ARCHIVE

An Undergraduate Journal of History

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Editor's Note

With a lack of eloquence hardly befitting of an editor-in-chief, I will begin by saying that publishing a journal, like canoeing or playing catch, simply cannot be done alone. I am thoroughly and inexpressibly grateful for the assistance I have received along the way from both peers and advisers alike. I would especially like to thank the editorial board for their endless cheer, wit, and academic prowess. With any other group, weekend meetings and would hardly have been such a privilege. I would like to thank Scott Burkhardt for his dedication and tireless reading of my emails—no matter how trivial my questions may be. I would like to thank Professor John Hall for his guidance in this process and Professor Sarah Thal for her assistance in acquiring funds for *ARCHIVE*. Finally, I would like to thank all of our student contributors for meeting the highest standards of academic research—I am truly proud of the work you have done.

Kristen Schumacher
Madison, Wisconsin
May, 2012

About *ARCHIVE*

In 1997, the UW—Madison chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, with the support of the History Department, created *ARCHIVE: an Undergraduate Journal of History.* To date, *AR-CHIVE* has published 15 volumes, and has presented undergraduate research on topics as diverse as Wisconsin microbreweries to theater during the French Revolution. Each February, students submit essays for review by the editorial board. Only a handful of the highest quality works are selected, and through a meticulous editing process, are prepared for publication. The students who work for *ARCHIVE* are not required to be history majors, and all accepted works are produced by the Madison student body. The deadline for Volume 16 submissions will be announced in early fall of 2012.

Requirements and submission forms can be found at uwarchive.wordpress.com

2012 Editorial Board

Kristen Schumacher, Editor-in-Chief

Kristen is a senior majoring in History with certificates in Folklore and Gender and Women's Studies. She enjoys community history, storytelling, museums, and all the ways in which people share experiences from the past. Her research focuses on the influence of women's labor activism on the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 and consequent changes in women's workplace bargaining power. In her free time, Kristen enjoys holding friendly conversations with strangers, baking, blogging, and asking others about their grandparents.

Sam Jonas, Editor

Sam is a Senior majoring in History and English, and plans on teaching in some capacity after college. His concentration is in general American History, but his true passion lies in the history of Antebellum and Reconstruction America. He also recently announced his candidacy for school elections as a member of the Whig party.

James Doing, Editor

James is a Senior majoring in history, with a concentration in 20th-century Europe. He also studies German and ESL, and hopes to spend a few years abroad teaching English before coming back to Madison for graduate school. In his free time James enjoys analyzing language and costume errors in historical films (especially atrocious hairstyles from the sixties).

Crescentia Stegner-Frietag, Editor

Crescentia is a junior who would love nothing better than to be in Rome in 63 BC. Since she cannot do so, she has to content herself with majoring in Classics and History. She is an active member of the Undergraduate History Association/Phi Alpha Theta, the Undergraduate History Council, and the Classics Society. In her free time, Crescentia plays piano and knits.

Shane Polzin, Editor

Shane is a Senior majoring in History and Scandinavian Studies, with a certificate in European Studies.After graduation, he will be commission as an officer in the US Navy and go to Pensacola, FL for flight school. He enjoys traveling as much as possible, but when home is perfectly content to watch a movie, then endlessly analyze it with friends.

DeeDee Hirschtritt, Editor

DeeDee is a senior majoring in History and Gender and Women's Studies with a certificate in Jewish Studies. Her studies focus on Jewish history, specifically Yiddish-speaking women of the 19th-20th centuries. Come September 2012, DeeDee will be teaching elementary school in Detroit, missing Madison terribly. In her free time, Dee-Dee enjoys reading simplistic Yiddish poetry, imagining herself as a famous modern dancer, and biking.

Anei Reyes, Editor

Aneidys is a junior majoring in history. Her primary focus has been in popular and revolutionary history of Latin America as well as in social history of the United States. She is excited to have received a Wisconsin Hilldale Undergraduate/Faculty Research Fellowship for the 2012-2013. Entitled Queer Realities In Small-Town Wisconsin, her senior thesis will be both a community-building oral history project as well as a response to queer studies' dominant narratives that make invisible the queerness that exists outside of mainstream, urban, gay communities. Her other academic interests include Portuguese and Russian language studies and queer studies and poetry. Her poetry recently appeared in the Our Nations of Others Juried Exhibit as well as in the LGBT Campus Center's first edition of the zine, [un]. Aneidys is an avid baker, cook, runner and social justice activist. This is her first time on the editorial board for *ARCHIVE*.

Faculty Advisor

Professor John Hall

About the Authors

Conner Wild

Conner is a senior completing a major in History with certificates in German and American Indian Studies. Outside of school, Conner is an avid gardener, musician, and cook. He also works as a volunteer with *Street Pulse,* Madison's homeless cooperative newspaper.

Liz Fried

Liz Fried is a freshman with interests in both gender studies and religious studies. On campus, Liz volunteers with the student organization Advocates for Choice, which operates in connection with Planned Parenthood to increase awareness of reproductive health issues. She loves writing, and hopes to continue her scholarly pursuits in the future.

Jeff Eversman

Jeff Eversman graduated in May, 2011, with degrees in history (with Honors) and German with a certificate in European studies. He is currently serving a year as an AmeriCorps VISTA, after which he plans on teaching English abroad in Europe before returning to school for a Master's degree to pursue a career in either international business or public policy."

Michelle Patten

Michelle Patten is a graduating senior majoring in History and Psychology. She wrote "Treasonous Martyrs: the Consequences of Minority Political Beliefs in the Cherokee Nation Prior to Removal" for Professor John Hall's seminar on Indian Removal in Fall 2011. After graduation, she will begin working with Milwaukee Teaching Fellows as a Special Education teacher in the Milwaukee Public School District while pursuing certification and her M.A. in Urban Education.
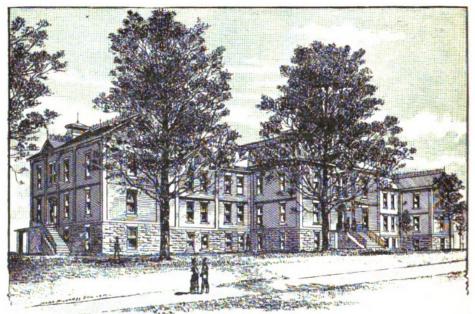
Jason Pickart

Jason is an expected December 2012 graduate with a major in history. He recently finished his honor's thesis, entitled "The Evolution of the English East India Company: 1717-1805." In addition to hi history coursework, Jason works at DoIT as a web editor and is taking computer science classes on the side. When he graduates, Jason hopes to get a job in a computer related field

Aubrey Lauersdorf

Aubrey Lauersdorf is a senior majoring in history and anthropology. Her research examines how Iroquois women responded to the social and political effects of colonization from contact until the early nineteenth century. Aubrey serves as the Undergraduate Assistant Director of the Writing Fellows Program and as Editor-in-Chief of the Journal of Undergraduate International Studies (JUIS), a national undergraduate journal. After graduating in May, she will start work as a technical writer. She hopes to attend graduate school in the future.

"It is not a hospital, but a home they want":
Caring for the Chronically Insane in Nineteenth-Century Dane County
By Aubrey Lauersdorf

Dane County Asylum.

The Dane County Asylum, as it appeared in 1893.[1]

[1]*First Biennial Report of the State Board of Control of Wisconsin Reformatory, Charitable, and Penal Institutions for the Fiscal Years Ending September 30, 1892* (Madison: Democrat Printing Company, 1892), 304. This is a public domain image.

During America's early years, little societal need existed for insane asylums or hospitals for the insane, a term that will be employed throughout this paper to be consistent with early American understandings of mental disorders. Care of the insane was carried out within the home or potentially through the welfare of local government officials, partially because few large urban areas existed.[2] During this time, some hospitals housing the insane did exist, such as the Pennsylvania Hospital, built in 1752 in Philadelphia, which included a custodial ward. In 1773, Williamsburg, Virginia constructed the first institution completely dedicated to the care of the insane.[3] However, despite the presence of a few such institutions, most insane individuals were not institutionalized in the eighteenth century.[4]

In the nineteenth century, trends in approaching insanity in American society began to shift, and insanity became a social problem rather than an issue to be dealt with almost solely on the local or familial level. As a result, the number of institutions for the insane rose dramatically to include practically every state.[5] This shift towards institutionalization of the insane corresponded with a shift in the understanding of the causes of insanity. In the eighteenth century, insanity had been understood in theological terms, with the insane often "faulted for their lack of faith, assumed to be forsaken by God, or accused of possession by the devil."[6] However, in the nineteenth century, the belief that recently acquired insanity could be cured through an alteration of both physical and social environment became prevalent. This was 'moral treatment,' and it generally included a "warm, familial atmosphere with medical treatment, occupational therapy, religious exercises, amusements and games, kind treatment."[7]

While nineteenth-century society considered recently acquired insanity to be treatable, it faced the issue of the chronically insane, or those whose insanity was considered essentially incurable. For these individuals, a treatment hospital was not appropriate, and distinct facilities that housed the chronically insane came into existence

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[2] Gerald N. Grob, "The Severely and Chronically Mentally Ill in America: Retrospect and Prospect," in *Sickness and Health in America: Readings in the History of Medicine and Public Health,* ed. J. Leavitt and R. Numbers (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 335.

[3] Carla Yanni, "The Linear Plan for Insane Asylums in the United States before 1866," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62.1 (2003): 26.

[4] Grob, 335.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Yanni, 25.

[7] Joseph P. Morrissey and Howard H. Goldman, "Care and Treatment of the Mentally Ill in the United States: Historical Developments and Reforms," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 484 (1986), 15.

during this era. One of these many facilities was the Dane County Asylum in Verona, Wisconsin. This asylum provided a home for the chronically insane living in Dane County and its surrounding areas. The narrative of the formation of the Dane County Asylum reflects the norms of the establishment of public institutions for the chronically insane in nineteenth-century America. Furthermore, the Dane County Asylum patient records, located in the Wisconsin Historical Society archives and analyzed by the author, illustrate what it meant to be 'chronically insane' in the nineteenth century in both Dane County and America as a whole.

Before 1883, a distinct Dane County asylum did not exist, and the County often housed chronically insane individuals at the Dane County Poor Farm. Dane County had established the Poor Farm in the 1850s as a home for indigent members of society, and care of the chronically insane was not its primary objective.[8] Despite this, when the State Board of Charities and Reform performed its annual visit to the institution on May 20, 1875, it found the composition of the sixty-six tenants to be: four blind, seven crippled, twenty-four insane, and the remainder incapable of performing manual labor. Thus, though the Poor Farm's intention was not care of the insane, almost two-thirds of its tenants fit in this category.[9] Elizabeth Gaspar Brown found a similar trend in her analysis of Wisconsin's Waukesha County Poorhouse from the years 1846-1866; individuals identified as insane, along with the sick, the injured, alcoholics, and pregnant women comprised 52.1% of individuals admitted singly (that is, not in a family unit).[10] While this data does not provide statistics regarding the exact percentage of insane individuals, it demonstrates a larger trend in Wisconsin poorhouses. Furthermore, the conditions in which the insane lived at the Dane County Poor Farm were often quite appalling. The Poor Farm often roomed the insane "in the second story of the hog pen," and during an 1871 visit the State Board of Charities and Reform found "an insane man and an insane woman, both stark naked, and covered with filth and flies, strapped to little pallets, in the hottest weather, in a stifling atmosphere and suffering from thirst."[11]

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[8] Jim Ferolie, "County proudly unveils its new nursing home." *Verona Press*, 13 February 2011.
[9] The Fifth Annual Report of the State Board of Charities and Reform of the State of Wisconsin, (Madison: E.B. Bolens, 1875), 55.
[10] Elizabeth Gaspar Brown, "Poor Relief in a Wisconsin County," The American Journal of Legal History 20.2 (1976): 97.
[11] Second Biennial Report of the State Board of Charities and Reform of the State of Wisconsin for the Years 1885 and 1886, (Madison: Democrat Printing Company, 1887), 26.

At the time of the previously discussed 1875 study of the Dane County Poor Farm, two state hospitals for the treatment of the insane, the State Hospital for the Insane and the Northern Hospital for the Insane, existed in Wisconsin.[12] The presence of such hospitals is consistent with the nineteenth-century trend of establishing public institutions for the treatment of the insane. However, despite the presence of such institutions in Wisconsin, it is also consistent with nineteenth-century social trends that the Dane County Poor Farm instead of a hospital occasionally housed insane individuals, as insanity was generally understood as curable only in its early stages, a belief supported by studies conducted in hospitals for the insane in the nineteenth century. One such study, performed by William M. Awl, the superintendent of the Ohio Lunatic Asylum, found that the eighty percent of patients who had been insane for one year or less were cured at his institution, while those who had been insane for five to ten years had a cure rate of only nine percent.[13] Thus, the purpose of these hospitals for the insane tended to be treatment, not custodianship, which is reflected in the fact that the average time spent in a mid-nineteenth-century hospital for the insane was only three to nine months. Consequently, on a national level, poor houses were a common method of providing custodianship for the chronically insane.[14]

Like similar institutions of this era, the Wisconsin hospitals for the insane focused on treating patients. Through analysis, the State Hospital for the Insane in Madison found, as other nineteenth-century hospitals for the insane had, that curability decreased significantly with the duration of insanity. Male patients who had been insane less than three months had an average cure rate of 46.62 percent, while those who had been insane for one to two years had an average cure rate of 11.57 percent, and those insane longer than two years consistently had an average cure rate of less than ten percent.[15] These statistics are supported by the fact that, for released individuals believed to be fully recovered, the average length of disease was 15.57 months.[16] For patients who were treated and released, the average time of treatment was 7.75 months, well within the national average.[17]

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[12] *The Fifth Annual Report of the State Board of Charities and Reform of the State of Wisconsin,* (Madison: E.B. Bolens, 1875), 55.

[13] Elizabeth Gaspar Brown, "Poor Relief in a Wisconsin County," *The American Journal of Legal History* 20.2 (1976): 97.

[14] *Second Biennial Report of the State Board of Charities and Reform of the State of Wisconsin for the Years 1885 and 1886,* (Madison: Democrat Printing Company, 1887), 26.

[15] *The Fifth Annual Report of the State Board of Charities and Reform of the State of Wisconsin.*

[16] Grob, 336-7.

[17] Ibid., 336-7.

Though intended for treatment of acute cases of insanity, by 1875 Wisconsin's State Hospital for the Insane had already begun to face a dilemma that, according to historian Gerald Grob, would plague the nation's insane hospitals in general from the 1890s onward.[18] Chronically insane patients had already become a significant presence there, and "of three hundred and forty-seven patients in the Hospital at the commencement of the year, only forty-five were regarded by my predecessor as presenting any prospect of being benefited by further treatment," according to Wisconsin's State Hospital for the Insane Superintendent A.S. McDill.[19] This trend led Superintendent McDill to lament that the significant presence of chronically insane patients was harming the rate of incoming admissions, and thus the potential of the hospital to cure admitted patients.[20]

Placing chronically insane individuals in state hospitals was clearly undesirable, as it undermined the inherent purpose of the institution, but Wisconsin needed to manage a greater number of insane individuals than its current facilities could accommodate. In 1875, the capacity of the state institutions was 350 insane patients in the State Hospital for the Insane in Madison and another 250 in the Northern Hospital for the Insane in Oshkosh, with upcoming renovations allowing for future capacities of 250 more individuals. Three hundred insane persons also were residing in poor houses and jails across the state.[21] These substantial numbers left the existing institutions overcrowded, with the State Hospital for the Insane sometimes having to fill wards intended for occupation by 22 patients with as many as 40 individuals; the overcrowding could be at least partially attributed to the high presence of chronically insane individuals. Furthermore, even with the intended renovations to the Northern Hospital, McDill still emphasized the fact that: "the capacity of both hospitals is not sufficient for the accommodation of all the insane in the State needing custodial care."[22] In fact, this overcrowding in the state hospitals eventually led Dane County to renovate its poor farm to include barred cells to accommodate the increasing numbers of chronically insane individuals sent there for custodial care by the state hospitals, which either could or would not accommodate them.[23]

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[18] Ibid., 11; Grob, 337.
[19] *The Fifth Annual Report of the State Board of Charities and Reform of the State of Wisconsin*, 11.
[20] Ibid., 12.
[21] Ibid., 37.
[22] Ibid., 18.
[23] *Second Biennial Report of the State Board of Charities and Reform of the State of Wisconsin for the Years 1885 and 1886*, 26.

It seemed, then, that in facing the issue of managing the chronically insane, greater initiative needed to be taken. In formulating a plan of action, the State of Wisconsin worked with a clear understanding of the national trends in treatment of the chronically insane. This understanding is apparent in the "Report of Delegates to National Conference on Boards of Public Charity and American Social Science Association," a record summarizing a conference held March 15, 1875 and attended by delegates from Wisconsin.[24] There, Dr. Nathan Allen of Lowell, Massachusetts emphasized that, "it is not a hospital but a home they [the chronically insane] want, suitable exercises, plenty of sunlight, pure air and water, proper nourishment, pleasant surroundings, etc."[25] He also stated that institutions should implement farm work among the men and that the lifestyle promoted there should be a "plain country style." By the time this conference occurred in 1875, two states had already established institutions for the sole purpose of providing custodial care for the chronically insane.[26]

Drawing on these nationally promoted principles, Wisconsin soon followed by establishing a system of asylum care that provided state subsidies to the counties to provide for the chronically insane in county-run institutions.[27] In 1881, the Dane County Board approved the building of a county asylum and established it on the farmland that included the Dane County Poor Farm.[28] Besides following the national trend of trying to maintain therapy instead of custodianship in state hospitals and the accepted theory of promoting country living and farming among the chronically insane, Wisconsin also followed a national trend of distancing local communities from the care of the chronically insane. Local care, generally carried out at a town or city level, had often proven problematic in that local officials tended to be more concerned with maintaining low taxes on residents than providing quality care for the chronically insane.[29]

The Dane County Asylum, a 100 patient institution, accepted its first patients on June 5, 1883, and in the eight years following was home to a total of 191 recorded patients.[30] The nature of these patients' insanity adhered to the institution's intent—to serve those whose cases had persisted so long that treatment was not possible—and is

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[24] T*he Fifth Annual Report of the State Board of Charities and Reform of the State of Wisconsin*, 23.
[25] Ibid., 43-44.
[26] Ibid., 44.
[27] Grob, 338.
[28] *Second Biennial Report of the State Board of Charities and Reform of the State of Wisconsin for the Years 1885 and 1886*, 27.
[29] Grob, 338.
[30] *Second Biennial Report of the State Board of Charities and Reform of the State of Wisconsin for the Years 1885 and 1886*, 4 and 27.

patients allegedly had been insane upon institutionalization, which is recorded in the "Dane County Asylum Patient Records." Thirty-eight of the 100 female patient records included information regarding duration of insanity; the average was more than eight years. For men, 27 of the 91 patient records included information on duration of insanity, and the average was nearly 10 years. No patient is noted to have been insane for less than one year, which reflects the nineteenth-century belief that those with acute insanity were curable and should not be sent to an institution intended for the chronically insane.[31] In contrast, according to nineteenth-century data, the average patient at the Dane County Asylum would have had a less than ten percent chance of being cured of his or her chronic condition.

The fact that these individuals were considered in need of care instead of treatment is reflected in patient data kept by the Dane County Asylum. Of the 173 patients with information provided, at least 140 had been "returned from hospital/returned from Northern hospital/returned from State hospital/returned from Milwaukee asylum."[32] These four categories indicate transfer from the treatment-based state hospital facilities to the custodial institutions, as these patients were considered in need of a comfortable home, not further treatment. Besides these 140 patients, 10 others were transfers from different counties and clearly had a history of insanity, as they had been living in county poorhouses because of lack of access to an asylum. Often, the chronically insane were transferred from these poor houses to an asylum because of a history of mistreatment.[33] The rest of the patients with available data were committed to the facility by order of a county judge, and little information exists regarding their living arrangements before being institutionalized.[34]

The Dane County Asylum rarely released these chronically insane patients, seen as in need of continued care, into society. In total, only nine patients received a "parole," "leave of absence," or "furlough." The Asylum released only seven who did not return. The Dane County Asylum returned five patients to the State Hospital for

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[31] "Register of Dane County Insane Asylum," Dane County Hospital and Home Records, Box 4, Folder 4, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.
 Analysis performed by author based on available data in records. The author cannot guarantee that the available record was complete.
[32] Patients returned from the Milwaukee Asylum were also counted in this group, as the Milwaukee asylum provided both care for chronically insane patients and treatment for acutely insane patients.
See: *Second Biennial Report of the State Board of Charities and Reform of the State of Wisconsin for the Years 1885 and 1886*, 7.
[33] *Second Biennial Report of the State Board of Charities and Reform of the State of Wisconsin for the Years 1885 and 1886*, 27 and 52
[34] "Register of Dane County Insane Asylum." Analysis performed by author.

the Insane, two of which were later discharged and returned to the Asylum. The rest of the patients either have no record of discharge, transferred to another chronic facility, or died in the Dane County Asylum.[35] While the Dane County Asylum demonstrates some flexibility in care of its patients, many confined within it were deemed unfit to reenter society.

On a national scale, the chronically insane individuals committed for long-term care in the late nineteenth century were generally of the working class, and patients at the Dane County Asylum was no different. Historian Constance McGovern posits that the tendency of working-class individuals to commit their family members to asylums existed because of the small houses common in working-class America, issues of unemployment, and a lack of time to care for family members as a result of the long workday.[36] While McGovern examined a State Lunatic Hospital in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, the data of the patients' economic conditions reflects that of the Dane County Asylum. Of the patients analyzed in McGovern's study, 55 percent were laborers (or the families of laborers), 15 percent were farmers, 20 percent were unemployed, and 10 percent "worked in occupations that might have enabled them to put something aside to withstand the financial burden of prolonged illness."[37] Though unlike the State Lunatic Hospital, the Dane County Asylum did not keep consistent data of its patients former occupations, the available data for 10 male patients is as follows: four laborers, two farmers, one milliner, one painter, one shoemaker and one baker. Thirteen female patients possess occupation data, which includes six servants, four housekeepers, and three women who performed "housework." While a few of the males who practiced a specialization may have fallen into McGovern's criteria of individuals potentially able to afford their own care, all of these men were immigrants, which raises the question of whether they had been well-established in their occupation while in America. Furthermore, the milliner was an 81-year-old man described as "intemperate."[38] Liquor consumption was associated with poverty and pauperism, so it is likely that, despite his occupation, an intemperate individual would be unable to economically sustain himself in illness.[39]

Indeed, the families of the patients in the Dane County asylum were rarely capable of providing financial support for their institutionalized relatives; almost every patient appears to be a public charge, as the state could subsidize the county to provide

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Constance McGovern, "The Community, The Hospital, and the Working-Class Patient: The Multiple Uses of the Asylum in the Nineteenth-Century," *Pennsylvania History* 54.1 (1987): 17

[37] Ibid., 18.

[38] "Register of Dane County Insane Asylum." Analysis performed by author.

[39] *The Fifth Annual Report of the State Board of Charities and Reform of the State of Wisconsin*, 56.

care for the chronically insane. While the records do not always indicate a patient's status as a public charge, they list only two individuals as fully "self supporting." In a handful of other cases, the family or guardian of the chronically insane individual contributed money for clothing alone.[40] This reflects national trends in the financial conditions of those institutionalized in public facilities for the insane. Often, private facilities, funded by private donors, were available to patients from financially successful backgrounds, while public funds supported institutions for impoverished patients.[41]

Coupled with the tendency for public insane asylums to house impoverished individuals was the tendency for many residents to be immigrants.[42] According to the 1880 census in Wisconsin, native born individuals comprised 69.2 percent of the state population; in Dane County, the number was only slightly higher at 69.8 percent.[43] However, an analysis of the 185 asylum patients with available birthplace data indicates that foreign born individuals made up 69.7 percent.[44] Thus, immigrants were highly overrepresented in this asylum population. It is important to note that, as psychiatrists Joseph Morrissey and Howard Goldman emphasized in their research, therapeutic treatment of the insane was often only effective in cases in which the "patients and staff shared common religious, ethnic, and cultural values."[45] Therefore, it is possible that language, cultural, and ethnic differences had created treatment barriers for the individuals institutionalized in Dane County's custodial facility.

The institutionalization of individuals at the Dane County Asylum also reflects accepted trends in psychiatry regarding the causes and nature of insanity. An 1882 issue of *The North American Review* demonstrates the common understanding of insanity during this era. In it, Dr. E. C. Seguin, who wrote on legal treatment of the criminal insane, categorizes types of insanity as follows: 'impulsive disorder' resulting from alcohol mania or epilepsy, mania or melancholia (of those who often suffer from hallucinations or delusions), a belief that one is being 'persecuted,' 'paresis' or 'paralytic dementia' (brain softening), and feeble-mindedness.[46] These varied categorizes emphasize the ill-defined and generally subjective definition of insanity that existed during this era and include conditions, such as epilepsy, that modern biomedicine does not consider to be mental illness.

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[40] "Register of Dane County Insane Asylum." Analysis performed by author.

[41] Morrissey and Goldman, 17.

[42] Ibid., 15.

[43] Hans Warner, *The Blue Book of the State of Wisconsin,* (1880), 342. Analysis performed by author.

[44] "Register of Dane County Insane Asylum." Analysis performed by author.

[45] Morrissey and Goldman, 15.

[46] J.J. Elwell et. al. "The Moral Responsibility of the Insane." *The North American Review* 134.302 (1882): 1-39. 18-20.

The types of insanity prevalent in this contemporary psychiatric discourse are also present in the 'Causes of Insanity' listed in the "Patient Register of Dane County Asylum." Sixteen male patients and one female patient have "hard drinker," "intoxication," or "intemperance" listed as a causal factor for their insanity. Epilepsy is also significantly present, with a total of seven patients incarcerated for this reason. There is one example each of fear of persecution, melancholia, and syphilitic brain disease (paresis). In the nineteenth century, health, including mental health, was viewed as "a symbiotic relationship between nature, society, and the individual," and disease implied an "imbalance." Thus, psychological and environmental factors, as well as the condition of the physical body, influenced disease.[47] Because of this, many of the causes of insanity in the "Patient Register of Dane County Asylum" can be understood within this context. Causes listed include: disappointed in love, masturbation, heredity, religious excitement, over heated, domestic trouble, typhoid fever, jealousy, homicidal, head injury, overworked, vice, opium, grief, self abuse, insomnia, childbirth, change of life, loss of property or money, anxiety about becoming a nun, neuralgia (nerve pain), disappointment, menstruation, removal of ovaries, temper, anemia, working over hot range stove for years, old age, and reading too much.[48] This range of causal factors and their relation to environmental condition, psychological issues, and predisposition is similar to patient registers from other institutions.[49]

The causal factors understood as contributing to insanity during the nineteenth century were expansive and often not scientific in nature. While it would be impossible to discuss all causes, a few should be noted for their especial significance to overarching trends in the nineteenth-century understanding of insanity. Primarily, one of the most common causes of insanity in the patient register is "Hereditary," which allegedly affected 18 patients. The nineteenth-century understanding of insanity considered it a condition that could be passed through generations, and affliction became more severe with each generation. Such an understanding played a role in the development of later laws relating to eugenics.[50]

Likewise, another significant trend that reflects national theory on insanity is apparent in examining institutionalization for old age. Before states subsidized care of the insane, families placed elderly individuals who they could not care for in local poor-

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[47] Grob, 335.
[48] "Register of Dane County Insane Asylum." This is not a complete list, but was selected by the author as a representative sample.
[49] Yanni, 26.
[50] Ibid., 25.

houses. However, local officials realized that it would be financially beneficial to work to redefine mental conditions related to old age as insanity, thus resulting in the transfer of these individuals from the locally subsidized poor houses to state subsidized mental hospitals and asylums. In the case of Wisconsin, "old age" as a cause for insanity appears three times between 1889 and 1891, but never before that. This indicates that perhaps Wisconsin gradually began to participate in the national shift toward widening the scope of insanity, often for financial purposes.[51]

A final association with national trends exists in the fact that the Dane County Asylum, like many other asylums, sometimes may have served as a "respite" instead of true custodial care. Institutionalization as "respite" primarily occurred for married women who had experienced "the effects of the lack of control of their fertility, high infant mortality rates, and exploitation by their husbands." Women who worked in difficult manual labor, such as a servant or housekeeper, sometimes sought this as well.[52] In a study of this trend, Constance McGovern discusses how women at the Pennsylvania State Lunatic Asylum were intentionally vague about their conditions and attempted to extend their stay. The patient records of the Dane County Asylum imply that similar situations occurred there. For example, 10 women were institutionalized because of domestic trouble or bad relationships with their husbands. Though records list these women as having been insane for numerous years, it is possible that, judging by the cause of their insanity, their institutionalization was really something other than necessary custodial care, such as a temporary or permanent escape from their spouses. Similarly, for men, institutionalization could also provide escape in that it allowed them to be removed of their role as provider—in McGovern's research, one case of this continued for 38 years.[53] In Dane County, a 31-year-old man entered the Asylum with his cause of insanity listed as "hard work." This individual passed away in the institution two years later, and, while it is unknown if his perceived insanity was something biomedical science would still consider a mental disorder, it is not impossible that his institutionalization resulted from a desire to relieve himself of the necessity to work.

The establishment of the Dane County Asylum follows general nineteenth-century trends in the care of the chronically insane, and it reflects a shift in removing the chronically insane from poor houses and state hospitals and into facilities built solely for custodial care. Through analysis of the Dane County Asylum's patient records, it becomes apparent that the personal histories of the people who inhabited this asylum rein-

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[51] "Register of Dane County Insane Asylum." Analysis performed by author.
[52] McGovern, 24-5.
[53] Ibid., 25.

force trends in the populations of public asylums across the United States. The Dane County Asylum and its residents exemplify the products of a social movement that sought to respond to new pressures in managing the insane as the American population expanded and the psychiatric movement shifted its focus onto moral treatment for the acutely insane and custodianship for the chronically insane.

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Over the Hill: John Riley and the St. Patrick's Battalion in the Mexican-American War
By Conner Wild

Desertion is the scourge of any military. Traditionally, officers combat desertion through discipline, threats of corporal punishment or execution, in addition to the stigmatization of deserters as social pariahs. Often denigrated by the use of terms like 'cowards,' 'traitors,' and 'unpatriotic,' society perceives deserters as individuals with flawed characters. In social psychology, such logic follows the fundamental attribution error, that is, attributing an individual's behavior to internal disposition rather than external situations. Contrary to the view that deserters are individuals lacking martial virtues, desertions are often the result of social, economic, and political forces. During the Mexican-American War, estimated desertion rates among U.S. regulars run the gamut from 8.3% to 14% (around 5000 soldiers), higher than in any other U.S. conflict.[1] Of these 5000, 1900 were immigrants.[2] Even more uncharacteristic, almost 500 defected to the Mexican army, fighting as the St. Patrick's Battalion under the leadership of Irish immigrant John Riley.[3] Given that these soldiers fought in every major battle from Palo Alto to Churubusco, cowardice cannot explain their desertion. So what motivated them? The answer lies in the social, political, and economic culture of Antebellum America.

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[1] Robert Ryal Miller, *Shamrock and Sword: The St. Patrick's Battalion in the U.S.-Mexican War* (Noram: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 174; Peter F. Stevens, *The Rogue's March: John Riley and the St. Patrick's Battalion, 1846-48* (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc., 1999), 2-3; Paul Foos, *A short, offhand, killing affair: Soldiers and Social Conflict During the Mexican-American War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 85; Robert Fantina, *Desertion and the American Soldier* (New York City: Algora Publishing, 2006), 45; Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States: 1492-Present* (New York City: Harper Collins Publishers, 2003), 168.

[2] Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 3.

[3] Foos, *A short, offhand, killing affair*, 105-7.

America experienced its first mass migration in the 1840s as millions fled Europe to escape economic deprivation, oppressive social regimes, and ethnic and religious intolerance. The mass influx of immigrants, however, not only further strained an already unstable American economy but also released a nativist backlash. This combination of nativist discrimination and economic depression left immigrants excluded from the economy and alienated from society. With the outbreak of the Mexican-American War, promises of cash, land, and citizenship enticed many desperate immigrants like John Riley to enlist in the military as a means of social mobility, acceptance, and economic relief. Nativist prejudices among the officer corps, however, excluded immigrants from promotion and subjected them to excessive discipline. Systematically denied the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness", immigrants like John Riley defected to the Mexican ranks in search of the American Dream that eluded them in the United States. Thus to cast the John Riley and the St. Patrick's Battalion as traitors is both specious and reductionist, for it fails to account for the pressures of nativism, economic depression, and social immobility that motivated desertion.

Immigration to the U.S. dramatically increased throughout the 1840s and 1850s. For the year 1842, the total number of immigrants into the U.S. exceeded 100,000 for the first time, and by 1854, immigration had increased to 430,000 individuals.[4] In Europe, many of these immigrants had been subjects of exclusionary and restrictive socioeconomic systems predicated on notions of ethnic and religious superiority. When John Riley was born in 1817, Ireland was a colonial possession of Britain. Oppressed by a feudal system dominated by the British Protestant nobility, most Irish, especially Catholics, were denied suffrage and slaved as tenant farmers.[5] Undergirding this system was the belief that the Irish were an inferior race adhering to a defunct, corrupt, fanatical religion, and thus a burden to Protestant Anglo-Saxon progress.[6] As a disenfranchised citizen, Riley found himself ensnared in a social order based on systematic deprivation. With a wife, son, and no way to make a living, Riley enlisted in the British Army in the 1830s, a decision "born of desperation."[7] Military life was certainly no less harsh or demanding, but enlistment held greater economic prospects than could reaped as a tenant

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[4] Raymond L. Cohn, "Nativism and the End of the Mass Migration of the 1840s and 1850s," *The Journal of Economic History* 60, no. 2 (2000): 365, http://www.jstor.org/pss/2566375 (accessed 4 November 2011); Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 23.

[5] Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 10-2, 16.

[6] Ibid., 13.

[7] Ibid., 16.

[8] Michael F. X. Hogan, "The Irish Soldiers of Mexico," *History Ireland* 5, no. 4 (Winter 1997): 38, http://www.jstor.org/pss/27724506 (accessed 4 November 2011).; Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 27.; Stevens, The Rogue's March, 16-7.

farmer. In 1843, Riley was mustered out of the military having achieved the rank of sergeant in an artillery unit. Rather than return to the bleak prospects of tenant farming, Riley immigrated to America, gambling along with thousands of other marginalized and disenfranchised Europeans that the United States held a promise of something better. While crushing hardships wrought by an exclusionary social order compelled many immigrants to seek greener pastures in America, most, however, found their hope to be ill-founded.

Antebellum America was a socially tumultuous and economically fragile era, and the dreams of immigrants ran aground on the rudeness of reality. The Panic of 1837 destabilized America's economic growth and caused its economy to tailspin into a depression that lasted through 1843, the year John Riley first arrived in America at Mackinac Island.[9] As manufacturers fumbled with the mechanics of the Industrial Revolution, laborers grappled with labor relations and class tensions. During the Antebellum period, America experienced its first labor strikes in manufacturing centers like the textile mills in Lowell, Massachusetts.[10] Compounding the effects of economic depression and class turmoil was the influx of hundreds of thousands of immigrants. The urban underclass, rural migrants, and immigrants all competed for the same limited employment, depressing wages and disempowering labor. Thus the state of the economy in America alone left many immigrants disadvantaged in their quest for employment. As disadvantage festered, desperation flourished as immigrants, like John Riley, accepted employment in the most undesirable professions and under the most inhospitable conditions.

The combination of economic depression and mass migration unleashed a latent nativism in America that lambasted immigrants. Nativists reserved a special fury for Catholics. As historian Michael Hogan explains, American Protestants viewed Catholicism as "inimical to democracy."[11] With reliance on the papal hierarchy for moral and spiritual guidance, Catholics lacked the "independent thought" necessary to "participate in democracy."[12] Moreover, nativists doubted Catholic loyalties, and paranoid fears abounded about papal designs for overrunning the US.[13] In addition, nativists propagated racist doctrines disparaging immigrants as inferior people. Many Irish heard familiar

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[9] Foos, *A short, offhand, killing affair*, 14-5.; Samuel Rezneck, "The Social History of an American De pression, 1837-1843," *The American Historical Review* 40, no. 4 (July 1935): 664-5, http://www.jstor.org/pss/1842418 (accessed 4 November 2011).; Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 7.
[10] Zinn, *A People's History*, 115.
[11] Hogan, "The Irish Soldiers of Mexico," 40.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 21.

accusations as nativists caricatured them as lazy, unintelligent, morally corrupt, volatile, brutish, and drunk.[14] With each ship's arrival, nativists mourned the degradation of Anglo-American Protestant purity.

Nativism soon saturated American culture and dominated the social and political landscape. By the early 1840s, 400 nativist publications, like the *Philadelphia Nativist* and the *American Protestant Vindicator*, circulated throughout America.[15] Nativist rhetoric and paranoia, however, was not limited to polemical publications. In 1835, *American Home Missionary Society Journal* published Reverend Lyman Beecher's essay "Plea for the West" which implicated the Pope and Irish immigrants in a plot to undermine American democracy.[16] Moreover, nativism was not restricted to print culture but manifested itself in political institutions. In 1843, nativists in New York organized a political party that grew into the popular Know-Nothing Party within a decade. The Know-Nothings advocated a platform of prohibiting immigration from Ireland and Germany, disenfranchising all foreigners, barring immigrants from holding public office, and extending requirements for naturalized citizenship.[17] The marriage of politics with popular passions and fears bred mob violence. In 1844, race riots fueled by nativist propaganda erupted in urban centers like Philadelphia where indiscriminate acts of violence killed 30 and wounded 150.[18] Such race riots demonstrated the depth of antipathy toward immigrants and the severity of ethnic and religious tension festering in America's urban centers. Ultimately, this rampant spread of nativism enveloped immigrants in a hostile environment that left them socially, politically, and economically alienated.

Economic depression, surplus labor, and nativist prejudices severely restricted economic opportunities for immigrants. Employment was limited to the most "menial and back-breaking jobs."[19] John Riley himself only found work at the sympathetic hand of Irish national Charles O'Malley.[20] For two years, Riley worked O'Malley's docks for $3.00-$4.00 a month, unable to find other employment.[21] Ironically, Riley and numerous Irish had fled one socioeconomic system dominated by Anglo-Saxon Protestants only to find the same system reproduced throughout America. Despite being in the so-called "land of the free", economic opportunities and social mobility proved elusive.

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[14] Hogan, "The Irish Soldiers of Mexico," 40.; Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 24.

[15] Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 20, 28.

[16] Ibid., 21.

[17] Cohn, "Nativism and the End of the Mass Migration," 373-4; Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 282.

[18] Hogan, "The Irish Soldiers of Mexico," 40-1.; Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 25.

[19] Ibid., 8.

[20] Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 28.; Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 24.

[21] Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 33.

Alienated from society and excluded from the economy, many immigrants turned to the military as a last resort. When President James K. Polk called for recruits in 1846, immigrants jumped at enlistment promises of $7.00 per month with possibility of advancement, 100 acres of land, American citizenship, and a cash bonus.[22] As historian Paul Foos writes, "Unemployment was the recruiting officer's best friend."[23] For many, economic incentives outweighed any lofty notions promulgated by militaristic demagogues. The military offered "an escape from...squalor,...unemployment, and...Nativist prejudices."[24] As in Ireland, Riley again turned to the military to escape a socioeconomic system that denied him economic opportunities and social advancement. He enlisted 4 September 1845 in order to "attain [his] former rank or die."[25] Desperation discriminated against neither ethnicity nor creed. Similar to John Riley, George Ballentine left England in 1845 for "want of employment" and joined the U.S. army as a "last resource", enticed by a bill advertising "good treatment" and steady pay.[26] Bavarian immigrant Frederick Zeh, unable to find secure employment, also turned to the military. Zeh writes, "Love of my new homeland was[...]not the reason I became a soldier[...]All across the country, business was doing poorly; only the military was thriving."[27] First denied enlistment because of his "foreign birth", Zeh later enlisted in an elite artillery corps in Philadelphia, which promised "all the benefits that had completely eluded [him]."[28] Ultimately the military represented a last-ditch effort for immigrants still seeking socioeconomic parity. Promises of full citizenship, parcels of land, and cash payments were a last chance at social advancement.

  Once in the camps, however, recruiter's promises failed to materialize. Soldiers, immigrants or not, faced unbearable conditions. Relentlessly drilled, excessively disciplined, and forced to labor under the harsh desert sun, soldiers lacked adequate shelter and supplies as night temperatures plummeted below freezing.[29] Moreover, pay was

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[22]Allan R. Millet and Peter Maslowski, *For the Common Defense: A Military History of the United States of America* (New York City: The Free Press, 1984), 149.; Robert Wooster, *The American Military Frontiers: The United States Army in the West, 1783-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009), 111-2.; Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 32.

[23] Foos, *A short, offhand, killing affair*, 22.

[24] Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 36.

[25] John Riley to Charles O'Malley, 27 October 1847 in Peter F. Stevens, *The Rogue's March: John Riley and the St. Patrick's Battalion, 1846-48* (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc., 1999), 39.

[26] George Ballentine, *Autobiography of an English Soldier in the United States Army*, ed. William H. Goetzmann (Chicago R. R. Donnelly & Sons Company, 1986), 3, 11.

[27] Frederick Zeh, *An Immigrant Soldier in the Mexican War*, ed. William J. Orr and Robert Ryal Miller trans. William J. Orr (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995), 4.

[28] Ibid., 4-5.

[29] Fantina, *Desertion and the American Soldier*, 47-8; Foos, *A short, offhand, killing affair*, 25. Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 220.

Moreover, pay was erratic and diseases decimated ranks with one-sixth of General Zachary Taylor's Army of Occupation on sick report.[30] A selection from the diary of Thomas D. Tennery demonstrates the degree of demoralization among soldiers. Opening with long, lofty praises extolling military life, Tennery's writing quickly devolves to brief, toneless notations:

> "*July 3.* – [...]What emotions thrill the heart at the site of a military camp[...]
>
> *July 6.* – Nothing today of importance, drill four hours a day.
>
> *July 8.* – Almost everyone complaining about rations in bread.
>
> *July 10.* – Almost everyone complaining about diarrhea.
>
> *July 11.* – Strong talk with some of deserting."[31]

Rather than glory and honor, soldiers found privation and misery. Desertion thus represented a rational response to the widespread discontent spawned by intolerable circumstances.

Immigrants suffered additional indignities at the hands of nativist officers and comrades. Racial tension and class conflict dominated social relations within the army which became manifested in how officers exercised authority and handled discipline. Officers subjected all soldiers to cruel and unusual punishment with two factors motivating excessive discipline. First, officers needed a cohesive and responsive force, and discipline instilled this obedience by terrorizing and dehumanizing soldiers while also undermining individual will. Second, officers regarded regular soldiers as "a servile and degraded class of men," "the scum of the[...]States," "worthless emigrants". As social elites, officers believed extreme discipline was the only way to deal with the unruly lower classes that filled the ranks of the military. Nevertheless discipline was not meted out equally. Strong nativist sentiments assured immigrant soldiers unending injustices. Throughout the war, immigrants received three times as many disciplinary sentences as native-born citizens. Immigrants also received stiffer penalties. In two identical cases of "drunkenness and mutinous conduct," an American received fifty lashes, a fine, and

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[30] Fantina, *Desertion and the American Soldier*, 47-8; Foos, *A short, offhand, killing affair*, 17-8, 25;Thomas D. Tennery, *The Mexican War Diary of Thomas D. Tennery*, ed. D. E. Livingston-Little (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 15, 17, 28, 33-6, 92; Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 29; Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 220.

[31] Tennery, *The Mexican War Diary of Thomas D. Tennery*, 4, 7.

[32] Foos, *A short, offhand, killing affair*, 33.; Wooster, *The American Military Frontiers*, 67-9.

[33] Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 53.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Zeh, *An Immigrant Soldier in the Mexican War*, 40-2.

imprisonment while an Irishman was shot.[34] In another instance, Hermann Kessler, a German immigrant, blamed his captain for lack of payment and provisions, a "breach of contract."[35] For "insubordination," Kessler's captain subjected him to consecutive days of bucking and gagging and being strung up by his thumbs.[36] In contrast, American Chauncey Forward Sargent writes in his diary on 29 July 1847, "As we drew no meat yesterday, we refused to drill to-day," yet no punishment resulted from their "insubordination."[37] Many soldiers, including George Ballentine and Frederick Zeh, held firm convictions that nativist officers targeted immigrants and that harsh, unfair treatment caused desertions.[38] Although historical records are inconclusive, various soldiers' and contemporary press accounts attributed John Riley's defection to indignities suffered under nativist officers.[39] Thus immigrant soldiers found themselves powerless as nativist officers subjected them to an undue brunt of the discipline.

In addition to unequal discipline, immigrants soon found they had no hopes for promotions. This was partly the result of a changing officer corp that favored formal education over experience, but officers also overlooked immigrants because of nativist prejudices.[40] Despite Riley's ample experience in the British army as a sergeant and artillerist, as well as his captain's claim that he was "officer material," Riley soon realized that no promotion awaited him within the U.S. ranks.[41] Still constrained at the bottom of a social hierarchy based on assumptions of race and religion, Riley and many other immigrants grew disillusioned. As Paul Foos elucidated, "Ethnic and social distinction became crystallized in rank."[42] Although the professionally educated officer corps at the West Point Military Academy emphasized that the military of a republican people was neutral, apolitical, and distinct from the civilian realm, widespread nativist sentiment demonstrated that the military was merely an extension and reflection of the social order. Immigrants in the U.S. ranks began turning their eyes away from the red, white, and blue towards the green on the other side.

Although many scholars argue that pangs of conscience and Catholic solidarity

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[34] Ibid.

[35] Zeh, *An Immigrant Soldier in the Mexican War*, 40-2.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Chauncey Forward Sargent, *Gathering Laurels in Mexico: The Diary of an American Soldier in the Mexican-American War*, ed. Ann Brown James (Lincoln, Massachusetts: The Cottage Press, 1990), 15.

[38] Ballentine, *Autobiography of an English Soldier in the United States Army*, 285.; Zeh, *An Immigrant Soldier in the Mexican War*, 55.

[39] Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 92-3.

[40] Wooster, *The American Military Frontiers*, 68.

[41] Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 92.

motivated Riley and other deserters, the primary reason for desertion was that the Mexican army offered the economic opportunities and social mobility denied immigrants in American military and society. As when they had departed their homelands for America, they now departed America for Mexico. John Riley left April 12, 1846, ten days after a leaflet composed by the Mexican military circulated through camp promising better treatment and a free trip to Mexico City for help combating US aggression.[43] Riley was mustered in as a lieutenant of an artillery unit with a salary of $57 per month.[44] Exploiting the rancor within the ranks of the US military, these leaflets were part of a strategic propaganda campaign devised by the Mexican military to siphon off discontented soldiers and demoralize US troops. In particular, these leaflets made direct appeals to disaffected immigrants. The leaflets portrayed Mexico as an alternative 'American Dream', a land where religious tolerance, economic opportunity, and social mobility *really* existed.[45] In addition to lofty overtures of conscience and Catholic solidarity, leaflets also promised material benefits such as rank, better pay, 320 acres of land, and cash bonuses.[46] Riley and his compatriots were not opportunistic mercenaries but simply people in search of fair treatment and decent wages. As Paul Foos notes, "These men crossed oceans in search of work and respect." Interestingly, going 'over the hill', a euphemism for desertion, spiked in two months with fifteen deserting in November 1846 and nineteen in July 1847.[48] In November 1846, Santa Anna formed the Foreign Legion followed in July 1847 by the St. Patrick's Battalion, commissioning Riley as commander of both units.[49] Rather than disappearing anonymously into the Mexican infantry, immigrant deserters joined elite artillery units that had won the honor and respect of Mexicans.[50] By going 'over the hill', immigrants, degraded within the US military, instantly

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[43] Edward S. Wallace, "The Battalion of Saint Patrick in the Mexican War," *Military Affairs* 14, no. (Summer 1950), http://www.jstor.org/stable/1982456 (accessed 4 November 2011), 85.; Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 91.; Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 29.

[44] Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 97.

[45] It is important to note that Mexican society was also founded on a rigid and oppressive racial hierarchy with 'pure-blooded' Europeans at the top, followed by 'mixed-blood' mestizos, and indigenous peoples on the bottom. A large portion of the Mexican army were destitute, indigenous peoples, and Santa Anna often showed callous disregard for the well-being of his racial inferiors.. In order to confront General Zachary Taylor at Buena Vista, Santa Anna quick-marched his troops through 240 miles of desert at a cost 4000 soldiers, almost one-quarter of his army. Soldiers of the St. Patrick's Battalion were not entering a racially egalitarian society, but one in which they as individuals of pure, European heritage would be at the top of the racial hierarchy, admired as exotic anomalies. See Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 182-8.

[46] Wallace, "The Battalion of Saint Patrick in the Mexican War," 80.; Milller *Shamrock and Sword*, 39, 165. Foos, *A short, offhand, killing affair*, 109.

[48] Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 173.

[49] Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 162, 230.

[50] Foos, *A short, offhand, killing affair*, 112.

gained prestige and rank in addition to other material benefits.

In July 1847 John Riley negotiated a savvy contract with Santa Anna. This contract best substantiates that socioeconomic motives were paramount to ideological affinity in the decision of John Riley and others to desert. For six months of service, the Mexican Republic promised the members of the St. Patrick's Battalion priority in pay and supplies and granted each a choice of either land to settle on or travel costs to Europe.[51] While Santa Anna had amassed an army of 30,000 in the fortified stronghold of Mexico City, Riley had reason to suspect Mexican success. To begin with, numerical superiority had not guaranteed victory at Buena Vista in February of 1847 when General Zachary Taylor's 4,500-man army thwarted an assault by Santa Anna's 15,000-man army. Moreover, by July 1847, General Winfield Scott and the US Army had already landed uncontested at Veracruz, outmaneuvered Santa Anna at Cerro Gord despite the Mexican Army's advantages in numbers defense, and terrain. General Scott then rested in Puebla, amassing an army of 10,700 soldiers to march on Mexico City. The contract represented a shrewd and calculated strategic gamble. Outmanned three to one and attacking well-fortified, defensive positions, General Scott's assault was a bold, risky maneuver of expediency and braggadocio. Success against such odds, especially within six months, seemed unlikely if possible at all. The land parcels or travel costs were an exit strategy for those in the St. Patrick's Battalion. If the war was going poorly, they could have their contracts honored and evade defeat, capture, and punishment by the US Army. If the war was going well, then they could reevaluate their circumstances and perhaps renegotiate. In theory, it was a win-win situation that codified and protected gains in socioeconomic status. The primacy of socioeconomic concerns in the July 1847 contract thus casts doubts on both the romantic visions of the St. Patrick's Battalion as anti-imperialist renegades as well as the polemical tales castigating them as virulent traitors.

The reductionist interpretation of John Riley and the St. Patrick's Battalion as traitors disregards the pressures of nativist discrimination, economic depression, and social immobility that drove desertion. Immigrants like John Riley enlisted in the military not out of patriotism but out of desperation born of their exclusion from American society, politics, and economy. A desire for economic opportunities, social status, and human dignity motived destitute and marginalized immigrants to enlist in the US military. However, immigrants found the same social exclusion and nativist prejudices reproduced in the ranks of the military that they confronted in America's urban centers. Once again they migrated, this time to the Mexican ranks, in hopes of better treatment and fair wages. John Riley's story and the experience of immigrants during the Mexican

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[51] Ibid., 230.

-American War raise questions about desertion and how it should be viewed. Traditional views rationalize desertion through an individual's internal disposition, neglecting the external circumstances that shape individual behavior. Desertion is not solely the result of individual failures of character. Rather, as exemplified by John Riley and the St. Patrick's Battalion, desertion is a complex, sociological phenomenon influenced by social, economic, and political factors.

On 20 September 1847, the Battle of Churubusco shattered the dreams of the St. Patrick's Battalion. At its conclusion, Americans captured the seventy-two remaining St. Patrick's Battalion not killed in action.[52] The military court sentenced fifty to hang, seven were pardoned, and fifteen skirted execution because they deserted prior to the declaration of war.[53] Among the fifteen was John Riley who received 59 lashes, was branded twice, and imprisoned.[54] After prison, Riley served in the Mexican military for two more years.[55] Following the war, Mexico's economy suffered and xenophobia increased dramatically.[56] Riley once again became an exile within society. Although Riley wrote numerous pleas to the British Minister to aid him in returning to Ireland, he was ignored, and records are inconclusive as to whether he died in Vera Cruz or returned to Ireland.[57] Ironically, the US punished, killed, and demonized John Riley and the St. Patrick's Battalion for exactly the same motives that have become the foundation of American mythology: immigrants crossing vast distances for a chance at a better life. John Riley and others like him were not cowards or traitors. They were just people. People who sought relief from misery and freedom from oppression, who sought economic security and social acceptance. Too late, many realized at the end of the noose that all the while they had been chasing chimeras over the hill, again and again and again.

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[52] Ibid., 8-10.
[53] Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 262.
[54] Ibid., 266-8.
[55] Ibid., 290-2.
[56] Dennis J. Wynn, "The San Patricio Soldiers," *Southwestern Studies* 74 (1984), 29-30.
[57] Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 289-94.

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Treasonous Martyrs: the Consequences of Minority Political Beliefs in the Cherokee Nation Prior to Removal
By Michelle Patten

On December 29, 1835, about twenty members of the Cherokee nation met with Indian Commissioner John F. Schermerhorn to negotiate the Treaty of New Echota. Drafted nearly five years after the federal government issued a complete removal policy toward Indians in the Southwest, the treaty agreed to pay the Cherokees five million dollars for their land in Georgia. Additionally, the treaty provided land west of the Mississippi River as well as additional funds to assist with travel and establishing schools.[1] Several prominent political leaders, including Major Ridge, his son John, and nephew Elias Boudinot remained convinced that this negotiation represented the best remaining option for the Cherokee nation. However they signed the treaty without authorization or approval from Principal Chief John Ross, who represented the majority of the nation's sentiments. This lack of consensus violated Cherokee tradition, and the members of the conference knowingly and willingly committed an act of treason against the nation they claimed to save. Yet the small group of the Cherokees, known as the pro-removal Treaty Party, cited patriotism toward the Indian nation[2] as their central motive in promoting negotiation. Boudinot, one of the most articulate members of the conference asserted this national pride:

> I know that I take my life in my hand, as our fathers have also done. We will make and sign this treaty…We can die, but the Great Cherokee Nation will be saved. They will not be annihilated; they can live. Oh what is a man worth who will not die for his people? Who is there here that will not perish, if this great Nation may be saved?[3]

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[1] United States Congress, "Treaty with the Cherokees," 1835, in Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, eds. *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005), 149–151.

[2] Throughout this paper the term "Indian" is synonymous with "Native American" or other descriptions of the Cherokee people. This choice in dialogue is based on the vernacular during the 19th century with reference to the nation both by the Cherokee people and United States federal officials.

[3] A recollection of Boudinot's speech by J.W.H. Underwood , whom was at the signing of the signing on the Treaty of New Echota. *Cartersville Courant,* Mar. 26, 1885. Quoted in ed. Theda Perdue, ed., "Introduction," in *Cherokee Editor: the writings of Elias Boudinot*, 2nd ed. (Athens, Georgia: Brown Thrasher Book by the University of Georgia Press, 1996), 27.

Elias Boudinot's speech would turn into a self-fulfilling prophecy on June 22, 1839. A group of conservative Cherokees supporting John Ross's anti-removal stance killed Boudinot and the Ridges as revenge for their negotiations at New Echota. After their deaths, Boudinot's brother Stand Watie memorialized them, claiming martyrdom for their nation:

> When all Cherokee laws were abolished, when we had no longer a government or a country, that the Ridges and Boudinot with their compatriots stepped forward to snatch their people from ruin, secure payment for property which they no longer possessed, and lead to a country in the West abounding in the gifts of nature where the Cherokee power might be reestablished and the Cherokee name perpetuated throughout all time. They were full-blooded Cherokees, or nearly so, who loved their countrymen more than they loved their country or their own lives.[4]

The Ridges and Boudinot were committed to their nation long before the Treaty of New Echota. In fact, prior to the summer of 1832, these pro-removal Cherokees advocated strongly against emigration. Much like John Ross, the Ridges and Boudinot associated with an acculturated, "elite" Cherokee population. These Cherokees embraced education and political advancements from the United States yet opposed moving away from their ancestral lands. Ross and the Ridges were even political allies, and Boudinot praised their decisions from his editing position in the national newspaper. What then contributed to the change of heart that eventually led to the deaths of the Treaty Party leaders? And more specifically, what makes the Ridges and Boudinot's pro-removal sentiment unique compared to the majority of Cherokees who strongly opposed removal?

Several scholars have examined John Ross's leadership throughout this period of turmoil. Gary E. Moulton argues that Ross's popularity stemmed from his willingness to fight for what the Cherokees wanted. Although Ross could only claim one eighth Cherokee heritage, he aligned himself with traditionalist chiefs and inherited support from full bloods. Additionally, Ross was determined and dedicated to the Cherokee cause, which the nation reciprocated through a high level of respect and support.[5] Consistent with Moulton's view of Ross is J. C. Hicks's dissertation, which analyzes Ross's rhetoric during his fifty-year political career. The themes of unity and the strength of the Cherokee

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[4] 29th Cong., 1st sess., H. Doc. 185 (Serial 485), p.104, paraphrased in Thurman Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy, The Story of the Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People*, 2nd ed. (London: The MacMillan Company, 1986), 3.
[5] Gary E. Moulton, *John Ross, Cherokee Chief* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978), 197. Moulton is a professor emeritus at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln whose publications include a highly rated biography of John Ross and a compilation of Ross's writings, including memorials, conversations between federal U.S. agents and politicians, and personal letters to tribe members.

Cherokee nation appear throughout Ross's writings during the removal period. He also conveyed national pride and a genuine concern for the welfare of the Cherokees through his writings.[6] These traits established a foundation for trust, and Ross's actions to fight consistent with the people's opinion continued this lifelong support.

In addition to the leadership of Ross, many scholars have also researched the Treaty Party's switch in support of the removal policy. Theda Perdue argues the Treaty Party and their supporters represent a "rising middle class."[7] The National Party leaders, like Ross, represented the Cherokee political elite. The elite's main concerns focused on advancing their own political and economic priorities. The Treaty Party, desiring an opportunity of political advancement, negotiated removal with the federal government for a chance to establish greater political power.[8] While this may account for the Ridges, who were active in the political environment, it does not account for Boudinot, whose main interest fell under the advancement of Cherokee society through literacy and the press. As the former editor of the Cherokee Phoenix, Boudinot wrote several editorials first in opposition to removal. He resigned after changing to a pro-removal stance. In an Introduction for a compilation of Boudinot's writings, Perdue acknowledges Boudinot as a "tragic figure" and a "product of colonization."[9] Building on this idea, historian Bernd Peyer argues that Boudinot thought of himself as a privileged Cherokee,[10] which may have contributed to the Treaty Party's false sense of credibility in authorizing negotiations. Additionally, American Indian literature professor Bethany Schneider analyzed Boudinot's writings and concluded that his interpretation of "nation" differed from that of John Ross or traditional Cherokees. Boudinot, and the Treaty Party as a whole, focused on the Cherokee people while Ross and the National Party focused on the right of the nation to its ancestral land.[11] However, Schneider's assessment of John Ross and the National Party assumes their mindset is focused on the possession of land. An examination of Ross's writings emphasizes a greater focus on the concept of representing Cherokee traditions, which are strongly tied to the land.

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[6] J.C. Hicks, "Rhetoric of John Ross" Ph.D. diss. University of Oklahoma, 1971, p. 127. Microfilm.

[7] Theda Perdue, "The Conflict Within: the Cherokee Power Structure and Removal.," Georgia Historical Quarterly 73, no. 3 (Fall 1989): 482. Perdue is a history professor and has published an extensive array of articles and books pertaining to Indian removal.

[8] Ibid., 482–3.

[9] Perdue, "Introduction," 33.

[10] Bernd C. Peyer, *The Tutor'd Mind, Indian Missionary Writers in Antebellum America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 222–223.

[11] Bethany Schneider, "Boudinot's Change: Boudinot, Emerson, and Ross on Cherokee Removal.," *ELH* 75, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 155.

While numerous scholars examined the specific qualities of John Ross, the Ridges, and Elias Boudinot, few have compared the differences between the two respective groups. By comparing the differences, perhaps a separate ideology will emerge to help understand the political distinctions of the Cherokee nation. An initial look the Cherokees' relationship with United States policy is discussed to understand the context of the effects of "civilization,"[12] in the Cherokee nation. From there, I plan to take a critical look at the letters, speeches, and memorials of each respective group will show differences in the rationale for support and in opposition of removal. The Treaty Party dismissed traditional Cherokee values of unity and decision-making via consensus under the paternalistic rationale that they knew the course of action best for the populace. In contrast, John Ross and the National Party valued these concepts as the opinion of the nation they represented, thereby gaining majority support. While the Ridges and Boudinot's opinions convey a pragmatic and logical support of removal, their unauthorized actions in signing the Treaty of New Echota plagued their intentions of preserving the Cherokee nation.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, a newly formed United States government issued a policy set to improve the Indians' quality of life through an English education and Anglo practices of farming and domestic arts. This would benefit not only the Indians, but also Anglo Americans in creating more assessable land for farmers and settlers. Conceptualized by Secretary of War Henry Knox and President George Washington in 1789, "civilization" policy adhered to the notion that Indians "possessed a right to the soil" and to nullify that possession represented "a violation of the fundamental laws of nature."[13] According to Washington, "alienating their lands" would create a "source of discontent and war."[14] The "civilization" policy, as opposed to annexation of Indian land, with its "mild principles of religion and philanthropy toward an unenlightened race

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[12] The "civilization" policy is displayed within quotes because it is civilized in the perspective of the Anglo standards. The Cherokees already established a successful political and economic system that survived for hundreds of years prior to the first encounter with whites. Therefore, "civilization" is a misnomer. For more information pertaining to the civilization see Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father, the United States Government and the American Indians*, 2 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995).

[13] Secretary of War Henry Knox "To President George Washington," *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, vol. 1, *Documents Legislative and Executive of the Congress of the United States*, edited by Walter Lowrie, Walter S. Franklin, and Mathew St. Clair Clarke (Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1832), 13. Quoted in William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986), 35.

[14] George Washington, "Third Annual Message," October 25, 1791, in Francis Paul Prucha, ed., *Documents of United States Indian Policy* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 15.

of men…would be honorable to the [United State's] national character."[15] The source of that enlightenment would derive from the federal government, with the President as the "Father" of the Indian nations. Advocates of "civilization" viewed Indians as "savages" in need of superior white enlightenment to reach their full potential as human beings.[16]

Through education and example, the Indians exchanged a traditional hunter life-style for one firmly based on the United States' view of agricultural practice in order to rise from their "inferior" status.[17] The education also derived from Protestant missionaries, who believed that "civilization" was synonymous with Christianity. Missionaries opened schools, aimed in teaching the English language and piety of the Christian religion. Federally appointed Indian agents also taught American agricultural practices such as tilling the soil and domestic arts like spinning and weaving.[18] Through trade and appropriated funds for "tools of husbandry and domestic manufactures, "[19] the Indian agents could continue "civilization" by the standards of the United States. While claiming benevolent intentions, the federal government's central goal in the "civilization" policy was to open more land. In the early nineteenth century, land meant access to agricultural wealth for white settlers. If the United States could convince the Indian nations to adopt their practices, Americans could gain access to portions of the vast frontier that the Indians claimed as hunting grounds.[20] This hunger for land in the South continued to drive Indian policy throughout the nineteenth century.

While many Indians skeptically adopted the policies of "civilization," they did so consistent with their own traditional lifestyles. The Indians' religion focused on the forces of nature and emphasized harmony as one of its highest ideals.[21] Christianity, as taught by the missionaries, seemed to conflict with these ideals. Some Indians saw Christianity in its American form as competitive, materialistic, and aggressive, unlike the more communal structure of traditional Indian religion and culture.[22] Yet many Indians, the Cherokees Yet many Indians, the Cherokees in particular, saw the benefits in the "civilization" programs. White missionaries were widely accepted for their ability to teach English and their overall kind demeanor toward the Cherokee people. Many Cherokee chiefs believed

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[15] Ibid., 16.

[16] Prucha, Great Father, 49.

[17] Ibid., 1–4.

[18] Ibid., 52–53, 66; McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence, 35–36.

[19] Knox to Washington, American State Papers, 53; quoted in McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence, 36.

[20] Prucha, Great Father, 4.

[21] William G. McLoughlin, "Native Americans' Reactions of Christian Missions," in The Cherokees and Christianity, 1794-1870, ed. William G. McLoughlin and Walter H. Conser (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 15.

[22] Ibid., 16.

the missionaries "have been inspired by the Great Spirit to be willing to come and teach."[23] Unlike frontier settlers, the missionaries assured Cherokee chiefs that they "love all people, no matter what their color."[24] So long as the missionaries respected the traditional Cherokee way of life, the Cherokees accepted them as "brothers." However, those who attempted to assimilate the Cherokees to American standards of private ownership and Christian values found themselves unwelcome within the tribe.[25]

The Indian families who adopted the notion of "civilization" resulted in a blend of American and Cherokee values. This led to an Anglo-acculturated population able to interact with the United States. In particular, Major Ridge represents a mixture of these traditional and progressive values. Born after the Seven Years War and before the foundation of "civilization," Major Ridge learned the practices of a traditional Cherokee. In his late teen and early twenties, Ridge became a successful warrior with renowned hunting skills.[26] Influenced by his wife Susanna, Major Ridge began to adopt the practices of "civilization," and eventually acquired a successful plantation complete with cornfields, orchards, and slaves.[27] For many Cherokee families, the adoption of the "civilization" programs became necessary for survival. This acquisition of "civilizing" policies for survival was articulated by an unidentified Cherokee chief, "those who will not work and take care of the land…They are poor themselves."[28] Observing those who embraced "civilization," the same speaker acknowledged, "they live well, we all see the good derived from industry."[29] Major Ridge shared this sentiment, and became a strong advocator of "civilization" within the Cherokee nation.

Major Ridge's support for "civilization" programs also influenced the childhood of his son John and nephew Elias Boudinot. Born to families raised with traditional Cherokee practices and choosing to embrace acculturation, John Ridge and Boudinot represent possible effects of embracing acculturation. Both received a missionary education as children and enrolled at the Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, Connecticut in 1817.With the goal of preparing young men to accept Christianity and reject the "savagery of paganism,"[30] the mission school taught John Ridge and Boudinot the highlights of Christian

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[23] Conversation between two Moravian missionaries, Abraham Steiner and Fredric de Schweintz with Chiefs Arcoee and Kulsatshee in October 1799. See records at Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; Quoted in McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence, 73.

[24] Ibid.

[25] McLoughlin, "Native Americans' Reactions of Christian Missions," 27.

[26] Wilkins, Cherokee Tragedy, 4.

[27] Ibid., 29, 188.

[28] Unidentified talk, National Archives Records of the Cherokee Agency in Tennessee, M-208, Roll 3 as quoted in Ibid., 30–31.

[29] Ibid., 33.

[30] Perdue, "Introduction," 10.

culture as well as the English language. However, while many visitors at the school expressed surprise in how they appeared and acted like Americans, John Ridge and Boudinot experienced racist reactions when they both sought to marry white women.[31] Still supporters of "civilization," Boudinot in particular realized that despite the attempts to "civilize" Indians into a higher social standing, many Americans would never accept the Cherokees as their equals.

Much like the Ridges and Boudinot, the Rosses also represented an example of an acculturated Cherokee family. John Ross was raised as an "aristocrat" in an acculturated family, yet observed the more traditional full-blooded Cherokee customers who visited his father's store. He received a missionary education through an academy at South West Point in Tennessee, and developed fluency in the English language.[32] Ross also inherited some of his father's entrepreneurial skills and opened stores with a childhood friend Timothy Meigs and his brother Lewis. However, Ross's real talent lay in politics. After meeting the Chiefs Pathkiller and Charles Hicks in 1813, Ross began a sort of apprenticeship where he improved his political knowledge. He also learned a respect for the traditional Cherokee culture he had observed as a child.[33] The deep understanding of traditional Cherokee political practices, as well as an acculturated education in the English language and the American ways of thought, Ross had the skill to assist the chiefs when conversing with Indian agents. Recognizing this as important in conveying the educated and acculturated Cherokee society to the United States, these chiefs, as well as politically prominent Cherokees like Major Ridge, trained Ross to lead the Cherokee nation.

This blending of "civilized" American ideals also spread to Cherokee society. In 1817, under threats to either emigrate to the west or assimilate in their homeland, the Cherokee nation chose to embrace "civilization."[34] They met criticism from frontier politicians such as General Andrew Jackson who stereotyped them as "savages" who refused to take advantage of "civilizing" forces.[35] In reality, the Cherokees did utilize these forces and adapted political assimilation to their own traditional standards. Prior to "civilization" programs, Cherokee leaders made their political decisions by meeting at a council and The society lacked a political elite, consistent with the idea of social harmony.[36] Also promoting harmony, council decisions were met by consensus, anyone who disagreed with the

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[31] Ibid; William G. McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence, 367.
[32] Moulton, John Ross, Cherokee Chief, 6.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Duane Champagne, Social Order and Political Change: Constitutional Government Among the Cherokee, the Choctaw, the Chickasaw, and the Creek (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992), 131–132.
[35] McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence, 278.
[36] Perdue, "The Conflict Within," 469.

majority had to silently respect the decision made. Although differences in opinion still existed, the will of the majority presided over individuals.[37] This tradition continued with the decision to centralize the government to American political standards.[38] In 1819, Cherokee political leaders realized that they would have to appear united and aggressive in promoting their self-interests in contrast to the federal government.[39] Although hesitant to put more power in the hands of fewer chiefs,[40] leaders hoped the changes would show a united Cherokee nation. Faced with threats of removal, the Cherokee government also adopted a Constitution mirrored after that of United States in 1828. In the midst of accusations from Georgia that they were "barbarians without rule or law," the Cherokees presented a developed society capable of a "civilized," American education.[41]

Changes to the government structure conveyed the Cherokees' willingness, at least in appearance, to "civilize" to American standards. The Cherokee nation also took active attempts to further educate the populace. In 1825, the Cherokee nation officially adopted the syllabary, a written language of the Cherokee dialect invented by Sequoyah. To promote literacy amongst the Cherokees, the General Council commissioned Elias Boudinot in seeking donations to establish a national press.[42] Boudinot began a speaking tour in the north, appealing to sympathetic Americans with the Cherokee peoples' options to become "civilized or happy, sharing the fate of many kindred nations" or "become extinct."[43]

While this campaign may exaggerate the goals of "civilization" to achieve fundraising, Boudinot sought to improve the education of Cherokees though editorials in the paper. Through dramatic language, Boudinot sought to inspire and encourage his audience to embrace "civilization" to modernize the Cherokee nation. He even evoked the the imagery of a fallen Indian nation "wallowed for ages to ignorance and barbarity" rising "like the Phoenix" to glory by naming the paper the *Cherokee Phoenix*.[44]The first issue was published on February 21, 1828, three years after its original conception. The purpose and goals of the paper were listed explicitly in Boudinot's proposal, including the laws and documents of the nation and accounts of "progress in education, religion and the arts of civilized life."[45] Boudinot whom the General Council name the editor when suffici-

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Champagne, Social Order and Political Change, 133.

[39] William G. McLoughlin, Cherokee Renascence, 277–278.

[39] Perdue, "The Conflict Within," 471.

[40] Champagne, Social Order and Political Change, 138.

[41] Theda Perdue, "Rising from the Ashes: the Cherokee Phoenix as an Ethnological Source," Ethnohistory 24, no. 3 (Summer 1977): 207.

[42] Elias Boudinot, "Address to the Whites," in Cherokee Editor: the writings of Elias Boudinot, ed. Theda

[43] Perdue, 2nd ed. (Athens: University of Georgia, 1996), 78–79.

[44] Ibid., 79.

[45] Elias Boudinot, "Prospectus: For publishing at New Echota, in the Cherokee Nation, A weekly newspaper to be called the Cherokee Phoenix," in Perdue, Cherokee Editor, 89.

ent funds were received, was "a slave" to the paper. He searched through other periodi-
cals, reprinted relevant selections, translated English to Cherokee, and published numer-
ous editorials within the weekly publications.

While the *Cherokee Phoenix* encouraged the advancement of the Cherokees in lit-
eracy, it did have limitations. Consistent with the tradition of consensus in the govern-
ment, the newspaper was designed to reflect the majority's opinion. Arguing that the pa-
per belonged to the entire nation, John Ross argued the "liberty of the press should be as
free as the breeze that glides upon the surface."[47] Nevertheless, the Cherokee Phoenix
represented a major agent in promoting advancement of the Cherokee nation in education.
The goals of the paper aligned with the intentions of the nation in showing a capable and
educated population in face of removal threats from Georgia and Tennessee.

Many white observers, including missionaries and United States political figures,
praised the Cherokee nation in its strides toward "civilization." In fact, the Cherokee na-
tion appeared as "advanced in civilization the farthest of the several tribes."[48] According
to a report from Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, "the zeal of the Cherokees for im-
provement, and the progress which they have made" resulted in educational progress in
establishing schools.[49] In the same report, Reverend Abraham Steiner, a Moravian mis-
sionary in North Carolina, acknowledged that the Cherokee nation "surpassed my expec-
tation, comparing the people with the state I first saw them in."[50] Positive feedback from
the United States and missionaries contributed to a sense of security amongst the leaders
of the Cherokee nation. So long as they remained willing to advance their society through
education and "civilization" policies, the United States would support their enlightenment.

Despite these attempts to show subscription to the Anglo standards of
"civilization," the Georgian government remained disillusioned with the progress of the
Cherokees. While removal threats existed since the first contact with white settlers, the
Cherokee leaders and elite had put their faith in the ideas behind the federal "civilization"
policy. If the Cherokees could show a "civilized" nation comparable to the United States,

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[46] Wilkins, Cherokee Tragedy, 199.
[47] John Ross, "Annual Message of 1828," in The Papers of Chief John Ross, ed. Gary E. Moulton, vol. 1
(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 141.
[48] Reverend Abraham Steiner to Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, January 25, 1822, Committee on Indian
Affairs, For the Civilization of the Several Indian Tribes Within the United States, 17 Cong., 1st sess., 1822,
H. Doc. 59, p. 11.
[49] John C. Calhoun, "Report" February 8, 1822, A Report of the Secretary of War, of the Measures Hitherto
Devised and Pursued for the Civilization of the Several Indian Tribes within the United States, H. Doc. 59,
Serial Set Digital Collection (Washington, February 23, 1822),p. 6.
[50] Steiner to Calhoun, January 25, 1822, John Ross, "Annual Message of 1828," in The Papers of Chief John
Ross, ed. Gary E. Moulton, vol. 1 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 141.

they could remain on their ancestral lands. But, the strides toward "political equals" through the centralization of the government only exasperated bad relations with Georgia, who sought ownership to Cherokee land.[51] In December 1827, the Georgia state legislature proclaimed the Cherokees as tenets, bringing them under the arm of the state. Georgia refused to respond or acknowledge the Constitution or assertions from Cherokee people pertaining to their right to live on the land. A year later gold was discovered in Cherokee territory, which resulted in an even greater number of white squatters hoping to mine, and contributed to Georgia's desire to see the Cherokee people leave. The Georgia State Assembly took action in 1829 and enacted several laws with the intentions of limiting the Cherokee nation. For example, all Cherokee laws were nullified and replaced by Georgian laws.[52] The Cherokee chiefs could no longer assemble with the purposes of legislation nor could they meet with federal Indian agents.[53] According to Georgian authorities, Cherokee families did not have ownership of the land, so they could not mine on their homesteads.[54]

Tensions continued between the Georgians and the Cherokees, while numerous Indian agents attempted to spread support for emigration. The Cherokee nation, like generations before them, remained strongly opposed to leaving their ancestral lands, claiming they "would never again cede a foot of land."[55] Fears spread that individuals would sell their lands and emigrate, which would support Georgia's goal of pushing the Cherokees west. In an attempt to dissuade individual chiefs from violating the majority opinion and selling Cherokee land, Major and John Ridge reintroduced the Blood Law. This ancient law originally allowed a Cherokee clan to "forfeit blood for blood" or kill a member of another clan in revenge for murder. When reintroduced, the Blood Law would invoke this right against any Cherokee who sold communal tribal land. In the early nineteenth century, Major Ridge was strongly against the Blood Law. He viewed the "eye for an eye" way of revenge as barbaric.[56] In a way, the reintroduction of the Blood Law shows an attempt to use traditional forms of punishment as a way of achieving consensus and unity within the Cherokee nation. It also shows a retreat from "civilized" punishment for that of a traditional nature.

Despite this retreat back to traditional punishment for those who might disobey

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[51] Georgia State Assembly, "Laws Extending Jurisdiction over the Cherokees: December 19, 1829 & December 22, 1830," in Perdue and Green, *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*, 78.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid., 76–79.
[54] Ibid.
[55] John Ross et al. to Congress, "To the Senate and House of Representatives," April 15, 1824, in Moulton, *Papers of Chief John Ross*, 78.
[56] Wilkins, Cherokee Tragedy, 30.

disobey the majority's will, the Cherokees put their faith in promises of the previous administrations. As John Ross assured in the Cherokee Phoenix in 1829, "Don't let the talk of the President and the Secretary of War that is going about scare you. Their say so does not [affect] our rights to the soil…"[57] Ross at this point felt confident that the Jackson administration would uphold the Cherokees' treaty, which established right to land "in which [the Cherokees] were raised."[58] Furthermore, so long as Cherokee people "unite together and be of one mind" they had "no danger of our rights being taken away from [them]."[59]

Regardless of attempts to show the unified appearance and acculturation of the Cherokees to the Anglo standards of "civilization" the federal government passed the Indian Removal Act in 1830. The bill extinguished the Indians' claim to land possession in the east and promised to establish new territory west of the Mississippi River.[60]   As the John Ross and the Cherokee nation feared, the federal government acted with the same land greed as the Georgians. As President Andrew Jackson claimed in his State of the Union address, the act was "a fair exchange…to send [the Indians] where their existence may be prolonged and perhaps made perpetual."[61] He also rationalized the act as benevolent to Indian nations, "the General Government kindly offering [the Indians] a new home" and "saving [sic] them from utter annihilation."[62] According to Jackson, emigration beyond the Mississippi River will allow not only the preservation of the Indian lifestyle from extinction, but would benefit all parties involved. However the Cherokee nation, which had made significant advances to solidify its claim to land with the policy of "civilization," refused to leave the Southeast.

With the leadership of educated and highly acculturated individuals like John Ross, Major and John Ridge, and Elias Boudinot, the Cherokees launched a resistance campaign to preserve their right to live on their ancestral lands. From 1830 until 1832, Cherokee political leaders, including John Ross and John Ridge, traveled to Washington D.C. numerous times to appeal the Cherokees' right to the land. The Cherokees knew they would not survive a military resistance against the United States Army, so their movement resulted in a number of letters, petitions, and memorials delivered to Congress. The memorials contained similar components, asserting the Cherokees' right to inhabit their land based on past administrations, the advances of the nation through "civilization"

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[57] John Ross, "To the Cherokee People," July 1, 1829 in Moulton, *The Papers of Chief John Ross*, 88.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] United States Congress, "Indian Removal Act," May 28, 1830, in Perdue and Green, *The Cherokee Removal,* 123–4.
[61] Andrew Jackson, "State of the Union Address," December 6, 1830, in *The Cherokee Removal*, eds. Perdue and Green, 128.
[62] Ibid.

polices, and a reliance on the United States to respect "their rights and liberties" and "the security of which are solemnly guaranteed to them."[63]

By continually writing protests, the Cherokees hoped to gain the attention of sympathetic Congressmen who would see the advancement of the Cherokee nation by white standards and defend them against Jackson's supporters. The Cherokees did achieve some success in convincing a few Whig Party members, mostly notably Henry Clay, to support their cause. By John Ridge's estimate the Whigs "within five years [will] be irresistible over the Union."[64] As the resistance effort continued, Ridge felt increasingly apprehensive about the few number of Whig allies compared to the large number of Jackson's supporters in Congress. Nevertheless, the Cherokees hoped that if Clay or the Whigs could win the election in 1832, they could protect the nation from forced removal.

Meanwhile, fitting with the goals previously established for the press, Elias Boudinot used the *Cherokee Phoenix* to publish editorials about Georgia's unjust laws and the federally mandated removal. Indian agents had encouraged the Cherokee people to adopt United States agricultural techniques and offered protection through a paternal role, when the Cherokees acted as "dutiful 'children'" and "followed his instruction and advice."[65] Yet, despite this compliance, "…a storm [was] raised by the extension of [Georgia's] tyrannical and unchristian laws."[66] Boudinot passionately criticized the hypocrisy in the removal laws and aimed to rally support from the Cherokee public. Claiming that, "the Cherokees have always had a government of their own" and neither Georgia nor the United States had the jurisdiction to extend their laws.[67]

Protests also derived from white missionaries who befriended the Cherokee people. Perhaps the most famous is the arrest of the *Cherokee Phoenix* contributor Samuel Worcester and Elizur Butler, who refused to apply for state licenses to live within Cherokee territory under Georgian law. Charged with crimes such as sedition, opposing the humane policy of the government, and exciting the Indians, the outrage within the Cherokee nation led to the Supreme Court case *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) and changed the course of the Cherokee resistance movement.[68] Chief Justice John Marshall ruled in favor

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[63] Ross et al. to Congress, "To the Senate and House of Representatives," in Moulton, *The Papers of Chief John Ross,* 78.

[64] John Ridge, "To John Ross," in *The Papers of Chief John Ross*, ed. Gary E. Moulton, vol. 1 (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 235.

[65] Elias Boudinot, "Selections from the Cherokee Phoenix," in Perdue, *Cherokee Editor*, 109.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid., 108.

[68] United States Supreme Court, "Worcester v. Georgia," March 1832, in Perdue and Green, *The Cherokee Removal* 83.

of the missionaries claiming, "The Cherokee nation, then is a distinct community, occupying its own territory, with boundaries accurately described, in which the laws of Georgia have no right to enter."[69] Overjoyed by the responses of the Court in favor of the nation, Ross, the Ridges, and Boudinot thought their resistance efforts had succeeded, that the United States would finally recognize the Cherokee nation's right to remain in their ancestral lands.[70]

However, this situation proved too good to be true. Not long after the Cherokees celebrated their legal victory, rumors began to spread that the reelected President Andrew Jackson would not recognize the court's decision. In the summer of 1832, John Ridge traveled to Washington D.C. to ask Jackson if "the power of United States would be exerted to execute the decision."[71] Jackson said it would not and Ridge should return to the Cherokees and report that the only possibility in preserving their society lay in the emigration.[72] Amos Kendall, a member of Jackson's cabinet and a counsel for Western Cherokees, wrote about Ridge's reaction as "melancholy conviction that [Jackson] had told the truth."[73]

According to Kendall, from this moment on Ridge knew resistance would never result in the Cherokees remaining in their homeland. The best way to remain loyal to the Cherokee nation and "save them from moral and physical death" involved negotiating the best possible treaty and starting over in the west.[74] Yet Ridge knew the Cherokees traditionally opposed removal, so he remained apprehensive and quiet about his view. Twenty years earlier, when offered a choice to emigrate or assimilate, the chiefs who supported removal were promptly voted out of the council.[75] However, when Ridge discovered that Boudinot shared his sentiments, he began to speak out in favor of negotiations. Soon after, and with as much reluctance as the younger generation, Major Ridge switched to a similar pro-emigration stance. This switch represented not only internal division within the Cherokee people; it also defied the traditional Cherokee value of political consensus.

As soon as the Ridges, and Boudinot renounced anti-removal, they began to argue this position with fervor, potentially to the point of fanaticism.[76] However, the Cherokee majority within the Council met their emigration suggestions with hostility. According to

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[69] Ibid.

[70] Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy*, 236.

[71] Amos Kendall and S.C. Stambaugh, December 26, 1845, in *Committee of Indian Affairs, Cherokee Disturbances*, 29th Cong.,1st sess., 1846, H Doc. 185, p. 50.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change*, 105.

[76] Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy*, 237.

the tradition of consensus, the Ridges and their few supporters had no choice but to re-
main silent and attempt to slowly convince others to see their position, or resign.[77] Bou-
dinot also found major limitations when he sought to publish his viewpoint in the *Chero-
kee Phoenix*, claiming that the public could benefit from knowing the other opinions.
John Ross refused under the notion that the paper belonged to the nation and only editori-
als consistent with majority opinion belonged within its pages. Unable to conform to a
belief he did not share, Boudinot resigned.[78] In his resignation letter, he laments about a
"darkness which seems to lie before our people" and encourages the Cherokee to "arrive
at their own views as to what ought to be done."[79] By encouraging reflection of the situa-
tion, Boudinot hoped to gain more supporters for the pro-removal stance. Contrary to the
Ridges and Boudinot's hopes, their movement never acquired more than ten percent of
Cherokee supporters. Their viewpoints did not reflect the majority needed for a consen-
sus decision, yet the Treaty Party continued to push for negotiations.

  Despite the new switch in ideologies from his political allies, John Ross attempted
to preserve the unity of the Cherokee people. But after realizing the differences would not
disappear, a rivalry developed between the Treaty Party and the traditionalists, known as
the National Party. In particular John Ridge began to grow increasingly frustrated by
Ross and the National Party's actions. The Cherokee nation often incorporated political
noncooperation as a form of protest, which included refusals to recognize Georgia's laws
and delaying negotiations with federal Indian agents.[80] Under the impression that Ross's
delays in negotiations stemmed from political ambitions, John Ridge chided Ross by writ-
ing, "I know you are capable of acting the part of a statesmen."[81] According to Ridge,
Ross was responsible for the "well being of the whole people"[82] and should negotiate the
best solution, a treaty for emigration.

  Ross, still believing that the Cherokees could remain in their ancestral land if they
maintained a united front, wrote back claiming "the general welfare of our much op-
pressed and suffering people requires it at our hands" and "partyism should be discard-
ed."[83] Despite Ross's attempts to mend the factions, the treaty supporters continued to
speak with the federal government about negotiations for removal. Ross also continued to
present memorials to Congress while ignoring requests to negotiate from both the United
States and the Treaty Party members.

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[77] Ibid.
[78] Elias Boudinot, "to the Public, Letters and Other Papers Relating to Cherokee Affairs: Being a Reply to
[79] Sundry Publications Authorized by John Ross," 1837, in Perdue, *Cherokee Editor*, 162.
[80] Ibid., 163.
[81] Walter H. Conser Jr., "John Ross and the Cherokee Resistance Campaign, 1833-1838," *The Journal of
Southern History* 44, no. 2 (May 1, 1978): 195.
[82] John Ridge, "To John Ross," in Moulton, *The Papers of Chief John Ross*, 260.
[83] Ibid.

After three years of rivalry, the pro-removal Cherokees signed the Treaty of New Echota. After John Ross learned of this "Christmas Trick" and its significance in providing a foundation for removal, he drafted a protest complete with the signatures of three thousand Cherokees.[84] However, the twenty signatures on the treaty fulfilled the United State's wish to negotiate removal once and for all. Ross continued to protest through memorials and editorials on the basis that the unauthorized Treaty Party did not represent the will of the Cherokee people.[85] In response, Boudinot claimed that few beneficial options existed and "removal, then, is the only remedy, the only *practicable* remedy."[86] Despite the strong convictions that the Cherokee nation would succeed in the west, the Treaty Party knew the consequences of their actions. Major Ridge even mentioned, after signing the treaty, that he had "signed his death warrant."[87] According the Blood Law, the Treaty Party had committed treason against the majority opinion of the Cherokee people by selling their ancestral land to the United States. It remains unclear if the Ridges or Boudinot saw themselves as martyrs for their nation, or if they had ulterior motives behind the negotiation. Regardless, the Treaty Party differed from the National Party in some way. This difference contributed to the signing of the Treaty of New Echota and against a strongly opinionated majority.

Several historians have offered explanations to clarify the Treaty Party's motives in signing the treaty. One popular with Cherokees at the time theorized that the United States had bribed the members of the Treaty Party. Prior to the negotiation of the Treaty of New Echota, the Georgian legislature deemed Ridge's land immune from white encroachment.[88] The favoritism, granted rarely to Cherokees, led to the belief of the Ridges as "traitors 'bought' by the state."[89] However despite an exhaustive search by historians, no records of bribery exist.[90] Therefore we must assume that monetary or land rewards did not completely influence the switch to a pro-removal conviction.

Another argument suggests the Treaty Party sought to gain political prominence by signing the treaty and moving west. Perdue argues the supporters of the pro-treaty party represent a "rising middle class," while John Ross and the National Party represent a political elite.[91] By signing the Treaty of New Echota, the Ridges and Boudinot expressed paternalistic beliefs in that the Treaty's Party's education made them more qualified to make

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[84] Moulton, *John Ross, Cherokee Chief*, 73.

[85] John Ross, "Letter in Answer to Inquires from a Friend; July 2, 1836," in Perdue and Green *The Cherokee Removal,* 154–156.

[86] Boudinot, "Letters: A Reply to John Ross," in Perdue, *Cherokee Editor*, 216.

[87] Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy*, 289.

[88] Ibid., 250–251.

[89] Ibid., 251.

[90] Grant Forman, *The Five Civilized Tribes-Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Seminole* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 423.

[91] Perdue, "The Conflict Within," 486-487.

decisions on behalf of "lower Indians." However, because they acted without federal recognition as representations of the majority, they never achieved this desired political advancement.[92]

Before the Treaty of New Echota, the Treaty Party became disillusioned with John Ross and the traditional Cherokees, and began to criticize their leadership. This suggests the Treaty Party's alleged political jealousy and desire to rise as the political elite. For instance, Boudinot and John Ridge felt Ross had overstepped his boundaries as Principal Chief.[93] Boudinot in 1837 criticized Ross for suspending the election of 1832 in light of the chaos with Worcester v. Georgia and the federal government's insistence on removal.[94] On the same theme, John Ridge believed that the real reason the nation never elected him as Principal Chief was due to the suspended elections. Ross prevented any opposing force to rise by censoring the press and refusing to acknowledge the efforts of the Treaty Party. The Treaty Party also believed that by delaying negotiations with the federal government, Ross acted out of his own selfish political desires to stay in power. However, the nation's overwhelmingly negative reaction to the Treaty of New Echota leaves little doubt that the Treaty Party represented only the minority of Cherokee sentiments and many of their accusations against Ross were unwarranted.[96]

Their exact motivations for switching to a pro-removal ideology remain theoretical, yet the Ridges and Boudinot constantly asserted patriotic stances. Boudinot in particular reflected the priority of the people over the land in which they live:

> In one word, I may say that my patriotism consists in the love of the country and the love of the people. They are intimately connected, yet they are not altogether inseparable…But if the country is lost, or is likely to be lost to all human appearance, and the people still exist, may I not, with a patriotism true and commendable, make a question for the safety of the remaining object of the people.[97]

According to Boudinot, the first concern of the nation should be the welfare of the people. Although acting in the minority, Boudinot and supporters of the treaty felt that they knew the best outcome for the Cherokees. In their eyes, signing the treaty was an act of patriotism, one that the nation would learn after emigration.

The Treaty Party emphasized patriotism, but their actions reflected a departure from tradition that the Cherokee nation prized. The Ridges and Boudinot may have assumed the Cherokee nation as more accepting of "civilization" than it was in practice. For

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[92] Ibid., 489.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Boudinot, "Letters: A Reply to John Ross," in Perdue, *Cherokee Editor*, 211.

[95] Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy*, 243.

[96] Conser Jr., "John Ross and Cherokee Resistance," 197.

[97] Boudinot, "Letters: A Reply to John Ross," in Perdue, *Cherokee Editor* 172.

example, *the Cherokee Phoenix* aimed to improve the literacy and progression of the Cherokees in "civilization" by providing information. In the beginning of "civilization" policy, many agents considered education a failure because only the children of the elite, roughly two percent of the school age population, attended school.[98] Even after the Cherokee nation established schools and observed the benefits of a missionary education, the 1835 Census suggests thirty nine percent of households were illiterate, meaning a large portion of the Cherokee population could not read the articles and editorials.[99] Even if Ross had allowed Boudinot to publish his pro-removal stance in the paper, a sizable portion of the Cherokee nation would be unable to read it. The origins of *Cherokee Phoenix* were also rooted in missionaries like Samuel Worcester and highly acculturated Indians like Elias Boudinot. While they had the education and wealth to publish the paper, the viewpoints tended to coincide with those of white philanthropists who encouraged "civilization" of Indians.[100] Perhaps then, the work of Boudinot influenced his perceptions of "civilization" as more advanced than it was in practice. Additionally the law of the newly centralized government, while attempting to show a "civilized" nation, did not directly affect traditional Cherokees who relied on smaller farms and trades.[101] Those individuals who had the means to acquire education held the political power and usually represented a higher economic status among the Cherokee nation. This population includes the Ridges and Boudinot, but also John Ross. How then could Ross represent the traditionalists and maintain their loyalty?

The Treaty Party was not completely inaccurate in their assessment of John Ross. Ross was paternalistic in that he only shared information that he thought the Cherokees could understand.[102] Ross also expressed naivety in trusting the word of Indian agents and the federal government with respect to negotiations.[103]Although there were flaws in his leadership, many scholars praise Ross in his efforts to support the Cherokee nation during a difficult period. Throughout his writing, Ross emphasized a need for the Cherokee nation to remain united against threats of removal. His direct appeals for solidarity, despite the pro-removal "partyism," show a strong desire to strengthen the nation's appearance. This would allow consistency in the resistance effort. Despite his background and appearance as an acculturated Indian, Ross inherited the support of traditionalists. He maintained this support by consistently adhering to the values of consensus. As he wrote in opposition of the Treaty of New Echota, "The Cherokee people are not 'my people;' I am

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[98] McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence,* 173.
[99] Perdue, "Rising from the Ashes," 213.
[100] Ibid., 217.
[101] Ibid., 214.
[102] Moulton, John Ross, *Cherokee Chief*, 201.
[103] Conser Jr., "John Ross and Cherokee Resistance," 197; Moulton, John Ross, *Cherokee Chief*, 198.

only one of their agents and their elected chief: It is I who serve under them, not they under me…"[104]

Furthermore, Ross and the National Party also acted with the best intentions for their people. Ross and his supporters did not assume to know the best outcome for the nation; they simply followed the opinion of the majority. This mindset follows Cherokee traditions, which lasted through "civilization" programs and changes to the government. Although consistent with the majority, Ross earned the unwavering support of the Cherokee people by respecting these traditions. On the other hand, the Treaty Party recognized the reality of the removal situation. After Worcester v. Georgia (1832), they knew the resistance effort would not yield the results the traditionalists wanted. Seeing the pragmatic option of emigration, the Treaty Party was stifled by the anti-removal majority who wanted to remain in their traditional lands.

Perdue writes, "hindsight, speculation, and condemnation are of little value in understanding Elias Boudinot,"[105] however this reasoning can account for theorizing what could have happened under different circumstances. The Ridges and Boudinot could not foresee the suffering of the Cherokee people during relocation; known as the "trail of tears."[106] "Tragic," the word Perdue uses to characterize Boudinot,[107] can describe not only the narrative of the Cherokee people in their attempts to resist the Indian Removal Act, but also the clash of the United States and the Cherokee's respective cultures. Initial "civilization" programs sought to benevolently help the Indians as a justification for taking their land. This created a small, acculturated population, educated by missionaries with the values and practices of Anglo Americans. The Cherokees utilized this acculturation to centralize and adapt their society to one of equal status to the United States. However, the effects of this acculturation could not unify the Cherokees when the United States adopted a policy of removal. John Ross and the National Party adhered to the Cherokee traditions of unity and majority based consensus throughout the removal period. In contrast, Major Ridge, John Ridge, and Elias Boudinot followed more Americanized views of pragmatism. While the Treaty Party had their idea of the best intentions through negotiations, the Cherokee people, whom they sought to protect, rejected these actions because they did not conform to their traditional standards. Ironically, the leaders of the "party of civilization" as Boudinot referred to it met their ends through a traditional blood revenge for emigration. The assassinations of the Treaty Party may very well represent

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[104] Ross, "Letter in Answer to Inquires from a Friend;" July 2, 1836, in Perdue and Green, The Cherokee Removal, 158.
[105] Perdue, "Introduction," 32.
[106] Ibid., 31.
[107] Ibid, 33.

the Cherokee's unwillingness to fully accept white standards of "civilization." Neverthe-less, the story of the Cherokee's resistance acts as a cautionary tale in the effects of clashing cultures and those individuals caught between the two forces.

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Were Women at a Spiritual Disadvantage During the Crusades?
By Liz Fried

The people of medieval Europe were overwhelmingly occupied with their spiritual wellbeing. The hardships of life became more bearable when one was offered the prospect of eternal bliss in the afterlife. This eternal bliss in heaven was not a given, though. There were certain spiritual requirements one had to fulfill in this life before securing peace in the next, and crusading was one of the ways to meet those requirements. Those who promoted crusading sold the idea by offering salvation for their soul.[1] Crusading was not just a vicious, bloody act of war, but a penitential act—a truly religious act.[2] A man willing to fight in defense of his religion and his god would be granted forgiveness for his sins and a place in eternal heaven after his death. The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 declared that going on crusade would grant one "full remission of sin."[3] Women, however, were not considered acceptable soldiers in medieval society, since men were supposed to protect women from hardships like that of war. If women were not meant to fight the holy war, how could they achieve salvation?

Many doors to spiritual salvation excluded women: they could not (and still cannot) become priests or any other member of clergy, which is one of the seven sacraments in the Catholic Church. Even nuns are not considered clergy, despite their devotion to the church and a life of service. The exclusion of women from certain religious roles and practices could have placed them at a spiritual disadvantage, meaning they would have been unable to obtain the same level of salvation as men and thus unable to earn their place in heaven. In order for spiritual equality to have been possible, women did not necessarily need to be able to participate in all of the same penitential activities as men, but they did need to be able to participate in activities that rewarded them with the same level of salvation that men's activities offered. The path to heaven for men and women may have varied, but as long as paths for women existed, they were not at a spiritual disadvantage. There were, indeed many gendered inequalities within the Catholic Church, as well as within the structure of society.[4] Enough opportunities for female salvation existed in principle, however, that the female soul was not intrinsically disadvantaged compared to the male soul. Women could not become priests but they could pay indulgences, join

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[1] Such as Pope Urban II

[2] The disputed interpretation of crusading as a truly religious act has been most famously presented by Jonathon Riley-Smith. For more information, see *The Crusades: A History* by Jonathon Riley-Smith, 2005.

[3] Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy* 1244-1291 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 36.

[4] For example, women were considered the property of the men they married, and were often not given inheritances—the family property was passed down to their brothers, instead.

military orders, and sometimes even participate in crusades themselves, all of which contributed to their salvation. Thus, women were not at a spiritual disadvantage during the crusades.

The First Crusade was a great success for the Christians, but all of the following Crusades were basically failures. The struggling of the crusade movement after the First Crusade caused Christian leaders to expand their calls for aid to a wider audience. Leaders urged lay Christians (including women) to participate in devotional activities in an attempt to produce divine help for the struggling crusaders, offering spiritual benefits in return. Even setbacks within the successful First Crusade worried leaders enough to call upon the laity for extra, spiritual help. In 1098, the Siege of Antioch triggered leaders of Crusade to write to the Christian faithful requesting fasting, almsgiving, prayers, and masses in support of the crusaders.[5] Similarly, the defeat during the Second Crusade at the Battle of Hattin in 1187caused Pope Gregory VIII to call for intercessory and penitential activities including "a Lenten fast on Fridays and a special mass with intercessory and penitential psalms and prayers" during Advent, as well as "abstain[ing] from meat on Wednesdays and Saturdays."[6] There was no reason women could not participate in such activities, and thus they were offered a gender-neutral outlet through which to support the crusade. Pope Innocent III also urged such penitential devotion in his Quia maior, calling for "monthly liturgical processions where women and men in separate contingents… should pray for God's liberation of the Holy Land."[7] Here he blatantly includes women in the group of Christians who support the crusade from afar. The point of prayer and religious services is to seek a spiritual benefit for oneself or others; women's ability to participate in prayer meant they could gain this spiritual benefit as easily as men.

One type of penitential activity that was especially helpful for the salvation of women was monetary donation. This was the only activity besides physically going on a crusade that the Church began to recognize as granting the donor full remission of their sins. The idea of indulgences, or paying for the remission of sins, developed during the Crusades, likely out of the need for money to fund the holy war.[8] Pope Innocent III, in Quia maior, required a locked box to be placed in every church holding the aforementioned monthly processions, in which lay "men and women" could put crusade offerings.[9]

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[5] Constance M. Rousseau, "Home Front and Battlefield: The Gendering of Papal Crusading Policy (1095-1221)," in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 35.

[6] Rousseau 35.

[7] Innocent III, quoted in Rousseau 36.

[8] The development and enactment of paid indulgences in the Catholic Church was not simple, quick, or without controversy. For more on indulgences during the crusades, see *The Crusades: A History* by Jonathon Riley-Smith, 2005, or *The Catholic Encyclopedia*.

[9] Innocent III, quoted in Rousseau 37.

Once again, his specific mention of women ensured that they would be able to participate in the religious offerings. He then stated the three ways a Christian could receive remission of sins: first, by personally crusading at one's own or another's expense, second by paying for someone else to go on crusade, and third by donating whatever one is able to the crusading movement. The first two granted complete forgiveness while the third only partial absolution—proportionate to the size of their donation and the "intensity of their devotion."[10] It is debatable whether women had the kind of financial resources men did, but it is undeniable that a woman was capable of receiving total salvation by paying for a man to go on crusade for her.

Women could also possibly receive a full indulgence simply for their husbands going on crusade. Pope Innocent IV granted such indulgences to the wives of English crusaders who vowed to join Henry III on crusade.[11] Many women did not want their husbands to depart and fight, so these indulgences were seen as a "placatory gesture,"[12] since there was little women could do to prevent their husbands from taking the cross. Some contemporary theologians and canonists argued that a man's duty to his wife was more obligatory than going on crusade, and thus he could not go without her consent, but many others believed that crusading was a higher cause and thus a man did not require his wife's consent.[13] For example, Alexander of Hales stated that a man could go on crusade without his wife's consent, and that it was her duty to join him if she believed the separation would be a threat to their marriage.[14] Although he expected the same of men in reverse circumstances, such a situation did not arise since men were the only gender "competent to fight."[15] The ability of men to crusade without their wives' permission may be sexist in terms of marital duties, but it is not sexist in terms of spiritual rewards, since women could receive penitence for their husband's crusading, or by joining him. Being able to receive salvation for the actions of her husband may also have helped compensate for a woman's lack of financial resources. She might not have had control of any property or money to use for her spiritual salvation, but her husband's use of those resources for crusading benefited her spiritually.

A Christian who wished to donate to the crusade could also donate money, property, or time to military or religious orders. Despite contemporary concerns about the threat to chastity that contact between male and female religious posed, women actually were members of many religious orders during the crusades. Military orders were an evolution

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[10] Rousseau 37.
[11] Purcell 57.
[12] Purcell 57.
[13] Purcell 58.
[14] Purcell 58.
[15] Purcell 58.

of traditional religious orders (like monasteries), which combined the peaceful religious duties of religious such as nuns and monks with the military duties that the crusade required. There were several different levels of association one could have with a military or religious order, ranging from the occasional, casual donations or service of a lay associate to the (usually) life-long dedication of fully professed brothers or sisters, who took restrictive vows and lived with the order.

Becoming a lay associate or a fully professed sister of a military or religious order was yet another way for a woman to dedicate herself to the crusading movement and thus gain spiritual benefit. There is evidence in the rules of the Templar, Teutonic, and Hospitaller Orders of female members. Articles 53 and 54 of the Latin Rule of the Templars discussed lay associates of the order. Article 53 required *fratres coniugate*, or married couples, associated with the Order to live in a different house than fully professed and chastity-sworn brothers—proof that married female associates were allowed. Article 54, on the other hand, prohibited single female associates or *sorores*.[16] Since these articles were added after the original Rule was written, the addition of Article 54 suggests the prior existence of *sorores* in the Order. The Teutonic Order also discussed women in its statutes, including Article 31 which "provided that women consorores or associates should have a residence separate from that of the brethren."[17] They would obviously not need this rule if there were no female associates. Although female associates were allowed in the Teutonic order, fully professed sisters, or *mulieres*, were not.[18] This exclusion certainly could have posed a spiritual obstacle for women seeking salvation via entrance into the Order, but full membership did not necessarily guarantee total salvation anyway. The fact that women were allowed to participate in the Order at all demonstrates that women were indeed participants in spiritually beneficial penitential activity. Finally, the Hospitallers had a statue "forbidding the reception of sorores of 'young or suspect age,'"[19] which would be unnecessary if they did not accept sorores. There is much more evidence for female involvement in military orders beyond these statutes, however.

The records of the houses of military orders indicate the presence of women. Houses could be double or mixed houses—containing two gender-exclusive community or at least one member of each sex, respectively. Often, houses needed at least one member of the opposite sex in order to perform gender-specific duties. For example, women were considered proficient at domestic work while men were needed for administration of

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[16] Francesco Tommasi, "Men and Women of the Hospitaller, Templar and Teutonic Orders: Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries," in *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anthony Lutrell and Helen J. Nicholson (Burlington: Ashgate, 75.
[17] Tommasi 78.
[18] Tommasi 82.
[19] Tommasi 78.

of estates.[20] Of course, not all houses were mixed, but many were, including the Hospitaller commandery at Nicosia on Cyprus, the Teutonic commandery at Nes in Frisia, and the Hospitaller Commandery of San Giovanni di Pré at Genoa, which had seven professed brothers and nine professed sisters, who ran a hospital for female pilgrims, in 1373.[21] There were also female-only convents connected with military orders, such as the Hospitaller convent at Alguaire in Catalonia. The records of these mixed and double houses demonstrate that the presence of women in military orders was not an unusual occurrence but an accepted practice, so long as the male and female members were sufficiently separated in congruence with a chaste, religious life.

　　　　Simply being associated with a religious order did not necessarily guarantee salvation. The reasons women joined and the nature of their commitment and work, however, indicate that female religious received spiritual benefit from their involvement in religious or military orders. Anthony Luttrell and Helen J. Nicholson assert in the introduction to their book, Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages, that

> "Women were anxious to join the Hospital for various, probably often overlapping, reasons. Some had serious spiritual or penitential intentions; others were widows or unmarried, or had some traditional or family connection with the Order; or they simply lived near to a convenient religious house."[22]

Those with penitential intentions likely got what they intended, since in the Orders "the women's greatest contribution was that of prayer."[23] Although women did domestic and hospital work, most of their time was devoted to divine service and religious observance,[25] work that by nature reaps divine rewards. The Hospitallers may have even valued their female members because of their inability to perform the militaristic functions of the Order, since "[t]he sisters' prayer deepened the contemplative dimension of the Order and… a life of contemplation had been considered of greater value than an active life."[26] The physical and social limitations of women that barred them from the battlefield were an excuse for them to completely devote their lives to nonviolent penitential activities, possibly

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[20] Tommasi 82.

[21] Other houses included: the hospital at Boxerols in Catalonia, the Teutonic hospital of the Holy Trinity and Saint Mary at Sterzing in the Tyrol, and the charitable community at Beaulieu in the Diocese of Cahors (connected to the Hospitallers) (Tommasi 85-86).

[22] Anthony Lutrell and Helen J. Nicholson, "Introduction: A Survey of Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages," in *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anthony Lutrell and Helen J. Nicholson (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 41.

[23] Myra Struckmeyer, "The Sisters of the Order of Saint John at Mynchin Buckland," in *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anthony Lutrell and Helen J. Nicholson (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 100.

[24] Tommasi 82, 86.

[25] Struckmeyer 100.

[26] Struckmeyer 100.

freeing men of the dilemma between being soldiers and being monks.[27] If the women were performing the peaceful duties, men could fight the crusade without leaving these duties untended.

The level of commitment to their order also factored into the salvation of all religious, including women. A fully professed sister or brother showed a deeper commitment to their religion and the crusade, and therefore reaped a larger spiritual benefit than mere associates. This situation applied equally to men and women, though the hesitancy or refusal of some Templar and Teutonic orders to allow women to take a full vow of obedience may have put women at a slight disadvantage. Still, women were able to become fully professed members of some military orders, and could thus obtain the spiritual rewards that men did by vowing to devote their lives to these religious institutions.

Contrary to popular belief, there is proof that women actually could, and did, go on crusade. Canon law allowed for a woman to go on crusade, as long as she had her husband's permission.[28] Women on crusade supported the fighting men by performing necessary duties, including domestic ones like washing clothes, and by providing the crusaders with necessary water and encouragement. There is even evidence that women participated in actual battles, including filling the ditch around Acre to aid in siege, and killing the crew of a captured Muslim ship near Acre.[29]

There are accounts of women actually fighting in the battles, but they come from Muslim sources which presents a bias—they may have been trying to defame their Christian enemies or justify their own actions. Im'd al-Din discussed many Christians soldiers who appeared to be men but were revealed to be women once the armor was stripped from their dead bodies. al-Din claimed the women "'believe themselves assured of their salvation'" due to their fighting[30]—an indication that female participants in the crusade were motivated by the promise of salvation. At the time, women fighting in a battle would have been considered barbaric, since men were supposed to protect women rather than the other way around, so the Muslim accounts of female Christian fighters could have been an attempt to make Christians appear uncivilized and brutish. The Muslim chroniclers may also have been justifying the killing of Christian women on the battlefield, since killing an enemy soldier was acceptable but killing an unarmed woman was not.[31] Nicholson argued

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[27] Carl Erdmann, The Origin of the Idea of Crusade, trans. Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

[28] Helen Nicholson, "Women on the Third Crusade," *Journal of Medieval History* 23, no. 4 (December 1997), 347.

[29] Nicholson 337.

[30] Nicholson 337-338.

[31] Nicholson 337-338.

that the lack of evidence of female fighters in Christian sources makes it unlikely that women actually took up swords and fought. However, the Muslim sources are a clear indication that Christian women were definitely present at the battles of the crusades.

The involvement of noblewomen on crusade is particularly notable. Because of their status, noblewomen were often able to gain positions of leadership, even commanding fortresses. They could take control of the offense or defense of a castle, either in their name or their husband's, brother's, or father's.[32] For example, Nicola de la Haye commanded Lincoln Castle in 1191 and 1216-1217 and Lady Eschiva of Tiberias commanded her castle of Tiberias in 1187. Queen Sybil of Jerusalem helped defend the city against Saladin's siege in 1187, while her husband was being held captive. Noblewomen also accompanied male family members on crusade, including Queen Joanna of Sicily, Queen Berengaria of England, and the daughter of the former emperor of Cyprus.[33] All three went on crusade to Acre and then Jaffa with King Richard of England. It is documented that the mother of the viscount of Chateaudun died in the siege of Acre, 1189-1191. Margaret, wife of King Bela III of Hungary and sister of King Philip of France, took the cross and remained in Jerusalem until her death.[34] Eleanor of Aquitaine is also famous for being a female crusader, as well as a powerful monarch. The political and financial status of noblewomen seems to have allowed them power more similar to that of noblemen than of lay women. They may have not been considered equal to male nobles, since often they held the most power only in the absence of their male family members, but their fiscal and familial backing granted them much more influence than the average women. While crusading they were able to command troops and develop strategy—crucial aspects of battle. These noblewomen may not have been fighting alongside knights, but they certainly provided invaluable contributions to the crusades. Women did not fulfill the same warrior role as male crusaders, but they could be crusaders nonetheless, and crusaders received salvation.

Women have historically faced many inequalities and injustices because of their gender, and still do today. Medieval Europe was no exception; women did not have all the same rights as men. Religious salvation, however, was one area where women were able to assert themselves as equals during the crusades, in that men and women were both capable of receiving full remission of their sins. It is true that there is little evidence that they could take up the sword and fight for the Holy Land alongside men in order to receive salvation, but this is one of the few exclusions they faced. All Christians, male and female, could pray, fast, and give alms for the sake of the crusaders; they could donate to

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[32] Nicholson 334.
[33] Nicholson 337.
[34] Nicholson 337.

or join military orders; they could accompany crusaders and aid them in many ways. Women even received remission of sins if their husbands went on crusade. Possibly most importantly, a woman looking for salvation needed only to fund a male crusader's journey to be completely forgiven for all of her sins and assured a place in heaven. These opportunities for female salvation developed throughout the crusades as failure after failure of the Christians provoked the need for religious authorities to develop new strategies. They needed more money and more prayer from more people in order to physically strengthen and maintain the crusading armies, as well as to get God's help. When male support just was not enough, officials were forced to call on women for support, and they offered spiritual salvation in exchange for that support.

How many women compared to men were actually able to meet the requirements for salvation is a question to be explored. Whether women had the money and property to donate for the sake of their soul, or the freedom to leave their families to join a military order or go on the journey that was crusade, remains to be researched. Disregarding the disadvantage of resources women probably had, it is clear that as crusading theology developed as a principle, it did not place the female soul at a disadvantage compared to the male soul; both were capable of being fully forgiven. Because of this, it is possible that women saw the blissful afterlife promised to them if they acted piously not only as an escape from the hardships of earthy life, but an escape from the injustices of gender inequality. If men and women were capable of obtaining equal salvation in the eyes of God, perhaps men and women would be equal when the goal of that salvation was realized—in heaven.

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The American Jewish Diaspora and Burmese Indian Diaspora: A Tale of Shared Experience, 1850-1950

By Jason Pickart

Introduction

At first glance, one might assume the Jewish diaspora in the U.S. and the Indian diaspora in Burma to be vastly different from one another since they practice different religions, speak different languages, and come from very different origin countries or regions. But upon closer inspection, a number of similarities emerge between the two diasporas that speak to striking commonalities. In particular, this can be seen in the wave of Jewish immigrants that came to the United States in the late nineteenth century and the Indian immigrants that came to Burma during the same time period. While separated by ethnicity, religion, as well as integration into society as accepted members via assimilation in the respective countries they resided in, the Indian diaspora in Burma and the Jewish diaspora in America between 1850 and 1950 bore a very similar likeness – the total number of immigrants, racial discrimination faced, the importance of kinship ties, and chosen occupations contributed to what ultimately amounts to in many ways a shared experience between the two groups.

In this paper I will showcase specific examples as well as overarching themes that unite to form a shared experience between the two diasporas. I will begin by outlining the experience of Jews immigrating to America as well as the reaction to their arrival, which I will follow with a similar analysis of Indian immigration to Burma. After these two case studies, I will compare and contrast the similarities between the two groups, while noting any outstanding differences.

Definitions

For the purposes of this paper, Jews will be considered not merely a group defined by their religion, but an ethnic group with a common geographic, linguistic, and religious heritage which combines to make them a distinct group of people. For most Jews coming to the U.S., the common geographic connection was Eastern Europe, such as the Pale of Settlement, as well as major northern urban centers, New York most notably. Linguistically, Yiddish formed a common vernacular for most Jews, with Hebrew acting as the accepted sacred religious language. Most apparent of all the commonalities that bonded to Jews to one another would be religion, with Judaism, whether strictly adhered to or not, giving the ethnic group a shared faith. Finally, a shared history of persecution on an individual as well as a communal level also served as a glue which held the group together.

A quick note should also be made about the term diaspora. The word diaspora itself comes from the Greek term *diasperien*, which loosely translates as "to sow or scatter seeds across."[1] It originally referred to Jews living outside of their homeland in Palestine but has since been used to describe other groups outside of their homeland, such as Indians, Africans, and others.[2] For this paper, the term diaspora will be utilized in the looser sense that allows it to be applied to any group that is outside of its original homeland, whether Jewish or not.

Theory of Diaspora

While the Indian Burman and Jewish American diasporas both share a great deal of similarities, their salient differences illuminate the difficulty in defining and comparing diasporas. These differences should not be ignored, and likewise, the term diaspora itself should not be seen as automatically making two groups entirely alike. Diasporas themselves vary widely in origin and condition, despite being united by factors such as being displaced from their homeland, and as Vijay Mishra puts it, their inherent unhappiness with their condition as a diaspora.[3] The Indian Burman and Jewish American diaspora have a large body of similarities despite their differences, but this says nothing about any apparent commonalities between Indian Burmans and Armenians or Greeks, who along with Jews formed as Jon Stratton terms it, the classical diasporas.[4]

This idea showcases that the prominent characteristic of a diaspora simply involving being outside of one's homeland is in and of itself problematic. William Safran notes that diaspora "has been stretched to cover almost any ethnic or religious minority that is dispersed physically from its original homeland, regardless of the conditions leading to the dispersion, and regardless of the conditions leading to the dispersion, and regardless of whether, and to what extent, physical, cultural, or emotional links exist between the community and the home country."[5] Judith T. Shuval writes that diaspora "has acquired a broad semantic domain. It now encompasses a motley array of groups such as political refugees, alien residents, guest workers, immigrants, expellees, ethnic and racial minorities, and overseas communities."[6] In this paper I have attempted to take into consideration the current broad based usage of the term by focusing on the individual attributes of each diaspora, while attempting to avoid generalizations.

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[1] Jana E. Braziel and Anita Mannur, eds., *Theorizing Diaspora*, Wiley-Blackwell, 2003, 1.

[2] Braziel and Anita Mannur, 2.

[3] Vijay Mishra, *The Literature of the Indian Diaspora: Theorizing the Diasporic Imaginary*, T & F Books UK, 2009, 1.

[4] Jon Stratton. *Coming Out Jewish*, Psychology Press, 2000, 124.

[5] Waltraud Kokot, Khachig Tölölyan, and Carolin Alfonso, *Diaspora, Identity, and Religion: New Directions in Theory and Research*, Taylor & Francis Ltd, 2004, 9.

[6] Judith T. Shuval "Diaspora Migration: Definitional Ambiguities and a Theoretical Paradigm," *International Migration* 38 (2000): 41-58, 41.

As already mentioned in "Definitions," I am using the looser term of the word diaspora, which can be applied to any group outside of their homeland. I am also taking the view that the term diaspora cannot be used to assume any similarities – it is, at its base, merely stating that a group of people currently reside in a land that is markedly different from their place of origin; it says nothing about any connections, if any, the group feels to its homeland. Any accompanying connotations that might be called forth from the term's original usage as it applied to Jews should not factor in when talking about diasporas. Each diaspora's characteristics should be evaluated based on their own unique experience and current condition, and likewise the same should hold true when comparing two or more diasporas.

Jews in America

In the mid to late eighteenth century, large numbers of Jews emigrated from their homelands of primarily Eastern Europe to the United States. By the middle of the roaring twenties, over two and half million Jews had emigrated from Eastern Europe to the U.S.[7] They were motivated by the desire to escape discrimination in their native countries in Eastern Europe, most notably Russia, as well as by the economic opportunities that the U.S. offered. The reputation of the U.S. and its strong economy was well known by the mid to late eighteenth century, and for Jews trying to escape discrimination the explicit language of the U.S. constitution guaranteeing freedom of religion was especially attractive.

These new immigrants faced widespread prejudice on an individual level which amounted to discrimination of the group as a whole. In one of the earlier forms of visible anti-Semitism, Jews were prohibited from entering clubs or renting apartments or homes in certain areas. In 1877, Joseph Seligman, a Jewish banker, was prohibited entry to the Hilton Grand Hotel in Saratoga, NY.[8] Two years later in 1879, the Manhattan Beach Club made known a general policy of denying Jews admittance. The club owner, Austin Corbin, explained that it "so happens that the Jews as a class are extremely vulgar, ill-bred, and offensive people."[9] People like Corbin embodied the continuing legacy of discrimination against Jews as a people who were somehow different, regardless of their wealth or education. They were seen as pariahs who were greedy and despicable human beings – in other words, real life incarnations of such devious characters like Shylock from *The Merchant of Venice*.

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[7] Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett and Jonathan Karp, *The Art of Being Jewish in Modern Times*, Philadelpia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

[8] Erdman Harley, *Staging the Jew: The Performance of an American Ethnicity, 1860-1920*. New Jersey: Rutgers. University Press, 1995, 66.

[9] Erdman, 67.

As time went on things did not improve and Jews were often the target of racial violence. Jerry Leiber, an influential music composer and writer in the 1950s, was often attacked by anti-Semitic gangs in his hometown of Baltimore while growing up in the 1930s.[10] The attacks were so frequent and vicious that he "signed up for boxing lessons" and he carried his books "in a brown paper bag so strangers on the street couldn't see the Hebrew lettering."[11] The attacks on Leiber were not an isolated incident. In 1899, Leopold Cohn, a Christian missionary working in New York, wrote a letter detailing the large amount of anti-Semitic attacks that Jews often had to deal with in New York. He noted:

> Peaceful Jews walking the streets of this city are habitually called by opprobrious epithets, or are loudly hooted and insulted, as though they were mountebanks or criminals, and when the threatening shout will not attract response, then the throwing of mud and stones is resorted to, and I repeat not in an isolated instance, but constantly as the weeks pass, and as a result of which many have been injured, sometimes seriously.[12]

He goes on to recount specific incidents, such as when he observed a "Jewish peddler with horse and wagon, set upon by a mob of large boys with stones... on running to his defense, I was myself attacked."[13] These acts were not isolated in time or location – whether in the late 1800s in New York or in the 1930s in Baltimore, Jews were frequently the target of racially motivated attacks.

In addition to being the subject of violent attacks, Jewish immigrants also had to endure living and working in squalid conditions. They were typically poor and often lived in the tenements of the Lower East Side in New York. These tenements were cramped, uncomfortable and often unsanitary, and workplace conditions for Jews were often little better. Jewish workers toiled away in the garment industry under abysmal conditions with low pay. In 1891 David Edelshtat, one of the so called "Sweatshop Poets" who wrote about the harsh working conditions that Jews had to endure in factories, published a poem entitled "Wake Up" in which he implored Jews to:

> Strike everywhere the freedom bell!
> Let suffering slaves feel their might!
> Inspired in struggle, struggle like hell —
> For yourself, for your holiest right![14]

The clear and vivid prose – which even alludes to slavery – sheds light on the marginalized and exploited Jewish worker.

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[10] Scott R. Bernarde, *Stars of David: Rock 'n' Roll's Jewish Stories,* Brandeis, 2003, 18.
[11] Bernarde, 18.
[12] Leopold Cohn, "Anti-Semitic Prejudice." *Los Angeles Times*, January 6, 1899, p. 3.
[13] "Anti-Semitic Prejudice." p. 3.
[14] Tony Michels, "Exporting Yiddish Socialism: New York's Role in the Russian Jewish Workers' Movement." *Jewish Social Studies* 16, no. 1 (2009): 1-26. 13

While poor, Jews soon drew upon their historical knowledge and experience of business from Europe to become increasingly successful in sectors such as the film industry. Due to laws forbidding them from owning land, as well as laws preventing Christians from charging interest on loans (usury), Jews were forced into areas of shopkeeping, trade, and banking. As a result of this, they gained a large body of experience and business acumen. These trade and general business skills were passed down from generation to generation, and when Jews immigrated to the U.S. they carried this expertise with them. Because of their social status as well as the discrimination that Jews still faced, Jews often gravitated towards more risky areas of business. This usually meant they joined nascent industries based on a new type of technology, like the film industry, or areas that were not deemed socially acceptable, such as pornography.

For the aforementioned reasons, the film industry provided an excellent opportunity for Jews – as a result, they quickly came to dominate the industry. What followed was the perpetuation of the greedy Jewish theater or movie mogul based on old stereotypes that had been around even before Shakespeare wrote *The Merchant of Venice.* Cartoons depicted this in an especially pointed matter. In one cartoon, two Jews beat a theatergoer for his last nickel, while another, published in *Life* magazine in 1901, showed a Jew with exaggerated facial features – large nose, pointy beard, balding head – holding actors and actresses in his hands as if they were pawns.[15] Jews would continue to dominate the industry even as it moved its base from New York to Los Angeles, a fact that continues to this day.[16]

Jews also became prominent in the music industry. Jews were club, record label and theater owners, such as Adolph Zukor who owned the Orpheum Theater.[17] In the area of Tin Pan Alley, where the majority of producing and song writing took place in New York, Jews controlled "about 70 percent of the largest and most important of the sheet music publishing houses."[18] Tin Pan Alley also had direct connections to Hollywood, further cementing Jewish dominance of the entertainment industry.

In the area of pornography, or erotica, Jews were also prominent. The New York Society for Suppression of Vice (NYSSV), founded by Anthony Comstock who successfully lobbied for the passage of a federal law prohibiting "every obscene, lewd, lascivious,

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[15] Steven A. Carr, *Hollywood and Anti-Semitism: A Cultural History Up to World War II*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001: 28 and Carr, 17

[16] Joel Stein, "How Jewish is Hollywood?" *Los Angeles Times*, December 19, 2008, http://www.latimes.com/news/opinion/commentary/la-oe-stein19-2008dec19,0,4676183.column

[17] Paul Buhle, ed. *Jews and American Popular Culture*. Vol. 2, Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2006, 131.

[18] Kirschenblatt-Gimblett and Karp, 59.

indecent, filthy, or vile article, matter, thing, device or substance," would discover this firsthand in its attempts to fulfill the mandate laid out by the aforementioned law.[19] Between 1882 and 1939, Jews accounted for 50% of the NYSSV's arrests regarding pornography or 'obscenities' – a remarkable number given that in the middle of this period of NYSSV's arrests, in 1910, Jews accounted for only 1.6% of the population.[20] Not surprisingly, their dominance in these areas quickly drew critics who attacked them on racial lines.

Chief among these figures was Henry Ford, who frequently spoke out against Jews. In 1921 he published an article in his newspaper, *The Dearborn Independent*, entitled "The Jewish Aspect of the 'Movie' Problem" as well as, "Jewish Supremacy in the Motion Picture World" a week later. The latter details how Jews were disproportionally in control of the movie industry – the article then reviews what he sees as the many problems inherent with this. He argues that Jews are "the great creamskimmers of the world," having contributed nothing of technical note to the movie industry.[21] In the former, Ford rails against Jewish culture in general, seeing its influence as an attack on the moral fiber of American society, which he views as being 'Anglo-Saxon' as opposed to 'Oriental.' Ford characterizes the Oriental ideal as "if you can't go as far as you like, go as far as you can," highlighting what he saw as overtly sexual imagery in movies and nickelodeons across the country.[22] Ford also advocates the implementation of censorship in an effort to combat this perceived negative influence perpetuated by Jews.

The American entry into World War II profoundly changed attitudes about anti-Semitism in America. With the revelation of the Holocaust and the association of racism towards Jews with Nazism, it became decidedly 'un-American' to be overtly racist towards Jews. As a result, Jews became less and less a target of racism, and they became increasingly assimilated. Reflecting this popular change of mood was the short film "The House I Live In." The film features Frank Sinatra, who stops a group of young boys from beating up a young boy solely because of him being Jewish. Sinatra criticizes the boys for their behavior, explaining that religion is not something to discriminate against someone for, especially in America, where everyone, despite their differences, is American. To illustrate his point, Sinatra tells the story of an American bomber that succeeds in attacking a Japanese battleship after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. He tells the children that on the crew, the pilot was a Presbyterian, while the bombardier was a Jew. The piece ends with a song about tolerance, and the boys go off in peace.

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[19] Jay A. Gertzman, *Bookleggers and Smuthounds*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999. 19.
[20] Jay A. Gertzman, *Bookleggers and Smuthounds*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999. 19, 29 and Carr, 14.
[21] Henry Ford, "The Jewish Aspect of the 'Movie' Problem." *Dearborn Independent,* February 12, 1921.
[22] Henry Ford, "Jewish Supremacy in the Motion Picture World." *Dearborn Independent*, February 19, 1921.

Despite all the film's strengths, its definition of what constitutes a Jew is problematic. Being Jewish is purely defined by religion in this film, ignoring unique aspects, such as language of the ethnic group – using this definition decreases awareness and lessens acceptance of these other characteristics, implicitly making them alien and forcing Jews to conform to a dominant American cultural ideal in order to be accepted.

Even with this problem, the film was undoubtedly a strong argument for tolerance of Jews which showcased their increasing acceptance in American society. Jews were now considered a part of the greater American fabric. They were no longer Yiddish-speaking aliens, but English-speaking Americans who were on the right side in the fight against the injustice of Japan, and implicitly Germany as well. They could fully participate in the rhetoric and application of American nationalism.

Perhaps even more symbolic of the new tolerance of Jews was the 1947 Oscar winning movie *Gentleman's Agreement*, in which a young journalist played by Gregory Peck attempts to write a story on anti-Semitism. In an effort to understand the Jewish experience for research, he decides to tell people he is Jewish, deciding that his brown hair and generic white features are enough for him to pass. The movie then proceeds to show various incidents of anti-Semitism, including the journalist being denied entry to a hotel in a nod to both the famous and less well-known incidents that peppered the American landscape in years past. In the end, the argument that the film makes is that Jews are like every other American, and acting towards them as if they were somehow different was in fact un-American. In many ways, the movie's subject material and date serve as a symbolic, if not actual, end to the efforts of Jews to assimilate – in more ways than not, they finally had.

Jews also mostly discarded their primary vernacular, Yiddish. In the early twentieth century there was a thriving Yiddish theater scene in New York as well as various Yiddish language newspapers, like the *Forward* or *Forverts* in Yiddish, which at its peak in 1916 reached a circulation of just over 500,000 in New York and 700,000 nationally.[23] Yiddish literature and poetry also flourished, creating a host of works that dealt with particular topics like radicalism, such as the previously mentioned "Sweatshop Poets." These theaters and newspapers catered to an exclusively Jewish audience, in particular in areas of New York and the Lower East Side, where in the early 1900s some 350,000 Jews lived in close quarters.[24] While the *Forward* continues as well as other Yiddish language publications in smaller numbers, the theater and literary scene had disappeared almost entirely by the 1950s, symbolic of the Jewish transition to becoming more fully Americanized.

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[23] Dov-Ber Kerler, *Politics of Yiddish: Studies in Language, Literature and Society*, Altamira Press, 1998, 78.
[24] Lester D. Friedman, *Hollywood's Image of the Jew*. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1982, 58.

Indians in Burma

The story of Indian immigration to Burma is invariably intertwined with their association with the British, who ruled India until 1947 and Burma until 1948. They came in large numbers as indentured laborers, as well as traders and soldiers. Some Indians in Burma were not only there to fulfill their own private interests, but came as imperial agents of the British, who "ruled the country with the help of Indian soldiers, policemen, and civil servants."[25] Indians provided labor needed for farms and construction work. They were also instrumental as moneylenders to Burmese farmers, in particular rice farmers. These farmers received money from the lenders which allowed them to open up rice cultivation in previously undeveloped areas in Burma. Because of their economic position as well as their association with Britain, Indians in Burma were seen as part of a colonial apparatus which was characterized by an overall feeling of "Indian domination."[26] Indians were also seen as aliens in terms of their religion as well as their lifestyle and morals, contrasting sharply with Buddhist monks. These feelings were also exasperated with financial difficulties brought about by economic recessions, which forced Indian moneylenders to foreclose on many Burmese farmers.[27]

Indians held a high degree of influence and control in areas of Burmese affairs. In 1931, 74% of agriculturists, herdsmen, fishermen, and miners in Burma were of Indian origin.[28] Indian traders controlled 90% of the export of rice to India and Ceylon, a large island in the Indian Ocean which became the nation of Sri Lanka after independence.[29] In areas of administration, Indians also figured disproportionally when compared to their overall population numbers in Burma. Their knowledge of English and of "British methods of administration" gave them a significant advantage over their Burmese counterparts.[30] The 1931 Burmese census enumerated a total of one million Indians out of a total population of 14.7 million, for a share of 6.9% of the population.[31] In 1931, Indians accounted for 53% of Rangoon's population.[32] Their large concentration in Rangoon, the capital of Burma, underscored the fact that Indians either controlled or greatly influenced many of the most important areas of the Burmese economy.

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[25] "Report of the High Level Committee", 259

[26] Usha Mahajani, *Role of Indian Minorities in Burma & Malaya*. Bombay: Vora & Co. Publishers Pvt, Ltd., 1960. 1

[27] "The Foreign Relations of Burma as Independent State" - Foreign Office Research Department, 1947, (F 8359/17/79), p. 28, in *British Documents on Foreign Affairs: Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential* Print. Vol. 7: University Publications of America, 2001, edited by Anthony Best, p. 32.

[28] Mahajani, 3.

[29] "The Foreign Relations of Burma as an Independent State" p. 28.

[30] Mahajani, 4.

[31] Mahajani, 3.

[32] Mahajani, 4.

Unsurprisingly, a general feeling amongst Burmese people of their own country being dominated and influenced by an outside invader began to quickly grow. This feeling manifested itself violently in the Saya San rebellion of 1930. The rebellion was directed against Indians and the British, who were both seen as exploiters of Burma. The uprising's focal point was the enigmatic Burman Saya San, who the *New York Times* called a "quack doctor and fortune-teller" in 1931 when he had been captured and sentenced to death.[33] The rebellion lasted over a year until Saya San's capture, and resulted in in the death of over three thousand rebels from British troops working to crush the rebellion.[34] The animosity and tension between the two ethnic groups did not die with Saya San, who was hanged for his part in the rebellion.

It is no coincidence that at this same time the Burmese were making general calls demanding that their territory be split off from the British colonial government of India. The Burmese government noted in its argument for separation that "Burmans are radically different from Indians."[35] The nationalistic concept of "Burma for the Burmans" also became a repeated theme in the discourse on the topic. This idea would continue to dominate Burmese thinking in the years to come, foreshadowing the eventual nationalization of Indian interests in the country in an effort to, as they saw it, take back their country from foreign interests.

Eventually Burmese demands were satisfied by the British, and they were granted their own territory which was now removed from under the purview of the British Raj in India. The formal separation of the two entities occurred in 1937. The prospect of separation from India and the continued violence, discrimination and general ill will towards Indians in Burma was well recognized by Indians in the country. Seven years before the actual separation occurred, Indians in Burma began an effort to organize themselves in an attempt to defend their interests. Indians formed one such association with the goal of "the protection of Indian political and commercial interests," which they feared would be "endangered when Burmans are put in control of their own affairs."[36] Indians knew all too well that they were unwanted.

One of the more successful groups of Indians to immigrate to Burma was the Chettiars who came from the region of Chettinad in the province of Madras. They were traders, moneylenders and bankers who found their way to various countries such as Bur-

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[33] "Revolt Stirs Many Colonies." *New York Times*, November 1, 1931, p. 121.
[34] Robert L. Solomon, "Saya San and the Burmese Rebellion." *Modern Asian Studies* 3, no. 3 (1969): 209-223.
[35] Sir Harcourt Butler, "Burma and the Burmans: The "Irish of the East"." *The Times*, February 18, 1930, sec. G, p. 51.
[36] "Indians in Burma and Separation." *The Times*, July 12, 1930, sec. A, p. 12.

ma.[37]Their presence was widespread in Burma – in 1930, there were 1650 Chettiar firms in Burma.[38] In Burma, they lent money to Burmese farmers, usually using land as collateral for the arrangements. When the depression hit in the 1930s, this proved to be fatal for the Burmese farmers since it resulted in a huge fall in the price of rice. In 1930, Chettiars owned 6% of Burmese land in the rice growing districts, but by 1938 this had skyrocketed to 25%.[39] The Burmese were losing their land little by little to an outside community that made almost no effort to integrate, maintaining strong connections to Madras despite their heavy involvement in Burma. This created widespread resentment, strengthening the aforementioned notion of "Burma for the Burmans."

The stage was thus set for a tumultuous end game to Indo-Burman relations. Ironically, the calm before the storm was World War II, where Japanese boots squashed concerns over Indian capital and other matters when they invaded the country. Burma ended up being a major battleground in the struggle between the Allies and the Japanese, with the Burma Road gaining international fame as a key link in the Allied supply chain and united front with China. In the end, the Japanese proved to be a mere interruption to the path of conflict between Indians and Burmans that had come to head in the 1930s with the widespread acquisition of Burmese land by Indian moneylenders. Things were already in place that foretold the end of the Indian community that had developed in Burma. The racial violence, discrimination, and feelings of resentment that Burmans held towards Indians had become endemic.

It comes as no surprise then that the end of the story of the Indian diaspora in Burma concludes with their de facto eviction. Indian land became nationalized amidst a large degree of anti-Indian sentiment, and as a result many Indians to permanently left the country. The total Indian population in Burma fell to 700,000 in the post-war period, a significant decrease from the 1 million counted in the 1931 census.[40] The Burmese government eventually fulfilled the idea of "Burma for the Burmans" in 1949, when it nationalized Indian land under the Burmese Land Nationalization Act. The process was not exactly a rapid or brutal takeover, but rather the application of rules that served to drive out

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[37] Mahajani, 16.
[38] Bose, 111 and Mahajani, 17.
[39] Mahajani, 20.
[40] "Indian Assets in Burma." *The Times of India*, September 13, 1949, p. 4.

Indians from the market. The act stipulated that property could only be sold to Burmese citizens, which led to a sharp drop in Indian agricultural land and other property.[41]

Further exasperating the plight of Indians in Burma during this time period was the still present cultural enmity that existed between them and the Burmese people. In addition to their aforementioned unwillingness to integrate into Burmese society, there existed a continuing accompanying hostility from Burmans. General Aung San, a prominent Communist revolutionary and Japanese resistance figure who helped spearhead Burmese independence efforts, personified this when he talked about Indians in a radio broadcast made in 1947:

> Talking about citizens, I would also like to have a word with citizens without a drop of national blood in their veins, like the Chinese, and Indians who want to join the AFPFL [Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League]. If you want to be Burmese do as the Burmese [do] and you will reap the benefit of a Burmese [citizen]. You may also know the probable outcome of the election results. If you want to team with those you like, it is your own fate. But we will not beg or play up to anybody.[42]

The message to any Indian – or Chinese person – listening was clear: conform to Burmese ways, otherwise you are on your own.

It is worth pointing out this view on Indians and Chinese diverges from his other statements regarding ethnic minorities, as well as his actions. In 1947 he succeeded in obtaining the backing of minorities in his push for independence.[43] That same year, in a speech he made before the AFPFL Assembly which set forth his views on the various ethnic groups in Burma, as well as what defined a minority, he advocated for respect for the self determination of, as he termed them, "national minorities."[44] Tellingly however, while he mentions a variety of Burmese ethnic groups (including the Ginphaws, the Chins, the Karens, and the Shan states), he does not mention Indians in his speech. Their absence from the discussion is even more pointed given that the Karens, who he talks at length about, only had a population of 80,000 in Burma in 1947, compared to 700,000 Indians.[45] In the speech, he clarifies that there is, in his view, one Burmese nation, despite its diversity as far as minorities: "Then, based on the above considerations, how many nationalit-

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[41] "Indian Assets in Burma."

[42] "Political Opportunities (General Aung San's broadcast on 13-3-47 at 7,30 p.m.)" in Mg Kyaw Yin, ed. *The Unforgettable Speeches of General Aung San,* Sein Pan Myaing Literature, 1969, 92.

[43] Josef Silverstein, ed. *The Political Legacy of Aung San,* Cornell University Southeast Asia Program Publications, 1972, 4.

[44] "New Year Speech (speech given on 18-4-47 on New Year's Day)" in Mg Kyaw Yin, ed. *The Unforgettable Speeches of General Aung San*, Sein Pan Myaing Literature, 1969, 129

[45] Ibid, 129.

ies can there be in Burma? One."[46] By failing to mention Indians, his view on Burmese nationalism is indicative of what amounts to an explicit exclusion of Indians from being considered fellow countrymen. Indians were not part of the unitary Burmese nation in Aung San's view, they were foreigners.

The Nationalisation Act was followed up by an even more overt effort to drive out any perceived alien influences that were in the country. In 1962 the new government under military control initiated a process of "Burmanisation," or nationalization of businesses in Burma that led to most of the remaining upper class Indians–some 320,000—leaving Burma for good.[47] The Indians remaining in Burma were poor or working class – they remain there to this day and have little power or influence in present day Myanmar.

Diasporic Comparison

Due to their nature as a "scattered" ethnic group, diasporas are inherently difficult to quantify, and as a result any comparison between them is even more difficult. Bearing this in mind, I will analyze characteristics of the diasporas which are either quantifiable or salient enough to be sufficiently analyzed. These characteristics include: population, urban centers, racial discrimination, labor conditions, organizations, kinship ties, cultural exchange and interaction, inter-ethnic marriage and finally assimilation.

The overall proportion of Indians in Burma compared to the number of Jews in America during the same time is also similar. The amount of Jews who emigrated to the U.S. is the same as the number of Indians who immigrated to Burma: some two and half million Indians came to Burma during this same time period.[48] Unlike American Jews who did not frequently return home – which usually meant Eastern Europe, in particular Russia – Indian workers often did return home. This had the effect of dramatically reducing the population of Indians who ended up staying in Burma. As a result of this, by 1931 the number of Indians in Burma was just over one million, a large drop-off from the 2.5 million who had originally emigrated from India.[49]

Here, more so than other areas aside from assimilation, the two diasporas differ to an extent. While some Eastern European Jews fled to America in an effort to escape pogroms, in particular in Russia and the Pale of Settlement, the bulk of Indian immigrants came to Burma as indentured laborers. Indentured labor was in high demand due to the

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[46] Ibid, 129.
[47] "Report of the High Level Committee", 252.
[48] India Ministry of External Affairs. "Report of the High Level Committee" http://indiandiaspora.nic.in/contents.htm. p. 252.
[49] Hugh Tinker, "A Forgotten Long March: The Indian Exodus from Burma, 1942." *Journal of Southeast*

abolition of slavery in 1834, and many Indians were successfully recruited to work in indentured servitude. More similar to the group of Jewish immigrants who came in search of economic opportunities were the minority of Indian immigrants, in particular the Chettiars, who came freely as "traders, clerks, bureaucrats, and professionals."[50]

The location of Indians in Burma also has parallels to where Jews settled in America. Just as Jews settled in disproportionally large numbers in New York City, America's largest city and economic hub, Indians were present in Burma's capital Rangoon in larger numbers. Again, though the general parallels are the same, the overall proportion of Indians is much higher than what Jews achieved in New York – Indians accounted for over half of Burma's population in 1931, whereas Jews never became the majority ethnic group in New York or elsewhere.

Once in their respective countries their experiences mirror each other very closely, especially in the area of racial discrimination. Indians in Burma faced many of the same problems that Jews did in America due to their different religious and cultural background, along with their perceived success and dominance of certain industries. Both were the subject of petty, isolated incidents and attacks, as well as more widespread and public smears. For Jews the oft-given and best example is Henry Ford's series of articles in the *Dearborn Independent* criticizing their influence in the movie industry as well as their culture in general. Indians had to endure repeated cries calling for "Burma for Burmans" as well as public distrust of them over their role as moneylenders and merchants. Both groups also faced derision due to their religions. Judaism has a long history as a persecuted religion, both by governments and private individuals. Despite the fact that discrimination in the form of laws or other government actions did not exist in the U.S., discrimination on an individual still did. For Indians, whether they were Muslim or Hindu, they faced skepticism from the Buddhist Burmese.

The Jews' working class situation is also comparable to Indian indentured laborers in Burma and elsewhere in the British Empire. In the mid to late 19th century, the British began recruiting Indians to go overseas to work on plantations that needed cheap labor. This recruitment was a direct response to the lost labor from abolishing slavery in 1834, which took away the main source of labor for places like sugar plantations. These Indians were forced to sign contracts with draconian conditions which included multiple years of forced service until they could be free. Once they arrived at the plantations they were met with horrific conditions, and they were required to work to the point of total exhaustion.[51] Just as Jews faced horrible living conditions, Indian indentured laborers were "quar-

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[50] "Report of the High Level Committee", 252.
[51] Hugh Tinker, "A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas – 1830-1920." *Institute of Race Relations* (1974): 1-60. 8.

tered together in barracks, barracoons, under close confinement."[52] Edelshtat's poem, "Wake Up", could have been speaking just as easily to Indian indentured laborers. Though Jews' relative freedom was undoubtedly greater since they were wage laborers and not in effect slaves like the Indian indentured laborers, their working conditions and living conditions mirrored each other.

The effort of Indians to organize themselves in order to protect their interests mirrors the efforts of Jews in the early twentieth century to combat discrimination. The Anti-defamation League was formed in 1913 with this in mind and still exists today, with its mantra to "stop the defamation of the Jewish people… to secure justice and fair treatment to all"[53] Similarly, Indians worked to organize themselves in 1930 in an effort to stave off Burmese resentment and discrimination aimed towards them.

Like the Jewish diaspora in North America, the wealth and success of the Indian diaspora can in many ways be attributed to the kinship links that they maintained with each other. One of the most successful groups of Indians in Burma who were in many ways the spiritual if not at times literal counterparts to the Jewish movie moguls, bankers and lawyers in the United States, were the Chettiar trading community, who took full advantage of their kinship ties to become a dominant force in Burma. The Chettiars "taught the intricacies of [their trade] to their children from the age of eight," directly mirroring the accumulated business wisdom that Jews had gained over the centuries in Europe which was then transplanted to America.[54]

Of all the differences mentioned, either explicit – ethnicity and religion – or nuanced, one of the key point that separates the two groups from one another is that when Jews came to America, they came to stay. This was the case for some Indians in Burma, but many either returned home after their indentured period of servitude was finished, or they maintained homes in India and kept up business contacts by traveling back and forth between the two countries, something that was easily accomplished when both were a part of the same British Empire, and indeed under the same government until they were separated in 1937. This circular migration, as mentioned previously, is why there were only one million Indians in Burma in 1931, despite the fact that some 2.5 million had immigrated to Burma for one reason or another. As a result of this, the urgency of cultural assimilation was greatly reduced. If they tired of life in Burma, Indians could easily return home.

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[52] Tinker, "A New System of Slavery" 9.
[53] Anti-Defamation League. http://www.adl.org/.
[54] Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire*. Harvard University Press, 2009. 110.

In the area of cultural exchange and interaction, another important difference emerges between Jews and Indians. Even for those that did stay and assimilate through marriage, this did not result in the same kind of relationship that Jews experienced in America. Wives to Indians were often converted culturally or religiously to their husband's faith. Burmese women who married Muslim Indians – who accounted for 31% of the Indian population in Burma – often converted to Islam.[55] Hindu Indians mirrored their Muslim counterparts in that they often "insisted on inculcating Indian culture in [their children]" and often viewed their Burmese wives as unequal.[56] Indians in general "held a low opinion of the Burmese who lacked an intricate network of social strata and traditions."[57] The overall picture is one of Indians not assimilating but coming to Burma and keeping their traditions, religion, and outlook on life, all the while actually attempting to convert Burmese to their lifestyle.

This is in sharp contrast to Jews, who actively sought to so fully integrate that they would be culturally invisible. An excellent portrayal of this effort can be seen in the movie *The Jazz Singer*, where the main character played by Al Jolson deals with this very issue. The son of a deeply religious Jewish cantor, he decides to pursue a career in show business instead of becoming a cantor like his father. The movie ends in a celebratory fashion, with Jolson's character becoming popular and successfully performing on stage, affirming his choice of moving on from his Jewish roots. The movie's effective message to Jews was that assimilation is something that should be strived for and applauded.

Jews also explicitly differed in the realm of marriage, which was significantly different from the Indian attitudes in Burma. Far from seeing Burmese women as unequal, many Jews saw gentile women as superior yet frustratingly often unattainable. The embodiment of this is the *Golden Shikse*, the stereotype of the beautiful, usually blonde, gentile woman. In *Portnoy's Complaint*, a book written by Jewish author Phillip Roth and first published in 1967, a fictional Jewish character talks about growing up as a Jew in America. He explains at length his obsession with shikses, stating that he is ecstatic at the "sight of their fresh cold blond hair spilling out of their kerchiefs and caps" and lamenting his inability to date any of them.[58]

While the *Golden Shikse* was often out of reach for many Jews, Jews generally saw inter-ethnic marriage as something attainable, and as time went on and Jews became more integrated in American society Jewish resistance to this continually waned. In 1912 the intermarriage rate was only 1% for Jews in Brooklyn, a fair barometer for Jews in

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[55] Bose, 113 and Mahajani, 29.
[56] Mahajani, 30.
[57] Mahajani, 32.
[58] Philip Roth, *Portnoy's Complaint*, Vintage, 1994.

America as a whole since most Jews were concentrated in and around New York.[59] In 1963 a new study estimated the rate at 42.2%.[60] In 1974, the Board of Jewish Education of Greater New York stated that "If you're Jewish, chances are your grandchildren won't be."[61] This was the melting pot in action, something that did not exist on a widespread scale in Burma.

Continuing this trend of assimilation, many Jews altered their last names, changed their physical appearance – even going so far as to get nose jobs – and tried in nearly every way to be what they saw as 'American.' For example, the great American composer Irving Berlin, author of the song "White Christmas," was born in Russia not as Irving Berlin, but as Israel Baline.[62] Even some Jews who were not in popular entertainment changed their names in an effort to blend in.

Conclusion

If a diaspora is inherently defined by a group being outside of their homeland, whether willingly or by exile, then Jewish Americans had transformed themselves from a diaspora to simply a minority group in the greater American melting pot. When looking at the previous examples given, it becomes clear that this was in effect the goal of many Jews. The Hollywood movie moguls epitomized this, trying in every way shape or form to establish themselves as Americans, all the while diminishing the presence of Jews in films to the point of invisibility. One such incident illustrates this well. When a studio head was asked what his nationality was at a hospital, he responded "American" – when someone asked him if he was Jewish, he dismissively replied "Oh, yes, that too."[63] Jews did not want to be Jewish Americans; they simply wanted to be Americans with no further clarification needed.

There are three main reasons for the sharp differences in assimilation between the two diasporas. The first and probably lesser of the three, though nonetheless important, is the role of geography. It is something that is so obvious that it almost goes without saying, but the vast distance between the United States and the homelands of Jews in Europe was incredibly different from the short distance that separates India and Burma. For Jewish immigrants, most of whom were poor when they arrived, it was simply impractical to return home. For Indians, even the more poor indentured laborers, this was much more

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[59] Lila C. Berman, "Sociology, Jews, and Intermarriage in Twentieth-Century America," *Jewish Social Studies* 14, no. 2 (2008): 32-60, 38.
[60] Berman, 47.
[61] Berman, 49.
[62] Seymour Brody, "Irving Berlin: The Nation's Great Composer Of Patriotic Songs." Florida Atlantic University. http://www.fau.edu/library/bro82.htm.
[63] Friedman, 64.

achievable given the distances involved.

The second reason why Jews were able to assimilate into American culture is tied to the economic areas that they dominated compared to Indians. Whereas Jews mostly dominated areas involving entertainment such as the movie and music industry, Indians came to dominate or become heavily involved in the agricultural and financial sectors of Burma's economy. The increasing amount of land that Chettiar bankers came to hold is illustrative of this, and this created a serious backlash in a country where agriculture was the "bedrock of its national pride."[64] In contrast to this, while Hollywood and music like Jazz would soon become synonymous with American culture and identity, they did not even exist when the country was founded. The movie industry was incredibly new at the turn of the twentieth century, and while individuals like Henry Ford attacked Jewish influence in these areas, it was still not akin to the reaction that Jewish dominance in another area of the country might have brought about – for example, if Jews had come to dominate the industrial sector, replacing people like Ford and presiding over what was in many ways the lifeblood of the U.S. economy, the reaction might have been very different.

The third and perhaps most crucial reason for the difference in assimilation between the two groups are the incredibly different homelands from which the Indian Burmans and Jewish Americans hailed. As mentioned previously, Jews often came to America to escape rampant discrimination and pogroms in their homelands of Eastern Europe, in particular Russia under the Czar. On the other hand, Indians were not exactly escaping discrimination when they came to Burma. Despite its many flaws, British colonialism was not the harsh variety that King Leopold practiced in the Congo. So when many Indians came to Burma, they did so with one eye firmly transfixed on Burma, with the other affectionately and pragmatically cast back towards India. Jews oftentimes shared no such connection with their homelands.

The experiences of the Indian diaspora in Burma and the Jewish diaspora in the United States closely mirror each other in a number of ways. These commonalities point to their shared experiences as diasporas despite their stories taking place in vastly different countries and involving markedly different peoples. The end story ultimately revolves around the dissolution of one diaspora – the Jewish – and the marginalization and disempowerment of the other. Jews were able to integrate into American society so fully that in many ways they ceased to be a diaspora. They were no longer "scattered" as the Greek root of the word implies, but firmly entrenched in America. For the remaining Indians in

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[64] Mahajani, 21.

Burma, they remain as a diasporic people in a country with a history of discriminating against them largely because of their past economic success. Those responsible for that economic success have long since left Burma or disassociated themselves with the country, but those remaining still deal with the fact that they are seen as just as alien as the Jews that Henry Ford described in 1921.

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Germany's "Political Power Factor": Tirpitz, the Second Navy Law, and the Genesis of an Anti-British Fleet

By Jeff Eversman

> "It was a question of widening the limited horizon of the people, of awakening a sense of the civilizing influences [sic] bounds up with the sea…of deepening the conviction that this was the way imperatively assigned to us."

Introduction

Since German unification in 1871, the new empire's navy had remained the weak arm of its military might. It shared no role or status comparable to the powerful, efficient, and battle hardened armies of the Prussian state that had forged together this new *Kleindeutschland* through three European wars. Where the army served as the fundamental institution of the unified German state—as protector of the monarchy, guarantor of domestic stability, and guardian against foreign foes—the navy languished through twenty-six years of debate and disagreement over its significance and ultimate importance in achieving domestic and international aims. In June of 1897, Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz became the new State Secretary of the Imperial Navy Office (Navy Secretary for short) and brought this state of naval stagnation to an end.

Shrewd and methodical, Tirpitz had at long last attained this coveted and powerful government position. He was now the figure responsible for the development, general organization, and utilization of the empire's naval forces. On the 15th of June 1897, two days before officially becoming the next Navy Secretary, Admiral Tirpitz presented to the German Kaiser Wilhelm II a top-secret memorandum containing a clear and concise vision for German naval expansion. The Tirpitz Memorandum, as it came to be known, revealed the solution to the dilemma that had dogged German nationalists, navalists, and overseas expansionists since unification—how, and in what capacity, to expand the navy in a manner commensurate with the empire's burgeoning population, industrial capacity, and overseas economic interests.

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[1] Alfred von Tirpitz, *My Memoirs: Volume 1*, trans. not given (New York: AMS Press, 1970), 143.

[2] *Kleindeutschland* refers to the unification of German states with the exclusion of Austria.

[3] Jonathan Steinberg, *Yesterday's Deterrent: Tirpitz and the Birth of the German Battle Fleet* (London: Macdonald, 1965), 126; a discrepancy exists with regard to the dating of this Tirpitz Memorandum: Steinberg states that the Admiral presented it to Wilhelm on the 15th of June, whereas Volker Berghahn and Wilhelm Deist place it in July in their collection of Wilhelmine documents, published in Rüstung im Zeichen

In his highly confidential Memorandum the Admiral provided a coherent vision for fleet expansion by addressing three major points. First, he identified Britain as the sole power capable of thwarting German overseas economic and military ambitions and isolating it on the continent. If Germany were to pursue any naval expansion program, that program must therefore be constructed against England, whom the Admiral declared to be the empire's primary potential antagonist. Second, Tirpitz defined the naval strategy necessary for protecting German interests against the English threat. Tirpitz rejected the *jeune école* strategy of strategic commerce raiding and transatlantic warfare. Instead, he specified the need for a Mahanian-style fleet of powerful battleships concentrated in the North Sea. This fleet would be capable of inflicting enough damage upon the Royal Navy that England would be either unwilling to risk battle with Germany or so weakened by doing so that it would invite attack from neighboring European powers. Tirpitz understood such a German battle fleet as "a political power factor" capable of molding Anglo-German relations to the latter's favor. Third, Tirpitz specified the types of ships—battleships and supporting auxiliary vessels—and the numbers necessary to achieve his stated aims, organizing this German battle fleet of ships yet to be built, as well as of those already in existence. Together, these three key points served as the foundation of Tirpitz's naval policy for the ensuing two decades. Knowingly or unknowingly, the Reichstag validated this policy with the passage of the First Navy Law and set Germany on the path towards diplomatic crisis with Britain.

Between 1898 and 1912 Tirpitz drafted and successfully navigated through the Reichstag two founding and three supplementary Navy Laws, creating for Germany the world's second largest and second most powerful naval force. A general historic overview of these five bills suggests that with the passage of the First Navy Law of 1898, Tirpitz had found the successful formula to arouse the necessary patriotic fervor and naval enthusiasm within the government, populace, and most importantly the Reichstag, to assure the success of future naval expansion efforts. Yet was that the case? In February of 1900 Tirpitz presented to the Reichstag a second Navy Law, requesting the doubling of the 1898 battle fleet from 19 to 38 battleships and with further additional supporting vessels. The Reichstag assented to this request just two years after the passage of the First and four years before that bill's completion, over the ideological division among the legislative

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[4] For additional information, see Alfred Thayer Mahan's *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*, 1660-1783.

[5] Tirpitz would not publicly articulate *Risk Theory* and the anti-British nature of his naval plans until the debate on the Second Navy Law of 1900, though they had been conceived well beforehand. Instead, until the Second Navy Law he focused primarily on the need for German naval expansion to protect the nation's coasts and growing overseas interests.

[6] For the text of the Tirpitz Memorandum, see 'Appendix,' Steinberg, *Yesterday's Deterrent: Tirpitz and the Birth of the German Battle Fleet*, 208-221.

body's leading political parties, and in spite of accusations of the Law's anti-British nature. Why was this the case? Did there exist a real possibility, either deliberate or otherwise, of denying the Navy Secretary's request and thus derailing, or at least delaying, further naval expansion efforts? Indeed, by the summer of 1900, Tirpitz had won support for the measure, but not without difficulties. Ultimately, a combination of factors—the precedent set by the First Navy Law, domestic political conditions, powerful government pressures, and specific international events—created an environment favorable to the passage of the Second Navy Law of 1900 and its subtle, though quite real, transformation of the German navy into an offensive weapon aimed against England.

The passage of this Second Navy Law holds great historical significance. Specifically, it was a critical moment in determining whether the empire would or would not tether its foreign relations to a new and ambitious naval policy. Had the Second Navy Law been rejected, or at least delayed until 1905 or 1906 (the time when Tirpitz had initially anticipated proposing a second bill), the history of Germany could have unfolded quite differently. Without its success, the momentum behind the Admiral's building program could have been considerably weakened. The German navy would have remained in a much more infantile state for several years longer, and the Anglo-German arms race would not have developed or become so acute so soon after the turn of the century. It was that specter of a German naval threat that contributed to the rise of Anglo-German antagonism, the end of Britain's century of "Splendid Isolation," and the gradual international isolation of Germany within Europe. By the summer of 1914 the geopolitical state of Europe—and the circumstances that so greatly contributed to the outbreak of world war—might have looked drastically different. Still, these questions surrounding the Second Navy Law have not received enough of the explicit attention that they deserve.

Existing scholarship and the primary sources available to this author point to the likely adoption of the 1900 Navy Law in June of that year. Historian Jonathan Steinberg, author of the 1965 work *Yesterday's Deterrent*, buttresses this sentiment. Through his examination of the First Navy Law and Tirpitz's rise, he finds that the bill was "no ordinary piece of military legislation" and that it "began a new era" of German domestic and foreign policy. Once embarked upon, policy makers and government officials would be unlikely to reverse course. Volker Berghahn, in his 1971 masterpiece *Der Tirpitz-Plan*, offers a crucial exploration of the development of the Second Navy Law and the domestic and international conditions surrounding its passage. Eckart Kehr's *Schlachtflottenbau und Partei-Politik 1894-1901* stands among the most important works on this topic for its its exploration of the political breakdown of Wilhelmine Germany and the role of the empire's political parties in naval expansion. Scholarship by historian Paul Kennedy exam-

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[7] Ibid., 201.

ines the 1900 Navy Law and Tirpitz's fleet programs with regards to Anglo-German relations and a concerted German effort to challenge British supremacy of the seas. Indeed, countless other authors have written on the development of the German navy and have also proven influential to this thesis. Yet the works of these four have provided the most thorough scholarly foundation necessary for this examination of the Admiral and the success of his first and, more importantly, his second building program.

Primary sources for this project include newspaper articles, published memoirs, internal governmental and departmental documents, as well as published Reichstag debates. First, *The London Times* serves as one of the main periodicals for the scope of this paper, due to the inaccessibility of leading national German-language papers from the time, as well as the paper's thorough documentation of both Reichstag debates and its Budget Commission hearings on the Navy Laws. Second, the published memoirs and personal documents of such figures as Admiral Tirpitz, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Bernhard von Bülow, and Kaiser Wilhelm II provide a necessary level of personal insight from the strongest voices behind expansion efforts. Third, Volker Berghahn and Wilhelm Deist's *Rüstung im Zeichen der wilhelmischen Weltpolitik: Grundlegende Dokumente* contains a collection of important archival material, some of which was highly classified at the time, from leading figures within the navy and army during the development of the Navy Laws. Lastly, Reichstag debates published in their entirety are the last major source of material from the time, and provide the clearest expressions of opinions from government officials and the leaders of major political parties during the debates on the Navy Laws.

This thesis will be divided into five primary sections. Chapter One will address the background and historical context of Germany's economic and demographic transformation at the turn of the century, its position in world affairs, and the breakdown of its government and politics. Chapter Two explores the development of the First Navy Law, the political factors behind its passage, and the consequences it created. Chapter Three breaks down the inception, development, and passage of the Second Navy Law, and Chapters Four and Five analyze the primary domestic factors, including the political interests of the different parties and pressures stemming from the government, as well as the specific international events that ultimately made likely the passage of the Second Navy Law.

I. A New Century

Transformation of the German State

Behind Tirpitz's naval efforts lay the extraordinary social and economic transformations experienced by the German Empire that began in 1871 and, by 1914, left it the most powerful nation on the continent. Demographically, the German population was growing at a rate far beyond that of its Western and Central European neighbors—a rate of 1 per cent per annum—from 41 million inhabitants in 1871 to 56 million by 1900 and 67 million in 1914.[1] High birth rates, decreasing infant mortality, and increasing immigration from other European states including Austria, Italy, and Russian Poland contributed to this rapid demographic expansion, while emigration out of Germany simultaneously diminished.[2] In 1885 171,000 German *Auswanderer* migrated outward to the Western Hemisphere and other parts of the world; by 1898 that number was 22,000 and was to remain static until the outbreak of war.[3] Meanwhile, Germany's leading rival, France, experienced no such population growth. Germany's population grew by some 800,000 when examining the national births-per-death ratio, while France's grew by only 300,000. For every 1 million new naturally born French citizens, Germany added more than 2.5 million. Consequently, a much smaller percentage of France's population was young and growing, whereas more than one third of all Germans were under the age of 15. Not until 1915 did the French citizenry reach 40 million.[4]

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[1] Ibid., 56; Bernhard Bülow, *Imperial Germany*, trans. Marie A. Lewenz (New York: AMS Press, 1971), 17; Robert K. Massie, *Castles of Steel: Britain, Germany, and the Winning of the Great War at Sea* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2004), 8.

[2] Fritz Fischer, *Germany's Aims in the First World War*, trans. not given (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1968), 11.

[3] Bülow, *Imperial Germany*, 17.

[4] Fischer, *Germany's Aims in the First World War*, 11.

Germany's economy and industrial output were similarly growing and dwarfing other major world powers. Its coal production was half of Britain's in 1890 and equaled it by 1913. Steel production was two thirds of Britain's in 1890, exceeded it by 1896, and more than doubled it by 1914. Described by author Robert Massie:

> it was the same in almost every field. Rapid urbanization; the growth of railways; the proliferation of blast furnaces, rolling mills, and factory chimneys; the development of chemical, electrical, and textile industries; the rise of the world's second largest merchant fleet; and booming foreign trade and overseas investments—these combined to create a state that economically as well as militarily dominated the European continent.[5]

In these regards, Germany was growing faster than Britain and virtually every country in the world with the exception of the United States. These transformations underscored changing social dynamics, too, and were both the causal and resulting factors of further economic expansion and economic growth. Rapid industrialization transformed the face of the country. Abundant coal and iron ore deposits fueled factories and the mass production of goods in an unprecedented way. Railroads multiplied across the empire and moved those raw materials and finished products from rural outposts to growing industrial and urban environments. Moreover, they enabled the movement of human capital like no other point in history and drastically altered the empire's population distribution. Millions of people moved from eastern agricultural regions, as well as neighboring European countries, to work in the empire's western factories, plants, and centers of production. From 1871 to 1910 populations of urban cities increased more than twofold, while, in spite of an ever-diminishing rural labor force, simultaneous chemical and technological advances enabled agricultural output to continue unabated.[6]

With rapid industrialization and economic expansion came increasing ties to international trade. No longer was agriculture the nation's primary export. Factories, chemical plants, and

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[5] Massie, *Castles of Steel*, 8.

[6] Steinberg, *Yesterday's Deterrent: Tirpitz and the Birth of the German Battle Fleet*, 56; Fischer, *Germany's Aims in the First World War*, 12.

textile mills were rapidly churning out products for shipment by rail throughout the European continent, as well as to rapidly expanding port cities along the North and Baltic Seas that carried goods to distant markets. Simultaneous increases in German imports of raw materials were necessary to support this flourish of industrial activity, and thus demanded further trade with foreign nations and their colonies around the world. Between its foundation in 1871 and the outbreak of war in 1914, Germany experienced levels of industrialization, economic expansion, and population growth that virtually no other nation, aside from the United States, could possibly match. Between 1887 and 1912 German imports had increased by 143.8 percent and exports by 185.4 percent. Together, reports author Fritz Fischer, they yielded the largest increase in foreign trade compared to any other country at 214.7 percent, while the United States experienced an increase of 173.3 percent, Britain 113.1 percent, and France 98.1 percent.[7] The magnitude of economic, industrial and demographic expansion did not go unnoticed, as prominent German figures saw it necessary for the nation to utilize this strength and become the world power it ought to be. "The big states are getting bigger and stronger, the small states smaller and weaker," Tirpitz quoted Britain's Prime Minister, "and I agree."[8]

Position in World Affairs

By the 1890s, government figures and broader segments of the population increasingly accepted the notion of *Weltmacht*, or Germany's destiny to be among the world's Great Powers in the 20th century through economic, cultural, and military expansion. This had already begun to an extent in the preceding decade with Chancellor Otto von Bismarck's foray into overseas

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Volker R. Berghahn, eds., "Notizen des Staatssekretärs des Reichsmarineamts, Kontreadmiral Tirpitz, zum Immediatvortrag am 28. September 1899 über die Vorbereitung und Zielsetzung der Novelle zum Flottengesetz," in *Rüstung im Zeichen der wilhelmischen Weltpolitik: Grundlegende Dokumente 1890-1914* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag GmbH, 1988), 161.

acquisitions, though his policies ultimately reverted to assuring domestic stability and securing German hegemony on the continent. Still, in 1884-5 he acquired for Germany a landmass five times its size: "South-West Africa (modern Namibia,) German East Africa (Tanzania), Togo and the Cameroons in West Africa, a third of New Guinea, most of the Solomon Islands…the Marshall and Caroline Islands…and a share of…Samoa."[9] This whetted the appetite of German expansionists and naval enthusiasts who saw a precedent set for German *Weltpolitik*, or a globally expansive world policy.

By the 1890s, rapid industrialization was overtaking agriculture as the empire's primary economic structure, and, once again, German eyes looked outward. Access to markets—new and old, within Europe and without—became a primary focus, as well as securing access to raw materials from other parts of the globe to feed Germany's industrial machine. Massive trade networks developed, and Germany's merchant marine grew to the second largest in the world, behind only Britain's.[10] Recognition of Germany's concurrent population boom also turned eyes outward and underscored the notion of *Lebensraum* to prevent overcrowding, congestion, and domestic unrest.

The debate surrounding German naval power took on new prominence with the expansion of the nation's economic and social interests overseas. As it stood, Britain controlled the world's oceans and major waterways, and assured the protection and safety of the world's merchant marines. Some Germans, particularly overseas expansionists, industrialists, and naval enthusiasts, saw a national crisis in ignoring naval expansion and ceding naval hegemony to Britain. The Kruger Telegram, which is discussed in greater detail later in this section, greatly underscored this perceived problem. It had "shattered the friendly screen which…had shrouded

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[9] Robert K Massie, *Dreadnought: Britain, Germany, and the Coming of the Great War* (New York: Random House, 1991), 89.
[10] Massie, *Castles of Steel*, 8.

the discontent and dislike" that Britain had harbored since German Unification, writes Bernhard von Bülow, who served as Foreign Secretary from 1897 to 1900. Therefore, Germany could no longer rely on stable relations with Britain for the protection of its overseas trade, especially when so much of its rapid economic development was dependent on that trade. The matter of naval expansion "had become a matter of life and death."[11] Other Germans supported naval expansion on the grounds that the nation was historically bound to the seas. The Hanseatic League had dominated maritime trade in the North and Baltic Seas throughout the late Middle Ages and brought great wealth to many German port cities, and the Great Elector of Brandenburg had founded a Prussian navy in the 17th century and even acquired colonial holdings in Africa. And even as recently as 1848, German nationalists had striven for the creation of a unified German navy.[12] To these people, *Pax Britannica* was an obstacle both to ensuring the safety of Germany's rapidly growing national interests around the globe and to reviving the longstanding German naval tradition.

With the ascension of Wilhelm II in 1888 came new efforts to develop the navy, though disagreement over purpose and strategy prevented major progress. A zealous proponent of naval expansion and the most powerful one in the empire, the Kaiser hindered its development through his over eagerness, restless imagination, and delusions of naval grandeur. Wilhelm had been in close company with his English relatives since childhood and often attended fleet reviews, sailing regattas, and other public gatherings that celebrated and showcased, with much pomp and pageantry, the might of the British navy. Once Kaiser, he sought to construct his own navy of which to be proud—one comprised of both the same powerful armored battleships of Britain's

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[11] Bernhard Bülow, *Memoirs of Prince Von Bülow*, trans. F.A. Voigt (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1931), 477.

[12] Tirpitz, *My Memoirs: Volume 1*, 21; Jan Rüger, *The Great Naval Game: Britain and Germany in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 154.

mighty fleets and the sleek, fast cruisers that could protect national interests or assert German might all around the world. This question of naval strategy remained inconsistent from the Emperor down and impaired expansion efforts for nearly a decade. For Germany's international ambitions to include a powerful navy, the government would need a strong-willed, articulate, and visionary individual to make it possible.

By the mid 1890s, German conflicts with neighboring European powers had deepened. To the west was France. Since the Franco-Prussian War and the resulting unification of Germany in 1871, France had harbored deep resentment for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine and its military and political humiliations. *Revanche* had become a foundational element of the French national identity, and the Third Republic long waited for the opportunity to extract revenge. In the east stood Russia. Indeed, Russo-German relations had remained stable, if not amicable, for much of Bismarck's tenure as Imperial Chancellor. Following his resignation in 1890, however, the new Chancellor Leopold von Caprivi permitted the expiration of a secret Russo-German diplomatic understanding that had served as the linchpin of their mutual cooperation. The Chancellor saw any covert understanding as an affront to Germany's principle continental friend and ally, Austria-Hungary, which vehemently opposed Russian intrusions into the Balkans where Austria-Hungary's own imperial interests lay. Following this diplomatic backslide in Central Europe, the Russian Empire looked to France for a partnership, and in 1892 the two powers entered into a binding military alliance.

Through the outbreak of the First World War, the German government and military high command planned above all else a two-front war against this Franco-Russian union. The organization of the army and the development of its military strategies reflected this expectation and culminated with the renowned Schlieffen Plan of 1906, the execution of which Germany

attempted in August 1914.[13] Diplomatically, Germany also prepared itself. It committed itself to the survival and integrity of the aging Austro-Hungarian Empire, whose various ethnic minorities undermined its stability by agitating for expanded political power, if not outright separation. In 1882 the two Germanic powers entered into a defensive alliance with Italy, guaranteeing military assistance should one member be attacked by two or more powers. In light of its military planning and diplomatic maneuvers, Germany prepared itself for a two-front war against France and Russia, and simultaneously cemented its continental hegemony through continued economic, industrial, and military expansion.

Prior to the 1890s Anglo-German relations remained stable, and often amicable.[14] Britain had assisted with Germany's colonial endeavors in 1884-5 and the two courted notions of an alliance in the later part of the decade, but by 1890 those relations had begun to sour. The dismissal of Bismarck and the onset of Wilhelm II's more belligerent and unpredictable "New Course" policies ushered in a period of diplomatic uncertainty between the two nations; only greater and much more grounded fears of Russian and French ambitions kept Britain and Germany in eager cooperation with one another. Yet by 1895 they experienced their first major diplomatic row over British actions in South Africa.

British interests in the region had existed since the beginning of the 19th century with the acquisition and gradual development of the Cape Colony and Natal, two pieces of today's South Africa. Obstructing British expansion to the northeast lay the two independent Boer republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic, which had been founded by former Dutch settlers who sought to escape British rule in the Cape. The discovery of large amounts of gold in

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[13] For further information on the Schlieffen Plan, see Gerhard Ritter, *The Schlieffen Plan: Critique of a Myth*, trans. Andrew and Eva Wilson (New York: Praeger, 1958).

[14] For an excellent work breaking down the evolution of Anglo-German relations, see Paul Kennedy's *The Rise of Anglo-German Relations 1860-1914*; Paul M Kennedy, *The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism, 1860-1914* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1980), 37.

the Transvaal in 1886 brought immediate international attention to the republic and thousands of miners from around the world. In response to the massive influx of these *Uitlanders*, the Boer government began passing legislation restricting voting rights, citizenship, and schooling, while also levying new taxes against them. Over the ensuing decade British intrigues began developing to liberate "[the] community of some 60,000 adult males of…mainly English birth" who were subjected by oppressive rule of the elite Boer minority.[15] In 1895 Cecil Rhodes, Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, planned an armed incursion into the Transvaal Republic without the knowledge or support of the British government. Utilizing a private army led by his close confidant Leander Starr Jameson, roughly 500 men crossed into the Transvaal in late December to incite an uprising among *Uitlanders* and overthrow the Boer government. After four days, the effort had failed entirely, and the surviving raiders were captured and returned to the Cape Colony for trial in England.

The Jameson Raid elicited strong anti-British reactions, particularly in Germany. As the Kaiser notes, "the German nation was outraged at this attempt to overpower a little nation, which was Dutch—and, hence, Lower Saxon-German in origin—and to which we were sympathetic because of racial relationship."[16] Moreover, since the discovery of gold in 1886, German economic influence and interest in the Republic had also grown: thousands of German businessmen moved to the Transvaal; a railroad largely supported by German capital developed as a link between the Transvaal capital of Praetoria with a Portuguese port in Mozambique; and German merchants utilized this rail-port connection as a shipping hub in the Indian Ocean.[17] Following the Raid, and in the midst of heated anti-British and pro-Boer declarations in the press and among the public, the Kaiser wrote to the Republic's president, Paul Kruger, the infamous

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[15] Massie, *Dreadnought*, 217-218.
[16] Wilhelm, *The Kaiser's Memoirs*, 1st ed. trans. Thomas R. Ybarra (New York: Harper, 1922), 83.
[17] Massie, *Dreadnought*, 221.

Kruger Telegram. In the message, Wilhelm declared his open support for the people of the Transvaal in their efforts to maintain independence against encroaching British influence "without appealing for the help of friendly powers."[18]

The telegram set off a diplomatic row between the two countries as their respective governments tried to account for the actions that had transpired. Britain declared the Jameson Raid to be an action unauthorized by the government in London, and the Kaiser and his ministers were forced to clarify the true meaning and intent behind the Kruger Telegram. Together, the events between December 1895 and January 1896 mark what historian Paul Kennedy describes as "without doubt the most serious moment in the Anglo-German political relationship" in nearly three decades.[19] Thereafter, press, public, and leading government figures of both nations began expressing inward and outward hostility and mistrust toward one another. For Tirpitz, the distinct growth of anti-British sentiment in the German government and society signaled a ripening opportunity to make a concerted push for expanding the empire's naval capabilities.

<u>Government and Politics</u>

Crucial to the passing of Admiral Tirpitz's passing of the 1900 Navy Bill, as with those before and after, was the institutional structure of the empire and the drastically diverse interests among its political parties. At the head of the empire and its executive branch was the Kaiser, whose powers were defined by the German Constitution of 1871.[20] His power and authority included command of the empire's military forces, the appointment of federal ministers and advisors, including the Imperial Chancellor, the ability to summon and dismiss government officials, including the popularly elected Reichstag, and the oversight and enforcement of federal

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[18] Ibid., 223.
[19] Kennedy, *The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism, 1860-1914*, 220.
[20] The Kaiser was also the King of the state of Prussia, the principle state that unified Germany.

legislation.[21] Indeed, the powers ascribed to the Kaiser were far reaching, and his prerogative was a powerful element in steering government directives and influencing popular opinion. Yet his voice alone could not dictate the nation's policies.

Opposite the Kaiser and his ministers stood the democratically elected Reichstag, whose primary responsibilities included passing federal legislation and handling the empire's financial affairs. By controlling the budget and the levers of the German economy, the Reichstag possessed a potentially strong hand in federal affairs, much to the frustration of Wilhelm II and his Imperial Chancellors.[22] Among its authorities, as described by Gordon Craig, were those over "matters of transportation and communications, control of the banking system, coinage and international exchange, weights and measures, patents, consular rights." Of great importance for their impact on foreign relations were its oversight of international trade agreements and tariff policies.[23] The Reichstag remained weak, however, in many key regards: it was unable repeal its own laws, rescind its own taxation measures, or propose its own legislation; "its sole function," decried the Progressive Liberal Eugen Richter, "being to pronounce upon the proposals of government." [24] When the government tried winning a modest, though poorly developed, presented, and defended Navy Bill from the Reichstag in spring of 1897 under then Navy Secretary Admiral Hollmann, the parliamentary body rejected it soundly. The Bill had called for a smattering of different experimental ships and contained no solid explanation to their usage or an overarching strategy for the defense of Germany's coasts and maritime interests.[25] Although a

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[21] Gordon Alexander Craig, *Germany, 1866-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 40-41.
[22] Bismarck stipulated this authority in the Imperial Constitution. During his tenure as Chancellor, he dominated the Empire's government and asserted his authority in all issues. He had both the support Kaiser Wilhelm I and the power to control the Reichstag. With the ascension of Wilhelm II and his dismissal of Bismarck, the Reichstag began acting much more in defiance of the Kaiser and against his ministers' policies.
[23] Craig, *Germany, 1866-1945*, 40.
[24] "The German Navy Bill," *The Times (London)*, December 8, 1897.
[25] For more information on Hollmann's bill, see Steinberg, *Yesterday's Deterrent: Tirpitz and the Birth of the German Battle Fleet*, 97-124.

multitude of factors contributed to the legislation's failure and Hollmann's replacement by Tirpitz, its rejection in the Reichstag lay in part with the legislative body's diverse political makeup with competing interests and ideologies—factors that Tirpitz would need to weave together for the success of not only of his transformational 1898 Navy Law, but for its pivotal successor in 1900.

By the 1890s, the Reichstag's diverse ideological makeup broke down into five leading political parties. On the far right of the empire's political spectrum were the Conservatives, or the *Reichspartei*. They were primarily agrarian, land-holding Prussian aristocrats who had long standing ties to the Prussian state, army, and monarchy. They traditionally supported the policies of the Kaiser and his Imperial Chancellor.[26] The Catholic Centre party, originally formed to defend Catholic interests against Bismarck during the *Kulturkampf* of the 1870s, was the largest in the Reichstag by the 1890s and had developed a broader appeal. It became a more secularly focused *Regierungspartei* (party of government) by moving away from its exclusively clerical interests, though its constituency continued to stem primarily from Catholic peasants, members of the lower middle class, and laborers.[27] The National Liberals and the Left Liberals made up the government's two leading liberal parties. Both groups were comprised of predominantly educated, upper middle class citizens and shared similar free market economic principles. Their differentiations lay in the former's concern for greater "centralization…secularization…and material progress" and the latter's for the expansion of parliamentary rights, increased scrutiny of government policy, and skepticism of all things military.[28] The Democratic Socialist Party was the last and left-most major political faction in the Reichstag of the 1890s. Representing the

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[26] Craig, *Germany, 1866-1945*, 62-63.
[27] David Blackbourn, *Class, Religion, and Local Politics in Wilhelmine Germany: The Centre Party in Württemberg Before 1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 21, 24; David Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 257.
[28] Craig, *Germany, 1866-1945*, 64.

nation's working class and labor unions, they opposed the empire's free-market economics and, like Left Liberals, stood in opposition to the concentration of power in the monarchy and the dominating role of the military. As Tirpitz mustered support for his naval expansion programs beginning in fall of 1897, it was these parties of the Reichstag that would either enable or prevent Germany from pursuing its costly world ambitions.

II. Tirpitz and the First Navy Law of 1898

A Turning Point

The passage of the Navy Law of 1898 marked a turning point in German naval policy and strategy. It set a precedent for the strategic expansion of the navy, as well as for political cooperation on transformative naval legislation, even when fleet expansion seemed antithetical to those parties' economic or ideological interests. The Navy Law of 1898 commenced what Jonathan Steinberg calls "a new era" in German history and what Paul Kennedy regards "as a landmark in the history of Germany's naval development and foreign policy."[29] This revolution to the nation's policy and direction came through the achievement of two aims. First, it set in motion the construction of a fleet of modern battleships capable as serving as the "political power factor" envisioned by Tirpitz for use against foreign powers in the North Sea. Second, although tacitly, the Navy Law reflected a major shift to German naval and foreign policy at the highest levels of government—the recognition of Britain as the primary threat to Germany's world ambitions and the pursuit of a naval policy bent on altering Anglo-German relations. Although the Admiral would only vaguely explain the true rationale behind his policies until

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[29] Steinberg, *Yesterday's Deterrent: Tirpitz and the Birth of the German Battle Fleet*, 201; Paul M Kennedy, "Tirpitz, England and the Second Navy Law of 1900: A Strategical Critique," *Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilung* 2 (1970), 201.

1900 and pressed instead upon the dire consequences of forgoing fleet expansion—slackening trade and industry, resurgent emigration, and the possible ruin of foreign interests—he maintained in his mind, as his memoirs and infamous Memorandum clearly indicate, a growing desire to wrest away Britain's control of the seas.[30] The successful development and passage of the Navy Law of 1898 was the first step, and after twenty-six years of failed efforts to create a fleet with a clearly defined strategy, it was no easy feat.

The Navy Law's first outward strategic goal was clear: to construct a fleet capable of ensuring Germany's ability to expand, advancing the nation's position in international affairs, and ultimately protecting militarily against foreign threats. The creation of this battle fleet was outlined in the text of the "Law Concerning the German Fleet," presented by Imperial Chancellor Prince Hohenlohe to the Bundesrat in October 1897.[31] It set down for the reorganization of already existing and yet-to-be-built naval forces into a home fleet of seventeen battleships, eight armored coastal vessels, ten large and thirty small cruisers. The fleet would be divided into two squadrons with eight battleships each and a flagship for the Admiral of the fleet, with two additional battleships in reserve to maintain maximum fleet-readiness. To meet these requirements, the government would have to construct seven new battleships,[32] two armored cruisers, and seven light cruisers by the end of the 1904-05 fiscal year, the end date stipulated by the Law.[33] The legislation further addressed issues of training, and the development of smaller, auxiliary and support vessels, before broaching the topic of ship life and replacement. The Law

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[30] Tirpitz, *My Memoirs: Volume 1*, 87.
[31] Steinberg, *Yesterday's Deterrent: Tirpitz and the Birth of the German Battle Fleet*, 144; the Bundesrath was the second legislative body within the German Empire, whose members were ranking government officials appointed by each of the states. All federal legislation required approval by the Bundesrath, making it equal to the popularly elected Reichstag. The Bundesrath largely followed the aims of the government and Kaiser (who was also king of Prussia) as Prussia provided seventeen of the thirty members needed to pass legislation in the fifty-eight person chamber.
[32] Steinberg points out that this number would increase to eleven as the four battleships of the "Sachsen" class were already so archaic that they would require replacement by 1902-03; Ibid., 146.
[33] "The German Navy Bill," *The Times (London)*, November 29, 1897.

established the active life for each type of vessel—battleships with twenty-five years, large cruisers with twenty, and small cruisers with fifteen—after which time the Reichstag would be obligated to allocate funds for replacements.[34]

While former Navy Secretary Hollmann's failed Navy Bill of the previous spring had requested a yearly budget of 70 million marks—"the highest estimates ever submitted to the Reichstag"—for his relatively modest fleet, the estimates for Tirpitz's First Navy Law doubled that.[35] Accounting for construction of the new ships, training and employment of thousands of new sailors, purchase of armaments, and other recurring and non-recurring costs, the government put forth annual estimates ranging from 117.5 million marks for the 1897-98 fiscal year to 149.7 million for 1904-05; together, these expenses during the Law's seven-year run would total just below an enormous 1 billion marks.[36] The Empire's usual revenue was expected to cover these projected naval expenditures, and a compromise hammered out in the Budget Committee prevented any additional indirect taxes or increases in already existing indirect taxes should expenditures exceed said revenues.[37] To this, lamented Herr Richter of the Left Liberals, should Imperial revenues not cover the navy's expenditures, funds for other purposes would ultimately be diverted to the navy to bypass the ban on altering indirect taxation levels, and thus enabling new taxation on the masses to compensate for those other budgetary reductions.[38] In spite of these increased costs, however, the provisions outlining the Law, Steinberg asserts, "must have seemed both convincing and straightforward" to Reichstag deputies, as well as commendable for their clarity.[39] They outlined a coherent naval strategy, provided a new level of organizational

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[34] Ibid.

[35] Steinberg, *Yesterday's Deterrent: Tirpitz and the Birth of the German Battle Fleet*, 106.

[36] "The German Navy Bill."

[37] Steinberg, *Yesterday's Deterrent: Tirpitz and the Birth of the German Battle Fleet*, 188.

[38] "The German Navy Bill," *The Times (London)*, March 25, 1898.

[39] Steinberg, *Yesterday's Deterrent: Tirpitz and the Birth of the German Battle Fleet*, 147.

and technical standardization among ship types, and financially committed the Reichstag to the navy's upkeep in a manner that was "convincingly presented for all to see." Moreover, they came to form the basis of the Admiral's second expansion effort in 1900.[40]

The second strategic aim of the Navy Law was to redefine the empire's foreign policy. To many Germans, the goal of the naval expansion program was simply to bring Germany up to speed with the rest of the world's powers in terms of naval strength, as well as ensure a measure of protection for its growing overseas interests. In 1897 France and Russia were Germany's two most likely adversaries, and any naval expansion appeared as a measure of defense against incursions by either power into German waters or against German overseas interests.[41] Yet the Law underscored the beginning shift of German policy in an anti-British direction. It reflected, to an extent, the new hostility and antipathy for British imperial policies that developed from the Kaiser down to various segments of the German population, particularly following the Jameson Raid and Kruger Telegram. More importantly, however, the Law set in motion the deeper machinations of Admiral Tirpitz to upset British naval hegemony.

As the Navy Secretary's top-secret June Memorandum directly characterized England as "the most dangerous naval enemy," the Navy Law would grant Germany that measure of naval leverage necessary to direct Anglo-German relations. Through the creation of its seventeen-battleship fleet, Tirpitz argued, Germany could put forth the concentration of naval force necessary to achieve the "greatest military potential between Heligoland and the Thames."[42] It was through this threat in the North Sea, one capable of inflicting enough damage upon the

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[40] Ibid., 147-148; Kennedy, "Tirpitz, England and the Second Navy Law of 1900: A Strategical Critique," 33.

[41] The Tirpitz Memorandum specified the necessary ability for the German fleet to function against France and Russia, not just England. See Volker R. Berghahn, eds., "Denkschrift des Staatssekretärs des Reichsmarineamts, Kontreadmiral Tirpitz, vom Juli 1897," in *Rüstung im Zeichen der wilhelmischen Weltpolitik: Grundlegende Dokumente 1890-1914* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag GmbH, 1988), 122.

[42] Ibid.

British home fleet to where it would be unable to defend against other hostile foreign fleets, that Tirpitz saw the navy as the tool with which to direct Anglo-German relations in the coming years. The Navy Law of 1898, whose contents so closely mirror those of the Admiral's Memorandum, was thus the initial step in a new Anglophobic foreign policy that was more fully realized by the legislation of 1900.

<u>Politics of the Navy Law</u>

As Tirpitz and other government officials brought the Law to the Reichstag for debate and met privately with leading deputies, the major political parties revealed their positions and the various social, economic, and political issues at stake. The Navy Secretary was correct in where he expected opposition and anticipated support. Against his efforts stood the Social Democrats and the Left Liberals. Led by August Bebel and Eugen Richter, the two parties from the outset denounced his plans for either its capitalistic or imperialistic nature. Opposite the left-most parties stood the National Liberals, whose pro-navy attitude stemmed from their fundamental support for industrial growth, the protection of trade, and expansion into overseas markets. Similarly, the Navy Secretary trusted that the Conservative Party could be relied on to back any major military bill, regardless of the party's cool feelings towards the navy.[43] With the Catholic Centre Party lay the real balance of power. It was the largest and most politically powerful group in the Reichstag, though also the one whose political and ideological interests were the most difficult to discern.[44] Here stood the greatest and most significant challenge for the Navy Secretary. If Tirpitz was to navigate his Navy Law through the Reichstag and have any chance of expanding the German navy to challenge Britain, he needed to win the support of the

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[43] Tirpitz, *My Memoirs: Volume 1*, 150.
[44] "The Problem of Democratisation: German Catholics and the Role of the Centre Party," in *Society and Politics in Wilhelmine Germany* (London: Croom Helm, 1978), 160-161.

Centre party and—ideally—develop a working and lasting relationship between itself, the National Liberals, and the Conservatives.

In this regard, the Navy Secretary operated within the government's policy of *Sammlungspolitik*, which had begun taking form with the "new class" of imperial ministers that the Kaiser appointed in 1897. The policy focused on the pursuit of Germany's global political ambitions, or *Weltpolitik*, through the creation of a firm political coalition between the Reichstag's three leading parties whose ideologies most coincided with the government's domestic and international aims. These parties—Conservative, National Liberal, and Catholic Centre—would provide the government with the parliamentary majority necessary to pass legislation pertinent to economic development, military expansion, and colonial acquisition. For sure, this would be no easy task. As with all political parties, their differing political and economic interests prevented them from supporting legislation deemed detrimental to their own self-interests. Compromise and mutual concessions from the government and the parties themselves would supposedly enable all parties to operate together. The growth of socialism served as a further pretext for cooperation, government officials believed. By fostering cooperation among the leading political parties, the government could create a powerful political bloc that could "tame the proletariat, which had grown restive under the impact of the depression, by means of a *Weltpolitik* which would obviate the effects of the depression, heal the economy, and vindicate the political system responsible for such impressive achievements."[45] In these regards, the Navy Law served as the government's first major legislative effort to pursue Germany's "domestic and international master plan" under the auspices of *Sammlungspolitik*.[46]

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[45] Ian L. D. Forbes, "Social Imperialism and Wilhelmine Germany," in *The Historical Journal* 22, no. 2 (June 1979), 331.

[46] Peter-Christian Witt, "Reichsfinanzen und Rüstungspolitik 1898-1914," in *Marine und Marinepolitik im Kaiserlichen Deutschland 1871-1914*, ed. Herbert Schottelius and Wilhelm Deist (146-177), 149.

Still, the Law's passage was far from guaranteed, and Tirpitz had to secure the actual votes from the various political parties, whose views on naval expansion, its merits, and its benefits, certainly may have been skeptical or outright unfavorable.

Among the Reichstag's leading political parties, opposition to the Navy Law from Social Democrats and Left Liberals was fairly straightforward. For the former, the navy was nothing more than a capitalist institution that was used to fuel big industry, and the fleet building program was another massive industrial undertaking to be built on the back of the proletariat. Moreover, the navy served as one arm in Germany's pursuit of overseas imperialism, which propagated capitalism by forcing open foreign markets and extracting wealth and resources for the betterment of Germans in Europe.[47] The latter rejected Tirpitz's navy program not on capitalistic grounds, but on anti-imperialist and anti-militaristic ones. Eugen Richter, one outspoken Liberal leader, blasted naval expansion as an attempt at achieving glorified national and imperial ambitions that satisfied the personal fancies of an irrational monarch, which may have amounted to an absolutist's delusions of grandeur.[48] Liberal pacifists feared that this new instrument of power would only hamper the nation's ability to conduct its international affairs peacefully. Major naval expansion would create an unnecessary antagonism or level of intimidation that could catalyze further arms buildups among all of Europe's powers.[49] Neither the Liberals of the Left nor the Social Democrats yielded ground to the Navy Secretary. He accepted their refutation of his naval program and made no attempt to court them.[50]

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[47] Eckart Kehr, *Schlachtflottenbau und Partei-Politik 1894-1901: Versuch eines Querschnitts durch die innenpolitischen, sozialen und ideologischen Voraussetzungen des deutschen Imperialismus* (Berlin: E. Ebering, 1930), 332-333.
[48] Ibid., 293-294.
[49] Ibid., 301.
[50] Tirpitz, *My Memoirs: Volume 1*, 150.

Weaving together the *Sammlungspolitik* coalition for the Navy Law was challenging. The National Liberals, who made up 46 of the Reichstag's 397 deputies in 1897, "were our best friends," the Admiral recounts. [51] Although divided between major industrialists and those "representing the exporting and non-cartellized finishing industries," National Liberals on the whole supported naval expansion. [52] Both groups had an interest in the furthered industrialization of the empire, maintenance of a free-market and capitalistic economic system, and the protection and expansion of overseas markets. Tirpitz's Plan funneled enormous sums of money into the shipbuilding, steel, and munitions industries. It necessitated the expansion of harbors and major waterways, which would accommodate further expansions to the nation's merchant marine and foreign trade. It would supposedly provide both a new level of protection to Germany's booming maritime trade and its overseas holdings, while granting the nation a stronger presence in international affairs. With such a small percentage of the Reichstag's seats, however, Tirpitz and the National Liberals enlisted the aid of Conservatives and Catholic Centre.

As the party of Prussian Junkers and landed aristocracy, Conservatives concerned themselves with issues of agriculture, the army, and their traditionally prominent position in the Prussian State and German Empire. They held reactionary and anti-expansionist views, especially as industrialization and urbanization increasingly threatened their way of life. As Tirpitz and the lead figures in the Navy Office began developing Germany's new naval strategy in the summer of 1897, they recognized the challenge presented by anti-navy Conservatives. One internal department memo written to the Navy Secretary in July contained several points necessary for conveyance to "make clear that the development of the navy is not necessarily a

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[51] Thomas Dunlap, trans., "Elections to the Reichstag (1890-1912)," Online Document Archive, *German History in Documents and Images*, n.d., 1-2, http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/docpage.cfm?docpage_id=1332; Tirpitz, *My Memoirs: Volume 1*, 150.
[52] Forbes, "Social Imperialism and Wilhelmine Germany," 332.

threat to their interests," but rather a boon. It asserted that agrarians, too, are involved in the nation's export industry; they benefit from the wealth brought back from overseas markets; their political strength is tied to a strong government, necessitating a powerful military hand in foreign affairs; and that they must accept and prepare for a Germany even more dominated by trade and industry through the support of naval expansion efforts.[53] Tirpitz and the Navy Office pressed forth these issues during subsequent months through public discourse and "scholarly" materials, including the publication and circulation of one such document titled *Die Seeinteressen des Deutschen Reichs* (*The Sea Interests of the German Empire*). This work made the case for naval expansion by illustrating the growth of Germany's population, industry, and economy, as well as the increasingly dismal state of the empire's navy relative to those of rival Great Powers through countless tables and statistics.[54] If the Conservatives were to accept such facts and give any credence to the aforementioned assertions, then they must give a measure of support to Tirpitz's Navy Law.

By late 1897 the policy of *Sammlungspolitik* began to take form. In spite of whatever financial, material, and human resources it would detract from the army and agriculture, Conservatives outwardly accepted the premise of a defensive fleet for maintaining Germany's military strength in world affairs and protecting its growing overseas interests. In the Reichstag's debate on the first reading of the Law in December, Count Limburg-Stirum spoke in its favor on behalf of the Conservatives by underscoring several factors. He identified the necessity of fleet expansion for the protection of the nation's rapidly growing maritime trade "that has grown so much in the last twenty years," and gave explicit recognition that German agriculture, not just

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[53] Translated by author. Volker R. Berghahn, eds., "Schreiben des Korvettenkapitäns v. Heeringen an den Staatssekretär des Reichsmarineamts, Kontreadmiral Tirpitz, vom 6. Juli 1897 über Wirtschaftsinteresse und Flottenpolitik," in *Rüstung im Zeichen der wilhelmischen Weltpolitik: Grundlegende Dokumente 1890-1914* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag GmbH, 1988), 199.
[54] Das Reichsmarineamt, *Die Seeinteressen des Deutschen Reichs.* (Berlin, 1898).

industry, had a vested interest in the security of that trade and the nation's overseas possessions. Conservatives also recognized the limits of their military power on the continent. Regardless of the army's war-readiness, victory on land against another European power did little to guarantee the protection of its expanding global interests. Its colonies in Africa and the Pacific could easily be blockaded or invaded and its merchant marine fleet captured and destroyed. Moreover, the government showed no desire to stymie further expansion, as evidenced by its international trade agreements, pro-industrial legislation, and colonial acquisitions as recent as 1897-98. With the empire's financial prosperity and security becoming increasingly dependent on these expanding national interests, the party would be hard-pressed to withhold support for the protection afforded by naval expansion.[55]

Bismarck's resignation also created a perceived need for greater German assertion of itself overseas. For nearly two decades the Iron Chancellor had guided not only Germany's foreign and domestic policies, but greatly impacted those of other nations as well. Through *Realpolitik*, Bismarck pursued Germany's interests through practical means—cooperation with other European states on international political and economic matters, avoiding overt hostility or antagonism, and pursuing a delicate balance of power through cordial relations with the continent's leading monarchs and statesmen. Bismarck's resignation in 1890 brought this era to an end and left a void in German foreign policy that subsequent Chancellors and foreign ministers could not fill. Moreover, as exemplified by the Kruger Telegram fiasco, the new Kaiser became an unpredictable variable in Germany's foreign policy that Limburg-Stirum and other Conservatives must have recognized. While Bismarck had commanded the stage under the empire's first two monarchs, neither he nor his successors Leopold von Caprivi and Prince

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[55] Translated by author. Reichstagsprotokolle, 1897/98,1, /Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags/, (6 December 1897), 56, available at: http://www.reichstagsprotokolle.de/Blatt_k9_bsb00002771_00108.html.

Hohenlohe could contain the over-eager Wilhelm II, who embroiled himself in the country's international affairs wherever possible. As such, without Bismarck's "personal prestige" and steady hand to guide the nation's diplomatic affairs, Limburg-Stirum and the Conservatives viewed naval expansion as a replacement form of diplomatic security: "all the more it was necessary that the power of Germany should depend upon their readiness for war and upon the bravery of their soldiers and sailors."[56] For this round, Tirpitz and his colleagues had won the ideological support of the government's most reliable party.

While Conservatives voiced approval for reasons of military readiness and the necessary protection of overseas interests, socialism has received attention as a further factor that contributed to their support. The prominence of socialism as a determining factor is questionable, however, and will be discussed in further detail in Chapter Four; for now it is safe to provide a cursory look at socialism's affects on Conservative support. Bismarck had attempted to stamp out social democracy during his reign by outlawing the party, but in 1890 that ban lapsed and it began to operate in the nation's politics. Based on the fundamental ideologies of the Prussian agrarians and those most basic tenets of social democracy, Conservatives must have viewed the latter, on some level, as a threat. Its struggle for a classless society without need for private property, social hierarchy, or military forces was in stark contrast to beliefs in a stable monarchy, strong army, and powerful landed aristocracy. Cooperation with National Liberal, who abhorred socialism for its anti-business and anti-industry sentiments, as well as its threat to general social stability, appeared to be one way of doing so. If the two parties could work together, they stood a better chance of suppressing the anti-military and anti-government feelings within the

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[56] Ibid.; "The German Navy Bill - Ministerial Speeches," *The Times (London)*, December 7, 1897.

Reichstag.[57] For this *Sammlungspolitik* to work, the parties involved needed to compromise on major government legislation, and although Count Limburg-Stirum voiced his party's support for the First Navy Law for the aforementioned reasons, naval expansion was much more beneficial to National Liberals. Conservatives still hoped for some additional measure of compensation, such as revisions to the empire's 1892-93 trade agreements to better favor and protect agrarians' domestic market against foreign providers like Russia, though it received little measure of guarantee.[58]

The Navy Secretary had cause to expect cooperation from the Centre. Since the end of Bismarck's reign in 1890, and with his *Kulturkampf* against Catholicism a thing of the past, the party underwent an ideological realignment and adopted a more secular, pro-government agenda. It shed its predominant focus on religious issues and, particularly under the leadership of Dr. Ernst Lieber until his death in 1902, supported sizeable government initiatives in the domestic and international realms. From foreign trade agreements with major powers like Russia and Austria to domestic financial reforms, the Centre's growing influence on major imperial legislative efforts was hard to miss. Bernhard von Bülow, Foreign Secretary from 1897 until becoming Imperial Chancellor in 1900, credited the Centre with playing "a distinguished and often decisive part" in such efforts as social legislation and armaments bills.[59] With this trend in the Centre's support for government policies and Tirpitz's determined efforts to court political support, the Law's proponents had reason for optimism.

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[57] Kehr, *Schlachtflottenbau und Partei-Politik 1894-1901: Versuch eines Querschnitts durch die innenpolitischen, sozialen und ideologischen Voraussetzungen des deutschen Imperialismus*, 262.

[58] Volker R Berghahn, *Der Tirpitz-Plan: Genesis und Verfall einer innenpolitischen Krisenstrategie unter Wilhelm II* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1971), 237; Germany was among the largest importers of grain from Russia, meaning that any introduction of protectionist tariffs in Germany would antagonize the Tsardom to the east.

[59] Blackbourn, *Class, Religion, and Local Politics in Wilhelmine Germany*, 24; Bülow, *Imperial Germany*, 172.

When the Law first came before the Reichstag in December 1897, Centre deputies gave no indication of their position. Their party was still divided. Only in February did Centre leaders begin revealing their position on the measure. In addressing the Budget Committee in February 1898, Lieber argued favorably of the navy's proposed composition. Tirpitz's fleet, with its two squadrons of battleships at the core, would be adequate to defend Germany's coasts from Russian and French maritime threats, but was not too large as to exceed the country's financial and industrial capabilities. It established both a minimum and maximum naval strength that, to Lieber, appeared attainable, maintainable, and sufficient to meet the empire's defensive needs.[60] This acceptance of Tirpitz's organizational logic highlighted the Catholic leader's tacit consent for the program. General support from the majority of Centre deputies emerged days later, though it was contingent upon the stipulation that Tirpitz and the government accept several modest amendments to the Law proposed by Lieber. These included the adoption of a financial cap equal to the Imperial Navy Office's initial naval estimates, as well as a change to the Law's duration from seven years to six.[61] Tirpitz accepted these alterations and Lieber assured its passage.[62]

When the First Navy Law came to a vote in spring of 1898, the Centre party largely supported the measure. Lieber had secured the backing of enough deputies to push the Law through over opposition from recalcitrant Catholics and the Reichstag's left-most parties. Several other factors contributed to Centre support. Among them was the political power that the Centre party stood to gain by supporting the Navy Law. As argued by author Gary Weir, Lieber saw the Law as an opportunity to launch his party to the forefront of federal politics and establish it as "the premier national party" in the Reichstag. He further hoped, Weir continues, that "aiding von

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[60] "The German Navy Bill," *The Times (London)*, February 25, 1898.
[61] "The German Navy Bill," *The Times (London)*, February 28, 1898.
[62] Tirpitz, *My Memoirs: Volume 1*, 151.

Tirpitz would help broaden the freedom and influence of the Catholic Church and establish the Center as the arbiter in Reichstag disputes."[63]

As with the Conservatives, Centre deputies found themselves in a political debate that focused not only on the merits of naval expansion, but on their party's domestic aims for the empire. Among those aims, in spite of its turn to a more secular political agenda, was the desire to maintain the power and influence of Christianity throughout German society. The Centre pursued this by supporting cultural and educational policies that were inherently ecclesiastical. They alone, however, could not protect Germany's religiosity and saw cooperation with the Reichstag's Protestant Conservatives—the only other major party concerned with protecting Germany's Christian nature—a political necessity.[64] To do so required Centre support on issues dear to Conservatives. As that party of agriculturalists and landed aristocrats had accepted the Navy Law for reasons of national defense and, it hoped, to receive favorable agricultural concessions from the government, Catholic support for the navy became essential.[65]

Political and ideological differences with the political Left, Social Democrats specifically, also made Centre cooperation within the *Sammlungspolitik* framework more likely, though hardly definitive. The Centre and Social Democrats were both parties of Germany's masses—Catholic workers, artisans, businessmen, and farmers on one side and the nation's industrial workforce on the other—that had been oppressed for years by the country's political, economic, and cultural institutions. Once in power, both groups sought redress through changes to those institutions. At heart, however, the two parties distrusted each other.

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[63] Gary E Weir, *Building the Kaiser's Navy: The Imperial Naval Office and German Industry in the Tirpitz Era, 1890-1919* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1992), 23.

[64] Kehr, *Schlachtflottenbau und Partei-Politik 1894-1901: Versuch eines Querschnitts durch die innenpolitischen, sozialen und ideologischen Voraussetzungen des deutschen Imperialismus*, 196.

[65] Ibid.

They stood at odds over the influence of Catholicism on prominent domestic matters like education and social policy. Social Democrats criticized the reach of the Catholic Church into German society; there the Centre sought only to strengthen it. More importantly, the two parties diverged over economic issues. With its reinvention in the 1890s, the Centre party gave greater attention to the protection of the *Mittelstand*—its middle class constituency—that made up much of the Catholic voting block.[66] In 1893 the Centre greatly antagonized many of these voters by supporting Chancellor Caprivi's trade agreements that cut down protectionist tariffs and made life markedly more difficult for small producers and entrepreneurs who now faced cheaper foreign imports. By contrast, poor working-class Germans, most of whom comprised the ranks of Social Democrats, welcomed the legislation for enabling freer trade and lowering the costs of living. Centre leaders viewed this growing proletariat, a result of increasing industrialization, as a degenerate and morally tainted segment of society that would one day threaten German society as a whole. By protecting the *Mittelstand*, argues David Blackbourn, the Centre could create "a healthy bulwark against both the extravagances of plutocracy and the dangerous, revolutionary urges of a 'dependent' working class with no real stake in the social order."[67] In this regard, the Centre once more saw cooperation with Conservatives and National Liberals as the way to go. By giving support to Tirpitz's Navy Law, the Centre could hopefully help secure revisions to the empire's tariff policies and provide its constituents with that crucial level of economic protection that it had forsaken in 1893.

Passage and Consequences

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[66] David Blackbourn, "Class and Politics in Wilhelmine Germany: The Center Party and the Social Democrats in Württemberg," in *Central European History* 9, no. 3 (September 1976), 227.
[67] Ibid., 249.

On March 26, 1898 and by a margin of 212 to 139, the Reichstag passed the Navy Law of 1898.[68] Indeed, this step brought massive change to both German naval and German foreign policy, whose repercussions would be more fully felt in the coming years. With the law, the Navy Secretary had created a clear and concise outline for the navy's development and attached that development to a single military strategy. He organized the fleet into battleship squadrons of a standard size and composition, which the Reichstag had to accept or reject in their entirety rather than interfering with the specific number of battleships to be constructed.[69] The Law's success also seemed to validate the policy of *Sammlungspolitik*. Tirpitz had unified both government and navy officials behind the Law in a way unlike anything in the empire's history and then saw it through the Reichstag by facilitating cooperation among an array of socially and ideologically diverse political parties.[70] To be sure, the Admiral's feat was impressive, but his mission was far from over. In his Memorandum of June 1897 Tirpitz had explicitly targeted England as the principle enemy of Germany and set out to create a "political power factor" with which to alter Anglo-German relations. Yet, as Paul Kennedy points out, Tirpitz knew that the fleet created by the 1898 legislation alone was insufficient to alter those relations. From the outset it was only the first phase of several to fully modernize and expand the German navy.[71]

As the Navy Secretary began developing the successor to the Navy Law of 1898, he had a strong precedent. Still, the Second Navy Law could have had an entirely different fate. It came only two years after the passage and four years before the completion of the First, it was as ambitious in its nature as its predecessor, and it appeared much more aggressive in nature. Above

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[68] Massie, *Dreadnought*, 179.

[69] Tirpitz, *My Memoirs: Volume 1*, 154-155.

[70] The London Times points out of the second day of debate that most leading government officials spoke in unison for the Bill's provisions, contrasting greatly with the division that existed over Admiral Hollmann's proposed 1897 Fleet Law; "The German Navy Bill." *The Times (London)*, December 8, 1897.

[71] Kennedy, "Tirpitz, England and the Second Navy Law of 1900: A Strategical Critique," 33.

all, it transformed the German navy into the second largest in the world that, in spite of its ostensibly defensive and protective aims, could be aimed against the British Empire. The political cooperation of National Liberals, Conservatives, and Catholics upon which Tirpitz had relied for the First Law could also have fractured and disintegrated in the face of new domestic or foreign developments. In spite of this, however, the Navy Secretary pushed ahead with his naval expansion program, and in June 1900, the Second Navy Law "swept through the Reichstag."[72] The empire's domestic political and social conditions, powerful government pressures, and unfolding international events had made it possible.

III. The Second Navy Law of 1900: Development and Passage

The Navy Law of 1900, like its predecessor, had long been a part of the Navy Secretary's larger plan to create an offensive fleet capable of challenging Britain. "It was…always quite clear to me," Tirpitz writes, "that the first Navy Law did not create the fleet in [the] ultimate form" necessary to achieve this aim.[73] Indeed, the nineteen battleships, eight armored cruisers, and thirty light cruisers of the new German fleet would be inadequate to match or seriously threaten Britain's naval dominance, which in 1900 amounted to fifty-five battleships, sixty armored cruisers, and eighty-four light cruisers in service or under construction.[74] Yet these forces were spread out across the globe to police major trade routes and protect the empire's far-flung colonial interests. In this division of strength Tirpitz saw the opportunity to achieve a measure of naval parity in the North Sea through the Navy Law of 1898 and additional supplementary bills.

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[72] Massie, *Dreadnought*, 180.
[73] Tirpitz, *My Memoirs: Volume 1*, 151.
[74] Nauticus, *Beiträge zur Flotten Novelle* (Berlin: Ernst Sigfried Mittler und Sohn, 1900), 197.

The Navy Secretary based this upon one major—and ultimately false—set of premises. Tirpitz held that Britain regarded its colonies and trade as fundamental to the survival of the nation itself; it would never relinquish control of the world's waterways and jeopardize the security of those colonies or trade networks; and it could never reconcile its differences with either of its two leading rivals, themselves allies since 1892, France and Russia. He disregarded, as many Germans did, the possibility of an Anglo-French or Anglo-Russian rapprochement, as their rivalries dated back for centuries and presently played out in Africa and Central Asia. As recently as the fall of 1898, France and Britain nearly went to war over territory in eastern Africa, while the "Great Game" for influence and control over Central Asia continued between Britain and Russia through numerous proxy wars.[75] While Anglo-German relations had taken a damaging turn with the Kruger Telegram, they were by contrast hardly comparable to the immediate and ever-present dangers posed by French and Russian forces around the world. With Britain's hands so tied, Tirpitz removed the mask concealing his true designs and in the fall and winter of 1899 developed the next phase of naval expansion.

First announced to the Reichstag in December 1899 and brought up for debate in February of 1900, the government's leading figures laid forth the plan for the next phase of naval expansion. The Second Navy Law's principle aim would result in the doubling of the German navy. It called for the creation of two new squadrons of eight battleships each, as well as one additional flagship. Construction on the third squadron would begin immediately, along side those battleships authorized by the 1898 Law, with the fourth squadron waiting until replacement of the navy's eight aging coastal defense vessels became necessary. It also called for further

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[75] Massie, *Dreadnought*, 247-256, 594-595.

cruisers and auxiliary vessels for support of the new battleship squadrons, as well as the creation of a small force of cruisers for service overseas.[76]

Along with the outline for expansion, Tirpitz at last publicly articulated the *Risk Theory* behind his naval strategy against England. As summarized by Paul Kennedy, the Admiral put forth that:

> Germany must equip herself with a fleet strong enough not only to defend her coasts but also able to threaten the *overall* maritime superiority of the most powerful Navy existing. In other words, Britain, in attacking such a fleet, might lose so many warships (despite winning the actual battle) that the Royal Navy would be inferior to Franco-Russian naval forces.[77]

The navy's expansion from nineteen to thirty-eight battleships would transform Anglo-German relations by giving Germany the world's second largest navy and operating only hours from the British coast. Moreover, Tirpitz saw it as a tool with an "alliance-value" that, when combined with the forces of another naval power, could neutralize and overthrow Britain's naval hegemony. With its critical naval obligations stretched all around the world and its rivalries against France and Russia, Tirpitz saw no way for Britain to recall its forces to prevent a level of parity. Germany would at last have that "political power factor" to rein in British control of the seas.

With the Navy Law of 1898 not set to expire until 1904, neither the government nor the Reichstag had anticipated further fleet expansion efforts for several more years. By the summer of 1899, however, several domestic and international factors had compelled the Navy Secretary to move his expansion efforts ahead of schedule. First, as construction costs for the new battleships of the 1898 Law were higher than anticipated, Tirpitz would eventually have to request an elimination of the spending cap established by the First Navy Law. He anticipated that any such appeal would generate Reichstag inquiry into the navy's future fleet plans, which he

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[76] Kennedy, "Tirpitz, England and the Second Navy Law of 1900: A Strategical Critique," 34.
[77] Ibid., 35.

deemed better to reveal sooner rather than later.[78] Second, the Admiral sought to increase the rate of battleship construction to the maximum that Germany's industrial capacity would allow, three per annum, so that Germany could upset British naval superiority at the earliest possible moment. Moreover, the faster the building rate, the faster the navy would get through the "danger zone," or the period during which Britain could preemptively attack and destroy the fledgling fleet. The Admiral's final rationale centered on the international conflicts that were both simultaneously unfolding and looming on the horizon, including the Spanish-American War, the Anglo-German-American conflict over the Samoan islands, and the outbreak of war between Britain and the southern African Boer Republics. They both threatened peace among the world's leading powers and stimulated massive increases to their shipbuilding programs. Tirpitz would not let Germany fall behind.[79]

The Navy Secretary also reacted to a more dangerous prospect: concern for the premature death of *Sammlungspolitik* and the dissolution of the political coalition that had passed the First Navy Law. Political discourse and cooperation came to a halt in the summer of 1899 with the battle over a measure known as the Canal Bill. Bülow described it as "the foremost question in internal politics" during those months, while Tirpitz feared it was a "prelude to the collision between the economic groups" that was anticipated with the expiration and revision of Caprivi's trade agreements set for 1902.[80] At its heart, the legislation would have authorized the construction of two new major canals, the Dortmund-Rhine and the Central German, which would link several of Germany's major waterways, including the Rhine in the west and the Elbe in the east. The government and Kaiser deemed the legislation as necessary for internal improvements "from every point of view, economic, strategic, and national," and received

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[78] Tirpitz, *My Memoirs: Volume 1*, 153-4.
[79] Ibid., 155-156.
[80] Bülow, *Memoirs of Prince Von Bülow*, 343; Tirpitz, *My Memoirs: Volume 1*, 156.

support from the National Liberals, who favored the development of internal infrastructure for increased ease of trade and movement of goods.[81] Opposition was immense, however, among the empire's more conservative political factions. Both Conservative and Centre agrarians had been hard-hit by the turn from protectionist economic policies in the early 1890s to those supportive of free trade and economic expansion. They were loath to accept another direct threat to their political and economic position within the empire. As they perceived it, the canals would open new markets in Germany to cheaper foreign grain imports, while also enabling eastern agricultural workers to migrate westward to expanding industrial centers with greater ease.[82]

The debate over the Bill became exceptionally damaging to the relationship between Kaiser and Conservatives, carrying the possibility of poisoning future cooperative efforts on other government measures. For his part, Wilhelm could not understand Conservative opposition to the canals. He had seen Conservatives as "the traditional pillars of throne and altar, who have always been spoilt by the royal house." He expected their support on major government legislation, especially for that advocated by himself. Yet he failed to understand "that the Conservatives as a party could not simply be the executors of the royal will," as such blind loyalty would tarnish their image as an independent party in the eyes of the electorate and weaken their political authority in the Reichstag.[83] True to his nature, the Kaiser reacted poorly to this opposition. He regarded its leaders as the "Canal mutineers" and exacted his revenge by dismissing each one from his position within the Prussian Parliament. Other leading Conservatives—even those without influence on the ongoing Canal debate—retaliated against

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[81] Bülow, *Memoirs of Prince Von Bülow*, 343.
[82] Ibid., 344.
[83] Ibid., 346.

the Kaiser's seemingly petty reaction by resigning their own positions within the Prussian government in protest.[84]

As agrarian opposition brought the Canal Bill to an ignominious end, Tirpitz concerned himself with the prospects of future naval expansion. Indeed, the Conservative Party had supported the First Navy Law, primarily for reasons of national defense, though also in accordance with *Sammlungspolitik*. Its members inside and outside the Reichstag, however, still maintained a fundamental opposition to naval development for its underlying ties to industrial development over agriculture. Moreover, they had not received guarantee of any significant compensation for their support of the Navy Law. The backlash against the Kaiser and the government's Canal Bill also revealed how threatened agrarians had felt since the end of Bismarck's protectionist and pro-agrarian policies and the onset of pro-trade and pro-industrialization agendas. Tirpitz recognized this and, with the expiration and potential renewal of international trade agreements set for 1902, feared that looming tariff debates would lead to an acrimonious showdown over the very existence of the empire's powerful agrarian aristocracy.[85] By pushing his future plans ahead of schedule the Navy Secretary sought to preempt the confrontation and secure the next step in naval expansion.

In September 1899 the Admiral presented to the Kaiser an outline for his long-term naval plans. He envisioned a final fleet of forty-five battleships that would be "superior to all others but England," and against whom "we would undoubtedly have good odds" in battle.[86] In this revelation to the Kaiser of yet an even larger and more powerful anti-English fleet, Tirpitz divided the plan into two phases, with the first forming the basis of the Second Navy Law and its

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[84] Ibid., 348.

[85] Berghahn, *Der Tirpitz-Plan: Genesis und Verfall einer innenpolitischen Krisenstrategie unter Wilhelm II*, 233.

[86] Volker R. Berghahn, "Notizen des Staatssekretärs des Reichsmarineamts, Kontreadmiral Tirpitz, zum Immediatvortrag am 28. September 1899 über die Vorbereitung und Zielsetzung der Novelle zum Flottengesetz," 160-161.

two new battleship squadrons. Having anticipated initiating this next phase the following summer with a final vote sometime 1901, Tirpitz was forced ahead of schedule yet again when the Kaiser's excitement spilled into public affairs. In October, Wilhelm declared to an audience in Hamburg that Germany had "bitter need" for a powerful fleet to protect its interests around the world, which drew the attention of political leaders in the Reichstag who demanded clarification of the government's intentions.[87] Unable to hold back any longer, Tirpitz moved forward with the development of the Second Navy Law and in December, along with Chancellor Hohenlohe and Foreign Secretary Bülow, presented the Reichstag with an overview of the next phase in naval expansion.

Six months later, on June 12, 1900, the Reichstag approved the Second Navy Law. By a margin of 201 to 103, the coalition behind *Sammlungspolitik* expressed its approval for the transformation of the German navy from the defensive tool outlined in the First Navy Law to the weapon aimed ostensibly against Britain.[88] Indeed, the Admiral had sought to push expansion efforts ahead of schedule for his own goal of challenging Britain as soon as possible, though factors beyond his control had forced him to move at a pace even he had not anticipated. International events, domestic political crises and conditions, and the excitement of the Kaiser had all played a role. They would continue to do so throughout debate on the Law itself.

IV. Domestic Factors and the Second Navy Law

The Place of Social Democracy

The role of social democracy in the passage of the Second, and First, Navy Law is subject for debate and must be mentioned in any analysis of domestic influences on naval expansion. It

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[87] Kennedy, "Tirpitz, England and the Second Navy Law of 1900: A Strategical Critique," 34.
[88] Ibid.

has received much attention from scholars throughout the past century. Eckart Kehr stands in the van of one school of thought beginning in the 1930s that credits the rise of social democracy as a key factor in generating support for the navy. In his work *Schlachtflottenbau und Partei-Politik*, he argues that it significantly contributed to cooperation among the government, capitalist-industrialists, agrarian aristocrats, and Catholics in favor of fleet expansion. Indeed, where social democracy undoubtedly played its largest role was in directing the government towards a policy of *Sammlungspolitik*. Its reemergence in the 1890s compelled the government to pursue measures "national" in nature that could unify political parties and segments of the population who favored the status quo over socialist revolution and chaos. Its presence in the Reichstag was on an upward trajectory, climbing from 35 to 44 to 56 in the elections of 1890, 1893, and 1898; they came to match the number of Conservatives and possessed more seats than the National Liberals, two parties that the government regularly worked with.[89] Their expansion could well have continued (as it actually did) to increase to the point where they posed a serious obstacle to major government endeavors, particularly those militaristic or imperialistic in nature.

The Kaiser and government viewed social democracy as a threat to the monarchy and the stability of the empire. They feared that German workers would succumb to the romanticized notions of a classless "State" propagated by Social Democrats, turn against the "propertied and educated classes," and move to open revolution against the government.[90] Bülow, writing on the eve of the First World War though still facing the same socialist "threat" as at the turn of the century, argues that only "a vigorous national policy [is] the true remedy against the Social Democratic movement." The government and all political parties must pursue:

> a policy which brings the best powers of the nation into play; which supports and strengthens the middle classes; which…opens a State career to men of talent; and which appeals to the better

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[89] Dunlap, "Elections to the Reichstag (1890-1912)," 1-2; Tirpitz, *My Memoirs: Volume 1*, 150.
[90] Bülow, *Imperial Germany*, 249.

feelings of the nation. The idea of the nation as such must again and again be emphasized by dealing with national problems.[91]

At the core of this declaration is a reiteration of the *Sammlungspolitik* that Bülow and leading government ministers had pursued since 1897. To them, Tirpitz's Navy Law of 1898 had been among the first major legislative efforts that focused on a significant national issue and created a politically diverse coalition capable of limiting the power of Social Democrats.

As briefly mentioned in Chapter Two, the leading parties—Conservatives and Catholics in particular—shared a dislike of social democracy, but it was not, as Kehr and other historians easily assert, so strong a determinant in pushing them into cooperation with naval expansionists. Arguing against the long-standing arguments put forth by Kehr and his adherents, author Ian Forbes argues that the primary appeal of *Sammlungspolitik* for Conservatives (and, quite likely, agrarian-minded Catholics as well) lay in the prospect of rectifying the damage wrought by Chancellor Caprivi's free trade agreements of 1892-93, not as a crusade against socialism.[92] Until the Reichstag elections of 1912, Conservatives in the Agrarian League—a political interest group that fought for protectionist agricultural policies—had largely regarded "Jewish liberalism" as the primary threat to German society, while Social Democrats were largely overlooked and deemed "politically insignificant." Until 1910, the organization's anti-liberal and anti-Semitic propaganda had also been far more vociferous than in its denunciations of socialists.[93] For the Catholic Centre as well, *Sammlungspolitik* was not so much a way for directly thwarting social democracy, but rather served as a means to advance the party's own agenda of solidifying power, protecting its peasant base, and adhering to the desires of the Catholic middle class. Support for the First and Second Navy Laws simply provided the added

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[91] Ibid.

[92] Forbes, "Social Imperialism and Wilhelmine Germany," 332.

[93] Hans-Jürgen Puhle, *Agrarische Interessenpolitik und preußischer Konservatismus* (Hannover: Verlag für Literatur und Zeitgeschehen, 1966), 186.

benefit of suppressing that proletarian agitation which threatened to upset German society as envisioned by the Centre.

What social democracy did, above all else, was push the government towards a policy of *Sammlungspolitik*, without drastically altering the positions of either the Centre or Conservative parties. As mentioned, the latter two parties were hardly compatible with social democracy and, to a degree, saw it as a menace to society; but such sentiments did not dominate those deputies' minds when assessing the merits of Tirpitz's Second Navy Law. Instead, the push for naval expansion through *Sammlungspolitik* from the Kaiser, Bülow, Tirpitz, and other imperial ministers provided a medium for Conservatives and Catholics to pursue their own specific economic, political, and social agendas.

The Centre Party and its Domestic Concerns

The Centre party's likely adherence to *Sammlungspolitik* and support for the Second Navy Law are found in several domestic political and societal conditions that had also existed during the debate on the Navy Law of 1898. Indeed, the growth of social democracy had to a degree pushed the Centre towards cooperation with other political parties on measures like naval expansion, but so did developing pressure from the Catholic bourgeoisie. Since Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*, the Catholic *Mittelstand* attempted to break the glass ceilings preventing it from enjoying equal professional and social opportunities—such as positions in government or within the army officer corps—within the Protestant, Prussian-dominated society. Consequently, argues David Blackbourn, they began to see in outwardly nationalistic aims and endeavors—like

Tirpitz's Navy Laws—a means of liberation from "military and bureaucratic high-handedness" and "arbitrary abuse of law and the values of the Prussian officer."[94] Blackbourn summarizes:

> when bourgeois Catholics indicated their desire for a domestic place in the sun, they did so as part of an urge for emancipation which made itself felt in spite of…the values associated with the Junker aristocracy, bureaucracy, and officer corps. It is significant in this respect that Centre Party leaders, the embodiment of such aspirations, made their strongest legislative commitment not to the 'Prussian' and 'feudal' features of the status quo, but to the 'national' and 'bourgeois' ones.[95]

Thus from one end of the Centre's base, support for naval expansion stemmed from the drive to alter the existing way of life within Imperial Germany, particularly as regards the dominance of Protestant Prussian values, traditions, and institutionalized checks on Catholic segments of society.

The navy had served as the beacon of Germany's middle class and national unity for centuries. The German merchant marine of the Hanseatic League created a prosperous merchant class beginning in the Late Middle Ages, and liberal and democratic intellectuals saw the navy as a sign of German unity (compared to the army, which was tied to each individual German kingdom) during the Revolutions of 1848-9. To the Catholic *Mittelstand* at the turn of the 20th century, the navy was an entity long present in their class's perception of German identity. By supporting this navy law, party leaders would please those Catholics who, because of traditional Prussian values and social stratification, would continue to feel like second-class citizens.

Party leaders also approached this "national" measure for much more practical reasons: to preserve and protect the agrarian and *Mittelstand* constituency by securing economic concessions. The Centre's support for the Caprivi trade agreements had angered much of the party's agrarian base through increases to foreign competition in domestic markets, and party leaders sought to remedy that situation. By cooperating with agrarian Conservatives and being open to further naval expansion, the two parties could hope to win economic and labor

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[94] Blackbourn, *Class, Religion, and Local Politics in Wilhelmine Germany*, 239.
[95] Ibid.

concessions from the government. On numerous occasions while the Reichstag Budget Commission discussed Admiral Tirpitz's Second Navy Law, they argued for the introduction of grain tariffs and a measure of protection to stem the outward migration of laborers from eastern agricultural strongholds. As it stood, "agricultural classes…were [already] unable to sell their corn at a fair price" and the proposed legislation would further aggravate an already acute agricultural labor shortage by drawing men to both build and operate the expanded German fleet.[96] To be sure, these sentiments may not have boded well for the Second Navy Law, but the government had a clear means of appeasing these parties by revising trade policies to favor agricultural interests and keep workers on eastern farms. To the latter point, Centre figures like Prince Arenberg called for an end to the Prussian Government's exclusion and deportation of foreign workers, while the Socialist leader Herr Bebel proposed reducing the duration of mandatory service in the army that had pulled so many young Germans away from the fields.[97] These statements from the Budget Commission had made at least one thing clear: agrarians within the Centre and their Conservative counterparts were again open to the idea of naval expansion, but that their interests must be taken into account.

The prospect of increasing the party's political clout within the Reichstag and in directing national policy also continued to make Centre support for the Second Navy Law a likelier probability. Through its sheer size and the proportion of seats it held within the German Parliament, the Centre could choose to support or amend legislation advocated by other parties before helping assure its passage. When Tirpitz's Second Navy Law came before the Budget Committee in April of 1900, the Centre utilized its parliamentary strength to propose an alternative naval expansion bill modified more to its suiting.

[96] "The German Navy Bill," *The Times (London)*, April 25, 1900.
[97] "The German Navy Bill," *The Times (London)*, May 1, 1900.

The new proposal matched the basic expansion of the home fleet put forth by Tirpitz's plan: two new battleship squadrons of eight vessels each, an accompanying flagship, and eight large and twenty-four small cruisers for support. A respective force of four, three, and ten additional vessels would be held in reserve. Tirpitz's plan also called for the expansion of Germany's overseas force to eight large and fifteen small cruisers. Here the Centre's proposition differed, and instead allowed for only three large and ten small cruisers to serve at foreign stations. "The Government," declared Centre deputy Herr Müller, "had not succeeded in proving the necessity for the large number of cruisers provided for in the original Bill" and that, if necessary, cruisers from home waters could be sent abroad. Conservative and National Liberal members of the Commission expressed their disappointment at the new proposal's cruiser reduction, and when Tirpitz's original fleet outline came to a vote, the Centre voted it down over their objections. The eight Conservatives and National Liberals subsequently added their vote to the Centre proposal, which succeeded over the nays of the Commission's Left Liberals, Social Democrats, and Polish deputies.[98]

The Centre's new proposal also addressed one of the party's other key concerns—the issue of imperial finances—that had existed since the Reichstag first began debate on the Tirpitz's second proposal. "We are not enemies of a fleet, we are not enemies of a strong fleet," Herr Schaedler had declared in February on behalf of the Centre deputies, but "are we in a position to afford it?"[99] During the Budget Commission's deliberations in April, the Centre put forth a solution to the financial conundrum in addition to their proposed modifications to the foreign service fleet. If the annual naval estimates for any year were to exceed the sum

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[98] "The German Navy Bill," *The Times (London)*, April 27, 1900.
[99] Translated by author, for original see: Reichstagsprotokolle, 1898/1900,5, /Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags/, (8 February 1900), 3961, available at:
http://www.reichstagsprotokolle.de/Blatt_k10_bsb00002780_00310.html.

118,000,000 marks and the excesses were not covered in imperial revenues, then the government must levy a series taxes to accommodate. The government would collect these revenues through the introduction of stamp duties on items such as paper securities, lottery tickets, and mining shares, as well as through "the introduction of an Excise duty upon sparkling wines and an increase of the Customs duties on foreign sparkling wines, liqueurs, cigars, and cigarettes." If naval expenditures still exceeded the available funding, the government should then levy a "complementary" tax upon the whole empire for each financial period until the necessary remaining revenue is collected.[100] As the Centre revealed its solution to the budgetary issues, the State Secretary for the Imperial Treasury, Baron von Thielmann, revealed that the government had already begun developing a new taxation scheme almost identical in nature to that proposed by the Centre, with the exception of the "complementary" tax. Conservative and National Liberal members of the Committee indicated their support for such measures, and the Centre indicated no outright objection to the government's financial solution.[101]

By introducing its own modifications to Tirpitz's proposed Navy Law and withholding support for the original clauses on fleet composition, the Centre had flexed its political muscle to change the narrative of the debate. Naval expansion in its original form would not be beyond the reach of the Centre, and the government would have to forge ahead with whatever political support it could ultimately secure. And that it did. To Tirpitz, their successful modification of the fleet's foreign-service composition over his own original outline brought irritation, and although he primarily pressed for the expansion of the German home-waters fleet, he still held foreign service cruisers as a necessity for protecting the empire's far-flung economic and geopolitical interests. During the second reading of the amended Navy Law, he insisted that "an increase in

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[100] "The German Navy Bill."
[101] Ibid.

the number of ships on foreign stations was required immediately" and did not want to wait until 1906 when the government had otherwise intended to expand the foreign service fleet; the government had deemed, perhaps a testament to Tirpitz's convincing argument for the "political power factor" in the North Sea, expansion of the home fleet of greater importance.[102] Although the Admiral failed to win support for his proposal exactly as it was, he could not have been entirely disappointed. His ultimate goal—stated in his Memorandum of 1897 and again to the Kaiser in 1899—was to upset British naval hegemony, and by bringing forward their own proposal that maintained the creation of a second double squadron of battleships, an accompanying flagship, and additional auxiliary and reserve vessels, the Centre had given strong indication of their support for his overall naval expansion plans.

In what Social Democratic leader Herr Bebel lamented was the Catholic Centre's surrender to the government, "the navy question was now practically settled."[103] They had ultimately accepted the premises put forth by Tirpitz, Bülow, and other government figures of the need for a larger fleet in the North Sea to better protect and promote Germany's rapidly growing interests at home and abroad. Moreover, they accepted further naval expansion as a means to satisfy and protect their constituents, as well as to increase the party's political power within the empire. Support would satisfy the Catholic bourgeoisie that sought liberation from the Protestant Prussian-dominated society through the pursuit of "national" and "bourgeois" issues, while also (ideally) increasing the likelihood of winning government concessions to protect the empire's farmers and lower middle class, many of whom constituted the Centre party's largest base. Of lesser importance, it could help isolate Social Democrats through cooperation with the National Liberals and Conservatives. Lastly, it revealed to the government and other political

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[102] "The German Navy Bill," *The Times (London)*, June 7, 1900.
[103] "The German Navy Bill," *The Times (London)*, April 27, 1900.

parties just how capable the party could be in shaping the empire's political, economic, and military discussions. Together, these domestic factors had helped transform the Centre into a willing supporter of Tirpitz's Second Navy Law.

<center>Conservatives and the Second Navy Law</center>

In the fall of 1899 Conservatives were in a delicate position. They had vehemently opposed, and ultimately rejected, the Canal Bill put forth by the government and supported by German industrialists and trade enthusiasts, and consequently incurred the Kaiser's wrath. His dismissal of the "Canal mutineers" from the Prussian government and the voluntary resignation of other Prussian ministers opposed to both the bill and the Kaiser's tantrum had revealed the possibility of fracture in the traditionally strong monarch-aristocrat relationship. This certainly benefited neither.

Conservatives needed strong ties with the government. Industrialization, urbanization, and global trade were rapidly altering the face of German society and diminishing their political power and influence in the empire. Cities expanded and drew migrants from the empire's eastern agricultural strongholds, which depleted the labor supply and eroded the Conservatives' electoral base. By 1898, their traditionally strong presence in the Reichstag had shrunk to 56, down from 80 a decade earlier, and the party was finding it difficult to protect its interests.[104] They had been burned by Caprivi's international trade agreements with Russia and Austria of several years earlier. Support for the First Navy Law might have brought them some form of redress, but instead agrarians found themselves facing the industry-friendly Canal Bill without any government talk of equally promoting agricultural interests. Indeed, they derailed the bill, but for what consequence was uncertain.

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[104] Dunlap, "Elections to the Reichstag (1890-1912)," 1-2.

As Tirpitz and the government rolled out the Second Navy Law, Conservatives viewed it with suspicion. To be sure, they could support it on patriotic grounds and as necessary to expand the country's presence on the international stage, but it still favored industrial interests over their own. But could they reject it? Quoting one contemporary Left Liberal politician observing the situation, Eckart Kehr writes: "the fleet had all the same evils as the Central Canal [Bill]" with regard to agricultural interests, but that by providing support for the navy measure "the sins of their objection to the Canal might be forgiven." If, however, they opposed the government on new naval expansion as well, then "their political demise would be certain."[105] The veracity of this statement is certainly up for dispute, but what is clear is this: Conservatives did run the risk of embittering the government—an entity traditionally supportive of and inherently tied to the Prussian aristocracy—through opposition to policies "national" in scope and "necessary" for the economic expansion or physical protection of the empire. If the party wanted to improve its position therein, or at least curb the rate at which its power diminished, then it needed the legislative and moral support of the government to do so. Conceding ground on the major issue of naval expansion offered Conservatives the best prospect of mending relations with the government and Kaiser after the Canal Bill. More pressingly, it offered the route most likely to secure protectionist tariffs, more favorable trade agreements, and measures to retain agricultural laborers.

In the Reichstag, the Conservatives issued their support for the proposed legislation. During the opening debate on Tirpitz's proposal in February, Dr. von Levetzow spoke on behalf of their party. While the Navy Law of 1898 had indeed begun a necessary process of creating the naval force for the protection of the nation's citizens, colonies, and other overseas interests, it

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[105] Translated by author. See: Kehr, *Schlachtflottenbau und Partei-Politik 1894-1901: Versuch eines Querschnitts durch die innenpolitischen, sozialen und ideologischen Voraussetzungen des deutschen Imperialismus*, 179.

had not gone far enough. The supplementary law would rectify that, he argued, while also increasing Germany's "alliance-value" for the military security it could provide on both land and sea.[106] Representing the Free Conservatives, a subsection of the Conservative party, Count Arnim declared that in the coming century, those countries who aspire to be the world's Great Powers will pursue a corresponding strength in naval power. The legislation before them would put Germany on that path, while protecting its interests abroad from foreign threats as well as helping secure the import of necessary provisions in the case of war.[107] Together, Conservatives presented national defense and economic protection as the basis for their party's support, and, to be sure, it was. Behind this, however, still remained the steady push for changes to the nation's agricultural and trade policies.

Yet if Conservatives and their agrarian allies expected outright government concessions, they were initially mistaken. As the legislation moved through the Budget Commission in April, agrarians broached the issue. They pressed Imperial Treasury Secretary von Thielmann on whether or not "the government [is] disposed to make energetic efforts during the negotiations for the new commercial treaties to obtain a suitable increase in the protective duties upon agricultural products." At that time the government was not yet able to commit to a solid answer, though Thielmann assured the Commission that it would further the interests of agriculture as best it could. The statement fell on deaf ears. Herr Gröber of the Centre party reminded the Secretary of the government's predicament: the Navy Law "could not be passed unless efforts were made to meet the wishes of the Reichstag," while Conservative and Free Conservative

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[106] Reichstagsprotokolle, 1898,1900, /Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags/, (8 February 1900), 3962, available at: http://www.reichstagsprotokolle.de/Blatt_k10_bsb00002780_00314.html.

[107] Translated by author. Reichstagsprotokolle, 1898,1900, /Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags/, (9 February 1900), 3980, available at: http://www.reichstagsprotokolle.de/Blatt_k10_bsb00002780_00332.html.

Counts Stolberg and Arnim also underscored the need for certainty.[108] Only after agrarians continued to stress their concerns and the power they held over the navy's fate did the government provide a more concrete response. It declared that it would pursue new protective tariffs as well as reexamine the empire's trade agreements.[109]

At the same time, the government needed to maintain strong relations with Conservatives. If the former did not deliberately or quickly pursue policies favorable to latter, or if it at least curtailed efforts to promote industry while allowing agricultural interests to languish, agriculturalists in the Reichstag might have indeed withheld support for future naval expansion. As Berghahn indicates, the Kaiser himself recognized this possibility and ultimately retreated from the Canal Bill to avoid a more lasting rupture with the Conservative party.[110] Dragging out the confrontation also risked antagonizing those agrarian segments of the Centre party that sympathized with Conservatives against the Canal Bill and in favor of greater agricultural protections. For *Sammlungspolitik* to succeed as the government had hoped, the latter needed to recognize both the extent of its power and the maximum stress the political coalition could handle before falling apart.

<u>The German Army</u>

The government had further reason for cooperation with Conservatives on account of the state of the army. This institution—responsible for German unification through victories over Denmark, Austria, and France—had been undergoing significant changes since the foundation of the empire. The first was to the officer corps, which had long been tied to Prussia's nobility and aristocracy and from where the army derived most of its officers and leading military figures.

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[108] "The German Navy Bill," *The London (Times)*, April 26, 1900.

[109] "The German Navy Bill," *The London (Times)*, May 2, 1900.

[110] Berghahn, *Der Tirpitz-Plan: Genesis und Verfall einer innenpolitischen Krisenstrategie unter Wilhelm II*, 233.

The rapid expansion of the empire's peacetime army, from 400,000 non-commissioned officers in 1874 to 600,000 by the outbreak of the War, had demanded a number of officers that now "far outstripped the nobility's ability" to supply, while the "economic decline or actual disappearance of the old noble families" had also shrunk the aristocratic base from which to draw.[111] The army increasingly depended on the growing German bourgeoisie, that is its academics, doctors, lawyers, shop owners, merchants, etc., to supply the men requisite to lead the army's forces. The second change was to the bulk of the army's troops. Similar to the officer corps, soldiers had come predominantly from Prussia's agricultural-dominated lands. Yet with that major expansion of the peacetime army, the government similarly had to rely upon conscripting men from throughout the empire. Men from industrial and urban areas, where socialist ideology and anti-government, monarchy, and military sentiments were prevalent, now became a part of that most traditional institution of order and security within the empire.

Together, these alterations to the army's basic composition created questions on how to maintain an efficient, loyal, and reliable military force. Indeed, members of the officer corps underwent rigorous training and socialization to bind them to the army and monarchy. For aristocratic Prussians, this was nothing new. Bourgeois Germans, however, now had to "accept the feudal philosophy which had always reigned in the officer corps," which they did with little difficulty. Most came from the upper middle class, where, Gordon Craig argues, their acquisition of wealth and the growing threat of socialism to general social stability had made this transition rather painless.[112] At the other end of the spectrum, the army was hard pressed to eliminate socialist ideologies among its ranks. Coming from poor urban conditions where they were the victims of market economics, many must have regarded the present German state—from

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[111] Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1780-1918*, 288.; Gordon Alexander Craig, *The Politics of the Prussian Army 1640-1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 235.
[112] Ibid., 237.

monarchy to military and landed aristocrats to wealthy capitalists—as corrupt, archaic, and broken. Training and socialization like that of the officer corps certainly brought them into line, but the government was still concerned about socialist influence and its effect on loyalty. The newly expanded bourgeois officer corps could reliably execute the government's orders, but could it compel soldiers of poor, urban, and socialist-tinged backgrounds to stomp out potential political agitation of their family, friends, and former neighbors?

By cooperating with Conservatives and supporting their agricultural interests, the government could have helped protect the size and integrity of the empire's agricultural strongholds and military traditions. The expansion of the officer corps had become less of an issue, but the conscription of troops out of urban and industrialized centers risked spreading social democratic ideology through the rank-and-file and leading to a weakening of the army's unity, efficiency, and ability to respond to socialist-generated upheaval or unrest. The degree to which these fears were grounded may be disputed, and indeed, social democracy might not have pervaded the army as it could have. They still could have compelled the government to greater levels of cooperation, however, with the Conservatives who formed the traditional backbone of that institution.

These changes to the army opened the way for naval expansion in another way. As argued by Gordon Craig, the legislative efforts to expand the officer corps and the peacetime soldiery of the 1890s revealed a "disruption of the organizational unity of the army...[that] had now been carried to ridiculous and dangerous extremes."[113] On one side, an internal division among the army's leading officers and political representatives prevented the institution from creating a unified voice with which to pursue further measures of reform. "Cabinet chiefs, adjutants, [and] court generals" could disrupt the work of the Chief of the General Staff, who was responsible for

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[113] Ibid., 251.

overseeing such areas as strategy, organization, and tactical issues. [114] On the other side, continues Craig, was a growing animosity towards the army among the German population for what amounted to military absolutism. Political nepotism from the Kaiser down, evasion of civil law, and the seeming ability to claim "what was, or was not, to the national interest and to dispense with those who did not agree with the definition" all undermined public confidence and trust in the army. Naval expansion developed as a positive alternative rooted in a collective German and middle class tradition.[115]

The debate of the 1899 Army Bill reflects some of the internal disunity and uncertainties that had become manifest within the government and among the army's organizational planners. During the Budget Commission meetings on the legislation, a majority of Reichstag deputies accepted the plan to increase the peacetime army and officer corps by some 26,000 men and implement updated organizational plans, but rejected efforts to create new cavalry regiments. Arguments for the cavalry expansions revealed "various contradictions" and "inconsistencies…[that] confused and misled even the staunchest supporters of the Government."[116] The army command and government were unable to make a coherent case for the cavalry expansion proposal, apparently uncertain themselves of the clear-cut reasons to the individual details. When the Centre party offered a counter proposal accepting the new cavalry units at the cost of 7,000 men to the proposed expansion of the peacetime army, the government rejected it and insisted that a standing force of 502,000 men was necessary over 495,000. The Centre utilized its political might—as it had with First Navy Law and would with the Second—

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[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid., 252.
[116] "The German Army Bill," *The Times (London)*, February 27, 1899.

and voted down the original bill in the Reichstag, forcing the government and Kaiser to accept its conditions or forgo any expansion to the army beyond those set by the Army Bill of 1893.[117]

Disorganization and disunity existed at the highest levels within the army and government over the future of the military. They had prevented the institution from securing all the demands that it saw necessary to maintain the most powerful and efficient fighting force on the continent, and again revealed the ability of the Centre party to alter the political debate as it saw fit. This seeming uncertainty of the army's internal cohesion and plan of action by the turn of the century had created a political and military vacuum open to Tirpitz and the navy. To be sure, the Admiral faced his own critics and divisions within the navy, but he was able to master his opponents, secure government support for his vision, and present a coherent and unified front to the Reichstag to win what he deemed essential to naval expansion.

Government Pressures and Prominent Figures

Government pressures for naval expansion were well in place when Tirpitz introduced the Second Navy Law to the Reichstag. They had begun with his promotion to State Secretary of the Imperial Navy Office (INO) in 1897 and the development of the First Navy Law when he set out to bring the debate of naval expansion to the German population. He did not need to win the hearts and minds of a majority of Germans, as the fate of naval expansion lay with the Reichstag, but by generating enough support among the populace, the Admiral could weaken the claims from his political detractors that naval expansion was simply a directive of the Kaiser or another government push for greater military power. In his memoirs, Wilhelm II recalls this plan to engineer "a great movement" among the people to pressure the Reichstag for naval expansion. "To this end," he writes, "an energetic propaganda was needed, through a well-organized and

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[117] "The German Army Bill," *The Times (London)*, March 15, 1899.

well-directed press, as well as through eminent men of science at the universities and technical high schools." [118] Tirpitz and the government began this effort by establishing the *Nachrichtenbüro*, the official press agency of the Imperial Navy Office. From this podium, the Navy Secretary brought the naval question to the broader German public and attempted to provide them with "an essential enlightenment and education…about [Germany's] maritime duties and necessities."[119]

Through its own publications, the *Nachrichtenbüro* presented a wealth of literature on the necessity of a new German navy. In the fall of 1897 the agency distributed its fact-filled *Die Seeinteressen des Deutschen Reichs* (*The Sea Interests of the German Empire)* through the Imperial Navy Office, which emphasized the importance of naval expansion to readers— Reichstag deputies among them—through its analysis of German demographic, economic, and industrial growth. [120] It further examined the German navy's present stagnation and decline relative to those of foreign powers. More regular publications soon followed. The INO began publishing a monthly periodical titled the *Marinerundschau*, as well as an annual *Jahrbücher für Deutschlands Seeinteressen* (*Yearbook for German Naval Interests*), put out under the agency's pen name *Nauticus*. The two publications contained information on such topics as the development of foreign navies and the historical importance of naval strength, as well as scholarly work on naval necessity from economic, social, and military stances.[121] In the spring of 1900 as the debate on the Second Navy Law reached its climax, *Nauticus* wrote *Beiträge zur Flotten-Novelle* (*Contributions to the Fleet Amendment*) to drive home the importance of further

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[118] Wilhelm, *The Kaiser's Memoirs*, 229-230.

[119] Translated by author. See: Volker R. Berghahn, eds., "Auszug as der Denkschrift des Fregattenkapitäns v. Heeringen vom 24. September 1900 über Aufgaben und Arbeitsmethoden des Nachrichtenbureaus," in *Rüstung im Zeichen der wilhelmischen Weltpolitik: Grundlegende Dokumente 1890-1914* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag GmbH, 1988), 201.

[120] Das Reichsmarineamt, *Die Seeinteressen des Deutschen Reichs.*

[121] Volker R. Berghahn, "Auszug as der Denkschrift des Fregattenkapitäns v. Heeringen vom 24. September 1900 über Aufgaben und Arbeitsmethoden des Nachrichtenbureaus," 202.

expansion. With the dramatic declaration that "the decision before the German Empire [the passage of the Second Navy Law] is the greatest decision in the nation's recent history," the work tackles the same issues that had regularly been called to attention. It addresses Germany's growing economic and military interests around the world, its demographic and industrial booms, and the history of the German navy, while simultaneously underscoring the empire's seeming inability to protect those interests overseas and in home waters.[122]

Tirpitz and the INO took hold of print media and daily newspapers as another major means of publicizing the naval debate. As Jürg Meyer asserts, the Admiral was the first German politician who recognized and utilized the fundamental power of the press as a means of communicating a particular agenda or national issue with the masses. Among his key weapons in this arena was the *Norddeutsche Allegemeine Zeitung* (*NAZ*), a northern-based, politically conservative and government-friendly paper in which the Admiral himself published. It utilized much of the INO's scholarly and academic ammunition, while also serving as a facilitator between the INO and other northern Conservative and National Liberal publications like the *Post*, the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the *Berliner Correspondenz*, and the *Nationalliberale Correspondenz*. Led by the *NAZ*, these papers waged a printed war against the navy's Socialist and Left Liberal detractors, like Eugen Richter and his *Freisinnige Zeitung*.[123] The battle in the press also raged in southern Germany. Since the summer of 1897, several leading southern and often pro-industry papers, including several in Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, Nuremberg, and Munich, had joined Tirpitz's cause, while others, especially Bavarian Centre-oriented publications like the *Augsburger Postzeitung*, took up opposition. In this arena, the National Liberals' *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung* became the *Nachrichtenbüro*'s strongest arm. During the debates on both the

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[122] Translated by author. See: Nauticus, *Beiträge zur Flotten Novelle*, III, VI.
[123] Jürg Meyer, *Die Propaganda Der Deutschen Flottenbewegung 1897-1900* (Bern: F. Pochon-Jent, 1967), 147.

First and Second Navy Laws, it compiled and presented the strongest pro-navy arguments from leading politicians, professors, economic experts, and military writers around the country, including a six-part special publication during the winter of 1899-1900 that utilized, in even more depth, all the same avenues of attack in favor of further development.[124]

The *Nachrichtenbüro's* operations within the press made possible naval agitation among the literate Germans, and its support for navy-friendly academics, politicians, and other prominent facilitators of debate provided it with an additional level of legitimacy in society, and particularly among the bourgeoisie. It further encouraged public participation in the naval expansion discussion by supporting a number of pro-navy and pro-expansionist associations, such as the Pan-German League and the Colonial Society, that had begun forming during the previous decade as "populist pressure groups."[125] In April 1898, in the wake of the First Navy Bill, the INO supported the establishment of another such group by German industrialists, the *Deutscher Flottenverein*, or the German Navy League, which sought to further generate pressure on Reichstag officials for continued naval development. To aid the passage of the First and Second Navy Laws, the *Flottenverein* published and circulated pamphlets from the Imperial Navy Office with government funds, held government-subsidized rallies, and recruited naval reserve officers for said public speaking events.[126] The organization quickly became one of the largest and fastest growing of such interest groups. By 1899 its membership stood at 100,000, and in 1900 it had reached 250,000. [127] In the wake of the Second Navy Law, its ranks continued

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[124] Ibid., 148-149.
[125] Rüger, *The Great Naval Game*, 95.
[126] Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1780-1918*, 326.
[127] Kehr, *Schlachtflottenbau und Partei-Politik 1894-1901: Versuch eines Querschnitts durch die innenpolitischen, sozialen und ideologischen Voraussetzungen des deutschen Imperialismus*, 97-98, 101.

to grow to 1,000,000, with 330,000 paying members and 770,000 affiliated through other organizations.[128]

Although recent scholarship shows that these groups were limited in their effectiveness, their rapid development contribute to one major point: from the beginning of his time in the Imperial Navy Office, Tirpitz sought to foster enough popular support to legitimize fleet expansion as both a national necessity and a national desire.[129] He made use of every possible avenue of approach to counter the arguments of his detractors, win the confidence of wavering politicians, and simply promote the idea of a navy as a symbol of German unity and progress. Specialized interest groups like the *Flottenverein* were just an additional means of conveying popular interest in naval expansion. His utilization of major press organs, prominent academics and politicians, and the *Nachrichtenbüro*'s own publications all further underscore the efforts of both Tirpitz and the government to create a populace not only receptive to naval development, but demanding of it. Indeed, the Admiral won the necessary support for the Second Navy Law, though he and those at the *Nachrichtenbüro* recognized that "the masses have not yet been seized by [the navy]."[130] Still, he won the political support necessary for the Second Navy Law, and as his vision for fleet development went beyond that provided by legislation of 1900, Tirpitz would continue to press upon the populace the importance of Germany's navy. His initial efforts from 1897 to 1900 only began that process, and still helped to create an environment receptive to his second pivotal effort at naval expansion.

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[128] Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1780-1918*, 324.

[129] For a more detailed explanation of "populist pressure groups" and their limited effectiveness, see Rüger, *The Great Naval Game*, 97-98. and Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1780-1918*, 325-327.

[130] Translated by author. For detailed internal writing on the *Nachrichtenbüro*, see: Volker R. Berghahn, "Auszug as der Denkschrift des Fregattenkapitäns v. Heeringen vom 24. September 1900 über Aufgaben und Arbeitsmethoden des Nachrichtenbureaus," 201-211.

Behind Tirpitz and his efforts stood the Foreign Secretary Bernhard von Bülow. After Tirpitz, who provided the major strategic and technical details of naval expansion, Bülow became the lead government spokesman for the Second Navy Law. He worked assiduously to stress the importance of Tirpitz's proposals on German aims of *Weltpolitik*—those "tasks confronting us in view of the development of our industry, trade, and shipping"—that had made the fleet fundamental to the empire's very survival.[131] Bülow championed naval expansion as a national issue that was beholden to no one particular political party, economic class, or religious group. He asserted to leading Centre deputies that the navy was not a tool to pursue "Protestant *Weltpolitik*," but rather to further the interests of Germany as a whole.[132]

In summarizing the factors that principally led to the Second Navy Law's passage, author Paul Kennedy declares that Bülow provided a major contribution by "[throwing] all his energy into the task of converting the waverers with two powerful speeches during the secret debates of the Budget Commission." Bülow asserted that:

> The purpose of the Navy Law is above all to secure peace for us against England. As things now lie, a clash with England would be more dangerous and disadvantageous than any other eventuality, since England could damage us more than any other power on account of our present naval inferiority while on the other hand we would find it difficult to obtain allies for a conflict against England since we are so weak at sea…[Through] the destruction of our great and ever-growing overseas interests, the seizure of our trade and damaging of our export industry, would throw back our economic and political development for generations and have an effect similar to the 30 Year's War.[133]

With his arguments, he pressed naval expansion as a life or death situation that could not be neglected. He highlighted the transformation of German policy to regard England as the greatest potential threat to the state, and thereby underscored the acceptance of Tirpitz's *Risk Theory* within the highest government circles. Reichstag deputies found a unified government behind the Navy and Foreign Secretaries, and the Conservatives and Catholics—those whose votes most

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[131] Bülow, *Memoirs of Prince Von Bülow*, 477.
[132] Ibid., 480-481.
[133] Kennedy, "Tirpitz, England and the Second Navy Law of 1900: A Strategical Critique," 35.

mattered—came to accept the premises for naval expansion, but sought remuneration for agricultural interests. Without him, Tirpitz would have lacked the strong, authoritative, and convincing figure he needed to convey the government's solid support.

Beyond Tirpitz and Bülow, the Kaiser was the last major figure responsible for transforming the German navy and creating an environment conducive to that transformation. To be sure, the Kaiser created challenges for Tirpitz and naval expansionists. He was overeager, impetuous, and difficult to control. His involvement in the Kruger Telegram affair had revealed an absence of tactfulness and reserve during international confrontations. His response to Conservative opposition to the Canal Bill similarly indicated a hotheaded nature, while Catholics distrusted his melodramatic temperament and his recurring threats to dissolve the Reichstag if it did not vote his way. Social Democrats and Left Liberals disliked his bellicose personality and any militaristic and imperialistic ideas he conjured and publicly advocated.

In spite of this, however, Wilhelm II played a crucial role in advancing the issue of naval expansion. It was, argues historian Christopher Clark, "the one area in which Wilhelm appears to have exercised a decisive influence."[134] The Kaiser publicly stated his intentions to push ahead with naval development:

> As my grandfather labored for his army, so will I, in like manner, unerringly carry on and carry through the work of reorganizing my navy, in order that it may be justified in standing by the side of my land forces, and that by it the German Empire may also be in a position to win the place which it has not yet attained.[135]

Wilhelm's declaration to elevate the navy to the same level as the army—that most basic institution in Prussian and German society and the one responsible for unification of the empire—was a radical undertaking that clearly evidenced pursuit of World Power status. The Kaiser's dedication to this task manifested itself in various ways. He was responsible for major

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[134] Christopher M. Clark, *Kaiser Wilhelm II* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), 130.
[135] "The Kaiser on His Navy," *The New York Times*, January 2, 1900.

structural changes to the navy's hierarchy and chain of command and placed himself at the top of issues of strategy and personnel.[136] He established three new entities to handle all German naval affairs, including the Naval High Command, Imperial Naval Cabinet, and the Imperial Navy Office. The last of these oversaw matters of administration, construction and resourcing, and representing the Navy in parliamentary affairs, and had at its head the State Secretary of the Imperial Navy Office, commonly known as the Navy Secretary. This individual was responsible for directing naval development at the highest levels of government, reported to the Chancellor, and served at the pleasure of Wilhelm himself. If the Secretary's aims, methodologies, and vision for naval strategy and expansion did not satisfy the Kaiser's own, or if he was ineffectual in the performance of his duties, the Kaiser could dismiss him and appoint someone better suited for the job. When Admiral Hollmann failed to unify the government and win Reichstag approval for his 1897 Navy Bill, he submitted his resignation as Navy Secretary to Wilhelm, thus opening the door for Tirpitz.

Kaiser Wilhelm's greatest importance lay in creating an environment that granted Tirpitz the power and freedom of action needed to transform the navy in earnest. As the new Navy Secretary he won Wilhelm's support for the strategy and fleet composition contained in the First Navy Law, and that bill's successful passage earned him further goodwill from the monarch. In 1899 the Kaiser acceded to the Admiral's demands for greater jurisdiction over naval matters by eliminating the Naval High Command, which had served as "the navy's other decision-making authority." As a result, numerous authorities and responsibilities previously spread among other naval officials would instead be given to the Navy Secretary himself, so that he could more

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[136] Clark, *Kaiser Wilhelm II*, 130.

efficiently address fleet expansion at the tactical, strategic, and political levels.[137] The Kaiser gave Tirpitz the freedom of movement necessary to pursue the ambitious Second Navy Law without hindrance from internal dissenters and provided the navy and government with the semblance of a unified body with which to approach the Reichstag. While the Kaiser himself was not responsible for the ultimate success of Tirpitz's Navy Laws, he provided the crucial framework within which the Navy Secretary could develop naval expansion plans and approach the Reichstag with the necessary power and authority to help secure their passage.

Beyond those factors stemming from the Centre and Conservative parties that contributed to the passage of the Second Navy Law, the government and its leading figures also played a significant role. The development of the *Nachrichtenbüro* as a propaganda machine by Tirpitz and the INO began bringing the naval question to the German public and mustering support from the bottom up, while figures like Tirpitz, Bülow, and the Kaiser applied pressure from the top down. The importance of these individuals cannot be overstated, as without them the government would not have had the coherent naval mission or, for Tirpitz specifically, the authority to single-handedly drive the navy's future development. At the same time, the Imperial Navy Office and its *Nachrichtenbüro* played a smaller role in pushing for wider public support in subsequent years. But these domestic political and governmental factors did not alone ensure the passage of Tirpitz's bill. International conflicts unfolding since the summer of 1898 provided a stronger and more vivid justification for further naval expansion.

V. International Affairs and the Second Navy Law

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[137] John C. G. Röhl, *Wilhelm II: The Kaiser's Personal Monarchy, 1888-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1029.

The Spanish-American War was the first of three conflicts to occur immediately following the passage of the First Navy Law and set an emphasis on the power of naval strength in international affairs. German ambitions lay in the Pacific theater, and the specter of the decaying Spanish Empire evinced possibilities of seizing further colonial holdings or naval bases. As Bülow recalls in his memoirs, the German government hoped for and expected a Spanish victory over the United States. The Kaiser himself entertained notions of acquiring the capital city of Manila—then in open revolt against the Spanish government—should either Spain defeat its American opponents at sea and accept German assistance to restore order, or should revolutionaries succeed and leave Manila open to more aggressive German incursions.[138] To capitalize on such an opportunity, and to protect its economic interests in the area, the government sent the navy's foreign-service squadron to Manila. There it came into near confrontation with the United States Navy as it approached too close to the actual battle between the Spanish and American fleets. That encounter, coupled with disrespectful German displays towards the American naval forces, generated mutual distrust and growing tension between the two powers—both of which sought expansion into the Pacific. [139]

The conflict between the rising United States and aging Spanish Empire once more highlighted the importance of naval power in resolving international disputes and protecting interests overseas. If Germany were to become one of the world's Great Powers in the 20th century—as Tirpitz argued America, Britain, and Russia would be—and secure any territories of other dying empires, then it must continue unimpeded with further naval expansion. In his memoirs, the Navy Secretary credits the war and the "unfortunate Manila affair" as having

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[138] Bülow, *Memoirs of Prince Von Bülow*, 256.

[139] Ibid. For examples of German displays of disrespect, see: Ronald E. Dolan, ed. "Spanish-American War: Outbreak of War, 1898," in *Philippines: A Country Study*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1991. http://countrystudies.us/philippines/13.htm

helped rationalize what became the Second Navy Law, as well as increase public favor for a stronger naval force.[140] Two further international events set the backdrop for that Law's passage.

The Samoan Affair as it came to be known centered on the breakdown of an international agreement between Britain, Germany, and the United States over the collective governance of the Pacific's Samoan Islands that had been in effect since 1889. The death of the Samoan king in 1899 resulted in a succession crisis between rival candidates who enjoyed the support of Germany on one side and the United States and Britain on the other. A legal stipulation from the 1889 agreement, however, disqualified the German-backed Mata'afan from winning the kingship, resulting in a furor among his supporters. Violence erupted as the Mata'afans resorted to force to secure what they believed rightfully theirs, which in turn triggered bombardments from British and American naval units that sought to uphold the legal ruling. From March until May, a small-scale civil war existed between Mata'afan forces, with moral support from Germany, fighting against the Tanu and their Anglo-American allies until an international commission brought the conflict to an end.[141] At the conclusion of the conflict and the following negotiations, the islands were split into American and German Samoa, while Britain received compensation elsewhere in the Pacific.

Germany had again become embroiled in an international dispute in which the strength of naval forces played an indisputable role. War over the Samoan islands was far from what any government had desired, but the fallout continued to push Germany towards further naval expansion. In his assessment of the Samoan Affair, Paul Kennedy argues that the conflict crystallized the Kaiser's "hopes and beliefs about Germany's colonial expansion [as well as] her future *Flottenpolitik*"—hopes and beliefs that most certainly existed among other prominent

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[140] Tirpitz, *My Memoirs: Volume 1*, 155.
[141] For a more in-depth description of the development and events of the conflict, see: Paul M Kennedy, *The Samoan Tangle: A Study in Anglo-German-American Relations, 1878-1900* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1974), 145-155.

German expansionists and naval enthusiasts.[142] Months after this affirmation, the Kaiser acceded to Tirpitz's demands to restructure the navy's command so that the Admiral would be unfettered in his ability to begin his expansion plan in earnest. Tirpitz regarded the "violence that had been done to a few of our ships in Samoa by the English and Americans" to be a "humiliation" for the nation that, combined with the near confrontation with the United States during the Spanish-American War, had further buoyed public support for a more powerful German navy.[143] As the Admiral introduced his Second Navy Law, Bülow argued to the German public and the Reichstag that the Samoan Affair was one of the new international developments since the passage of the First Navy Law that had illustrated the power and importance of naval forces in protecting growing national interests around the world.[144] Without the continued expansion of the fleet, the message became, Germany would continue to lag behind the world's other powers and fail to achieve or defend its aims of *Weltpolitik*.

The Second Boer War was the last major international event to shape the debate of the Second Navy Law. As seen with the Jameson Raid and the Kruger Telegram of 1895-96, Germany's undeclared support lay with the Afrikaans-speaking citizens of the Transvaal and Orange Free State. The conflict "had aroused much sympathy for the little [countries] and much indignation on account of England's violent assault upon [them]," the Kaiser reports in his memoirs.[145] Although the Boers experienced military success early on in the conflict, it was gradually reversed as Britain's navy took control of the seas and replenished its armies with thousands of troops and millions of tons of materiel and provisions. Once again, Germans witnessed the prominence of naval power in a nation's imperial affairs.

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[142] Ibid., 155.
[143] Tirpitz, *My Memoirs: Volume 1*, 155.
[144] "The German Navy Bill," *The Times (London)*, March 29, 1900.
[145] Wilhelm, *The Kaiser's Memoirs*, 233.

The search and seizure of German mail steamers in December and January of 1899-1900 further worsened the government's and the population's opinions of Britain. On suspicion of carrying war materiel to the embattled Boer republics, British naval forces stopped and searched three German vessels—the *Herzog*, *General*, and *Bundesrat*—off the eastern coast of Africa. When British officers failed to find weapons, ammunition, or other war goods, they released the vessels from their custody. Although Germans were not injured, nor any goods requisitioned, the event caused a national furor and further exacerbated Anglo-German relations. The news of the ships' arrest, writes Massie, was met in Berlin with "protest and demands for apology, compensation, and guarantees against recurrence."[146] The Kaiser, for whatever grandstanding he was typical of, indicated that indignation was general among the public.[147] Friedrich von Holstein, writing from the Foreign Office, indicates that "England's astonishment at Germany's bitterness" over the event could "only be regarded…with the greatest astonishment," and that such ignorance amounted to a "slap in the face" akin to the one received over the Samoan Affair.[148]

For the third time since 1898, Germany had become involved in an international quarrel where sea—not land—power had directly and indirectly determined the course of events. It looked on as Britain utilized its navy to alter the progress of the war on land against a people with whom Germans felt an ethnic connection and enjoyed friendly relations. Moreover, Germans perceived that they had become victims of British suzerainty of the seas through the violation of their neutral ships. Combined with the Spanish-American War and the Samoan Affair, these events had illustrated the necessity of naval forces in protecting a nation's overseas interests, asserting its military strength, and protecting it from abuse by the world's greatest

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[146] Massie, *Dreadnought*, 273.
[147] Wilhelm, *The Kaiser's Memoirs*, 233.
[148] Friedrich von Holstein, *The Holstein Papers*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: University Press, 1955), 176.

naval power. Britain would continue to treat Germany in such a manner so long as imperial interests and mastery of the oceans required and enabled it.

For Tirpitz and the Kaiser, the events were fortuitous and welcome. "We now have the wind we need for bringing our ship [the Second Navy Law] into port," the Admiral rejoiced to the Kaiser upon learning of the German mail steamers' seizure.[149] Years later the Kaiser found himself at dinner with the commander responsible for the capture of the German vessels and thanked him "for having made the passage of the Naval Law so much easier for the Emperor!"[150] Indeed, the event was crucial in reminding Germans of the fundamental importance of naval power for the still young and rapidly growing empire. As Tirpitz, Bülow, and Chancellor Hohenlohe introduced the Second Navy Law to the Reichstag and opened it to debate, they used the events of the past months and years to highlight the rapidly changing global environment. The Boer War and arrest of Germany's ships served as the last major international affair that highlighted the importance of sea power in pursuing Germany's imperial ambitions, as well as its importance as a measure of protecting those ambitions from abuse or violation by the British navy. Together, with the lessons learned from the Spanish-American War and the Samoan Affair, these events had helped create an environment favorable to Tirpitz's Second Navy Law.

Conclusion

When Alfred von Tirpitz conceived of his naval development plan to alter the nature of German's place in global affairs, there was little certainty of success. The Reichstag had passed prior navy bills, but they set no standard for fleet composition or strategy and failed to provide Germany with a naval force commensurate with its burgeoning trade, industry, and

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[149] Wilhelm, *The Kaiser's Memoirs*, 233.
[150] Ibid., 234-35.

demographics. Indeed, the empire could have willfully avoided any drastic alterations to its navy, peacefully developed its overseas interests, and, much like the United States at the turn of the 20th century, allowed Britain to cover the costs and upkeep of protecting the world's oceans. With Tirpitz that was no longer feasible. This ambitious, dedicated, and extremely capable man had enticed and excited the Kaiser through his confidential Memorandum of 1897 and won his complete backing after the passage of the First Navy Law of 1898. He had created the kernel of a powerful German naval force that would one-day challenge British domination of the seas, and had given it the coherence of composition, organization, and strategy it needed to do so. Tirpitz was on his way to creating that "political power factor" to alter Anglo-German relations.

The fate of the Second Navy Law hung upon a combination of factors that had made the passage of Tirpitz's proposal considerably more likely. The Imperial Navy Office had brought government pressures and propaganda to bear on politicians and the public alike, especially agitating for support among the empire's burgeoning middle class. For Tirpitz, the aim had been to generate enough public support, either genuine or in appearance only, for naval expansion so that he could blunt the attacks of his opponents who decried it as nothing more than militaristic expansionism of an overexcited Kaiser. Bülow and the Kaiser themselves played crucial roles. The Foreign Secretary became the lead government figure to make the case for naval expansion as a means of advancing *Weltpolitik* and defending and promoting national interests abroad. Support of the Kaiser was also fundamental. Without his passion for naval matters it is uncertain that he would have entrusted in Tirpitz that power and authority necessary for the freedom of action in developing strategy, reorganizing and reassessing fleet composition, and handling the navy's political affairs.

International events similarly created a crucial backdrop for the development of the navy. The Spanish-American War and the Spanish defeat in the Philippines highlighted the importance of naval strength in projecting national power overseas and the near confrontation between German and American forces in Manila Bay further invigorated proponents of fleet expansion. In 1899 the Samoan Affair brought Germany into conflict with a unified Anglo-American front over the governance of a Pacific island group, in which each side staked imperial interests. The use of naval force by the United States and Britain to suppress the German-backed natives had highlighted the necessity of naval power to defend national interests overseas and reminded Germans of their inferiority at sea. The outbreak of the Boer War was the last major international incident to set the stage for Tirpitz's 1900 Navy Law. The event generated public animosity towards Britain for its war against the culturally and ethnically Germanic peoples of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. Anger, frustration, and humiliation followed with the apprehension of the three mail steamers, which reinforced the need for sea power to defend both Germany's overseas interests and its pride as well. As the Reichstag took to debating the merits of Tirpitz's Second Navy Law, these events hung in the air. Bülow and the bill's proponents utilized these events to underscore the need for a larger navy. Of most importance, these events—particularly the Samoan Affair and Boer War—had helped reinforce the notion that British control of the seas was no longer beneficial for Germany's aspirations on the world stage. If Germany were to continue pushing for international trade, the development of its colonial empire, and its rise as a Great Power, then it must have a more powerful force of its own with which to do so.

The empire's changing domestic political and societal conditions played the most compelling role in the fight for the Second Navy Law, and without which the legislation would have faced a much more challenging political battle. The government's push for

Sammlungspolitik created an opportunity for National Liberals, Conservatives, and Centre deputies to cooperate together on issues of national importance and collectively stymie the growth and agitation of social democracy. Social democracy did pose a problem of varying degree to each of those three parties and made cooperation on naval expansion to combat it a more appealing notion. The Centre and Conservative parties, however, had more pressing political, social, and economic concerns that played a role. For the Catholic Centre, the Second Navy Law served as a means of exerting the party's growing political prominence in the Reichstag, while promoting the "national" interests of its bourgeois ranks. Moreover, cooperation served as a potential bargaining chip for extracting economic concessions to protect their massive agrarian political base. Meanwhile, the Conservative party saw its political and economic power weakening, highlighted by the failure to halt Caprivi's damaging trade agreements and the damage they wrought. The Canal Bill had sharpened that issue and revealed the weakening relationship between aristocracy and monarchy that benefited neither, and Conservatives feared that opposition to the Navy Law could further damage that relationship and ultimately leave the party obsolete. Like the Centre, though more immediately, they also sought protectionist agricultural measures to assure that their party and constituents were not economically harmed by naval expansion, but that they benefited instead. Together, the two parties made every effort possible to convince the government to accede to their requests or face failure in the Reichstag. Ultimately they succeeded, and in June 1900 voted in support of the legislation.

These domestic political and societal factors reveal the dynamism of German society at the turn of the 20th century and its effects on domestic and international affairs. Political power was rapidly changing hands. Those losing it sought to delay the inevitable, while those gaining it

sought to solidify and continue expanding their influence. For the government, *Sammlungspolitik* was an ambitious effort to promote its own imperial ambitions and quell political unrest, much of which it believed stemmed from the rise of social democracy. Indeed, *Sammlungspolitik* appeared successful with the passage of the First Navy Law, though the Canal Bill and pending renewal of the Caprivi trade agreements illustrated the real fragility of this political coalition. As Tirpitz and the government promoted *Sammlungspolitik* for the passage of the Second Navy Law, it was the self-interest of the Centre and Conservative parties that brought them to the table and won their cooperation. There was no guarantee that they would comply with future government initiatives on the same scale, as the empire's drastically changing economic, demographic, and political landscape could have created countless new challenges to cooperation. But that is another matter. The important fact is that they supported and ultimately passed the Second Navy Law.

The Law's success bore considerable importance for the course of German, European, and world history. For the Admiral, it was the beginning of a much broader plan and a much larger navy that could wrest control of the seas away from Britain. Between passage and rejection, the Reichstag stood poised to either bind the empire's foreign relations to this new and ambitious naval policy or to accept the First Navy Law as sufficient for protecting the empire's interests. Had Germany's domestic political and social conditions been different, had government pressures and leading figures been absent or of a different mold, had specific international events not occurred or taken the course they did, the Reichstag might have rejected, or at least delayed, the legislative effort. Germany would not have risen to the naval power that it became, Britain would not have been forced to engage in an arms race with Germany or to reconcile with France and Russia, and Anglo-German antagonism might not have been so acute

by the summer of 1914. The factors and influences that led to the First World War could have been drastically different.

Such was not the case, however. The passage of the Second Navy Law cemented the creation of a new political order that had begun with the Law of 1898 and realigned the domestic forces that would move Germany closer towards war. The Centre party succeeded in becoming the primary party of the Reichstag and arbiter of domestic affairs for the next six years, until then-Chancellor Bülow unsuccessfully attempted to create a new political coalition without the Catholic Centre vote. Catholics and Conservatives similarly won the agricultural concessions they had demanded by 1902-3, but again only after difficult political fighting with the government and capitalists and industrialists in the Reichstag and in spite of Thielmann's assurances of concessions during the debate on the Second Navy Law. This political order would last, just barely, until the collapse of the German Empire in 1918, but by then it had provided Admiral Tirpitz with three additional navy bills that fueled the disastrous arms race with Britain.

The First and Second Navy Laws had created the necessary infrastructure within which Tirpitz could utilize the cooperation of the Centre and Conservative parties and push for these supplementary laws. They had supported the creation of a modern German fleet to protect and advance the interests of the empire, but Britain's introduction of the Dreadnought battleship in 1906 had rendered Germany's new naval forces obsolete overnight. If the country's efforts were not to have been in vain, then the Centre, Conservatives, and National Liberals would have to accede to new legislation to *yet again* construct a new and "modern" fleet of German Dreadnought battleships. For Tirpitz, the introduction of the Dreadnought only put Germany further behind in challenging British naval superiority and necessitated a redoubling of efforts, which followed with the 1906, 1908, and 1912 Supplementary Navy Laws. These Laws made

clear to Britain and the world that Germany would sit second to no other power on the seas, if given the opportunity and means to avoid doing so.

Unfolding international conflicts and crises between 1900 and 1914 further helped to solidify the navalist movement and the mentality behind it. Germany's diplomatic relationships began to sour with the world's other leading powers, providing further context for justifying Tirpitz's and the government's calls for continued naval development. Although some Germans—Socialists and Left Liberals among them—became increasingly frightened by their nation's diplomatic isolation, the trend for naval expansion and modernization became ever more difficult to reverse. Britain responded to Germany's fleet build-up by reorganizing its forces around the world, forming an alliance with Japan, and mending relations with France and Russia—eventualities with which Tirpitz had not reckoned in his calculations of *Risk Theory*— but still he and the government demanded naval expansion to protect the empire in the face of strengthening rivals. The Second Navy Law had put that in motion and helped to scare Britain into reassessing its views of Germany as a continental friend and potential ally; and after repeated diplomatic rebukes from the German government, Britain was prompted to seek other allies in Japan, France, and Russia. Countless factors played into the unraveling of European relations on the eve of the First World War, and it would be foolish and irresponsible to view the Second Navy Law as responsible for the outbreak of that conflict. The Law did, however, take Germany down a path towards continued naval expansion that was tied to an anti-British foreign policy at heart, and one that proved increasingly difficult to reverse. By the summer of 1914 pressure had built to a point that made war between Britain and Germany, in the context of a wider European conflict, extremely difficult for Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg and the German

government to avoid. Was not deterring Britain from war the entire point of Tirpitz's strategy? The folly of the naval arms race was finally becoming clear.

Yet for his aim, Tirpitz had played his cards right and made excellent use of the empire's dynamic social, political, and economic landscape to pass the Second Navy Law with Centre and Conservative support. To be sure, the Admiral's and the government's legislative victory was supported by numerous other elements, and those addressed in this work are not exhaustive. Further investigation into German politics and society at the turn of the 20th century, as well as ongoing international trends and developments, is needed for a better understanding of Tirpitz and the expansion of his anti-British battle fleet. This study ultimately finds that the nation's domestic political and social factors played a predominant role in shaping the growth of Germany's fleet, creating that "political power factor" that Tirpitz so eagerly sought, and entrenching a national policy and mentality that made later avoidance of war increasingly challenging. Indeed, by 1914 Tirpitz had that "political power factor" he so desired and it had proven its capability to alter Anglo-German relations. Unfortunately for the Admiral and for Germany, the new navy altered those relations entirely to opposite of what he had hoped for.

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