whose social status was merely a fluke of birth. "And thus when a man is most illustrious and noble," wrote Guillén, "he should take greater care of his virtue, understanding that wounds received in just causes were signs of great nobility; and it follows that nobility gained through such dangers and in such difficult circumstances is much better than the type that is gained through inheritance."[6] In using the knight to

illustrate true nobility Guillén was linking his own cause to that of Spain's new nobility, men who had only recently gained their noble titles, and thus, like himself, were unable to boast impressive Old-Christian pedigrees. Furthermore, these noble families had formed, in their rise to power, important marriage alliances with wealthy and influential *conversos,* and this made them as open to *converso* professional ideas as they were sensitive to *limpieza* attacks. Pedro Guillen's patron, Archbishop Carrillo, was himself a member of one of these noble clans.[7]

The view that nobility is acquired through merit is also prominent in the *converso* Fernando de Pulgar's *Claros Varones de Castilla,* published in 1485. In this work Pulgar, also closely connected to the Carillo circle, takes 22 of his generation's most politically influential noblemen and clerics and demonstrates that their illustrious name was based on their "virtues and on their abilities, in learning as well as arms."[8] Pulgar states directly that three of these figures, the prelates Alfonso de Cartagena, Juan de Torquemada, and Francisco de Toledo were *conversos,* making plain his view that Old-Christian blood was not a sine qua non for religious office or noble status. Pulgar might also have stated that the majority of his subjects carried Jewish blood, as his contemporary Diáz de Toledo had done in his *Instrucción del Relator;*[9] but this would have made *Claros Varones* too obviously a *converso* polemic, and may well have been detrimental to its author's purpose, that being to sell his readership on the importance of merit for noble status. Nevertheless, Pulgar does take the opportunity to attack, albeit subtly, the Old Christians' claim that they were spiritually and socially superior to their *converso* coreligionists. In his section on Alonso de Cartagena, Pulgar notes that the *converso* prelate was "was very clean in his person and in his clothes and in his table and everything that he touched he did so with great regard for cleanliness [*grand limpieza*] and he very much abhorred men who weren't clean. Because outward cleanliness, he said, was a sign of the interior kind."[10] Here Pulgar links spiritual purity and moral probity not to the Old-Christian concept of clean blood but to physical cleanliness—a Jewish belief shared by many *conversos.* His account of Cartagena's domestic habits is in fact a veiled claim that it is this *converso* Bishop, and not his noisome Old-Christian antagonists, who is the more noble and spiritually upright. Later, in the sixteenth century, as anti-*converso* statutes proliferated in civil and clerical institutions, the emphasis on bodily cleanliness would became a *converso* literary topos, a barbed reference to unclean Old Christians, who languished in the conceit of their *limpieza de sangre* and *olor de santidad.*

While *converso* professionals increasingly exploited the view that nobility was determined by merit, the idea itself was not their own; it came rather from Italian humanist circles, where professional men with an even more highly developed group consciousness had been agitating for some considerable time for a social system that rewarded wisdom and ability. The difference, however, between Italy's and Spain's early humanists was that the latter were not only members of a middle-sort elite, they were also, almost in their entirety, New Christians; and it was these two characteristics in conjunction that shaped Spanish humanism from its inception, as becomes apparent when we examine the peculiarities of this small but enormously influential group over two centuries.

First, as I have already stated, Spanish humanists advocated nobility through virtue not only as middle-sort professionals, bridled by a Medieval social order, but also as New Christians chastised by Old-Christian society for their Jewish (tainted) blood. True, the latter argument is not always overtly apparent in the works of men who, for practical reasons, were reluctant to reveal their Jewish roots. Nevertheless, a careful inspection of these humanists' works often reveals covert references to their own condition, particularly through double entendre references to cleanliness (*limpieza*), as exemplified by Fernando de Pulgar's description of Alonso de Cartagena, cited above.[11]

Second, while Spanish humanists proclaimed the philosophical, ethical, artistic, and literary excellence of the classical Roman world, they also often paid tribute to the Hebrew intellectual tradition, evoking the Old Testament Writings—the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Book of Job—not only as spiritual guides but also as important works of moral philosophy and literature. While it is true that Italian and, particularly, Northern humanists were also increasingly attracted to the Hebrew Bible, their interest was, for the most part, philological not cultural or historical.[12]

Third, Spanish humanists were often at pains to establish strong historical links between the ancient Hebrew culture and Spain. Thus Tubal, the grandson of Noah, was presented as either the first Spanish colonizer or, more significantly, the first civilized presence on the peninsula; a man who, according to the sixteenth-century Seville humanist Juan de Malara, introduced into Spain "the policy of good habits and holy laws."[13] This link, through Tubal, to ancient Israel was established by Saint Isidore of Seville in the seventh century. However, it was not until the mid-fifteenth century that the Jewish charter myth

began to gain currency. The first chronicle to refer to the Jewish settlement in Spain was the *Refundicion de la crónica de 1344,* written, significantly, at the time of the 1449 *sentencia estatuto*. The author of the work, according to Menendez Pidal, a *converso* from Toledo, refers not only to Tubal's colonization of Spain but also to a later wave of Jewish settlement by the heirs of King David.

This Jewish charter myth was repeated by a number of sixteenth-century converso chroniclers, including the Jesuit Juan de Mariana. Like the author of the *Refundición,* Mariana not only presents Tubal as the colonizer of Spain, he also states that Jewish exiles from Judah at the time of the Babylonian captivity founded important settlements on the peninsula (including Toledo), citing, obscurely, "Hebrew books" as his source.[14] It would seem evident that the above claims were made with at least two aims in mind: first, to establish an important Jewish presence in Spain before the birth of Christ, thus absolving the Jewish (and converso) community of the crime of deicide; and, second, to promote the idea of a pluralist ancient Spain, in which the Jews were a dominant presence.

Linked to the *conversos'* integrationist strategies was their promotion of Spain as the new Israel, the society chosen by God to unify Christendom, defeat the infidel (Islam), and usher in the millenarian age. The implication was that this religious leadership was vouchsafed by Spain's Jewish heritage; the aim being, once again, to link Spain with Israel and create a space for the *conversos* within a Spanish cultural discourse. The projection of Philip II as a new Solomon by *converso* humanists at court (examined below) formed part of this strategy.

Erasmus and the Conversos

While some *converso* writers attempted to gain legitimacy by emphasizing the role played by an ancient Jewish community in civilizing Spain, others preferred to draw parallels between themselves and the early Christians, men and women of Jewish background who advocated a new faith based on a simple message of unity and love. In particular they focused on Saint Paul, the most erudite and cosmopolitan of the evangelists, who had written of a Christianity founded not on ritual and ceremony but on an interior, personal connection with the deity. Above all, Paul had emphasized that Christ's body was a metaphor for the Christian Church, in which all the members were of equal importance. It was this allusion, in particular, that found a receptive

audience among Spain's New Christian intellectuals. Both Alonso de Cartagena in *Defensorium unitatis christianae* (Defense of Christian Unity) and Alfonso de Oropesa in *Lumen ad revelationem gentium* (Light to Enlighten the Gentiles) anticipate Erasmus' *Enchiridion* in emphasizing the importance of this corporeal metaphor. However, both Cartagena and Oropesa were interested in the Pauline allusion not only as Christian humanists but also as *conversos* intent on defusing the tension between Old- and New-Christian Spain.[15]

Whether or not all those *conversos* who cited Pauline scripture as an example of the true Christian message were themselves convinced Christians is debatable; some were undoubtedly believers; others saw Paul and Jesus as figureheads for a syncretic credo based on the moral tenets found in pagan (in particular Senecan), Hebrew, and patristic texts. This syncretism is clearly visible in both Pedro Díaz de Toledo's Introduction to the Proverbs of Seneca (*Introducción a los proverbios de Séneca*) and Alfonso de Cartagena's The Prayerbook of Fernan Pérez de Guzmán (*Oracional de Fernan Pérez de Guzmán*). In the latter work, the author reveals his belief that the ways of God are unknowable and thus beyond speculation, a clear indication, it would seem, of the prelate's religious skepticism.[16]

As *converso* humanists propagated a Pauline egalitarian Christianity, so too did they begin to attack their Christian assailants with accusations of corrupt Christian practice. In his *De confessione,* published in 1477, Pedro de Osma denied that indulgences had any worth, questioned the clergy's power to grant absolution of sins, and challenged Papal infallibility. For these proto-Lutheran sentiments, Osma was banished from the University of Salamanca, in 1479, to a convent at Alcalá de Henares; at the same time all copies of his work were collected and burnt.

Osma's incarceration had coincided with the establishment of the Castilian Inquisition, an organization that was inclined to regard any manifestation of indigenous religious nonconformism as an expression of Jewish malfeasance. In the circumstances, many *conversos* felt it was best to place their faith, literally, in those evangelical and mystical works of the Northern *devotio moderna* movement, whose reform message appeared to be more palatable to the Holy Office. Both Ludolph of Saxony's *Life of Christ* and Thomas a Kempis' *Imitation of Christ,* works that emphasized private prayer and moral self-renewal, became popular middle-sort devotional manuals in the period directly after the establishment of the Inquisition, and influenced the ideas of Spain's homegrown illuminist movement, the

alumbrados, a group of religious discontents almost totally comprising New Christians.[17] However, the Northern writer who most galvanized the *converso* intellectual community, at least from the early sixteenth century onward, was *devotio moderna*'s enfant terrible, Erasmus of Rotterdam.

Although Spain was not one of the first nations to embrace Erasmus, it did eventually produce some of his most ardent supporters. Enthusiasm for the Dutch humanist was stimulated by the arrival, in 1517, of Charles V's Flemish court. Soon thereafter Erasmian ideas began to infiltrate certain noble households and the universities, in particular the University of Alcalá de Henares, whose humanist program had already attracted many *converso* scholars. A number of these men (among whom were Juan de Vergara, Bernadino de Tovar, Juan de Valdes, Juan Castillo, and the chancellor of the university, Pedro de Lerma) were later tried by the Inquisition for Protestant heresy.

There is no mystery in Erasmus's appeal for the *conversos.* His interest in a faith in which pagan texts enriched the Christian message, his rejection of ceremonies and rituals, his focus on a Pauline message of equality within the Church, his belief that Christ had created a new man through His emphasis on interior religious reform, all these were views that had been circulating in erudite New-Christian circles since the mid-fifteenth century. For many converso scholars, Erasmus was clearly a fellow traveler in the war against Old-Christian chauvinism and superstition.[18] Erasmus's greatest attraction for *conversos,* however, was his popularity. Indeed, it is clear that a number of *converso* mystics often exaggerated their interest in Erasmus in a bid to disguise an illuminist orientation that the Inquisition was wont to associate with crypto-Judaism.[19]

Unfortunately for Spain's *converso* humanists, the Erasmian honeymoon soon came to an end. By the time of Erasmus's death, in 1534, his Spanish adherents were already on the retreat; nevertheless, the movement survived, its credo championed, albeit with some restraint, by a generation of converso scholars who had come of age in the heady reformist atmosphere of Alcalá de Henares University.[20]

One of the more prominent and vocal Erasmian sympathizers was John of Avila (later Saint John de Avila) who in 1527 was persuaded by the Archbishop of Seville, Alfonso Manrique, also an Erasmus supporter, to take his evangelical mission to the towns and villages of Andalucia. During the next three decades Avila targeted in particular the *converso* communities of southern Spain, hoping, it would seem, to create a new improved Christian from the ranks of Spain's jaded

and often heretical *converso* population. He obviously believed that this group would then act as a religious vanguard setting the standard for their Old-Christian neighbors.

In 1527 Avila was accused of touting *alumbrado* heresy and was incarcerated in the Inquisition prison in Seville. Here he wrote his famous *Audi, filia,* in which he outlined, as discreetly as possible, his religious sentiments. The result is a typically *converso*-humanist text, in which Pauline or Erasmian views are mixed with a good measure of *converso* combativeness. The title itself is taken from a passage in the Hebrew Bible in which, according to Avila's interpretation, "the prophet" David calls upon his people to embrace Jesus, the bearer of a reformed Jewish faith: "Listen, daughter, and see, incline your ear, and forget your father's house. And the king will embrace your beauty."[21] While in the Hebrew Bible David delivers this message to the Jews, it is clear that Avila sees it as applicable to Jew and Gentile alike or, more accurately, to *conversos* and Old Christians; both groups should abandon their old ways and follow the ways of Jesus, the religious catalyst: "[Jesús] made peace between the opposing Jewish and Gentile nations, pulling down the wall of enmity that was between them, as Saint Paul put it; in other words, he equated the ceremonies of the old law and the idolatry of Paganism so that both groups abandoned their ancient peculiarities and rites and turned to a new law beneath one faith."[22] Although Avila states that Jesus "made peace" between the Jews and Gentiles, it is evident that the *beato* saw Jesus's mission—and by extension his own mission—as an ongoing one; the task was to unite the pagans (Old-Christian society) and Jews (conversos resistant to Christianity) in a faith that shunned ceremonies, rites, and idolatry.

While *Audi, filia* is a call for rapprochement between Old-Christian and New-Christian Spain, it is clear that Avila's own sympathies lie with the beleaguered latter group, who are for him, as for many of his fellow *converso* humanists, the first among Christian equals. Jesus, he reminds his readers, preached only to the Jews. Later Christ's apostles spread his message, so that "every day the name of Christ was preached in lands farther afield, so that he was Light not only to the Jews who believed in him and to whom he was sent, but also to the Gentiles, who were in blindness and idolatry far away from God."[23] And several lines later Avila returns to this theme: "And the word of Christ is Light then and now for the Jews who wish to believe; for it was a great honor that the Saviour of the World who was both God and Man came to them and principally to them."[24] These two passages

and many more were later changed by the Inquisition censors to conform to a more orthodox Christian view.[25] These changes could not, however, totally disguise *Audi, filia*'s central arguments, these being that Christianity was based on simple moral tenets found in the Old Testament scriptures, and that evangelical reformers like himself were members of a New Israel that was attacking latter-day paganism and prejudice. An example of this prejudice was his society's glorification of its noble lineage.

At his death, in 1569 Avila had founded a dozen or more schools and colleges and had gathered around him a large group of adherents, almost all of whom were *conversos.* Avila had hoped to incorporate this important religious organization into the growing Jesuit order. Loyola, himself, was in favor of such a move, although he was finally counseled against it by cautious advisors who wished to play down the *converso* character of the Society rather than draw attention to it; for the early Jesuits were considered by many a Jewish heresy.

This image of the Jesuits as heretics is not, of course, the one that we associate with the fledgling Society. Indeed, the sixteenth-century organization is usually presented as the very model of Catholic orthodoxy, the bulwark against a rampant Reformed Church. This is, however, a somewhat misleading picture of an organization that was dominated by *conversos,* many of whom were influenced, like Loyola himself, by Erasmian ideas for socioreligious reform. This *converso* presence was increasingly attacked by an Old-Christian membership, especially after Loyola's death, who wished to downplay the Jesuits' Jewish heretical image. The result of this conflict was a divided organization that often reflected the tensions taking place in Spanish society itself.[26]

The New Solomon and the Movement for Toleration

So far I have spoken only of a pre-Tridentine environment, in which certain *converso* intellectuals presented their Erasmian, nonconformist views with a certain degree of liberty. This situation changed in the period after Trent, as the Catholic Church, now armed with its Tridentine decrees, went on the offensive against dissenters. In Spain, Philip II was particularly sensitive to the spread of Protestantism, which he believed, not unreasonably, was encouraged by *converso* scholars and merchants.[27] However, the young king was also often

at loggerheads with the papacy, whose influence on the Spanish episcopacy and religious orders he wished to contain. This contest with Rome was now exploited by humanists close to the king, who presented Philip as the voice of common sense and prudence pitched against Roman narrow-mindedness and obduracy. Thus Philip became the "Prudent King" and the "New Solomon," epithets applied to the monarch by humanists in the hope that the propaganda would eventually work its magic and transform him into an advocate of peace or concordance not only between Protestants and Catholics, but also between Old and New Christians.

The first reference to Philip as the New Solomon was not, however, made by Spanish humanists but by their Dutch counterparts in 1549 when, six years before his accession to the throne, he undertook a tour of the Habsburgs' northern territories. The tour came at a time of social and religious unrest, with the Dutch cities protesting increased taxes and loss of civil liberties. Particularly incensed by Charles V's recent clampdown on religious heresy, which had led to a spate of state executions, the Dutch wished to rehearse Prince Philip on his future duties to his northern subjects, many of whom were now clandestine Anabaptists or Calvinists. They pointed out that as the warrior king David was succeeded by the prudent Solomon, so too the warrior Charles would be succeeded by his temperate son Philip, who would then rule, as the welcoming committee of Tornay put it, "in peace, honor and concord."[28]

This image of Philip II as the New Solomon undoubtedly appealed to the Spanish humanists within the royal party, among whom was the official chronicler Diego Calvete de Estrella, who relayed the sentiments in great detail in his *El felisissimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso principe Dom Phelippe,* published in Antwerp in 1553. Two years later, on the accession of Philip to the Spanish throne, another court humanist, Felipe de la Torre, took up the peace standard, publishing his mirror for princes, *Institucion de un rey christiano.*

The *Institucion,* de la Torre tells his readers, is a moral guide to princes, predicated on the scriptures and the opinions of the Church Fathers. In fact, the Church Fathers' views on religious and ethical practice are all but absent from the work. Instead de la Torre's guide focuses on the Old Testament, and presents the learned Jewish kings, especially the prudent Solomon, as role models for King Philip. Likewise, the author advocates Jewish scripture as an important source of wisdom, recommending that Philip study the Sapienta, as did King Solomon, Israel's most prudent king. Philip would also profit from

studying the Hebrew histories, Joshua, Judges, and Kings, as well as the Chronicles, which should be supplemented by the classical pagan authors, Cicero, Seneca, Livy, and Plutarch. As to modern works, the author recommends those by the *converso* court preacher Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, revealing his own predilections toward a private, evangelical faith.[29]

Like the Dutch city officials who received Prince Philip during his 1549 tour of the Netherlands, de la Torre makes use of the Solomon analogy to bolster his appeal for prudent and pacific rule, unswayed by confessionalism. However, de la Torre's Solomon is more than a glib symbol of prudent politics; he is a representative of an ancient Jewish culture presented as a model for a modern Spanish one. Evidently the author's intention is not only to educate the king in wise (impartial) rule, but to emphasize Christianity's debt to Judaism, and in so doing, I would argue, narrow the divide separating Old-Christian and New-Christian Spain. Entwined in de la Torre's irenist argument is a specific plea for the toleration and accommodation of Spain's indigenous "Other," the conversos.

In the final pages of his work, de la Torre reminds Philip that Solomon succeeded the warrior David, and established a realm of peace and unity, marked by the building of a temple in which the covenant—or true religion of the people—was guarded. It was now incumbent on Philip, who like Solomon followed a warrior father, to construct his own temple (metaphorically speaking) to peace, in which revitalized, evangelical Christianity would be practiced: "In this way your majesty will construct a temple to God . . . restore to his nation the Ark of the Covenant, which is the true religion, and the institutions that the ancient church had, and it will give the other kings a model to do the same in their realms, and your vassals an example to follow in reforming their own houses and lives."[30] While de la Torres spoke of a new temple in metaphorical terms, certain humanists close to the king soon began to link this with the Escorial palace-monastery, constructed between 1563 and 1588. The prime mover in this campaign was Benito Arias Montano, a controversial figure who was given the task of establishing in the palace-monastery complex the largest library in Spain.

Montano arrived at the Escorial under a cloud. A decade previously he had headed the Antwerp Polyglot Bible project, a humanist enterprise that brought together the biblical texts in Latin, Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew. Philip II had sponsored the Bible believing that in so doing he was lending his name to an important religious work. However, he was not aware that a number of the work's philological

authorities were scholars labeled heretics by Rome; nor did he count on Montano's own predilection for Rabbinic exegesis, something that later offended the Papal committee formed to examine the work's suitability for a Catholic readership. The Polyglot Bible created a furor not only in Rome but also in Spain, where the Spanish theologian Leon de Castro accused Montano of Judaizing and labeled the work heretical.[31]

Montano survived Leon de Castro's attacks, with the support of some powerful allies, and in 1578 arrived at the Escorial just in time to witness the construction of the royal basilica and library and to take active control over these buildings' iconography. In making his iconographic choices, the humanist was clearly interested in associating Philippine Spain with ancient Israel, substituting the statues of six Jewish kings (including Solomon) for the geometric figures already in place on the basilica's façade, and incorporating four images of Hebrew learning (with Solomon representing Arithmetic) in the library ceiling fresco, designed to celebrate the seven liberal arts.[32]

It is to be assumed that Philip II was flattered by the comparison of himself to an Old Testament monarch renowned for his great wisdom and his realm to one granted a unique relationship with God, and thus consented to the promotion of the Israel analogy. Yet, given the open antagonism in the post—Tridentine Spanish church toward those who displayed too great an admiration for the Hebrew culture, the analogy would appear to be of dubious propriety. Once again, I believe, Montano was treading a thin line, using the king's enthusiasm for self-promotion to advance his own religious message, one diametrically opposed to that of his monarch. For Philip II, equating the Escorial with Solomon's temple was a means of stressing the legitimacy of the Catholic faith. For Montano it was both a call for prudent or tolerant policy with regard to religious belief and an attempt to accommodate the Jews and by extension the *converso* minority within a Spanish culture divided by *limpieza* laws.

Arias Montano formed part of a coterie of Seville *converso* humanists who toed an official line while subtly advocating a new liberal society based on merit and toleration. Some of this group's ideas rubbed off on Gaspar de Guzmán, later the Count Duke of Olivares, when, as a young man, he came into contact with the Seville humanist community. In 1622, now *privado* (prime minister) at the court of Philip IV, Olivares unleashed a reform program aimed at redressing the ills of Spanish society, among which he included the prejudicial attitude toward the *conversos*.[33]

It was inevitable that Olivares, closely attached to a converso-humanist reform program, would clash often with a court anxious to guard its noble privileges and the pretence of its honorable Visigothic ancestry. One of the Count Duke's most vociferous opponents was the author Francisco Quevedo, who blamed Spain's decline on a Machiavellian Jewish financial community, symbiotically linked to the Olivares government. In his work *La Hora de Todos,* Quevedo transformed Olivares into Pragas Chincollas, the ruler of the fictional island of Monopantos, who forms part of a Jewish conspiracy against Christian society.[34]

In 1643, his reform policy in ruins, Olivares was forced out of government, leaving Madrid's *converso* merchants and financiers, many of whom he had attracted to the capital, at the mercy of their enemies. Faced with continuous Inquisition attacks, some of these wealthy businessmen now took the path of least resistance and moved abroad, although this did nothing to lessen the Old-Christian obsession with *converso* infamy. For this obsession was not only with heresy; indeed that was the least of it. Old-Christian Spain, led by the Church, was obsessed with the conversos Jewish essence. If this malady were allowed to reign unchecked, it was believed, it would infect the entire kingdom, impairing everyone's virtue and honor. Even after the Inquisition ledgers ceased to record accusations against Judaizers, even after the *limpieza de sangre* laws became no more than a bureaucratic formality, the fixation on Jewish taint remained.

For the majority of Spaniards, the Jews and the *conversos* had become, in the course of the sixteenth century, the embodiment of alien attitudes and beliefs, the corruptors of Spanish tradition, and relating to them or even to reformist ideas associated with them was tantamount to an act of infamy. This fear of the Jewish specter militated, to no small degree, against the emergence of a self-confident, reformist middle sort, of the type witnessed in England and Holland in the seventeenth century and in France a century later. In Spain, the bourgeoisie were wont to regard socioreligious change as something subversive and ignoble and thus reject it for Catholic tradition, in which, they believed, their honor resided.

These conservative values have also informed Spanish historiography, where academics have too often written as Catholic dogmatists rather than social scientists. When in 1948 Americo Castro published his *España en su historia,* challenging received wisdom on the *conversos'* place in early modern Spanish culture, his views were dismissed by many of his fellow Spanish scholars as those of a charlatan, and he himself was accused, like Olivares some 300 years

previously, of being in league with malicious Jewry. Fortunately, this academic prejudice for a *converso*-free Golden Age has abated somewhat since the Franco era, although the change of attitude is reflected mostly in specialist journals. In mainstream history texts the *conversos* still await judicious treatment.[35]

NOTES

1. See Heim Beinart, "The Converso Community in Fifteenth-Century Spain," in R.D. Barnett, ed., *The Sephardic Heritage* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc, 1971), 425. In fact, the majority of the conversions took place in the period between the 1391 attacks and the Disputation of Tortosa in 1413, in which leading rabbis were forced to defend their belief that the messiah had not yet arrived. Such was their demoralized state that a number of these Jewish leaders converted to Christianity after the debate, prompting many members of their *aljamas* to do the same.
2. All three of these families prospered as a result of their support of the successful pretender to the throne—Enrique de Trastamara. See Helen Nader, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1979), Chapter 2.
3. For an account of the *converso* reaction to the Toledo statute, see Albert Sicroff, *Los Estatutos de limpieza de sangre*. Controversias entre los siglos XV y XVII (Madrid: Taurus, 1985), Chapter 2. For an examination of Diáz de Toledo's reply to the statue, the *Instrucción del Relator,* see Nicholas G. Round, "Politics, Style and Group Attitudes in the Intrucción del Relator," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 46 (1969), 280–319. In his *Instrucción del Relator,* Diáz de Toledo stated plainly that the major practical problem posed by *limpieza de sangre* statutes: if imposed without discrimination they would effectively disenfranchise Spain's most noble families, all of whom carried Jewish blood. And Diáz notes with some pride that several of these noble families were genetically linked to his own. Diáz also informs his readers that the Jews were both the first and the best Christians, as it was they, and not the Gentiles, who were the descendents of God's chosen people. These combative sentiments were also echoed by Alonso de Cartagena in his *Defensorium unitatis christianae* and by de Valera in his *Espejo de verdadera nobleza*. For Cartagena, Christianity was a redirection and a deepening of the Jewish faith: the Old Law had merely evolved into a more ideal form. Jews who embraced Christianity were embracing an evangelical spirit that had been present in their faith, in men like Moses and Aaron. The Gentiles did not have this foundation; none of their writings made reference to the coming of the Christ or to the Trinity. They were sons who after a long absence returned home; the Jews (for which read *conversos*) were daughters who had never

left the paternal house. In his *Espejo,* Diego de Valera writes: "If we want authoritative proof of the Jews nobility, we can find many, as it is written in the fourth chapter of Deuteronomy referring to the Jews, 'What other nation is so noble? As it is said, not one.' " ("Si de la nobleza de los judios autoridades queremos, muchas podemos fallar, ca escripto es en el quarto capitulo de Deuteronomio, onde fablando de los judios dize 'qual es otra nasción así noble?, como si dixese ninguna.' ").

4. "bien asi como por virtudes, de baxo linaje muchos fueron levantados, ennoblecidos y ensalçados, asi otros viciosamente biviendo, perdieron la nobleza e dignidades que sus progenitores con grandes trabajos ganaron." E. Michael Gerli, "Performing Nobility: Mosén Diego de Valera and the Poetics of Converso Identity," *La Coronica* 25.1 (Fall, 1996), 26.
5. "Puso esta copla para que veamos claramente como somos duna masa, y que essos deuven ser auidos por mejores, que touvieren mas virtudes que linaje . . . " Quoted from Gregory B. Kaplan, "Towards the Establishment of a Christian Identity: The Conversos and Early Castilian Humanism," *La Coronica* 25.1 (Fall, 1996, 53–68). In his article Kaplan examines the theme of nobility through virtue in the works of Gato, Guillén, Cota, and Poeta. For a discussion of these converso writers and their involvement in Archbishop Alfonso Carrillo's literary circle, see Carlos Moreno Hernández, "Algunos aspectos de la vida y la poesia de Pero Guillén de Segovia," *Anales de Literatura Española* 5 (1986–87), 329–56. See also Francisco Marquez Villanueva, *Investigaciones sobre Juan Alvarez Gato* (Madrid: B.R.A.E., 1960).
6. "Y tanto quanto el onbre es mas claro y noble tanto deue tener mayor cuydado de la virtud y tener que las herydas rresçebidas en tan justas causas son señales de gran nobleza; de que se sigue que mucho mejor es nobleza que se gana con tales peligros y se saca de tan aspero lugares, que la que se dexa por heredat alos subçesores . . . " Gregory B. Kaplan "Towards the Establishment of a Christian Identity," 63.
7. Archbishop Carrillo's mother's family, the Ayalas, was linked through marriage with the family of Alonso de Cartagena, author of the *Defensorium Unitatis Christianae.* Cartagena's father was Pablo de Santa Maria, the influential *converso* Bishop of Burgos, who, before converting to Christianity, in the anti-Jewish pogrom of 1391, was a rabbi.
8. "virtudes y en las abilidades que tovieron, asi en ciencia [learning] como en armas."
9. See Note 3.
10. "[Cartagena era] muy limpio en su persona y en las ropas que traia y el servicio de su mesa y todas las otras cosas que le tocavan fazía tratar con grand limpieza y aborescía mucho los omes que no eran

limpios. Porque la limpieza exterior del ome dezia él que era alguna señal de la interior" Fernando de Pulgar, *Claros Varones de Castilla,* ed. Robert Brian Tate (Oxford, 1971), 10. While Tate's study provides a useful historical backdrop to Pulgar's work, it sidesteps his *converso* background and its implications for his work. For a discussion of Pulgar's defense of the conversos, see Francisco Cantera, "Hernando de Pulgar y Los Conversos," *Sefarad,* Madrid 1944, Fasc. 2, 295–348. Pulgar was an outspoken critic of the Inquisition and its attacks on the Converso community. For these opinions he was dismissed, at least temporarily, from the royal court.

11. For *converso* double entendre and secret references, see Sanford Shepherd, *Lost Lexicon: Secret Meanings in the Vocabulary of Spanish Literature during the Inquisition* (Miami, FL: Ediciones Universal, 1982). These references are mostly taken from Spanish picaresque fiction. There are, however, other converso topos, for example, the envy of the *vulgo, la envidia del vulgo.* In Spanish humanist works, the *vulgo* invariably signifies an ignorant and prejudiced Old-Christian society, its *envidia* directed against a successful *converso* community.
12. While the great figure of Christian Humanism, Erasmus, appreciated the need to study Hebrew for biblical exegesis, he paid relatively little attention to the Hebrew scriptures. In fact, he wrote, "I wish it were that the Christian Church did not place such importance on the Old Testament." Natalio Fernández Marcos y Emilia Fernández Tejero, *Biblia y humanismo* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1997), 20. Later, in the Reformation, Protestant and Catholic writers focused on the Old Testament as evidence for their own partisan doctrines. Again, their interest was quite different from that demonstrated by Spain's *converso* humanists. For the increased interest in the Old Testament in the sixteenth century, see Richard Cox, "Humanism and Reformation in England and Scotland," and Henry Wansborough, "History and Impact of English Bible Translation," in Magne Sæbø, ed., *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Interpretation II: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2008).
13. "toda policía de buenas costumbres y sanctas leyes" Juan de Malara, *Philosophia vulgar* ed., Manuel Bernal Rodríguez (Madrid: Biblioteca Castro, 1996), 29.
14. See Jaim Beinart, "¿Cuando llegaron los Judios a España?" in *Estudios,* 3, Inst. Central de Relaciones Culturales Israel-Iberoamerica, España y Portugal, 1962, 5–18. Writing in the same period as Mariana (at the end of the sixteenth century) Jerónimo Román de la Higuera, also a Jesuit, fabricated a series of ancient documents in order to back up his claim that the Jews were present in Spain before the birth of Christ. Among Higuera's claims was that 500 of Jesus' Judean followers arrived in Spain soon after the Messiah's death, where they

successfully converted many of the peninsula Jews to Christianity. Thus, according to Higuera's fallacious account, the Sephardim formed the first Christian communities in Spain. See Juan Gil, "Judios y conversos en los falsos cronicones," *Iberica,* no. 14 (2003): 21–43. Another sixteenth-century converso chronicler—Florian de Ocampo—repeated the Tubal foundation myth in his *La Corónica General de España*. He also stated that Chaldean (Aramaic) was the language spoken throughout the peninsula before the Celtibero invasion many generations later, and that an expeditionary force of Spain's early Jewish colonists founded Rome, whose name is in fact a name often given to Jewish women. See *La Corónica General de España,* Madrid, 1791 (Madrid: B.N.M. 1/9022), chapter XX. The Jewish settlement of Spain was particularly appealing to Seville's sixteenth-century humanist community. Pedro Mexia, Juan de Malara, Benito Arias Montano, and Pablo de Céspedes all assert that Spain was colonized and civilized by the ancient Hebrews.

15. Alfonso de Oropesa, who became General of the Hieronymites, was particularly interested in creating a harmonious religious environment in his own order between *conversos* and Old Christians. Unfortunately, this aim was thwarted when, soon after his *Lumen* was published, crypto-Jewish cells were discovered in the Hieronymite houses at Guadalupe and Toledo. Thereafter the Hieronymites took a reactionary turn, introducing a *limpieza de sangre* statute, in 1489, to discourage *converso* entry. For an examination of *Lumen,* in which Oropesa, like his contemporaries Alfonso de Cartagena and Diego de Valera, also emphasizes the Jews' importance to Christianity, see Albert Sicroff, "Anticipaciones de Erasmismo Español en *Lumen ad revelationem gentium de Alfonso de Oropesa,*" *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispanica,* tomo XXX, no. 2 (1981), 315–333. For an account of the Jewish cell in the Hieronymite monastery at Guadalupe, see Albert Sicroff, "Clandestine Judaism in the Hieronymite Monastery of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe," in Izaak A. Langas and Barton Sholod, eds., *Studies in Honor of Mair J. Bernardete* (New York: Las Americas 1965), 89–125.
16. See Ottavio Di Camillo, *El Humanismo Castellano del Siglo XV* (Valencia: Fernando Torres, 1976), 156–166. Camillo notes that while Cartagena's father, Pablo de Santa Maria, converted to Christianity in 1391, his mother remained Jewish. Ottavio speculates (p. 166): "The intimate contact with such distinct beliefs could have led him to consider the relativity of God, who finally, can only be approached through a leap of faith. Whatever the case, it is evident that his idea that wisdom is unattainable hides a comprehensive and tolerant attitude, as it implies that differences between sects do not involve God but only in the way he reveals himself to man" (my translation). See also Francisco López Estrada, "La Retorica

en las 'Generaciones y semblanza' de Fernán Pérez de Guzmán," *Revista de Filología Española,* XXX (1946), 339–349. For Alfonso de Cartagena's interest in St. Paul, see María Laura Giordano, *Apologetas de la fe: elites conversas entre Inquisición y patronazgo en España (siglos XV y XVI),* ch. 1. "El Cristianismo Paulino como fenómeno de elite."

17. For the *alumbrados* see, for example, Antonio Márquez, *Los alumbrados: orígenes y filosofía (1525–1556),* Madrid: Taurus, 1980) and Alistair Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism in Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Alumbrados* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1992).
18. The *conversos* also clearly reveled in Erasmus's comparison, in the *Enchiridion,* of Old Christians mired in ceremonial practice to Pharisees who had forgotten the true message of Judaism, a statement they used as a counterpunch against Old-Christian accusations of *converso* Judaizing. The *conversos* conveniently ignored the anti-Semitic aspect of Erasmus' statement. For Erasmus's judeophobia, see Shimon Markish, *Erasmus and the Jews* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). It is possible that Erasmus was aware that his following in Spain was predominantly *converso,* and that this group was utilizing him in its own parallel reform campaign. In a reply to attacks from Spanish scholars on his *Enchiridion,* Erasmus wrote: "Let Zuñiga and Carranza fling themselves after heretics of another sort, who have already littered the fields of the Lord more than enough. Certain Jews, half-Jews, and quarter-Jews are getting even stronger, pushing their way among us, bearing the name of Christian but carrying all Moses in their souls" (*Erasmus and the Jews,* 77).
19. This may have been the case of the illuminist María de Cazalla. See Alastair Hamilton, op. cit., 87.
20. The Complutense University at Alcala de Henares was founded by the Archbishop of Toledo—Cardinal Jiménez Cisneros—in 1508. Its trilingual college, named after the patron saint of Toledo, Saint Ildefonsus, attracted many *converso* scholars, several of whom worked on the famous Polyglot Bible, published in 1521.
21. "Oye hija, y ve, inclina tu oreja, y olvida la casa de tu padre. Y cobdiciará el rey tu hermosura."
22. "[Jesus] hizo paz entre los contraries pueblos, judios y gentiles, quitando la pared de emistad que estaba en medio, como dice San Pablo; conviene, a saber, las ceremonias de la vieja ley, y la idolatria de la gentilidad para que unas y otras, dejadas sus particularidades y ritos que de sus pasados traían, viniesen a una nueva ley de debajo de un fe."
23. "y agora lo es, acrecentándose cada día la predicación del nombre de Cristo a tierras más lejos, para que así sea luz no sólo de los judíos, que creyeron en El, y a los cuales fue enviado, mas también a los gentiles, que estaban en ceguedad de idolatriía lejos de Dios," 537.

24. "Y Cristo predicado es luz entonces y agora para los judios que le quisieren creer; porque grande honra es para ellos venir de ellos, y principalmente a ellos, el que es Salvador de todo el mundo y verdadero Dios y hombre," 537.
25. For many years *Audi, filia* circulated among a select group of Avila adherents in manuscript form, before being published by the Alcala de Henares printer, Juan de Brocar, in 1556. Three years after its publication, Avila's work was placed on the Inquisition index. In 1576 a new version was published with some extensive amendments to rid the work of its Erasmian content and Jewish sympathies. In the censored version, the line "So that there was light not only for the Jews who believed in Him and to whom He was sent . . . " ("Para que así sea luz [Cristo] no sólo de los judíos que creyeron en El y a los cuales fue enviado . . . ") was changed to "to whom he preached in person" ("a los cuales predicó en propia persona."), Luis Salas Balast, *Obras completas del santo maestre Juan de Avila*, vol. 1, 870. The line "because it is a great honor for them [the Jews] that he comes from them, and principally from them, he who is the Saviour of the whole World" ("porque grande honra es para ellos venir de ellos y principalmente a ellos el que es Salvador de todo el mundo") became "And Christ's preaching is light, then and now, for the gentiles who want to believe, and is light and honor for the Jews who also want to believe" ("Y Cristo así predicado es luz, entonces y ahora, para los gentiles que le quieren creer, y es luz y honra para los judíos que también quieren creer."), ibid., 841. In the 1556 version, Avila also stated that Pilato "crucified" Jesus. In the censored version of 1574 this reads "sentenced to death." For Avila, the villain is not the Jew but the Roman governor; for the Old-Christian censors Pilot was merely the conduit for Jewish malice.
26. For a brief examination of the *conversos* within the early Jesuit movement, see Kevin Ingram, "Secret Lives, Public Lies: The *conversos* and Socio-Religious Non-Conformism in the Spanish Golden Age" (PhD diss., U.C. San Diego, 2006), chapter two. Loyola was brought up in the household of Juan Velázquez Cuellar, who was a chief accountant (*mayordomo mayor*) and administrator for the Catholic monarchs. The position of chief account was invariably occupied by Jews or *conversos.* The Velázquez Cuellar family was also associated with the *converso* illuminist leader Francisca Hernandez, who was tried by the Inquisition for heresy in 1529. Loyola's close links with *conversos* throughout his life and his extremely benevolent attitude toward them (during his lifetime no *limpieza de sangre* requirement was attached to entering his order, despite considerable internal and external pressure to apply it) may have developed as a result of spending his formative years in a *converso*-professional environment. However, it may be that the founder of the Order of Jesus was himself from a *converso* background.

True, Loyola's father was the scion of an impecunious Old-Christian Basque family. However, his mother came from a wealthy merchant professional family. Her dowry of 1,500 ducados indicates that her father was buying the family some noble respectability. Whether the maternal family was *conversos* is a moot point; however, given Loyola's close affiliation with *converso* merchants and scholars, it is a question worth posing. It is noteworthy that the Jesuits first general was wont to state that he wished he were Jewish, as Jesus himself was a Jew. This is, to say the least, a very strange statement for a sixteenth-century Basque of Old-Christian provenance to make.

27. In 1556, Philip wrote, "all the heresies in Germany, France and Spain have been sown by descendents of Jews, as we have seen and still see every day in Spain." Henry Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 83.
28. "Reinando en Judea el Rey David por voluntad de Dios, en quien tenia su Fe, ordenó que su hijo Salomón fuese ungido por rey de Israel, y así lo hizo sin desampararlo, porque la tierra estuviese en paz, honra y concordia, por donde el pueblo hizo alegrías . . . " *El felicismo viaje del muy alto y muy poderos principe Dom Phelippe,* vol. 1 (Madrid, Sociedad de Biblófilos Españoles, 1930), 422.
29. The humanist Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, whose works championed a reformed Catholicism, was tried as a heretic in the Seville Protestant trials of 1557. He died in prison before he was sentenced and was thus burnt in effigy rather than in person. For Constantino's Erasmian views, see Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España* (Madrid: FCE-España, 1998), 522–540. On being offered a canonry in the Toledo Cathedral chapter, a position that required the candidate to undergo a *limpieza de sangre* investigation, Constantino famously turned the offer down, stating that he wished the ashes of his deceased family to rest in peace and could not accept an office that required him to disturb their repose. Marcel Bataillon, op. cit., 523.
30. "De esta manera V.M. edificará el Templo de Dios, repararle ha, restituyrá à su pueblo el Arca d'el Testamento, que es la verdadera religión, y instituciones que la yglesia antiguamente tenia, y dará à los otros Reyes forma para hazer otro tanto en sus reynos, y à sus vassallos exemplo para reformar cada vno su casa y vida." *Felipe de la Torre, Institución de un rey christiano* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1979), 66.
31. See B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1972), 49–66. Castro's attacks on the three *converso* biblical scholars Luis de Leon, Gaspar de Grajal, and Martín Martínez Cantalapiedra led to their arrest by the Inquisition for Judaizing in 1572. Their real crime, it seems, was to demonstrate too great an interest in the ancient Jewish culture.

32. The four liberal arts were grammar, arithmetic, music, and astronomy. Grammar is represented by the tower of Babel and Nebucodonoser's school of grammar in Babylon where Daniel studied; Arithmetic by Solomon, who solved the puzzle presented to him by Queen of Sheba; Music by David playing his harp; and Astronomy by the infirm king Ezequias who is cured after moving into the shadow of the sun. See Cornelia von der Osten Sacken, *El Escorial: Estudio Iconológico* (Bilbao: Xarait ediciones, 1984).
33. Olivares's maternal grandfather was Charles V's Aragonese secretary, the converso Lope Conchillos. In 1625 Olivares, now Philip IV's chief minister (*privado*), stated that the *limpieza de sangre* laws were "unjust and impious, against divine law, and the law of nations . . . Without crime, without sin or offence against God, they [the *conversos*] find themselves—even when they excel all others in virtue, sanctity and scholarship—condemned not only without being heard, but without even the possibility of being heard . . . In no other government or state in the world do such laws exist." J. H. Elliott, *The Count Duke Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1986), 11.
34. Ibid., 556.
35. On the conversos in Spanish historiography, see Kevin Ingram, "Historiography, Historicity and the Conversos," in Kevin Ingram ed., *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill Academic Press, 2009).

Chapter 2

Heretics, Christians, Jews? Jewish Converts and Inquisitors in the Early Modern World

Gretchen Starr-LeBeau

In 1553, Francesco Colonna presented himself before the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Venice. A convert from Judaism, Colonna was approached by two Levantine Jewish men who helped him financially, and over time encouraged him to renounce Christianity and return to Judaism. They offered to smuggle him to the Levant, Colonna said, and provided him with money, a place to stay, and even Levantine clothing for the trip. After Francesco was recognized on the boat, however, he repented , went to the inquisitors full of contrition, and begged to be reconciled to the church.

A Spanish near-contemporary of Francesco's—Juana of Madrid—was questioned about statements she made challenging the efficacy of Papal indulgences during a recent Jubilee year. Inquisitors carefully detailed the numerous Jewish converts, or *conversos,* included in her family history, and one accuser claimed that Juana had knowledge of Judaism.

A century later, Maria das Candeias, a 17-year-old from Estremoz living in Lisbon, was accused of Judaizing. The charges against her were little different than those lodged against New Christians 150 years previously—that she wore clean clothes on Saturday in

observance of the Jewish Sabbath, and that she thought little of the Eucharist but observed "the law of Moses."

Contemporaries wondered at the religious loyalties of *judeoconversos* almost from the moment of their widespread appearance in early modern Europe. Were they genuine converts to Christianity, secretly practicing Jews, or something in between? And, if they were not devout Christians, what, if anything, could be done to reform their behavior? In most places with a significant concentration of *conversos,* the solution to punishing and reforming Judaizing practices was found in the Holy Office of the Inquisition, be it in Spain, Portugal, Venice, the Papal States, or the colonies of these political entities. But despite the efforts of the inquisitors, I contend that *judeoconversos* were most notable for the instability of their religious identities, which were shaped in part by their encounters with the Holy Office of the Inquisition. Various courts might approach accusations of Judaizing with greater or lesser zeal (and with greater or lesser relative danger to the accused), but inquisition courts across southern Europe tended to identify New Christians as either misguided (if perhaps penitent) Christians or perfidious, secret Jews. It was difficult for contemporaries to grasp the destabilized identity of *conversos,* but it is that lack of fixity, as *conversos* lived between Judaism and Christianity, that is of greatest interest to scholars, and that we most benefit from by exploring in greater depth.

While some conversion between Christianity and Judaism had existed for centuries, conversion from Judaism to Christianity increased in the later Middle Ages. A series of riots across southern Iberia, beginning in 1391, included mass forced conversions of Jews to Christianity on a scale previously unknown.[1] Furthermore, in the aftermath of those events, still more conversions followed, and the Jewish community became increasingly challenged within and without.[2] Converts and their descendants, known as New Christians or *conversos,* took advantage of their new status as Christians to move into political and professional roles previously denied to them. By the middle of the fifteenth century, some Iberians began to worry about whether these New Christians could be trusted as part of the broader Christian community, and a debate emerged over whether they should be treated as other Christians, and what should be done with those who were deemed to be secretly practicing Judaism. An inquisition was a logical solution.[3]

It is not surprising that existing (if occasionally moribund) institutions, already designed to confront heresy, were revived and pressed into service to correct and punish these so-called New Christians.

Inquisitorial procedures (i.e., investigative procedures including interviewing witnesses) were first developed in the thirteenth century and were early used to combat Albigensian heresy. In 1478, Ferdinand and Isabella successfully petitioned the Pope for the right to have a series of inquisitorial courts (focused on Judaizers) linked to the royal government, rather than to bishops as had been done previously. Furthermore, Isabella insisted that witnesses could only feel safe testifying for the prosecution if they could do so secretly, without giving their names to the defense. Finally, while hearsay evidence required corroboration, eyewitness testimony did not—a novel legal practice.[4] The newly established inquisition was useful to the Catholic monarchs in challenging political enemies, as well as in rooting out heresy, but it was a controversial institution. That controversy was fed, in part, by the intense activity of the first years of the inquisition in Spain. Focused predominantly on *conversos,* inquisitors held large numbers of trials with mass *autos-de-fe* and mass executions. In at least one case, and not the largest *auto-de-fe,* the smoke from the flames could be seen some 50 kilometers away.[5] But after a generation, the pace of the trials slowed. Trials against *conversos* faded out, and as a result inquisitors lost the income that came from seizing the goods of those charged and found guilty or "partially guilty."

Yet the establishment of the Inquisition came at a moment when the position of New Christians, and Old-Christian perceptions of *conversos,* was very much in flux. By 1492 Jews had been forced either to convert or to leave the newly united kingdoms of Spain. Five years later, the King of Portugal mandated an expulsion of all Jews in his kingdom, only to effect a last-minute mass conversion on the docks. Portugal, unlike Spain, would keep substantially all its Jews as Christian converts, rather than lose them to emigration, but their religious and social status was no easier. Indeed, contemporaries across the Iberian Peninsula tended to see their new coreligionists as suspect. Some saw them as maltreated, genuine converts; others saw in them an insidious fifth column, undermining Christian salvation for the community from within. Others, most notably in the "Libro del Alborayque," saw New Christians as a monstrous mix of the two faiths, but fully neither.[6] Yet all these views shared a reified, essentialized notion of how individuals practiced their faith, an idea perpetuated by the continued presence of Portuguese New-Christian traders throughout the Iberian Peninsula and across the Mediterranean.

Spain's inquisitorial activity slowed a generation after its inception, though it would later become active again, with new kinds of charges

(and occasional returns to prosecuting Judaizing). But by the 1530s the inquisitorial focus on Judaizing moved to Portugal, and later, to a lesser extent, to the Papal States, in all cases with particular interest in Portuguese New Christians. When the Portuguese inquisition was established in 1536, inquisitors investigated a community forcibly converted and left for a generation with little in the way of pastoral guidance or education. So-called Old Christians in Portugal were often tried for heretical or incorrect practices in ecclesiastical courts, leaving inquisitorial courts to focus largely on New Christians. This pattern continued until the dissolution of the court in the nineteenth century.[7]

Establishing an inquisitorial court under the jurisdiction of secular rather than ecclesiastical authorities had required permission of the Pope himself. By 1542, the Pope had decided to establish (or, more properly, reorganize) a series of inquisitorial courts in his own territories in the central Italian peninsula. The Papal States were a complicated network of territories under greater or lesser control, and the network of courts established there was necessarily more complex than the highly structured bureaucracies that emerged in the more tightly administered kingdoms of Spain and Portugal.[8] The degree of local independence or interaction varied considerably. In the Venetian Republic, one of the best documented of these courts, Venetian officials sat side by side with inquisitorial officials in a subordinate role. Venetian inquisitors investigated Judaizing, but were arguably more focused on concerns about Protestantism and, in the seventeenth century, witchcraft.[9] The long history of the Roman Inquisition also differs from its Iberian counterparts; in a changed form as the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, it continues to this day.

Even in such a brief overview, we can see distinctions in the history and actions of these courts that would have affected those investigated by them. Of course, all these courts were coercive, but they were coercive to different degrees, and in different ways. These distinctions necessarily affect not only the experiences of New Christians but also what we can learn about them, refracted through the documents these courts left behind.

In Spain, for example, what stands out in stark contrast to other courts is the sharp intensity of the Spanish Holy Office's first phase of trials against New Christians, followed by a marked decline. The first few decades of inquisitorial activity in Spain were focused almost exclusively on New Christians. Entire communities were strongly encouraged to confess and reconcile; statements of reconciliation were then combed through for inconsistencies and used to compile a list

of defendants. Itinerant judges established ad hoc courts around the kingdom, moving from city to city in relatively short order, trying hundreds if not thousands of *conversos*. The rate of trials and the severity of punishment far outstripped later actions of the Spanish Holy Office for Old and New Christians alike. Not surprisingly, records were kept less systematically, and we will never know for certain the extent of those early trials. Contemporary historians provide some sense of what was happening, and a few records from those years survive.[10]

In addition, a political dimension seems particularly evident in the pattern of accusations. There is no doubt that a sincere religious anxiety gripped at least some Spaniards; townspeople who appear genuinely concerned with unconventional and potentially heretical practices speak out across the centuries in denunciations and witness testimony recorded by the inquisitors. Yet political concerns seem to be present simultaneously. Isabella and Ferdinand established the first ad hoc courts particularly in cities with rebellious Castilian elites, some of whom were *conversos*. In Guadalupe, the prior who ran both the Jeronymite friary and the town apparently requested that the Holy Office set up a court there after some local well-connected New Christians unsuccessfully attempted to bribe the friars to elect "their" candidate as prior. The first *autos-de-fe* in Guadalupe were stocked, not with the women who observed numerous Jewish practices and taught them to others, but with the elite merchants who showed little evidence of Judaizing but who were a potent political threat. Political concerns also could lead Old Christians to be investigated by the Holy Office of the Inquisition, as is made clear by William Monter and Jaime Contreras, among others.[11]

While political concerns may have motivated Portuguese inquisitors as well, the Portuguese inquisition is notable, by contrast with Spain and Italy, for the remarkable consistency of its focus on New Christians. Year in and year out, decade after decade, Portuguese inquisitors continued to find evidence of Judaizing among *conversos*. Portuguese New Christians were unsuccessful in persuading inquisitors of their genuine Christian sentiment, as increasing numbers of Spanish New Christians were able to do. This has led to an ongoing debate among scholars of the Portuguese Holy Office about the extent of Judaizing among Portuguese New Christians. Were they all heretics, or was the evidence of Judaizing part of a massive campaign of deception intended to enrich Old Christians at the expense of New Christians? Even scholars inclined to accept the possibility of Jewish practices among some Portuguese *conversos* note the relatively more

formulaic nature of Portuguese accusations and trials, as opposed to Spanish ones.[12] In such an environment, there was little possibility of leniency from the court.

Finally, the Venetian Holy Office was distinct from its Iberian counterparts in the relative indifference with which it tackled cases of Judaizing among baptized Christians. There are cases of Judaizing prosecuted by the Venetian Holy Office, and even some Jews were investigated in Venice and elsewhere—a practice considered juridically suspect.[13] Yet New Christians never made up more than a small fraction of the cases investigated. Venice was a diverse, vibrant entrepôt, with a significant Jewish community that may have made it easier for Judaizing *conversos* to hide. Also, investigations of so-called minor heresies (scandalous or heretical propositions, for example, as opposed to more significant heresies like Lutheranism) show a similar lack of intensity compared to equivalent Spanish cases. Sixteenth-century Venetian inquisitors may not have worried about New Christians compared to what they saw as more significant threats to the integrity of the Christian community in the Veneto.

While the courts had some variation in how rigorously they prosecuted New Christians, the various practices and destabilized identities of *conversos* themselves—as revealed through the distorting lens of inquisitorial sources—were strikingly similar. Many New Christians were not simply secret Jews, devout Christians, or even a reified amalgam of the two. Rather, many Judaizers expressed a variety of religious sentiments and religious practices over time, in different contexts, and for reasons known only to themselves. Yirmiyahu Yovel calls this the fundamental duality of *converso* life in the early modern world, which existed across generations, and which he argues had a profound impact on modern notions of identity.[14] This conditional identity also shares much with notions of hybridity, the concept of two distinct cultural groups meeting in the context of an uneven power relationship, and the problematic cultural mixing that can result.[15] With their hybrid expressions of religious belief and practice, Judaizing *conversos* challenged the expectations of authorities about orthodox and heretical beliefs. Indeed, part of inquisitors' work was to make disparate accounts of behavior on the part of the accused a consistent, internally coherent, and thus comprehensible whole.

We can see this, for example, in the case of Francesco Colonna. The 19-year-old had been raised in a Jewish family in Mantua, where over time he, his father, and his brothers all converted to Christianity. His confession may to later readers seem suspicious—although he protested his innocence and claimed to be an innocent waylaid by

nefarious Jews, including a rabbi, he did not protest or resist a plan to move to the Levant to live a Jewish life. Indeed, a closer look at his trial reveals a more complicated religious identity. He was part of a religiously divided family, as the males of his immediate family converted to Christianity while the females remained Jews. When as a young adult he ran into financial trouble he turned to the Jewish community, not to fellow Christians, for assistance, suggesting an association with his sometime coreligionists. He participated in an elaborate scheme to return to Judaism and flee to the safety of the Levant, without being obviously coerced. And only when the plan was thwarted did he relinquish his place on board the ship.

Yet Francesco appeared to demonstrate contrition—he voluntarily came before the Holy Office and begged for forgiveness. He expressed the change of heart that was one of the qualities that inquisitors most wanted to see, and in this case was seen as a sign of genuine Christian faith. As a result, the inquisitors released Colonna without further questioning and with only minor penance.[16] It is impossible to know Francesco's intentions, and it is possible that he dissimulated even to himself. But whatever his motivations, his case does show how some *conversos* could move between two worlds. There is every indication that he intended to carry out the plan to travel to the Levant as a Jew. But he also persuasively expressed his contrition for that plan, and we have no evidence that he was ever called before the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Venice again. Francesco Colonna typifies the otherness of early modern New Christians.

And Francesco is not alone. Many more cases of individuals who tended at one time to a more Christian lifestyle, and at other times to a more Jewish one, appear throughout the inquisition case files. David Graizbord has ably demonstrated how some *conversos* of Portuguese descent would voluntarily present themselves before the Spanish inquisitors, to confess Judaizing behavior and ask to be reunited with the church. In some cases, Graizbord documents specific individuals who lived as practicing Christians at some times in their lives, and as practicing Jews at other times.[17]

Most of the people Graizbord mentions are men, but women also shifted between Christian and Jewish lives, sometimes physically. Felipa Jorge, or Benvenutta da Guiar, lived variously in Lyon and Antwerp as a Christian in the second half of the sixteenth century. When the Portuguese *conversa* woman and her husband moved to Ferrara, they began to Judaize. Through the rest of her life, she moved back and forth between northern and southern Europe, varying her religious practice as she went. Finally, she was denounced to

Venetian inquisitors in 1575. Those who testified against her argued that local conditions affected her religious practice—she had lived as a Christian in the north because it was not practical to be a Jew in those places, they said. Witnesses differed on whether she had raised her children to be Christian or Jewish, but there was a consensus that she sought out Portuguese New-Christian expatriate communities. This could have affected her religious practice, as it did for the confessing Judaizers Graizbord identified. Again, the Venetian inquisition seems little concerned with punishing Judaizers; there is no evidence that the inquisitors pursued a case based on these denunciations. But Felipa Jorge's case underscores the uncertain identity so many New Christians had.[18]

Other New Christians appear to have assimilated more fully into the surrounding Christian society. This tended to be truer of Spaniards than of the Portuguese, and truer the longer removed people were from the trauma of conversion and the Jewish expulsion. St. Teresa of Avila is one of the most famous examples of assimilated Christians with New-Christian ancestors, but there were many others. One was Juana de Madrid, mentioned above. Juana was a conventional wife in an Old-Christian neighborhood, married to an Old-Christian husband. Her challenge of the efficacy of Papal indulgences was a common source of concern among inquisitors, and similar criticisms appeared in many accusations, mostly against Old Christians. The single discordant note in her religious identity was her genealogy, which identified her as a New Christian. One day, when Juana was speaking with a neighbor, Ursula de Palencia, Ursula mentioned the Jubilee that had been preached and the attendant indulgences that would be granted to those who made the pilgrimage to Rome. Juana indicated her disapproval, stating that the Pope's indulgences would not do anything because one had to complete good works to go to heaven. In the wake of this comment, her neighbors denounced her to the Holy Office, repeating her words and adding that Juana seemed to have knowledge of Judaism.

Juana was questioned extensively on her knowledge of both Christianity and Judaism, and demonstrated a competent knowledge of the Christian faith that she claimed as her own. The inquisitors, frustrated by her unwillingness to express repentance, considered torture but rejected it since Juana was too weak. When the inquisitors discussed her case, one friar argued that Juana was not, in fact, heretical, and that her emphasis on works was justifiable. For the inquisitors, Juana's greatest weakness was not her Jewish ancestry but rather her theological understanding of indulgences. While at least one neighbor

saw in her family history an explanation for any controversial religious statement, the inquisitors disagreed. For at least some New Christians in Spain, therefore, it was possible to construct an identity as Christian that would survive serious questioning.[19]

Young Maria das Candeias shows us an alternative response by Portuguese inquisitors. New Christians accused in other trials in Lisbon implicated Maria for her suspicious statements about the Eucharist and her observance of the Sabbath, and that information was carefully collected and reprinted at the beginning of Maria's trial dossier. These friends and neighbors, unintentionally or not, created a sense of a larger heretical New-Christian community of which Maria was a part. Nothing that Maria could say, even the ignorance of youth, shook this perception of guilt. Portuguese *conversos*—like other New Christians—exhibited hybrid qualities; several accused Judaizers in the Portuguese inquisition documents report family intermarriage with Old Christians, for example. But inquisitors tended to read multivalent identities as Judaizing identities. Maria's case presents a clear example. She garnered little sympathy from the inquisitors, and despite her youth she was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, perpetual wearing of penitential clothing, and seizure of her possessions.[20]

The inquisitors, of course, were an active force in generating these accounts of people's lives, and necessarily influenced the partial portrait they provide us. Specifically, the inquisitors sought to generate unitary religious identity and a self-awareness of guilt and remorse for wrongdoing. A repentant defendant affirmed the underlying logic of the Holy Office; by demonstrating contrition, he or she had been brought back into conformity with the church through the inquisitorial procedure designed in part to accomplish precisely that. Colonna's self-denunciation, for example, was organized in such a way as to minimize his culpability and underscore his regret. At the outset Francesco noted financial deprivation as a motivating cause for his misdeeds. He claimed that he considered backing out of the plan to leave for the Levant, but did not follow through with that idea. Finally, Francesco stated that his great anxiety over his error brought him to confess and beg for forgiveness—the contrition that was a sign of genuine repentance.

The inquisitors' desire for contrition also challenged the multivalent identities of New Christians. The diverse practices with divergent meanings engaged in by *conversos* in early modern southern Europe could not be easily reconciled with the demands of the inquisitors for unambiguous, unitary explanations of events,

particularly unambiguous explanations that admitted wrongdoing and then emphasized contrition for that wrongdoing. Part of the power of the inquisitors was a definitional power. Out of ambiguous situations that could simultaneously hold various meanings, both for *conversos* themselves and for observers, inquisitors demanded clear, singular meanings. The ambiguous statements by Maris das Candeias about the Eucharist, for example, could stand only as an indication of her Judaizing. Various courts might confront hybrid *converso* identities with varying degrees of severity, but all of them made use of this definitional power for their own ends.

New Christians lived in the interstices of organized religious practice in the early modern world, neither fully integrated into Christian society nor utterly, if secretly, opposed to it. As an examination of inquisition trials for Judaizing across southern Europe demonstrates, *conversos* could adhere more closely to Christian or Jewish beliefs at different times, as different needs were foremost in their lives. Indeed, they could live simultaneously in both religions, negotiating shifting power relations and societal expectations within their own experience. But such hybridity had little value or resonance when both Christians and Jews saw their practices as exclusive. For New Christians, the otherness that marked them was not only alienating, but dangerous, as the Inquisition demonstrated.

NOTES

1. On conversion between Judaism and Christianity before the end of the Middle Ages, see, for example, Jeremy Cohen, *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict* (New York: New York University Press, 1991); on the riots and mass conversions in Iberia in the later Middle Ages, see Philippe Wolff, "The 1391 Pogrom in Spain: Social Crisis or Not?" *Past & Present* 50 (1971): 4–18; and Edward Peters, "Jewish History and Gentile Memory: The Expulsion of 1492," *Jewish History* 9, 1 (Spring 1995): 7–34.
2. Though note Mark Meyerson's somewhat different take on this matter in "Aragonese and Catalan Jewish Converts at the Time of the Expulsion," *Jewish History* 6, 1–2 (1992): 131–149, and *A Jewish Renaissance in Fifteenth Century Spain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004).
3. William D. Phillips, *Enrique IV and the Crisis of Fifteenth Century Castile, 1425–1480* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1978) has a good discussion of the earliest interest in establishing an inquisitorial court to root out Judaizing and reform New Christians. Also important in understanding the establishment of the Inquisition

in Spain is Stefania Pastore, *Il Vangelo e la Spada. L'Inquisizione di Castiglia e I suoi critici (1460–1598)* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2003).

4. A good source on Isabella's attitudes regarding the establishment of the Inquisition can be found in Peggy Liss, *Isabel the Queen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992). An excellent overview of the Holy Office is in Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: A Global History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
5. Gretchen Starr-LeBeau, *In the Shadow of the Virgin: Inquisitors, Friars, and Conversos in Guadalupe, Spain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 177.
6. The text of the Libro del Alborayque is available in Nicolas Lopez Martinez, *Los judaizantes castellanos y la Inquisicion en tiempo de Isabel la Catolica* (Burgos: Seminario Metropolitano de Burgos, 1954), 391–404.
7. For a general overview of the Portuguese inquisition, see António Baião, *A inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil. Subsídios para a sua história* (Lisbon: Arquivo Histórico Português, 1921).
8. A good starting point in understanding the Roman Inquisition is Andrea Del Col and Giovanna Paolin, eds., *L'Inquisizione romana in Italia nell'età moderna: archivi, problemi di metodo, e nuove ricerche: atti del seminario internazionale Trieste 18–20 maggio, 1988* (Rome: Ufficio central per i beni archivistici, 1991).
9. The Venetian inquisition has been well studied in John Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), and Anne Jacobson Schutte, *Aspiring Saints: Pretense of Holiness, Inquisition, and Gender in the Republic of Venice, 1618–1750* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), among many others.
10. For one contemporary historian's account, Fernando de Pulgar, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos,* ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1943, 2 vols). Pulgar was doubly partial, both as an official historian paid by Queen Isabella and as a *converso* himself. For an account of one early series of trials, see Starr-LeBeau, *In the Shadow of the Virgin*.
11. William Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy: The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and Jaime Contreras, *Sotos contra Riquelmes* (Madrid: Anaya and Mario Mutchnik, 1992).
12. The starkest depiction of deception on the part of the Portuguese inquisitors is Antonio Jose Saravia, *The Marrano Factory: The Portuguese Inquisition and Its New Christians, 1526–1765,* translated, revised, and augmented by H. P. Solomon and I. S. D. Sassoon (Leiden: Brill, 2001). This argument has been largely overturned; see, for example, Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition*. See also

David Graizbord, *Souls in Dispute: Converso Identities in Iberia and the Jewish Diaspora, 1580–1700* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 108–116, for another account of the formulaic nature of Portuguese records as opposed to Spanish ones.

13. See Katherine Aron-Beller's forthcoming book *Jews on Trial: The Papal Inquisition in Modena, 1598–1638* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), and Anna Foa, "The Witch and the Jew: Two Alikes that were not the Same," in *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought,* ed. Jeremy Cohen (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 371.
14. Yirmiyahu Yovel, *The Other Within: The Marranos: Split Identity and Emerging Modernity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009).
15. My understanding of hybridity has been particularly helped by Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Latin America," *Colonial Latin American Review* 12,1 (2003): 5–35.
16. See Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini, *Processi del S. Ufficio di Venezia contro Ebrei e Giudaizzanti (1548–1560),* vol. 1 (Florence: Leo Olschki, 1980), 95–100.
17. Graizbord, *Souls in Dispute.*
18. Zorattini, vol. 4, 71–80.
19. Archivo Histórico Nacional [Madrid], expediente 215, legajo 1.
20. Arquivo Nacional de Torre do Tombo [Lisbon], reference code PT/TT/TSO-IL/028/00304. Accessed electronically at http://digitarq.dgarq.gov.pt?ID= 2300178 (April 2011).

Chapter 3

Disappearing Moriscos

William Childers

Between distinct cultures in proximity, conflict is inevitable; just as inevitably, however, intermediaries emerge who exchange goods, learn artisanal skills, even intermarry. Of course, their purpose is not necessarily to establish a framework for social harmony. They pursue their own interests, striving, like those around them, for status. Where the path to increased status leads them into contact with another group, prejudice may be overcome, but when status depends on distancing oneself from that group, prejudice is reinforced. In modern societies, the state plays an active role in this process; at times it incentivizes certain forms of cultural hybridity, but at other times it insists upon clear lines of demarcation among ethnic identities, even to the point of rigidly defining genealogical groupings as distinct "races." This chapter examines an early example of such intervention, in relation to the Morisco minority of sixteenth-century Castile. At an early stage after the Conquest of Granada, the monarchy encouraged crossing over from one group to another; later, the Hapsburg bureaucracy found it necessary to clarify who belonged on which side of a bright line between the two. As I hope to show, the state's need to differentiate the legal status of individuals undermined intercultural dialogue, leading instead in the direction of a more rigid racialization of the Moriscos. The "disappearing Moriscos" of my title are those who successfully negotiated their status as not belonging to the rejected minority. Their stories, and those of their families, are preserved in documents from the legal cases to which their claims gave rise.

The very term "Morisco" implies a tension between two cultures. Moriscos were former Muslims and their descendants living within the dominions of the Spanish crown after the prohibition of Islam forced them to convert to Christianity during the early decades of the sixteenth century.[1] Their expulsion was carried out between 1609 and 1614, despite the fact that their ancestors had publicly converted to Christianity nearly 100 years before. Although historians have long been aware of regional variations and class differentiation, Moriscos are still by and large understood in the terms employed centuries ago by the apologists for the expulsion: as a vast, mostly homogenous group of marginalized crypto-Muslims, unwilling or unable to assimilate to the dominant culture, whose expulsion resulted from the clash between Counter-Reformation intolerance and their own stubborn clinging to Islamic beliefs and customs.[2] A number of recent studies showing widespread exceptions to this picture have lead to calls for a more nuanced view, but to date a new paradigm has not emerged.[3] In the following pages I discuss a documentary corpus that I believe requires us to rethink the term "Morisco" as applying to an ethno-religious minority whose members can be clearly differentiated from those belonging to other groups, including the dominant group, usually termed "Old Christians" (*cristianos viejos*). As implied above, part of my argument will be that any understanding of the Moriscos must take into account the constitutive role of the Hapsburg state in creating this category and policing its boundaries.

The documentation to which I refer has not been studied in a systematic way previously; it concerns lawsuits brought by individuals claiming *not* to be Moriscos.[4] Thus it goes to the very heart of the question of what it meant to be a Morisco in sixteenth-century Spain, as understood by the central authority of the Hapsburg monarchy itself. The corpus consists of several hundred such lawsuits and related legal papers pertaining to the *Consejo de Población y Hacienda del Reino de Granada* (Council on the Population and Property of the Kingdom of Granada), conserved in the Archivo General de Simancas (hereafter AGS). Before discussing its contents, I would like to explain the background to how this documentation came to be generated in the first place and archived as we now find it.

Granada was the last stronghold of Muslim rule on the Iberian Peninsula, and, after its conquest in 1492, pressure was brought to bear on the Moriscos to abandon not only Islam, but all customs linking them to Hispano-Arabic culture. Under Charles I, repeated bans on Moorish practices were postponed by negotiating payments

of tribute instead. When a royal decree of 1567 made it clear that the Crown now intended to strictly enforce prohibitions against public baths, veiling, speaking Arabic, wearing traditional Morisco clothing, and performing Moorish music and dances, the rebellion known as the War of the Alpujarras began.[5] Given the difficulty, in this guerrilla war, of distinguishing combatants from noncombatants, the Crown adopted the extreme solution of relocating the entire Morisco population to cities and towns throughout Andalusia and Old and New Castile.[6] Their property was confiscated and they were sent to begin a new life, under strict supervision of local authorities, who were guided by legislation that fixed the Moriscos' place of residence and imposed a series of restrictions on their activities. They could not move to another town without royal permission, and even to go outside the municipal boundaries required a passport. They were not to gather publicly in groups of more than three, live more than one family to a house, speak Arabic, or, of course, own weapons.[7] The *Consejo de Población y Hacienda* was created to oversee the administration of their persons and of the property they had left behind. As years passed, the *Counsejo* received more and more reports of Moriscos who were still living in Granada, or who had returned.[8] The Crown eventually decided to make a second expulsion from Granada, carried out in 1585.[9] At that time, it came to light that hundreds of families remained in Granada claiming the order did not apply to them because they were not, in fact, Moriscos. Seeking to gain control over this situation, the Council acquired sole jurisdiction over the question of Morisco status in September 1585, and it was decreed that all lawsuits bearing on such issues, including those in which judgment had already been handed down, should be sent to them for review.[10] Hundreds of cases poured in from Granada, as well as from towns and cities all over Andalusia and La Mancha, and even cities in Old Castile such as Valladolid, Ávila, and Salamanca—wherever Moriscos from Granada had been sent to live. For ten years, the Junta conducted a judicial review of these cases, appointing a public prosecutor to scrutinize plaintiffs' claims. Then in January 1596 a royal decree abruptly returned the jurisdiction to local authorities and the usual channels for appeal.[11] The documents in Simancas are the record of the ten years during which the Council held jurisdiction over this matter. They include registries of actions taken by the Council, as well as the complete texts of a few hundred lawsuits that had not yet been resolved.[12]

While many of these cases originated because the claimants did not wish to leave Granada, just as frequently they were initiated by

individuals who did leave in 1568 or after, but who wished to claim exemption from certain restrictions to which Moriscos of the Kingdom of Granada were subject. The most frequent of these have to do with the right to bear arms, and they usually begin with the arrest of a man caught wearing a sword in the street who, in dress, manner, speech, and social relations is identifiably a Morisco to the eyes of Old Christians. Upon questioning, he declares that, appearances notwithstanding, he is not a Morisco. Here it must be understood that being able to wear a sword in public was the degree zero of masculinity in late sixteenth-century Spain. Those who could not wear one were without honor, as they could not defend themselves if insulted. Moreover, for a person of Muslim descent, wearing a sword was a marker of having achieved Old-Christian status. The fact that one's father and grandfather went about the streets of Granada armed is frequently offered as evidence in these lawsuits, which very often contain lengthy transcripts of earlier legal proceedings where plaintiffs' ancestors defended the same right. Because the right to bear arms indicated one's status as an Old Christian, it was jealously guarded.

Other cases are brought by those who wish to avoid restrictions on travel or where they can reside. These usually begin with the claimant on his own initiative going before the local magistrate to present his credentials, thereby preventing any controversy from arising concerning his status. Still others want to have their names removed from a specific list, such as the list of those who must attend the Moriscos' mass, or of those who must pay the special tax on Moriscos, a continuation of the *farda* they used to pay to the Moorish state in Granada before 1492. Those who left Granada do not generally request permission to return. They are attempting to improve their status within the communities where they now dwell. They are clearly interested in integrating successfully into Castilian or Andalusian society.

The list of justifications for the claim to non-Morisco status is surprisingly varied, but it falls into two main categories: those who acknowledge their ancestors before a certain date were, without exception, Muslims and those who claim to be descended in whole *or in part* from Old Christians. Among the first type, the most important are those who claim to be descendants of *cristianos viejos de moros,* that is, "Moorish Old Christians." This was a category invented during the Conquest of Granada as a reward for those who switched sides in the war and collaborated with the Catholic monarchs. The cutoff point for availing oneself of this opportunity was to receive baptism

before January 1, 1492, and indeed some of them went to the camp at Santa Fe in late December 1491. The exact number of *cristianos viejos de moros* is not known.[13] Certainly it could not have been large initially, but three or four generations later the number of their descendants would be many times greater, so that even one or two dozen would easily have produced over 100 great-grandchildren. Moreover, it can be demonstrated that at least a few of these claims are fraudulent, based on fictional genealogies, though what percentage of them are false will probably never be known. I have so far discovered one or possibly two instances in which the litigants appear to have taken the inspiration for their genealogies from the first part of the bestselling historical novel *Las guerras civiles de Granada* by Ginés Pérez de Hita, published in 1590.[14]

Because the category from which the claimants wished to escape was really "Morisco *from the Kingdom of Granada,*" many cases originate with those who admit to being descendants of Muslims, but whose parents, grandparents, or great-grandparents were from other parts of Spain or from Muslim countries.[15] Often they had been living in Granada for a generation or more, but their ancestors came from a town in La Mancha or another region where the local *mudéjar* population had been granted the privileges of Old Christians by Queen Isabella. When they can document this claim, Moriscos whose ancestors came from Almagro, say, or Villarrubia de los Ojos, or Hornachos invariably win favorable sentences, granting them the privileges of Old Christians, though not completely removing the label "Morisco." A descendant of Muslims from North Africa who had converted to Christianity was known as *berberisco, gazí,* or *tunecí* and placed in a different category altogether. They were free of the restrictions to which Moriscos were submitted. They could bear arms and were not forced to leave Granada. Slaves from sub-Saharan Africa and their descendants belonged to another category, and they were not forced to leave, though they could not bear arms.

Though "Morisco" is undeniably in many respects a proto-racial category, it is important to recognize that it was not Muslim descent per se that the state invoked in the category "Morisco del Reino de Granada," but a more specific link to a local population that had been conquered a century before, some of whom had rebelled against the Crown only 30 years earlier. The racial affiliation was thus considered an indicator of the degree of loyalty that could be attributed to a family, and thus the corresponding level of vigilance considered necessary to prevent their being a threat. Those believed to be

loyal were rewarded with privileges indicating a higher level of trust. Such rewarding of loyalty is clearly intended to serve as an incentive for continuing to support the crown, and for other prominent Moriscos to do so as well. This point is driven home by a third subcategory of those who claimed exemption from Morisco status despite descending from Muslims alone: those who had letters signed by Juan de Austria attesting to their own or, more often, their fathers' service to the king during the War of the Alpujarras. To have fought against the Morisco rebels entitled one to some degree of enhanced status.

Such multiplication of intermediary categories and granting of differentiated status is clearly a consequence of the colonial situation prevailing in Granada during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, in which the Crown needed to seek allies and establish collaborators. Similarly, the desire to encourage Old-Christian men from Castile and other northern provinces to settle in Granada led to a loosening of the definition of Old Christian to include those whose mothers were Moriscas, as long as their blood was "pure" on the father's side. (Traditionally in Castile only those with no Jewish or Moorish ancestors whatsoever were considered "Old Christian.") This is the other main category of justifications, and led to many lawsuits on behalf of the children and grandchildren of mixed marriages, which appear, based on this documentation, to have been quite frequent.

This is not as surprising as might initially appear. Few unmarried Old-Christian women migrated to Granada between 1492 and 1569, so out of necessity many Old-Christian men married Moriscas. Moreover, marriages of convenience took place between the daughters of wealthy Granadan landholders and Old-Christian settlers who in exchange for a sizeable inheritance could offer their fathers-in-law the prospect of grandchildren who, by the definition operative in Granada, would legally be considered Old Christians, though for the most part their cultural identities linked them more with the Morisco community where they lived.[16] Many of these cases were in fact brought by individuals who had initially departed when the Moriscos were expelled from Granada. They left to accompany their families and friends, though they later claimed the exemption from Morisco status to which, it appears, they were indeed legally entitled. By any cultural standard, these men appeared to be Moriscos: they had been raised in Morisco communities, spoke Arabic, socialized primarily with Moriscos, and, presumably, lived in accordance with Morisco customs. Legally, however, they had a different status from other members of

their communities. At an early stage of the colonization process, the Crown had encouraged the migration of Old Christians to Granada, and even explicitly incentivized mixed marriages. Now the offspring of those marriages had ambiguous identities; culturally and socially they were Moriscos, but legally, they were entitled to the same status as any other Old Christians.

In addition to those who were offspring of mixed marriages, some men raised by Moriscas claimed to have been born out of wedlock and that their fathers were Old Christians. A few of the cases the Council reviewed were brought by those claiming to be the children of priests who had had Morisca concubines, and in at least one instance the priest himself brought the case forward because he was suing to get custody of his son.[17] There are also a number of orphans who claim their parents were Old Christians, or at least that the Morisco identities of their parents cannot be proved; among variations on this are occasional cases where a Christian family apprenticed their son to a Morisco artisan, who raised the child subsequently, leading some to think the boy must be a Morisco himself.

Taken as a whole, these cases reveal that the category "Morisco" was a good deal more porous than we have taken it to be, and that exactly what was at stake when it was applied is somewhat different than we have previously supposed. Interaction among social groups in Granada after the Conquest led to the creation of mixed families, whose status vis-à-vis the simple distinction between Morisco and non-Morisco was problematic. Incentives to side with the Crown were paired with opportunities for redefining one's status in what was essentially a colonial context. Certainly, it is possible to argue that these are relatively exceptional instances and they only affect a small percentage of the "Morisco" population, perhaps no more than 3–5 percent. Reading the case files, indeed, one gets the sense that many people, at all levels of Spanish society, had an understanding of the category "Morisco" that is similar to ours—that it unproblematically isolated a group of people who shared a set of ethnic traits and certain genealogical ties, along with a connection to Islam that may or may not have been severed. They felt confident that they knew who was and who was not a Morisco. But they often learned they were wrong about this. Thus, for example, Ambrosio Pablo de Aguilar, a *buñolero* in Seville, was arrested in the street by lieutenant governor (*teniente del asistente*) Doctor Piñeda de Tapia, who was initially persuaded he was a Morisco because he was from Granada, spoke Arabic and was associated with Moriscos, was reputed to be a Morisco, and was a *buñolero*. Knowing he had no permission to live in Seville, Doctor Piñeda arrested

him, but when Ambrosio de Aguilar proved with respected witnesses that he was really a descendant of *cristianos viejos de moro,* the doctor reversed his stand, declaring him to be an Old Christian and releasing him.[18] This case is especially revealing since the same official who arrested him as a Morisco later admitted that legally, at least, he was entitled to the status of Old Christian.

Rather than a fixed, essential category, "Morisco" turns out to be a fairly fluid one, for it was at the center of a *process* that had been under way for decades, whereby some of those with Moorish cultural affinities were able to integrate into Castilian society, while others did not wish to, or, more likely, did not have sufficient access to wealth and power to be able to. Certainly most of those who brought these lawsuits belonged to a higher socioeconomic level than the average Morisco. They generally signed their names and it is clear that they knew how to use the legal bureaucracy to defend their interests. As this process advanced, then, more and more members of what we might consider a Morisco middle class—artisans, yes, but also doctors, lawyers, and merchants—succeeded in having their names stricken from the lists of Moriscos. Those who were left behind—the vast majority, certainly—constituted the marginalized, alienated group whose unassimilabilty is taken as a given by both anti-Morisco polemicists in the sixteenth century and many historians today. Quite possibly this separating out of a subset of privileged members of the minority who would be allowed to stay was part of the process that led to the eventual expulsion of those who could not get rid of the label.

The title "Disappearing Moriscos" refers to the fact that successful defense of their claims means that the plaintiffs in these cases disappear from subsequent documents qua Moriscos. Work on Moriscos generally relies on the notation, in just about every type of document, that the subject is a Morisco. This is true of baptismal records and marriages, where "cristiano nuevo de moro" or some variant thereof is usually written in the margin; and it is true of notary documents as well, where "morisco," "cristiano nuevo," or "natural del Reino de Granada" generally follows the name. When Moriscos serve as witnesses in a trial or lawsuit, this is noted after the name and usually in the margin as well, and is often used by the other side to discredit the witness. Lists of Morisco residents are kept by local and ecclesiastical authorities. Once an individual won his suit over being classified as a Morisco, he would insistent adamantly that such notations not be made and that his name not be included on any such roster. Given

that fairly large numbers of people, at least a few thousand of the most prosperous members of this group, were able to reclassify themselves, the Morisco question has to be reinterpreted in a way that takes into account the complex social and cultural interaction back and forth across this divide. Moriscos are not simply the passive victims of an intolerant, ultra-Catholic society, nor are armed resistance and clandestine subversion the only pathways open to them. Morisco studies need to take into account the various options specific individuals had and how they acted to achieve the highest status they could given the range of possibilities available to them. Rather than essentializing resistance to the dominant culture as the only "authentic" choice and stigmatizing efforts to integrate as "collaborationist," we need to consider the various strategies subjects employed as a function of their circumstances. Here the role of the central authority in creating channels for these strategies and adjudicating claims is crucial, and in many respects it is not all that different from how the Hapsburg monarchy dealt with other groups, from the aristocracy itself down to the wealthy landowners who wished to acquire titles of nobility and the descendants of conversos who had to find a way around the purity of blood statutes.[19] Indeed, in this regard it is worth noting that in about a dozen cases the plaintiffs requested documents be sought from the royal archive at Simancas to prove the validity of their claims, just as aristocrats at the highest level were doing at this time.[20]

To a significant degree, then, these individuals are interested in integrating into Castilian society, adopting, at least publicly, the language, religion, and cultural values of the dominant group. But we should not assume the dividing line between those who successfully distanced themselves from the label "Morisco" and those who did not clearly marks to degrees of assimilation to Castilian Christian culture. Consider the case of Lorenzo and Melchor de Berrio, prominent merchants and leaders of the Morisco community. As late as 1593 they were actively negotiating the return to Granada of a few thousand Morisco families—among those who were, they insisted, loyal to the crown (like themselves).[21] Yet when they were about to receive the Council's official confirmation of their status as descendants of *cristianos viejos de moros,* the final background check turned up the fact that a son of Lorenzo's was wanted by the Inquisition for teaching the Qur'an in a basement in the town of Baeza.[22] Here we can clearly see that the strategies of resistance and integration are not mutually exclusive, and some families or individuals were engaging in both simultaneously.

Though varied in background, culture, and socioeconomic level, the plaintiffs in these cases share one common feature: the ambiguity of their status. They straddled the line separating Moriscos and Old Christians, and thus presented the state with a conundrum, since these proto-racial categories corresponded to differing sets of rights and privileges. Though most of them would have been considered Moriscos by their neighbors because of their customs, social relations, and their noticeable accent when they spoke Castilian Spanish, they had a toehold on another and better status. Generation after generation, year after year, they tenaciously fought legal battles to hold onto it, the last of which came with the expulsion itself. For the most part, they could not be expelled, to the great frustration of the Count of Salazar, charged by the Crown with ensuring that Spain was thoroughly "cleansed" of Moriscos.[23] After 1614, the line they had straddled for so long was erased. It may well be above all the fact of this elimination that has obscured for so long the importance of this episode for the history of modern racism, and especially for understanding the history of the state's role in regulating cultural identity through racial formation.[24] No longer needed, the bureaucratic apparatus created to control a population of several hundred thousand people, maintaining records of their genealogies over three generations, was dismantled. In the process, the much smaller number who successfully negotiated their transition into the mainstream disappeared from the stage of history.

NOTES

1. The bibliography on the Moriscos is much too vast to attempt even a cursory treatment here. The best single-volume introduction remains Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Alianza, 1978). In English, Matthew Carr, *Blood and Faith. The Purging of Muslim Spain* (London: Hurst & Co., 2009) is a readable, recent treatment, aimed at a broad audience yet well-researched, and timed to coincide with the centenary of the expulsion.
2. Recent examples come from two of the most prominent scholars working on Morisco topics, L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain 1500–1614* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2005) and Bernard Vincent, *El río morisco* (Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2006). Harvey explicitly takes the view throughout that all but a very few Moriscos were crypto-Muslims. Vincent goes so far as to define

"Moriscos" as "individuals who have received baptism (and are therefore officially Christians), but who are Muslims at heart" (155, my translation). I make no claim here to know anything about what is in Moriscos' hearts.

3. The most important of these are Amalaia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte en la Granada del siglo XVI: Los moriscos que quisieron salvarse* (2 vols. Granada: El legado andalusí, 2003); Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Mediano, "Médico, traductor, inventor: Miguel de Luna, Cristiano arábigo de Granada," *Chronica nova: Revista de historia moderna de la Universidad de Granada*, 36 (2006): 187–231; and Trevor Dadson, *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos (siglos XV-XVIII). Historia de una minoría asimilada, expulsada y reintegrada* (Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt: Vervuert, 2007). All three of these studies share an interest in Moriscos who successfully assimilated to the dominant culture, at times at an elevated socioeconomic level.
4. Historians have not ignored such lawsuits entirely. They are mentioned at least in passing in a number of studies, especially recent ones. See, for example, Mercedes García Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español. Los moriscos y el Sacromonte en tiempos de Contrarreforma* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2010), 76–79; Manuel F. Fernández Chaves and Rafael M. Pérez, *En los márgenes de la ciudad de Dios. Moriscos en Sevilla* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2009), 333–35; and Francisco J. Moreno Díaz, *Los moriscos de la Mancha. Sociedad, economía y modos de vida de una minoría en la Castilla moderna* (Madrid: CSIC, 2009), 311–20. Greater attention has been focused on those who claimed exemption from the 1609–1614 expulsion on the grounds that they were not Moriscos, but the documentation of those cases is mostly indirect. See Fernández Chaves and Pérez, En los márgenes, 431–39 and, in particular, two forthcoming studies by Manuel Lomas Cortés, "La deportación morisca cordobesa desde una nueva perspectiva," in Enrique Soria Mesa and Santiago Otero Mondéjar, eds., *Los moriscos, entre dos expulsiones (1570–1609)* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, in press) and *El proceso de expulsión de los moriscos de España, 1609–1614* (Valencia: Universitat de València, in press).
5. Concerning the 1567 decree and the response to it, see both Keith Garrad's edition of "The original Memorial of Don Francisco Nuñez Muley," *Atlante* 2 (1954): 168–226, and Barbara Fuchs, "Virtual Spaniards," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 2 (2001): 13–26. The most recent treatment of the war is Carroll Johnson's "From Troy to Granada: The Alpujarras War and Its Effects," Ch. 2 of his posthumous *Transliterating a Culture: Cervantes and the Moriscos,* Mark Groundland, ed. (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 2009), 83–172.

6. Bernard Vincent, "La expulsión de los moriscos del Reino de Granada y su reparto en Castilla," in his *Andalucía en la Edad Moderna, Economía y Sociedad* (Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1985), 215–66.
7. Philip II, "Pragmática de octubre 1572," Libro Octavo, título II, ley xix of the *Nueva recopilación de las leyes del reino* (Madrid, 1640; facsímile edition, Valladolid: Lex Nova, 1982) folios 295–98. A helpful overview of this legislation and its impact can be found in Francisco J. Moreno Díaz, *Moriscos de La Mancha,* 277–339.
8. See, for example, the *memoriales* and reports in AGS Cámara de Castilla, legajo 2186.
9. Bernard Vincent, "Los moriscos que permanecieron en el Reino de Granada después de 1570" in his *Andalucía en la Edad Moderna, Economía y Sociedad* (Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1985), 267–86.
10. Philip II, "Provisión real," September 3, 1585. AGS Cámara de Castilla, Cédulas, libro 262, folios 250–51.
11. Philip II, "Provisión real," January 24, 1596. AGS Cámara de Castilla, Cédulas, libro 265, folio 3.
12. This essay reports on my ongoing reconstruction of this documentation. When the Council on Population acquired the jurisdiction, all those claiming not to be Moriscos had to submit their papers for review. One document in Simancas is a registry of some 786 such cases that were received, but part of this book is missing, and it covers only the first four and a half years (AGS Cámara de Castilla, Libro 263). The Council's *libros de cédulas* (registries of all actions taken requiring the royal seal) contain records of the various legal stages through which each case passed (AGS Cámara de Castilla, Cédulas, libros 258, 264, and 265). Cases that met with final approval were *returned to the claimant,* with an official statement that the Council ratified the original favorable sentence. Some 300 lawsuits are preserved among the papers of the Council (AGS Cámara de Castilla, legajos 2103, 2202–05, 2209, 2210, and 2212–14). These are actually the ones that were not, for whatever reason, returned to their original owners by January 1596, when the Council was disbanded, and jurisdiction over the issue returned to local courts.
13. The definition of "cristiano viejo de moro" as referring only to those who converted prior to January 1492, was clarified by royal decree of Charles I in 1526 (*Nueva recopilación,* libro octavo, titulo II, ley ix, folio 292v). Manuel Barrios Aguilera discusses this group briefly in *Granada morisca, la convivencia negada* (Granada: Comares, 2002), p. 138, where he acknowledges that the number who legitimately attained this status is unknown.
14. I treat these two cases in my forthcoming essay in *Hispanic Review* titled, "Ginés Pérez de Hita and the Pleitos de Cristiano Viejo."

15. For more on the stigma associated with Granada as a place of origin, see my essay "'Granada': Race and Place in Early Modern Spain" in the forthcoming *Hispanic Issues* volume *Spectatorship and Topophilia,* David R. Castillo and Bradley Nelson, eds. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, in press).
16. Diego de Medina, for example, was born in Medina del Campo, but went to live in Granada as a young man. He married the daughter of the wealthy landowner whose goats he herded. Witnesses declare that when asked why he, an Old Christian, would marry a Morisca, he responded, "because she was rich and they rewarded me with much wealth" (AGS Cámara de Castilla, leg. 2214, my translation).
17. AGS Cámara de Castilla, legajo 2213. The priest in this case is named Luis de Ledesma Chaves and his son is Cristobal de Chaves, of Comares (Málaga). The mother is a Morisca widow.
18. AGS Camara de Castilla, legajo 2209.
19. Enrique Soria Mesa discusses all of these uses of genealogies both authentic and fraudulent in *La nobleza en la España moderna. Cambio y continuidad* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2007).
20. For an analysis of the role of the archive at Simancas in the legal wrangling over status of the aristocracy, see José Luis Rodríguez de Diego, "Un archivo no sólo para el rey. Significado social del proyecto simanquino en el siglo XVI," in J. Martínez Millán, Dir. *Felipe II (1527–1598). Europa y la monarquía católica,* Vol. 4 (Madrid: Parteluz, 1998), 463–76. I thank Isabel Aguirre for this reference.
21. Much of legajo 53305 in the Consejos section of the Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN) concerns this negotiation process, which the Crown took quite seriously, though it came to nothing in the end. This bundle of papers clearly belonged to the Consejo de Población; it remained in Madrid when other papers were sent to Simancas, apparently because it was still active when the Consejo was disbanded in 1596. Other documents relating to the Morisco question are surely preserved in this section, lost among thousands of unidentified bundles.
22. AGS, Cámara de Castilla, libro 264 folio 54.
23. Henri Lapeyre cites the relevant letters in his narrative of the final stages of the expulsion in *Geografía de la España morisca,* trans. Luis C. Rodríguez García (Valencia: Diputació Provincial de València, 1986), 217–23, 226–27, 230–31, and 244.
24. The concept of racial formation was developed by Michael Omi and Howard Winant. They introduce it and also discuss the state's role in the process in Part Two of *Racial Formation in the United States* (2nd edition, New York and London: Routledge, 1994), 53–91. Most scholars working on Moriscos have avoided discussion of the applicability of the terms "race" and "racisim," but recently this has begun to change. George M. Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton,

NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 34–41, discusses early modern Spain as "critical to the history of Western racism . . . a kind of segue between the religious intolerance of the Middle Ages and the naturalistic racism of the modern era," 40. Rodrigo de Zayas, *Los moriscos y el racismo del estado* (Córdoba: Almuzara, 2007) refers to the Hapsburg administration's Morisco policy as "racismo del estado," and José María Perceval, *Todos son uno. Arquetipos, xenophobia y racism. La imagen del Morisco en la Monarquía Española durante los siglos XVI y XVII* (Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1997), also speaks unhesitatingly of "racism" where the representation of the Moriscos is concerned.

Part II

Missionaries as Cultural Brokers

Chapter 4

Adapting Language to Culture: Translation Projects of the Jesuit Missions in Japan and China

William J. Farge

Japan

Francis Xavier (1506–1552) was one of the first Europeans to encounter the difficulties of adapting European religious terminology and translating it into the language and culture of Asia. Shortly after his arrival near Kagoshima, Japan, in 1549, Xavier was shown a representation of the Buddhist bodhisattva *Dainichi.* It was explained to him that *Dainichi* had no material human body but was a trinity of heads, each of which had a particular function. *Dainichi,* or Vairocana, was the universal aspect of the historical Gautama Buddha and the embodiment of the Buddhist concept of *shunyata* or Emptiness. Xavier began to use this Sino-Japanese Buddhist term, *Dainichi,* to refer to the Christian concept of God.

Buddhist monks of the Shingon sect, which used the same term to designate the source of all things, welcomed Xavier during the initial stages of his preaching in Japan because he used the word *Dainichi* for the Christian God. Xavier preached *Dainichi* as the creator of all things, the ultimate goal of the immortal soul, the pure Substance having neither form nor accident.

It was not long before Xavier realized that *Dainichi,* which was at the center of Shingon Buddhist belief, was not a personal deity at all, but seemed closer to what contemporary Western philosophers might have called *material prima,* or matter without form.

Before he became familiar with the popular and religious nuances of the word, Xavier had gone through the streets with his translator, shouting "Pray to *Dainichi*!" (Dainichi no ogami are). After realizing his mistake and concluding that he had possibly been tricked by the devil, he returned to the streets, saying: "Do not pray to *Dainichi*! (Dainichi no ogami naso)."[1]

Xavier sought to settle this language difficulty once and for all by preparing a text that he completed with the help of his translator, Anjiro, written in both Latin and Japanese characters. Although the text itself has been lost, it is known from other sources that the Sino-Japanese term *Tenshu* (Lord of Heaven) was chosen to designate the concept of "God." This term remained in use until early in the seventeenth century, when Japanized forms of the Latin *Deus, Deusu,* and *Daiusu* were introduced. Maintaining the Latin form for the word "God" brought its own problems, however. *Deus* (or the Spanish *Dios*) and the Japanese transliterations sounded to the Japanese very much like their own word, *Dai uso,* which means "the great lie." Indeed, for many decades thereafter, Buddhists would mock Christians by calling their God *Dai uso*.[2]

Other Buddhist terms used in Japan during the early years were *jōdo* (paradise), *jigoku* (hell), and *tennin* (angel). By using such vocabulary, the Jesuits in Japan ran the risk of being considered propagators of one of the many Buddhist sects, and there is evidence to show that at least some neophytes left the Church, believing that they had been deceived, since they had thought that in accepting Christianity they were adopting a religion that was in harmony with the teachings of the Buddha and bodhisattvas.[3] It was to combat this mistaken impression that the Jesuits after Xavier decided to employ traditional Latin or Portuguese terms to express Christian concepts. Various transliterated terms, such as *Trinidade, anima, sacramento, persona,* and *eucarisuchia* were used.[4]

João Rodrigues, S. J. (1561–1633), who traveled to Japan when he was 14 years of age, joined the Jesuits, and became a fluent speaker of Japanese. He explains in his *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam* (1604–1608):

> Because the Japanese language lacks some words to express many new things which the Holy Gospel contains, it is necessary either to invent some new

ones, or to take them from our own language, corrupting these words so that they sound better according to Japanese pronunciation.[5]

In the opinion of Michael Cooper, a scholar of Japanese Christian history: "This transliteration of religious terminology left a good deal to be desired, for in the eyes of many Japanese it served only to accentuate the foreign origin of Christianity."[6] However, the advantage of using transliterated terms to define articles of faith was that Christian teachings could not be mistaken for Buddhist concepts. In addition, transliterations played a significant role in making Japanese Christians more mindful of the uniqueness of their Christian beliefs and contributed to keeping the Christians more aware of the object of their loyalty and devotion during the later years of persecution. If there had been only Christian terms that had come from Japanese Buddhism, the Christian faith in Japan would probably have died out rather quickly, rather than lasting through over 250 years of persecution.

In a letter written in 1616, João Rodrigues expressed the importance of teaching "the more certain opinion of the sacred doctors" to Japanese converts who would have no preconceived or erroneous ideas about the meaning of the new transliterations after they are explained.[7] Cooper writes: "It was really the case of choosing the lesser of two evils by introducing foreign but exact terms, rather than adapting existing Japanese vocabulary and running the risk of converts subconsciously clinging to the original Buddhist inspired meaning."[8]

The translation of European books into religious treatises suitable for the Japanese had begun in earnest in 1590, as soon as Valignano arrived with a printing press. The Jesuits of the Japanese mission press from that point on struggled to determine just how far they could go in altering the language of Catholic doctrine and devotion in order to accommodate Christian beliefs to Japanese culture. The mission press published a catechism, legends of the saints, manuals of Christian devotion, and numerous other works. Three works stand out as being of particularly high literary quality. There were two translations of the spiritual work attributed to Thomas à Kempis (1380–1471), *De Imitatione Christi* (On the imitation of Christ, 1441). A virtually complete translation was published in roman letters at Amakusa in 1596 under the title *Contemptvs mundi jenbu* (Contempt of the world, complete). Fourteen years later, in 1610, an abridged translation, *Kontemutsusu munji,* was printed in Japanese syllabary characters *(hiragana)* in Kyoto by the Catholic layman Antonio Harada.

A translation of Luis de Granada's (1504–1588) manual of devotion, *Guía de Pecadores* (The sinner's guide, 1567) was prepared for publication at Nagasaki in 1599–1600 and printed under the title *Giya do pekadoru.*

These three works demonstrate a mastery of Japanese literary style and translation technique as well as the Jesuit mission's desire to adapt Catholic doctrine to Japanese culture. Between the years 1596 and 1610, the translation methods of the mission press show an increasing flexibility and growing willingness to adapt and change the original works. *Contemptvs mundi jenbu, Kontemutsusu munji,* and *Giya do pekadoru* have been called the best pieces of any religious literature in Japan, either Christian or non-Christian.[9] That evaluation is based on their literary merit and on their successful adaptation to the Japanese linguistic idiom.

The Jesuits accommodated their translations to Japanese ways of thought and expression by adapting Japanese Buddhist terminology, striving not to render doctrinal content ambiguous. Valignano's policy of linguistic adaptation came directly out of the experience of Francis Xavier (1506–1552).

In the Japanese translation of *De Imitatione Christi,* for example, the word for God was transliterated into a Latin term pronounced *deusu.* The Latin word *Deus* was not actually used in the printed text. It was rather a large stylized "D," followed by a small superscript "s" (D^s) that was used. In the same way, a stylized character formed from the Greek letters *iota, chi,* and *theta,* the first three letters of the acrostic IXΘYΣ, meaning "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior" was used (Jx) and meant to be read "zezu kirishito" (Jesu Christo).

The title of Book I, Chapter 10 of the original *De Imitatione Christi,* is "On acquiring peace and zeal for [spiritual] progress" *(De pace acquirenda et zelo proficiendi* [Imitatione i:10, p. 18]).[10] The Japanese translation of this title is rendered as: "On seeking peace and earnestly striving to go ahead on the way of goodness" (*Buji o motomu beki koto narabi ni zen no michi ni saki e yuku nageki no koto* [1610:215]). The translation of the word for "progress" is the Japanese phrase *zen no michi* (the way of goodness). This expression, which appears often throughout the text, is Confucian in origin but was in general use in the Buddhist sermons and Japanese literature of the period. The collection of Buddhist sermons titled *Tsuma kagami* (The mirror of a wife, 1300), for example, uses the term *zen no michi* quite often.[11] Not unlike *De Imitatione Christi,* this work stresses the impermanence of the world and laments the scarcity of truly virtuous people. In the translation of the chapter title the phrase *zen no*

michi gives to the abstract Latin word "progress" (*proficiendi*) both a more concrete and familiar meaning to the Japanese reader and also a literary nuance that would have been appreciated by the educated Japanese. Comparisons with religious and secular literature of the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1568–1600) and later show that both the content and structure of the Japanese translation of *De Imitatione Christi* was successfully adapted to the Japanese linguistic culture of the period.

The collection of Buddhist homilies for the layman, which has been given the title *Kana* hōgo (vernacular sermons), were lessons on virtue written in the standard Japanese of the day, in contrast to the formal sermons composed in Chinese. In particular, the *wasan* (Japanese translations of Chinese Buddhist hymns of praise) in these sermons mirror the prose style of the Japanese translation of *De Imitatione Christi*. The exhortation to asceticism in this transitory world in *Kana hōgo* echoes the calls to penance and devotion in *De Imitatione Christi*. The following *wasan,* for example, reminds the reader of themes in both Japanese and European Christian literature:

> There is no difference between the lowly and the exalted; nor between the rich and the poor [because] no one can escape death and suffering. Is not this life like the dew? We ought to rest on the jeweled pedestal [of Paradise].[12]

The author of *De Imitatione Christi* encourages the reader to reject disordered attachments to the world. The rationale behind this lesson is given in the first chapter of Book II:

> Amator Iesu et *veritatis,* et verus internus et liber *ab affectionibus inordinatis*: potest se ad Deum libere convertere, et *elevare supra se ipsum in spiritu* ac fruitive quiescere
>
> [*Imitatione* ii. 1, pp. 61–62]

> (The lover of Jesus and of the truth, who is genuine, deep, and free from inordinate affections, is able to freely turn himself over to God, to rise above himself in spirit, and to rest joyfully).

A comparison of the Japanese translations of this passage done in 1596 and 1610 show that the terminology of the translations is less abstract than that of the original Latin and more like the Buddhist *wasan*. The Japanese version drops such abstract words as *veritatis* and substitutes a phrase that means "the abandonment of delusion." "Liberation from earthly passions" is the Japanese translation for *ab affectionibus inordinatis* (free from inordinate affections). For *elevare supra se ipsum in*

spiritu (to rise above oneself in spirit), the Japanese translation substitutes "indulge in the sweetness of Deus." These adaptations have the effect of making the Japanese translation more concrete and more pleasing to the poetic sensibilities of the Japanese than the stark Latin would be even to a European.

Thus, the Japanese translation of the passage becomes:

The person who sincerely loves Jesus Christ, who abandons delusion and reaches freedom and liberation from earthly passions, will be able to meet *Deus* unhindered; and with his passion for goodness, he will be able to forget himself, raise his thoughts to heaven, rest in *Deus,* and indulge in [His] sweetness.

Ieſu Chriſtouo xinjitni vomoi tatematçuri, mŏxŭvuo fanarete jiyŭ *guedatni* itaritaru monoua ſamatague naqu Deusni bugiacu xitatematçuri, jenno moyouoxini yotte vareto miuo vaſure, nenriouo tenni tçŭji, canmini tonjite Deusni cutçurogui tatematçuru coto canŏbexi.
[1596:93–94]

In particular, the substitution of the familiar Buddhist expression *gedat* (liberation from earthly passions) for the rather vague *affectionibus inordinatis* (inordinate affections) not only makes the passage more meaningful and understandable for the Japanese reader but gives it more vitality.

The second translation of *The Imitation of Christ,* done in 1610, uses the Buddhist word *zenshin,* a term that is synonymous with *bodaishin,* which means the Buddhist devotee's aspiration for Buddhahood. This term, *zenshin,* denotes a pure and merciful heart that sets out on the way of the Buddha. Its inclusion in the text would remind the Japanese reader of the familiar Buddhist concept of the longing to leave the world and escape the cycle of rebirth. The phrase would add to the appeal of the translation for the Japanese reader.

Jx o shinjitsu ni omoitatematsuri, midari naru shûjaku o hanare, jiyû ni D^{s} e omomuki tatematsuru mono wa *zenshin* ni moyôsarete, waga mi o wasure, kokoro o ten ni tsûji, D^{s} ni kutsurogi tanoshibi tatematsuru koto kanaubeshi
[1610:269]

(The person who sincerely loves Jesus Christ, who abandons immoral attachments, and who freely directs himself to God will be able to arouse his heart, forget himself and raise his heart to heaven, and enjoyably rest in God).

In other passages the Buddhist expression *bodaixinno vōquinaru* (*bodaishin no ookinaru,* great aspirations for salvation) is the

translation for the Latin word *devotio* (devotion). The term *bodaishin* would have been immediately recognized and understood by a Japanese reader, as referring to the desire for Buddhahood.

Some of the most commonly used Buddhist terms were *naishô* (will, truth), *jiriki* (salvation by one's own power), *tariki* (salvation from another), *kudoku* (virtue, merit), *shikishin* (the physical body), *funbetsu* (discrimination, perception), *zange* (to confess), and *kahō* (happiness).

The use of Buddhist terms does not indicate that the Jesuits in Japan were attempting to engage in an interreligious dialogue or were trying to develop some sort of religious syncretism in literature. The use of Buddhist terminology simply shows that the vast majority of Japanese words that were used to express religious concepts were of Buddhist origin. The translators were in no way trying to reconcile Christianity and Buddhism or accommodate their teaching to Buddhist philosophy or doctrine.

In addition to the native Japanese literary and Buddhist terms that were used, there was a wide selection of Portuguese borrowed terms followed by their Japanese equivalents in both translations of *De Imitatione Christi*. Thus, the Japanese reader or convert who was not familiar with the foreign transliterations could have learned the meaning of these words from the context. The purpose of these transliterations was to emphasize the fact that Christianity was not an alternative Buddhist sect and also to preserve Christian teachings from error or misinterpretation.

The care that the 1610 translator took to show the meaning of foreign transliterated words and expressions had not always been a priority for the 1596 translator. Notice, for example, the two translations of the following Latin:

Quare quidam sanctorum tam perfecti et contemplativi fuerunt?
[*Imitatione* i:11, p. 18]

(How were some of the saints able to become so perfect and contemplative?).

The Japanese term *kontenpurasan* (contemplation) [1610:216] from the Portuguese *contemplação* is explained by the use of an appositive in the Japanese translation of 1610: *kontenpurasan to iu fukaki kannen ni itaritamaishi koto* (contemplation, which means arriving at a state of deep *kannen* (i.e., meditation) [1610:216]). In Buddhist terminology *kannen* refers to the repetition of the sacred name of Amitabha Buddha, until one reaches the state of meditative contemplation. Thus, the loanword *kontenpurasan* is defined with an appositive that

includes a religious term familiar to Japanese readers, but the inclusion of the word *fukaki* (deep) implies that contemplation is more than simple a repetition of the name of the Buddha.

The editor of the 1596 version had also used the expression "to reach deep meditation" (*fucaqi quannenni itari tamaixi coto* [1596:26]); but he chose to omit the foreign term *kontenpurasan* altogether rather than explain it with an appositive. The earlier translation also used *Deusuno voncotouo agiuai* (*Deusu no onkoto o ajiwai,* to savor the things of God [1596:27]) to translate the word *contemplatio,* and the loanword *kontenpurasan* is again omitted. Thus, the difference between Buddhist and Christian meditation was not emphasized. These examples clearly refute the assertion by some Western scholars that transliterated religious terms in the Japanese translations done by the Jesuits in Japan remained unexplained in the text.

An indication that the Jesuits felt somewhat constrained in their use of native vocabulary can be seen in the enormous number of loanwords of European origin that were incorporated into the Japanese texts. The skill of the translators is evident in the creative use of Japanese and Buddhist terms for Western religious concepts; however, for the most part they were compelled to use words of European origin.

China

The situation in China was very different. The Chinese were not as enthusiastic about the arrival of Europeans in China as had been the case in Japan. Chinese scholars were far less receptive to European thought, were not interested in the outside world, and held fast to the perception of their own unique greatness.[13] Understandably then the missionaries in China had a strong case to support their policy of having to use only indigenous terms and avoid the use of foreign or transliterated words to express Christian ideas.

The Confucian terms that Matteo Ricci, S. J. (1552–1610) and his colleagues employed in their writings were not as sharply defined as the Japanese Buddhist terms the Jesuits used in Japan. In China rival philosophical schools assigned to identical terms different shades of meaning in accordance with their own beliefs. Thus, while it is true that the term T'ien-chu (Lord of Heaven), for example, was interpreted by some schools to designate a pantheistic deity; the same term was also used by other schools to refer to a transcendent, personal, omnipotent deity.

Doubts about Ricci's method of using Chinese terms to translate Christian concepts arose early among European Jesuits in Asia. Francisco Pasio (1554–1612), successor of Alessandro Valignano as official Jesuit visitor of Japan and China, ordered an investigation into the use of terminology in Christian texts in China. The investigation continued under his successors, Francisco Vieira (1555–1619) and João Rodrigues.[14]

In China, Matteo Ricci and his colleagues sought to reconcile Christianity with original Confucianism. While upholding the uniqueness of the Catholic faith, they also believed that they had found evidence of faith in the one, true God in the early use of the Chinese term *Shàngdì* (Lord on High). However, their hypothesis is complicated by the fact that there have long been disputes over the precise meaning of this term. In the Confucian writings the word *Di* or *Shàngdì* (上帝, literally "Above the Emperor") was an ancestral deity, believed to watch over society and to regulate the working of the universe.[15] However, the term was also used to refer to the ancestral line of the Chinese emperors and sometimes even to individual ancestors themselves. Rodrigues asserted that the word *Shangdi* by which the concept of God was expressed in Jesuit publications in China had been a poorly chosen term, and that it was actually the name of a Chinese deity and did not mean what a Christian would mean by "God" at all, but something else entirely.

According to Rodrigues, many of the Jesuits in China had an overly exalted opinion of the teachings of the ancient Chinese philosophers and thought that it was a mistake to believe that the Chinese ever knew the one true God or had held a doctrine concerning God that was similar in any important way to Catholic doctrine. In his 1616 letter to the general superior of the Society of Jesus, Fr. Claudio Aquaviva, S. J. (1543–1615), Rodrigues claims that Ricci is mistaken if he thinks that belief in God can be found in the writings of the ancient Chinese philosophers:

> [O]ur Fathers here [in China] know almost nothing about Chinese speculative philosophy, but only about the civil, popular, and fabulous doctrines, for there is no one to explain it to them. Fr. Ricci himself worked a great deal in this field and did what he could, but for reasons which only our Lord knows, he was mistaken on this point.[16]

Rodrigues believed that all three religious sects of China (Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism) were totally atheistic because they denied divine providence and claimed that matter is eternal.[17]

From Macao, Rodrigues again wrote to the Jesuit general about his own activities on the mainland:

> I would like to give you an account of some things concerning the mission of China, where I was for two whole years from June 1613 to July 1615 on the special commission of Fr. Francisco Pasio, the Visitor, to investigate the teachings of these [Chinese] sects of philosophers who have been in this Orient since ancient times, for these run contrary to our holy Faith in essential matters.[18]

In spite of his criticism of Ricci goals and his use of terminology, Rodrigues shows great respect and esteem for Matteo Ricci as a person. Ricci had died in 1610, two years before Rodrigues arrived in Canton in 1612. In his letter of 1616 he singles Ricci out for special praise, writing: "... throughout the whole of China [Ricci] is regarded as a saint, as indeed he was, both in life and in death."[19] Rodrigues seems unwilling to blame Ricci personally for what he sees as errors in his use of Chinese terms to translate Christian concepts and points out that the intention of Ricci and his colleagues to accommodate themselves as much as possible to the Chinese way of thought was due to the fact that they knew that the Chinese had a repugnance to foreign ideas.

Though he sympathized with Ricci's motivation and understood his intention, Rodrigues was a determined opponent of the assimilation of Chinese words to express Christian concepts. His clear and strong opinions were no doubt due in great part to his remarkable ability as a linguist. It was as a linguist that Rodrigues consulted with prominent Chinese Christian scholars on the use of terminology, though of course this had to be done through interpreters since he did not know Chinese. The Italian Jesuit Sabatino de Ursis (1575–1620) acted as interpreter when Rodrigues met with Li Chih-tsao (Lǐ Zhīzǎo (李之藻, 1565–1630). Li had worked closely with Ricci, was baptized by him in 1610, and became an important Christian thinker and writer.

Rodrigues also discussed the issue of translation with Hsü Kuang-ch'i (Xǔ Guāngqǐ, 徐光启, 1562–1633), a scholar who had received the highest level in the civil-service examination in 1604 and had also studied with Ricci. Yang Tingyun (1562–1627, Yáng Tíngyún 楊廷筠) was the third of the so-called three Pillars of Chinese Catholicism with whom Rodrigues consulted on the question of terminology.

These three were the men who had polished the Chinese style of Christian books published by the Jesuits in China; but, in Rodrigues'

opinion, all three had an imperfect grasp of Christian doctrine and tried too hard to accommodate the Christian message to the teachings of the Confucian literati.

Admittedly, Matteo Ricci's strategy of "cultural assimilation" involved assiduous study of the Chinese language and Chinese philosophy, religion, literature, and customs, but his colleagues went too far in some of their inventive strategies of accommodation. Yang Tingyun, in particular, was overly enthusiastic about this sort of accommodation. He compared, for example, the "virgin birth" of Jesus to the births of Laozi (Lao-Tzu) and the historical Buddha.[20] The Jesuit Giulio Aleni (1582–1649) attempted to equate the "city gods" (*cheng-huang,* 城隍) with guardian angels.[21] The "city gods" ward off disasters and catastrophes and protect the inhabitants of cities under their care. In periods of drought, they provide rain and also guide the souls of the departed to Heaven. However, they were also thought to be spirits of deceased officials.

In his book, *Yang Tingyun, Confucian and Christian in Late Ming China,* Nicolas Standaert writes that Yang Tingyun thought of the Jesuits in China as being "Western Confucians." Because of what Standaert calls "the separation between ethics and religion in China"[22] a Christian in China could be ethically Confucian and religiously Christian. After becoming a Catholic, Yang himself continued to practice Confucianism in his official and ethical life. The Jesuits in China had mixed feelings about Yang. Some praised him as "a pillar of the Chinese church." Others, however, thought he was not yet completely converted and still entertained confused notions about Christianity.[23]

Rodrigues had doubts about some of the Chinese scholars whom Ricci and the Jesuits in China had baptized and came to the conclusion that there were fundamental errors against the faith contained in Jesuit books due to the obscure or imprecise Chinese terms that were used. He learned that many of the terms had various meanings, all of which brought confusion to the teachings of faith.[24]

Rodrigues left a list of erroneous terms with Niccolò Longobardo, S. J. (1565–1654), the Jesuit superior of the China mission. As a result, Longobardo ordered various Christian books in Chinese, including a catechism written by Ricci, to be withdrawn from circulation and revised. After hearing Rodrigues' complaints about some of the terms, Longobardo and Francesco Sambiasi, S. J. (1582–1649) realized "the hidden poison" contained within the text of the books and reportedly agreed that such errors had to be rectified.

To translate the Christian terms "holy," "sacred," and "saint" the word *sheng* (聖) was used. As a noun it meant the prefect or ideal

person, but as an adjective it described the nature of a command or favor handed down by the Emperor. It was even used as an honorific for dynasties. Hence, for Rodrigues, it was not the equivalent of the Christian term "holy." The opposite of "saint" in the Christian context is "sinner," and the opposite of "holy" is "profane." But in China, where the emphasis is on moral self-cultivation with little or no reference to a deity, the opposite of *sheng* (holy, saint) is essentially "ignorance."[25]

Ironically, most of these Chinese religious terms were Buddhist and not Confucian in origin. But it was in Confucianism where Ricci and his supporters claimed to find theism. It is also ironic that Ricci wanted to accommodate Christianity for the Confucian traditionalists, but those scholars regarded the transmission of Confucian orthodoxy as of primary importance and were his fiercest opponents.

Rodrigues sided with the missionaries in China who were unfavorably disposed to Ricci's use of Chinese terms, but his position was not identical to theirs. Isabel Pina writes in her article titled "João Rodrigues Tçuzu and the Controversy over Christian Terminology in China"[26] that Rodrigues advocated uniform methods of translation in all the missions of East Asia and so advocated a substitution of words in Portuguese or Latin for the native words in China, if a suitable Chinese word could not be found. This is what had been done in Japan.[27]

As Rodrigues wrote,

> [T]his was [to be done] so that what, in one place is rejected as idolatry and superstition, is not sanctioned in another; as is, in truth, happening, which is scandalous in the eyes of the Christians and the cause of much mirth to the heathens.[28]

It is important to remember that actual Japanese Buddhist terms that were not transliterations were used in the translation of European religious literature in Japan. But unlike the intentions of the Jesuits in China, the primary goal of the Jesuits in Japan was not accommodation to a native belief or philosophy. It was rather the literary enhancement of the text itself. Native terms were used in such a way that they actually made the text more understandable to the Japanese without sacrificing theological accuracy, as happened in China.

A meeting to discuss the disagreements finally began in December 1627 in the city of Jiading, near Shanghai. In attendance was André Palmeiro, S. J. (1569–1635), the Visitor, who was worried that lack of agreement on the issue had gone on too long. At the end of the deliberations the terms *Shangdi* and *Tian,* which had been approved

by the Jesuits in Macao 24 years earlier (1603),[29] were proscribed; and the word *Tianzhu* (lit. Master of Heaven), a term adopted by Fr. Michele Ruggieri, S. J. (1543–1607) and still in use in China today, became the official designation for God.[30]

In a letter dated February 1633, six months before his death Rodrigues wrote that the Chinese Christians had finally seen the "errors that existed, and to avoid them even rejoice in using our words, instead of the doubtful ones."[31]

When Rodrigues died in 1633, the debate over Christian terminology had still not been resolved definitively, but Ricci's supporters increasingly gained ground, and Ricci's position finally ended up becoming the official stance of the Society of Jesus.

The historic dispute over terminology has greatly influenced the choice of language that is used by Catholics in Japan today. In 1993 the present archbishop of Osaka, Leo J. Ikenaga, S. J., expressed the 400-year-old frustration with the problems of translating Catholic terminology into Asian languages when he wrote: "Our liturgical and theological language may be Japanese, but it is not really the language of the people."[32] Today, mindful of past linguistic controversies, the Catholics of Japan are working to create a new translation of the liturgical prayers used at Mass. Their objective is to keep the language of the Mass both culturally sensitive and theologically correct.

Bishop Masahiro Umemura of Yokohama pointed out that non-Christian Japanese who attend church weddings or funerals sometimes conclude that Catholicism is a kind of cult or a Buddhist sect because indigenous Japanese words are used.

The Catholics of Japan continue to strive for a language that is both the language of 130 million Japanese and also a language that will so resonate within them as to bring them into direct encounter with the Christian faith.

Notes

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Chapter 5

Jesuits in the U.S. Southwest during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Agents and Chroniclers of Cross-Cultural Ministry and History

Eduardo C. Fernández

In October 1981, my home parish in West Texas, popularly known as the Ysleta Old Mission, celebrated both its three-hundredth anniversary and the hundredth anniversary of the coming of the Jesuits to the El Paso Valley. The result of Spanish settlements located downriver from what today is New Mexico along the Rio Grande, these missions were established by refugees from the Pueblo Indian Revolt of 1680 in Santa Fe. Thanks to the Spanish mission, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe in El Paso del Norte, today known as Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, Mexico, these Spanish refugees who brought some of the Pueblo Indians with them, notably Tiguas, were able to survive in the arid desert terrain. The Franciscan Order staffed them for close to 200 years (to 1852), returning again to staff some of them in recent times.[1]

Writing in *Revista Maryknoll* in March of 1982, historian Moises Sandoval, referring to Willa Cather's novel, *Death Comes for the*

Archbishop, based on Archbishop Jean Baptiste Lamy of Santa Fe, lamented the Archbishop's condescending attitude toward the faithful he found in New Mexico. As the novel states, "The faith, in this savage frontier, is like a buried treasure; they guard it but they do not know how to use it to save souls. A word, a prayer, a service, is all that is needed to free those souls from that captivity . . . I want to be the person who restores those lost people to God." Sandoval reacts vehemently: "Such egoism has been the cross which Hispanic and indigenous peoples—as well as others where missionaries work—have long had to bear. In light of this blindness to the reality that the word of God had already been indelibly written into the history of these peoples' cultures, their religiosity has not been valued or their vocations been promoted until recently."[2]

As someone from that cultural world, and now a Mexican American Jesuit priest, I find myself wanting to revisit that history. Were the missionaries, in fact, so blind to the faith of the people of these territories? In the case of the early evangelization of the different indigenous Pueblo peoples, it is not fair to judge their lack of appreciation of indigenous religion and culture by our current standards, for they were clearly marked by the thinking of their times, one articulated by a 1936 marker in front of the Ysleta Mission, which has since been removed: "[the mission] was founded . . . for the *civilizing* and Christianizing of the Tiguas Indians, Pueblo revolt refugees."[3]

Our approach to history today, one that strives to avoid the "top-down" perspective that often ignored the role of ordinary people in shaping it, as well as mutuality between cultures, acknowledging that they are much more porous than we ever imagined, is much more cross-cultural. Gerald McKevitt's recent book, *Brokers of Culture: Italian Jesuits in the American West, 1848–1919* provides a remarkably apt background for understanding how missionaries not only help shape their environment but are also shaped by it.[4] His image of them as brokers of culture coincides with current missiological thinking, one in which the missionary strives to become, as much as possible, at least bicultural:

> The bicultural community is where two worlds meet. It is made up of people who retain ties to their original cultures, but who meet and exchange ideas. Such people are "cultural brokers." Like money changers who trade dollars for yen or rupees, they are essential to the communication between two cultural worlds. Missionaries are such brokers. Although they do not trade in money or political power, they do bring the gospel from one culture to

another. Moreover, they negotiate between their churches at home and the new churches they serve.[5]

While an exploration of the early evangelization by the Franciscans of these territories is a topic worth pursuing, the historical period covered in this chapter is significantly later and involves another set of actors, the Jesuits who came to the U.S. Southwest in the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries. While many of them were Italian and therefore constitute the bulk of McKevitt's insightful study, this treatment is more modest in its attempt in that it not only limits itself to the Southwest but also includes the work of Jesuits from other countries, such as the Mexicans who arrived later.[6] After an initial introduction, this chapter explores their ministries in three areas: (1) evangelization, church leadership, and education; (2) social services and advocacy work, and (3) historical documentation. It was within these very works that significant cultural exchanges took place. After all, within this period and in this southwestern region, a predominantly French clergy was gradually being replaced by an Italian and American one as the territory became more assimilated into the rest of the United States after 1848. Furthermore, the Mexican Revolution of 1910, as well as the persecution of the Church, brought a whole new set of challenges.

The Arrival of the Jesuits in Mexico

We know from his 1556 instructions to his delegates in Spain that St. Ignatius, the founder of the Society of Jesus, desired that Jesuits be sent to Mexico "whether they were requested or not[!]."[7] It was not until 1572, however, about 16 years after Ignatius' death, that St. Francis Borgia, the third general of the Jesuits, at the request of the then King of Spain, Phillip II, sent 15 Jesuits; the group consisted of eight priests, four brothers, and three scholastics studying theology. The new province covered an incredible territory, some of which, especially in terms of the vast lands to the north, remained unexplored by the Spanish. It included present-day Cuba, some parts of the U.S. Southwest, and all of what today is Mexico and Central America, and, as if that wasn't enough, up until 1605, it also stretched to the Philippines![8]

The recently founded Society of Jesus, while quickly engaged in the ministries of tending to the poor, the sick, prisoners, slaves, as well as children, quickly found itself engrossed in two major apostolates that it staffs even to this day: schools, especially among the *Criollos,* or sons

of the Spanish, and missions among indigenous peoples. Eventually they also established schools for the indigenous children of nobility, such as San Gregorio in Mexico City. Early on, there was a concern that in order to produce Mexican priests and bishops, the Jesuits were needed to provide this Creole population with a good education. The schools grew quickly, as did the vocations to the order. Within the first two years, the province admitted 20 novices, among whom were several eminent Creole clergymen. To support their works, they were advised to invest in haciendas, a type of plantation, which they became very successful in doing.

The Jesuits sponsored many new missions among the indigenous peoples, particularly in the northwestern parts of the Spanish colony, which eventually would become northern Mexico and parts of the U.S. Southwest. For example, they labored in Pimería Alta, which today encompasses the U.S. state of Arizona and the Mexican state of Sonora, together with Baja California. The most famous of these Jesuit missionaries was the Italian Eusebio Kino (1645–1711), explorer, rancher, cartographer, and friend and defender of native peoples. These missionaries had the advantage of being able to learn from what the previous orders had done before their arrival in Mexico, and many continued the task of evangelization following a strategy of inculturation in terms of language, symbols, and religious organizations. Like the great Franciscan friar Bernardino Sahagún, who wrote detailed studies of indigenous religious customs, ceremonies, and practice, they continued the trend of learning the native culture, at times producing dictionaries and histories. They were also instrumental in helping the Criollos forge a national identity. Similarly, they were pro-Indian. The Creole Jesuit Pedro José de Márquez maintained that "true philosophy does not recognize that any man has less ability because he was born white or black or because he was educated at the poles or in the tropics."[9] Similarly, Francisco Xavier Clavijero, who wrote a history of Mexico, was convinced that the Indians "were just as capable of learning all the sciences" as were the Europeans.[10] Having instilled in many of their students an intellectual liberalism, the Jesuits educated many of the Creoles who eventually led the 1810 revolution against Spain to secure Mexican independence.

In a bold move to placate critics of the Society of Jesus in Europe, Charles III expelled the Jesuits from Spain and all her territories in 1767. This expulsion meant that, if they chose to stay in the Order, these men would have to leave Spanish colonial territories and find some kind of refuge in Europe. At the time, the Mexican province,

which included Guatemala and Cuba, had 678 members, distributed among some 40 colleges and houses and 114 missions (the majority of them being Creoles, or Spaniards born in the new world).[11] Tragically, more than 150 died before making it to Europe.[12] Soon after, Pope Clement the XIV suppressed the Society in 1773. The Jesuits were not officially restored until 1814.[13]

Our focus now shifts back to the U.S. Southwest, to a vast territory which, after the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, was now politically part of the United States. In 1867, a small group of five exiled Neapolitan Jesuits arrived in Santa Fe, the capital of New Mexico. Establishing what came to be known as the Rocky Mountain Mission, which later included native-born Jesuits and those from other countries, they came as a response to Archbishop Lamy's plea for Jesuits. For 15 years, the French prelate, making his case in San Francisco, Los Angeles, St. Louis, and finally Rome, had sought out these sons of St. Ignatius of Loyola for various ministries in his mission territory.[14]

In 1871, the New Mexican legislature allowed Jesuits and members of other religious institutes to teach in public schools. Some time later, this arrangement was declared unconstitutional. In 1873, the Jesuits opened a novitiate in Albuquerque with a total of three novices, one Neapolitan, one New Mexican, and one Anglo. The Revista Católica Press was launched there during the same year. It produced an uninterrupted weekly for 87 years and was responsible for innumerable publications such as books, manuals, and entire Bibles. The Press was moved to Las Vegas, New Mexico, in 1874, and transferred to El Paso in 1918.

The above are only a sampling of the works of the Jesuit mission in this period. A more detailed examination of the various contributions of the Jesuits in a specific region, the greater El Paso-Ciudad Juárez area during 1881 through 1919, as well as a brief mention of the challenges of the 1910 Mexican revolution yields a more complete picture of how they were able to contribute to the religious and cultural life of the towns and cities in question as well as be shaped by them, a case McKevitt makes in calling them "brokers of culture."

By way of setting the scene for what had happened socially and politically in the Southwest since the vast territory became part of the United States in 1848, McKevitt, relying on the work of Gustav Weigle, Deutsch, and Gilberto Hinojosa, elaborates on the effects of immigrations from other parts of the country, especially toward the last quarter of the century with the arrival of the railroad and the growth of urban centers, eventually creating an Anglo hegemony.

As urban and rural realms blended into one another, New Mexico became dominated by settlers from Missouri, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, who poured in to take advantage of fresh opportunities. Until the 1880s, American pioneers had found it worthwhile to embrace local customs, learn Spanish, and take Mexican wives. For the new immigrants, however, neither Hispanic nor indigenous Indian culture held much charm; indeed, their expanding community quickly made an anachronism of earlier Anglo assimilation of Hispanic ways. By monopolizing economic and political power, they established hegemony over local agriculture and business. As a consequence, native villages lost their communal farm lands and previous shareholders became salaried day laborers.[15]

Faced with an onslaught of newcomers, many of whom were Protestant, the Catholic religion of the Italian missionaries provided an affinity with the Hispanic New Mexicans who were feeling overwhelmed. In several instances, the New Mexicans came to their defense, especially in terms of their educational work.[16] Given the U.S. takeover of the Southwest a few decades earlier, it is easy to see why there was such a strong resentment against the U.S. government impositions, to say nothing of its more Protestant culture. For many of these natives, therefore, what the Jesuits brought by way of religion and culture was more akin to the world that they had known. More will be said later on that point; for now, a quick overview in three parts of their major works in this region provides an idea of the vastness of their enterprise.

Evangelization, Church Leadership, and Education

Jesuit historian Ernest Burrus, writing in 1981, the hundredth anniversary of the arrival of the Jesuits in El Paso, summarizes the fruits of their labor:

One hundred years ago when the first two Jesuits stepped off the train at El Paso, an area where there had already been Catholic communities for three centuries, they hardly imagined that they and the Jesuits to follow them would eventually build and staff over 30 parishes, set up an El Paso Diocese with one of the Jesuits as the first Bishop, and operate a large international printing press.[17]

In 1914, the Diocese of El Paso was erected. Its first bishop, Jesuit Anthony Schuler, held office until 1942. When, in 1892, Bishop Dunne of Dallas named Italian-born Father Carlos Pinto as his vicar

general for El Paso, the area witnessed an intensification of Jesuit initiative. The energetic Jesuit superior, 51 years old at the time, set up his headquarters near what is today downtown El Paso. Burrus relates how quickly the Italian went to work.

> Simultaneously he[Pinto] built three parish churches, a central rectory and a parochial school: Sagrado Corazón in Juárez, and in El Paso Sacred Heart Church with a Jesuit Residence and a Grade School for the Spanish-speaking and the Immaculate Conception Church for the English-speaking.[18]

Having built Sacred Heart Parochial School for Mexican children in south El Paso, he staffed it with a group of religious women by then familiar with the Southwest, the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross. Next to it, as mentioned above, he later built Sacred Heart Church. What is noteworthy here is the priority given to education. Sister Lilliana Owens, S. L., explains his reasons: "Father Pinto realized the great need for a Catholic church in South El Paso, but he felt the education of the children of this district was by far the greater need."[19]

The same author relates a diary account from the school's first principal, Sister Magdalen Dietz, S. L.

> My first experience at the Sacred Heart was with 80 overgrown Mexican boys, some of them wearing mustaches, unkempt, untidy, with shirt tails hanging out. They knew absolutely nothing of order or discipline. After a morning or two, I managed to explain to them that three signals of the bell would be given. Accordingly at the next dismissal the three taps were given and much to my amazement I saw the boys leaping from every window. They were *passing out*. I had not thought to state they were to pass out *through the door*.[20]

The much needed school began with an enrollment of 200, which jumped to the 400 mark by 1899, at which time a second story for the edifice was completed.[21] Other parishes followed and a parochial school generally stood beside each new church.

Besides Sacred Heart Parish, another large school and church complex that Pinto oversaw was that of St. Ignatius, also built in the poor area of south El Paso. Working with the then aging Pinto in 1918 was a young, spirited Italian Jesuit by the name of Carmelo Tranchese. Tranchese also showed much interest in education, building a large school in 1919 with a capacity of 1,000 students. The Loretto Sisters also spearheaded this teaching staff and eventually became responsible for about seven parochial schools in the area.

Cleofas Calleros, an El Paso historian, has nothing but praise for the enthusiastic Tranchese who, decades later, caught the national limelight for his work among poor immigrants in San Antonio, Texas, at Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish.[22]

> He was a young, Italian priest who, during his short stay, had accomplished excellent work in Albuquerque, New Mexico. [He was] bursting with youth and enthusiasm, interested in the youth and their education, progressive in thinking, a builder and financial planner, a great lover of music and the arts.[23]

The Italian Jesuits, following in the tradition of the creative Franciscans who had not hesitated to use art and music to evangelize and educate, took a very holistic view of the human person. In the tradition of St. Ignatius, the "care of souls" meant more than tending to the sacramental needs of their parishioners. Influenced by the humanist trends of their day, the early Jesuits were convinced that the liberal arts were essential for the betterment of society. The Jesuit historian John O'Malley says of the early Jesuits:

> When they urged the bishop of Murcia in 1555 to establish a college, they said it would be of great benefit to the "republic" by producing good priests, good civic officials, and good citizens of every status. This was of course standard humanist talk, but its employment by the Jesuits indicates the breadth that marked their desire to "help souls." As with their other *opera caritatis* [works of charity], their ministry of education had civic and societal dimensions that carried the Jesuits beyond the evangelical models that principally inspired them.[24]

In the same way, the Jesuits made use of visual art, drama, music, and sports to form the youth under their care, even those who were not in the parochial schools.[25] Tranchese turned the old chapel of St. Ignatius into an auditorium, furnishing it with a stage, comfortable seating, and appealing wall decorations. The "Hijas de María" had a good library, and the "Luises," named for San Luis Gonzaga, had their athletic center. The parish plant included various meeting rooms, and on occasion these groups sponsored parties, dances, picnics, and other types of gatherings. St. Ignatius Parish was quite proud of its Boy Scout group and of its large orchestra, which had been organized in 1912 by Father Modesto Izaguirre, S.J.[26] Calleros describes the type of "Pied Piper" effect that this large band had on the neighborhood children.

> Playing melodious music, the band of San Ignacio Parish passed through the streets of the Segundo Barrio, inviting hundreds of children to march back with them to the "children's Mass."[27]

One of the most important educational works of the Society of Jesus, not only in this part of the American Southwest but also throughout Spanish-speaking Latin America, was the previously mentioned Revista Católica Press. Since its 1873 inception in Las Vegas, New Mexico, to that of its demise in 1962 in El Paso, it produced Catholic and civic literature in the Spanish language for a population that was growing by leaps and bounds. One of its most important functions in early days was to combat anti-Catholicism, an attitude quite prevalent in the "Old West" due to the Know Nothing movement of the middle of the nineteenth century. In the most comprehensive article written about the *Revista Católica* newspaper, Edward Vollmar, describes the religious and philosophical climate of the Southwest:

> The Mexican War had been fought by the frontiersmen of the West. They considered the territory acquired by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo as theirs. Many had deserted from the army to settle in the region; others came from western settlements seeking land. One characteristic shared by many of these new settlers was a long tradition of anti-Catholicism. To them Manifest Destiny meant the extension of WASP civilization. They considered the natives they met as indolent, ignorant "greasers." The Catholicism of the Mexicans, weak as it was, was another obstacle to be wiped out. This attitude was encouraged by some Protestant ministers, whose virulence was matched only by their ignorance.[28]

Having started the press with $1,650, which he obtained by donations and loans, Father Donato Maria Gasparri, S. J., the second Superior of the Mission, was convinced that, although the preached missions were very successful, their effect was only temporary.[29] The printed word went much further. What were needed were leaflets, books, and periodicals. Burrus summarizes how the Revista Católica Press met this need over its 87 years of existence.

> It furnished world-wide religious news, imparted systematic and solid religious instruction, refuted calumnies, cleared up misunderstandings, and even ran in serial fashion popular novels. It not only edited school and religious books but acted as agent for numerous publishing houses in the New and Old World.[30]

For many years, the *Revista Católica* was the only weekly Spanish Catholic periodical in all the Americas. The press also published catechisms, church bulletins, and some serious religious and historical books.[31] Writing in 1912, Benjamin Read, a Catholic historian, gave *Revista Católica* credit for preserving the Roman Catholic Faith in the territory.[32]

SOCIAL SERVICES, ADVOCACY, AND THE FORMATION OF THE MEXICAN CLERGY

It is obvious that the Jesuits, in their educational endeavors, provided a great social service to the people of the greater El Paso area. They were convinced, as had been their early Jesuit predecessors in Europe, that the way to reform an entire society was to direct one's energy toward its youth:

> At the urging of Ignatius, Pedro de Ribadeneira wrote to Philip II of Spain on 14 February 1556 to explain why the Society was so deeply committed to its colleges. One sentence jumps from the page: "All the well-being of Christianity and of the whole world depends on the proper education of youth."[33]

Similarly, centuries later, as had happened with other immigrants who came to the United States, identity issues for youth are often not easily resolved.[34] To what extent should one assimilate to the new country? What about one's children? Will they embrace both cultures or see themselves simply as the product of the country they happened to have been raised or born in? What if they are the product of an interracial marriage? In the case of certain bicultural persons, is there a price to be paid to belonging to both groups? Hiebert's previous designation of bicultural persons as cultural brokers is helpful here. Might these missionaries, often having had to leave their native country, have acquired a greater sensitivity to what many persons in the Southwest have experienced over the centuries?[35]

Having said that educational work is also social work, however, we must also mention some of the other social works of the Jesuits who focused more on the immediate needs of the people, for example, the dire need of housing for the elderly, care for refugees, job training, and mutual aid societies.

In 1910, the Mexican Revolution, which ousted the dictator Porfirio Díaz who had been very friendly to international corporations wishing to invest in Mexico, broke out with a vengeance. Thousands of refugees, seeking relief from hunger, bloodshed, and religious intolerance, came across the Rio Grande around the El Paso area.[36] Since both Sacred Heart and St. Ignatius parishes were extremely close to the river, they provided a gateway into the United States. Owens, narrating the 1918 arrival of a new pastor at Sacred Heart, Father Cruz Garde, comments that

> Father Garde's assignment of the Sacred Heart church came at a critical time. The Revolution and religious persecution in Mexico were raging. He offered

hospitality to many refugees, priests and laymen, fleeing from Mexico. During the years of his pastorate the parishioners at Sacred Heart church increased as almost all the people of *Juárez*, eager to assist at Holy Mass and to receive the various sacraments, came to the Sacred Heart. Many Congregations and Associations were organized during these years.[37]

Even as late as the 1930s, Mexico was still experiencing Church-State tension so there were several periods in which Catholics in Juárez did not have public access to the sacraments.[38] During this period, one in which the Church in Mexico experienced great persecution by the government, the Mexican Jesuit Province was forced to go underground and into exile (especially in the 1910s and 1920s when some of the revolutionaries were trying to get money from the Society to fund their campaigns or when certain presidents like Calles made it a point to enforce certain anticlerical laws designed to curb the Church's influence). Some Jesuits fled to the United States, Cuba, or to Europe or Central America. A Mexican Novitiate and Juniorate was established first in Los Gatos, California, and then in Ft. Stockton, in west Texas, and finally in 1925 outside of El Paso, in what came to be known as Ysleta College, now complete with a philosophate, where it remained until 1951. Its seminarians were much involved in the religious instruction of area youth.[39]

It was precisely during the period of persecution that Father Miguel Agustin Pro, a young Mexican Jesuit implicated with others on the charge of planning the assassination of Obregon, one of the presidential candidates, was executed in 1927, without a trial, before a police firing squad while the international press, invited guests of the president, looked on. His dying cry, "Viva Cristo Rey!" is known the world over. While abuses were committed on both sides, Church and State, many Catholics gave their lives for the faith. Pope John Paul II declared Miguel Pro a blessed in 1988 and canonized more than 25 of these martyrs in 2000.

One of the most notable works of the Mexican Jesuits from the late 1930s to the early 1970s was the staffing of a large diocesan seminary in Las Vegas, New Mexico, near Santa Fe, established and funded by the U.S. bishops to help train seminarians for their dioceses in Mexico. Pius XI explicitly went to the Society with this mission. The Mexican Jesuit historian Pablo Lopez de Lara reports that during the 32 years that it remained in existence, Montezuma, as it was popularly called, educated 9,000 priests, among them 25 who were made bishops.[40] Nonetheless, one of the earlier visions for the seminary, one that never materialized, was that it would also serve as a place for training U.S.

seminarians to work among Spanish-speaking people in the United States.[41]

Returning to Sacred Heart Parish in El Paso, Texas, we see once again the social outreach of its staff: as early as 1903, the "Unión Católica de San José," a mutual aid society whose rallying theme was "Religión, Protección y Trabajo" (religion, protection, and work), had formed in the Segundo Barrio under Jesuit Father Pascual Tomassini, with the initiative of Reynaldo Pérez, a layperson.[42]

The Jesuits played a key role in promoting both the culture of Mexico and that of the United States. In the case of the Mexican, for example, by 1918 a youth club was established in El Paso called the Asociación Católica de Jóvenes "El Azteca" at Guardian Angel School. At Holy Family Parish, "the church sponsored classes in Spanish grammar, literature, philosophy, and Mexican history for the youth of the predominantly political refugee population."[43] Nonetheless, the Catholic Church also played a key role in the Americanization of the newly arrived immigrants. As García notes,

> Hence, by 1920 the Catholic Church in El Paso through its endorsement of postwar Americanization programs as well as its own efforts in the parochial schools served, along with the public schools, as a major American institution of socialization, especially for the children of Mexican immigrants. Based on a viewpoint stressing loyalty to both Church and country, which by the 1920s and 1930s increasingly meant the United States, the Catholic Church in the Southwest assisted Mexicans not only to adjust to border life but, ultimately, to believe in the American Dream. Still, the constant stream of additional immigrants into El Paso and other southwestern areas after 1920, as well as the proximity of Mexico, meant that Mexican immigrant parishes were never completely Americanized. Rather than examples of an earlier past, many of them, due to continued immigration from Mexico, remain viable through poor institutions helping link Mexican immigrant communities in the United States with the mother country and culture.[44]

The information provided in this chapter could not have been written without the necessary documentation. The third and final category briefly describes these sources.

Historical Documentation

Thanks to the Jesuit custom of sending frequent reports to Rome, the keeping of house diaries, and the existence of 87 years of the *Revista Católica,* there is ample written material for the history of the period.[45] Other valuable sources are letters, books, such as the ones already cited

by Sister Lilliana Owens, S. L, and the diaries and memoirs of other religious women who labored in these places, among them, the Sisters of Loretto and the Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word.

In 1919, after establishing the Church in this vast part of the Southwest, the Rocky Mountain Mission, made up of 158 Jesuits, of whom a large part were native born, was dismantled. All in all, it lasted for 52 years. The territory was divided among existing Jesuit provinces: the New Orleans Province assumed responsibility for New Mexico and Texas while the Missouri Province added the Colorado apostolates to its jurisdiction. Within a few years, the two Jesuits provinces, New Orleans and Missouri, with some adjustments in geography, would merge again.

Some Conclusions

At the start of this chapter, I posed the question as to the extent to which these missionaries took into account the cultures of the people of the Southwest where they were ministering, with McKevitt's study serving as an inspiration to view them as brokers of culture. In the case of Native Americans in the Southwest, the Franciscans were more responsible for those missions while the Jesuits worked among Northwestern indigenous peoples. In the case of both the Italian and the Mexican Jesuits, their cultures were much more akin to that of the Hispanic peoples than of the Protestant Anglos who immigrated later.[46] At the same time, these members of the Society of Jesus also came around to seeing the need for expanding their curriculum to include subjects often more relevant to their U.S. students.[47] Moreover, given the U.S. takeover of the region, there was a good amount of resentment, at times toward a clergy that did not always respect their folk traditions.

One question I had at the start of this research was how, given their struggling status as immigrants, these international Jesuits were able to accomplish so much in the areas outlined in a relatively short time period, especially given the vastness of the geography. As a Jesuit today, I am reminded of the saying, "We stand on the shoulders of giants!" Again, McKevitt's work was very helpful in this regard. As he demonstrates in his book, these men tended to be younger, more cosmopolitan in that they had already lived in several countries, often exiled from their own, and therefore had had to adapt to other cultures and acquire other languages, aside from the classical Latin and Greek that was a part of their formation. They belonged, moreover, to an international body that had certain educational structures and

parishes already in place, particularly in the eastern part of the United States. This networking also provided them with valuable resources that others might not have enjoyed. As was mentioned in the case of women religious who collaborated with them, such as the Sisters of Loretto and the Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word, their work proved invaluable, as did the initiative and cooperation of many laypersons. A question that remains is the extent to which these native persons, who themselves were swept up in a sea of political change and interculturality, manifested agency, that is, demonstrated that they were not only the object of evangelization but also often its proponent. Despite a pre—Vatican II ecclesiology that often viewed the laity as collaborators of priests and bishops, not as evangelizers in their own right, the Jesuits gradually learned that their congregations in the Southwest had remained faithful to their Christian traditions, often despite their material poverty, and were quite capable of passing it on. Partly because of the listening skills acquired in their training as teachers, some of which drew from the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius, which stressed the need for listening to the person making them, they soon became aware that, if they were going to be successful in their missionary endeavors, they would never be able to do it without their congregations and students.

NOTES

1. Gerardo Decorme, S.J., *Misiones del Valle del Paso,* unpublished manuscript (1962).
2. Moises Sandoval, "Grandeza Religiosa," *Revista Maryknoll* 3, no. 3 (March 1992): 2 [My translation]. See also Juan Alfaro, "The Spirit of the First Franciscan Missionaries in Texas," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 9, no. 1, 2 (Spring 1990): 49–66.
3. From a photograph, private collection, emphasis mine. The point is that they had already been living in pueblos for centuries along the Rio Grande before the arrival of the conquistadores; hence the name the Spanish gave them, and therefore, as we understand culture today, is hardly uncivilized.
4. Gerald McKevitt, *Brokers of Culture: Italian Jesuits in the American West, 1848–1919* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007).
5. Paul G. Hiebert, *Anthropological Insights for Missionaries* (Grand Rapids, MI: Bakers Books, 1985), 229.
6. Much of this article owes it origin to one I produced on the occasion of the Cuatro Centennial of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe in 1997. See "The Contributions of the Jesuit Order in the New Mexico-Colorado-West Texas Area as the Rocky Mountain Mission, 1867–1919," in

Seeds of Struggle/Harvest of Faith: the Papers of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe Catholic Cuatro Centennial Conference on the History of the Catholic Church in New Mexico (Albuquerque, NM: LPD Press, 1998) edited by Thomas J. Steele, S.J., Paul Rhetts, and Barbe Awalt. Since then I have continued to research the topic, visiting other archives, especially in light of its cross-cultural manifestations.

7. According to Gerardo Decorme, "San Ignacio mandaba a decir a sus Delegados en España, PP. Estrada y Torres: 'Al México envíen, si les parece, haciendo que sean pedidos o sin serlo' y en 1555 remitía el negocio a San Francisco de Borja, que al fin lo llevó a cabo." See Decorme's *La Obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos Durante la Epoca Colonial, 1572–1767, Compendio Histórico, Tomo I Fundaciones y Obras* (México: Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrua e Hijos, 1941), 3.
8. Pablo López de Lara, S.J., *Los Jesuitas en México: Breve historia de cuatro siglos de la Provincia Mexicana, 1572–1972* (México: Obra Nacional de la Buena Prensa, A.C., 2001), 14.
9. As cited in "The Century of Enlightenment" by Luis González y González in *A Compact History of Mexico,* ed. Daniel Cosío Villegas (México: Colegio de México, 2002), 72.
10. Ibid.
11. David Brading, "La Patria Criolla and the Society of Jesus," *Artes de México* 58 (2001): 106.
12. López de Lara, 72.
13. See Chapter 12, "The New Society 1814–1940," in Joseph de Guibert, S.J.'s *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice, A Historical Study,* translated by William J. Young, S.J. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994).
14. For a detailed description of the reason for their exile, as well as vivid details of the perilous journey, see Thomas J. Steele, S.J.'s *Works and Days: A History of San Felipe Neri Church, 1867–1895* (Albuquerque, NM: The Albuquerque Museum, 1983), 2–20. Steele incorporates 18 primary accounts of the trek. See also Chapter 2, "'Out with the Jesuits': Becoming Refugees" in McKevitt's *Brokers of Culture*.
15. McKevitt, 297.
16. An example of the Hispanic New Mexicans' defense of the work of the Italian Jesuits surfaces in 1878 when the Jesuits sought tax-exempt status for their college in Las Vegas, New Mexico, a move opposed by the territorial governor. See the commencement speech of a Princeton-educated native legislator, Rafael Romero of Mora County, in *The Frontiers and Catholic Identities* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1999), edited by Anne M. Butler, Michael E. Engh, S.J., and Thomas W. Spalding, C.F.X., 203.
17. Ernest Burrus, S.J., "Jesuit Came Late, But Built with El Paso for 100 Years," *The Southern Jesuit* 1, no. 2 (December 1981): 4.
18. Ibid., 5.

19. Lilliana Owens, S.L., *Reverend Carlos M. Pinto, S.J., Apostle of El Paso, 1992–1919* (El Paso, TX: Revista Católica Press, 1951), 67.
20. Ibid., 81.
21. Ibid., 84.
22. See "Rumpled Angel of the Slums," *Saturday Evening Post,* August 21, 1948. Tranchese became a personal friend of Eleanor Roosevelt, through whom he was able to secure much housing for the poor in San Antonio's westside district. See Juan Gilberto Auezada, "Father Carmelo Tranchese, S.J.: A Pioneer Social Worker in San Antonio, Texas, 1923–1953, an unpublished M.A. thesis at St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas, 1972.
23. " Era éste un joven sacerdote Italiano que había presentado excelentes servicios en Albuquerque, Nuevo México, durante el corto período de su permanencia en aquella ciudad. Rebosante de juventud y entusiasmo, interesado por la juventud y su educación, de ideas progresistas, constructor y económico, muy amante del arte y de la música . . . " Cleofas Calleros, *Jubileo de Oro de mi Parroquia, 1905–1955* (El Paso, TX: American Printing Company, 1955), 26.
24. John W. O'Malley, S.J., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 210.
25. Having acknowledged the Italian Jesuits' concern for art in their ministries, we mention their occasional inability to appreciate more local, folk art forms, such as those found in New Mexico. As McKevitt recounts, "When Riccardo Di Palma attempted to replace a time-honored statue of St. Anthony—a rough, homemade carving decorated with hair fashioned from the tail of a horse—with a newer one of European style, parishioners rebelled. They refused outright to shoulder the imported statue in procession when the time arrived for its official installation. 'We can't carry that San Antonio,' the priest was told, 'We no like gringo saint. We want our own *santito.*' Like the French clergy, the Neapolitans disparaged regional folk art, preferring instead plaster saints imported from Europe. In the 1870s, the Jesuits of Albuquerque collected money from parishioners to replace the *bultos,* or gesso-covered statues of cottonwood root, that had long adorned the chapel of San Felipe Neri. The native figures were tossed away to any donor who would accept them" (McKevitt, 196).
26. Calleros, 16–17.
27. "La Banda de San Ignacio recorría las calles del Segundo Barrio, tocando música melodiosa, y cienes de niños la seguían para asistir a la 'misa de los niños' " (Calleros, 20).
28. Edward R. Vollmar, S.J., "La Revista Católica," *Mid-America: An Historical Review* 58, no. 2 (1976), 88–89.
29. Ibid., 86–87.
30. Found in "The Jesuits Come to the American Southwest," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu,* vol. XLIX, Fasc. 97 (1980): 433–448. This

article is among the most concise, yet scholarly pieces written about this subject. Besides primary sources, Burrus draws from the work of Giuseppe M. Sorrentino, S.J., *Dalle Montagne Rocciose al Río Bravo* (Naples: Federico & Ardia, 1948) and from that of Gerardo Decorme, S.J, *La Obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos Durante la Epoca Colonial.*

31. Burrus, 6. For example, the Revista Católica Press put out a "Jesuit Studies-Southwest" series of which the previously cited book written by Sr. Lilliana Owens on Father Pinto is the second in the series, the first being *Jesuit Beginnings in New Mexico, 1867–1882* (El Paso, TX: Revista Católica Press, 1950), also authored by her. Her third book in the series was a life of Schuler: *Most Reverend Anthony J. Schuler, S.J., D.D., First Bishop of El Paso* (El Paso, TX: Revista Católica Press, 1953).
32. See Randi Jones Walker, *Protestantism in the Sangre de Cristos* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 101. Walker concludes, "When *Revista Católica* left the field in 1918, Roman Catholicism was still the form of religion practiced by the Hispanic New Mexicans" (105).
33. O'Malley, 209.
34. See Robert Anthony Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880–1950* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985).
35. McKevitt accents the intercultural communication skills of missionaries to the Southwest when he writes "[M]ost missionaries, men and women alike, moved regularly amid a medley of cultures and a babble of tongues, ministering to Native Americans one day, to European immigrants the next, and to Anglo-Americans another time. 'Whether planned or not," the historian Anne M. Butler has written, 'missionaries bridged between communities, serving as mediators in the overlapping social dynamics.' These encounters inevitably induced friction, interchange, compromise, and malleability. 'People come into contact with languages, customs, and values they had not known. Some they accepted; some they rejected. Either way, the process influenced religious practice as well as secular life. This brokering of cultures constituted a major element in Catholic communities in the West, and the result brought both difficulty and understanding in group relations.' " [Here McKevitt is quoting Coleman J. Barry]. See McKevitt, *Brokers of Culture,* 2.
36. See M. T. García's *Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso, 1880–1920* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981) and R. Acuña's *El Paso: A Borderlands History* (El Paso, TX: Texas Western Press, 1990). Manuel G. González, *Mexicanos: A History of Mexicans in the United States* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999) reports that "[s]ome eight thousand refugees, for example, crossed the border from Piedras Negras, Coahuila, to Eagle

Pass, Texas, in a single day in October 1913; and in one week in June 1916, almost five thousand Mexicans poured into El Paso. The numbers increased dramatically, however, once the violence abated" [in *Mexicanos,* 118–119]. Elsewhere, in making a comparison with immigrants from Europe, González describes the disastrous effects for the Mexicans of not having been documented as they came across the border during these tumultuous times: They [European immigrants] arrived at government reception centers—the most famous being Ellis Island in New York Harbor, established in 1892, which saw 12 million immigrants pass through its waiting rooms—and after a lengthy certification process, only those eligible for entry were admitted. Mexican immigration was largely unregulated. Most immigrants from the south entered the country without their papers—Devra Weber estimates the figure to be as high as 80 percent among migrant workers at the time—a status which was not a problem through the 1920s (except for the 1921–1922 economic slump), a decade when severe labor shortages required the importation of cheap Mexican labor. Beginning in 1929, however, when federal legislation made it a felony to enter the United States illegally, their pattern of irregular entry created many difficulties for *indocumentados* (unauthorized immigrants), p. 136 of *Mexicanos.*

37. Owens, 97.
38. See David Charles Bailey, *Viva Cristo Rey! The Cristero Rebellion and the Church-State Conflict in Mexico* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1974).
39. See Salvador Trevino Castro, S.J., ed., *Crónica: Colegio de Estudios Teológicos de la Compañía en México* (México: Provincia Jesuita, 2003).
40. López de Lara, 158.
41. See Anne M. Martínez, " 'From the Halls of Montezuma': Seminary in Exile or Pan-American Project?," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 20, no. 4 (Fall 2002): 35–51.
42. "*Reglas y Constitución: Unión Católica de San José, 1991, El Paso, Texas.*"
43. García, *Desert Immigrants,* 278, note 51.
44. Ibid., 218–219.
45. In addition, interviews of older persons in some of these communities is serving as an irreplaceable historical source for the anthropologist Lois Stanford. See her "Persistence in Religious Faith and Practice: Traditional Holy Week Observances in Socorro, Texas," *Catholic Southwest: A Journal of History and Culture* 9 (1998): 75–98; as well as her entry, "Local Devotion to St. Michael: Examining Expressions of Popular Catholicism in Socorro, Texas," in *Seeds of Struggle, Harvest of Faith,* 119–134. For some other research sources see Burrus' appendix in *The Jesuits Come to the American Southwest* (Rome:

Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1980), 447. The publication of French Jesuit historian Gerardo Decorme's manuscript, *Misiones del Valle del Paso,* would provide a much needed resource, especially given the fact that he ministered in these valley towns for decades. He was pastor of the Socorro Mission from 1925 to 1940. Born in France in 1874 and a missionary to Mexico, he was part of the Jesuits fleeing the Mexican persecution after the 1910 Revolution. He died in Ysleta, Texas, in 1965. In his attention and recording of his parishioners' popular religious practices, such as their devotion to St. Michael, he was very much ahead of his time.

46. In the case of the Italians, McKevitt speaks of a common Mediterranean cultural matrix. *Brokers of Culture*, 323.
47. See McKevitt's Chapter 6, " 'Methods Adopted by Us': The Art of Indian Conversion" in *Brokers of Culture*.

Chapter 6

The Task of Gender Role Differentiation in Foreign Missions: The Case of American Methodists in Rosario, Argentina, 1870–1880

Mark McMeley

Instruction in proper gender roles was central to the reforming impulse of North American Protestant missions in the nineteenth century. The delineation of gender was an important corollary of the Protestant missionaries' religious message, as has been described in various studies focusing on American and Canadian Protestant foreign and domestic missions.[1] Adherence to the North Americans' standards of gender behavior indicated a comprehension of the tenets of personal discipline and responsibility for one's spiritual destiny at the heart of Protestant evangelicalism. Wherever they observed immigrants at home or the people of India, China, Hawaii, and other mission destinations abroad, American Protestants found women performing manual labor, men with irregular work habits, and both genders engaged in sexual behaviors that pointed to their moral degradation and religious error. Their efforts at conversion, then, were as much an effort to reform habits of daily behavior as they were an attempt to save the soul.

This study looks at the mission established by American Methodists in the city of Rosario, Argentina, in 1871, and the mission's efforts to teach the women of Rosario the proper responsibilities and behaviors associated with conversion to Protestantism. The argument here is that devout Protestants could be united on the general tenets of gender but could diverge on the need for vigilance over women, a disagreement that is seldom explored in the context of a foreign mission, but that weighed heavily on the activities of the Methodist mission in Argentina. The focus in this study is on the role of Ellen Wood as an example of proper Methodist gender behavior, and the varying life options available to Rosario's women that made adhesion to the American Methodists' prescriptions more or less attractive. This chapter will conclude that gender differentiation was of modest or little interest to the women of Rosario who were the focus of the mission's proselytizing efforts, and that the Americans' misreading of the material concerns of Rosario women led to the failure of the religious work among native Argentines. On the other hand, the mission school more clearly met the material objectives of concern to Rosario's women, and grew rapidly after its founding in 1874.[2]

Methodist Missionaries and Rosario Families

Thomas and Ellen Wood, husband and wife, together with five women schoolteachers from Massachusetts, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, and Kansas, founded the mission in Rosario, Argentina, and taught in the Methodist mission's girls' school from 1871 through the end of that decade. They were part of the northern agrarian and small business class that had emerged from the American Civil War confident of the redeeming power of Yankee social mores and Republican political and social philosophy.[3] For these missionaries, the tenets of Protestantism and the behaviors conducive to market capitalism formed a seamless web of belief that could be transported to Argentina's hinterlands. "Our country's ideas and ways are more eagerly sought after than are those of any other part of the globe," Thomas Wood wrote to American astronomer Benjamin Gould in 1875. It was incumbent upon Americans, in his view, to give the people of Argentina "the very best of our reforming, transforming, life-giving institutions."[4] One of the women missionaries wrote in a book she published upon returning to the United States that the Protestant understanding of the Bible would enable Rosario's people to exploit their mines, forests, and fields, in turn stimulating manufacturing and finance, and create conditions for a stable government. "Material prosperity always follows

spiritual enlightenment," she affirmed.[5] The history of expansion in North America, as the Methodists understood it, could be replicated by an equally pious and enterprising people in South America.

The city in which the Methodists worked was rapidly growing with migrants from neighboring provinces and immigrants from abroad. Many Argentines arrived in the city of Rosario and its province of Santa Fe in the 1870s to escape the economic stagnation of the country's outlying provinces with the end of protected colonial monopolies. Foreigners came to Rosario to pursue small commercial enterprises and to take advantage of a liberalized market for investment in a country that seemed destined to follow the path of North American enrichment. Argentine leaders who supported the opening of markets and the creation of a liberal state, such as Domingo F. Sarmiento (president, 1868–1874), encouraged the immigration of hard-working farmers from northern Europe and hired American normal school graduates to train young Argentine women to be teachers of the vast number of illiterate school-age children, as much to instill the habits of discipline as to teach the rudiments of reading and arithmetic. The American Protestants made clear that the people in Rosario who attracted their attention were not the most destitute, those "mired in poverty," but a lower to middle stratum that was "unable to get ahead," amenable to changes in habits and livelihood in order to maintain a degree of social and economic security. At the center of their proselytizing and social reform strategy was the conversion of women.

Theorists attempting to understand Latin American families have argued that close kinship units provided material sustenance and moral support in the face of increasing capitalist penetration and changing markets for labor and goods in the nineteenth century. Increased capital flow was accompanied by American commercial and cultural agents, such as Sarmiento's schoolteachers and the Methodist missionaries.[6] Families employed traditional survival tools of god-parentage, clientelism and extended kin networks to confront an uneven penetration of capital and technology. Viewed from the perspective of the residents of Rosario, then, evangelical Protestantism was part of the new international markets of goods, labor, and investment in the nineteenth century that forced the family to find strategies to preserve its well-being and lend support to its members.[7] That shifting social ground was the one on which American Methodist missionaries planted themselves in the 1870s and 1880s, and it conditioned the success of their proselytizing activities among Rosario's laboring classes.[8]

Proper gender relations were central to American Protestantism. Given the limited resources of the Rosario mission and the rapid increase of the city around them, the Americans concluded that proselytizing among Rosario's women would make the most effective, rational use of their resources and offer the best chance of making religious converts on par with the increase in the city's population. Thomas and Ellen Wood and the five female missionaries approached women in three ways: by establishing a school to train Rosario girls in the moral tenets associated with female propriety, by training local, literate adolescents as "Bible women" to enter the homes of Rosario women with tracts and Bibles, and by making their own personnel, particularly Thomas Bond's wife Ellen and the five schoolteachers who directed and taught in the mission school, into public examples of the personal habits and conduct they considered indicative of proper religious conversion. The success of the mission in the 1870s, then, can be measured by its ability to attract women converts.

Ellen Wood and Pious Female Domesticity

Ellen Wood was a model of pious Methodist maternalism. Wood's religious upbringing in Massachusetts, her marriage to a minister who had already offered himself for overseas missionary work, her dedication to raising three daughters and the administration of the household economy made her an example of what the Methodists were trying to replicate among women in Rosario. Sustained spiritual nurturing of her children, strict economizing and planning in the preparation of meals and the maintenance of the kitchen and the home, and a forbearance of other worldly pursuits to the benefit of the first two were markers of the motherly devotion that Ellen Wood thought of as the highest of Yankee virtues.[9] Wood followed the well-known pattern of enlightened female domesticity suggested by Catharine Beecher and practiced by the graduates of Mary Lyon's Female Seminary in Mount Holyoke, Massachusetts.[10] Her religious devotion deepened her sense of moral purpose; her self-sacrifice, just as Jesus' mother Mary had demonstrated in the Bible, had no physical limits. In fact, the search for pious motherhood through the constant effort at home cleaning, the maintenance of children, and the duties of a minister's wife reached its most sublime expression when women wrapped themselves in constant activity until their physical strength was exhausted. Physical exertion at home, accelerated by childbirth and the rearing of children, leading to a "breakdown" or to "nervous

prostration" as the Methodist women termed it, was a sign that the woman was willing to sacrifice physical comforts and even well-being for the sake of a matronly ideal. Such a pattern was also useful in missionary propaganda when mission workers argued that self-sacrificing workers overseas were making use of all the resources at their disposal, including their own health, to carry out the organization's goals.[11]

For Ellen Wood, the virtues of Protestant culture were most firmly rooted in the culture of New England. Spreading the word on domestic economy was among Ellen's mission duties, and New England, she wrote, produced the highest of those ideals. New Englanders were "so tidy, so thrifty," and people who had always lived there did not realize what a "splendid nice place" they had.[12] Yet Ellen Wood's daily routine involved much physical labor in a context that was more demanding than that of New England. She listed her daily chores as cleaning the mission house, maintaining clothes and preparing meals, and tending upward of nine children in the household and treating their illnesses. Among her weekly activities, she led a singing group, played the organ in Sunday services, taught six children in her household plus others who came for an improvised school, and attended the religious services of her husband.[13]

Ellen Wood tried to instill proper Yankee notions of household economy and cleanliness by circulating a copy of Eliza Warren's *How I Managed My House on 200 Pounds a Year,* one of a number of nineteenth-century English and North American housekeeping manuals that she "sent on its mission" among the English-speaking women of the Methodist congregation and other English-speaking residents.[14] The book was directed at middle-class women, advising them to learn all the skills of proper home management and domestic economy in order to select more judiciously and supervise more efficiently the work of servants. The book's middle-class assumptions that adult married women would not be engaged in the husband's trade or be forced to pursue paid employment resonated little among the working-class women of Rosario, either the English wives of railroad workers or the native women who lived in even more precarious economic situations. *How I Managed My House* was a part of the Methodist reform effort that simply did not respond to the pressing material needs of most Rosario women.[15]

Ellen Wood had made a deliberate choice to become a missionary wife, had not anticipated the heavy physical demands of maintaining domestic order and cleanliness to the standards of middle-class New England culture, but had, nevertheless, rejected a more intellectually

challenging role for herself in public life. The North American movement for women's rights, she wrote, did not interest her. In a poem she adapted her own case, she wrote to a relative:

> "One, two, three! As you may see,
> There's work enough in the world for me.
> So many little wants to supply,
> So many times to sing lullaby,
> So many little garments to sew,
> And the faces are always dirty you know.
> So busy the days, so wearied the nights,
> No time to worry for woman's rights"[16]

She argued for the "moral emancipation" of Rosario women but at the same time sought to impose a middle-class North American order on Rosario women's domestic lives and public activities. Furthermore, she joined missionary men to impose controls on the sexual behavior of the few young Argentine women in the mission. Nevertheless, the public face of the mission wife—the organ-player, homemaker, and sometimes schoolteacher—represents a carefully considered model that the mission used to convince the immigrant and lower-class women of Rosario that religious conversion would lead to spiritual tranquility, economic security, and personal satisfaction.[17] The fate of that effort is the topic explored below.

Life Options Available to Rosario's Women

The theoretical models of nineteenth-century families in Latin America suggest that in the midst of capitalist penetration through this port city, Argentine women made decisions on their livelihood based in part on maintaining kinship ties in order to secure economic and moral support.[18] The Methodist mission offered to facilitate the adjustment to one of these new market-driven paths of making a living. However, the Methodist "option" as demonstrated by Ellen Wood and the other American women missionaries was an uncertain one, of changes in personal behavior that would in theory lead to an additional source of support not only for the woman but for her kin network as well. Argentine women invited into the religious and educational functions of the Protestant mission faced a dilemma: remain within an older pattern of family interdependence, low-skilled domestic labor, and occasionally the various forms of concubinage (*mancebo*) or prostitution, or pursue one of the few paths

that offered a vague and as yet undemonstrated promise of greater economic security and social status through an introduction into a larger, capitalized economy. In the end, Argentine women from the lower classes made a rational choice to eschew the religious message of the Protestants, while some accepted training for their daughters in the models of behavior demonstrated by the mission's women workers in order to enroll their girls in the mission school. It was this option, primary education in the Methodist school, that provided the most concrete potential for supporting their family networks, and proved the most successful of all the Methodists' various reform efforts.

The documentary record of Rosario in the 1870s presents a picture of a struggle for economic stability, if not simple survival, that overrode concerns of adult women over gender differentiation so important to the North Americans. The kind of change in an adult's public behavior that Methodist women such as Ellen Wood proposed was dependent on much greater economic security than most Rosario women had. Most women in the city eked out a subsistence that depended on their husbands', their kin's, and their own manual labor or small trades, supported by clientelistic patterns of petition and deference to patrons and officials. Clientelism had deep roots in colonial Spanish society, but it was inimical to the merit-based, mobile labor force that liberal governments in late nineteenth-century Latin America were trying to create, the kind that meshed well with the individualistic religious ideology of the North American Protestants. While specific patron-client links are difficult to verify with any accuracy in the historical record, the repeated pattern of women's individual appeals to government authorities suggests that there was at least a reasonable chance of receiving an accommodation outside the letter of the law, and that the expectation of official, individual support in personal cases of dire circumstances continued. Argentina's national census of 1869 identified family units, including those children who bore no apparent relation but lived with the family in an informal god-parentage, a common residential pattern among lower-class families in Rosario when life expectancy was short and minor children in a household often had different sets of parents. The combination of census data and correspondence archived in the records of the provincial Ministry of Government provides a clearer view of family strategies, an approximation of Latin American family life that goes beyond the more common studies of civil codes, judicial records, and municipal ordinances that have heretofore dominated the social history of Latin American families.[19]

By tradition and necessity, women from the artisan and lower class assisted their male partners in their trades or else contributed to household income through needlework or laundry. Rosario's women, both native Argentines and the small number of European women, assumed paid work as laundresses, seamstresses, cooks, domestics, day laborers, produce vendors, midwives, and, occasionally, and usually hidden from census records under the rubric of other professions, as prostitutes.[20] The realities of economic turmoil, and occasionally in Santa Fe province, political and military upheaval, were that minimally skilled women's labor made for a precarious living at best, especially if the misfortune occurred of the incapacitation or death of the adult male, or his conscription in a military force, meaning that the maintenance of children depended on the meager income of the woman left behind. As often as not, the surplus of children were spun off as *dependientes,* sometimes through extended family networks or clientelistic relationships, that is, as shopworkers and wards for merchants, or else as live-in servants in the homes of attorneys, government managers, substantial businessmen, or wealthier relatives. More lucrative options for women were few, and migration from interior provinces had disrupted the support of family and more prominent patrons on whom they had previously relied.

Poor women in Rosario in the 1870s continued to request concessions from the provincial governor in a manner reminiscent of colonial-era appeals to Spanish officials, for land on which to build a dwelling, for support to send a child to school, for the military discharge of a husband or son who was a woman's only source of support, or for a reduction of taxes in cases where a widow with children inherited her deceased husband's trade. New opportunities for advancement within the market economy did alter the substance of these petitions. Seventeen women from the colony of Cayastacito near the capital petitioned the provincial government in late 1874 for the creation of a girls' school, "very much needed for some time in this area." Only three or four of the petitioners were able to sign their own names, an indication that the population of Santa Fe province was looking for new ways to secure a future for itself in the face of a changing market economy.[21] Rosario and Santa Fe women were recognizing the growing significance of literacy and primary education for their daughters. One striking example of this is in the 1869 census records of the provincial capital. Dominga Andino, 30, who openly gave her occupation as *puta* ("whore") to the census taker, sent her four oldest children, all girls aged 9 to 12 (out of her 12 children total), to school.[22] Andino was probably most representative of the

"barbarian" culture of Argentina's interior provinces excoriated in the writings of the nation's governors and presidents, bold to the point of insisting that her livelihood be listed in the government documents in the most direct form, but aware enough of the rising money-based economy to send her children, for which she was solely responsible, to the public school in order to improve their chances for material security. In addition, the nation's first normal schools, those established by presidents Sarmiento and Nicolás Avellaneda throughout the decade, were graduating a small number of women schoolteachers with degrees that would become preferred qualifications to teach at the primary level in the 1880s.[23]

Not surprisingly, then, attendance in the Methodist women's "American School" in Rosario, offering a complete curriculum of reading, arithmetic, geography, history, needle crafts, morals, and "urbanity," multiplied in the following decades, all while the Methodist mission church more directly dependent on the strict self-regulation of adults' public behavior as demonstrated by the Woods and the women missionaries grew little beyond the northern European and North American residents already familiar with free-will Protestantism. As anticipated by models of the Latin American family in the growing market economy of the nineteenth century, the city's population found the secular aspects of Methodist-directed education more materially useful than assimilation into the religious community tied to that school.[24] Lower-class women did not see, by the example of Ellen Wood and the other American missionary women, conversion to Protestantism as a more direct avenue to security in the here and now. The mission actively pursued local converts through worship services and printed literature in Spanish, but most people who attended the religious functions at the mission continued to be male English immigrants more familiar with the tenets of Methodism, their English or Argentine wives, and their children. Near the end of his tenure in Rosario, Wood described his congregation as comprising English workmen who had permanently settled in Argentina, along with their Argentine-born children.[25] The mission church rolls show 32 members who were active at some point from 1870 to 1878, most of whom were born in Great Britain or the United States, with two from Switzerland and one from Italy.[26] On the other hand, attendance at the women missionaries' girls' school grew from 10 in early 1876, to 23 later that year (in the midst of an economic crisis), to 70 by mid-1877, and to nearly 100 by 1879.[27] The positive response to the educational opportunities offered by the mission demonstrates that Rosario's families responded to the mission's projects hoping to secure their own

social and material standing. The religious mission, even when conducted in Spanish, grew very slowly, while the education of girls grew apace with the integration of Rosario's economy into a wider, global market.

The critical study of the Latin American family, then, offers one useful means of understanding how individuals on the continent engaged with an increasingly capitalist economy and the cultural agents who accompanied and aided it in the nineteenth century. The disruption of colonial-era patronage that lower-order migrants faced when they moved into a commercial cash economy such as that of Rosario in the 1870s motivated men and women to search for alternative means to maintain familial cohesion. Migrant families chose among a range of strategies—some more daring, others less so—that reflected the gradual transition in interior Argentina from a preindustrial to a commercialized society. They chose to matriculate their children, both boys and girls, into private and public primary schools, gambling that this untested path to material security would eventually prove the correct one, while using traditional forms of appeal to public authorities to gain entry into the newly established education system. Among the more daring choices were those made when families chose to forgo the protection of the Catholic Church and traditional patronage networks in favor of the educational opportunities offered by the American Methodist missionaries. As critical family theories first expounded in the 1970s demonstrate, the desire to maintain economic assistance among kinship networks was among the strongest factors motivating the many recently arrived migrants coming from less dynamic parts of the country in the face of the expanding capitalist economy of Rosario. These theories also explain why the concerns of the American Methodist missionaries over gender made little impression on Rosario's middle and lower sectors; further delineation of gender roles was of little interest to people whose survival was in doubt. The case of the American mission in Rosario, with a rich collection of correspondence from the American missionaries and the censuses and reports by the Argentine government on its attempt to "civilize" the interior of the country, provides an excellent point to explore the encounter between middle and lower sectors of these two societies.

NOTES

1. See, for example, Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1989); Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture,*

Class, and Gender on the Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880–1940 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Ruth Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876–1914* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Amanda Porterfield, "The Impact of Early New England Missionaries on Women's Roles in Zulu Culture," *Church History* 66, no. 1 (March 1997), 67–80.

2. Thomas Wood to Andrés Milne, Rosario, February 12, 1876, Thomas B. Wood papers, Methodist Archive, DePauw University, Document Case (hereafter "DC") 517, folder (hereafter "f") 1, 481; Wood to H. G. Jackson, Rosario, February 22, 1876, Wood papers, DC 517, f. 1, 448.
3. According to Mrs. E. J. M. Clemens, one of these five, Julia Goodenough from Michigan, had also taught in a freedmen's school after the Civil War. Mrs. E. J. M. Clemens and J. F. Willing, *Rosario* (Chicago: Rand, McNally and Company, 1882), 27; "Roll Call, 1869–1896," Lou Denning papers, and Mary Swaney papers, General Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church, New York; Franc Baker, *Historical Sketches of the Northwestern Branch of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Chicago: Jameson and Morse, 1887), 88, 104.
4. Thomas Wood to Benjamin Gould, Rosario, April [20?], 1875. Wood papers, DC 516, f. 4, 993.
5. Clemens, 95.
6. Elizabeth Kuznesof and Robert Oppenheimer argued that Latin American families in the period were more important in managing social and economic changes than in North America and Europe, with lower-class families just as active in managing their affairs as were the elite. Elizabeth Kuznesof and Robert Oppenheimer, "The Family and Society in Nineteenth-Century Latin America: An Historiographical Introduction," *Journal of Family History* 10, no. 3 (Fall 1985), 215, 228.
7. One such study that makes use of the functional approach to understand Latin American families' strategies to fulfill needs of members is that of Raymond T. Smith, "The Family and the Modern World System: Some Observations from the Caribbean," *Journal of Family History* 3, no. 4 (Winter 1978), 338.
8. I am less concerned with the specific composition of the household, the number of children, or the frequency of female versus male-headed households (or, even, the distinction between "family" and "household") than I am with the economic opportunities and cultural parameters that lower-class family units in Rosario negotiated.
9. Ellen Wood to Caroline, Rosario, July 8, 1875, Wood papers, DC, 516, f. 5, 95. Patricia Hill writes that missionary wives were generally considered by their supporters to be effective missionaries if they

did no more than to create model Christian homes. Patricia R. Hill, *The World Their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870–1920* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1985), 72. For a discussion of similar missionary wives, the obstacles they found overseas and the obstacles they created for themselves, see Grimshaw, 49–103.

10. Catharine Beecher, *Treatise on Domestic Economy for the Use of Young Ladies at Home and at School* (Boston, MA: T. H. Webb and Co., 1843); Amanda Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).
11. For a discussion of exemplary American home keepers among Congregationalist missions in Hawaii earlier in the century, see Grimshaw, xxi–20, 98–106.
12. Ellen Wood to Aunt Caroline, Rosario, December 12(?), 1874, Wood papers, DC 516, f. 1, 658.
13. On her work, see, for example, Ellen Wood to Clara, Rosario, November 12, 1873, Wood papers, DC 516, f. 3, 166; Ellen Wood to her parents, Rosario, February 7, 1874, Wood papers, DC 516, f. 1, 224, Ellen Wood to Nellie, Rosario, September 13, 1875, Wood papers, DC 516, f. 5, 258; Ellen Wood to her parents, Rosario, July 11, 1874, Wood papers, DC 516, f. 3, 415.
14. Ellen Wood to Mrs. Krell, Rosario, October 10, 1875, Wood papers, DC 516, f. 5, 326; Eliza Warren, *How I Managed My House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year* (London: Houlston and Wright, 1864).
15. Jane Haggis suggests that most female involvement in overseas missions turned less on overt attempts to challenge patriarchal privileges within religious ideologies than on the less contentious project of carving out a women's sphere of activities within the conventions of marriage. Grisham sees this as missionary wives' deliberate efforts at asserting their own agency, albeit in a sphere whose limits they helped to construct. Haggis, in Clare Midgley, ed., *Gender and Imperialism* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1998), 51; Grimshaw, 13–20, 73–75.
16. Ellen Wood to John and Nellie, Rosario, February 7, 1874, Wood papers, DC 516, f. 1, 226, 228.
17. See the similar experience of Congregational missionary wives in Hawaii in the early nineteenth century, in Grimshaw, 38–44.
18. Family units headed by women, overall, comprised a greater percentage of households in Argentina and Latin America than had been generally recognized until relevant demographic studies emerged beginning in the 1970s. Donna J. Guy, "Lower-Class Families, Women, and the Law in Nineteenth-Century Argentina," *Journal of Family History* 10, no. 3 (Fall 1985), 323–324; Kuznesof, 224.
19. Kuznesof, 227.

20. *Primer censo de la República Argentina, 1869* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta del Porvenir, 1872), xlv–xlviii. See also the 1869 census schedules for the city of Rosario, which list professions.
21. Dominga A. de Gomez, Pilar G. de la Casa, et al., Cayastacito (n.d.), in correspondence of Milciades Echagüe (Inspector de Escuelas), Santa Fe, to José Maria Perez, Oficial Mayor del Ministerio de Gobierno, December 15, 1874, Archivo de Gobierno, Tomo 40 (1874), 1335–1336, AGSF.
22. Censo nacional 1869, libreto 382 (Santa Fe capital).
23. Mark McMeley, "Teacher Training and the Promise of Social Ascent: The Case of Argentina's Normal Schools, 1871–1881," *The Latin Americanist* 50, no. 1 (Fall 2006), 103–139.
24. Few studies describe strategies employed by the native lower classes in Latin America during the nineteenth century to maximize family security, but one suggestive study from the twentieth is that of Alison M. MacEwen, "Kinship and Mobility on the Argentine Pampa," *Ethnology* 12, no. 2 (April 1973), 140–142.
25. Wood, "Annual Report from Rosario for 1876" (September 1876), Wood papers, DC 517, f. 3, 394.
26. Archive, Iglesia Metodista, Rosario.
27. *Heathen Woman's Friend* 8, no. 1 (July 1876), 59; *Heathen Woman's Friend* 8, no. 7 (January 1877), 162; *Heathen Woman's Friend* 9, no. 5 (November 1877), 104; *Heathen Woman's Friend* 11, no. 9 (March 1880), 211.

Part III

Africa: Agency, Contestation, Acculturation

Chapter 7

Africanizing Christianity: Cross-Cultural History and Conceptual Ways Forward

Paul Kollman

Christian missionary activity—not unlike efforts at religious expansion carried out by other missionizing religions like Buddhism and Islam—is an archetypal cross-cultural process. Few human groups have so self-consciously and repeatedly crossed frontiers as missionaries, who, not unlike explorers, colonizers, international traders, and invaders, frequently move into unfamiliar linguistic and cultural milieus. Such moves put diverse peoples in proximity, with Christian missionaries prototypically arriving as strangers among mostly non-Christian peoples. Understanding missionary encounters, which requires appreciating missionaries and those evangelized—both of whom undergo profound changes due to their interactions—and the diverse and dynamic circumstances in which they meet, thus epitomizes the historical projects this volume seeks to explore.

But what about the Christian communities that emerge in the wake of missionary activity? Are such communities an appropriate topic for cross-cultural history? Here questions naturally arise. Christianity's ability to become local—or, using the usual theological term, *inculturated* in diverse social and cultural milieus—is increasingly appreciated.[1] To stress, therefore, such communities' intercultural or cross-cultural nature stands in some tension with an emphasis on their local or indigenous rootedness. The question driving this chapter is this: What

are the advantages of considering the history of such communities a task for *cross-cultural history*?

To press the case that cross-cultural history is important in understanding the history of religious groups that appear after missionary evangelization, I will focus here on African Catholic communities, especially in eastern Africa. Of course, they are not the only such groups that we understand better from an historical approach that is self-consciously cross-cultural. They are an appropriate case, however, for two reasons. The first is practical: I am in the midst of a project to understand the formation of Catholic communities in eastern Africa—today's Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania—so I am gaining familiarity with their histories, which strike me as very apt for cross-cultural historical work. More substantively, a second reason is that recent efforts to appreciate the distinctly African nature of such communities—efforts I applaud—can have the unfortunate effect of overlooking the ways their histories have been and remain profoundly cross- or intercultural.[2] I will here argue that even when such communities have a sense of Christian identity that is profoundly localized, understanding them well requires a cross-cultural historical approach. In fact, in pursuit of historical understanding of such communities, appreciating their cross-cultural historical nature, far from detracting from an appreciation of their local or indigenous nature, is an essential element for understanding the precise nature of that local-ness. I do not dispute that the history of African Catholic communities ought to be an African story; it must be that. But it has always been, and continues to be, a profoundly cross-cultural story as well.

In arguing for a cross-cultural historical approach to such communities' histories, I will draw upon and develop three concepts often used in historical research. The first is *generation,* and I will outline a theory of generations that frames my ongoing research into eastern African Catholic history. I will also invoke *agency* and *identity,* two other regularly used concepts. All three are sneaky terms, that is, they are too often used uncritically. I will try to use them carefully to defend a cross-cultural approach to African Catholic history.

I begin with a brief description of four generational typological categories that, by induction from my accumulating historical evidence, I discern in the historical unfolding of African Catholic communities. I label these generational categories *adherents, converts, local* Catholic communities, and *internationalized* Catholic communities. I am not wedded to these terms, but I believe they gather common traits and thus capture something that often has emerged in African Catholic communities. Then I will describe two interrelated

challenges to historical work of this sort. First, there is the challenge of taking missionary writings and practices seriously without focusing too much on missionaries. Second, there is the challenge of appreciating the historically achieved agency and social identities of African Catholic individuals and communities. In addressing both these challenges, I will defend cross-cultural methods in discerning the historical emergence of Catholics in eastern Africa and, by extension, in grasping the unfolding of similar groups elsewhere.

Generations of African Christians

In thinking about generations of African Christians, I have drawn on the tradition in social science addressing the issue, and especially the influential recent work of U.S. historian Ira Berlin.[3] In a series of studies Berlin identifies generations in the evolution of African American experiences from the sixteenth century to the present.[4] He looks at both internal changes in the descendants of Africans in North American and broader social and historical processes in which they found themselves. Acknowledging regional variations and diversities in individual slave experiences, Berlin, nonetheless, discerns collective commonalities sufficient to establish his generational categories. I seek to do something similar for the evolution of communities of African Christians.

I call the first Catholics at missions in eastern Africa "adherents" because their contact with Christianity was rarely self-initiated or religiously motivated. Catholic missionaries, for example, counted among their first successes dying children, and such children were only the most marginal of other groups who earlier were attached to Catholic missions in eastern Africa. Also in this category are slaves, often also children, who arrived at missions after purchase by missionaries, escape from their masters, or release into missionary care by Europeans.[5] Others arrived at missions due to other marginalizing social experiences—as orphans, widows or abandoned wives, and refugees from war, famine, or disease. Some were brought to missions; others came on their own, seeking food, shelter, or health care.

Many such adherents soon fled or died. Yet others—and not a few—remained attached to missions through a self-conscious decision. I label them "converts," indicating that such people began to embody a historically perceivable agency and identity—they acted in ways that allow the historical imagination to more easily see their individuality, and they thought of themselves and were considered Catholic. I deem converts especially those who take a place in the historical

record and who do so with some suggestion that their sense of themselves involved belonging to a mission. It goes without saying that there might have been many others whose historical traces we cannot discern.

Eventually—and through a variety of complex historical processes—around such missions often emerged clearly Catholic peoples who achieved a shared sense of being Catholic, a collective identity and agentive capacity that represents an important generational achievement.[6] Over time people thought of themselves, and came to be thought of, as a group of Catholics, not merely aggregated Catholic individuals. Missionary evangelization and associated practices like education, health care, as well as linguistic and cultural assertions could foster such awareness, and over time certain ethnic and linguistic groups in Africa in the early twentieth century began to be considered as predominantly Catholic.

Finally, there have appeared, especially at the beginning of the late twentieth century, African Catholics who understand their Catholic identity globally—that is, they feel linked to a worldwide ecclesial network and they act with such a global awareness. I call this achieved identity the generation of internationalized Catholics.[7]

Of course, no strict boundary separates adherents, converts, local Catholic peoples, and internationalized Catholic peoples from one another, nor is the move from one to another automatic or only unidirectional. Yet these categories do, I believe, capture common transformations in identity and agency that African Catholic communities have commonly undergone over time.

The Historical Importance of Missionaries and Missionary Practices

Why is the history of African Catholic communities a task for cross-cultural history? In the first place, any study of the history of Catholic communities in eastern Africa unavoidably must consider the cross-cultural historical practices associated with missionary activity, without which such communities would never have come into being. Though most Africans have, since very early days, first been evangelized by other Africans, at some point a missionary initiative was usually present. More importantly, the effects of missionary activity go far beyond initial evangelization in which the missionaries were directly involved. Even after the church is firmly established and African-led, missionary-established institutions continue to influence African Catholics despite the absence of expatriate missionaries. In addition,

linguistic and cultural changes traceable to missionary practices shape how African Catholics act and think about themselves. Finally, African elites—especially but not only Catholics—think of themselves and act in ways that connect them to their original missionary foundation.

In eastern Africa, Catholic evangelization has largely been undertaken, organized, and overseen in the region largely by six missionary bodies comprising male priests and other members, each of whom began their work in the region between 1860 and 1902. Some are formal Catholic religious orders or congregations; others have a slightly different technical identity in the Catholic Church. These six—the Holy Ghost missionaries (or Spiritans), Missionaries of Africa (or White Fathers), Combonis, Consolatas, Benedictines, and Mill Hill missionaries—came from different places in Europe and evangelized different peoples in different circumstances. Many women's religious groups cooperated with them, and other groups, male and female, increasingly including laypeople, have followed since the mid-twentieth century.[8]

In telling the history of African Catholic communities in places like eastern Africa, proper acknowledgement of missionaries—neither overemphasizing them nor downplaying their impact—is difficult. Missionaries cannot dominate the story as so often in the past, nor can they be simply ignored or dismissed as unimportant, as in some contemporary historiography. Too often scholars, whether celebrating missionaries as heroes or denigrating them as colonial stooges, ignore their effects in fostering new Christian communities, these days largely due to well-intentioned efforts to underscore African initiatives. As Jeffrey Cox, a historian of India, recently complained in a review of a study of mission-founded Christianity in India, "[A] relentless search for the indigenous in contrast to the foreign produces a one-sided and incomplete account" of emerging Christianity.[9] Instead, taking a cross-cultural approach to their work appropriately acknowledges the role of what Cox calls "the foreign"—in this case, missionaries—without being either hagiographic or dismissive.

Understanding these missionaries well is essential for at least two reasons. First, in many cases, their records are the best—and often the only—historical source on the development of African Catholics. As a consequence, discerning African Catholic transformations unavoidably means doing the work of properly interpreting missionary records, which means understanding those who produced them and how they experienced the events and people they describe. Second, missionary practices, even if rejected or resisted, had profound effects

on the formation of African Catholics and on broader African history. Each of these reasons merits some discussion.

First, missionary writings, despite a tendency to treat them as transparent, resemble other historical sources in requiring interpretation—and thus an appreciation of the complexities of those who produced them. Missionaries have long been prodigious writers, and those who came to eastern Africa were no exception. Missionary discourse takes different forms and appears in different literary genres, was designed for different audiences, and was written for diverse reasons. Such writings draw on theological resources deriving from the seminary and other training their producers underwent, address local issues on the grounds that sometimes are very opaque as well as equally opaque dynamics in the sending country, and draw upon complex and often very particular missionary worldviews shaped by their authors' origins and biographical journeys.

Missionary discourse takes a variety of forms. Reports for the Vatican office overseeing mission, Propaganda Fide, for example, had a different purpose than those destined to a missionary's own superior at his congregation's headquarters, and events described in formal reports to Rome or London or Verona take a different coloring than the same events described in mission journals kept at mission stations, in letters written to colonial officials nearby, in international journals for popular consumption like the Catholic periodical *Les Missions Catholiques,* or in letters to friends.

Missionaries writing also had different social experiences. German Catholic missionaries among the Benedictines in German East Africa in the late nineteenth century, for example, differed in important ways from their French and Italian counterparts who evangelized in what would become Uganda and Kenya. The mostly British and Dutch missionaries of Mill Hill who served in the region also had distinctive features. Such differences shaped how each group described their work and the people they evangelized, and appreciating those differences allows better interpretation of the writings they produced.

Regarding missionary practices, these left their mark regardless of the openness to the missionary message evinced by those evangelized. It is easy to see how missionary tactics drew so-called adherents to missions—ransoming slaves, setting up orphanages, welcoming refugees. Yet such practices remained important at every stage in the generational categories I briefly outlined above, so that the effects of missionary evangelization persist to this day nearly everywhere. In considering such practices, there are certainly common aspects to Catholic approaches. Missionaries, for example, always tried to bring potential adherents to missions and sought to change such people

when they came. In making such "converts," Catholic missionaries tried to forge a sense of belonging among them, a belonging eventually to be marked formally by sacramental incorporation and ongoing commitment. And missionaries invariably pursued the formation of peoples, not just individuals, not only targeting political leaders in hopes of having others follow the chief or king, but also through concerted missionary strategies that were collective—such as the understanding of languages and cultures, and the provision of health care and education both secular and religious.

As will be discussed more fully below, missionary practices thus fostered the growth of collective identities among such converts, who often came to think of themselves as possessing interests in common due to missionary practices. The move from adherent to convert, and then to collective African Catholic identities, was certainly an African achievement—not simply caused by missionaries in a unilateral fashion. But it was carried out in response to missionary-sponsored practices.

Yet even if similar trajectories can be discerned, missionary practices varied more than is commonly appreciated, even in similar places and at similar times. Catholic missionaries differed in their resources, numbers, and the skills of their members; in their guiding ideology, both professed and operative, which was shaped by their religious and national backgrounds; in their emphasis on and commitment to the fostering of religious and priestly vocations among Africans; in the kinds of training and education that they sought to provide; in their ongoing willingness to ransom or receive slaves; and in their relationships to larger social processes like colonialism or local political unrest that structured their evangelizing efforts. French Catholic missionaries of the nineteenth century who served with the Spiritans in what would become Tanzania or Kenya, or with the White Fathers in Uganda, came from a place where Catholic education was debated within the church, and between the church and the French state. Such debates found their way not only into missionary rhetoric and discourse, but they also shaped missionary practices. German Benedictines in southern Tanzania represented a tradition in which work and prayer, *ora et labora,* had long shaped their own religious life, and their efforts to inculcate working habits among the Africans at their missions also reflected concerns about proper work habits alive in German debates related to growing industrialization in the late nineteenth century, debates in which Catholic principles figured strongly. Their negotiation with German colonial authorities in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Tanganyika also reflected the tensions between Catholics and the German state. Italian Combonis

in northern Uganda and Italian Consolatas at work in Kenya, like the German Benedictines, came as citizens of a nation-state only a few decades old, in their case a nation-state whose origins were rather overtly anti-Catholic. Their negotiations with emerging British colonial authority in what was becoming British eastern Africa reflected their experiences of church-state relations at home. For their part, the Mill Hill missionaries at work in Kenya and Uganda had natural affinities with the emerging British colonial realities due to their national origins. The particularity of missionary backgrounds fostered distinct practices in the evangelization of Africans who became Catholic.

Many such practices have ongoing relevance. In the first place, mission-founded schools and other institutions endure, shaping the lives of Africans who participate in them. In addition, there are habits of mind and heart that emerged in the wake of evangelization that abide among Africans. Many have charted, for example, the ways that missionary activity shaped languages and cultural identities among peoples in Africa and elsewhere.[10] Such changes obviously affect African Catholic communities even when expatriate missionaries are mostly absent.

Finally, the missionary effects on local Catholic communities in eastern Africa persist through a variety of transnational ties that link the local church in an ongoing way to the international missionary societies that carried out the original evangelization in a specific area. This is particularly the case in places like northern Uganda, where a significant number of expatriate Comboni missionaries continue to serve even though the people are largely Catholic. Yet even where the clergy and religious are nearly all African, relationships with the global church are often affected by the national and institutional orientations of the first missionaries. Southern Tanzania, for instance, which was first evangelized by German Benedictines, maintains stronger ties with the Catholic Church in Germany than many other places in the region. This is so not only through the few Germans who remain as monks in the area, but also because the African Benedictines often study in Germany, or develop relationships with benefactors in Germany. Such benefactions shape the ongoing life of the church in that region, so that the missionary impact persists even in the absence of actual missionaries.

Understanding African Catholic communities, therefore, at every stage in their generational evolution requires an appreciation of missionary discourses and missionary practices, requiring cross-cultural historical work.

Discerning African Catholic Agency and Emerging African Catholic Identity

Cross-cultural historical work is also needed to discern properly *agency* and *identity* in emerging African Catholics. "Agency" has become a commonplace term in historical and social science disciplines to name the capacity to act on one's own. For a historian desirous to capture such a capacity, agency thus means 'the generalized ability to represent oneself in meaningful ways."[11] In particular, agency has come to designate the domains of "creativity, inventiveness and reflexivity" achieved by human persons in the midst of various constraining factors.[12]

"Identity," like agency, can also be invoked to explain human action. If agency is used to draw attention to self-directed motivation in human action, identity does so by foregrounding the felt social bonds that unite people to one another as well as the relational self-understanding of those being considered. One recent overview of approaches to identity in the social sciences identifies three interrelated traditions in considering identity. First, there are those that stress "the internalization of social positions and their meanings as part of the self structure"; second, those foregrounding "the impact of cultural meanings and social situations on actors' identities"; and third, "the burgeoning literature on collective identity."[13]

Like many concepts used in social science, both agency and identity can be used in ways that obscure rather than reveal. One set of essays that examines agency in Africa acknowledges that it "is perhaps the most slippery and fuzzy concept the toolkit of social science has ever produced," and they confess that its deployment often betrays the biases of those doing the deploying. "[Agency]," they admit, "contains a lot of the values of the people who explain it."[14] Others have justified suspicions of the inconsistent and self-contradictory ways that the notion of identity is sometimes used—as both internalized sense of self and social ascription by others, for example.[15] While I acknowledge potential misuse, I believe that both terms continue to have value. Despite its tendency to show the biases of those who invoke it, agency remains important "in drawing together a wide and diverse range of insights into the ways in which people and their social formations negotiate the realities of circumstance."[16] Identity, too, remains important and valuable when used carefully, mindful of the complex ways senses of selfhood manifest themselves in historical forms.[17]

Prioritizing agency and identity in examining African Catholics orients historical research to counter older views that overlooked the actions and perspectives of those evangelized. Yet a focus on

agency and emerging identity has its own risks. Too often agency, for example, has been narrowly defined as protest or flight. To capture the history of African Catholics, one must discern other sorts of purposive and self-representative activity, since African *Catholic* agency by self-definition at some level necessarily accepts what missionaries offered. In a similar way, too often religious identity is invoked without reference to larger-scale historical processes of various sorts, including political changes associated with colonialism and consequent resistance, as well as changes in ethnic ascription and cultural self-understanding. Such large-scale transformations—political and sociocultural—have been very common encompassing realities for emerging African Catholic communities in eastern Africa.

In considering different generations of African Catholics, I have found it productive to prioritize the ways that African Catholics have come to their sense of themselves as Catholics within and through complex historical circumstances. Seeing identity in processual and relational terms has been crucial in appreciating historical records that often presuppose univocal approaches to identity. In considering agency, I have come to appreciate how Africans, without rejecting the missionary-inaugurated faith, nonetheless, sought to accept or engage that faith on their own terms through various agentive means. I call that engagement, especially when done collectively, the articulation of African Catholic voice, and this voice can itself disclose emerging identity of a dynamic sort.

In discerning African Christian voice, I have come to value two distinctions. The first is between individual and collective agency, something that the notion of generations seeks to highlight. The second is between two different prototypical ways that African Catholics act as agents—first, in the sociological sense associated with chosen belonging, akin to identity in an ordinary sense; second, intellectually in the kind of practice that is addressed by the theological term "inculturation."

Regarding the first distinction—between individual and collective agency—I see it as important because collective agency or voice captures an important milestone in African Catholic identity. After all, finding individual African Catholics who demonstrate overt agency is rather easy. At Catholic missions in particular many of these early converts were picked out for special training because they were deemed promising as potential priests or religious, later as catechists or, in certain cases, medical practitioners. Most therefore were subjected to formal schooling or other kinds of training, as missionary evangelization took a recognizable shape under the impact of guiding

ideals. Missionary writings often give names to and describe these potentially important individuals with whom missionaries interacted—complaining about or praising them. They praise their piety and lament their perceived disloyalty or regressions. Catechists, translators, and others attached to the mission directly such as former slaves or other marginalized people are named and their actions described. Upon arrival at "the mission," accounts mention local people who facilitate the arrival of missionaries, or who respond eagerly to the new message. A common narrative arc begins with missionary hopefulness due to some combination of hospitality and local people's promising instinctive appreciation shown for both the message brought and accompanying practical benefits like medical care, education, or protection from predatory forces nearby—sometimes "native," sometimes colonial. However, missionaries later express disappointment that such potential or actual converts failed to live up to missionary hopes.

Later, the acquisition of writing allowed a sizeable number of early African Catholics to describe their experiences in discernible ways. Many underwent extensive schooling and learned to represent themselves in ways that missionaries appreciated. Such early converts produced slave rescue narratives and stories of personal conversion—to give obvious examples—that display agency and an embrace of new identity in profound ways.

Discerning collective agency and developing collective identity is much harder, and it is here that cross-cultural historical methods can be particularly useful. To grasp traces of collective African Catholic voice in this sense—not simply reducible to resistance or uncritical acquiescence—I often rely on what Gyanendra Pandey calls "fragments."[18] Fragments, in Pandey's usage, interrupt narratives—that is, the normative ways in which the dominant tell their story—and point toward subaltern consciousness within an archive. Fragments are not just a bit or a piece broken off a "preconstituted whole," but a disturbing element in self-presentation. I have come to perceive such fragments in missionary archives when missionaries express anxiety, tension, or disagreement among themselves. When missionaries decry their converts' ingratitude, for example, often blaming their race, one therefore discerns not only missionary racism but also often African agency. Perceived ingratitude can mark the collective achievement of African Catholics who had developed a sense of themselves as sharing interests and a common identity—linked to but independent of the missionaries' interests—along with a capacity for collective self-representation.

Given how European writings "hang like a veil between the historian and African actors," one must also understand the nature of the veiling.[19] Thus, as noted above, one needs an appreciation for the particularities of missionary representation. Missionaries hide their disappointments and frustrations, or try to situate them in such a way that they are not construed as failure. One must also understand well the cultural and historical particularities of those evangelized. What Pandey calls fragments draw the veil of missionary writing more tightly so that more features of the underlying shape can be discerned.[20]

Besides understanding modes of representation, to capture African Catholic voice one must also understand the pragmatic policies of missionaries and resultant missionary practices. Such practices, embodied in education, labor regimes, and even liturgical prayer, could serve as catalysts for this collective voice—even when aspects of the missionary message were overtly rejected. This is so because missionary work created social units—school students, patients in clinics, married couples, those in preparation for baptism, people who pray the rosary—who over time came to see themselves as sharing an identity and interests. It is the expression of that identity and those interests in the historical record that I seek, and in which cross-cultural methods are crucial by connecting missionary practices with African perceptions and reactions.

A great joy in doing archival work in often mind-numbing missionary and colonial archives comes when such collective agency and identity appears. For example, many early Catholic families were given land near missions, yet were often expected to serve the mission as well. Over time, their efforts to accumulate capital for themselves from their own allotted land led to a growing awareness of their collective self-interest, something shaped by what was often a developing colonial political economy. In acting on that self-interest, these Catholics often protested missionary-sponsored restrictions or demands, and thus faced accusations from missionaries of laziness and disloyalty. But one can also discern collective African Catholic voice as they pursued their common interests as landowners.[21]

In other places, missionary evangelization empowered women in new ways, sometimes frustrating men, both missionaries and Africans, thus creating more articulations of African Catholic voice, both male and female.[22] And sometimes missionary practices, unbeknownst to the missionaries themselves, played into local understandings and fostered a growing Catholic identity—for example, when sleeping arrangements associated with boarding schools interacted with local

expectations that marked social maturity through changing sleeping places. Among the Fipa of Tanzania, for example, missionary education that presupposed evolving boarding arrangements for students felt at home in light of cultural patterns that marked stages of maturity by new living arrangements. Moving from mother's house to father's house to grandparents' house was a typical Fipa progression, and, after some initial conflicts, the mission school over time became another site for the marking of a stage of maturation.[23]

Considering such practices raises the second distinction associated with agency, that between processes of social belonging and processes of inculturation. Factors that fostered the sense of belonging that my adherent-into-convert terminology seeks to capture were many. Missionaries often sought to create enclaves for the first Africans at their missions, separating them from surrounding non-Catholic peoples by physical boundaries. In such places they usually established more or less totalizing time schedules of work, study, and prayer; mission-centered settlement and work patterns; and formidable liturgical calendars and timetables. Such enclaves sought the comprehensive formation of African elites to assist missionaries to evangelize other Africans. The results of their efforts at evangelization nearly always disappointed the missionaries who organized them. The simple growth into adulthood of onetime fervent youth could attenuate loyalties, and other social processes fostered a sense of converts' interests in conflict with missionary desires.

Regardless of missionary disappointments, such practices had profound effects. Those who left often did so with new linguistic and cultural competences that allowed them a place in a developing colonial economy. And those who stayed in turn evolved, moving from a group of individual converts into people with a collective Catholic identity. In retrospect one can see that missionary practices often forged what might be called, following E. P. Thompson's usage, a moral economy—that is, shared expectations between hierarchically order social groups—connecting missionaries with those they evangelized.[24] This missionary moral economy names, in this case, the mutual accountability that developed between African Christians and missionaries. Such shared expectations of accountability, as Thompson's original formulation of moral economy contends, are often discovered only when they are perceived to have been violated, generating protest. This "push-back" against missionaries, I believe—not a departure from the Catholic Church, but an attempt to live as Catholics on their own terms—represents an often overlooked and essential historical experience for emerging African Catholic communities. I see it as

a generation-defining achievement, in which their identity and agency appear in new ways.

Yet along with this sense of belonging discernible through an appreciation of a missionary moral economy as it is violated, becoming Catholic also represented a change in consciousness associated with valuing new symbols and symbolic practices associated with a new religion. Whenever adherents became converts their attention to Christian religious realities grew, and their appropriation of Catholic symbols and practices proceeded, often in ways unanticipated by missionaries.

Missionary practices varied in their success at forging connections between existing religious predilections and the new message they brought. Successes, however, are easy to recall, and were often trumpeted by missionaries. The White Fathers evangelizing among the Baganda, for example, upon learning of the importance of the Queen Mother of the king or *kabaka,* quickly sought to introduce Mary the Mother of Jesus into that sort of role. To this day at their missions a chapel to the Virgin often lies at the entrance to the mission compound, up the road from which appear the church and other mission buildings. In the same way, a traditional royal compound among the Baganda had a separate hut for the mother of the king. Later, Italian Consolata missionaries in Kenya believed anticolonial Mau Mau rebels had undergone oathing ceremonies during which they had carried out practices inimical to their traditional values, and had also committed violence as part of the struggle. They positioned sacramental confession within the traditional Kikuyu worldview, linking it with traditional ceremonies designed to reconcile homicides and other violators of collective morality.

In the past few decades there has been much attention to such processes of inculturation—or "localization" or "indigenization"—that is, how the evangelized made the faith their own. Some look to missionary efforts, others to the kind of intellectual, spiritual, and cultural work expended by local Christians to make sense of their faith. Translations of the Bible and other Christian texts rightly loom large in such accounts. Though I value insight into inculturation, I have come to appreciate that a distinction ought be made between new symbols and practices that converts can adopt rather quickly, and a deeper change that occurs in *how* they approach religiously valued words, deeds, and objects.

Certain anthropologists of Christianity have recently coined the term *semiotic ideology* to identify this often unexpressed operative relationship toward religious things.[25] Adopting Christian things as

important is one stage, while developing a semiotic ideology shaped by Christianity is another—and it represents the kind of change in consciousness that requires attention to the communication of different ways of approaching sacred things, not only the presentation of new sacred things. Through intellectual and symbolic effort that goes unnoticed, certain African peoples have come to possess a semiotic ideology that resembles that of Catholics elsewhere.

A developing phenomenon is thus that there are a growing number of Catholic communities in Africa that have a sense of themselves as partaking in a global Catholic reality. Such groups, often defined through language or ethnic designation, tend to have a rather large number of priests and religious, many of whom have studied overseas. They also usually possess significant Catholic institutions. One cannot visit Masaka in Uganda, most of Igboland in Nigeria, or the Catholic parts of the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro without becoming aware that these are people whose Catholic identity is quite secure. I would say it is both profoundly local and profoundly global for their Catholic sense of themselves coexists quite comfortably with their sense of themselves as Africans—and as distinct among Africans.

How does this happen? In the first place, certain public experiences in which their Catholic identity was publicly performed conduced toward this sense of themselves—for example, royal or semiroyal rituals of incorporation in the Church, large ceremonies of dedication to a Catholic saint or devotional image, the growth of seminaries and residences of religious orders, the naming of bishops from the group in question, or the visit of international Catholic figures (whether leaders of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal or the Bishop of Rome).

In all these cases as well, however, other non-Catholic Christian reference groups existed nearby, against which Catholic identity assumed salience for the people in question. This place of reference groups in relationship to which Catholics define themselves in an oppositional manner points toward the historically evolving shape of African Catholic identity. Discerning the reference groups in relation to which African Catholics come to a sense of themselves as distinctive—and often as distinctively transnational—represents an ongoing research challenge.

Conclusion

The generational stages I have identified—adherents, converts, local Catholic peoples, and internationalized Catholic peoples—are loose, meant primarily to stimulate thought through comparison. Yet it does

seem to me that they capture something in a particularly Catholic agency and identity among Africans who become Catholic. In addition, their proper discernment and explanation depends on cross-cultural historical methods—both because the sources themselves have diverse cultural and historical origins and because the historical forces that shaped such generational achievements were themselves cross-cultural. Further historical details—which I am currently gathering—may well contest or modify these generational categories. Yet my guess is that the need for cross-cultural historical methods to discern with appropriate fine-grained texture the emergence of Catholic communities in eastern Africa will not go away.

NOTES

1. On the notion of inculturation, see Laurenti Magesa, *Anatomy of Inculturation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2004) for a summary and discussion.
2. Paul Kollman. "Classifying African Religions Past, Present, and Future: Part One. Ogbu Kalu and the Appropriation of Pentecostalism," *Journal of Religion in Africa,* 40 (2010): 3–32.
3. Stephen Lovell. *Generations in Twentieth-Century Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1–18.
4. Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Berlin, "Coming to Terms with Slavery in Twenty-First-Century America," in *Slavery and Public History,* ed. James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton (New York: New Press, 2006), 1–17; Berlin, "American Slavery in History and Memory." in *Slavery, Resistance, Freedom,* ed. Gabor Boritt and Scott Hancock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1–20.
5. Paul Kollman, *The Evangelization of Slaves and Catholic Origins in Eastern Africa* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2005); Michael W. Tuck, "Women's Experiences of Enslavement and Slavery in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Uganda," in *Slavery in the Great Lakes Region of East Africa,* ed. Henry Médard and Shane Doyle (Oxford: James Currey, 2007), 174–188.
6. For examples of studies that consider such historical processes, see the following: Dorothy Hodgson, *The Church of Women: Gendered Encounters between Maasai and Missionaries* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005); Kollman, *The Evangelization of Slaves*; Kathleen Smythe, *Fipa Families: Reproduction and Catholic Evangelization in Nkansi, Ufipa, 1880–1960* (Portsmouth, NH:

Heinemann, 2006); Phyllis Martin, *Catholic Women of Congo-Brazzaville: Mothers and Sisters in Troubled Times* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009).

7. For a discussion of how Catholics in Africa interact with the global Catholic community, see Paul Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998).
8. Important sources on the history of Christianity in eastern Africa include Roland Oliver, *The Missionary Factor in East Africa* (London: Longmans, 1952); W. B. Anderson, *The Church in East Africa, 1840–1974* (Dodoma, Tanzania: Central Tanganyika Press, 1977); Thomas Spear and Isaria N. Kimambo, eds., *East African Expressions of Christianity* (Oxford: James Currey, 1999). On the particular missionary societies mentioned, see the following: Francis Nolan, *Mission to the Great Lakes: The White Fathers in Western Tanzania, 1878–1978* (Tabora, Tanzania: T.M.P. Book Department, 1978); Alberto Trevisiol, *Uscirono per dissodare il campo: Pagine di storia dei missionary della Consolata in Kenya: 1902–1981* (Rome: Edizioni Missioni Consolata, 1989); Hans Burgman, *The Way the Catholic Church Started in Western Kenya* (Nairobi: Mission Book Service, 1990); Lambert Doerr, *Peramiho 1898–1998: In the Service of the Missionary Church.* 3 vol (Ndanda and Peramiho, Tanzania: Benedictine Publications, 1998); Lawrence M. Njoroge, *A Century of Catholic Endeavor: Holy Ghost and Consolata Missions in Kenya* (Nairobi: Paulines, 1999); Robert O'Neil, *Mission to the Upper Nile* (London: Mission Book Service, 1999); Giovanni Tebaldi, *Consolata Missionaries in the World (1901–2001)* (Nairobi: Paulines Publications, 1999); Mario Cisternino, *Passion for Africa: Missionary and Imperial Papers on the Evangelisation of Uganda and Sudan, 1848–1923* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2004); Cothrai Gogan *History of the Holy Ghost Mission in Kenya* (Nairobi: Paulines Publications, 2005); Kollman, *The Evangelization of Slaves*; Aylward Shorter, *Cross & Flag in Africa: The "White Fathers" during the Colonial Scramble (1892–1914)* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books 2006); Shorter, *African Recruits & Missionary Conscripts: The White Fathers and the Great War (1914–1922)* (London: Missionaries of Africa History Project, 2007); Jean-Claude Ceillier, *Histoire des missionnaires d'Afrique (Pères blancs): de la fondation par Mgr Lavigerie à la mort du fondateur (1868–1892)* (Paris: Karthala, 2008).
9. Jeffrey Cox, review of "*Christian Identity and Dalit Religion in Hindu India, 1868–1947* by Chad M. Bauman, *The American Historical Review* 115 (2010): 526–27; see also Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (New York & London: Routledge, 2008), 252ff.
10. Leroy Vail, ed., *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991); Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, Volume Two: *The*

Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Joseph Errington, *Linguistics in a Colonial World: A Story of Language, Meaning, and Power* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008).

11. Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution,* 48; Kollman, *The Evangelization of Slaves,* 18, n. 35.
12. Miriam de Bruijn, Rijk van Dijk, and Jan-Bart Gewald, eds., *Strength Beyond Structure: Social and Historical Trajectories of Agency in Africa* (Leiden: Brill. 2007), 1. The notion has proliferated in relation to the development of practice theory in social science, often in close relationship to analyses of social structure. In comparison to social structure, usually presumed to restrict human behavior through imposed and/or accepted social expectations, appeals to agency strive to capture the purposeful social, political, and moral activity of human persons that somehow elude prescriptive controls indicated by structural assumptions. Against an earlier set of presumptions that set agency against structure, over the past three decades ever more sophisticated models of the relationship between structure and agency have been developed, emphasizing their dialectical relationship. See John W. Meyer, "World Society, Institutional Theories, and the Actor," *Annual Review of Sociology* 36 (2010): 1–20.
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Chapter 8

Conflict and Compromise: Western Medicine and Cultural Contestation in Colonial Kenya

George O. Ndege

In recent years, historians of colonial medicine have not only provided an analytical framework for the understanding of the role, authority, and influence of imperialist policies on Western medicine and the changing relationship with the people it was meant to serve, but they have also brought into the orbit of analysis the tension between the "medical occupier" and the colonized.[1] The theme of tension has formed a primary motif in the new social history of interaction and change that characterized the introduction of Western health and healing tradition in the colonial context. Despite the nineteenth-century advances in medicine and attendant discoveries, victory in the conquest of tropical diseases was not immediately realized, which is indicative of its limitations as well as that of imperial authorities in acculturating the masses to the Western medical order.[2]

The local communities harnessed their cultural capital, which encapsulated within its interstices traditional medical practices, to interrogate and challenge Western medicine, especially its acclaim of universality. By rejecting a "linear master narrative," traditional Kenyan society sought to eschew what Tomes and Warner have aptly

described as "a simple hierarchical, top-down diffusion model for medical knowledge."[3]

This chapter examines the use of colonial power, as imagined and interpreted by both the state and the African society in colonial Kenya, in coping with the emergent epidemics that spiraled during the infancy of imperial conquest and governance. The debates on diagnosis, prescription therapies, death, and interment mirror the tensions brought on by the colonial state and medical authorities' linear top-down monologue that sought to marginalize the traditional ways in the emergent new order.

The construction and crystallization of Kenya from a polyglot of communities to a colonial terrain, though gradual and uneven, was a combined function of force, diplomacy, and epidemics.[4] A number of communities in Kenya caught the first glimpse and fears of colonial state through the prism of conquest and epidemics.[5] Apart from taxation and pacification wars, the only activities that directly impinged on African lives were involuntary relocation to stem the spread of sleeping sickness, as well as inoculation and vaccination campaigns against such epidemic diseases as smallpox, plague, and yaws mounted by the government. The medical interventions were contemporaneous with imperial wars of conquest.[6] Perhaps the most poignant clue to medical work in the rural areas was the incongruity of the task that confronted those who had been assigned the duty of administering colonial Kenya. Since there were very few government officers to effectively manage the protectorate, the colonial state adopted a central command system in which responsibility was shared among European officers. Government officials, whatever their training and background, had to do more than practice their professions once in Kenya.[7] As a result, the duties of a Medical Officer of Health were many and varied: a clinician, a lecturer in eugenics, a Medical Officer of Health, an educationalist, and amateur agriculturist.[8]

The nature of the government provision of medical services in the rural areas caused tension and anxiety among Africans because of the close association between medical officers and other state officials, especially security personnel. The colonial state was invested with enormous powers by the British to establish order and control over the protectorate beginning 1895. That mandate resulted in wars of pacification leading to loss of lives, destruction of homes, and massive relocation of population, as the state appropriated alienated land for settlement of Europeans, as well as construction of administrative centers.

Across the length and breadth of the country, the colonial process was force driven, but short on negotiated solutions. The traditional political and cultural landscape was turned into a terrain of division and identity conflict. The concurrence of pacification campaigns with devastating epidemics was dramatic not only because of the pain and trauma it wreaked on the population, but also because of the disruption of the traditional rhythm of cultural normalcy. Thus, indigenous population saw the state's engagement with colonized bodies as an index of wider power relations whose latent purpose was cultural subjugation. It resulted in Africans framing government responses to the emergent epidemics in dualistic terms of "them" versus "us" and "their" versus "our" ways. The binary split is best epitomized by the power and cultural dilemmas that both the state and Africans faced during the public health campaigns against epidemics.

In and around Lake Victoria, sleeping sickness caught the colonial administration by surprise. Colonial records are replete with references to the disruptive nature of the epidemic, mortality rates, and the unpreparedness of the state; "the country has already been devastated by the ravages of the terrible disease known as Sleeping Sickness,"[9] and "sleeping sickness continues to claim its victims and many formerly thickly populated areas are reported to be almost denuded of people."[10] In addition, "it is impossible to estimate the number of deaths which have occurred from sleeping sickness in the province. They must amount, however, to many thousands."[11]

The method of containing the pestilence evoked several competing strategies of which the most common was quarantining the already indisposed from those who were presumed to be uninfected followed by relocation to different sleeping camps in an uninhabited frontier. It is significant that the approach focused on the population rather than the epidemic itself because little was known about sleeping sickness in the ecological space of the Lake Victoria Basin.[12] The irony is that Western medicine was introduced as the solution to all, not some epidemics. Its acclaim of universality was thus put to test. It was assumed that by separating the infected from the healthy, lives would be saved and the epidemic contained in short course. The issue, however, was the method and process of determining the status of the individuals in the absence of laboratory tests.

Relocation to these camps was not by persuasion. Force was the preferred method. Yet, it was also the main method of imperial conquest. The colonial agents who were involved in forceful relocation were the same people who had collaborated with the imperial state during the establishment of colonial rule. There was hardly any

distinction between pacification campaigns and the colonial public health measures to contain the spread of sleeping sickness. Health care infrastructure was lacking in the Lake Victoria Basin. Hospitals, laboratories, and a thorough knowledge of the terrain where the uninfected were to be resettled were all prerequisites for any success in the strategy adopted by the colonial state. Hospitals were not only nominally existent; they also lacked personnel and facilities that would have enabled the diagnosis of the patients at the earliest convenience.

It is against the foregoing backdrop of cultural omissions that Africans interrogated content, method, and intent of colonial medical intervention. Why should they continue to die in the camps despite assurance from colonial administration that the camps were "safe settlements"? Why should those who had been "healthy" succumb to the epidemic after their involuntary relocation? Were the deaths caused by the epidemic or other factors? The colonial administration dismissed these apprehensions without any contextual interpretation. Instead, the officials blamed the victims, stating that it "was very difficult to induce families to take any precautions."[13] The uses of such phrases to describe African apprehension were not uncommon because they fit cultural mapping, which confined colonized bodies to the closet of the "other." Critique of colonial methods was viewed through the oppositional prism of the more "advanced" medical culture versus the "other culture." It was a way of dismissing and silencing local tradition because the recalcitrant Africans were unwilling to appreciate cultural benevolence of the state.

That the colonial state meant well was not in doubt. It was its inflexibility and the othering of the locals simply because as colonial subjects they did not comport with the colonizers' ways of knowledge and action that widened differences between it and traditional society.[14] African concerns went to the very foundation of the techniques and practices of diagnosis as well as the attendant modes of preventing the emergent epidemics. Indeed, the foremost challenge to the state was its experts' sparse knowledge about tropical diseases that was still evolving and continuously being shaped by the emergent epidemics and the intensified research and experiments on how to contain them.

The issue therefore was not taking precautions per se as contended by Johnston, but rather the course, context as well as impact of such precautions on human lives. Diagnosis of sleeping sickness, as indeed of most other diseases such as bubonic plague and smallpox during the infancy of colonial rule, was often performed late due to undeveloped infrastructure and lack of personnel.[15] Some of those who were

infected, but had not yet developed the symptoms mingled with the not yet indisposed people. Quarantining that was relentlessly pursued by the state failed to attain the desired objectives despite assurances by the colonial state that individuals evacuated had not been infected and hence would be secure. This, however, was not the case.

The camps were not exempt from the high mortality rates. Death visited the camps just as it had the households before the relocation exercise, albeit now those who were presumed to be healthy were succumbing to the epidemic. The narrative changed as in the homes the sick died, while in the camps people, even the healthy, died. Either way, the results were quite disappointing. In disillusionment, the local community saw no hope in a state-sponsored program that only ended in more casualties. The responses to the state-sponsored measures were many and varied, the most important of which included armed resistance and flight.

African's cultural apprehensions stemmed from their tested and hallowed traditions of founding a frontier settlement/village, which in their view was not dissimilar from the camps they were involuntarily being moved to. The difference was how they identified new settlements, read the landscape, handled real and imagined epidemic fears, and performed rituals to ensure material success, healthy environment, moral stability, and transplanting of their culture. The rites and rituals that were performed gave meaning to new frontier settlement as culturally sanctioned lands. The state and its agents had ignored the cultural grammar of rites and rituals as pertains to settlement. Since the local populations were not consulted and allowed to utilize their cultural capital to facilitate relocation, the belief was that deaths in camps were not only because of sleeping sickness, but they were also brought on by the broken taboos.[16]

Since sleeping sickness was a rural disease, the emergence of bubonic plague in the nascent urban areas created another cultural disruption. The blending of Western medicine and the state in the management of bubonic plague in the major urban areas of Kisumu, Nairobi, and Mombasa also involved cultural mapping of the "Other." Planning of towns in colonial Kenya was based on separation of various groups in the country: Africans, Asians, and Europeans.[17] A corollary to this social construction of towns was that the Europeans occupied cordoned-off residential places separated from the other groups.[18] The European areas were invariably situated on higher elevation. They were far removed from the swampy and flood-prone areas. In contrast, housing conditions in the African and in certain Indian urban residential areas made them vulnerable to bubonic plague outbreaks.[19]

Although constituting the majority of the population in the townships, most Africans lived in comparatively congested locations lacking in basic sanitary facilities.[20] Susceptibility and distribution of the habitat of *Rattus rattus* came to be directly linked to the African areas. The micropolitics of urban settlement reinforced the notion of the "diseased native," which became a powerful discursive colonial strategy in the public health campaigns to stem the tide of the plague.

The Medical Research Laboratory in Nairobi distributed Haffkine plague vaccine, which left many people groaning in pain. Such alarming reactions made many people avoid the vaccine. John A. Carman, who was at the forefront of administering the vaccine, noted that "when we had been at it for a week, all the roads and fields began to be deserted."[21] The vaccine was sometimes administered when the victims were already overwhelmed and they eventually succumbed to the epidemic. The other preventive measures involved pulling down of slum settlements, as well as burning of houses in rural areas, which were heavily impacted by the plague with a view to destroying the rat habitat. The methods were considered brutal and inhuman, and caused a lot of cultural disquiet among the Africans. The anxiety stemmed not from being rendered homeless, but rather the burning of a house, something that was unthinkable in traditional society. It constituted a high crime, a taboo, which rendered the perpetrator an outcast who had to be cleansed.[22] Associating with the perpetrator before reintegration into society through solemn and elaborate rituals violated societal moral code. Consequently, attention shifted from the victims of the plague to those whose reticent sensibility polluted the cultural landscape. The medical authorities as well as state agents who sanctioned and participated in destroying houses and slum dwellings were not of and for them. Their lack of cultural empathy widened the gap between state and society at a critical juncture in the campaign against the plague.

Some of the victims of sleeping sickness and plague ended up in hospitals where the number of deaths in cases of recorded admissions was quite high during the first few decades of colonial rule. In some cases the death rates were over 100 per 1,000 admissions.[23] As a result, the establishment of hospitals led to fears that most people who went to the hospital for treatment were brought back dead or never seen again. The rumor of "disappearing bodies" became fairly widespread.[24] Anxieties were grounded on facts of occurrences in hospitals, and the fears were real. Transport to and from the hospitals was inadequate. Thus frequent visitations to check on patients, particularly on a daily basis, were not only uncommon, but also not quite

practical. The instrumentality of hospitals in the maintenance of the colonial medical order was wanting because they lacked architectural, professional, and cultural threshold of viability as projected by the state.

Moreover, lack of mortuaries meant that the victims of an epidemic in the hospitals were disposed of at the earliest possible convenience to avoid potential health hazards. This made perfect sense for colonial medical authorities whose cultural backdrop was British law that sanctioned such interment. The Public Health Law (1853) and the Contagious Diseases Act (1867) in England, for example, were responses to the needs revealed and created by individualists "who would rather take chance with death than be bullied into health."[25] Such laissez-faire views were voided by the law on the grounds that diseases such as smallpox, cholera, and plague were a menace to the public. The Public Health legislation in Britain was a response to the adverse effects of industrial revolution and crowding in the cities. It was a sanitation and class issue. In the Kenyan context it threatened the foundation of the African cultural fabric that purposefully linked the past, present, and future. Dealing with the dying and handling interment was critical in defining one's life and belonging to a community as well as in transitioning to the next one of ancestors. Hasty burials by colonial authorities, on public health grounds, appeared suspicious, and went against cultural traditions of being and belonging.[26] The fitness to exist and be remembered by the living after departing to the hereafter, or the defeat of being erased from the catalogue of those that once lived, were destinies tied up in the process of dying, as well as place and rites of interment. Thus, "honorable" burial represented a prolongation of life beyond the present.[27] Susan Whyte could not have put it much better when she averred: "[D]ealing with the dead affirms a home: their burial, their ceremonies, the collections of their shades and the way they draw descendants to a place where they can be remembered are all crucial to this process."[28]

Moreover, among most communities, the burial place determined inheritance rights.[29] Tradition recognized claim to land if one's ancestor was buried on a site. The place of interment was culturally a hallowed ground. Burial and attendant rituals tied the deceased to a real home and accorded descendants the right to property. In life, in sickness, and in death the individual remained subject of culture.

As the colonial period wore on, especially from the 1920s, fissions surfaced from within the colonial establishment with some officials directly questioning the purpose and any successes or achievements attained so far in the myriad of sanitary measures that had been used

thus far. Attention shifted to the concerns that had for the previous three decades been raised by the local communities. This audit led, from the second decade of the twentieth century, to a recast of the previous hostile and brutal ways of enforcing involuntary relocation to one focused on tolerance and systematic persuasion.[30] Provincial and district commissioners were instructed to wage a massive campaign to win the confidence of the local community and leadership.[31] Whereas previously African initiatives were considered antiquated residues deriving from the cultural signposts of the past that had no place in the emergent world of Western medical science, as framed and relayed to the local populations by the colonial state as well as medical officials, the shift was a response to the local critique of the paternalistic attitude exhibited by colonial administration. This recast was given further impetus by the 1914 Simpson and East Africa Protectorate Commission Reports. Both reports called for the training of more Africans for deployment into the colonial medical service. By the end of 1922 the National Laboratory had begun the training of Africans in elementary laboratory techniques such as the making, staining, and examination of blood films.[32] By 1923 the training of African Medical Assistants had also begun. Some of those trained in laboratory work as well as the Medical Assistants were already earmarked for posting to the outlying hospitals.[33] A decade later the shift in policy from an overly militaristic phase to a more nominally tolerant and consultative agenda was beginning to yield positive results reflected by the number of people visiting hospitals and by the cooperation between the central government and local native councils in establishing local dispensaries where African medical personnel worked.[34]

A number of factors coalesced to lower the level of confrontation and cultural hedging that characterized the first couple of decades. First, it was in the best interest of the colonial settler economy, hence the need to secure closer coordination of policy and control of human diseases to facilitate the migration of labor. Also, the conquest phase of the protectorate had been concluded. The government toned down its militancy and warmed up to local cultures, giving legal recognition to tradition in the exercise of what was constituted as customary law. Legal recognition notwithstanding, the critical issue was emergence of a new normalcy in what was hitherto fiercely contested cultural terrain. The result was a more consultative and inclusive approach, but with each tradition having its sphere of comfort. African medicinal practices continued to thrive and remained a potent force.

Most Africans chose and mixed best ingredients from the two medical cultures. An individual consulting a diviner, and/or partaking

of herbal medicine before or after visiting a colonial physician, was neither uncommon nor a cultural aberration. The Africans were comfortable with living in both the worlds of traditional and Western therapeutic systems. With the expansion of Western education and the hiring of African medical personnel, the early binary conversation became less pronounced. Africans in the colonial service were of them even if not always for them.

The history of Western medicine in early colonial Kenya is thus a narrative of pervasive contestations over the domain of culture, specifically the meanings of health and healing. Its noble intent and objective of extending short lives and stopping sudden deaths, during epidemics, was compromised by two main factors: perverted idealism that it had a universal definition not subject to local interpretation as well as its disruptive effect on the meaningfulness of local culture. European medical experts, bureaucrats, and politicians in Kenya found themselves in unfamiliar terrain littered with a rich variety of voices that gave cultural counterpoints not of harmony but of dissonance to the universal definition of sanitary concepts as presented by the state and medical authorities. The result was an encounter between Western scientific principles of investigative and curative medicine and the indigenous therapeutic practices that were deeply embedded in culture.

And yet, Western health and healing tradition was a critical ingredient of imperial expansion and remained integral to colonialism's political concerns, its economic intents, and its cultural content. The state's plans and measures were too ambitious for the limited resources as well as sparse knowledge of medical practitioners about local environments and cultures. There was a mismatch between ambition and available resources. Western medicine represented a new culture that was projected by its primary cosponsors, the state and the scientific community, as the only acceptable form of treatment. The colonial state was reluctant to listen to the responses from the indigenous population in the very diverse circumstances, which differed from the metropolitan country where the methods of prevention, control, and containment were conceived. Its homogenizing agenda denied local culture audience in a region that was experiencing not only epidemic upheaval, but also sociopolitical stress. Whatever measures put in place were vaguely formulated with medical experts as the actual sole source of values, which Africans saw as culturally intrusive. The binary discourse of the pre-1920 period was a manifestation of the presumed supremacy of newly instituted biomedical means and ways of knowing over the traditional means and ways of experience, verifying, and

doing. The cultural apprehensions, which initially created seeds of pessimism about the future of Western medicine in Kenya as it sought to contain ravaging epidemics, underwent moderation as colonial society stabilized and the toleration of otherness came to resemble normalness.

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Part IV

Cultural Adaptations

Chapter 9

Genealogies, Geopolitics, and Governance: The Indigenization of the Native Nation and U.S. Colony of Hawai‘i, 1874–1904

Christine Skwiot

This chapter examines how two nationalist ali‘i (chiefs, chiefesses, later royal rulers and leaders) navigated two successive moments of crisis of power and authority in the Native nation and U.S. colony of Hawai‘i. The first began with the contested election of David Kalākaua as mō‘ī (highest ali‘i, later monarch) and his ascension to the throne of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i in 1874. The second began with the equally contested U.S. annexation of Hawai‘i in 1898 and imposition of formal colonial rule two years later. In the first instance, the modernizing nationalist King Kalākaua undertook the cultural, demographic, and political revitalization of the lāhui (nation and people). Facing threats from within and without, he adapted symbols and structures of Western nationhood to Native ideologies and institutions to indigenize the Kingdom and ensure its perpetuation as a member of the world family of nations. In the second instance, haole (stranger, later Anglo-Saxon settler) undertook to legitimate white colonial governance among Native Hawaiians, most of whom opposed U.S. annexation and colonial rule. Emma Kaili Metcalf

Beckley Nakuina challenged haole efforts to claim the right to rule by asserting genealogical connections to Hawai'i and Hawaiians. She insisted on the primacy of indigenous genealogies and the insufficiency of their Western counterparts. Utilizing the insights of what Marshall Sahlins calls the "indigenization of modernity," this chapter traces how efforts to defend the independent and occupied lāhui by adapting Western nationalism and nationhood to Native political projects exhibited continuity across the national and colonial periods.[1]

Coming to the throne through a contested election in 1874, Kalākaua lacked legitimacy in the eyes of many Hawaiians and haole. Fundamentally to Hawaiians (and unlike his rival for the throne), he was not of the Kamehameha line, which many felt compromised the authority and power of king and kingdom. Haole planters lent their support to Kalākaua after he pledged to pursue a reciprocity treaty with the United States that would allow the duty-free entry of sugar into that nation. To the dismay of his rival's supporters and to the delight of leading nonplanter haole, reciprocity seemed to represent the first step toward U.S. annexation. Many nonplanter haole opposed both the king and the planters. They feared the conversion of Hawaiian society into a plantation society comprising a majority of Asian contract workers and a minority of aristocratic white planters as much as they came to despise living under a Polynesian monarch and in a multiethnic, multinational state. Their dreams of making Hawai'i part of an imaginary white U.S. republic was premised on the belief that the Hawaiian people would soon die out (and Asians would leave upon completion of their labor contracts). Demographics seemed to confirm "fatal impact" beliefs. Death and infertility resulting from imported diseases, associated socioeconomic and politico-cultural upheavals, and missionary-led efforts at cultural erasure reduced the precontact population by nearly 90 percent by the end of the nineteenth century.[2] As a haole derisively remarked in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* shortly before the Reciprocity Treaty took effect in 1876, "Should your people continue to decline . . . the present *courtesy* of foreign recognition will be withdrawn." Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio shows that contemporaries believed that the Kingdom lived only because Hawaiians lived.[3]

The New England missionaries and their descendants had toiled to eradicate most things Native since the first of their members arrived in Hawai'i in 1820. King Kalākaua fostered native nationalism, demographic renewal, and cultural renaissance under the banner "Ho'oulu Lāhui" (Increase the Nation). He revitalized Hawaiian culture, genealogy, healing practices, history, language, and religion and

launched a search for a "cognate people" to reverse native demographic decline. He thereby sought to govern Hawaiians in resistance to Euro-American colonial incursions. But his need for the support of haole, particularly planters, compelled him to validate his kingship through modern nation-state building projects, most importantly public works for the expanding plantation economy. Like previous monarchs, Kalākaua sought, in Sally Engle Merry's astute formulation, "to purchase independence with the coin of civilization."[4] He continued a tradition of importing Western modernity to Hawai'i to demonstrate the civilized standing of Hawai'i and Hawaiians to observers within and without. He undertook with far more determination than his predecessors to indigenize the international to shore up the nation-state.

Kalākaua brought the global to bear on his local projects of revitalizing the Hawaiian people. He harnessed plans for a coronation he planned to hold at the future 'Iolani Palace in 1883 to a globe-girdling trip he made in 1881, the first round-the-world tour undertaken by any reigning monarch. Kalākaua set three overlapping and mutually sustaining goals for his tour: (1) to recruit immigrants who could work the cane and were "cognate peoples" of Hawaiians who would help reverse their demographic decline; (2) to secure recognition from the world family of nations of the civilized standing of the Hawaiian nation and people; and (3) to make comparative study of the exercise of monarchical power and trappings of monarchical authority.[5]

Japan and the Japanese were the nation and people with which King Kalākaua most closely identified and with whom he especially sought geopolitical and genealogical alliances. The Meiji emperor honored the first foreign monarch to visit Japan, lavishing every attention on Kalākaua and extending his visit. Kalākaua offered to recognize Japan as an equal member of the world family of nations by abrogating the extraterritorial clauses the West had imposed on Japan, a move that cemented goodwill between the two nations. The king extended to the Japanese an invitation to immigrate to and settle in Hawai'i and offered up a vision of how they might grow prosperous and populous together. In a private audience with the emperor, Kalākaua suggested the formation of a Union and Federation of the Asiatic nations and sovereigns headed by Japan and proposed a marriage between a Hawaiian princess and Japanese prince to formalize these ties.[6] Japan declined both offers. Still, the Meiji praised the "profound and far-seeing view" of Kalākaua, noting "we cannot hope to be strong and powerful . . . [until we] restore to us all attributes of a nation. To do this our Eastern nations ought to fortify themselves

within the walls of such Union and Federation and by uniting their power to endeavor to maintain their footing against those powerful nations of Europe and America."[7] To help Hawai'i resist U.S. colonial incursions, the emperor promised to send a prominent representative to the king's coronation.

Kalākaua drew on Hawaiian genealogies to trace familial and political bonds between the Japanese and Hawaiians. Far more than tree-like diagrams of who begat whom, Hawaiian genealogies trace the origins of the people to the land and sea; they "connect people to each other and the land" and thus are about relatedness.[8] They also are "the Hawaiian concept of time, and they order [the] space" that bind people and place, present and past: Hawaiians look forward to the known past and backward to the unknowable future.[9] Hawaiian genealogies constitute temporal and spatial relationships that entail multiple and extended loyalties and obligations.

Kalākaua expounded on the shared genealogies of Hawaiians and Japanese in *The Legends and Myths of Hawai'i,* published for an international audience of English-speakers in 1888. Many of them would have recognized that his were proper mo'olelo (histories, legends, stories), that is, intended to offer "lessons from the past intended to guide" behavior in the present.[10] "The Iron Knife" recounted a story about a Japanese shipwreck in Hawai'i in the thirteenth century. The two female relatives of the shipwrecked captain married ali'i men, while the two Japanese sailors married Hawaiian women. The descendants of these families "were plentiful thereafter." The captain, "who did not come as a conqueror," brought the first metal to Hawai'i in the form of an iron knife. Its powers became legendary. At the end of this story, the knife was used to ransom Kalaunui, the first king who attempted to unify the Hawaiian archipelago. Along with the ransom, the king's daughter, Kapapa, agreed to marry chief Kualu, who had taken the knife from the Japanese captain in a victorious battle of the failed unification bid. Kapapa and Kualu became an influential family and the progenitor of famous kings. Kalākaua's rendition "The Iron Knife" implied that the familial and political bonds between Hawai'i and Japan long predated ties between Hawai'i and the United States, ties many haole invoked to proclaim that U.S. annexation would result from a history of cross-cultural marriages between and governance by Hawaiians and Anglo-Americans. Illustrating the ways an acculturated Japanese captain defended his adopted Hawaiian family and polity from a usurping king, the king's portrayal of the Japanese as defenders and progenitors of the Kingdom in "The Iron Knife" resembled the instructions he gave to diplomats charged with negotiating Japanese

migration. He told them to stress to Japan the need for kith and kin to "repeople our Island Home" and "produce a new and vigorous nation" able to defend its sovereignty in the face of U.S. annexationist designs.[11]

The king's brilliant appearances at Asian and European courts bolstered claims about the civilized standing of Hawai'i and led the world's most powerful nations to affirm the sovereignty of the Kingdom. While Kalākaua admired royal displays of power and authority throughout Asia and Europe, he accepted that the West set the international standard for all things monarchical, whether food for banquets, uniforms for marching bands, the exchange of orders, or the design and decoration of palaces. Making careful study of European monarchies and the trappings of monarchical power, Kalākaua and his advisors incorporated their findings into the design of 'Iolani Palace, a coronation upon its completion in 1883, and a fiftieth-birthday jubilee in 1886. Intended to inspire nationalist pride among Hawaiians and demonstrate the civilized standing of a court modeled on Europe's best, both coronation and jubilee were hybrid affairs. At the coronation, the king was invested with the feather cloak worn by Kamehameha I and a bejeweled gold crown executed in Europe. The state's Prussian-style Royal Hawaiian Band played, and the king's retinue of hula dancers performed. For the first performance of hula, banned by missionaries, at a high state affair in over half a century, court musicians and choreographers produced a new genre: hula ku'i. It combined elements of Hawaiian and Western music and dance.[12] But more than hybridity was at work here.

At his coronation, Kalākaua used the "international grammar of nationhood" to translate the lāhui to the world family of nations, which, in recognizing the independence of the Kingdom, committed to the defense of its sovereignty. At the same time, he used Western trappings of monarchical authority and power to put the Hawaiian nation on a stronger indigenous foundation. The coronation pavilion combined elements of Asian, European, and Polynesian design to present the civilized and cosmopolitan Kingdom as a full and equal member of the world family of nations. The ceiling of its dome was painted with the Hawaiian coat of arms and inscribed with the names of former Hawaiian rulers. The former proclaimed the "rightness" and "righteousness" of the nation while the latter testified to the Kalākaua dynasty as the rightful heir to a long succession of chiefs and monarchs. Each of the eight panels of the dome represented an island of the Kingdom; each was decorated with the shield of a nation and ally of the Kingdom. : Of these—Austria, Great Britain, Germany, Hawai'i,

Italy, the Netherlands, Russia, and the United States—only the United States, from which most of the annexationist element came, was not or did not have a monarchy. The eight panels represented the need for the unity of the Kingdom in the perpetuation of its independence, while the eight state shields confirmed the global standing of the Hawaiian monarchy and the global importance of monarchical government in world politics.[13] The Kingdom thereby rejected the U.S. claim that the ideal form of nationhood and empire was republican and challenged the annexationist belief that the Kingdom would soon become part of the U.S. imperial republic.

The pavilion stood on the grounds of ʻIolani Palace (the grand opening of which coincided with coronation day). Variously described as American Florentine, French Rococo, or Hawaiian Gothic, ʻIolani Palace was decorated with the finest furniture from Asia, Europe, and the United States and boasted the most modern construction materials and conveniences (it had electricity before the White House or Buckingham Palace did). But if ʻIolani was a Western palace, it was also a heiau, or temple, of a King who was also a kahuna, or priest. This paramount religio-political ruler was an intermediary between the gods and the people, charged with and capable of channeling the mana that ensured the productivity of the lands and waters and the welfare of the people. The name of the temple-palace signified the ʻio, a hawk endemic to the Island of Hawaiʻi, homeland of great chiefs and kings, held to be omniscient and able to fly so high that it could connect with the gods. The cosmological and the structural, the international and the indigenous converged in the proclamation of Kalākaua as the rightful and righteous mōʻī of the lāhui and king of the nation of Hawaiʻi.[14]

Haole did not object to Kalākaua's massive government expenditures for projects that served their interests, but they labeled ʻIolani Palace, his coronation, and his fiftieth-birthday jubilee in 1886 extravagant wastes of state funds. Nonplanter haole denounced these affairs and the performance of hula at them as proof of a resurgence of barbarism that called into question Hawaiians' capacity for independent citizenship and nationhood. The then princess and future queen, Liliʻuokalani, presciently commented of the coronation, "Naturally those among us who did not desire to have us remain a nation would look on an expenditure of this kind as worse than wasted."[15] The publisher Thomas Thrum denounced the coronation as "silly, wasteful and provoking tomfoolery." William Castle brought obscenity charges against the publishers who produced a program listing the mele (chant) and hula performed. Among them was a *hula maʻi*.

A song honoring the genitals of a chief, its reenactment of the genealogy of the king was crucial for establishing his legitimacy in the eyes of Hawaiians. Haole thought it "smut." Similarly, after the jubilee, the *Honolulu Daily Bulletin* said, "Let the Hawaiian be once fully saturated with American ideas of liberty and personal independence . . . . While the Hawaiian is wedded by ignorance to superstitious ideas and practices, he can never stand side by side, on the same plane with Bulgarian or American, as a free citizen of a free country." Haole regarded the civilizing process as a one-way street on which Western and, better yet, American political and cultural forms would steadily encroach to replace Hawaiian ones. Syncretism was unacceptable. Haole made clear that the revitalization of Hawaiian culture and politics threatened Hawaiian sovereignty. Indeed, some haole even began to claim that they—not Natives—were the true "Hawaiians," a status they claimed by virtue of "parentage, birthplace, and affiliation."[16]

Annexationist haole used the jubilee to escalate criticisms of the King's policies and to tie them to plans to strip him of his power. They condemned Kalākaua's refusal to open the Crown Lands to white settlement or to cede Pearl Harbor to the United States in exchange for the renewal of reciprocity. They derided the King's efforts to form a Polynesian alliance in which the few remaining nations of Oceania would support each other's independence and his diplomats' negotiations with Britain, Germany, and the United States over the political status of Sāmoa.[17] They mocked Kalakaua for attempting to "play" realpolitik with "real" nations.[18]

Planter and nonplanter haole briefly allied to increase their political power in Hawai'i. After the jubilee, some annexationist haole organized the Hawaiian League. Although its stated objective was "constitutional, representative government," members interpreted this goal differently. The royalist faction led by planters favored transferring political power to an elected cabinet. The annexationist faction led by nonplanters favored abolishing the monarchy, which they hoped would pave the way for the incorporation of Hawai'i into the United States.[19]

In 1887, planter royalists prevailed. The Hawaiian League forced Kalākaua to sign the aptly named "Bayonet Constitution." It transferred power to an elected cabinet and defined citizenship and suffrage on racial lines for the first time in Hawaiian history. The constitution disenfranchised many Hawaiians and withdrew eligibility for citizenship and suffrage from Asians. It vastly enlarged the electorate of whites, even those who were not Hawaiian citizens or had just landed in Hawai'i. The cabinet closed the king's genealogy, history, and

health boards. It ceded Pearl Harbor to the United States in return for the renewal of reciprocity. King and kingdom remained sovereign in name, but Hawaiian-born haole had taken control.[20]

In 1893, annexationist haole prevailed. With the unauthorized support of the U.S. Navy, they overthrew Queen Lili'uokalani and the Kingdom of Hawai'i. They proclaimed a Provisional Government promptly recognized by the U.S. Minister to Hawai'i, a backer of the coup. The United States annexed Hawai'i in 1898 and made it a U.S. territory in 1900. A U.S. official declared that "Hawaii would be governed by a 'ruling class' of 4,000 Americans and other Anglo-Saxons who were to have dominion over the remaining 145,000 residents of the Islands."[21] But proclaiming white dominion proved easier than legitimizing haole governance.

Despite efforts by whites in Hawai'i and the United States to deny citizenship and suffrage to Hawaiians on racial grounds, their status as the indigenous people and citizens of a once sovereign nation recognized as such for half a century by the world family of nations overrode the United States' legal equation of naturalization and whiteness. The extension of U.S. citizenship to whites and Hawaiians and the vote to white and Hawaiian men made the latter the electoral majority of registered voters. (It was a small electorate, comprising about 7 percent, or 12,550 of a population of nearly 155,000.)[22] Although for many Hawaiians, U.S. citizenship and suffrage rights represented an element of their "forced inclusion" into the United States, they worked these rights to their advantage, most effectively in the short term.[23]

Hawaiians could not prevent the consolidation of haole governance, but they did protest, delay, and set limits on it. Native nationalist societies urged Hawaiians to boycott the ceremony transferring sovereignty to the United States in 1898. Virtually all did. Even ardent expansionists conceded that "more tears than cheers" marked the event or that it "was more like a funeral than a *fête*."[24] The Home Rule Party swept the first territorial elections of 1900. Three years later, haole backed Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole as the territory's nonvoting delegate to the U.S. Congress. He split the Hawaiian vote, enabling a haole-led Republican Party to take control of the territorial legislature. But his triumph was not just a victory for haole. The election of an ali'i, imprisoned for participating in the 1895 revolt to restore the kingdom and venerated for helping to defeat an 1897 annexation treaty, inscribed Native resistance and persistence into the colonial state. His victory compelled haole to govern more according to the wishes of Hawaiians than they would have otherwise. It also led them to stake new genealogical claims to Hawai'i.[25]

On the eve of annexation, Queen Lili'uokalani had rejected the claim made by annexationist haole that they were Hawaiians. She asserted the primacy of Hawaiian genealogical traditions in determining ancestry: Hawaiians are "the children of the soil—the native inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands and their descendents."[26] In response to the queen's authoritative pronouncement, haole abandoned efforts to stake claims to Hawaiianness and Hawai'i by mere virtue of birthplace or parentage. Still, they sought to write themselves into Hawaiian genealogies without accepting the obligations that came with such ties. Thomas Jefferson seemed to provide them with a compelling way to do this. Jefferson had proposed that marriages between white colonials and Native Americans would legitimate white ties to the land and forge bonds of affection that would render conquest consensual. For Natives devastated by disease and dispossession, such marriages would effect "their restoration" and "rebirth as Americans."[27] The offspring of such marriages would become, over time, assimilated, whitened U.S. citizens. Haole similarly postulated that marriages between haole and Hawaiians resulted in the dilution of the Hawaiianness of their children and the distillation of their whiteness.[28]

To advance their claims to Hawai'i, some former annexation leaders helped organize the Hawaii Promotion Committee (HPC). Although charged with promoting tourism, the HPC insisted it was not a tourism bureau but an agency devoted to advancing "the best interests of Hawaii." To promote the paramount haole interests of the time, legitimizing metropolitan and local white rule, the HPC seized upon the genealogy of Emma Kaili Metcalf Beckley Nakuina, daughter of a high-ranking ali'i and haole sugar planter. Haole HPC representatives asserted that marriages between elite haole men and Hawaiian women had anchored Anglo-Americans in Hawai'i and Hawaiians in the United States. It presented such marriages as proof that annexation came at "Hawaii's own request," the consensual outcome of a long history of cross-cultural marriage and governance. The HPC rewrote recent history, negating the fact that most Hawaiians opposed U.S. annexation and that ali'i women married to haole men were prominent leaders of the antiannexationist organizations that most Hawaiians supported. Nakuina rejected haole interpretations of Hawaiian genealogy and history in a booklet of Hawaiian legends she told and the HPC published in 1904. She countered haole efforts to present colonial rule as a consensual project mutually desired by Anglo-Saxon Americans and Hawaiians. She drew on her authority as a genealogist and historian to challenge their use of Hawaiian genealogies to claim belonging and the right to rule.[29]

The author of the one-page preface to Emma Nakuina's *Hawaii, Its Peoples, Their Legends,* likely a haole man, proclaimed: "Mrs. Emma Metcalf Nakuina springs from bloodlines which touch Plymouth Rock, as well as midseas islands. High priests, statesmen, and warriors join hands in their descendants with pilgrims, lawmakers, and jurists." He invoked bonds of blood to connect white U.S. citizen-settlers and the United States genealogically, geographically, and geopolitically to Hawaiians and Hawai'i. Operating on the then prevalent belief that Polynesians were Aryans, that is, Indo-Europeans, the author of the preface contended that her ancestors of Hawaiian "high priests, statesmen, and warriors" and Anglo-Saxon "pilgrims, lawmakers, and jurists" each had ties to an imaginary England, specifically late nineteenth-century discourses of a monarchical government over which king, church, and a martial aristocracy presided in feudal and modern times.[30]

The Pilgrims fled this imaginary England in 1620 to escape post—Norman Conquest corruptions of true Anglo-Saxon culture, faith, and governance. They alighted in Massachusetts at Plymouth Rock, although they paid it little mind. But on the bicentennial of their landing in 1820, Daniel Webster consecrated this broken boulder as the birthplace of a free and prosperous Anglo-American people destined to spread their uncorrupted liberties to others. By coincidence, that same year New England missionaries landed in a Hawai'i that the HPC proclaimed was "not more than four hundred years behind . . . England when the islands were discovered." Variously dating this moment with the arrival of Captain James Cook in the eighteenth century or the (alleged) arrival of Spaniards in the sixteenth century, haole argued that on the broad eve of Western contact, Hawai'i resembled the imaginary England that their Pilgrim ancestors had fled. Time and space collapsed, destiny and history converged when the rulers of a newly centralized Hawai'i welcomed New Englanders, some of whom married Hawaiians and most of whom labored to civilize, domesticate, and otherwise remake Hawai'i and Hawaiians on Anglo lines.[31]

Nakuina's biographer used the same sort of elision of time and space. He presented her as a domesticated, disenfranchised U.S. citizen who had renounced her Hawaiian identity and the historic prerogative of female ali'i to govern. He did not name her ali'i ancestors. He named only her haole ones and attributed her upbringing, character, and loyalties to them. "Broadly and liberally educated under the immediate care of her father," Theophilus Metcalf, "a Harvard man [and] nephew of the late Chief Justice Metcalf of Massachusetts,"

Nakuina appeared mostly as the domesticated descendant of a minor forefather of the United States and only marginally as the daughter of ali'i. Indeed, it was her Western upbringing that made her as "fitted to present" the legends of "her people" to whites as she was content to leave affairs of state to haole men.[32]

This preface served as a bridge between haole-authored HPC accounts of the U.S. civilizing mission in Hawai'i and Nakuina's "legends." HPC publications argued that Hawaiians were "well fitted to appreciate civilization when it came." After Cook's fatal visit, "the influence of white races rapidly altered native customs." "Counseled by white men and with the aid of gunpowder," Kamehameha "united the islands into one kingdom." Unification marked the beginning of progress "from this time forward." King Kamehameha and Queen Ka'ahumanu "built up the empire along modern lines; in rapid succession, political rights were granted, the lands . . . were subdivided, the constitution was framed."[33]

Although haole narratives credited Kamehameha and Ka'ahumanu with "administrative genius" for promulgating these measures, they simultaneously asserted that these same features of "permanent civilization" had "followed the arrival of the American missionaries." Led by Ka'ahumanu, Hawaiians "embrace[d]" Christianity. Haole deemed New England missionaries, lawyers, and teachers those most "fitted to undertake the rehabilitation of the aboriginal kingdom." Some haole married ali'i; all worked to make Hawai'i into a modern constitutional monarchy and Hawaiians into literate, law-abiding, Christians: "And so as the missionaries had laid the foundations for character, the lawyers and instructors builded up good government and intelligent citizenship." Telescoping to the then future, the HPC presented annexation "at Hawaii's own request" as the outcome of a process of cross-cultural governance and marriage.[34]

The HPC did not stop there. Its publications, furthermore, asserted that beginning with the women, Hawaiians willingly relinquished governance to haole men. Hawaiian women who wed haole men and embraced Anglo-Saxon civilization voluntarily removed themselves from the public sphere. Haole offered as an example Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, "a daughter of the Kamehamehas who preferred domesticity to the throne."[35]

But as most powerfully symbolized by Queen Lili'uokalani, domesticity and marriage to haole did not neatly translate into Hawaiian women's withdrawal from the political sphere, acquiescence to colonial rule, or abandonment of Hawaiian identities and loyalties. Nakuina and her peers challenged, in the words of Ann Laura

Stoler, the notion that "a demonstrated disaffection for one's native culture and mother" was a condition upon which a woman's place of privilege in the colonial community rested.[36] In *Hawaii, Its People, and Their Legends,* Nakuina offered lessons of Hawaiian resistance and persistence in the face of mass death and devastation from imported diseases, alienation from the land, and civilizing projects aimed at cultural annihilation. She did not just write about "her people." She wrote to and for them. She preserved certain mo'olelo by translating them into English after haole banned Hawaiian as a language of instruction and public discourse. Like the mo'olelo of Kalākaua, those of Emma Nakuina offered lessons from the past to guide behavior in the present. She created useable pasts for presents rerouted but not erased by death and dispossession, colonialism, and conversion.[37]

Reflecting on whether Hawaiians "had descended from the great Aryan race [or] the lost tribes of Israel," Nakuina pronounced Hawaiians more like "the Israelites" who clung "to their beliefs in the face of persecutions." Like them, Hawaiians became the "objects of envy" by those who sought "either to expel them or attempt their destruction." Rejecting haole claims that marriages between Hawaiians and haole had placed the Kingdom on a path toward annexation, Nakuina argued that such marriages resulted from Hawaiians's loyalty to the ali'i who allowed some "unusually beautiful Sarahs or Rebekas [to be] taken [by] the powerful and rich among whom they sojourned." These marriages formalized ties between sovereign peoples. She substituted for haole civilizing narratives histories of survival and adaptation to a host of conquering strangers, from whom, like the Israelites, Hawaiians were promised deliverance.[38]

Haole narratives of the progressive advance of civilization met their match in Nakuina's account of the destructive forces unleashed in its wake. She critiqued the haole belief in the progressive influence of Western law. Hawaiians had maintained "stringent laws and regulations of the taking of fish, looking toward their preservation." But then "the white man, with his alleged superior knowledge, prevailed on chief and commoners to throw down their wholesome restrictions." The application of a liberal faith in the inexhaustible supply of natural resources undermined old environmental laws, with "the result that fishes are very scarce in Hawaiian waters and getting more and more so every year." Nakuina spoke with authority. Educated in aquaculture and natural resource management, she had served the kingdom as commissioner of water rights and ways for 18 years, earning the reputation "judge of the water court." The decimation of the environment and the people went hand in hand in the Hawaiian cultural imagination. Nakuina challenged haole appropriation of her

genealogy to legitimate the rule of the few without accepting obligations to all, obligations conferred by Hawaiian ancestry.[39]

Nakuina reclaimed her Hawaiian ancestors to reinterpret postcontact history. Her history of the conquest of O'ahu and founding of the nation by Kamehameha featured no white men, unlike haole narratives, which exaggerated their importance and ignored their acculturation.[40] She mobilized Hawaiian genealogy to highlight the persistence and adaptation of natives to usurping strangers: "A young chiefess, the daughter of the high priest Kanaloauoo, whose residence was on Punchbowl crater, and who was connected with the Hawaii chiefs by the father's side, but whose mother was one of the tabu princesses of Kukaniloko, the famous cradle of Oahuan royalty," Nakuina recounted, "was compelled to be married" to the general Kamehameha appointed to govern the conquered island. While the chiefess accepted this marriage, she also "displayed her fidelity to her slaughtered kindred and people by calling her first born Kaheananui," that is, "the great heap of the slain" in honor of those who perished in the Battle of Nu'uanu. Kamehameha could have put her to death for this. Instead, "hearing of this covert act of feminine defiance, [he] only smiled indulgently and approved of her fidelity to the memories of the dead." Nakuina expressed special thanks for this dispensation. The chiefess, Kalanikupaulakea, was her great-grandmother. War by usurping strangers was a customary path to power in Hawai'i, but victory conferred obligations upon the conqueror to the conquered.[41]

Nakuina embodied "the sanctity of home, obedience to superiors and full justice" but not just in the manner presumed by her biographer. She pledged allegiance not to the patriarchal authority of haole men but to the Hawaiian ancestors who empowered women like her great- and great-great-grandmother to govern. Nakuina's great-grandmother had not entered into an affective or consensual union with Kamehemeha's general. Rather, she acknowledged defeat and accepted a marriage that enabled her to protect and serve her people. Her defiant act of naming testified to Hawaiian endurance amid the ruptures of colonialism. Rejecting haole views of Hawaiian legends as the static tales of a dying people, Nakuina plumbed a dynamic past to present contemporary lessons that permitted, as Julia Clancy-Smith argues in a parallel context, "the survival of her cultural patrimony in a society literally and figuratively under siege."[42]

Nakuina illustrated how the lāhui could survive by historicizing its most recent occupation. She accepted haole as the latest in a series of usurping strangers who had brought "four changes of government, or rather the personnel of the governing people" as she defiantly put it. But she asserted that the failure of the most recent conquerors

to accept obligations and loyalties conferred by Hawaiian genealogies undermined their authority. She lamented that "most of the stone" of Kamehameha's residence "had been carted away, evidently for the making of . . . the wharf that extends from . . . what was the entrance and altar to the temple."[43] Through the desecration of the seat of the nation and temple upon which it sat, haole demonstrated that they revered their ancestors who were pilgrims, lawmakers, and jurists but not those who were high priests, statesmen, and warriors. Their loyalties lay solely with their New England ancestors and their version of Pilgrims' progress. Nakuina contrasted the proper legitimation of power through genealogy and marriage by Kamehameha at the turn of the nineteenth century with the failure of haole to do so at the turn of the twentieth. Recognizing the challenge Nakuina's mo'olelo posed to haole authority and governance, the HPC and its two successors published no other Hawaiian-authored narratives.

Following in footsteps of the haole annexationist-tourism promoters who relegated Nakuina's *Hawaii Its People and Legends* to the dustbin of history, successive generations of haole historians amplified the vilification of David Kalākaua that haole began during his campaign for king. These ongoing efforts at erasure and denunciation, particularly of the modernizing nationalist King Kalākaua, suggest an abiding colonial concern with the power of the Native and the local to absorb and redirect so-called Western universals to indigenous ends.

Late-nineteenth century modernizing Native nationalists, led by Kalākaua and his allies—Nakuina prominent among them—who dedicated themselves to revitalizing the Hawaiian nation and people, understood that their efforts to perpetuate the independence and sovereignty of the Hawaiian Kingdom were likely to fail. They may not have been able to "save" the state, as it were, but in the process of "losing" it, they helped the nation and people to navigate colonial dispossession and rule. In this sense, their efforts to indigenize modernity worked: projects aimed at revitalizing the lāhui, that is, the nation and people who embodied and endowed it with life and meaning, prepared to endure the overthrow both of the last two monarchs and of the kingdom itself. Hawaiians indeed did absorb and redirect modernity to indigenous ends.

NOTES

1. Marshall Sahlins, "What Is Anthropological Enlightenment? Some Lessons of the Twentieth Century," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 28 (1999), i–xxiii.

2. Although the size of the Hawaiian population on the eve of Western contact remains disputed, there is less disagreement about its sharp decline between 1778 and 1900. A. W. Crosby, "Hawaiian Depopulation as a Model for the Amerindian Experience," in Terence Ranger and Paul Slack, eds., *Epidemics and Ideas: Essays on the Historical Perception of Pestilence* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 175–202; David E. Stannard, *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawai'i on the Eve of Western Contact* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i 1988); Robert C. Schmitt, *Demographic Statistics of Hawaii, 1778–1965* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1968), 3–7, 14–26.
3. Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 145–157, *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* June 10, 1876 cited on p. 178, my emphasis.
4. Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), ch. 3; Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 13.
5. William N. Armstrong, *Around the World with a King* (1904, reprint; Charleston, S.C.: Bibliolife, 2010); Richard Greer, ed., "The Royal Tourist: Kalakaua's Letters Home from Tokio to London," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 5 (1971), 75–109.
6. Donald Keene, *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and the World, 1852–1912* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 345–350; Gerald Horne, *The White Pacific: U.S. Imperialism and Black Slavery in the South Seas* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 103–105.
7. Cited in Gary Y. Okihiro, *Pineapple Culture: A History of the Tropical and Temperate Zones* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 119; Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778–1893,* 3 vols (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1938–1968), v. 3, 158–159.
8. J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 41–42; see also Elizabeth A. Povinelli, *The Empire of Love: Toward a Theory of Intimacy, Genealogy, and Carnality* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).
9. Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires, Ko Hawai'i 'Āina a me Nā Koi Pu'umake a ka Pe'e Haole* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 19–22, citation, p. 19.
10. Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, " 'What Kine Hawaiian Are You?' A Mo'olelo about Nationhood, Race, History and the Contemporary Sovereignty Movement in Hawai'i," *Contemporary Pacific* 13, 2 (Fall 2001), 359–379, cited portion, 371.
11. His Hawaiian Majesty King David Kalakaua, *The Myths and Legends of Hawaii: The Fables and Folk-Lore of a Strange People* (1888; reprint,

Honolulu: Mutual Publishing 1990), 175–205; my analysis is deeply indebted to Glen Grant's forward to this edition, esp. vii–ix; Horne, *The White Pacific,* 103–105; Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom,* v. 3, 156–160.

12. Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui,* 199–295; Silva, *Aloha Betrayed,* 108–112.
13. Stacy L. Kamehiro, *The Arts of Kingship: Hawaiian Art and National Culture of the Kalākaua Era* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 33, 34; Orvar Lofgren's phrase, the "international grammar of nationhood" is cited on p. 23.
14. Kamehiro, *The Arts of Kingship,* 59–76.
15. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed,* 110–115; Queen Liliu'okalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* (1898, reprint; Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1990), 105.
16. Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui,* Thrum's *Saturday Press* cited on pp. 201–202; Silva, *Aloha Betrayed,* 110–115, *Daily Bulletin* cited on 115; Lydia Kaulapai, "The Queen Writes Back: Lili'uokalani's *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 17, 2 (Summer 2005): 32–62. Around this time, a prominent nonplanter haole, likely William R. Castle, rejected Hawaiian genealogical and asserted Western racial standards of belonging in Hawai'i: "The new Hawaiian was defined by the white populace as 'Anyone born here, naturalized under Hawaiian laws, whether native Hawaiian, half-Hawaiian, or haole [meaning white only, for Asiastics were excluded in the generosity of this moment]—is Hawaiian—Hawaii is his country, his prosperity is Hawaiian prosperity." Cited in Helen G. Allen, *The Betrayal of Liliuokalani: Last Queen of Hawaii, 1838–1917* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1982), 144.
17. Horne, *The White Pacific,* 114–124.
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19. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom,* v. 3, 347–366, citation, 348.
20. Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui,* 243–245.
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22. The U.S. Congress granted citizenship to "all white persons . . . and all persons descended from the Hawaiian race . . . who were citizens of the Republic of Hawaii immediately prior to the transfer of sovereignty." Although many Hawaiians did not have or want citizenship in the republic, it seems that most Hawaiians became U.S. citizens and most Hawaiian men became voters in the territory. Lauren L. Basson, "Fit for Annexation but Unfit to Vote?

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40. K. R. Howe, *Where the Waves Fall: A New South Seas History from First Settlement to Colonial Rule* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 154–158; Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires,* 58–60.
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Dening, *Performances* (1992; reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 64–78.

42. Nakuina, *Hawaii, Its People, Their Legends,* preface; Julia Clancy-Smith, "Saint or Rebel? Resistance in French North Africa," in Alice L. Conklin and Ian Christopher Fletcher, eds., *European Imperialism, 1830–1930* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 197. This idea is more fully developed in the book from which this short essay is drawn; see Julia Clancy-Smith, *Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters, Algeria and Tunisia, 1800–1904* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 251–253.
43. Nakuina, *Hawaii, Its People, Their Legends,* 54, 62.

Chapter 10

Lessons in Whiteness: German Immigrants and Racial Ideology in Nineteenth-Century America

Kristen Anderson

Immigrants arriving in the United States have had to adapt to a large number of cultural norms, including American ideas about race. This was no less true for the German immigrants who came to St. Louis during the mid-nineteenth century, and in the process of developing an identity as American citizens also adopted American patterns of racial thought and behavior. These changes took place not only through interactions with African Americans, but also through interactions with the native-born white population, who in essence "taught" the German newcomers what it meant to be white in an American slave state. A few German immigrants proved to be apt pupils of American racism, mobilizing the same racial language used by native-born whites to defend slavery and their own status as white Americans. Even the vast majority of Germans who did not support slavery showed signs of being influenced by American thought on race, however, attacking slavery for similar reasons and expressing similar racial stereotypes as the native born. Ultimately, whatever their position on slavery, coming to understand American racial ideas was an important part of the transition from being "Germans" to being "German Americans."

LESSONS IN WHITENESS

The process of learning about the American racial hierarchy was complicated by the fact that once they arrived in the United States, German immigrants had to contend not only with American ideas about race, but also with American ideas about Germans. Although Germans generally did not face the extent of racialized nativism that later immigrants encountered, some of the hostility aimed at the German population of Missouri grew out of their apparent lack of understanding of race relations in nineteenth-century America. What was most worrisome to native-born whites was that Missouri Germans were more likely to oppose the continued expansion of slavery than the state's native-born white population. Most German immigrants, hoping to become small farmers or artisans, wanted to see the western lands reserved for these settlers, rather than divided into slave-worked plantations.[1] While this would not necessarily mean they were questioning the racial basis of the institution of slavery, it indicated at the very least a lesser attachment to the economic system of slavery.

Evidence of how widespread support for free soil ideology was among German men in Missouri can be seen in their support for the free soil portion of the Missouri Democratic Party. As in most regions of the country, Missouri's Germans generally voted Democratic. In Missouri in the 1850s, however, the Democratic Party was split between those who supported the continued expansion of slavery and those who thought that expansion should be opposed by any constitutional means.[2] The St. Louis Germans overwhelmingly voted for the latter faction, led by Thomas Hart Benton.[3] Germans also participated in political meetings in support of the Benton Democrats during the early 1850s. In 1853, for example, a number of Germans participated actively in a Benton Democrat meeting held prior to the August election, serving as officers and giving speeches in German.[4]

The Free Soil Democrats were not supporting an end to slavery in Missouri during the early 1850s, but rather were only trying to end its expansion. However, in the eyes of many white Missourians, Germans who attacked slavery—even to this very minimal extent—were undermining the racial hierarchy of Missouri society, thus potentially endangering the status and lives of the rest of the states' white population. Life in a racially based slave society required a certain amount of support from all members of the master race if the system was going to be stable. At the bare minimum, nonslaveholding

whites had to agree at least implicitly that they would not openly challenge the right of slaveholders to own and discipline their slaves, refusing to shelter runaways and helping to put down any slave uprisings. If Germans were going to enjoy the rights of white men to vote and own property, they would also have to bear the burdens of membership in the master race by helping to police the institution of slavery.

The response of the native born to the German position on slavery can be considered "lessons" in whiteness, in which the native-born white Americans explained and demonstrated the cultural norms of their society for these newcomers. Perhaps the most direct—if unintentional—lesson consisted of simply demonstrating the benefits of whiteness. St. Louis had a relatively small free black and slave population during the early nineteenth century, but those who did live in the city faced a very different social and legal status than that of the arriving Germans.[5] During the antebellum period, the laws regarding African Americans became progressively stricter, as abolitionist activities and slave revolts in other parts of the country raised concerns about the stability of slavery in Missouri. As early as 1817, it was illegal for enslaved or free blacks to travel without permission or gather together in groups, where uprisings could theoretically be planned. In 1825, the legislature barred African Americans from serving as witnesses in any court cases involving white people. After the Nat Turner rebellion in 1831, the laws in Missouri became even harsher. Enslaved and free blacks were no longer allowed to spend time in taverns, enslaved people could not go to stores without their masters' permission and were no longer allowed to hire out their time, and all African Americans were prohibited from owning weapons. The legislature also restricted free blacks' ability to live in the state, requiring all free African Americans between the ages of 7 and 21 to be apprenticed and requiring all blacks to obtain a license from the county court of the county in which they wished to live. In 1847, the legislature made it illegal to teach African Americans, whether free or enslaved, to read and write. Since these activities frequently occurred in churches, the law also forbade religious gatherings led by black preachers unless there was a white law official present to "prevent all seditious speeches, and disorderly and unlawful conduct of every kind."[6] Although these laws were not always enforced, even the threat of enforcement could be both frightening and demeaning, and contributed to a very uncertain world for the African American population of St. Louis. In comparison to this treatment, the reception the Germans received was positively welcoming.

The situations in which Germans encountered African Americans in St. Louis would also have reinforced their perception of the latter group's inferior status in America. In the central business district Germans would have seen professional slave traders—one of the most vivid reminders of the status of blacks in American society. During the 1850s, more than two dozen slave trading firms operated in St. Louis, many of them located in the vicinity of the courthouse, Turner Hall, and other public buildings, such as the People's Theater. In addition, throughout the 1850s slave auctions were held on the steps of the courthouse itself.[7] Blacks in St. Louis also tended to work in fairly menial and unskilled positions, whether they were enslaved or free. The majority of African American women worked in some type of domestic service, either as live-in servants in the homes of elite St. Louisans or as laundresses in their own homes. Many African American men worked in jobs related to the steamboat trade, which could include working on a boat as a fireman, deckhand, or servant, on the levee as a roustabout unloading cargo, or in the city as a drayman hauling goods to and from the river. The 1860 census indicated that one-third of employed free black men worked in one of these jobs.[8] While it is hard to gauge the reaction of immigrants to their encounters with African Americans, it would be difficult for an immigrant to live in St. Louis society without learning that all black people, whether free or enslaved, occupied a lower level in that society than did whites—a direct if unintentional lesson in the benefits of belonging to the master race.

At other times, these "lessons" took the form of outright criticism of Germans who did not conform, strongly encouraging them to think about race and slavery in the same way that the native born did. Germans who questioned any aspect of the system of racial slavery were warned that as outsiders they lacked the right to do so. An early example of this involved Wilhelm Weber, the founder and first editor of the prominent St. Louis German daily the *Anzeiger des Westens.* During the 1830s, neither Weber nor his group of supporters, popularly known as the *Anzeiger* clique, were very active in opposing slavery.[9] Weber was angered, however, by the way that race contributed to vigilante justice during the lynching of Francis McIntosh in 1836. McIntosh, a free mulatto steward, had been burned to death by a mob after he stabbed a policeman in a fight involving several other steamboat workers. No one was punished for this murder since the judge, appropriately named Luke Lawless, argued that the lynching had been the will of St. Louis, and he could not indict the entire city.[10] Most St. Louis newspapers saw the incident

as "revolting" but ultimately argued that the mob's response was "understandable," and perhaps necessary to maintain the racial hierarchy.[11] Weber, in contrast, denounced the lynching and the lack of any official attempts to stop or punish it, proclaiming that "last night the history of your city got defiled; watch out that it doesn't happen again!" Such an attitude proved unpopular with the English-language papers, one of which remarked that "the editor of [the *Anzeiger*], in future [should] be more careful how and when he slanders a whole community, in which he is himself but a stranger."[12] Even Weber's mild criticism of American race relations was enough to provoke native-born white St. Louisans into warning Weber that he was an outsider who did not have the right to condemn American society.

Slaveholders feared that if the local press printed articles criticizing slavery, even in a mild or indirect way, it might encourage revolts if the papers fell into the hands of the enslaved. The editor who replaced Wilhelm Weber at the *Anzeiger des Westens* in 1850, Heinrich Boernstein, was soon accused by the proslavery *St. Louis Times* of publishing articles that were "incendiary" and calculated to "incite the Negro slaves to riot." Boernstein replied that his articles had no such design and were intended for "the German citizens of these counties . . . who neither are nor own slaves." Furthermore, he had not been advocating emancipation, but rather opposing the continued expansion of slavery—a significant distinction in his eyes although not in the eyes of many slaveholders.[13]

Some native-born Missourians doubted that Germans could ever adapt to their culture and sought other ways of limiting their influence. For example, an article in the Jefferson City Metropolitan urged Germans to leave if they did not like the institutions of the state. Its author stated that he had always opposed nativism and supported equal rights for immigrants, but also argued that this meant that adopted citizens had the same duty to uphold the constitution as the native born. He further commented that since the country was half slave and half free, everyone had the freedom to choose under which type of system they would prefer to live. This was not much more pleasing to Boernstein, who interpreted this article to mean "out with the adopted citizens of Missouri if they will not obey our orders and blindly submit to the slaveholders." In this way, he argued, the slaveholders could benefit from the Germans' labor without giving them any substantial rights as citizens. As he asked in outrage, "Germans should thus plow the field, grow corn and wheat, transform the country into prosperous farms, boost trade and

business in the cities, create factories—but it should be forbidden for them to exercise their civil rights, to give their vote to this or that reform in the state according to their beliefs?"[14] In Boernstein's view, their ethnic group had earned the right to full citizenship, including the right to vote for what they chose, through the major economic contributions they had made to St. Louis and the United States in general.

For the same reason, some Germans feared that because of their stand on slavery, native-born Missourians might try to remove them from the electorate. Immigrant suffrage became a crucial issue during Bleeding Kansas, when both pro- and antislavery forces attempted to get as many settlers to the new territory as they could before elections were held to establish its government. St. Louis Germans worried that this would lead proslavery Kansas to oppose their settlement in the new territory, or their rights once they did settle there, out of fear that they would vote to make Kansas a free state.[15] One German claimed that proslavery gangs were harassing immigrants headed for Kansas and Nebraska, particularly Germans, whom they identified by asking the migrants a question about a cow. If the migrant referred to the animal as a "cow," he would be allowed to pass, while migrants who pronounced the word "Kuh," revealing their German background, would be forced to turn back.[16] While this story may be apocryphal, it does demonstrate the fears among some Germans that proslavery settlers would try to deny them access to the new territories due to their nationality.

For the same reason, Germans feared that those forming the territorial governments would deny the suffrage to immigrants. In the past, new territories had sometimes allowed immigrants to vote before they were naturalized, provided that they had already declared their intention to become citizens. When the Kansas-Nebraska Act was being debated in the Senate, however, some proslavery senators, including Missouri's own David Rice Atchison, moved to strike that provision from the bill.[17] Atchison justified this on the grounds that it was not right to allow people who might never become citizens to influence the formation of a new state.[18] Antislavery Germans were not convinced by this argument, perceiving Atchison's action as a plot on the part of slaveholders to prevent a large group of nonslaveholders from voting in the territories.[19] In this way, slaveholders were limiting not only Germans' access to land but their political rights, making the institution of slavery and those who supported it direct threats to the welfare of the German population.

Some Germans even feared that slaveholders might attack them violently. While anti-German violence was not common in antebellum Missouri, neither was it unheard of. The Platte County Self-Defensive Association, formed for the purpose of keeping abolitionists out of the county, maintained that Germans formed the base of antislavery activity in Missouri, arguing that their opposition was composed "mostly of foreigners" who had "Dutchy" names.[20] Such individuals expressed disgust at having outsiders interfere in American customs, as did a proslavery individual who accused one of his antislavery critics of being a "German-born, German-bred, non-naturalized alien."[21] Western slaveholders made occasional threats against the St. Louis Germans, particularly those who supported antislavery newspapers. In an article titled "Schreckenherrschaft in West-Missouri" ("Reign of Terror in Western Missouri") the *Anzeiger* reported on a slaveholder meeting in Weston, which among its other resolutions condemned cities like St. Louis for permitting antislavery newspapers like the *Anzeiger des Westens* to exist. The meeting's participants commended the example set by Parkville, where a mob had recently destroyed the *Industrial Luminary* for questioning the actions of the proslavery forces, throwing its press into the Missouri River and threatening to do the same with the editors if they did not leave town. Those at the meeting applauded these actions, stating in their resolutions that "there is no other remedy for the abolitionist papers in our state than the Missouri River or the bonfire for their presses and good hemp rope for the editors."[22]

While the St. Louis Germans were fairly safe from such violence, they were well aware that Germans in western Missouri and Kansas did face physical danger. In his reminiscences, William Henry Schrader, a second-generation German who moved to Chariton County in western Missouri in 1846, discussed the turmoil caused by proslavery "Border Ruffians" during the 1850s. Although still in his teens during the 1850s, Schrader received threats himself, including a clash with a local judge who referred to him as a "d—d Dutch puppy" and threatened to beat him. Schrader eventually started carrying a butcher knife with him for protection.[23] In 1858, in the town of Warrenton in Warren County, located to the west of St. Louis, a group of slaveholders were outraged when a local German innkeeper made negative comments about slavery when a fugitive belonging to one of the most prominent slaveholders in the county was recaptured. The slaveholders held a meeting to discuss this offense, and decided that the ten German families in the village, with the exception of one that supported slavery wholeheartedly, had to sell their property and leave

town. If they would not, the slaveholders threatened to burn down their homes and drive them out of town. The *Anzeiger* emphasized the injustice of this demand, arguing that there was no evidence of Missouri Germans ever getting involved in the relationship between masters and slaves, let alone actually telling enslaved people to run away from their masters.[24]

Although Germans were not the only residents of Missouri who were supportive of free soil doctrine, they were correct in their perception that proslavery Missourians often attached special blame to their ethnic group. The *Leader,* a major National Democrat paper in Missouri, was particularly critical of German support for the Free Democrats. It warned that "these people want to revolutionize our political system, vote away our property, and banish our Negro population from our territory." They also threatened the Germans with retribution if they continued to take this stand, warning them "do not force us to remind you of the motto of our state: the welfare of the state is the highest law."[25] The city council of Jefferson City expressed similar concerns regarding a German-owned land company, designed to encourage German settlement in the state. Opponents of this group expressed concern that Germans were universally opposed to slavery, and that they were settling there with the intention of one day changing the institutions of the state.[26]

The German Response

In response to this hostility, many St. Louis Germans came to connect nativism with slaveholding, a connection that did not necessarily exist in other regions of the country.[27] Heinrich Boernstein was even dismissive of the Know Nothing Party, arguing that "if a nativist party in the United States were still to be feared, it is that of the slaveholders." He argued that immigrants and slaveholders had fundamentally different interests, since the first group was devoted to free labor while the latter sought to perpetuate slave labor. For this reason, he argued, slaveholders did not like immigrants, particularly Germans.[28] Another German pointed out that during the conflict in the Missouri legislature over whether or not to continue printing laws and other state government documents in German, the proslavery Democrats opposed this practice, while the Benton Democrats defended it. This individual argued that the proslavery Democrats made their hatred of foreigners particularly evident in this discussion in that they did not justify the change on the grounds that it was too expensive to print

everything twice, but rather "attacked foreigners, and particularly the Germans, as a stupid, hostile mob that is ignorant of the institutions of the country, i.e. slavery, and whom one must force to learn English because they are too stupid and too lazy to adopt the language of the country themselves."[29]

To those who argued that organized nativism, particularly the Know Nothing Party, appeared to be a stronger force in the North than in the South, they maintained that this was because the forces of nativism had already been victorious in the South. One German author argued that since immigrants to the South would be forced to compete with enslaved people and would have little power or influence in society, immigrants generally chose to avoid settling there. He saw this as a sign that "the social subordination of immigrants under the native born that is wished for by a few fanatics in the North is in the South a long-established fact, a natural result of the peculiar institution and an aristocratic domination of social and political life." He also argued that "if there were such masses of immigrants living in the South as there are in the North, we would see a nativism that would surpass all the fanaticism of the New England states."[30] Far from being less prejudiced than northerners, these Germans argued, slaveholders were the most prejudiced of the native-born whites, to the extent that the social and economic structure of their society almost completely discouraged immigration.

The conclusions Germans drew from these lessons varied. A few did take the track the proslavery nativists advocated, angrily claiming that few Germans actually opposed slavery, let alone supported racial equality. One such individual wrote a letter to the editor of the *Anzeiger des Westens,* condemning the paper as an "infamous lying Black Republican newspaper" and arguing that contrary to popular belief, all Germans were white except "for those who pull a black pelt over their lying faces."[31] For these Germans, supporting slavery was a means to acceptance in the United States. They, like the white native-born Americans, could become part of the master class, while African Americans were forever doomed to be their inferiors.

Others made statements that demonstrated an understanding of the American racial hierarchy similar to that of other whites in the region. The *Deutsche Tribüne,* another major German-language paper in St. Louis, gave voice to racial justifications for slavery more often than did the *Anzeiger.* They reprinted the results of various pseudo-scientific studies of race, including studies that argued that people of African descent were likely to become insane if they were not kept

as slaves and others that supported the theory of the separate creation of the white and black races.[32] The paper also serialized a novel written by its editor, J. Gabriel Woerner, titled *Die Sklavin,* or "The Slave Girl." While this novel was critical of slavery, it focused on the kidnapping and enslavement of a young white girl. The horror was thus the enslavement of someone not racially destined for slavery, and enslaved people of African descent appear frequently without criticism in the novel.[33] Finally, the *Tribüne'*s contributors utilized racial stereotypes of African Americans in their articles, including, for example, a report on a tea party held to raise money for the African American second Baptist church. The *Tribüne'*s reporter utilized a stereotypical African American dialect extensively in this article, stating that the party was to be attended by the "colored ladies ob dis city, dat am members ob de second Baptist church," along with numerous "gemmen ob color." He further speculated that if it were a warm day, the hall where the tea party was to be held would have a very musky odor, particularly if the women pomaded their hair "wid de pure oil ob de catfish."[34]

St. Louis Germans also displayed their acceptance of the legitimacy of holding African Americans as property very directly through their participation in the ownership and sale of enslaved people. Very few St. Louis Germans actually owned slaves.[35] This did not mean, however, that some of them did not hope to become masters, whether by purchase or by hiring slaves. Historians have determined that slave hiring was a very common transaction, particularly in urban areas like St. Louis where most enslaved people were employed in domestic service, on the levee, or in local industries.[36] In this way, whites who never had the resources to purchase enslaved people still had the experience of mastery through their employment of the slaves of others.

At least a few Missouri Germans expressed a desire to hire enslaved people to work their farms. Troubled by the respect and high wages white workers demanded in America, these individuals saw becoming part of the master class as a way to escape such inconveniences. Theodor van Dreveldt, a German who had migrated to the United States in 1844, contemplated hiring enslaved people to help work his farm, although ultimately he could not afford to do so. He disliked hiring white farm hands due to the greater egalitarianism that existed between employers and hands in the United States. He complained that white farm hands "see themselves as the complete equals of those who hire them and think nothing of eating at the same table. They are

always in your rooms and act much the way an intimate friend would in Europe; they allow themselves every imaginable liberty." Presumably hiring the labor of racially and legally inferior people would avoid such intimacies. Van Dreveldt also objected to the high cost of white labor in Missouri, remarking that "nobody can be had here for under $20 per month or $200 per year."[37] Another German, Carl Blümner, considered purchasing or renting enslaved people for similar reasons, and also found it to be beyond his financial reach. He thought that his lack of slave labor was limiting his financial prospects in Missouri, reporting in a letter to his parents in Brandenburg that "it is still too early here to be able to earn much money; especially for people who don't have the means to get help, to buy a slave or rent one (by the way, the price of a Negro is now between 700 and 1,000 dollars and the yearly rent 90 to 100 dollars)."[38] The experiences of these individuals indicate that at least a few proslavery Germans were individuals of modest means who were prevented from owning or hiring enslaved people not by any moral objection to the institution, but by financial necessity.

German involvement in the buying and selling of enslaved people can also be seen in the sporadic appearance of advertisements for slave sales in the German-language papers. Such advertisements appear much less frequently than in the English-language press. The English-language *Missouri Republican,* for example, generally carried 10-20 advertisements related to slavery every day during the 1850s, including advertisements from owners seeking to sell an enslaved person, from traders who wanted to buy slaves, and from owners seeking the return of runaways.[39] In contrast, only one slave trader, J. B. Burbayge, a general agent who dealt in a wide variety of real-estate transactions in addition to dealing in enslaved people, appears to have advertised in the St. Louis German-language press during the early 1850s. His most common advertisement was one that simply listed the services he provided, stating that he was an agent for houses, lots, farms, and steamboats, in addition to slaves, although some ads described the individual enslaved people he had available. One such ad, titled "A Negro to Sell," described the man in question as "24 years old, employed with horses, on farms, and as a cook."[40] A few individuals hoping to sell an enslaved person also took out ads in the German newspapers. These advertisements indicated only the owners' addresses, and not their names, leaving us with no way to determine if the sellers were themselves German. The ads were very similar to those appearing in the English-language press, describing the enslaved

people, their ages, the work they could do, and the price being asked.[41] Although such ads appeared infrequently, particularly when compared with the English-language press, they indicate both that the German editors were willing to print these advertisements and that advertisers thought their readers would be interested in buying enslaved people.

Most other Germans, however, continued to oppose slavery, but framed their opposition in terms that would be less offensive to native-born white Missourians than those used by many eastern abolitionists. During the antebellum period, antislavery Germans in Missouri tended to frame their criticism of slavery in terms of the negative impact the institution had on the white population of Missouri and the West generally. This was particularly true after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, which greatly increased the concerns of nonslaveholding whites in the West, by potentially reopening the entire West to slavery, threatened the ability of nonslaveholding farmers and workers to obtain land.[42] Opposing the Kansas-Nebraska Act did not necessarily mean adopting an attitude of greater racial egalitarianism or demanding an immediate end to slavery in the United States. While some free soilers combined their dislike for the effects of slavery on whites with support for black rights, others hoped to prevent the migration of free African Americans as well as enslaved ones to the territories.[43]

Like other free soilers, many antislavery Germans expressed concern that slavery hampered economic development within the states where it existed, and thus that this influence should not be allowed to spread to new states. In general, they were not convinced by slaveholder arguments that the abolition of slavery would result in economic ruin for the South, let alone the entire United States, or that slave labor was more productive than free labor. Instead, they argued that free labor was so much more productive than slave labor that emancipation would result in economic growth throughout the South.[44] To support these arguments, antislavery Germans made unflattering comparisons between slave states like Missouri and the free states of the North. The makers of these comparisons argued that not only was slavery threatening German interests in the western territories, it was hampering economic development within Missouri itself. Comparisons with Illinois were particularly effective in this regard, since the two had become states at about the same time, and yet Illinois had more people, more wealth, more railroads, and more children attending schools.[45]

Germans also argued that the presence of slavery hurt Missouri's prosperity by deterring immigration from Europe and the North.

These individuals had noted the large numbers of migrants moving to Iowa, Illinois, and Minnesota, and warned that unless Missouri began the process of eliminating slavery, not only would Missouri receive fewer of these migrants, but the state might actually lose residents, as industrial development to the North drew nonslaveholders out of the state. This loss of migration would hurt even those who intended to stay in St. Louis, since a decrease in the farming and manufacturing population would result in higher prices for food and goods.[46]

The debate over slavery's effect on immigration is a good example of how Germans in Missouri could oppose slavery while still demonstrating many of the same racial prejudices as the native born. For example, when Senator Carr argued in Missouri's General Assembly that any discussion of emancipation would deter "entrepreneurial and wholesome" immigration to the state," the *Anzeiger*'s editor responded indignantly to the implication that slaveholders constituted "entrepreneurial and wholesome" migration. Instead, he argued that the best way to improve immigration to Missouri would be to forbid the future importation of enslaved people to the state. As the *Anzeiger* put it, "[W]e need an 'entrepreneurial and wholesome' immigration of free white workers but no niggers from Kentucky or Virginia."[47] Another individual similarly expressed hope that Kansas would be filled with "an exclusively free white population," which would be of more value "than all the Negroes in America."[48]

Like many free soilers, antislavery Germans were concerned that allowing slavery to spread would hurt the economic interests of free white workers by allowing slaveholders to dominate land ownership in the territories, thus preventing free urban workers from moving west and acquiring farms. Some pushed westward expansion as a solution to poverty among urban workers, like the German who during the 1856 election campaign argued that the first two steps toward improving the conditions of workers in the cities were to prevent slaveholders from gaining access to the western lands and then to grant workers free access to that land. For this reason, as this individual put it, "the battle against the expansion of slavery into the new territories" should be "the rallying cry of workers this fall."[49] For the same reason, many German free soilers supported a homestead bill both as a way of helping white workers attain economic independence and as a barrier against the expansion of slavery. One *Westliche Post* contributor maintained that support for a homestead bill was the most important test to determine if a political candidate was a true free

soiler, urging Germans to ask their candidates this very question in the 1858 elections. As he put it, "a homestead bill which gives farmers a certain number of acres of Congressional land for free would be a more effective weapon against the escalation of the black pestilence than all the paper platforms and protests."[50] As this statement suggests, supporters of a homestead bill were often more concerned about keeping African Americans out of the area in which they hoped to live than they were with the abolition of slavery or African American rights. Similarly, the meeting of the "Free Democrats," which took place in St. Louis in January 1858, resolved that they strongly opposed "the Africanizing of the territories" through the spread of slavery.[51]

As this concern about preventing the future migration of enslaved people to the state suggests, some Germans shared free soilers' concerns regarding the degrading effect that contact with slave labor supposedly had on free labor. These individuals warned that the presence of slavery in a state decreased the respect workers received from others in society, with the result that employers accustomed to enslaved labor would be just as willing to exploit free white workers as enslaved black ones. One such German wrote an angry response to an article in the proslavery *Richmond Enquirer,* which had attributed all of the economic and political problems of Europe to the unreliable nature of the free labor system and had praised the Russians for their use of unfree serf labor. In his response, he warned other Germans not to support the National Democratic Party, the party endorsed by the *Richmond Enquirer,* since they apparently desired to fill the North with white slaves, including enslaved Germans.[52] Another angry German asked the slaveholders if they considered the free workers who had to compete with enslaved people to be their property as well. He emphasized that to slaveholders, workers were property no different from cows, horses, and pigs.[53]

Even if they were not reduced to virtual enslavement, German workers grew tired both of hearing about the superiority of enslaved labor to their own and of feeling like they had to compete with enslaved people for jobs. One angry German exclaimed that all that Southern Democrats wanted to talk about was "Niggers as railroad workers, niggers as farm workers, niggers as artisans, niggers everywhere in place of free labor."[54] Another German warned in 1859 that Missouri slaveholders wanted to bring additional enslaved workers to the state, even allowing slaveholders from other states to hire their slaves out in Missouri. This individual argued that they

were doing so in response to high wages in Missouri and that they wanted to "oppose free immigration from the east and from Europe with an army of southern slaves." He bemoaned that the legislature supported such activities that would "hurt their own race and drive down the wages of white men to the cost of black slaves."[55] These concerns carried over into politics, as when the editor of the *Westliche Post* summarized the platforms of the parties running in 1858 by saying that "the National Democratic Party is for the perpetuation of slavery in Missouri and thus for the immigration of slaveholders and Negroes" while "the Free Democratic Party is for the abolition of slavery and thus solely for the immigration of free white workers and for the removal of the Negroes." He concluded that "one need only compare these sentences in full in order to decide the election between the two tickets for the German reader."[56]

Conclusion

Framing their arguments against slavery in this fashion was no doubt politically expedient in a slave state. However, the widespread presence of such sentiments in the German population indicates that their ideas about slavery as well as race had been shaped by the environment in which they had encountered these things. A few, swayed by the superior status accorded to whites in a slave society or the threats of the slaveholders, became openly proslavery. Most Germans continued to oppose slavery, but did so in terms that made sense for a western border state. They opposed slavery primarily because of the negative impact they thought it had on the economic, social, and political systems of the region and sometimes combined these sentiments with racist opposition to the presence of any black people, slave or free, in the area.

By the outbreak of the Civil War, many Germans in Missouri had come to openly advocate the abolition of slavery, and pushed for both emancipation and the enlistment of black soldiers as strategies to win the war and from the standpoint of social justice. These individuals appeared to have almost forgotten their earlier more conservative attitude toward emancipation. As with other white Americans, the German immigrants' attitudes toward slavery changed rapidly during the late 1850s and 1860s. While some white Missourians intensified their commitment to slavery during those years, the Germans generally joined forces with Missouri whites who opposed slavery as being not in the best interest of the state. This made their position much

less radical than the abolitionists they were often accused of being, who had generally moved to support immediate emancipation for humanitarian reasons by the 1830s. Ultimately, the Missouri Germans were antislavery, but they opposed slavery for reasons and in ways that were not solely a product of their German culture, but rather fit well with the complex situation of the Border State in which they had settled.

NOTES

1. Bruce Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 156–159, 191–200.
2. Perry McCandless, *A History of Missouri: Volume II, 1820 to 1860* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1972), 244–245, 247–248, 253, 265–268, 278–282; John D. Morton, " 'A High Wall and a Deep Ditch': Thomas Hart Benton and the Compromise of 1850," *Missouri Historical Review* 94, no. 1 (Oct. 1999): 1–24.
3. Walter D. Kamphoefner, "St. Louis Germans and the Republican Party, 1848–1860," *Mid-America* 57, no. 2 (April 1975): 72–73.
4. *Anzeiger des Westens,* July 31, 1853. Similar meetings appeared in *Anzeiger des Westens,* Mar. 22, 1850, July 18, 1852, July 27, 1853, July 29, 1853; *Deutsche Tribüne,* Dec. 11, 1851, Jan. 8, 1852, Mar. 20, 1852, Mar. 23, 1852.
5. In 1840, St. Louis had a black population of 2,062 (531 free and 1,531 enslaved) out of a total city population of 16,469 (12.5% of total population). In 1850, St. Louis had a black population of 4,034 (1,398 free and 2,636 enslaved) out of a total population of 77,860 (5.2% of total population). Lawrence O. Christensen, "Black St. Louis: A Study in Race Relations, 1865–1916" (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1972), 3, 271; James Neal Primm, *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri, 1764–1980, 3rd ed.* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1998), 147.
6. Lorenzo J. Greene, Gary R. Kremer, and Antonio F. Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage* (1980, rev. ed., revised by Gary R. Kremer and Antonio F. Holland, Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1993), 62–64; Christensen, 6–10; Antonio F. Holland, "African Americans in Henry Shaw's St. Louis," in *St. Louis in the Century of Henry Shaw: A View Beyond the Garden Wall,* ed. Eric Sandweiss (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 56–60; Terrell Dempsey, *Searching for Jim: Slavery in Sam Clemens's World*

(Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 11–13. Quote from Dennis L. Durst, "The Reverend John Berry Meachum (1789–1854) of St. Louis: Prophet and Entrepreneurial Black Educator in Historiographical Perspective," *The North Star: A Journal of African American Religious History* 7, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 5.

7. Slave trader advertisements from *Missouri Democrat,* June 1, 1853, Feb. 1, 1854; Montague, *The St. Louis Business Directory for 1853* (St. Louis: E.A. Lewis, 1854); Primm, 180.
8. Christensen, 100–101, 160–163.
9. William L. Olbrich, Jr., "The *Anzeiger* Clique, St. Louis Germans, and the Question of Slavery, 1836–1850," *Gateway Heritage* 16, no. 4 (Spring 1996): 19.
10. Bonnie E. Laughlin, " 'Endangering the Peace of Society': Abolitionist Agitation and Mob Reaction in St. Louis and Alton, 1836–1838," *Missouri Historical Review* 95, no. 1 (2000): 3–5; Leonard L. Richards, *"Gentlemen of Property and Standing": Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 101; Christensen, 19–20.
11. Quoted in Laughlin, 5; Christensen, 19–20.
12. Quotes from Olbrich, 16–17.
13. *Anzeiger des Westens,* Aug. 17, 1850.
14. *Anzeiger des Westens,* July 27, 1850.
15. Some examples include *Anzeiger des Westens,* July 16, 1854, July 23, 1854, Dec. 17, 1854.
16. *Anzeiger des Westens,* July 23, 1854. While there is no evidence to corroborate this German's account, proslavery groups did blockade the Missouri River during the summer of 1856 in an attempt to prevent free-state immigration to Kansas, indicating that such fears, even if untrue in their specifics, were not unrealistic. Karl Gridley, " 'Willing to Die for the Cause of Freedom in Kansas': Free State Emigration, John Brown, and the Rise of Militant Abolitionism in the Kansas Territory," in *Prophets of Protest: Reconsidering the History of American Abolitionism,* ed. Timothy Patrick McCarthy and John Stauffer (New York: The New Press, 2006), 156–157.
17. Parrish, 149.
18. *Missouri Democrat,* Mar. 31, 1854.
19. *Anzeiger des Westens,* Mar. 15, 1854.
20. Quoted in Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 34.
21. Quoted in Etcheson, 33.
22. Benjamin Merkel, "Abstract of 'The Antislavery Controversy in Missouri, 1819–1865' " (Ph.D. diss.: Washington University, St. Louis, 1942), 19–20; Quote from *Anzeiger des Westens,* May 8, 1855.

23. The reminiscences of William Henry Schrader, C1519, Western Historical Manuscript Collection-Columbia.
24. *Anzeiger des Westens (weekly edition),* May 16, 1858.
25. *St. Louis Leader* as translated and quoted in *Anzeiger des Westens,* Jan. 29, 1857.
26. *Anzeiger des Westens (weekly edition),* Nov. 15, 1857.
27. Northern Know Nothings were often antislavery, while those in the South hoped to divert attention from the slavery issue to that of immigration. This division would ultimately contribute to the downfall of the Know Nothings as a national party. Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (1970; reprint with a new introductory essay, New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 239–241; Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know Nothings and the Politics of the 1850s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), xiii.
28. *Anzeiger des Westens,* June 14, 1854.
29. *Anzeiger des Westens,* Jan. 25, 1855.
30. *Anzeiger des Westens,* Apr. 22, 1856.
31. *Anzeiger des Westens,* Oct. 22, 1860 in *Germans for a Free Missouri: Translations from the St. Louis Radical Press, 1857–1862,* Steven Rowan, ed. and trans. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1983), 132.
32. *Deutsche Tribüne,* Sept. 25, 1851, Jan. 7, 1852.
33. This novel was serialized in the *Deutsche Tribüne* between June 25 and Sept. 29, 1850.
34. *Deutsche Tribüne,* Apr. 17, 1850. The dialect portion of the article was in English.
35. Slave schedules of the seventh census of the United States, St. Louis County, Missouri, 1850.
36. Jonathan Martin estimates that any enslaved person's likelihood of being hired out was three to five times greater than the likelihood that they would be sold. Jonathan D. Martin, *Divided Mastery: Slave Hiring in the American South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 7–13; Frederic Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South* (Baltimore: J.H. Furst Company, 1931), 145–164; Robert S. Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 128–137; Claudia Dale Goldin, *Urban Slavery in the American South, 1820–1860: A Quantitative History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 35–47.
37. Kenneth Kronenberg, author and translator in association with C. Hans von Gimborn, *Lives and Letters of an Immigrant Family: The van Dreveldt's Experiences along the Missouri, 1844–1866* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 77–78.

38. Letter from Carl Blüm, Warren County, to parents, Mar. 24, 1836, in Walter D. Kamphoefner, Wolfgang Helbich, and Ulrike Sommer, eds., *News from the Land of Freedom: German Immigrants Write Home* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 99–101.
39. Such advertisements appear in each issue throughout the 1850s, generally on the first or second pages.
40. Burbayge's name appears spelled a variety of ways in these advertisements, including Burbbayge, Burdbayge, and Burbage. These ads appeared regularly in the *Anzeiger des Westens* from 1848 to 1852. Some examples include *Anzeiger des Westens,* May 17, 1848, Jan. 1, 1850, Apr. 28, 1852, July 20, 1852. Quote from Apr. 28, 1852.
41. Some examples of slave advertisements posted by individuals include *Anzeiger des Westens,* May 23, 1850, June 14, 1850, Dec. 25, 1850, Apr. 28, 1852; *Deutsche Tribüne,* May 23, 1850.
42. Thomas G. Mitchell, *Antislavery Politics in Antebellum and Civil War America* (Westport, CN: Praeger, 2007), 76–78; Jonathan H. Earle, *Jacksonian Antislavery and the Politics of Free Soil, 1824–1854* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 192–194; Foner, 93–95.
43. Eugene H. Berwanger, *The Frontier against Slavery: Western Anti-Negro Prejudice and the Slavery Extension Controversy* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967), 3–6; Edward Magdol, *The Antislavery Rank and File: A Social Profile of the Abolitionists' Constituency* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 130–132; Foner, xix–xx, 281–295.
44. James Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* (1982, reprint, New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1998), 134–135; *Anzeiger des Westens,* Feb. 11, 1855, June 22, 1855, Aug. 10, 1855, Aug. 25, 1855, Mar. 15, 1856.
45. *Anzeiger des Westens,* Aug. 10, 1855; *Anzeiger des Westens (weekly edition),* July 11, 1858.
46. *Anzeiger des Westens,* Aug. 10, 1855, Aug. 25, 1855; *Anzeiger des Westens (weekly edition),* July 25, 1858.
47. *Anzeiger des Westens,* Feb. 13, 1857.
48. *Anzeiger des Westens,* Aug. 25, 1855.
49. *Anzeiger des Westens,* Apr. 20, 1856.
50. *Westliche Post,* Jan. 8, 1858.
51. *Anzeiger des Westens (weekly edition),* Jan. 10, 1858.
52. *Anzeiger des Westens,* Jan. 13, 1856.
53. *Anzeiger des Westens (weekly edition),* Aug. 1, 1858.
54. *Anzeiger des Westens,* Oct. 29, 1856.
55. *Anzeiger des Westens (weekly edition),* Feb. 13, 1859.
56. *Westliche Post,* July 8, 1858.

Chapter 11

Across the Alps: Italian Religious Culture in French Translation

Thomas Worcester

In a cross-cultural history volume, one could be tempted to think that a focus on the interaction of French and Italian culture is, as it were, child's play, when compared with possible essays on Africa and Europe, or Asia and North America, or the culture of royal courts and that of the working class, or any number of not-so-obvious juxtapositions. Really, one might ask, is there, and was there in times past, such a great difference between French and Italian cultures? Was the degree of otherness very significant at all?

My own life experiences tell me there are major differences. I remember the first time I took the train from Paris to Rome. It was in the summer of 1974, and with an Interail pass I took a night train called the Rome Express: it left Paris in the evening and was scheduled to arrive in Rome around lunch time the next day. Too poor to afford any couchette or other sleeping car accommodation, I sat up all night in a crowded second-class compartment for eight people. The train turned out to not to be very much of an express, as it made many stops, such as Dijon, Chambéry, and Modane, then through the Italian Alps, and on to Turin, Genoa, and slowly down the peninsula to Rome, where we arrived some hours late. In France there was but minimal conversation in the compartment, and reading material

brought along was quite highbrow (perhaps works on existential alienation or something like that); any food consumed was certainly not shared with strangers. But by the time we reached Genoa, the train compartment I was in was filled mostly with Italians. Comic books were read and shared; conversations were quite lively and loud; food and drink were passed around as if we were all one happy family on a pleasant and amusing outing. Thus I confess that I bring to the topic I address here some bias—based on personal experience—in favor of acknowledging rather substantive differences between Italian culture and French culture, in relatively recent times, and probably with deep roots in the past.

The historical time I am most interested in examining is the roughly 70-year period from the beginning of the reign of Henry IV (1589) to the beginning of what is called the "personal" reign of Louis XIV (1660). Some Italians played major roles in France's political life in this period, including Queen Maria de'Medici and Cardinal Mazarin, prime minister for the young Louis XIV.[1] But having said this, I have already in fact underlined a major difference in Italian and French political cultures. France was a kingdom with a monarchy growing in power; Italy had no political unity, and one cannot periodize its history by the years of monarchical reigns. This difference mattered in many ways, including in religion, the main focus of this chapter on cultural history. The king of France was, after all, able to choose bishops and abbots, and thus could put a political stamp on ecclesiastical office holders.

The period I have chosen is one in which French Catholicism was revitalized in the wake of the wars of religion. From the 1590s on, and through much of the seventeenth century, a Catholic Reformation took place in France, and it was animated in part by texts and examples that were often Italian in origin. A process of "translation" took place, and by that I mean translation from one language to another—in this case, from Italian or Latin into French—as well as translation in the sense of a transfer and adaptation from one place to another, and from one culture to another.

In an essay on "Cultures of translation in early modern Europe," Peter Burke identifies six questions for the historian to asking regarding translations: "Who translates? With what intentions? What? For whom? In what manner? With what consequences?"[2] This is surely a very useful template, but it may not exhaust the questions to ask.

And in an essay entitled "The Jesuits and the Art of Translation in Early Modern Europe," Burke states that the concept of "cultural translation" "has now become common currency to describe

the process of adaptation through which items from one culture are domesticated in another."[3] In this essay, and in fact in many of his works, Burke cites examples of Jesuits as engaged in just such cultural translation. But this particular essay of his focuses more specifically on Jesuits as translators of texts from one language to another. He points out that Jesuit translators were many, not only translators of various works from Latin into vernacular languages, or from one vernacular to another, but also and indeed very often from one or another vernacular into Latin.[4] Burke also considers translations of works authored by Jesuits, often translated by fellow Jesuits, but also by other translators. He finds Robert Bellarmine's catechism to have been translated with much frequency, including not only into European vernaculars but into "no fewer than seventeen non-European languages," Coptic, Hebrew, Tagalog, and Tamil among them.[5]

Burke's book *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* includes a chapter on vernaculars in competition. Though cautioning that the use of Latin persisted well beyond the medieval and Renaissance periods, Burke examines the many works published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that promoted and defended the use of vernacular languages such as Italian, German, and French.[6] Pointing out that the "idea that language is the companion of empire became commonplace in this period," Burke cites Louis XIV's minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert's recommendation that French be used and promoted in territories newly acquired for the kingdom of France, so that the inhabitants may become used to French customs and manners.[7] French, Burke adds, became a kind of lingua franca in Europe, in the course of the seventeenth century. By 1685, Pierre Bayle spoke of French as the language of communication between all the peoples of Europe; indeed, Burke states that "by the eighteenth century the French could reasonably think of their language as potentially universal, the successor of Latin, as Anglophones think of their language—or languages—today."[8] If Burke is right, the French Academy, founded in 1635, succeeded in but a half century in promoting the French language to an unprecedented preeminence for a modern language among the many European tongues.

One of my favorites among Peter Burke's books is his *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge UP, 1987). The individual topics treated are fascinating: "how to be" a Counter-Reformation saint; insult and blasphemy; the Venetian carnival; ritual at the papal court; illness and healing. In the more theoretical side of this book, Burke explores what he means by historical anthropology and how it, among other

things, focuses on case studies, on the particular, on the microscopic, on microhistory, on understanding a given society's own "norms and categories" and its presuppositions and assumptions. The historical anthropologist seeks to discover what was implicit in a culture in the past, and then to make it explicit, to describe it and translate it for present readers.[9] Perception, as Burke uses the term, has as much to do with presuppositions that structure how one views the world as it does with the particulars perceived. "There is no innocent eye."[10] The saints, Burke cautions, are not so much witnesses to the age in which they lived as to the age in which they were canonized as saints; "the saints need to be studied as an example of the social history of perception."[11] How and what was communicated, by whom and to whom, whether verbally or otherwise is central to Burke's focus; he states that he wishes "to look at various kinds of communicative events in early modern Italy, including speech and writing, politeness and insult, texts and images, official rituals and unofficial ones."[12] Describing Italian culture as a culture of theater and of façades, where one needed to play one's role well in order to look good *(fare bella figura),* Burke adds that religion, too, was theatrical. Liturgies, processions, sermons were dramatic performances.[13] Without going into detail about places other than Italy, Burke suggests that "there is a significant contrast to be made between the cultural styles of northern and southern Europe," a contrast he adds that needs to be made with finesse.[14]

A question I ask is this: if Burke were to do a book with the same themes of historical anthropology, of the early modern period, and of perception and communication, but focused on France instead of Italy, how different would it be? Was French culture lacking in façades and in the dramatic and the theatrical? To what degree was the implicit in French culture different from the implicit in Italian culture? Were perception and communication different? If so, how?

Peter Burke has also offered some insight into both Italophilia and Italophobia in his book *The European Renaissance: Centres and Peripheries.* Burke states that in the sixteenth century "Italophobia coexisted and interacted with Italophilia . . . just as the love and hatred of American culture have coexisted and interacted . . . in the second half of the twentieth century."[15] In such a love/hate relationship Burke finds an important component that could be called a cultural inferiority complex. Also, while noble and upper class circles viewed Italy as a cultural model to follow, other segments of society may have taken quite a different view. Burke identifies in the late sixteenth century, "an anti-Italian backlash" that stretched across much of Europe,

"from England and France to Hungary and Poland."[16] The subtitle of this book points to a theme Burke explores in several of his works: centers and peripheries. Burke rejects a model of diffusion of the Renaissance that would make Florence and Rome the creative centers and pretty much everything else but culturally inferior and culturally dependent periphery. His model is much messier than that and integrates a theory of "reception" that stresses transformation of what is received. Burke says that just as Michelangelo "received" antiquity in a "creative manner" and transformed what he appropriated, so too did various parts of Europe do when they "received" the Italian Renaissance.[17]

One of Peter Burke's most recent publications is his small book *Cultural Hybridity* (Polity Press, 2009). Using the term "culture" "to include attitudes, mentalities and values and their expression, embodiment or symbolization in artifacts, practices and representations," Burke states that the "process of cultural encounter, contact, interaction, exchange, and hybridization" is gaining increasing attention from historians.[18] Burke suggests that rigid or impermeable borders once posited by historians between various cultures in the past may now appear to have been more supple, porous and permeable. Religion is an example Burke cites: "In an age of an increasingly ecumenical Christianity, historians of the Reformation are more willing today than they once were to admit the importance of cultural exchanges between Catholics and Protestants." Burke mentions in this connection works by Catholics such as Lorenzo Scupoli and Francis de Sales that were translated into English and read by Protestants, in the seventeenth century and beyond.[19]

Cultural hybridity, for Burke, is not merely a matter of transfer, but of exchange, of selecting, of mixing, and of adapting. He also asserts that there are geographic sites that especially favor just such exchanges: in our era, cities such as New York, London, Mumbai, and São Paulo; in the early modern period, port cities such Venice, Amsterdam, Lisbon.[20] (Interestingly enough, neither Paris nor Rome is mentioned—but why would they be excluded? In fact, in an essay called "Rome as Center of Information and Communication for the Catholic World," Burke makes clear how Rome was indeed a kind of crossroads.[21]) In his *Cultural Hybridity* book, Burke also posits cultural "frontiers" as sites of cultural hybridization: the "borderland" between Christendom and Islam in eastern Europe was one such site in the early modern period.[22]

Borders, frontiers, limits? One may ask what are the limits of cultural history? In his book *What Is Cultural History?* Burke gives us

some idea of just how many different topics fit under the rubric or category of cultural history. Among them are the history of memory; the body and perceptions of its beauty and ugliness, birth and death, smells and sounds; food and clothing; the body and its gestures and postures; the history of humor and laughter; elite culture and popular culture; consumer culture; gender difference as cultural construction rather as natural or biological; concepts of family and kinship; the history of emotions including anger and anxiety; the history of prejudice, bias, and stereotypes; the history of resistance to hegemony; perceptions of time, work, holidays, feasts, vacations; cultural management through institutions such as libraries, museums, and galleries; print culture and the history of reading; what in a given culture was perceived as Other, whether as inferior or superior, whether as curiosity or as threat. In his *History and Social Theory,* Burke cautions that while theory ought not to be simplistically "applied" to the past, he insists that what theory can do, nevertheless, "is to suggest new questions for historians to ask about 'their' period, or new answers to familiar questions."[23]

I would like to suggest that Burke's work may inform in many fruitful ways the topic in cultural history I have chosen. One of Burke's points on cultural history is its use of microhistory, and of a focus on the local. In such a perspective, talk of France or Italy must be set aside in order to deal with cities, towns, regions, and the like. If even today there are many cultural differences between different parts of Italy as well as such differences between different parts of France, the differences were very likely even more significant 400 years ago. It was, and is, a long way from Milan to Palermo, or Biarritz to Paris, and not just a long way in geographic distance. Perhaps then a challenge undergirding this paper is not so much the similarity between France and Italy, but the dissimilarities within each country. As for Burke's allusion to northern and southern cultures in Europe, France offers what I think is a unique case of both in one European country or nation-state. Provence is not Paris.

To return to the matter of translation: in Italian, unlike in French, the nouns for traitor and translator, and the verbs for translate and betray, are remarkably similar: the *traditore* and the *traduttore, tradire,* and *tradurre.* Yet Burke argues that early modern translators and at least many in their audiences did not see precise translation as the goal. Thus it would seem that the notion of an unfaithful translation may not have played much of a role, except perhaps with canonical or sacred texts such as the Bible. In most cases, modification and adaptation were expected and practiced.

The canons and decrees of the Council of Trent offer the historian an interesting case of texts that were received and implemented in a variety of ways in different places, over a long period of time after the Council concluded its business in 1563. Catechisms, in particular, and in many different languages, offered relatively easy access to the Council's teachings, for diverse audiences. Catechisms offered a kind of popularization of Trent—a *vulgarization,* as the French would call it. In France, there was resistance to official reception of the Council by the state, and bishops did or did not emphasize Tridentine teachings and norms.[24] John O'Malley's book, *Trent and All That,* deals largely with questions of nomenclature and periodization, but it also provides insight on different national and local contexts for early modern Catholicism.[25]

Burke's considerations of centers and peripheries are useful for approaching the question of the relationship between Rome and Paris. On the one hand, both ancient Rome and papal Rome could be imagined as cultural centers with Paris as but on or at a periphery. On the other hand, by the seventeenth century, Parisian and French efforts to supersede, eclipse, and surpass Rome were ever more frequent. Margaret McGowan's work, *The Vision of Rome in Late Renaissance France,* shows how deeply the art and culture of ancient Rome affected the French imagination.[26] But Jean-François Dubost, in his book *La France italienne,* makes clear that there was a strong anti-Italian sentiment in France, and that this was based at least in part on a sense of jealousy and of resentment regarding a perceived Italian cultural hegemony.[27] And Orest Ranum's book, *Paris in the Age of Absolutism,* points out that in France, beginning in the reign of Henri IV, "the enormous energies of the Counter Reformation became internalized into a realm-wide religious revival whose center was Paris."[28] Though the center was Paris, Rome was not without influence. Ranum points out that the church built in Paris in the early seventeenth century by the Carmelites was modeled after the Gesù, the mother church of the Jesuits, in Rome.[29]

Peter Burke's frequent references to the Jesuits as cultural translators I dare say do indeed point to the Jesuits as a very important dimension of any serious research on early modern Italian religious culture in French translation. Jesuits were often perceived as foreigners in France: as Spanish or Italian. Jesuits in France were often seen as not sufficiently French, and they were certainly victims of Italophobia, Hispanophobia, and other phobias as well. One reason why the Jesuits were seen as suspect in France was their vow of obedience to the pope: in their allegiance to the bishop of Rome they seemed to some in

France to be deficient in their loyalty to the French king.[30] For the sake of the survival of the Society of Jesus in France, French Jesuits had to be wary of being perceived as associated with foreign Jesuits such as the Spaniard Juan de Mariana—and his theories regicide—or of the Italian Robert Bellarmine, seen as a papal apologist.[31] The 1610 assassination of Henri IV of France was but one occasion when French Jesuits had to defend themselves against accusations of regicide and more generally of disloyalty to the French monarchy. Foreign imports to France could be very suspect.

Yet there are plenty of examples of publication in France and in French of works by Italian Jesuits. One example is a 1601 edition of Robert Bellarmine's work on the "spiritual ladder" to God: *L'Escalier portant l'âme à Dieu par les marches des creatures.*[32] Achille Gagliardi (1537?–1607) was another Italian Jesuit whose works enjoyed many editions and translations. His *Abrégé de la perfection chrétienne,* translated by Etienne Binet, S. J., is one such work.[33]

Binet (1569–1639) is an interesting figure for consideration of some back and forth from France to Italy. A Frenchmen who did much of his formation as a Jesuit in Italy, Binet became an exceptionally prolific author. Some of his works were published in Italian as well as French or Latin.[34]

Ranum spoke of "a generation of saints" in seventeenth-century Paris.[35] An interesting case study of French appropriation and appreciation of an Italian saint is that of the cult of St. Charles Borromeo in seventeenth-century France. Borromeo had been the archbishop of Milan and a cardinal, a nephew of Pope Pius IV. In my own work, I have studied a collection of French sermons on Borromeo preached and published by Bishop Jean-Pierre Camus (1584–1652).[36] Borromeo had been canonized in 1610. Camus offers an example of how a French bishop—he was born in Paris and died in Paris—appropriated a model of sainthood and episcopal authority from sixteenth-century Italy. One could say that Camus "translated" Borromeo, in the sense of transferred, from Milan to Paris. What was transferred was a reputation for holiness, especially a holiness suitable for a bishop attempting to implement Trent. There are also various writings of Borromeo that were translated from Latin or Italian and published in French, some even before his canonization; see, for example, *Les Instructions des pasteurs,* published in Paris in 1601.[37] Later, in the 1640s, the Jansenist Antoine Arnauld would cite from Borromeo's writings in an effort to promote an approach to the sacraments of penance and of the Eucharist in which absolution might be delayed until a penitent had shown evidence of real reform, and in

which a lengthy period of preparation for reception of communion was deemed suitable, thus making frequent communion impossible.[38]

Philip Neri, an Italian priest (1515–95), was canonized as a saint in 1622. His fame had spread in and from Rome largely due to his founding of the Oratory, a congregation of diocesan clergy devoted to preaching, hearing confessions, and visiting the sick. Inspired by Neri's example, Pierre de Bérulle created a French version of the Oratory, in Paris, beginning in 1611.[39] That the French Oratory was juridically separate is clear, but to what extent its goals and its spirituality took on a distinctly French characteristic is less clear-cut, though a theology of incarnation that focused on the humiliation of the Word in becoming human came to be a central feature of French Oratorian theology.

The Ursulines are a good example of a female religious order that began its life in France in the early seventeenth century, but that had roots elsewhere, in this case in Italy, in the1530s. Barbara Diefendorf, in her book on women and the Catholic Reformation in Paris, includes consideration of the opening in Paris in 1610 of an Ursuline convent. Diefendorf stresses that its goals and its spirituality were at least as much the fruit of work of Barbe Acarie and of other French women instrumental in creation of this house, as it was due to Italian or other Ursuline precedents.[40]

In addition to male and female religious, bishops—not only Jean-Pierre Camus—play a major role in the Catholic Reformation in France. Some are interesting for their connections with Italy. A bishop to whom Peter Burke calls our attention is Francis de Sales—by pointing out that he was read by some Protestants. There were many translations of his works, especially of his 1609 *Introduction à la vie devote*.[41] But these are not the only reasons why de Sales should interest students of cross-cultural encounters. De Sales was from Savoy, and Savoy was then part of independent state that included Francophone Savoy as well as Italophone Piedmont; it straddled the Alps, and it included two languages and cultures. It was at the frontiers of France and Italy, and was thus a site of more than a little cross-cultural activity.

Finally, I would like to mention architecture as a primary source for pursuing examination of cultural translation from Italy to France. Maria de Medici's palace in Paris, now known as the *Palais du Luxembourg,* offers an example of an Italianate palazzo constructed in early seventeenth-century France. Another good example of Italian architectural form and style transferred to France is the round dome, something that was brought to France from Italy in the early seventeenth century, and it eventually became quite common in new buildings, especially churches, among them the church of St. Louis

built in the late seventeenth century for the Invalides military hospital.[42] One may ask, to what extent was the dome adapted to a French architectural and cultural landscape? Or did it drop down, as it were, out of the sky, from somewhere else, namely Rome? Hilary Ballon's book on architect Louis Le Vau (1612–70), and especially on his design for what is today the Institut de France, may help us to answer this question.[43]

In conclusion, historians of the papacy are well familiar with the term Ultramontanism to refer to a centralization of church governance and authority in the bishop of Rome, and a subordination of churches north of the Alps and beyond, to the Roman pontiff. I have tried in this chapter to open up some questions not principally of papal power and influence across the Alps, but more generally of Italian religious culture, embodied and transmitted in various ways, including through texts, architecture, and people, such as canonized saints. My topic is huge, but rather than narrow it, I have sought to broaden it, thus, I hope, enriching it. In the period I have examined, French appropriation of Italian religious culture was abundant and multifaceted, but I would argue that it was not slavish, not without resistance, and not without adaptation to local French traditions. Further work could elucidate this process and the rich contours of the resulting cultural hybrids.

NOTES

1. On Mazarin, see Paul Sonnino, *Mazarin's Quest: The Congress of Westphalia and the Coming of the Fronde* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).
2. Peter Burke, "Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe," in Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia, eds., *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 11.
3. Peter Burke, "The Jesuits and the Art of Translation in Early Modern Europe," in John O'Malley et al., eds., *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 24.
4. Ibid., 24–32.
5. Ibid., 25.
6. Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 62–70.
7. Ibid., 75–76.
8. Ibid., 85–88. On Europe as Francophone, see Marc Fumaroli, *Quand l'Europe parlait français* (Paris: Editions de Fallois, 2001).

9. Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology on Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 3–6.
10. Ibid., 16.
11. Ibid., 53.
12. Ibid., 6.
13. Ibid., 9–11.
14. Ibid., 12.
15. Peter Burke, *The European Renaissance: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 173.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid., 6.
18. Peter Burke, *Cultural Hybridity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 5.
19. Ibid., 10.
20. Ibid., 73–74. See also Burke's book *Venice and Amsterdam: A Study of Seventeenth-Century Elites,* second ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994).
21. See Burke's essay in Pamela M. Jones and Thomas Worcester, eds., *From Rome to Eternity: Catholicism and the Arts in Italy, ca. 1550–1650* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 253–69.
22. Burke, *Cultural Hybridity,* 75. On Jesuit interaction with Muslims, see Emanuele Colombo's case study, *Convertire i musulmani: L'Esperienza di un gesuita spagnolo del Seicento* (Milan: Bruno Mondadori, 2007).
23. Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 164–65.
24. See my *Seventeenth-Century Cultural Discourse: France and the Preaching of Bishop Camus* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997).
25. John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).
26. Margaret McGowan, *The Vision of Rome in Late Renaissance France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).
27. Jean-François Dubost, *La France italienne XVIe-XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Aubier, 1997), 307–08, 323. See also Henry Heller, *Anti-Italianism in Sixteenth-Century France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).
28. Orest Ranum, *Paris in the Age of Absolutism: An Essay*, rev. ed. (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 167.
29. Ibid., 183.
30. On Jesuit difficulties and successes in establishing themselves in France, see Eric Nelson, *The Jesuits and the Monarchy: Catholic Reform and Political Authority in France (1590–1615)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).
31. For a recent study of Mariana, see Harald E. Braun, *Juan de Mariana and Early Modern Spanish Political Thought* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

32. Robert Bellarmin, *L'Escalier spirituel portant l'âme à Dieu par les marches des creatures* (Lyon: P. Rigaud, 1616).
33. Achille Gagliardi, *Abrégé de la perfection chrétienne,* trans. Etienne Binet (s.l.: s.n., 1604).
34. For discussion of three of Binet's works, see my "Plague as Spiritual Medicine and Medicine as Spiritual Metaphor: Three Treatises of Etienne Binet, S.J. (1569–1639)," in Franco Mormando and Thomas Worcester, eds., *Piety and Plague: From Byzantium to the Baroque* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2007), 224–36.
35. Ranum, *Paris,* 167–94.
36. See my *Seventeenth-Century Cultural Discourse,* 170–80. Borromeo was canonized in 1610; Camus preached eight sermons in Paris on Borromeo between 1616 and 1622; he published them as *Homélies panégyriques de Saint Charles Borromée* (Paris: Chappelet, 1623).
37. Charles Borromée, *Les Instructions des pasteurs,* trans. Marc Lescarbot (Paris: Guillaume la Noue, 1601).
38. On Antoine Arnauld, see Francesco Paolo Adorno, *Arnauld* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2005).
39. See René Boureau, *L'Oratoire en France* (Paris: Cerf, 1991).
40. Barbara Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity: Pious Women and the Catholic Reformation in Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 124–30.
41. See introduction by John K. Ryan to Francis de Sales, *Introduction to the Devout Life,* trans. John K. Ryan (New York: Doubleday, 1989), 9–12.
42. The Carmelite church, heavily influenced by the Gesù in Rome, was the first church in Paris to have a dome; see Ranum, *Paris,* 183.
43. Hilary Ballon, *Louis Le Vau: Mazarin's Collège, Colbert's Revenge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Part V

The Promises and Challenges of Cross-Cultural History

Chapter 12

Cross-Cultural History: Toward an Interdisciplinary Theory

Michal Jan Rozbicki

The chapters in this volume—all of which center on intercultural encounters in history—prompt one to reflect on two broader questions about writing such history: what are its distinct benefits for scholarship, and what are its major theoretical challenges in contrast to traditional history? As to the intellectual rewards, the top three on the list are enough to make a meeting of different cultures a wondrous sight to behold for any historian. First, such an encounter takes off the veil of a culture's taken-for-granted reality, dramatically exposing its inner core inhabited by hitherto largely unquestioned assumptions about the world, society, and order. The meanings that both engaging sides had thus far attached to their life experiences—presuppositions deeply implanted in social praxis—suddenly become much more immediate and explicit. The situation resembles an unexpected problem with vision. When we see well, we take our eyes for granted, but when a physical obstacle interferes, we suddenly become conscious of having eyes. For any established culture, a serious confrontation with otherness is a disruption as its self-evident, shared order is destabilized.

People try to make sense of the alien by means of their existing cultural capital, the only resource they have available, and in the process reveal its constitution and mechanisms to the historian. One recalls

the 1620 New England Puritans who, expecting to face fierce savages upon arrival on American shores, confronted instead a friendly, English-speaking Squanto. The only way they could explain the apparent contradiction was that the Indian was "a special instrument sent of God for their good."[1] What is important here is that such disruptions open up new perspectives not only for the historical actors but also for the historian. Claude Lefort pointed to this phenomenon by noting that "until such time as a fracture appears in society, it is tempting to study the structure of power, class structure, the workings of institutions, and social actors' modes of behavior as though they were meaningful in themselves, and overlook the imaginary and the symbolic foundations of their 'reality.' "[2] In other words, otherness relativizes, bringing the deeper, distinctive features of people's cultural identity to the surface. At this juncture, we the investigators can better observe and scrutinize them (just as the historical actors being investigated did in their time). This, in turn, facilitates moving beyond the parochial narratives of both the historian's own society and the societies being studied, and getting a deeper sense of the subjectivity and constructedness of culture. In sum, an examination of the mechanisms underlying an encounter between two different cultures opens up an extraordinary access to both of them.

One may envision the following model to describe the mechanism of change that occurs when different cultures meet. Members of any given culture exist in two major dimensions: a factual one (biology, geography, material existence, power relations, survival, etc.) and a symbolic one (narratives, beliefs, and values that supply the meaning of existence in the first dimension). This dual system is stable when equilibrium of sorts exists between these two levels, and when the culture's self-depictions are accepted by its members as meaningful, shared, and respected. For instance, before 1764 the monarchy in British America was widely considered a "natural" form of government; the Revolution undermined and ultimately replaced this cultural axiom with a republican narrative that corresponded to the radical political and constitutional changes.

A similar, if often less rapid, undermining of shared axioms takes place when different cultures come into contact. Different practices, artifacts, cosmologies, and behaviors—by the very fact of their otherness—force both cultures involved to become more acutely aware of their thus far prereflexively held presuppositions, a necessary precondition for reflecting on them anew. This opens the way to change, which can often be painful and even traumatic because it

undercuts the meaningfulness of things. The old assumptions and narratives are still used to interpret the new situation, but these only work well with familiar, identifiable phenomena, and are much less useful for making sense of the unfamiliar. For example, early modern Jesuit missionaries to America found Indian bravery under torture admirable because the European value of courage could easily be applied to such situations, but thought the very same Indians cowardly for ambushing enemies, and not fighting openly in a formation as dictated by the military ethic of contemporary Europe.[3] This process of accelerated self-awareness and forced reassessment of stock meanings usually involves either defensive actions aimed at maintaining of the status quo or adaptations resulting in change.

Second, cross-cultural exchanges allow us to gain a deeper understanding of why resistance to otherness is so frequent. Such resistance is not an anomaly, to be simply dismissed as prejudice and intolerance, but is often intrinsic to the very self-definition and preservation of a particular culture, and thus needs to be considered from this angle. In cases of resistance, otherness functions as a counterculture, an antimodel to be repudiated in order to maintain the integrity and value of the local and the traditional. Civilization needs barbarism as much as order needs anarchy. Fifteenth-century Spanish authorities in Kevin Ingram's essay in this volume "needed" the *conversos* to integrate the Old Christians. One of the functions of culture, especially visible in its communicative, symbolic practices, is to reproduce order—social, political, and economic. That is why when contact with difference undermines the beliefs and assumptions constituting the shared worldview, it often also undercuts the relations of power. For instance, the various economic and military dealings between Indians and European colonists in early modern America watered down the traditional authority of the tribal sachems.

Third, investigating intercultural experiences allows us to peek into an area crucial to our times—the space where local and global histories overlap. Focusing on this intersection can help integrate these two perspectives (something that, unfortunately, is not very common in historiography where the two often talk past each other). Cultures have always changed through contact with the new, a process that engendered borrowings, adaptations, and modifications. Whether these meetings occurred in the contexts of migration, trade, communications, conquest, colonization, or borderland contacts, they created at the point of contact a zone that is particularly deserving of our attention. This is because it is here that the domestication of

external influences—often global in their origin and scale—took place as they were translated and incorporated into the local. It should be noted that in this sense cross-cultural history is related to—and shares certain investigative goals with—comparative history. One of the weaknesses of comparative and world history has been that in its zeal to identify transnational commonalities, it often overlooks the fact that the seemingly same or similar patterns recurring in different cultures have quite different meanings within each of these cultures. With this caveat, however, it still remains true that any history of cross-cultural influences, transfers, and co-optations must take a broader look, and compare the state of both interacting cultures before and after these adaptations, the channels through which such a transfer took place, and the peculiar meanings and characteristics that the transferred pattern had within the culture it came from.[4]

All this implies that any attempt to grasp what happened at the point of contact must rest on a sound theoretical understanding of culture as such. Terry Eagleton has suggested that it is useful to view it as a framework of values, beliefs, customs, and behaviors that constitute a way of life of a specific group.[5] This framework creates, often by means of symbols and homogenizing narratives, a coherent and purposeful order that enables people to survive in an otherwise chaotic world. In other words, it is a set of subjective meanings that people attach to the reality that surrounds them. These meanings interpret reality and are instrumental in shaping the choices and goals of people's actions.

This subjectivity does not mean that culture is arbitrary. On the contrary, it is deeply rooted in collective historical experience, traditions of thinking, and social environment. This intricate context is not only essentially local, but it is also mostly nontransferable. One is not likely to make sense of the world by means of tools produced by another society's distinct historical experiences. Perceiving the Aztecs as savages was not, as Tzvetan Todorov suggested, a "misinterpretation" on the part of Hernando Cortéz, but an interpretation by means of the currently available and valid norms supplied by sixteenth-century Spanish culture.[6]

When the coherence of its interpretation of reality is upset, as it is in a confrontation with otherness, culture tries to make sense of the novelty, and to fit it into the prescription for life that it had so far offered. If it is successful, change happens—the novelty is assigned a meaning, incorporated into an acceptable order, and ultimately reclaimed as normalness. It is important not to lose sight of the fact that this meaning and this normalness have no objective existence. They are constructed by the culture (in the same way that it symbolically turns a green piece

of paper with printed numbers into real currency), and, if necessity arises, can be further modified by the culture. However, they should not be viewed as mere fictions. On the contrary, they are usually taken for granted as self-evident truths, and applied prereflexively. Because such truths define people's identity and tell them who they are, they represent for them the deepest reality, something that many are willing to defend and even to die for. Historians attempting to interpret cross-cultural encounters and to understand what events meant to the participating actors need to reconstruct this self-evident reality first.

Members of a culture, as a rule, share assumptions that define this reality. Had they not been shared, it would not have been possible to communicate this or that meaning. A medieval landlord riding his horse past a peasant working in the field would expect that the latter take off his hat (as a sign communicating subservience), but that expectation and its meaning must be shared by both to make the communication possible at all.

All these theoretical postulates, however, are easier to identify than to practice, as there are quite a few methodological challenges awaiting the cross-cultural historian. As we all know, it is a daunting enough task to study a single culture in the past, something that requires a suspension—to the extent possible—of one's own "self-evident" and therefore mostly covert assumptions. Failure to do so might potentially contaminate our interpretation and make it reflect the interpreter rather than the interpreted. Worse, it might lead to a misreading of the meanings that members of another culture assigned to their experiences. But when studying the interactions between two past cultures, there are three different perspectives involved: that of the interpreting historian and those of the two past cultures being interpreted. When members of those "other" cultures assigned meaning to their experiences, they interpreted them, and these interpretations guided their actions. The historian studying them attempts to interpret these interpretations. This means examining the symbolic discourse of two distant cultures to reconstruct what reality (including normalness and otherness) meant to their members, to uncover what "self-evident" assumptions generated such meanings, and to adequately describe it all by means of the symbolic and conceptual vocabulary currently at the disposal of the historian, a language that is by nature circumscribed by the investigator's culture and carries what Jacques Derrida called its traces.[7]

To grasp what happened in an intercultural encounter, the historian must first understand the normative forms of collective consciousness

of both sides of the encounter—a formidable challenge, considering that extracting and identifying such forms must be done by reconstructing the rather broad contexts that gave them meaning in each culture. There is no shortcut to this. To appreciate what is being communicated by words, customs, rituals, or material symbols requires a deep knowledge of their cultural matrix, something that is only very narrowly and indirectly accessible to the historian, as opposed to historical actors that acquire it through their everyday experiences. Without such appreciation, any reconstruction and interpretation of a given culture's responses to otherness will be fragmentary, the most common distortion being the use of the historian's own normative system to interpret such responses. This is why authors are so often prone to "discovering" in history that which they themselves happen to consider important.

In other words, the history of intercultural encounters requires attention to subjectivity to a particularly large degree. More precisely, we need to attend to several subjectivities—of the two cultures in contact and of the one investigating that contact. When such encounters become topics of our analysis, they had already been part of someone else's experience, with someone else's meaning attached to it.[8] To take all this into account requires a serious, philosophically sophisticated effort, because even if we are successful in gaining intellectual access to the structure and functionality of another culture, it would be far too optimistic to assume that this will automatically neutralize all of its otherness for us.

One aspect of subjectivity to bear in mind is that whatever statements about another culture's view of reality we eventually recover (documents, collective memory, legends and stories, artifacts, etc.) they are by nature products of symbolic communication, and as such are not so much depictions of objective reality as its *representations,* deeply embedded in the particular world of values and norms of a given culture, often acquired and crystallized over centuries. To put it differently, when we study references made through symbolic communication within a given culture, we need to bear in mind that such references inherently contain certain narrowly culture-specific, and not universal, assumptions. For example, sectarian groups separated from an established church may be collectively labeled dissidents by the global or comparative historian studying several cultures, but within each of these cultures a specific characterization of such groups is already assumed, and it exists prior to the act of us naming them this or that way. To uncover what lay beyond such representations in distant cultures requires—apart from

a creative imagination—a broadly interdisciplinary perspective, an extensive knowledge of several "other" histories, and a deep familiarity with foreign languages—things historians are not usually trained for.[9]

In cases where the encounter is between modern and nonmodern cultures, there is an additional hurdle to overcome in that the two represent differing models of human behavior. One may distinguish, in a broad sense, two spheres that motivate most people's actions. One consists of objective, daily facts of existence that require a response. The other is supplied by culture—by what people believe is true about the world and its order, and by their knowledge of who they are. The difference is that premodern people are less likely to incorporate the historical experience of change into their actions, and instead tend to rely on timeless anchors and cyclic reproductions of culture. Modern people, in turn, integrate their knowledge about the changing world into their plan for action. Premodern motivations of human action combine current needs with timeless structures that define choices of action, while modern ones blend existing needs with the awareness of a *changing* world.[10] The latter allows for more unconventional, independent, and innovative plans and goals. When intercultural contact occurs between modern and premodern peoples, the contrast between these two models plays a major role, and needs to be properly considered when interpreting the nature of the encounter.

This brings us to the issue of religion as a vehicle of intercultural change. It is an area where mutual adaptations seem to encounter the greatest barriers. This is because religions organize reality by means of transcendent and timeless systems of reference. The source of their cultural power is precisely due to this transcendence, that is, to its ability to offer order, sense, and security that are not dependent, as everyday life is, on change over time. Absolutes, by their very nature, are more resistant to modifications than other beliefs. They cannot easily be sliced so they can be partially rejected or accepted. To do so would require a relativist attitude, negating the very sense of order they help sustain. Even more so, to discard such beliefs for those of an unfamiliar "other" would require a rather Herculean act of self-distancing. Absolutes tell people how things are and ought to be, not how things possibly are and perhaps ought to be. A dent in an absolute nullifies its absoluteness. This is why when studying religion-centered cross-cultural encounters we often witness such a divergence between rituals (which can be adapted and modified) and the transcendent meanings behind them (which, as axioms, are more resistant to change). This is perhaps one reason why missionaries have historically been among the most motivated and dynamic cultural brokers,

and why their activities provide us with a wealth of information on the phenomenon of interculturality.

One might observe here that modern academic historians, for whom relativism is often a given, sometimes find it difficult to fully identify with worldviews based on premodern, timeless, and inflexible structures of knowledge. And yet, it is also true that the modern world has still retained much of the earlier affinity toward absolutes. In fact, modernity with its alienation and insecurity has made human life more decentered and unanchored, and for many only increased the need to seek the transcendent and the sacred (in the sense that Mircea Eliade gave to the latter term).[11] The reassertion of religion on the global stage—especially visible in the case of Islam—is one of its manifestations, and cross-cultural historians could contribute much to the debate surrounding this development.

At the same time, it should be noted that there exist certain cosmopolitan mechanisms in world religions that contribute to cross-cultural unity among different peoples. Shari'a and Canon Law are two obvious examples. But we need to bear in mind that such transnational outcomes are only possible because their point of reference—the "center" that holds the various members together—is transcendent. This is what enables them to cover differing societies with a unifying blanket of faith, worldview, and morality—superimposed on their otherwise divergent experiences and identities. However, this transnational ethos can only function as such because each constituent people can claim that it is their own, that it makes sense of *their* lives as a distinct people. Both Islam and Christianity tie peoples' loyalties to their localities as well as to the larger transnational league of believers.

All this points to the conclusion that the path to overcoming the various challenges of cross-cultural history lay in developing a better and more interdisciplinary awareness of certain theoretical issues. Historians often grumble about postmodern theory, but it is postmodern epistemology that may offer some resolution for our methodological woes. It calls attention to the various practices that generate meaning within a particular culture (with a particular history at its genesis), and it emphasizes that this meaning is not simply contained in a sign and passed to a passive recipient, but surfaces only in an active and collaborative process of interpretation.[12] Both these assertions give good justification for paying more respect to the essential localism of cultures. Two things are worth pointing out with regard to this postulate. First, rather than use mainly large-scale analytical models (such

as, for instance, the categories of "master discourse" or "subaltern studies") that frame interactions between cultures as principally relations of power and control between the dominant and the dominated, a more fruitful perspective would be to concentrate on the mutuality of culture change triggered by the presence of difference. Such focus better reveals the agency as well as the alterations and adaptations made by all participating sides, and allows us to move beyond issues like demonstrating the autonomy of the subaltern, a disposition that was once essential as a reaction to the Eurocentrism of earlier studies. Second, there is no need to reenter the long-going dispute between postmodernist and traditionalist historians whether cross-cultural contact should be studied from an objectivist or a subjectivist perspective, that is, by focusing on the external, factual, and supposedly objective circumstances, or by taking into account the internal and subjective cultural assumptions of historical actors. Instead, it is the tension between the two that should be of central interest to us because much of culture change occurs in this space.[13]

Focusing on this sphere will help us realize that incompatibilities between cultures with distinct histories are not aberrations, as the widely used concept of ethnocentrism seems to imply. Incompatibilities reside in every culture. People are rarely capable of perceiving the world in ways other than through the lens of their culture—because culture makes the world real for them by assigning meaning to it.[14] For this reason, culture inherently resists outside interventions that undermine its certainties and the harmony they help create. It can best serve its purpose when it is stable. Yet, it undergoes constant change, much of it through confrontations with difference.[15] Culture, after all, is a man-made entity; people are active agents, always involved in categorizing, permitting, prohibiting, and reorganizing. One might say that at the heart of each culture there exists a paradoxical tension between the innate tendency to preserve its structures and constant change visited on it by the outside world. When a cross-cultural encounter takes place, two contradictory forces are simultaneously set off. One is to defend the established givens of one's culture. The other is the pressure to adapt to the necessities of the new situation, and, even more importantly, to make sense of it. The resulting adjustment is a product of the contest between these two forces. In a way, it resembles a zero-sum game: any acculturation is accompanied by deculturation. Members of one culture may adopt certain ways of another but in the process lose some aspects of their own, which have thus been replaced.

This inherent hermeticism of cultures does not have to be viewed as a mere obstacle to progress toward a united and peaceful world. On the contrary, such a goal should seriously and thoughtfully take this attribute into account. We no longer universalize Western culture, making it the yardstick of historical interpretation of all cultures, and there now exists much genuine concern for the peculiarities of other cultures' historical experiences and for the meanings they attach to them. We should therefore recognize that preserving the diversity of world cultures is more important than unifying endeavors. Contradictory values will, and in a sense should, exist, because each culture largely rests on distinct, local experiences to define the identity of its members and to make sense of their lives. Incompatibilities in the meanings of justice, morality, goodness, and other such categories could only be fully eliminated by a forcible imposition of uniformity, and a widespread adoption of the values of certain cultures at the expense of other cultures (in the past, these presumably "universal" values invariably turned out to be Western, as was the case with the early UNESCO doctrine of "civilizing progress"). The outcome would be a form of neocolonialism. Claude Levi-Strauss, an initial supporter of unifying world cultures, concluded later in his life that each culture should have a right to uphold its own identity and values, even if they are not compatible with the values of the "Other."[16] From the perspective of our subject, there is an important consequence of acknowledging this reality: a unified, global history is simply not practicable—because a unified, global culture is not possible. In other words, tolerance based on the *understanding* of otherness is more promising than attempts to homogenize. Cross-cultural historians should have much to contribute to this discussion.

In sum, cross-cultural history has the advantage of being able to serve both as the link between local and global history and as an intellectual point of departure for a better understanding among societies. The pursuit of global dimensions can point to various interconnectivities between cultures, but its insights are highly abstract and therefore limited.[17] On the other hand, individual cultures contain numerous outside influences (the study of which is sometimes labeled *Transfergeschichte* in Germany) and many *share* attributes with outside cultures (the French *histoire croisée*), but both shared and transferred attributes can only become such when they are internally domesticated by each culture, and lose their alien connotations.[18] In other words, global history may offer a broad picture, but only at the local level can we access the full depth of its meanings.

Cross-cultural historians can bridge the gap between the essentially preservationist, protective bubble of an individual culture and the global processes that exact change in the structure of this bubble. They understand better than others that cultural hermeticism is functional, and that, when time is factored in, no clear dividing line can be drawn between the native and the imported ingredients of a culture. They know that long-term interactions turn global influences into local phenomena, and export local phenomena to other cultures where they arrive as global influences. They know that there are no cultural universals, only someone's originally local values adopted by, or imposed on, someone else's local values. Injections of otherness turn into culture change when they are domesticated into normalness. This is why we should first examine the local at both ends of this process—that of the exporter and of the recipient—and only then build outward toward larger-scale, global generalizations. To succeed, we need to look closely at the communication process—especially its hermeneutic and semiotic aspects—because that is the area where shared meanings were formed, identities were negotiated, beliefs were expressed, values were reproduced, and symbolic representations of reality and order were fashioned.[19] If we set our sights on this essentially local battleground between normalness and otherness, we might catch a glimpse of the larger, global picture looming behind it—but not the other way around.

Notes

1. William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620–1647,* Samuel Eliott Morison, ed. (New York: Knopf, 1952), 81.
2. Claude Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 93.
3. Michael Kammen, ed., "Maryland in 1699: A Letter from the Reverend Hugh Jones," *Journal of Southern History,* 29 (1963): 372.
4. See Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jurgen Kocka, "Comparative History: Methods, Aims, Problems," in *Comparison in History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective,* Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2004), 32–33; and Jörn Rüsen, "Some Theoretical Approaches to Intercultural Comparative Historiography," *History and Theory,* 35, no. 4 (Dec., 1996): 5–22.
5. Terry Eagleton, *The Idea of Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009), 34.
6. Tzvetan Todorov. *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other,* transl. Richard Howard (Harper: New York, 1984), 248.
7. Clifford Geertz famously tried to overcome the obstacles to accessing the world of meanings of another culture by means of employing

"thick description," a dense observation of small facts before any larger assertions were made. Clifford Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 3–30. On traces inherent in language, see Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology,* transl. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 27–73.

8. Florian Znaniecki, *Wstęp do Socjologii* [Introduction to sociology] (Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1922), 33.
9. Some useful comments on intercultural research methods can be found in Stella Ting-Toomey, "Qualitative Research: An Overview," in *Methods for Intercultural Communication Research,* William B. Gudykunst and Young Yun Kim, eds. (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1984), 169–184.
10. Jerzy Topolski, *Świat bez Historii* [World without History] (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1972), 30.
11. Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (New York: Harcourt, 1987), 10–18. On the close links between the history of religion and understanding cross-cultural encounters, see David Gary Shaw, "Modernity Between Us and Them: The Place of Religion Within History," *History and Theory,* 45 (Dec., 2006): 1–9.
12. One of the first to point to this process was the cultural sociologist Stuart Hall in his "Culture, the Media and the Ideological Effect,"' in James Curran et al., eds., *Mass Communication and Society* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), 328.
13. On the quest for the certain and the factual, see Kolakowski, *Husserl and the Search for Certitude* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 81–85. On the dispute, see William Gudykunst, "Intercultural Communication Theories," in *Cross-Cultural and Intercultural Communication,* William B. Gudykunst, ed. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2003), 167–8. On large-scale models, see Padmini Mongia, ed., *Contemporary Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader* (London: Arnold, 1997), 158–171; and Vinyak Chaturvedi, ed., *Mapping Subaltern Studies and the Post-Colonial* (London: Verso, 2000).
14. Znaniecki, 39–40.
15. William H. McNeill, *Polyethnicity and National Unity in World History* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1986), 6, 12–13.
16. Witold Stoczkowski, "Claude Levi-Strauss and UNESCO," *The* UNESCO *Courier,* no. 5 (2008): 6–8. For a subtle analysis of the problem of "plurality of ethnocentrisms," see Jörn Rüsen, "The Horror of Ethnocentrism: Westernization, Cultural Difference, and Strife in Understanding Non-Western Pasts in Historical Studies," *History and Theory,* 47, no. 2 (May 2008): 229–69.

17. Raymond Grew, "On the Prospect of Global History," in *Conceptualizing Global History,* Bruce Mazlish and Ralph Buultjens, eds. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), 244.
18. *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective,* iii–xiv.
19. Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power,* transl. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 163–170. On how cross-cultural interactions influenced the internal histories of countries, see Jerry H. Bentley, "Cross-Cultural Interaction and Periodization in World History," *American Historical Review,* 101, no. 3 (Jun., 1996): 749–770.

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NOTE: Locators followed by 'n' refer to note numbers.