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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Studying history is an act of passion. The authors featured in this volume wonderfully illustrate the courage it takes to develop cohesive arguments on issues ranging from revisionist history in the U.S. to divergent liberal beliefs in the Mexican Revolution. The breadth of topics covered in this edition is nothing short of remarkable and it was truly an honor to work with each of these historians. That being said, I believe what makes this journal so special is the unique combination of tenacity visible on every page and the outstanding and tireless effort put forth every day by faculty and staff within the UCLA History Department. I will always be grateful for the strength of character and demand for excellence embodied by all of those who have helped me throughout my time at UCLA. I was fortunate enough to work closely with Prof. Jessica Goldberg, Prof. Kristina Markman, Prof. Andrea Goldman, Indira Garcia, and Paul Padilla for they taught me not only how to study history, but how to deal with the challenges of being a historian. As every new quarter and every new year brings us new challenges, we must not forget that they in turn bring us new opportunities. I trust that the future of Quaestio will be just that - a venture that is both a challenge and an opportunity that continues to be centered in a passion for historicity.

Molly Smith

Editor-in-Chief
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Coco Keyu Xu
Sugar production sharply increased in the British West Indies during the 17th century. However, this increase did not bring with it corresponding waged jobs as African slaves were ultimately used instead. Attempts by the British crown to introduce more waged jobs into the economies and to more widely disseminate farmland were blocked by the planter class. Slavery’s grasp on the colonial economies only grew stronger while non-slave owning whites grew poorer. While colonial elites argued that slavery was key to creating wealth, most people were priced out of the slave market. Slaves came to be a status symbol as a result. Economists, though, have argued that using waged labor rather than slave labor would have actually increased profit margins for planters rather than cut into them, meaning plantation owners actually worked against their own economic self-interests. Some scholars have hypothesized that a planter’s psychological desire to dominate others led them to eschew maximum profit in this pursuit. This paper refutes the notion that planters shunned potential sugar revenue to satiate primal urges by demonstrating that they mistakenly believed domination of labor actually maximized profits. Therefore, the notion that planters were faced with a choice between earning more money with waged laborers or having more dominance with slaves is anachronistic. An examination of sources from the era reveal that plantation owners actually believed slaves to be more profitable than waged labor, as well as how and why these beliefs developed throughout the 17th century.
Introduction

A rising European demand for sugar in the 17th century led to an increase in sugar production in the colonies of the British West Indies. On the islands of Barbados and Antigua, land was quickly subsumed by the wealthy planter class who put indentured servants to work on it. Slave labor quickly grew in popularity among the planter class, though, and overtook indentured servitude as the dominant form of labor during the late 17th century. European indentured servants did not “adequately answer the labor needs of the plantations,” so “Africans became the solution.” According to The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, 5,706 slaves were brought to the British colony of Barbados, one of the two colonial foci of this paper, between 1626 and 1650. The number of imported slaves continuously grew throughout the century to the point that 94,462 slaves were imported between 1676 and 1700. Slavery grew from being a part of the economic system into the economic system as colonial officials argued that owning slaves was vitally important to reaping profits. This caused planters to undermine attempts by the British crown to inject more white, waged laborers into the colonial economies and to disseminate the means of production to a greater number of people. As the number of enslaved increased, so too did the number of poor white men. Slave usage on the sugar plantations has created an issue for classical economists as data demonstrates that waged laborers would have actually been a more profitable labor force for the planters than slaves. Because of this phenomenon, some have hypothesized that planters worked against their economic self-interests because slaves gave them the opportunity to satisfy their

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3 The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, ”List of voyages,” The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, 2013.
4 Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, ”List of voyages,”
psychological desire to dominate other humans. In exploring primary source documents from the era, one will find that the planter class, which was also typically the ruling class, treated and viewed their slaves as subhuman economic tools. In this way, the enslaved body was reduced to a mere tool for reaping profit in the views of the planter elite. This paper will survey the ways in which labor was viewed within the economic systems of the colonial British West Indies and specifically argue that the notion that planters were faced with a choice between earning more money with waged laborers or having more dominance with slaves is anachronistic. An examination of sources from the era reveal why plantation owners came to instead believe that slaves were more profitable than waged labor and continuously used them for labor, and how this negatively impacted colonial inhabitants as a whole.

**Material conditions**

The plantation system in the British West Indies negatively impacted not just enslaved people, but free, white labor as well. S.D. Smith’s recent publication explores the ways in which plantation owners influenced their respective colonial societies and how such actions had a negative impact outside of the planter elite. Smith focuses on the operations of the Lascelles family, a line of Barbados plantation owners, to demonstrate the outsized economic influence planters exerted in the British West Indies. The family frequently controlled their Barbadian plantation from their Yorkshire residence, allowing them to reap profits without being physically present in the colony. Smith argues that this was a common practice throughout the British West Indies, meaning that large swaths of land that Barbadian residents could have profited from by using their own labor were restricted. The land was instead worked almost entirely by slaves barred from profiting off their own labor, keeping more of the profit in the absentee-
Lascelles family. With most of the farmland owned by a small number of men, a quasi-monopoly existed on Barbadian farmland. Free white men then could not frequently find work in the colonies as planters continuously sought to decrease the costs of labor by using slaves. Only a handful of people were allowed to profit off of Barbados’ fertile land. Assessing the long-term viability of the plantation system, Smith concludes that “the trading system created by the Lascelles proved unsustainable” due to tighter imperial regulations about the increased employment of white laborers among other factors.\(^6\) The economic issues created by the Lascelles were not unique to absentee-planters either as plantation owners across Barbados and Antigua frequently replaced indentured servants or waged workers with slaves. The British crown made repeated efforts in the British West Indies to curb this race to the bottom and provide greater employment opportunities to citizens of the British Commonwealth, though these reforms were rarely effective.

One such attempt was made by the crown to break up the consolidated production of and more widely disseminate the means of production. The British crown established “ten-acre” lands across the colony of Antigua in 1700, setting aside land so that poor whites could start small farms.\(^7\) These allotments of land were meant to provide whites with the necessary opportunities to escape poverty and encourage white immigration to Antigua and the greater British West Indies to increase the European population on the island. The establishment of “ten-acre” lands was then meant to bolster the greater British economy in two ways. First, they would create a wider distribution of wealth by creating more work opportunities giving more people the opportunity to afford to buy British products. Second, a greater white population would discourage slaves from damaging the economic order by revolting.

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Officials believed white men would fight with the plantation owners in the event of an uprising and that by creating a greater force to fight potential rebels, slaves would not be as tempted to revolt. This particular reform largely failed, however, as planters had a “tendency to usurp the ‘ten-acre’ lands” and use them for their own gain, despite their already high levels of wealth.\(^8\) Tax breaks were also offered to planters for every white adult male resident on their plantations in hopes that masters would transfer many jobs occupied by slaves to free waged laborers, but “most planters ’shamefully evaded’ this requirement” and continued to use slave labor for most jobs.\(^9\) In this example, Lightfoot demonstrates the negative economic impact slavery had, for the system in place ensured that the majority of the colonial populations were either enslaved or unemployed.

**Labor**

Land owners resisted any reforms that would hamper slavery, for they viewed enslaved laborers as tools that made the system run at its best capacity. Focusing on the impact of slavery in the British West Indies, Barbara Solow notes that slavery was not an “abstract philosophical problem… [but rather] an industrial system.”\(^{10}\) Solow advances the argument that unwaged labor was not viewed by the planter class as just a part of the economic system, but instead as *the* economic system. Plantation owners felt that the labor of free men was inferior to enslaved labor because “the former is rented for a price (called a wage), while the latter is purchased out-right by the firm who then enjoys his services.”\(^{11}\) Solow contends that the rate of return on a slave was dependent upon the purchase price and the value of the net product.

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\(^{8}\) Natasha Lightfoot, *Troubling Freedom*, 27.

\(^{9}\) Natasha Lightfoot, *Troubling Freedom*, 27.

\(^{10}\) Barbara L. Solow, *Economic Consequences of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 111.

\(^{11}\) Barbara Solow, *Economic Consequences*, 111.
which subtracts the costs of maintenance from the revenue of the net product.\textsuperscript{12} According to Solow, planters believed that enslaved labor offered better value than rented (wage) labor because of the money that could be potentially saved in the long-term by not paying out wages.\textsuperscript{13} In this context, African slaves were viewed as tools for economic profit and the slave-purchasing planters of the British West Indies believed that importing slaves into the colonies would maximize their personal wealth. The conception of slavery as a necessity to amass wealth can also be viewed from the perspective of a cost-benefit analysis. Planters grew wealthier as enslaved labor increased which led to a positive feedback loop; the elite came to believe slave ownership was best for the accrual of wealth.

However, economic scholarship has demonstrated that waged labor was more proficient at creating profit in the long-term than slavery, ultimately leading economists to hypothesize why slave owners seemingly worked against their own economic self-interest. Contemporary economists such as Barry Weingast and classical economists such as Adam Smith have demonstrated the utilization of waged labor to be more profitable than slave labor due to the increased motivation to perform. Waged laborers could be paid more for good work, or be replaced for bad work, motivating them to produce as much as they could. Slaves did not have this same motivation to perform, and according to Weingast and Smith, the money plantation owners saved by not paying their laborers was less than the money they could have earned by utilizing more productive waged laborers. Thus, plantation owners worked against their own economic self-interest by using slaves. Both economists contended that plantation owners chose not to utilize waged labor because slaves satisfied their psychological desire to dominate others in ways waged

\textsuperscript{12} The costs of maintenance for slaves included factors such as nutrition and housing. The net product in the case of the British West Indian plantation economy was sugar.

\textsuperscript{13} Barbara Solow, \textit{Economic Consequences}, 111-112.
laborers could not. Weingast additionally argued that the prevalence of slavery could be explained by slave-owner concerns over social order. Right-holding laborers would constitute a direct threat to the planters “both in terms of their elite status and in terms of their property and wealth.” Planets were uninterested in propositions that would result in any reduction of control or socio-economic status. Slave owners believed that unpaid labor was “a necessary condition” for continued profitable production as they could exert more direct control over their actions. According to Weingast, these concerns came from the planters’ desire to maintain the current order in which they existed as wealthy elites and enjoyed de facto rule over the colonial economies. Regardless, using waged labor rather than slaves would have ultimately yielded a larger profit for plantation owners.

Planters did want to control their labor as much as possible. Goucher, LeGuin, and Walton additionally proposed that British waged laborers and indentured laborers were frequently hostile toward their masters as they “knew the master’s language, culture, and weaknesses.” Waged labor was seemingly more difficult for the planters to control due to the familiarity the two groups had with each other and the rights they possessed. Planters came to prefer slave labor over indentured servitude and waged labor as they felt that the lack of cultural familiarity between African slaves and British plantation owners made it easier to exploit slaves and assert dominance over their labor. Gaining as much control over the labor as possible was of paramount importance to the planters of the British West Indies.

14 Barry R. Weingast, “Adam Smith’s Theory of the Persistence of Slavery And its Abolition in Western Europe,” 2.
18 Desire by the planter class to maintain the social order which they profited from caused them to resist economic reforms during the 17th and 18th centuries. Very few benefitted from the slave dominated plantation economy as non-landowning white men typically could find no work in the British West Indies and African men, women, and children were forced into brutal subservience.
However, this should not be interpreted as a conscious choice for planters between maximum control or maximum profit. Rather, this paper argues that plantation owners’ desire for greater control over was the result of mental conditioning by the indentured servitude labor system prominent in the 17th century in which the longer an owner had control over their servants, the more profit planters could extract from them. Therefore, arguing that planters worked against their own economic self-interest because of a desire to dominate others is anachronistic as these plantation owners never actually realized that slave labor was not the most profitable form of labor. This paper therefore aims to offer an explanation as to how and why in the British West Indies in the 17th and 18th centuries planters created an economic system characterized by slave labor, and why they did not even consider Smith and Weingast’s assertions that waged labor would have been a more profitable economic system in the long-term.

**Primary Sources**

This degradation of free waged labor occurred rather quickly in the seventeenth century, beginning as masters sought to strip more and more liberties from their servants to gain greater control over their labor. The *Acts and Statutes of the Island of Barbados* were passed in 1654 by the Barbados Assembly and demonstrates the control the planters sought over their servants to better maximize their profits. Laws within the acts granted masters some form of control over rebellion, lost revenue, and female sexuality and pregnancy. New laws threatened an additional two years of servitude for servants who “lay violent hands on his master” or “embezil, or steal.” Additionally, three years of servitude was threatened for those that impregnated “a woman servant with childe” regardless of whether the perpetrator was already an indentured servant or not.  

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22 Barbados Assembly, *The Early English Caribbean*, 207.
punishable crime so that masters would be better protected from revolt and the economic loss it would cause. Stealing from the crop supply threatened the masters’ profits, so it became a punishable crime. Impregnating a female servant inhibited her availability to labor and earn the master greater profits, thus, it too became a punishable crime. These acts demonstrate the planter desire for greater control over their laborers and helped form the foundation for their belief that increasing their legal control over the labor would result in greater profits in their pockets.

The planters could not gain complete autonomy over their indentured servants’ lives though, meaning the laborers had some amount of agency to provide pushback to the legislative changes. Petitions by Marcellus Rivers and Oxenbridge Foyle, two indentured servants, to the British Parliament in 1659 reveal both the control and lack of control masters had over their servants. The pair petitioned Parliament that the labor conditions of indentured servitude were too harsh and made them the equivalent of “slaves.”23 The existence of these petitions reveal the limits of planter control over their labor, for these indentured servants had the ability to openly speak out against their working conditions and contest the decisions of the planters. In turn, the punishments doled out by the planters on the servants indicates the masters’ desire for greater control. Breaking the laws established for indentured servitude resulted in additional years of labor, therefore revealing the planters’ wish for both greater and lengthier control over their labor and to earn more profit from them.

These desires contextualize the surge in slave popularity during the late 17th century and explain why planters believed using these laborers was more profitable than using waged labor. Unlike indentured servants, slave labor was controlled absolutely and had no end date, thus seemingly

maximizing their economic output. Slavery was perpetuated by the planters’ economic desires from which the enslaved body became merely an economic resource to them. As a result, the enslaved quickly became a greater economic tool to the planters than indentured servants. By 1661, slavery was so widespread that a slave code was passed in Barbados that threatened law-breaking slaves would, among other things, “[be] severely whipped, [have] his nose slit, and be burned in some part of his face with a hot iron.”

Stephan Palmić argues that the abundance of land to profit off of created an environment in which “servants were replaced by African slaves and the social organization of the island irreversibly switched from that of a society with slaves to that of a society organized around the legal institution of slavery.”

The Barbados planter class valued slavery more than the labor of free men to such an extent that the colonial government disobeyed later British orders meant to increase job opportunities for whites because it would reduce the number of jobs held by the enslaved.

Antigua Governor Christopher Codrington’s September 1697 address to the Council of Trade and Plantations (Council of T&P) demonstrates this colonial elite belief in the practicality of slavery. The governor argued that Antigua’s economic downturn was tied to too many planters being priced out of the slave market. The supply of slaves was priced too high for the non-elite white man to afford, ultimately making these enslaved humans a resource of the wealthy. Due to the fact that the plantation system was so reliant upon slave labor, high-priced slaves served as a barrier of entry. According to Codrington, being able to buy “much better negroes at a lower price” on other islands “would very much injure [Barbados’] trade.”

From this depiction, it is clear the enslaved body was reduced to nothing more than

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26 Governor Codrington, 1697, Governor Codrington to Council of Trade and Plantations.
27 Governor Codrington, 1697.
a means of perpetuating profit in the views of the planter class. In this view, declining economic
prosperity for non-elite whites was not caused by a shortage of job opportunities, but instead by a lack of
opportunities to own slaves. Codrington’s argument demonstrates the notion that in the British West
Indies, one’s own labor was not enough to generate wealth. Rather, becoming wealthy was dependent
upon overseeing and controlling laborers.

It is noteworthy that Codrington warned of “planters of every nation” settling the islands, not
poorer people becoming planters.\(^{28}\) The governor derogatively referred to those that could not afford
slaves as “such men” and argued that “a poor man cannot be trusted with a negro.”\(^{29}\) The black body
then was then not solely a springboard to wealth, but also an affirmation of wealth. Codrington feared
that cheaper slaves on rival islands may decrease settlement on Barbados, suggesting that elites in this
system considered the few men wealthy enough to own slaves as being more valuable to the economy than
the labor capabilities of the general population. His derision toward the “poorer inhabitants” potentially
owning slaves shows how slaves were considered a resource exclusively for the elite.\(^{30}\) It was not the tool
for climbing the social hierarchy, it was the reward that would allow the current order to persist.

Elites clung to this notion of economic progress even in the face of disapproval from the general
public. For example, The Agents of Barbados, members of the island’s colonial government, received an
anonymous letter complaining of the few jobs available due to the abundance of slave labor in 1697. The
anonymous writer argued that by forcing the slaves “from the houses to the fields,” more jobs would
become available for the poor white men of Barbados.\(^{31}\) The writer also argued that if land could not be

\(^{28}\) Governor Codrington, 1697.
\(^{29}\) Governor Codrington, 1697.
\(^{30}\) Governor Codrington, 1697.
\(^{31}\) Copy of an Anonymous Letter Addressed to the Agents of Barbados, 1697.
granted to indentured servants at the end of their terms, then other job opportunities needed to exist.\textsuperscript{32}
The author felt that inhabitants of the island needed other ways to make money than just owning a plantation and slaves, as so many jobs that could be given to white men were instead forced upon slaves. This suggests that a lack of wealth and economic potential in the British West Indies was not tied to high barriers of entry to slave ownership as Codrington suggested, but because the Barbadian elites enforced slavery as the dominant economic system. The Agents of Barbados actually offered proof of the lack of job opportunities on the island in a 1692 assessment of the state of Barbados. In surveying the colony, the agents found that “the recruiting of men from the islands by merchant ships when [the ships’] own men have been lost” was rampant, illustrating that many poor men on the island were so desperate for work they were willing to immediately board a ship solely on the promise of pay.\textsuperscript{33} The anonymous author further argued that slavery needed to be downsized so that “employment would be thrown open to the poor white servants.”\textsuperscript{34}

In 1698, a year after the Agents of Barbados received the anonymous letter, the Council of Barbados declared there to be too few white men left on the island. The council requested from the Council of T&P “great numbers of negroes upon easy terms,...a sufficient number of white servants...(for) the profit and the security of the island,” and a reduction in tariffs because the island’s “poverty (was) so great that (they could) raise no more taxes.”\textsuperscript{35} The request for more slaves at lower prices highlights that plantation owners as a group gave little analytical thought to long-term economics in the way Weingast’s and Smith’s explanation for slavery assumes they did. Even when confronted by the

\textsuperscript{32} Anonymous Letter, 1697.
\textsuperscript{33} Agents of Barbados, 1692, \textit{Representation by the Agents of Barbados of the Present State and Wants of the Island of Barbados}.
\textsuperscript{34} Anonymous Letter, 1697.
\textsuperscript{35} Council of Barbados, 1698, \textit{President and Council of Barbados to Council of Trade and Plantations}. 
general public over their declining buying power and requesting a greater number of white men, slave
owners believed importing more slaves to be the solution rather than reducing enslaved labor’s hold over
job opportunities. As Antigua governor William Mathew argued in 1737, some decades after the
anonymous letter was dated, “slavery is among us not of choice but of necessity.”36 Slaves were treated as
mandatory resources akin to food and water. They were spoken about in the same context as tools, not as
humans, evidencing the complete commodification of human life among the planter class in the British
West Indies. The Council of Barbados’ requests additionally demonstrated a planter belief that a greater
white population was needed to prevent rebellion and that the current level of white men on Barbados
was inadequate. In this case, the request for white servants to increase the “profit” of the island would
have bolstered the economy not with an increased labor force, but with their discouraging of slave
rebellion which would have greatly disrupted the economy.37 Therefore, the elites were not acting against
their own self-interest due to a love of domination but rather, these statements provide proof that they
believed domination actually served their economic self-interest.

By the late 17th century, slavery had overtaken indentured servitude as the preferred form of labor
in both Barbados and Antigua. This, in turn, meant that servants frequently became valued only for the
supposed protection against a breakdown in labor production that their presence could have provided.
Nineteen days after the Council of Barbados sent their requests to the Council of T&P, the latter group
demanded “that the laws enacted for increasing the number of white men in the island be strictly
enforced, and amended if they be defective.”38 This demand then implicated the laxity of Barbadian
leadership’s enforcement of laws aimed at providing more opportunities for white men for the island’s

36 Governor William Mathew, 1737, Governor William Mathew to Council of Trade and Plantations.
37 Council of Barbados, 1698.
38 Council of Trade and Plantations, 1698.
small white population. As long as slavery was the dominant form of labor, revolt was always a concern for the wealthy elite. However, the concept of freeing slaves to prevent rebellion would have been similar to suggesting that the machine be smashed and destroyed to prevent it from breaking down. Therefore, both councils’ strategies for preventing rebellion indicated that slavery was not considered just a piece of the economic system, but the economic system itself.

**Slaves and planters**

Economists have demonstrated that the utilization of waged labor is actually more profitable than the utilization of slave labor. This fact then creates a problem for classical capitalist economics though, for market competition should theoretically lead businesses to find new ways to increase profits. Since this process did not occur on the sugar plantations of the British West Indies, both economists posited that factors outside economics were at play. Chief among these hypotheses was that the desire to dominate others led planters to willingly eschew maximum profitability through waged labors in exchange for the maximum legal control allowed by slavery.\(^{39}\) However, searching for a psychological explanation to this economic phenomenon is an argument that plantation owners willingly chose control over greater profits. Rather, it appears, this choice was made unwillingly as plantation owners generally believed that greater and longer control of labor generated the greatest profits. That is not to say that planters had no psychological desire to dominate others, but rather that they did not understand that using waged labor rather than slave labor would have been more profitable for them and they chose the less profitable option anyway. They did not ignore their economic interests: they misunderstood them. Therefore, an attempt to understand why men perpetuated an economically inefficient system as

\(^{39}\) Barry R. Weingast, “Persistence of Slavery,” 2.
Weingast and Smith did is anachronistic as the slaveholders of the 17th and 18th centuries actually gave no mind to slavery’s economic inefficiencies.

Barbara L. Solow argues that plantation owners nevertheless reaped great profits despite using an inefficient labor system because they had an outright ownership of the means of production - the farmland. The colonial governments in Antigua and Barbados both indicated that slavery was essential for growing revenue and keeping the British West Indies economically prosperous - logic Solow contends is faulty. The positive feedback loop that developed out of the conception that slavery was necessary to produce capital at such a high rate was reinforced when planters’ profits increased along with the usage of slave labor. Solow’s argument emphasizes that profits increased due to the planter class “separating labor from access to the means of production.” Planter usurpation of “ten-acre” lands left them with “a primitive accumulation of capital.” Planers owned both the means of production and the labor force, meaning they could keep 100 percent of the profits. However, the percentage of the profits which would have been allocated to planters had they used waged labor would have been larger. Solow argues that it was not slavery alone that generated higher profits for plantation owners, but the combination of this with ownership of the farmland. Slavery did help increase their revenue, although that was only possible because they already controlled the means of production. The use of waged labor would have created more money, but because profits under slavery were greater than under indentured servitude, planters concluded that the more control they could legally assert over their laborers, the greater their profits would be.

40 Barbara Solow, *Economic Consequences*, 98.
41 Barbara Solow, *Economic Consequences*, 98.
This determination elicits an understanding of why planters advocated for a widespread increase in slave ownership to remedy economic ills while ignoring reforms which could have increased economic prosperity on the islands as a whole. As noted by Lightfoot, the British crown established “ten-acre” lands in Antigua beginning in 1700 to give more people access to land in order to farm and cultivate. These lands were frequently usurped by Antigua’s planters, Governor Codrington among them, whom Lightfoot described as “one of Antigua’s first and most successful planters.” The “ten-acre” lands would have given more people access to the means of production which Solow contends was the most important factor of British West Indian revenue. Allowing the island’s poorer inhabitants to own part of the primary means of production through the “ten-acre” lands could have created the circumstances in which cheaper slaves would have further enriched land owners. However, slave owners in the British West Indies resisted anything that may have scaled back the use of enslaved labor as evidenced by the Council of T&P’s reprimand of the Council of Barbados and the frequent usurpation of “ten-acre” lands. Given that the Antiguan planter class resisted this reform and did not allow wider access to the land, offering slaves at cheaper prices alone would not have been able to spread economic prosperity to more people. Slavery did not create wealth, it only strengthened it. As Lightfoot highlighted, “the predominance of sugar cane determined who was powerful and powerless.” To ascribe any more detailed economic analyses to the period would be a misinterpretation of the situation. Slavery appeared to maximize planter profits and, therefore, discouraged them from making any changes to the system, even if such changes would have yielded greater profits.

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44 Council of Trade and Plantations, 1698.
Conclusion

The slave economy cannot be differentiated from the capitalist economy as Britain’s sugar industry was motivated no differently than contemporary industries. While it may be comforting to believe that the plantation owners of the past were ruthless in a way that contemporary business leaders are not, the historical record says otherwise. Planters, like contemporary businesspeople, were driven by profit. A growing European taste for sugar led to increasing sugar production in the 17th century. For the British, their colonies on the islands of Barbados and Antigua in the West Indies became central to the sugar trade as planters in the process grew ever more powerful and wealthy. Indentured servants initially worked the large sugar plantations, though high sugar demands led slavery to supplant indentured servitude. Historic and contemporary scholarship refute the absolute profitability of enslaved labor though and argue that waged labor would have actually generated higher profits. But no psychological hypotheses are necessary to explain why planters chose to work against their own economic self-interest. Instead, an examination of the historical record reveals that planters mistakenly believed that the greater the legal control they could exert over their labor, the greater their profits would be. This assumption led planters to work to prevent others from gaining access to the means of production and to resist reforms aimed at boosting the number of white, waged laborers on plantations, all to solidify their privileged position. Colonial inhabitants were hurt by slavery’s prevalence as a whole due to the shrinking number of paying jobs available. Slavery harmed the enslaved and the local populations, benefitting only a select few. Slaveholders considered slavery key to maximizing revenue, and they were not keen on reforming the system regardless of who was hurt by it. Planters were not so different from contemporary humans though. They did not consciously sacrifice profit to satiate primal desires just as contemporary capitalists would not either. Planters, rather, misunderstood how to properly maximize revenue, and in their
confusion perpetuated an economic system which harmed the masses. After all, they were just businessmen seeking to maximize their profits by whatever means necessary.


Weingast, Barry R. "Adam Smith’s Theory of the Persistence of Slavery And its Abolition in Western Europe.” Ph.D. diss. Stanford University, 2015.
Violence, Division and Opposition: How Neo-Sufi Wali Ahmad Ibn Ajiba’s Hagiography Illustrates Political and Religious Tensions in Early Nineteenth Century Morocco

Margaret Bliss

The topic of this paper addresses a pinnacle period in the political and religious history of Morocco. It examines the tumultuous years between 1747 and 1811 through the autobiographical hagiography of Neo-Sufi Wali Ahmad ibn Ajiba. This paper takes a dialogical approach to understand the violence and opposition addressed in the written work of Ahmad ibn Ajiba. It argues that new religious ideology, like Wahhabism, influenced the ruling sultans — Sultan Sidi Muhammad and Mawlay Sulayman — and may have been a leading cause for the rising divisions within Moroccan communities. By examining the personal experiences of Ahmad ibn Ajiba, this paper constructs a narrative about the violence that arose in nineteenth-century Morocco due to the opposition between Neo-Sufism and Wahhabism.
The years 1747 to 1811 were some of the most tumultuous times for religious theology in Morocco. There were back to back sultans with differing ideologies, there was a shortage then an influx of pilgrimages to Mecca returning with new ideas and stories of brutality as well as an increase in influence of the established Islamic practices of the time. This mixing of ideas seems to have led to increased tensions and even acts of violence within the Moroccan society. By looking at a first-hand account of some of the ideas pulsating through Morocco there is a possibility of understanding the dynamics of its society. This paper will be a case study of the _fahrasa_ or autobiography of a Moroccan Islamic _wali_6 Ahmad ibn Ajiba and what can be gleaned from his accounts about Moroccan society in the turn of the nineteenth century. The question will be asked, how does Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s autobiography illustrate rising tensions between the ruling sultan at the time, new religious influence like _Wahhabism_ and established Sufi order’s — specifically the Darqawi Order — in the turn of the nineteenth century? And furthermore, why is paying attention to these rising tensions important to the historical context of the time?

To truly utilize Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s autobiography, there must be an understanding of what these questions mean. First, we must address the traditional role of an autobiography at this point in history and how it differs from the more classical style of Islamic _wali_ accounts known as the hagiography. Hagiographies are writings about the lives of saints and are often penned by their followers and predecessors but can also be an autobiographical account as in the case of Ahmad ibn Ajiba. Second, placing Ahmad ibn Ajiba within his historical context will illustrate his unique position within the Moroccan society. Third, it is essential to know the political and religious positions each sultan took

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during the lifetime of Ahmad ibn Ajiba in order to establish a reference point for understanding the tumultuous ideas of the time. Fourth, it is crucial to understand how and why new reformist ideas were taking root within religious and political policies and how they opposed established Sufi orders. Only after this necessary background information has been established will it become clear how the tensions of late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century can be addressed and understood in Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s work.

Although it falls under the category of a hagiography, Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s autobiography is unique in the fact that it provides a rare perspective of the *wali*’s society and provides in-depth first-hand accounts of the *wali*’s teachings and actions. Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s autobiography is considered a *fahrasa* which focuses on specific works written by the *wali* for a specific reason. According to historian Vincent J. Cornell, the role of a hagiography or *fahrasa* is to give insight into the perception and public opinion the community has of a *wali* as well as an insight into the influences something like a *fahrasa* had on rural and urban societies. Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s *fahrasa* will provide insight into the tumultuous environment of the turn of the nineteenth century in Morocco. Written in the final years of Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s life, his *fahrasa* reveals a perception of community functions within Morocco and reflects on the personal experiences he encountered as consequence of political changes and religious hostility.

Neo-Sufism through the operations of *wali*’s maintained religious and communal clout within Moroccan during the turn of the nineteenth-century. This new Sufi way was categorized as such because

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of its emergence as inclusive tariqas with broad influence most notable in the countryside. As we will see, a rapid change in political conditions caused Sufi’s to adjust and adapt to such events. Although they were reforming they maintained their defining ritual elements of the concepts of mysticism, divine love and a strong belief in walis. And through tariqhas, like Darqawi, they were able to adopt local tradition and ritual elements that allowed the attraction of missionary work for the common people. Sufis’ emphasis on deities who were bestowed with baraka — supernatural power possessed by walis and sharif — was appealing to the lower classes in the countryside hence marboutism became a strong tool for conversion.

Ahmad ibn Ajiba was himself a marabout as well as a member of the Darqawi Order and a wali. According to French historian Alfred Bel, “the marabout was the key figure in the development of popular Islam (Sufism) in North Africa and performed important social functions, such as teaching Islam and delegating disputes.” This is evident in the list of licenses Ahmad ibn Ajiba provides and the examples he gives of negotiating with the faqih. He was the product of both the rural landscape of Jbala and the metropolis’ of Fes and Tetuan and gained considerable prestige through his thoroughness of

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53 Cornell, Realm of the Saint: power and authority in Moroccan Sufism, xxxv.
54 Voll, Islam: continuity and change in the modern world, 20.
55 Levitzon and Weigert, Jerusalem studies in Arabic and Islam: Reform in 18th Century Morocco, 189.
56 Cornell, Realm of the Saint: power and authority in Moroccan Sufism, xxxv.
57 Defined as noble, descendent of Prophet; title given to shaykhs in some orders. Renard, Tales of God’s Friends, 387.
58 Defined as someone bound, attached, confined to a ribat. Renard, Tales of God’s Friends, 383.
59 Cornell, Realm of the Saint: power and authority in Moroccan Sufism, xxxv.
60 Defined as jurisconsult, learned man. Mansour, Morocco in the reign of Mawlay Sulayman, xii.
esoteric knowledge acquired through his studies with the ulamā in Fes. As his life journeyed away from “deductive and argumentative knowledge” toward the realm of “contemplative and intuitive [esoteric] knowledge,” he was observed as scrupulous and intense with fervor in orientation with God giving him status as a wali.  

Ahmad ibn Ajiba became member of the Darqawi Order and disciple of its founder and sharīf Ahmad al-Darqawi (1760-1823) at age 47 in the year 1793. The order resided in the countryside and gained influence through its use of maraboutism. The Darqawiyya tariqa, or Neo-Sufi path, focused on asceticism and self-humiliation as a way to “rise above worldly needs.” They focused on Sufi mysticism and emphasized the importance of Sufi practices especially of dhikr, ritual chanting session and sama, listening to music or sung poetry. More importantly, there was a strict adherence to obey the shaykh and keep away from political figures that were tied to the sultans. By this practice and their use of maraboutism, Sufi wali were able to challenge the authority of the sultans creating tension in the countryside.  

Morocco from the eighteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth-century was politically and religiously divided by its topographical challenges. The countryside’s social organization was established

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64 Voll, *Islam: continuity and change in the modern world*, 73.
67 Defined as incessant repetition of certain words or phrases in praise and remembera of God. Mansour, *Morocco in the reign of Mawlay Sulayman*, xii.
70 Defined as a spiritual leader, teacher, head of a religious order. Mansour, *Morocco in the reign of Mawlay Sulayman*, xii.
based on the nomadic tribes that roamed the area and on the small agricultural communities established within its valleys. According to Monsour, these communities did not rely on religious leaders for organization but on what he calls a “tribal reality”. These tribes ranged from madshar’s, organized villages to nomadic tribes and were hard for the sultans to gain political and economic control over. Due to the formation of the mountain ranges and its hinderance of easy movement from city to village, the sultan’s messengers could not provide effective political outreach causing very little influence on the day to day function of the communities. The cities and towns, like Fez and Tetuan, were where the political influence had its strongest hold and became the stage for the ulamā and the location of the Moroccan government. The ulamā, who advised the sultan and established law and governance, were influenced by the Maliki School of Law. The Maliki School of Islamic Law is one of the four main schools of religious law, and its strength of influence came from its ability to adapt Islamic teaching to the “local socio-political context” it resided in.

In Morocco, during the turn of the nineteenth-century there were two major sources that influenced the citizens, ulamā and sultans. The older and established thought process for action was rooted in the Maliki School of Law but reformism was the idea that swept the population at the time. Based on the increasingly popular Islamic view that in order to improve the spiritual and physical life of Muslims, effort must be into accomplishing a “return to first principles.” A “return to first principles”

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75 Cornell, *Realm of the Saint: power and authority in Moroccan Sufism*, 10.
suggests that the golden era of Islam and all its fidelity lied with the prophet Muhammad and his successors. As a by-product of these thoughts “reformism sought to separate [M]uslims from non-believers and to delineate more clearly the boundaries of the Muslim community.” The actions that came out of this idea had reforming consequences on Sufism as evident in the examination of Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s fahrasa.

During Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s lifetime, there were influential theologies — Hanbali and Wahhabism — that aligned with reformism. These theologies were adopted by the sultans of the time Sultan Sidi Muhammad (1757-1790) and his predecessor Sultan Mawlay Sulayman (1792-1822). First Hanbali was the last and smallest of the four schools of Islamic law. In contrast to its counterparts its doctrine was simple and more strongly rooted in salaf which is focused on the first three generations of the Prophet; it discarded the need to interpret shari‘a and boldly rejected analogical reasoning. Wahhabism, like the Hanbali doctrine appeals to salaf and makes an attempt to restore tawhid or pure monotheistic worship, as a common phrase through a reform movement. This reform movement condemned and attacked practices, especially the worship of walis and the visitation of their shrines through the justification that those who participated in such practices were idolatrous and subject to

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79 Mansour, Morocco in the reign of Mawlay Sulayman, 132.
80 Levtzion and Voll, Eighteenth-century renewal and reform in Islam, 12.
81 Mansour, Morocco in the reign of Mawlay Sulayman, 132.
82 Levtzion and Weigert, Jerusalem studies in Arabic and Islam: Reform in 18th Century Morocco, 180.
84 Mansour, Morocco in the reign of Mawlay Sulayman, 137.
takfir, an excommunication of the Muslim community. In 1798, Morocco’s pilgrimage path to Mecca and its access to the center of the Islamic world was cut off by the French conquest of Egypt. All pilgrimages were suspended until Egypt’s revival in 1802. Due to this isolation, new Wahhabi doctrine, did not enter into the milieu of Morocco until 1803 after which reports of the Wahhabi movement and its brutality became a concern in Morocco.

Sidi Muhammad, the sultan who ruled from 1757 to 1790, implemented reformist ideas and changed political policy in favor of his beliefs. He advocated for reform to limit the study of theology and logic as well as the use of Sufi books in the Maliki School of Law by forbidding the teaching and usage of such resources altogether through the implementation of fatwas or edicts. This created tensions between Sidi Muhammad’s political and religious authority as Sultan and the ‘ulamā of Fes. To make matters worse, he publicly stated: “I am Maliki by madhhab (schooling) Hanbali by doctrine.”

Meaning he believed in upholding shari’a as it was stated in the Quran and rejected the interpretations of the law by theologians. All of this was done under the guise that it was the religious leaders, including Sidi Muhammad, role to “protect the realm from religious innovation that threatens its standing with God.”

Sidi Muhammad’s son, Mawlay Sulayman (1792-1822), had a different approach to establish himself as an authoritative figure of religious and political policy. As a young child, his father had him
educated with the ulamā of Fes where he eventually was initiated into the Nasiri Order. Upon his arrival to the throne, Mawlay Sulayman reversed his father’s religious policy and followed the lead of the ulamā by abiding by shari‘a. In 1803, pilgrimages from Morocco to Mecca began again. Upon their return, they brought the teachings and influence of Wahhabism. Mawlay Sulayman became educated in Wahhabism practices and teachings and implemented it into his rule. As Sufism gained more political and religious control in the countryside, Mawlay Sulayman felt his authority and power were being threatened. Therefore, he adopted Wahhabi ideas as a mean to assert his authority over the Neo-Sufi orders. In order to do so, he attempted to ban Sufi practices such as mass access to shrines, dhikr, and sama practice. He proclaimed these actions as sinful and as a burden on the Moroccan government. Although Sulayman was influenced by Wahhabism, he did not enforce all of its beliefs. Wahhabism saw such practices of dhikr and sama as justification for takfir but Sulayman saw them as a conflict with his authority. Instead, to assert authority he banned annual celebrations and accused those in the Darqawi Order of mingling with women, unconventional dress and ecstatic dances in attempt to have the disciples of the Darqawi Order abandon their teachings and loosen their influence on the community.

Morocco in this time period was one of rapid change and can be seen as malleable to new ideas. It is within this context that we can begin to see Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s place in society and the role he played in shaping it. Most importantly, however Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s autobiography or fahrasa illustrates the rising

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95 Levzioni and Weigert, Jerusalem studies in Arabic and Islam: Reform in 18th Century Morocco, 180.
96 Levzioni and Weigert, Jerusalem studies in Arabic and Islam: Reform in 18th Century Morocco, 186.
97 Levzioni and Weigert, Jerusalem studies in Arabic and Islam: Reform in 18th Century Morocco, 173.
100 Defined as “listening” Sufi practice of listening to music or sung poetry. Green, Sufism: A Global History, 241.
101 Mansour, Morocco in the reign of Mawlay Sulayman, 136.
tensions that developed from the historical events happening at the time. Particularly, there are three distinct ways in which Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s Fahrasa illustrates these rising tensions. First, the tensions can be identified by the contents and structure of the *fahrasa* and, secondly, by the first-hand accounts of harassment and violence Ahmad ibn Ajiba encounters. Finally, the concepts Ahmad ibn Ajiba lays out within the text reveal a division within Moroccan society.

The structure of Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s *fahrasa* is the most important indicator of tension. Because it is written as an autobiography, it can be deduced that Ahmad ibn Ajiba only included works he found most prevalent to his life. This implies that he wrote in response to the things that were happening to himself. Therefore, through the use of dialogism, a dialogical analysis may be applied to this *fahrasa* as a means to understand Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s environment. This means that we can approach the text as dialogism and apply a dialogical analysis to the written work to understand its meaning. According to psychologist Per Linell, “Dialogism is a relational theory of the world.”\(^\text{102}\) If we apply this and define Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s *farhasa* as a referent — something that refers or is referred to — to his own experiences in Moroccan society, then we can use Linell’s explanation that a referent is never in isolation and is always a part of a larger communication. He states, “a response in interaction is always a response to something specific.”\(^\text{103}\) Therefore, we can infer that the purpose of his text then has two parts: a direct response to curb the influence of reformist ideas and to encourage support for Sufism and more specifically the Darqawi order in which he is a member of. Ahmad ibn Ajiba had in fact oriented himself to the orientation of others and responded in his work to interactions he had with the policies of the sultans,\(^\text{104}\)

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\(^{102}\) Per Linell, *Rethinking Language, Mind and World Dialogically: Interactional and Contextual Theories of Human Sense-making* (IAP - Information Age Information Publ., 2010), 24.

\(^{103}\) Per Linell, *Rethinking Language, Mind and World Dialogically: Interactional and Contextual Theories of Human Sense-making* (IAP - Information Age Information Publ., 2010), 24.
those who imposed such policies, and members of the community and their respective actions ultimately based on specific religious theologies. If this theory is accepted, then the *fahrasa* and its contents may be used a tool to argue in favor of Sufism and against other reformist ideas like Hanbali and Wahhabism that are influencing the political power and members of society at the time.

In the Prolegomenon, Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s establishes that the reason for compiling his *fahrasa* was to give an accurate account of his life and teachings. Unlike other hagiographies that often “construct a saint,”

104 a *fahrasa* presents personal anecdotes and teachings of the *wali*. Ahmad ibn Ajiba used this popular style of the *fahrasa* to insure he alone documented his life instead of leaving it to his disciples to write a hagiography for him. He writes, “Fearful that something extra or some omission might find its way into [my disciples] notes I have tried, with the help of God, to report what my eye has observed and what my ear has heard, for the thing reported is not the thing seen.”

106 By starting his statement with the word “fearful” we can begin to believe that he has experienced a past account where possibly his *shaykh* the spiritual leader, teacher, or head of religious order or other *walis* he was aware of were being represented in a manner in which he did not want to be remembered himself. He appears to place emphasis that what his own “eye has observed” and “ear has heard” are more important to record than stories of his mysticism. The expression of fear he has over false reports of his work, knowledge and what he has observed in his life was significantly more important to him and his audience reading his Fahrasa than that of traditional veneration. Therefore, if he is establishing this fear at the beginning of his text it can be assumed that there are different opinions circulating among those with whom he associated.

Ahmad ibn Ajiba dedicates a chapter to the “Spiritual and Sensorial Charisms” he and his

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104 Cornell, *Realm of the Saint: power and authority in Moroccan Sufism*, xxxv.
followers have witnessed to confirm and celebrate “God’s Kindness.” 107 Within this chapter, he provides account after account of charisms God bestowed on him including the familiarity wild animals and birds have with him, the “falling of veils” that allows him to receive the power of miracles and the ability to find water in a dry land through God’s kindness. 108 He recounts these tales and gives examples of other *shaykhs* miracles in order to justify that these events “frequently take place among Friends of God.” 109 He states that *wali* can appear in two places simultaneously as it is God’s doing to provide help to the *wali* and his followers when needed. 110 This chapter is an argument expressed through anecdotes to provide proof that God favors Sufism. He is essentially implying the question, why would God provide help and kindness to Sufi *shaykhs* if he did not favor their teachings? Unintentionally, he juxtaposes the oppositional movements against his own by demonstrating this in his tales of charisma. It is the distinguishing of the other whom God is not helping that is compelling in addressing the issue of tension in Morocco at the time this was written.

Ahmad ibn Ajiba continually appeals to the authority of the Prophet Muhammad as a means of justifying his favoritism for Sufi ideas and practices. As demonstrated in the chapter titled ‘Regarding Our Supports on the Sufi Way, up to the Prophet’, Ahmad ibn Ajiba emphasized the importance of the Prophet. He quotes the Prophet saying, “the most beloved servants of God are those who make His servants love God, who make His servants loveable to God... ’ This sentence defines exactly the function of the *shaykh*...”111 By including these words and identifying that the Prophet was outlining the “function

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110 Ajiba, Michon and Streight, *The autobiography of the Moroccan Sufi ibn ‘Ajiba*, 118-123.
of the *shaykh,*” Ahmad ibn Ajiba attempted to convey to his readers that the Prophet is in fact in favor of Sufi orders. By applying the dialogical analysis to the chapter titled ‘Regarding Our Supports on the Sufi Way, up to the Prophet’ and to the continued appeal to the authority of the prophet in sequential chapters, it appears that Ahmad ibn Ajiba was well aware of reformist ideas of the time. Thus, highlighting why Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s focus was on the importance of the Prophet. By including continual references to the Prophet, we can infer that he attempted to appeal to other ideas circulating at the time, possibly as a means to lessen the divide between each theology. If he attempted to dilute a divide with his chapter and continual references, then there must be an acknowledgment of friction between those of differing ideas.

Finally, the chapter titled ‘Regarding What We Have Acquired in the Matter of Exoteric and Esoteric Sciences’ is a logical argument to define Sufism under scientific norms and to justify Sufi practices within Islam. As seen earlier, Sidi Muhammad had passed *fatwas,* the legal opinion or decree handed down by an Islamic religious leader, outlawing the teaching of theology, logic, philosophy and Sufi books. In the same vein, Mawlay Sulayman at this time also attempted to discredit Sufi practices in a similar fashion. Due to the actions of both Sultan’s, Ahmad ibn Ajiba then had a heightened reason to argue a logical response in favor of Sufism. He writes, “Sufism is sincere orientation toward God via means that satisfy Him and in such a manner that He might be satisfied.’ To it have been integrated certain parts of canon law, those that deal with devotional practices, customs, destructive faults and redeeming virtues.” In this small snippet, we observe him attempting to prove that Islamic law was, in fact, supportive of “devotional practices.” It was a direct argument for Sufi practices as well as a response

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112Levtzion and Weigert, *Jerusalem studies in Arabic and Islam: Reform in 18th Century Morocco,* 182.
114Ajiba, Michon and Streight, *The autobiography of the Moroccan Sufi ibn ‘Ajiba,* 151-152.
to the Sultan’s themselves. Like Linell proposed, an argument is an orientation towards something else, this logical argument for Sufism presented by Ahmad ibn Ajiba and his deliberation of defining Sufism as a science is an example of a counter argument. Specifically, based on the context known it appears to be a counter argument against Sidi Muhammad’s fatwa. This is significant because the Fahrasa presents a tangible piece of evidence of disagreement between the Sultan and the Darqawi Order.

The second way we see tension rising from Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s text is in his anecdotes on harassment that speak about attacks on practices and his involvement in episodes of direct violence. We see that being thrown in jail over an accusation of performing and breaking a religious practice is a display of the lack of tolerance between individuals within the community at large. As Wahhabi ideas became more accepted by Mawlay Sulayman, the attempts to discredit them appear to have increased as well. Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s brother performed the Sufi practice of transmitting *wird* or litany with members of the community. An unexpecting husband accused the brother of transmitting *wird* to his wife. Ahmad ibn Ajiba came to his brothers aid to defend the act of transmitting *wird* and proclaimed innocence in transmitting it to the wife without her husband present. However, both Ahmad ibn Ajiba and his brother were thrown into jail in Tetuan where they awaited the order of the *faqih* to determine their fate. Regardless of Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s brother’s innocence or lack thereof, this encounter with an individual who opposed the practice of *wird* and blamed them for unjust practices caused a severe outcome for Ahmad ibn Ajiba and his brother. Escalation of consequences to that of jail time and a trial for a particular practice, or the breaking of such practice, is irrefutable evidence of rising tensions between those who follow different ideologies.

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Visible displays of Sufi practices caused tensions between the ulamā and nobility with Ahmad ibn Ajiba and those of the Darqawi Order. Tensions were created because of the increasing influence the Darqawi Order obtained over the rural communities and the ulamā’s slipping influence over the sultan.\textsuperscript{117} After Ahmad ibn Ajiba and his brother are released from jail, the faqih engaged in an argument with Ahmad ibn Ajiba surrounding the practice of wearing a muraqqa‘a.\textsuperscript{118} A muraqqa‘a is a patched garment worn by the followers of the Darqawi order as an exercise in asceticism. When asked what the faqih had against those in the Darqawi order he responded, “That muraqqa‘a!” He retorts, “[Wearing of a muraqqa‘a] It is not in the hadith.”\textsuperscript{119} By saying this, the faqih appears to be appealing to Wahhabi ideas. His emphasis on the fact that the practice is not in the Hadith\textsuperscript{120} or performed by the Prophet suggests that he does not think it is an acceptable practice. He then proceeds to order one of Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s companions be sent back to jail. This small interaction demonstrates an aversion to contrasting beliefs through the accuser and the accused. The act of indicting someone represents the existence of disagreeing ideas and implies the result would be agitation between those opposing ideas. The results of the tensions between the ulamā and their followers and the Darqawi Order as demonstrated by Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s account are of increased hostility.

From here tensions rose from accusations and threats of imprisonment to that of violence and brutality. After his encounter with the faqih, Ahmad ibn Ajiba left the city of Tetuan for Zammij where he intended to resettle. Here he states that he attempted to build a home but “some people from the hamlet,
fueled by revenge” had him thrown out of the village.\textsuperscript{121} He does not explicitly state why they were fueled by revenge but a rejection from the village implies an extreme distaste for Ahmad ibn Ajiba. He then goes on to explain that in his second attempt to build a home, another complaint was lodged against him but this time resulted in eviction and the burning down of his home and the religious school, where he was living. Setting fire to both his home and the school in which he dwelled implies “some people” were fueled with more than muckraking Ahmad ibn Ajiba personally but with deep intent to eliminate his influence and teaching from their community. Physical harms escalated opposing thoughts from an environment of deductive and argumentative practices to a world of real danger based on lived theology.

Tension culminated in the physical harm of an individual tribal shaykh. At the time of the fires amidst the chaos, an Islamic teaching assistant of an alternative path stabbed the tribe’s shaykh and fled. This lead to the arrests of many of the followers under Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s influence. It appears this chaos and escalation to physical violence was a campaign to deter followers from the Sufi way. From Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s writing, it is evident that they succeeded in their goal because he mentioned that many poor followers who were fearful of the events gave up the Sufi way. The implications of organized violence in an effort to suppress a center for teachings and practices illustrates not only a distaste for opposing ideas but an all-encompassing hatred. These demonstrations of harassment open our eyes to the understanding of tensions between the sultans and Sufis as well as communities and Sufi orders.

Ahmad ibn Ajiba highlighted tensions among the peoples of Morocco when he addressed concepts and evidence of opposing orientations as seen through one vs. another and the encouragement of lying. The geography of Morocco also played a part in the division of ideas and policies among

\textsuperscript{121}Ajiba, Michon and Streight, \textit{The autobiography of the Moroccan Sufi ibn ʻAjiba}, 94.
communities as a whole, not just individuals. Fes and Tetuan were both the great learned cities of the time where Ahmad ibn Ajiba himself went to study and teach. As he states earlier in his work, he had become a successful man of esoteric knowledge within Fes but moved to Tetuan when his journey on the Sufi path began. Here he recounts a response from the people of Fes after his time in jail. He writes, “When the news of the imprisonment arrived in Fez, the people from the city blamed those of Tetuan and strongly criticized their conduct.” He does not specifically address a class or group of people from Fes but merely states “the people” implying there was a strong movement within the city that was rooting for the wali’s and Sufi’s. And although he doesn’t specify two differing religious ideologies, one might infer that by saying they “criticized their conduct” he is referring to the morality of the actions they performed based on their governing religious ideologies. This display of tension of one city blaming the citizens of another based on their decisions is evidence that entire swaths of individuals were joined together under specific ideas and based their lives around them. Having a different degree of morality based on a theology can cause for extreme divide even from city to city.

Lying to protect oneself was encouraged by Ahmad ibn Ajiba in his advice to his followers. Lying about one’s religious ideology is presented as a security measure against acts of violence and harassment. Therefore, it can be implied that differences in religious thought can lead to harmful consequences. Ahmad ibn Ajiba attempted to curb these harmful outcomes by writing a letter to his followers stating, “We would also like you never to speak of mystical reality except with someone who has truly gone deeply into it... do not speak of anything but the religious law or the spiritual way.” By shining a

122 Mansour, Morocco in the reign of Mawlay Sulayman, 6.
123 Ajiba, Michon and Streight, The autobiography of the Moroccan Sufi ibn ‘Ajiba, 98.
124 Mansour, Morocco in the reign of Mawlay Sulayman, 6.
125 Ajiba, Michon and Streight, The autobiography of the Moroccan Sufi ibn ‘Ajiba, 176.
spotlight on the dangers exposed by competing ideologies, ibn Ajiba tells us there was a lack of tolerance for the mystical reality of Sufism. By so blatantly and directly addressing his followers of this issue by emphasizing the word “never,” it is evident that extreme opposition had arisen in Moroccan society and Ahmad ibn Ajiba believed one should not trust anyone else.

During the span of Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s life an escalation of opposing theological influences ran rampant throughout urban and rural Morocco. Uniquely situated as a marabout with empathy from the elite of Fes and the influence over the fuqara in the countryside, Ahmad ibn Ajiba had a front-row seat to this evolutionary time. Having been directly affect by the effects of Hanbali doctrine and Wahhabism, which were implemented and encouraged by Sidi Muhammad and Mawalay Sulayman, Ahmad ibn Ajiba provided a personal dialogue against these forces. He illustrated tensions through the structure of his text, he provided first-hand accounts of violence and harassment and highlighted conceptual implications of such events. Based on the evidence above we can infer that through Ahmad ibn Ajiba’s Fahrasa, it is evident that the adoption of theologies like Hanbali and Wahhabism by both Sultan Sidi Muhammad and Mawlay Sulayman severely impacted the religious policies they passed. And in doing so, created an influential acceptance of division within the consciousness of Moroccan society and an increasingly violent opposition between religious theologies.
Bibliography


Politicization of the Past: Confronting Revisionist Histories Manufactured by the White Power Movement

Rebecca Campbell

My research focuses on revisionist histories of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the civil rights movement promulgated by the White Power Movement (WPM). Beginning with a thorough examination of the predominant groups and ideologies that exist within the WPM, the paper will focus specifically on how extreme white supremacists (KKK, Neo-Nazis) use online literature, propaganda, and social media platforms to create falsified pseudo-histories that are politicized in the context of hate-filled ideological agendas. I argue that the revisionist narratives regarding Dr. King are especially powerful in the context of white power circles because they promote core belief systems which serve as a common thread between groups within a highly fragmented movement.

In addition to promoting chaos, uncertainty, and acts of hate in both the virtual realm and the physical world, I argue this revisionist history of King facilitates a wider attack on common targets of white supremacy: racial and religious minorities, the mainstream media, corrupt and capitalist politicians, as well as anyone who actively suppresses information from the public. Furthermore, by associating King with conspiratorial narratives regarding the U.S. government, internet content creators and prominent figures within the WPM seek to reverse the legislative and social gains achieved through civil rights activism. Presented as undisputable fact, such ahistorical subject matter poses a latent threat to academia, the general public and, most concerning, school-age children and young adults who increasingly rely on the internet for research and recreational purposes.
On November 3, 2017, President Donald Trump instructed the National Archives to release previously classified FBI reports regarding the assassination of former President John F. Kennedy. Inexplicably, among the documents was an explosive twenty-page report on Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., which “portrayed the civil rights leader in a harshly negative light.” Based on surveillance conducted by FBI agents under J. Edgar Hoover, the account demonstrated a vigorous attempt to tie King to the Communist Party, uncover financial misconduct within his Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and expose the most intimate details of his so-called “abnormal” sex life and extra-marital affairs. The release of such controversial and unverified information stands to dramatically alter the public perception of a revered American icon known for his unwavering sense of morality and justice. Alternatively, for those on the far-right fringes of racist America, not only is this information far from shocking, it confirms and validates radical histories and ideologies derived from an intense mistrust of the government and mainstream media.

This paper will examine literature, propaganda and social media activity signifying a trend within the White Power Movement (WPM) of manufacturing of revisionist histories focused on Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the civil rights movement. These falsified pseudo-histories contain powerful, reoccurring ideologies which stand to unify the highly fragmented White Power Movement. Central themes such as “the divinely sanctioned supremacy of the white race,” the “inherent inferiority of all other races,” and the “abrogation of white rights” are consistently utilized in the attack against Dr.

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Furthermore, these facilitate a wider attack on common targets of white supremacy: racial and religious minorities, the mainstream media, corrupt and capitalist politicians, as well as anyone who actively suppresses information from the public.

Politicized in the context of hate-filled ideological agendas, undisciplined historical revisionism has promoted chaos, uncertainty, and acts of hate in both the virtual realm and the physical world. Furthermore, by associating King with conspiratorial narratives regarding the U.S. government, internet content creators and prominent figures within the WPM seek to reverse the legislative and social gains achieved through civil rights activism. Presented as undisputable fact, such ahistorical subject matter poses a latent threat to academia, the general public and, most concerningly, school-age children and young adults who increasingly rely on the internet for research and recreational purposes.

Introduction to the White Power Movement Through Scholarly Inquiry

To grasp the true intent of such highly-sectarian historical revisionism, it is crucial to understand the political, social and ideological milieu from which it arises. While there is some scholarly debate as to the existence of an organized movement that encompasses the various components of the radical racist right, this paper underscores the position argued by Pete Simi and Robert Futrell, who espouse the presence of a “loose network of individuals and groups who embrace an ideology that the white race is genetically and culturally superior to all non-white races and deserves to rule over them.” Despite the lack of an apparent overarching leadership or top-down structure, groups operating within this modern

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“White Power Movement” include traditional Ku Klux Klan groups, Neo-Nazis,\textsuperscript{130} racist skinheads,\textsuperscript{131} Christian Identity groups,\textsuperscript{132} Holocaust deniers, white nationalists, and militia movements.\textsuperscript{133} Although there are Europeans of all ethnic backgrounds and religions that subscribe to the basic tenets of white supremacist ideology, the WPM is most inclusive of those who are of Northern European or Anglo-Saxon descent and practice some form of Protestantism. While the vast majority of individuals within the movement are men, there exists an active contingent of women who strive to uphold traditional patriarchal and family structures and instill a love of white heritage and a fear and hatred of the “other” in their children.\textsuperscript{134} Membership between groups is not mutually exclusive, and many share a “collective identity”\textsuperscript{135} anchored by notions of race and perceived victimization by “multiculturalism” and “liberalism.” White supremacists believe their culture, history, and privileged political and social status are eminently threatened by the growing number of African Americans, Asians, Hispanics, homosexuals, feminists, and other “non-believers” in American society. Anti-Semitism is also widespread throughout the WPM and is often used to reinforce conspiracies vis-à-vis a globalist, Jewish-controlled Zionist

\textsuperscript{130} “Neo-Nazi’s embrace traditional Nazi symbolism, such as the swastika; describe themselves as National Socialists; revere Adolf Hitler and the Third Reich; and promote eugenics to ensure the existence of a pure white race. The National Alliance, White Aryan Resistance, and the National Socialist Movement (NSM) have been three of the most influential sources of American neo-Nazism.” See Pete Simi and Robert Futrell, \textit{American Swastika: Inside the White Power Movement’s Hidden Spaces of Hate}, 16.

\textsuperscript{131} “Racist skinheads are the youngest branch of the white power movement. They drive from a distinct youth subculture, and since the late 1980s racist skinheads have synthesized neo-Nazi ideals and symbolism. Racist skinheads persist in loosely organized gangs and activist networks that congregate in skinhead crash pads and white power music gatherings.” See Pete Simi and Robert Futrell, \textit{American Swastika: Inside the White Power Movement’s Hidden Spaces of Hate}, 17.

\textsuperscript{132} “Christian Identity believers define non-whites as evil incarnate and promote racial violence as acts ordained by God...These beliefs are rooted in British Israelism, a nineteenth-century English theology that posits the true Israelites were Anglo-Saxons. Christian Identity adds to this interpretation the notion that Jews are descendant from Satan and resulted from Eve’s copulation with the serpent.” See Pete Simi and Robert Futrell, \textit{American Swastika: Inside the White Power Movement’s Hidden Spaces of Hate}, 14.

\textsuperscript{133} See Jeffery Kaplan’s \textit{Encyclopedia of White Power: A Sourcebook on the Radical Racist Right}, (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2000) for further reading regarding defining attributes, histories, and ideologies of these WPM subgroups.

\textsuperscript{134} According to sociologist Kathleen Blee, it is estimated that 25 percent of people associated with far-right extremist groups are women. Kathleen Blee, ‘Becoming a Racist Woman in Contemporary Ku Klux Klan and Neo-Nazi Groups,’ \textit{Gender & Society} 10:6 (1996), pp. 680–702.

\textsuperscript{135} Josh Adams and Vincent J. Roscigno,”White Supremacists, Oppositional Culture and the World Wide Web,” 760.
Occupied Government (ZOG) that supposedly seeks to eliminate the white race through interracial marriage.\textsuperscript{136}

Religious symbolism, whether in the form of fundamentalist readings of the Judeo-Christian Bible, pagan ritualism, “Nordic warrior myths” or Odinism,\textsuperscript{137} also serve to create what Michael Barkun describes as “a millenarian view of history that emphasizes the imminence of the ‘latter days.’”\textsuperscript{138} Many believe in a coming race war in which whites will have to defend their homes and families, and are consequently hypervigilant of supposed government plots to disarm whites and put them in “concentration camps.” Despite opposing attitudes within the WPM regarding political activism, lone-wolf violence, and general concepts of race and nation, there exists a vigorous commitment to sustaining white supremacist values through internet forums, homeschooling, Aryan music events, political rallies, and private parties.

Since its inception, the internet has provided white supremacists with a safe haven to extol the racial purity of Europeans, crusade against the onslaught of immigration, globalization, and rampant capitalism, troll blogs and websites with bigoted comments, and dwell in an idealistic yet quasi-delusional notion of the past. In general, individuals and groups within the WPM view history as a source of strength and pride, but also as a highly effective propaganda device. For Ku Klux Klan groups, their ideology is dominated by a preoccupation with the “magical appeal of the Pre-War South,”\textsuperscript{139} a time before the

\textsuperscript{136} Simi and Futrell, \textit{American Swastika}, 3.
\textsuperscript{137} Odinism refers to a neo-pagan belief system which incorporates the Viking-era Norse Pantheon. Prevalent themes such as the veneration of violence and hyper-masculinity, references to societies of with patriarchal hierarchies, and a “social Darwinist philosophy that defines the survival of pure whites as the goal to be achieved at all costs” prove to be very attractive to racist neo-pagans in the WPM. (See Simi and Futrell’s \textit{American Swastika: Inside the White Power Movement’s Hidden Spaces of Hate}, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 15, and Jeffery Kaplan’s \textit{Encyclopedia of White Power: A Sourcebook on the Radical Racist Right}, (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2000), 229-232.
\textsuperscript{139} Southern Poverty Law Center, \textit{Ku Klux Klan: A History of Racism and Violence: Klanwatch Project}, 6th ed, (Montgomery,
constant assault on the ‘white way of life’ and when society was not overrun with blacks, Jews, Catholics, immigrants, and other immoral white people. Some Neo-Nazi groups take inspiration from Adolf Hitler and the Third Reich or harken to the era of the Vikings and the apex of Nordic culture, hyper-masculinity, and pagan religion. Concerned with establishing religious justification for racial hierarchies, Christian Identity groups understand the Bible as verified historical truth and promote the belief that Anglo-Saxon Protestants were the actual descendants of the twelve tribes of Israel and not the Jews. These pseudo-histories also provide blueprints for ideal “Aryan” societies, which can then be referenced in the event that the United States government is overthrown and white dominance restored through the “New World Order.”

Within the WPM, the facts and realities of history are simply suggestions which are then manipulated and constructed to serve countless ideological agendas. Where concrete evidence lacks, vagueness and lofty references to God, country, race, and family fill the informational chasms. Far removed from the critical commentaries of mainstream academia and investigative journalism, pseudo-intellectuals produce historical arguments often teaming with racist, xenophobic and anti-Semitic rhetoric, all under the facade of exposing the ‘colossal lies’ that society has been force fed. To the uninformed reader, they may appear as crackpot conspiracy theories or desperate attempts for attention. The case of revisionist histories of Martin Luther King Jr. proves that the past, when placed in the wrong

\[141\] The “New World Order” refers to a conspiracy theory regarding the existence of a secretive cadre of international elites plotting to overtake all world governments and impose strict authoritarianism in which individual rights would be stripped. Within WPM circles, the New World Order is often placed in terms of globalist Jewish schemes to establish hegemony over both political social aspects of society with the intent to completely eliminate the white race.
hands, has the capacity to be spiteful, divisive, and can downplay any notions not fully supporting specific ideological agendas.

**Narrative Production within White Power Movement Revisionist Histories**

Beginning with his emergence as the national leader of the Civil Rights Movement in 1956, Martin Luther King, Jr. has earned a special place in the hearts of white supremacists as a “despicable hypocrite, an immoral and sexual degenerate, a worthless charlatan, an America-hating Communist, and a criminal betrayer of even the interests of his own people.”

142 During his thirteen years of activism and non-violent civil disobedience on behalf of the African American struggle for equal rights, King was frequently the target of virulent, racially charged threats emanating from the resurgent Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. 143 King’s call for racial equality and desegregation represent the absolute antithesis to the white supremacist vision for society. Even today, fifty years after his murder on April 4, 1968, his image, ideals, and even the holiday dedicated to him, are viewed by the WPM as direct threats to the Anglo-Protestant way of life in America.

It is important to acknowledge the existence of a spectrum of Martin Luther King, Jr. revisionist history available through racist far-right sources. Blatantly bigoted interpretations, generally originating from extreme white supremacist and Neo-Nazi forums and websites, rely heavily on racial epithets and slanderous prose to incite ire in audiences already highly susceptible to believing in alternative explanations of reality. More frequent, however, is the subtle and deceptively intellectual content, stemming from both controversial intellectuals and preachers of the Christian Identity movement. These

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143 It is widely believed that Klansmen were responsible for the bombing of King’s home in Montgomery, Alabama in 1956, although no individual or party was ever officially convicted of the crime.
accounts rely on convoluted Biblical references and contentious, yet scholarly, historical inquiries to manipulate and mislead potentially unsuspecting audiences. While Neo-Nazi rhetoric focuses mainly on delegitimizing King’s accomplishments and arguing that his involvement with Communists and Jews contributed to the persecution of the white race, Christian Identity theories tend to focus on King as a false prophet and moral deviant who only used religion and the ministry to further his political agenda.

Despite the variations in presentation, the basic information relayed in such MLK revisionist histories is generally consistent. Both the attempts at legitimate historical argumentation and the obvious conspiracy theories are limited to a small body of knowledge which most groups and individuals within the WPM appear to accept. In the process of defiling King’s legacy, revisionist “historians” and “investigators” successfully engineered a narrative that utilized the two most irreconcilable themes of the WPM: an explicit belief in the superiority of the white race and culture and a strict adherence to traditional Christian values and morals. These subjects are non-negotiable, even in the highly contentious world of white supremacist online forums. Consequently, many of the specific topics frequently addressed within revisionist histories of King directly support common white supremacist tropes: anti-Semitism, attacking leftists and the liberal mainstream media, and chastising immoral and anti-Christian behavior, often associated with ethnic minority groups and other religions, particularly Islam. The following analysis will prove that a seemingly cohesive and coordinated effort to modify historical fact, paired with the frills of scholarship, allowed such information to transcend WPM circles and seep into the mainstream dialogue.

Over the course of 20 years, two events and one “groundbreaking” piece of historical impiety have provided the impetus for the WPM’s revisionist attack on Martin Luther King, Jr. Starting in 1977,

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144 For the purpose of this paper, analysis will focus specifically on propaganda and literature associated with Neo-Naziism and hardcore white supremacy, since a direct correlation exists between these specific revisionist histories and the spread of misinformation and acts of hate in the real world.
when the FBI files and wiretaps associated with King were sealed for 50 years by a “liberal judge,”

supposedly to preserve King’s pristine public image as a civil rights icon. To his alarmist enemies on the racist far-right, the withholding of information from the public signaled the existence of an elaborate cover-up originating in the highest levels of government and law enforcement. According to Kevin Alfred Strom, who’s historical contributions will be discussed shortly, “even in the 1960s, the fix was in—the controlled media and the bought politicians were bound and determined to push their racial mixing program on America. King was their man and nothing was going to get in their way.”

In other words, the conspiracy prevailing within the WPM asserts that the government was fully aware of King’s “darker side,” and choose to ignore for it for the sake of maintaining racial harmony. There is speculation that the dossier’s planned released in 2027 ensures that any eye-witnesses will be dead, and thus any discussion of King’s transgressions will be labeled as ‘hate speech.’

The allegations of the information collected by the FBI became even more controversial in light of former President Ronald Regan’s official sanctioning of the third Monday in January as a federal holiday celebrating King’s birthday in 1983. Many on the far-right lament that the achievements of upstanding white Americans such as George Washington and Abraham Lincoln are relegated to a generic “Presidents Day” holiday, while a black man – especially one that “start[ed] the fires of black hate that fueled race riots in major cities of American” – is the only individual to receive a holiday dedicated entirely to their honor. One Christian Identity website run by the Fellowship of God’s Covenant People even provided estimates of the cost to taxpayers to cover the government paid

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145 Strom, “Beast As Saint.”
146 Strom, “Beast As Saint.”
148 Jim Jester, “Is Martin Luther King Day Christian?” http://fgcp.org/content/martin-luther-king-day-christian
holiday.\textsuperscript{149} The subject of the MLK Jr. Holiday is addressed less through historical debunking, but through op-ed pieces which denounce the sanctity of the holiday by providing racially biased and ahistorical justifications.

The government’s reluctance to de-classify the FBI tapes and the subsequent establishment of the MLK Holiday inspired what emerged as a historical smear campaign emanating from content creators and authors with ties to the WPM. For more than two decades, “Beast As Saint: the Truth About ‘Martin Luther King’” has been the \textit{pièce de résistance} of WPM narrative regarding the “real history” of Dr. Martin Luther King that is broadcasted across popular Neo-Nazi and KKK websites. Internet users on sites such as Stormfront.org (the virtual epicenter of white hate; a “digital-era version of a cross burning”),\textsuperscript{150} Niggermania.net, Americanchristianknights.com, KKKKNIGHTS.com (Loyal White Knights of the KKK),\textsuperscript{151} and even David Duke’s website, can trace information about Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. back to this singular essay. Originally aired as a speech in 1994 on the nationwide White Power radio program \textit{Dissident Voices} and then transcribed into writing, its author, Kevin Alfred Strom, is a widely known white nationalist, Neo-Nazi, Holocaust denier, and a convicted felon who plead guilty to possession of child pornography.\textsuperscript{152}

Until recently, “Beast As Saint” could be easily accessed on a site entitled www.martinlutherking.org.\textsuperscript{153} Created in 1999 by the notorious white supremacist and former Grand

\textsuperscript{149} Jester, “Is Martin Luther King Day Christian?”
\textsuperscript{151} These websites originate from distinct offshoot Ku Klux Klan groups from across the country. According to the Simon Wisenthal Center’s “Digital Hate and Terrorism Project,” the content displayed on these pages reflect traditional Ku Klux Klan ideologies such as white supremacy, white power, anti-Semitism, racism, and as well as fundamentalist Christian beliefs.
\textsuperscript{153} After almost 20 years on the internet, as of March 2018, the site appears to either have been disabled or removed.
Dragon of the KKK, Don Black, the website was intentionally designed to attract school-age children researching information regarding Dr. King, acting as an informational “Trojan horse.” Due to the catch-phrase words in the domain name, the site is one of the first five that appear on major search engine results for “Martin Luther King.” At first glance, the kitschy graphics and unassuming headlines give the illusion of an unpolished yet authentic website. However, the average internet user or school-aged researcher could easily miss the fine print on the bottom of the page: “this website is hosted by Stormfront.org.” A further inspection of the various resources and articles reveals conspiracy driven histories that conveniently serve as springboards for hate-filled rhetoric, including a section entitled “Jews and Civil Rights” written by David Duke, another infamous white supremacist and KKK leader. In an 2011 Huffington Post article, Jessie Daniels of RaceReview stated that, “the decision to register the domain name ‘martinlutherking(dot)org’ relatively early in the evolution of the web was a shrewd and opportune move for advocates of white supremacy.” This opportunity can also refer to the website’s increasingly popularity among those who do not necessarily possess the same ideals of the WPM, but still continue to condone the website despite its racist underpinnings.

Whether or not the entirety of Strom’s content and arguments are true and ideologically sound requires extensive analysis that goes beyond the scope of this paper. However, Strom’s distortion of the works of Pulitzer Prize winning historian David J. Garrow, civil rights leader Rev. Ralph Abernathy, and FBI records is blatantly apparent and quite troublesome in light of the hate-fueled intent of the essay. These sources each contain various biases, but unlike “Beast As Saint,” they are genuine explorations

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that do not seek to dehumanize and delegitimize King, but instead give insight into the human reality of a man before his deification in the annals of history.

A superficial reading of “Beast As Saint” would provide users with the following messages about King: (1) much of his scholarly work completed at both Boston University and Crozer Theological Seminary was plagiarized, including his PhD dissertation, (2) many of his close associates had well-known ties to the Communist party and King himself had socialist sympathies and believed in the reordering of society through class struggle, (3) King used SCLC funds to “pay for liquor, and numerous prostitutes both black and white, who were brought to his hotel rooms, often two at a time, for drunken sex parties which sometimes lasted for several days,” and (4) Martin Luther King Jr. was not even his real name.\textsuperscript{156} These particular themes are referenced frequently throughout a variety of sources and frequently reference legitimate scholarship that WPM content creators assume their audiences have not read.

The first section of the essay entitled “King’s Brazen Cheating,” appears to be based mainly on evidence found in Holiday for a Cheater by Michael Hoffman, a conspiracy theorist and Holocaust denier known for his flagrantly racist and anti-Semitic revisionist histories. Deceitful and at times fraudulent intellectualism is not uncommon in content associated with WPM ideology. Accordingly, aggressive condemnation of King’s own plagiarism in academic settings, speeches, and publications potentially distract readers from any historical fallacies presented within the revisionist interpretation. Hoffman, and later Strom, simultaneously delegitimize both King’s titles as a “reverend” and a “doctor”\textsuperscript{157} as well as the ‘liberal’ American university system that overestimated his intellectual abilities.

\textsuperscript{156} Strom, “Beast As Saint.”
\textsuperscript{157} Strom, “Beast As Saint.”
In a scholarly piece entitled “King’s Plagiarism: Imitation, Insecurity, and Transformation” featured in the *Journal of American History*, David J. Garrow places King’s widely acknowledged plagiarism in the context of both his intellectual tendencies as well as his mindset in the years before the Montgomery Bus Boycotts. He states, “Rather than grapple unsuccessfully and unproductively with such issues, anyone seeking a serious yet sympathetic understanding of ‘what went wrong in King’s career as a student’ ought to begin by gaining a clear understanding of the learning style that King brought with him to both Crozer Theological Seminary and Boston University.”¹⁵⁸ This balanced sentiment was clearly neglected by Strom, who cherry-picked Garrow’s quotes and evidence simply to aid in his quest to slander King as a fraud and hypocrite whose humanly shortcomings negated his profound achievements in the civil rights movement.

In an attempt to attack King’s laziness and supposed lack of intellectual creativity, Strom inappropriately uses Garrow’s quote

“King’s academic compositions, especially at Boston University, or almost without exception little more than summary description and comparisons of others’ writings. Nonetheless the papers almost always received desirable letter grades, strongly suggesting that Kings professors did not expect more.”¹⁵⁹

In Garrow’s text, this quote was simply used to describe the educational structure of the universities King attended. Strom, seeing an opportunity to harangue liberal professors, used it to show that King only succeeded because “supposed scholars shared King’s vision of a racially mixed and Marxist America” and subsequently “covered up his cheating for decades.”¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, Strom uses a Michael Hoffman quote to subtly attack a favorite target of the WPM: affirmative action. Hoffman claims


¹⁵⁹ Garrow, “King’s Plagiarism: Imitation, Insecurity, and Transformation,” 89.

¹⁶⁰ Strom, “Beast As Saint.”
that the only reason King wasn’t expelled or his Ph.D. was not revoked was because he was “politically correct, he was Black, and he had ambitions” and that leftist professors were “happy to award a doctorate to such a candidate no matter how much fraud was involved.” In the minds of white supremacists like Strom and Hoffman, it is inconceivable that African Americans, especially African American men, could be articulate, erudite, and philosophical leaders. In their eyes, black men were supposed to be mindless thugs who belonged on the streets or in prison, not in classrooms and libraries. In order to perpetuate this harmful stereotype, Strom resorted to attacking King as an intellectually-dull thief whose only contribution involved “whip[ping] a crowd of dumber than stones Negros into a violent frenzy.”

This illusionary process of “historical” reasoning is consistent throughout the essay and is full of uncertified libel such as King “spending his last night on earth having sexual intercourse with two women at the motel and physically beating and abusing a third.” This information, taken from the highly controversial autobiography of King’s closest associated, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, is used to perpetuate the label of black men as predators and rapists with insatiable sexual desires. Ironically, although Strom seems to read Abernathy’s account as incontestable fact, his claims that King was a sexual deviant who also consorted with white women are completely contradicted by Abernathy, who claimed that such a suggestion is without foundation.

In an almost prophetic observation, Abernathy further emphasized that “Sexual sins are by no means the worst. Hatred and a cool disregard for others are the besetting sins of our time, but they don’t sell books or tabloids.” For all extensive purposes, WPM revisionist

\[161\] Strom, “Beast as Saint.”

\[162\] Joe Cortina, “40 Good Reasons to Despise Martin Lucifer King as the Treasonous, Sexist, Crazed, Putrid Fraud He Was,” https://mindspaceapocalypse.wordpress.com/2015/01/19/40-reasons-to-hate-mlk-by-joe-cortina-some-info-on-the-real-mlk/

\[163\] Cortina, “40 Good Reasons to Despise Martin Lucifer King as the Treasonous, Sexist, Crazed, Putrid Fraud He Was,”

\[164\] Ralph David Abernathy, And the Walls Came Tumbling Down, (New York: Harper and Row Publications, Inc.), 472.

\[165\] Abernathy, And the Walls Came Tumbling Down, 470.
histories are essentially bigoted tabloids, publications aimed at defaming political, religious, and racial enemies in an attempt to recruit like-minded individuals. King’s moral shortcomings are unnecessary topics that bear no noteworthy historical significance and are simply crafted to extol the moral superiority of white Christians. The Southern Poverty Law Center observed:

Strom’s approach to King’s legacy as “akin to arguing that Thomas Jefferson doesn’t deserve a place in the pantheon of American heroes because of his suspected decades-long affair with his one-time slave Sally Hemmings, with whom he purportedly bore several children, or that Benjamin Franklin’s place in history should be vacated because Franklin himself admitted to so many liaisons with prostitutes and “women of low character” that he considered it a miracle that he never acquired any diseases.”

Within the WPM, the subject of King’s being a “crude serial womanizer” is one in which the most creative liberty is taken. Extra-marital affairs, drunken sex orgies, the abuse of prostitutes and bastard children are just a few of the accusations that serve to vilify King. Popular interpretations of FBI recordings claim that “‘Reverend King’ can be heard during intercourse to say, ‘I’m f—ing for God!’ and ‘I’m not a Negro tonight!’ and that “King made filthy, explicitly sexual references to the then assassinated President Kennedy, to Mrs. Kennedy, and to JFK’s funeral.” Incidentally, these and other sexual harassment allegations against King are now being politicized in the wake of the #MeToo Movement and the ‘pussy-grabbing’ scandal associated with President Donald Trump. In an article

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168 Joe Cortina, “40 Good Reasons to Despise Martin Lucifer King as the Treasonous, Sexist, Crazed, Putrid Fraud He Was,” https://mindspaceapocalypse.wordpress.com/2015/01/19/40-reasons-to-hate-mlk-by-joe-cortina-some-info-on-the-real-mlk/
169 Cortina, “40 Good Reasons to Despise Martin Lucifer King as the Treasonous, Sexist, Crazed, Putrid Fraud He Was,”
written for VDare.com170 entitled “On Martin Luther King Day: Will #MeToo Do To the MLK Myth What Plagiarism, Adultery, Communism, Haven’t – Yet?” author Clayton Bishop attacks “leftists who claim to be outraged by President Trump’s sexual conduct” but have yet to “explain their silence on King.”171 This is a clear example of the opportunistic nature of WPM methodology, which can transform highly inflammatory facts into a rhetorical pawn to be used against political enemies. Whereas blatantly racist and intolerant conspiracy theories rarely bridge the gap between the far right and the mainstream media, pairing highly questionable revisionist history with hot-button issues is a subtle way of peddling WPM agendas to wider audiences. The choice to use King is reflected in the particular message of the article, which asserts the infallibility of white men, the hypocritical and scheming nature of leftists, especially leftist women, and the general lack of Christian morals in society.

King’s alleged ties to Communism and the Communist Party are also a focus in “Beast As Saint,” and are used to enable an attack on a subtler target – Jews. Within the WPM, Communism and Judaism are viewed as inherently anti-Christian with many ascribers to the WPM believing that the Jews are the literal spawn of the Devil.172 Consequently, it becomes apparent as to why Strom was quick to bastardize King’s “hypocritical” position as a Baptist preacher. By continuously associating King with both ‘Marxists’ and the ‘controlled media,’ Strom appears to be establishing a connection between the civil rights movement and the Zionist Occupied Government.173 It is widely known that during King’s years of

170 According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, Vdare.com “is a place where relatively intellectually inclined leaders of the anti-immigrant movement share their opinions. VDARE.com also regularly publishes articles by prominent white nationalists, race scientists and anti-Semites.”


173 Michael Barkun defines this conspiracy as, “a secret Jewish government which through a world-wide network of camouflaged agencies and organizations, controls political parties and governments, the press and public opinion, banks and economic development, all directed, so the conspiratorialists insist, towards the aid of Jewish world rule.”
activism, the FBI conducted extensive surveillance of King, often going to great lengths to wiretap his residences, SCLC offices and hotel rooms, all in an effort to expose him as a political threat. Without attempting any discussion of the paranoid political climate of the 1960s and how it may have contributed to Attorney General Robert Kennedy’s and the FBI’s decisions to monitor King, Strom’s launches into a detailed account of the multiple “Jewish Communist handlers” that supposedly were the masterminds behind the civil rights movement. An article on VDare.com summarized for its readers the bulk of Strom’s in-depth “investigation:”

These known Communists who were close associates of MLK included Stanley Levison, once a top financial supporter of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), Hunter Pitts “Jack” O’Dell, a former National Committee member of the CPUSA, and Bayard Rustin, a former advisor to King, who was arrested in 1946 “for offering to commit a lewd or indecent act” and who maintained close ties to several Communist party members.¹⁷⁴

This acts as a deliberate attempt by the WPM to prove that a “great number of individual Jews contributed enormously to the success of the movement to increase the power of blacks and alter the racial hierarchy of the United States.”¹⁷⁵ The emergence of terms such as “diversity,” “hate crimes” and “preferred minorities” are thus viewed as the direct result of Jews meddling in America’s race relations and subsequently persecuting the white race.¹⁷⁶ Because Jews with Communist sympathies are believed to have played a major role in pushing civil rights legislation and desegregation,¹⁷⁷ the contemporary WPM continues to argue the inherent illegitimacy and flawed-nature of such policies in current American society. Strict constitutionalists even go as far as proclaiming it illegal for the government to

¹⁷⁷ Bradford Hanson, “Jews, Blacks, and Race.”
define the terms of discrimination for private employers, thus directly denouncing the legitimacy of the
Civil Rights Act of 1964. Strom attempts to alert his readers to their blind, headlong rush into the abyss
of utter ignorance, and expose the lies associated with the “carefully crafted public image” of King. In
this manner, Strom deceptively co-opt the legacy of Dr. Martin Luther King and uses it to legitimize
detestable white supremacist attitudes regarding African Americans, the U.S. government, and society as
a whole.

The Utilization of Revisionist Histories to Promote Acts of Hate

“Beast As Saint” appears to be – within certain online white supremacy communities - an epic,
groundbreaking account. Numerous YouTube videos, forums, and spin-off articles have been completely
dedicated to discussing Strom’s findings and subsequent feelings of betrayal and mistrust directed at the
media and the U.S. government. In the comments of a “Beast As Saint” spinoff article entitled “Martin
Luther King: Pussy Grabber” on takimag.com, one user proclaimed: “thank God for the internet and the
opening of all these blogs telling the truth, which has opened up my mind to how much I was
brainwashed, propagandized, and lied to most of my life.” Although the biases and political beliefs of
this user cannot be determined from one comment, it does not appear that this is a hard-liner white
supremacist taught since birth to scorn Dr. King. In fact, comments such as this show that these
histories, originating in extremist sites and slowly proliferating into mainstream news outlets, are
attracting the attention of average internet users.

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178 Title VII (Equal Employment Opportunity), Sec. 703 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 stipulates that it is unlawful for
employers “to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with
respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individuals race, color, religion,
sex, or national origin.”
179 Strom, “Beast as Saint.”
180 Kathy Shaidle, “Martin Luther King, Pussy Grabber,” Taki’s Magazine, October 18, 2016,
http://takimag.com/article/martin_luther_king_pussy_grabber_kathy_shaidle/print#axzz5okfxfv
In recent years, some internet content creators have transformed Strom’s ahistorical conclusions into full on attacks directed towards King and the allegedly scheming and corrupt U.S. government. In an essay entitled “Marchin’ Lootin’ Killin’ Day,” author Edgar J. Steele relies on common white supremacist tropes to outline his “ardent” support for an entire day dedicated to Martin Luther King Jr. He states that this holiday is “the perfect reflection of modern America,” which has devolved into a “dreadful, jack-booted creature that now strides back-and-forth across the globe, demanding, threatening, killing, maiming, and sermonizing to all.” According to Steele’s logic, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr – supposedly one of the greatest public relations hoaxes in American history – would perfectly echo the overall tarnished legacy of the United States government. In ten reasons, Steele draws direct parallels between King and the United States and why both should be “honored.” Many read as such:

King’s history and true behavior are kept secret for Americans, just like America’s recent history and true behavior, both domestically and abroad… King incited violence while preaching nonviolence, just as America does every time it invades another small, defenseless country… King stole money from his followers and supporters, just like America steals money from his own people through confiscatory taxation, obscene monetary inflation and outlandish deficit spending… King liked white hookers, similar to how America actively now couples it’s white daughters with blacks of every stripe…

After each comparison, Steele provides a few lines of questionable evidence, using “Beast As Saint” multiple times as a reference. Like Strom, Steele pays extra attention to the issue of King’s plagiarism, claiming that “King ruthlessly stole from others just like America steals Iraq’s oil and uses inflation to steal from its own elderly and poor.” However, what differentiates “Marchin’ Lootin’ Killin’” is its extremely crude and hateful language that does little to conceal blatantly vitriolic and racist undertones. Steele slanders King’s liberal professors at Boston University as “complete and utter sluts and whores”

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who should “be charged as accomplices.” Additionally, he insists that MLK Day stands for what “far too many American Negroes truly have become in an increasingly racially-divided and tense America: Marchin’ Lootin’ and Killin’ machines.” Black America, Steele argues, is filled with nothing but undeserving welfare-kings placed on pedestals by the Communist-and-Jew-infested government, simply to justify the “nonexistent ideals” of equal opportunity, brotherhood, and overcoming prejudice promoted Dr. Martin Luther King. This essay is featured in a popular thread on Stormfront.org, and is thus made easily accessible to the site’s 300,000 registered users. The association of such racism and hostility with King represents a tragic injustice to the legacy of a man who worked tirelessly to overcome racial discrimination and persecution. Steele’s spiteful mutation of King’s history into a rallying piece of propaganda used to garner the support of racists nationally and worldwide exemplifies historical malpractice at its pinnacle.

Analysis thus far has only documented the hate and bigotry promoted within the virtual realm. Unfortunately, white supremacy does not just exist on the internet. Figures associated with or co-opted by the WPM have also used and abused Martin Luther King revisionist history in order to undermine the movement and the ideals he represented. For example, the former Presidential candidate Ron Paul, known for his “lucrative and decades-long promotion of bigotry and conspiracy theories,” alleged in a 1990 newsletter that Martin Luther King Jr. was a “world-class philanderer who beat up his paramours”

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\(^{184}\) Steele, “Marchin’ Lootin’ Killin’ Day.”

\(^{185}\) Steele, “Marchin’ Lootin’ Killin’ Day.”

\(^{186}\) Steele, “Marchin’ Lootin’ Killin’ Day.”

\(^{187}\) The format of the Stormfront website allows users to search specific topics and view the corresponding “threads,” where they can post content within forums and interact with postings of other users. In the case of Marchin’ Lootin’ Killin’ Day, one user initiated the thread by posting the essay, which subsequently generated hundreds of replies. https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t356225/

\(^{188}\) Statistic as of 2015, according to the Southern Poverty Law Center, “Stormfront,” https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/stormfront

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and had “seduced underage girls and boys.”

He additionally attacked the creation of the King holiday by Ronald Regan, claiming that “we can thank him for our annual Hate Whitey Day.” After the newsletters were revealed during his bid for the 2012 Presidential election, many white supremacists on sites such as Stormfront.org flocked to defend Paul’s assertions and declare their “unabashed support for his campaign.” Although Paul denounced the encouragement, his past dealings with white supremacists have made him a type of hero within the WPM as well as a facilitator of a creeping, hateful campaign of misinformation.

Other, more blatantly racist and anti-Semitic figures within the WPM, have used the controversial legacy of Martin Luther King to shift attention away from the achievements of the civil rights movement and towards what is described as “widespread anti-white discrimination.” During an episode of the David Duke Show in June 2017, the former head of the Ku Klux Klan spoke defiantly of the “massive discrimination going on against white people in jobs, employment, scholarships” and lamented the fact that monuments dedicated to white “heroes” such as Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis were being replaced by those dedicated to Martin Luther King. In a highly sarcastic tone, Duke proclaims, “what a great example for our kids. Why don’t they make a monument of Martin Luther King,

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192 According to The Atlantic, in 2007 Ron Paul kept a donation from Stormfront’s founder and former Ku Klux Klan grandmaster, Don Black, who subsequently endorsed Paul for Congress. He justified keeping the money because “[h]e got their money away from them.”
194 Eyes on the Right, “David Duke Suggests Erecting Monuments of Martin Luther King, Jr. ‘Beating His ‘White Prostitutes.”
you know, together with his white prostitutes when he’s beating them?" Like the revisionist histories that appear to have inspired his tirade, Duke co-opted the legacy of a champion of equality mounting a toxic defense of the white supremacist status quo. On his website, David Duke also explains exactly why martinlutherking.org is so popular among far-right and white supremacist circles:

All the other King sites on the first page are actually faith-promoting cheerleading sites which advocate “King-worship”. In contrast, martinlutherking.org is the only prominent related website which provides a true historical examination of Dr. King’s life. The site does indeed describe Dr. King as a philanderer, a drunk, a liar, a plagiarist, and a cheater, but it backs up its claims with objective information and references.

Despite such universal praise from within the WPM, mainstream news sources have begun to counter attempts at normalization of the types of ahistorical practices represented throughout martionlutherking.org. In a Newsweek opinion piece, Jessie Daniels, a white supremacist researcher for over 20 years, states that while sites like Stormfront pose an “obvious, overt threat to people’s lives,” cloaked sites like martinlutherking.org pose a “more subtle and insidious threat to the underlying moral argument for civil rights” and “both are dangers to democracy.”

Increasing popularity within the WPM coupled with exposure from well-known figures allowed MLK revisionist history to seep into everyday life in America. According to the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), “it is common, for example, for some Ku Klux Klan groups around the country to plant Klan flyerings all over MLK Jr. Day weekend, in order to draw attention.”

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reported in Alabama, Maryland, Mississippi, and even British Columbia of such occurrences. In January of 2018, flyers were reportedly distributed throughout towns in Northern Virginia. A local bishop by the name of Shawn Stephens exclaimed “how can this be in 2018? How can this really be our reality at this stage of life? This is America, land for the free.” Many of the flyers used can be traced back to information and flyers provided by martinlutherking.org. One flyer used by the Loyal White Knights of the KKK in Pittsburg broadcasts that “On Martin Luther King Day...You are celebrating a Communist Pervert.” Another that is made available on martinlutherking.org, uses bold trigger words such as “Communist,” “Woman –Beater,” “Plagarist,” “Subersive,” “Adulterer,” and “Sexual Deviant.” The flyer’s catch-all phrase “WHITE PEOPLE! Get the facts and REPEAL THE KING HOLIDAY!” encompasses a movement actively trying to turn Martin Luther King Jr. Day into “James Earl Ray Day,” “Robert E. Lee Day,” and even “Martin Lucifer Koon Day.” One article by Kevin Alfred Strom entitled “King Day: Let’s Blanket the Nation,” purposefully instructed his readers on the National Vanguard website to print out a flier “exposing the lecherous negro fraud who went by the

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name of Martin Luther King” and to “get the truth out to hundreds or thousands of people in your community.” He goes on to give specific instructions, stating that:

These flyers have also proven to get results through the reaction of the controlled media to, who often take the (mistake) attitude that they can reduce the impact of the flyer by attacking it (and the alliance) as “bigotry,” “hate” or “neo Nazism”… flyers can be placed inside screen doors under wind shield wipers, posted in quantity on community bulletin boards, handed out on the street or at community events, slipped under the doors at college campuses in dormitories-wherever our people can be found.  

This type of call to action is precisely the type of collective effort that sustains the WPM. By imploring all “true-believers” to embark on a noble quest to right the wrongs of history, Strom is “giving activists opportunities to connect with fellow Aryans” while further promoting white supremacist ideology. The establishment of off-line collective action not only creates a sense of solidarity, but it normalizes extremist behavior that otherwise may have remained at the individual level. Whether it be through pamphlets, investigative journalism, or through conspiracy-mongering right-wing pundits, there is no doubt that these pseudo-histories have transcend WPM circles and have become incorporated into the mainstream dialogue.

One example of this emerging process of normalization occurred in the town of Greely, Colorado between the years of 2008-2011. Brett Reese, a member of the Greely Evans School Board and elected member of the District 6 Board of Education, broadcasted readings of “Beast As Saint” on a local radio station KELS 104.7 twice daily in the days leading up to the MLK holiday. In response to backlash form outraged and concerned parents and community members, Reese claimed that the airings were not

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209 Kevin Alfred Strom, “King Day: Let’s Blanket the Nation.”
210 Pete Simi and Robert Futrell, American Swastika: Inside the White Power Movement’s Hidden Spaces of Hate, 102.

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racially motivated but were “exercises in free speech, critical thinking and debate,”\textsuperscript{211} and also rejected the support of the piece’s author Kevin Alfred Strom. Standing firmly behind his actions, Reese declared “facts are facts, and truth is truth, whether it came from a white supremacist website or the Black Panther website.”\textsuperscript{212} The Southern Poverty Law’s “Hate Watch” reported on the incident and argued that “by treating Strom’s essay as settled fact, Reese shows a palpable disinterested in separating fact from fiction.”\textsuperscript{213} This being said, public officials have every right to their personal opinions. However, the case of Brett Reese provides a perfect example of how not acknowledging the difference between controversial interpretations of history and cases of revisionism associated with hateful, racist and anti-Semitic authors can lead to divisions within the very communities they serve.

The emerging predominance of social media in the lives of young people allows this information to easily reach suggestible audiences, especially when the information is presented as rebellious and anti-authority. The following comment left on a Stormfront.org forum wall, whether it is fabricated or not, epitomizes every conscientious educator’s worst nightmare (spelling and grammatical errors are left in for effect):

\begin{quote}
I am a 15-year-old skinhead from a town Pennsylvania and i am in 10\textsuperscript{th} grade. Every time I walk into history and we are talking about something “race related “I either get kicked out of class or suspended. My teacher is a downright Jew/ Negro lover (she is white) and it pisses her off to have a racially proud “Nazi” in her class.... We we’re talking about Martin Luther King day today and I received a two hour detention for voice my opinion (opinion)... she was feeding the class lie after lie about this Negro... she left out that he was a communist funded womanizer, drug user, who didn’t really earn his doctoral thesis. When I stated the FACTS she told me i was a liar and had no real proof to my “rants and raves.” She sent me to the office and i received a two hour detention (detention) for “disturbing the class.” I printed out like 40 fliers from various sites good information on them and I will
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{212} Robert Steinbeck, “Racist Author Supports School Board Member Who Broadcast King Attack.”
\textsuperscript{213} Robert Steinbeck, “Racist Author Supports School Board Member Who Broadcast King Attack.”
be passing them out to my history class. I also made a few copies for the teachers… so far I have reacted a few kids in my class as to standing up for their beliefs whatever they may be and never let the liberal bastards bring you down at any cost. We are the future of this great movement of ours! White power! White kids stand and fight! 

Although protected by the First Amendment, it is informational hazards such as “Beast As Saint” and “Marchin’ Lootin’ Killin’” that are facilitating historical ignorance for future generations. While the defamation of Dr. Martin Luther King in it of itself is a truly devastating reality, the fact that school-age children are exposed to vitriolic tirades disguised as history poses a major threat to American society and national identity.

Conclusion

In light of the information presented in this essay, should academics, members of the media, and the wider public be concerned? Should scholars and investigative journalists be held accountable for addressing this information and providing tools to help discern between legitimate historical inquiry and hate-filled revisionist histories? And finally, how can such a politically and socially polarizing subject be approached in ways that aren’t heavily biased, especially when such rhetoric is associated with hate incidents? These questions should be considered not only in the attempt to defend the crucial contributions made by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., but be understood within the context of the coalescing of the WPM. The events that transpired at the “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, VA in July of 2017, prove the increasing nationwide visibility of the WPM. Central aspects of the rally, including debates over the removal of Confederate monuments and the protestors’ “appropriation of faux-medieval

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214 https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t101679-3/
culture,” br bear witness to clashes over historical themes and memory between various politicized interpretations of truth and fact. While there are indeed multifarious ways in which scholars and experts can choose to address the revisionist narratives originating from within the WPM, this phenomenon should by no means be ignored or deemed trivial. The consequences of a historically uninformed society was highlighted by Dr. King in a sermon entitled “Transformed Nonconformist.” The quote, “We are not makers of history. We are made by history” underscores the role that institutions and individuals play in allowing problematic historical status quos to persist by not working against longstanding social injustices. By not accepting the historical inertia created by the legacy of slavery, segregation, racial violence and white supremacy, scholars and experts can prevent the reversal of truth and myth and stem the tide of complacent ignorance.


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Historiographical Methods of the Chicano Movement: Cycle of Phases Between 1960-2000

William Hendershott

Chicano history is not adequately covered in K-12 history, nor is historiography. This paper seeks to shed light on both. Likewise, there is a push by reactionary politicians to take out the teachings of the Chicano movement and other portions of Mexican-American history in states such as Texas and Arizona. To combat the suppression of crucial historical context, we must continue to research and showcase it. This paper is a look into the historiography of the Chicano Movement from 1960 to 2000; in which I frame the changes through three phases. These phases show a wide array of different historiographical approaches and signify the evolution of the movement itself. Firstly, we see a period of political, social, Marxist, and cultural historiography. Secondly, we see a phase of scholarly exploration. Thirdly, I illustrate a combination of the first two phases and the continued vigor of the movement. Lastly, I will highlight a glimpse of the developing 21st century historiography. Historians should be interested as this paper seeks to show the variety of historiographical methods used by the Chicano movement, and as it aids in the movement towards a more complete historical narrative. Likewise, those interested in labor studies would be interested in seeing how this movement, which is integral to the United Farm Workers labor movement in Delano, is documented and how that documentation evolves throughout time.
Grand historical narratives often leave out pieces of the puzzle and it is up to historians to find those missing elements. The U.S. national narrative leaves out many stories that add nuance, leading to truncated understandings of history; a great example of this is the narrative of the “American West”. Uncovered stories can help complete the accounts and our understanding of them, or they can break down the tales’ validity. The powers of the popular narrative quake at the release of historical context. Yet, many historians welcome it. There is a bias towards written history of the elites. However, we must be aware of other legitimate methods of documenting history and the contributions from outside of elite circles. By seeking out these methods and contributions, historians help uncover and rescue the agency of people from what E.P. Thompson calls the “condescension of posterity.”

The United States has been around for less than 300 years and has a rich and complicated past. Yet, why do we hear such shortened versions of it? In searching for more context, you’ll find a plethora of stories that add new complexities to the U.S. narrative. One of these is the history of the Chicano movement, a branch of the broader Mexican-American civil rights movement in the 1960s. If an uncovered story can change the way history was written, we must first understand the history itself and then understand the methods of writing this history. Culminating in the 1960s and continuing throughout the 1970s, the Chicano movement was a militant Marxist movement seeking civil rights for Mexican-Americans, better working conditions and wages for Mexican farm workers, and a yearning for a rebirth of their Mexican cultural identity. In the 1980s Chicano historiography explores many new directions including intellectualism, feminism, and environmentalism. Most recently in the 1990s and 2000s, Chicano historiography emerges from the phase of exploration with new perspective and combines the lessons of the first two phases to create a third phase of its own. From 1960 to 2000,

Chicano historiography shifts through phases that further deepen the historiography of the movement to what we see in present day.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the Mexican-American civil rights movement gave birth to the Chicano Movement and the first phase of its historiography. This era was not only significant for its growing civil rights movement but also its labor and cultural movement. Just as with the African-American civil rights movement, the Mexican-American campaign combined civil rights with labor rights creating an active and unified group. One of the outcomes of this is an embrace of Mexican cultural identity and pushback against American cultural assimilation. We shall see that this first phase creates a base on which Chicano historiography will build. To get a glimpse into the historical documentation of the Chicano movement of the 1960s, one can look at *La Raza*, a 1967 Chicano newspaper in Los Angeles. *La Raza* was an East L.A. newspaper that focused on publishing photographic images of the Chicano movement and underscoring its struggle. According to Luis Garza, a former *La Raza* photographer and co-curator of the *La Raza* exhibit at the Autry Museum, *La Raza* photographs were a documentation of the movement and their own form of activism.\footnote{Luis Garza, comp., *La Raza*, September 2017, La Raza Exhibit at the Autry Museum, The Autry Museum in Griffith Park, Los Angeles.} These pictures documented how protests began and ended along with the “energy and agency” of the movement.\footnote{Ibid.} It also documented the movement’s “collective identity” and how signs from protests, murals and graffiti served as a “vital messaging system broadcasting Chicano/a demands across the city and out in the world.”\footnote{Ibid. This form of activism was a combination of political and Marxist-social historiographical methods. It was also an idiographic approach looking at specific events in time.\footnote{Ibid. Work like this was heavily dependent on field work and was a precursor of a}}
present-day historiographical method. This activism was highly subjective and is vulnerable to the
criticisms of proponents of objectivity in history. That said, just because it leans more on emotion than
neutrality, that does not make it illegitimate. The spirit of the movement is vital. While there are other
works, La Raza is an excellent example of the activist sentiment driving the historiography. It also does
an excellent job of showing each method used in this phase. However, the artistic expressions of culture
deserve a more in-depth look. As the Chicano movement at this time continues its Marxist-social and
political history, a cultural rebirth will follow.

Luis Valdez and El Teatro Campesino (The Farm Workers Theater) sparked the rise of Chicano
Theater in the '70s. Valdez and El Teatro Campesino impacted much more than the organization of farm
workers. According to museum curator Abelardo de la Peña Jr., the explosion of artistic expression in
Los Angeles was in large part due to Chicano Theater.222 It is through the arts such as Chicano Theater
and mural paintings that exhibit a method of cultural historiography. Spiritual plays by Valdez such as
“Bernabe” and “The Dark Root of the Scream” both show cultural issues facing Chicano communities.
“Bernabe,” which also qualifies as an early environmental history, is a play about a young Chicano
getting in touch with the ancient Aztec gods over his dissatisfaction with the status of the relationship
between humans and the environment.223 “The Dark Root of the Scream” is a play that highlights the
tension between the institution of Catholicism and the Chicano community by denying the validity of old
Mexican cultural identity.224 These are just a couple among a profusion of plays written by Valdez. Valdez
framed his social commentary through plays and thoroughly covered the issues important to Chicano

222 “Interview with Abelardo de la Peña Jr.,” interview by author, December 6, 2017.
224 Luis Valdez et al., West Coast plays #19/20 (Los Angeles, CA: California Theatre Council, 1986), 4-19.
communities. Chicano Theater became more than an organizing tool for the movement; it turned into a pool of knowledge for Chicano history. Through generic characters came stories from the hearts and minds of Chicano communities making for an intriguing way of documenting history. Artistic expression became a vital vehicle for Chicano historiography. In a like manner, we shall see that mural painting continues to demonstrate the importance of artistic expression.

In order to further show the boom of cultural historiography this paper shall look into mural painting. Murals such as the “Chicano Time Trip” by the East Los Streetscapers shows a time-lapse of Mexican history beginning with their roots in ancient Aztec culture.\textsuperscript{225} The panoply of murals that would appear throughout the city of L.A. show an apparent explosion of cultural history and the method used to document and express this cultural history was through art. These scenes of art also worked to record political and social history in much the same way. Chicano artists alone painted over a hundred murals and the city have taken many down or refused maintenance, further showing the constant battle between agents of the state and Chicano communities. Just as \textit{La Raza} photographs and Chicano Theater were forms of activism, mural painting continued that theme. Within the artistic niche that L.A. became throughout the 1960s and 70s, Chicano muralists found a place to express their dissatisfaction with the authoritarian big city machines and to broadcast Chicano messages and demands. As a result of the first phase, we see a base for Chicano historiography to build off. The 1980s continued this cultural historiographical method, yet the political and Marxist-social methods would turn in a different direction.

In 1980, the environment within the Chicano Movement changed with the emergence of a plethora of new Chicano scholars. This phase is one of exploration. Being a part of the 1980 Chicano

Movement, De la Peña Jr. said that it was “more of an exploration of what is outside.”

What De la Peña Jr. meant was that it is an exploration of new avenues, including historiographical ones, for the movement. Indeed, historian Juan R. Garcia mentions in the 4th volume of “Perspectives in Mexican American Studies” that “Chicano/a historical scholarship of the 1980s was more diverse, fragmented, sophisticated, and complex.”

He also adds that scholars “explored new themes, issues, and complexities.” This new exploratory phase led to new types of historiographical scholarship for the Chicano community. Students and graduates began pumping out Chicano literature in the 1970s but with more intensity moving into the 1980s. In “Chicano Historical Discourse: An Overview and Evaluation of the 1980s,” Richard Griswold del Castillo divided the new Chicano literature into six topics: “Community Studies, Regional Surveys, Socio-cultural and Intellectual History, Chicana History, Political History, and U.S.-Mexico-Chicano Relations.”

Two of these topics are not exactly new – socio-cultural and political – but the absence of Marxism is what primarily differentiates this phase from the first phase.

It was also during this period that Chicano scholars began to study the history of Chicano communities such as the barrios of Los Angeles. Regional surveys documented specific regions that contained a predominantly Chicano community since Chicano history was not considered large enough to be included in national history books. It was in these types of spaces that allowed for the introduction of environmental history. Socio-cultural history was seen in a different light and encompassed more than just a specific community; it looked at the resurgence of Mexican culture and its clash with the doctrine.

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226 “Interview with Abelardo de la Peña Jr.,” interview by author, December 6, 2017.
228 Ibid vii.
229 Ibid 1.
of assimilation and the effects of that on Chicano society. Due to the rise of educated Chicanos, the historiography saw a surge in the number of intellectual avenues into specific historical events of Chicano history which in turn aided in the changing nature of the socio-cultural outlook.

Feminism took shape in the 1980s within the Chicano movement, creating the Chicana movement. Part of the changing environment in Chicano social historiography was a new focus on gender relations. The Chicana surge demanded a change from the male-centered historical narrative and more Chicana inclusion. Chicano history being politically charged was nothing new, but the transition from the militant Marxism of the first phase altered the goal of Chicano political historiography; it became more of an educational tool to advise future activists.\textsuperscript{230} These new methods highlight a maturation of the movement, more attention was paid to the long view, and underscored the growing population of scholars and students. This new framework laid the groundwork for the emergence of new historiographical methods. This phase of exploration into new historiographical methods has only grown since the 1980s. At the same time, old qualities re-emerged in the forefront due to an increasingly conservative and neo-liberal political climate of the United States in this same period.

Moving into the third phase of the 1990’s, the Chicano movement experienced a retooled political and cultural phase. Political historiography is in the driver’s seat in this decade with cultural historiography in the passenger seat - the other historiographical methods will lurk around in the backseat for the meantime. As more Mexican-Americans became involved in politics and more representation at the lower levels became a reality, Chicano historiography became increasingly more political; specifically, the methods were focused on a new Chicano political identity. De la Peña Jr. explained that in the ‘90s “everything became more issue by issue and the movement began working

\textsuperscript{230} Ibid 2-15.
The diversification of scholars and scholarship from the ‘80s showed that the Chicano movement had a new ability to assign portions of the community to a certain issue and that they were able to now make waves from within the existing power structure. De la Peña Jr. elaborated that “when the Chicano community made too many gains, the U.S. government would put the hammer down.” Feelings like this partially define 1990s Chicano historiography as the community responded to the wave of anti-immigrant sentiment transitioning from the 80s to the 90s and the rollback of education reform, bringing politics back to the forefront.

In the 6th volume of Perspectives in Mexican American Studies, edited by Juan Garcia, we can see this trend at work. Nearly every essay in this collection is centered around politics. For example, seven out of the nine essays are politically themed each with a different focus on Chicano politics. The essays written by Ignacio M. Garcia, Raoul Contreras, Armando Navarro, David M. Hernandez, Christine Marín, Marc Pizarro, Daniél Estrada, and Richard Santillán (the latter two co-writing the same essay) all touch on a variety of political topics and they share their perspectives on policies and how they relate to and affect Chicano communities. These essays would ultimately build upon new and old resources to develop new arguments for Chicano historiography. For example, the new activism of the 1990s decade was built upon the traditional militancy of the 1960s and 1970s. Showing an influence from the second phase, the author of the first essay in the collection mentioned previously, Ignacio Garcia, would use a vast array of scholarly works with personal accounts as his sources. He mentions in his notes that “[this] should not imply that I believe there are too many personal accounts of the movement. On the contrary,

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231 “Interview with Abelardo de la Peña Jr.,” interview by author, December 6, 2017.
232 Ibid.
there should be more, but we cannot depend on them to provide the intellectual framework for understanding the movement in a scholarly manner.”  

What is telling in that statement is the effect Chicano scholarship has had not only on the historiographical work of the movement but also on the minds of the movement. All other essays in this book have a similar balance in sources showing not only a definite shift in the work and thoughts but also a new change in working within the existing structure of society. Chicano historiography at this time was no longer from the outside looking in; in fact, it reversed.

Similarly, Chicano cultural historiography witnessed the same change. These cultural studies became more scholarly and moved from artistic expression to studies of historical roots. This is not to say that mural painting or Chicano Theater died out because in reality, it was the contrary, they kept going with much vigor. Instead, it is just to reaffirm the effects of Chicano scholarship. In the 22nd volume of *Aztlan*, published in 1997, we see academic essays looking into the historical roots of Chicano cultural and social identity. The essay “Refiguring Aztlan” by Rafael Perez-Torres looks into the idea of a mythical ancestral homeland, Aztlan, which served as a unifying cultural force for the movement. His essay explains that the movement is in a moment of trying to give new meaning to the legend of Aztlan, a shift from the purpose of simple unification to liberation. His work, therefore, displays a new academic direction for Chicano cultural historiography.

This new direction is a mix of both cultural and intellectual historiographical methods. You can see this trend clearly in Yolanda Broyles-Gonzalez’s *El Teatro Campesino: Theater in the Chicano Movement*. Broyles-Gonzalez is a feminist historian whose book looks into the tradition of Mexican

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231 Ibid, 16.
popular performance, the spiritualism and rituals of actors in Chicano Theater and a new vision of
Chicano theater with expanded roles for women.\textsuperscript{236} Through this work, she sheds a light on a mix of a
small list of unpublished sources including oral histories and an extensive list of published sources
including performances and films to build her argument.\textsuperscript{237} While the third phase of Chicano
historiography revives political and cultural history, the exploration of the 1980s continues to have its
impact. Indeed, the results of the 1980s exploration phase altered the very foundations of Chicano
historiography. Moving into the 21\textsuperscript{st} century, Chicano historiography brought back to the forefront the
methods uncovered during the exploration phase, which in turn would create even newer methods.

While this paper focuses on the 40-year period within 1960 to 2000, I will end with a glimpse
into the changes seen in the new millennium. As the Chicano movement continues to grow, we see it
begin to include other Latino peoples of the United States. De la Peña Jr. explained that Salvadorans,
Guatemalans, and more are now becoming Chicanos themselves and adding their histories in with
Mexican-American history.\textsuperscript{238} Chicano history is making a substantial effort for inclusion in the
mainstream narrative of the U.S. In \textit{The Chicano Movement: Perspectives from the 21st Century}, historian
Mario T. Garcia notes that “Chicano history is U.S. history.”\textsuperscript{239} More Chicano historians old and new are
pushing for the mainstream narrative to acknowledge this truth. The new millennium continues the
tradition of political and social historiography as evidenced by the first two parts of Mario Garcia’s book,
\textit{Community Struggles and Student Movement}.\textsuperscript{240} This particular work also shows a growth of regional

\textsuperscript{236} Yolanda Broyles-González, El Teatro Campesino Theater in the Chicano movement (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), xi-xviii.
\textsuperscript{237} Ibid 255-265.
\textsuperscript{238} “Interview with Abelardo de la Peña Jr.,” interview by author, December 6, 2017.
\textsuperscript{240} Ibid, Contents.
studies highlighted in Garcia’s section on “Geographic Diversity” which documents the vast span of the Chicano movement throughout the U.S.  

As the 1980s created a paradigm for new historiographical methods, the 21st century has seen the emergence of new methods thanks to the 1980s exploration. Environmental history is beginning to take form. Devon Peña’s *Chicano Culture, Ecology, Politics: Subversive Kin* sheds light on the relationship between Chicano communities of the Río Grande and the natural environment. He explains how this relationship works to define the culture and politics of those communities. This is one of the few environmental histories written to this point, however, with this publication and the pattern of Chicano historiography, it is likely that more Chicano environmental histories will develop soon. The newest historiographical method discovered in my research is that of “guerilla history.” Sandra de la Loza of the Pocho Research Society of Erased and Invisible history has undertaken a task of creating “unofficial historical markers” at four monuments in Los Angeles in which she “investigates the place and memory through public interventions.” Sandra de la Loza uses historical markers to challenge official histories and uses cartography to focus on power relations. This historiographical method has deep roots going back to the days of *La Raza* in the first phase of the movement and should serve as a reminder that the activism and spirit that drove early Chicano historiography never dissipated.

As we can now see, there exists an almost systematic causality from the first phase of Chicano historiography leading up to present day. Each phase influenced the next phase in some manner which

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241 Ibid.
244 Ibid.
245 Ibid.
then continually altered the historiographical methods. This paper also noted the changes in the historiography in the new millennium which continued the pattern of cause and effect of the phases. In addition to the changing nature of documenting Chicano history, the accepted story of the history of the U.S. is beginning to change as well. Due to the plethora of Chicano historical scholarship and the activist nature of the movement, U.S. history textbooks have finally started to add more substance about Mexican-American history. While mainstream historical narratives taught in K-12 have included some previously neglected accounts, there still is a lot more lurking in the shadows waiting for their time in the light. Chicano historiography is still not fully incorporated, and there is a pushback by government institutions to suppress the teaching of Mexican-American history, most notably Texas and Arizona. The Chicano movement will stay alive as long as the social climate makes it necessary and therefore, the evolution of Chicano historiography will continue to develop.
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From Unpromised Land to Singapore Story: The Creation and Perpetuation of Singapore’s Historical Narrative Since Independence

Qi Jing Yap

Following independence as a sovereign nation-state in 1965, Singapore has rapidly developed to become a modern, westernized country while retaining tight control over both the political system and the media. In particular, this paper will introduce the creation of the historical narrative of Singapore that has traditionally supported the ruling government in power. It will also provide a chronological analysis of the different methods used to support this narrative. I will argue that while the government initially used overt methods of suppression on dissenters, this quickly gave way to the use of more covert methods to perpetuate the political narrative, such as the use of public spaces, memorials and education. These factors were vital in creating the historical narrative which supported a sense of homogenous multiculturalism while eschewing Singapore’s history before the arrival of the British. In the twenty-first century, the increasing ease of access to technology prompted the government to change their approach once again, making use of new media to present a pretense of allowing alternative viewpoints. At the same time, this method helped to evoke feelings of nostalgia while subtly glossing over significant historical events that could potentially hinder the government’s grip on power.
Introduction

In an interview on CNN with Fareed Zakaria in 2008, senior statesmen Lee Kuan Yew defended against concerns that Singapore had become “too domineering and coercive a state,” citing that “[n]obody has ever alleged any chicanery -- no bribery, no coercion, no nothing.”246 Lee, often acknowledged as the founding father of independent Singapore, echoed a sentiment that remains prevalent today: that Western values of liberal democracy, free press and open debate run counter to the smooth, efficient running of a modern Asian nation-state. Since independence, Lee’s People’s Action Party (PAP) has enjoyed a long period of one-party dominance in government. Yet, chicanery is the perfect word to describe the varied methods that the government has used to control the country. One of these methods involves creating a national narrative of the ‘Singapore Story’, strengthening its grip on power and rejecting alternative views of the past. Most scholars agree that the ruling party in Singapore has carefully crafted a narrative from the accounts of history.247 This paper will attempt to show the changing strategies that the government of Singapore has used to create a seamless narrative of the Singapore Story as well as the reasons for such changes. Singapore’s government has worked to project an image of the country as a minuscule yet impactful island that has managed to preserve a multicultural heritage, leveraging its history both as an influential port during British colonialism and a former state of racially-divided Malaysia. Government methods to sustain such an image have slowly evolved from direct crackdown on opposing viewpoints such as the detention of suspected communists in 1963, to a more subversive style of indoctrination through the use of architectural design, memorials, and education.

247Sources 2-5 and 7-10 of my bibliography acknowledge the existence of a historical narrative created by the government and elaborate on the different ways it constructs and upholds the narrative.
Most recently, the government has adopted a more reflective stance by using state-sponsored programs, which mainly serve to manufacture nostalgia rather than foster healthy debate and alternative perspectives of the past. While the government’s overall narrative of a cohesive Singapore Story has remained mostly the same, the slight variation in their methods over time can be seen as a response to a rapidly changing global context and challenges both internal and external, reflecting the emphasis put on practicality to sustain a tumultuous nation-state. Throughout these changes, narratives of history that augment the PAP’s claim to power were supported while others that proved a hindrance were diminished and shunned.

**A Transition from Overt to Covert Techniques**

In 1959, Singapore was granted full internal self-governance by the British colonial masters, resulting in a general election won by the PAP. Eventually, Singapore obtained independence from British rule through merger with Malaysia in 1963, an acrimonious union fraught with economic disagreements and racial tensions. Thus, the formative years of Singapore following separation with Malaysia in 1965 to the 1970s were fraught with uncertainty. Alone in the region without an ally, the ruling PAP sought legitimacy by emphasizing “the urgency of modernization” through “the success of its economic program.”²⁴⁸ Loh concludes that to achieve this goal, “it was thought necessary to reject all links to the past and to tradition.”²⁴⁹ However, it seems more likely that the government deliberately painted an image of Singapore as a lone island struggling against the influence of communism. Lim Chin Siong, originally a member of the PAP, was initially detained by the British from 1956 to 1959 for alleged...
communist tendencies and subsequently expelled. Two years after forming the Barisan Sosialis, a new political party opposed to the Singapore-Malaya merger of 1963, Lim was arrested along with other suspected communists during Operation Coldstore. As justification, previous unrest and violent events such as the Hock Lee bus riots of 1955 were “often cited by the Old Guard” “[t]o highlight the ‘communists’” manipulation of students and workers.”

The riot was a prime example of friction that disrupted a country in its infancy that was hell-bent on economic modernization, giving the government ammunition to preserve the exceptionalistic account of the Singapore Story of the need to stay united and quell dissent.

However, internal tensions still remained. The 1964 racial riots sent a clear signal to the PAP that their strategy of overt crackdown was not completely effective, prompting them to transition into a more covert, subtle approach, seeing the value of promoting their narrative by alternative means. These racial riots stemmed from vast differences in racial policy between the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), the ruling party of Malaysia who sought to elevate the rights and status of the Bumiputera, referring to the Malay people, and the PAP, which had a vision of a ‘Malaysian Malaysia’ with equal opportunity for all regardless of race. Ideas about race and ethnicity hence had a critical role in the makeup of the Singapore Story, where “CMIO [(Chinese, Malay, Indian and Others)] multiracialism relie[d] for its legitimacy upon the imagery of an ever-present threat to national stability from inter-ethnic conflict”, a “pragmatic solution to the realities of nation building.”

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250 Ibid., 10.
251 Derek Heng and Syed Muhd Khairudin Aljunied, eds., *Reframing Singapore: Memory - Identity - Trans-Regionalism* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 175.
Central to the idea of multiculturalism in Singapore was the manipulation of racial identity to “emphasise the identity and capabilities of CMIO racial groups, while, at the same time, subtly dismantling the features that fostered more diverse social groupings that had hitherto been inherent to Singapore’s society.”\textsuperscript{252} In light of the tensions between the different races in Singapore, it was only natural for the government to use covert methods to achieve desired effects on racial identity. For example, urban planning was manipulated to “portray Malay-Indonesian culture as alternately “rural” and “regal”.”\textsuperscript{253} This action was accomplished through the reinvention of important historical sites such as Geylang Serai and Kampung Gelam, “a sprawling suburb...[and] colonial Singapore’s regional port”\textsuperscript{254} respectively. Importantly, Imran Bin Tajudeen notes that “neither [were] socioeconomically inert nor ethnically homogenous.”\textsuperscript{255} However, Geylang Serai was converted into a ‘Malay Village’ in 1981 while Kampung Gelam was designated as a historic district following demolitions in the 1980s, “based on images of exotic Arabia and Malay regal splendor.”\textsuperscript{256} By ignoring that there was no single ‘Malay Village’ in colonial times, the government emphasized a concept of racial homogeneity using architectural design techniques. Such a strategy fit the narrative of the Singapore Story by using simplistic generalizations to market the concept of multiracialism in Singapore by different homogenous races simply coexisting without considering internal nuances.

This racial homogeneity was a unique interracial circumstance manufactured by the PAP to bolster their own status in the country, believing that these ‘rural’ Malays “[were] said to lack the key

\textsuperscript{252}Ibid., 25.
\textsuperscript{254}Ibid., 9-10.
\textsuperscript{255}Ibid., 24.
\textsuperscript{256}Ibid., 17.
cultural attributes that would enable them to succeed in the modern global economy.”\textsuperscript{257} In contrast, the Chinese were viewed as “hardworking, high achievers”,\textsuperscript{258} which explained their dominance in the upper echelons of society. Indeed, “[t]he rhetoric of a ‘Singaporean Singapore’ contains an implicit, frequently aggressive, program of assimilation of racial minorities into a Chinese-dominated society”.\textsuperscript{259} At first glance, this portrayal might appear contradictory to the narrative of Singapore fending off the external threat of communism, given that communist-influenced Chinese youths and students were often recognized as the instigators of riots in Singapore. However, memorials such as the Sun Yat Sen Nanyang Memorial Hall, celebrating the founding father of the Republic of China, were vital to the PAP to maintain their legitimacy in governing. While Sun had visited Singapore a few times, he had little relevance to the country’s progress, thus the declaration of the monument as “a cultural shrine for all ethnic Chinese Singaporeans”\textsuperscript{260} seemed unwarranted. Huang and Hong observed a strange contradiction that “a ’cultural shrine’ would be set up to honour the Chinese guerrillas, for fighting the Communists remains the core myth of the People’s Action Party.”\textsuperscript{261} Yet the PAP, which started from humble beginnings that grew with the grassroots support of the Chinese-speaking majority, was able to “make an unproblematic construction of its connection to modern Chinese history,”\textsuperscript{262} using the claim that “the Chinese nationalism launched by Sun provided a lot of the energy for Singapore’s nationalism[…,] … laying the groundwork for Singapore’s independence.”\textsuperscript{263} The PAP’s move hence

\textsuperscript{257}Derek Heng and Syed Muhd Khairudin Aljunied, eds., \textit{Reframing Singapore: Memory - Identity - Trans-Regionalism} (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 176.
\textsuperscript{258}Ibid., 185.
\textsuperscript{259}Ibid., 175-176.
\textsuperscript{260}Huang Jianli and Hong Lysa, ”History and the Imaginaries of ’Big Singapore’: Positioning the Sun Yat Sen Nanyang Memorial Hall,” \textit{Journal of Southeast Asian Studies} 35, no. 1 (2004): 65.
\textsuperscript{261}Ibid., 89.
\textsuperscript{262}Ibid., 77.
\textsuperscript{263}Ibid., 76.
“assert[ed] [their] newly forged descent from the revolutionary Chinese past,”264 where they could now be seen as successors to Chinese heritage, “protagonists who battled and defeated the forces of Communism … to bring forth a multicultural and meritocratic Singapore.”265 Sun was thus used as a figure that could connect Chinese pride with the PAP without “unproblematic sanctification.”266 In conclusion, the portrayal of the Chinese in contrast to the Malay race was a conscious choice made by the government that would consolidate their power as rightful rulers.

This analysis on the construction of Singapore’s historical narrative cannot go without explaining how the use of education facilitated these goals, proving to be a powerful tool to inculcate the concepts of homogenous multiculturalism. The Sun Yat Sen Nanyang Memorial Hall and the concepts discussed earlier were officially introduced into the Secondary-level curriculum “as another jewel in the crown of Singapore history”267 following the launch of the National Education project of 1997, meant for schoolchildren to understand and appreciate Singapore’s multiracial culture. Curiously, Loh describes exhibitions displayed just a year before in 1996 as “subtly emphasiz[ing] derogatory distinction…rather than showcasing ethnic balance,”268 choosing to paint Chinese immigrants as embarking on “a well-chronicled success story” while “no coherent celebratory theme”269 existed for the Malay immigrants. It stands to reason that measures such as the introduction of National Education changed little of the

264Ibid., 77.
265Ibid., 72.
266Ibid.
267Ibid.
269Ibid.
national narrative touted widely as the true account of events, serving only as another covert means to efficiently spread the same narrative.

This narrative perpetuated the myth that Singapore “had only emerged in 1819 following British intervention in Maritime Southeast Asia, and that no significant settlement had existed on the island prior.”\(^\text{270}\) In reality, Singapore before colonial rule “flourished in the fourteenth century ... [and] played an active part in an international trade stream,”\(^\text{271}\) taking advantage of its strategic location and deep harbor in the Melaka Straits. These were the same traits that the British recognized and sought a stake over, taking on the same mantle of a busy, bustling port. However, prominent minister S. Rajaratnam would later claim that “nothing much appears to have happened in Singapore - if anything happened at all - before Raffles landed in this unpromising island.”\(^\text{272}\) Whether from ignorance or from a deliberate attempt to obfuscate the truth, the government of Singapore had made its stance clear.

The different approaches that Singapore’s government have used to promote their narrative in favor of alternative viewpoints from independence to the 1990s ranged widely, gradually changing from direct shutdown of opposition leaders to a more covert strategy that subtly reemphasized and reinterpreted history to consolidate the ruling party’s power and to justify previous actions in suppressing revisionist viewpoints. Through these changes, the PAP has repeatedly proved adaptable to change and able to carefully select the methods to maintain the narrative that best benefited their dominance over the political sphere.

\(^{270}\) Derek Heng and Syed Muhd Khairudin Aljunied, eds., \textit{Reframing Singapore: Memory - Identity - Trans-Regionalism} (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 23.


\(^{272}\) Ibid., 35-36.
The Contemporary World and its Implications

Eventually, even these subversive forms of control proved ineffective, prompting the government to adapt once again, changing their strategies to cultivate the narrative. In the 2011 General Election, the PAP only obtained 60.14% of the popular vote, losing control of a Group Representation Constituency\(^{273}\), “the PAP’s worst performance since independence.”\(^{274}\) This massive pushback could be attributed to the increasing prominence of technology and rise of alternative media news sites, which combated the PAP’s dominance over the events of both past and present. In contrast, opposition parties were “[g]reatly assisted by the consciousness-raising and amplifying powers of social media... helping to shape emerging counterhegemonic positions and formations”\(^{275}\) such as the rising income inequality, which proved to be a popular rallying call. In fact, it seemed entirely impossible for the PAP to continue completely controlling the narrative. While it could and did implement restrictive censorship laws, the PAP needed to preserve a semblance of a modern, westernized society which allowed for the proliferation of alternative media which often directly challenged their narrative.

To overcome this, the PAP has sought to reevaluate the past and acknowledge the varied perspectives of different groups of people that contributed to the growth of the nation, creating nostalgia and appreciation for those who came before. Chong believed that “representations of the working class...offers the most popular symbols of national identity in Singapore,” inculcating a “regime of

\(^{273}\)A Group Representation Constituency refers to an electoral division in Singapore where a group of candidates under a political party run as a team. In the case of an electoral defeat, none of the candidates in the team are able to be elected into Parliament.


\(^{275}\)Ibid., 234.
authenticity... to inscribe the nation with timeless values.”

The government hence sponsored national initiatives to exploit on a “heartlander” consciousness that the public could identify with and support.

However, Loh points out that “[p]olitical groups rarely embrace history for altruistic reasons.”

In state-sponsored programs like the Singapore Memory Project (SMP), members of the public were encouraged to share their recollections of the past onto an online portal, documenting the past and drawing on nostalgia from the forgotten voices of Singapore. However, the reflection of alternative perspectives was little more than a pretense to further the ruling party’s goals in creating nostalgia without substance, by glossing over legitimate injustices in history that deserved debate and open discussion. In one particular ‘memory’ submission, “bloggers went into intricate discussion about the exact locations of shopping malls that opened in their youth ... [and] similar debates about fast food restaurants where they used to eat.” While not detracting from the genuine sentimental value of such memories, these were often trivial in nature instead of forming alternative narratives that could challenge “the dominant historical narrative established by the PAP - what is called ‘the Singapore Story’.”

Conversely, another way that the Singapore Memory Project worked to prop up the Singapore Story was to suppress those who had legitimate ‘memories’ that created an alternative narrative. In 1987,

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277 A heartlander is a Singaporean colloquialism that refers to individuals whose primary concerns and interests tend to be local rather than international in nature. These include the overwhelming majority who typically live in public housing, thus becoming a critical demographic of the populace.


280 Ibid.
22 people were arrested during Operation Spectrum and detained without trial under the Internal Security Act. While this event was public knowledge, the government maintained that Spectrum was a legitimate security operation aimed to counteract communist subversion rather than differences of political belief. Today, “SMP’s efforts in absorbing micro memories into the infrastructure of the dominant narratives” have worked to cultivate an unproblematic environment which “implies the silencing of marginalized experiences and memories.” This has hindered those who had experience the oppression of detention without trial from expressing their views, forcing them “to mount their own alternative sites of remembrance of memories and events not as part of the nostalgic citizenry, but as victims of state-building.” In addition, these forms of alternative media that did severely challenge the Singapore Story and did not come to light through official state channels were eventually subject to crackdown, most prevalently independent documentaries. In 2014, Singaporean filmmaker Tan Pin Pin’s To Singapore, With Love was banned for its “one-sided portrayal of Singapore’s political exiles as innocent victims when ... they had been members or at least supporters of the outlawed Communist Party of Malaya (CPM).” It is apparent that the use of nostalgia in harnessing collective memory in modern times only went as far as the introduction of sanitary, unpolitical accounts of history to sentimentalize in the past while refusing to acknowledge hot-button issues that would have sparked an open debate. Additionally, such accounts that were not processed through the state machinery were subject to greater scrutiny and censorship.

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281 To justify these actions, the government claimed that these members were part of a communist plot aimed at destabilizing society by using different modes ranging from the Catholic Church to theatre productions to spread leftist ideas. Public confessions were obtained from the detainees, who later claimed that these were coerced under mass duress.
282 Ibid., 559.
283 Ibid., 553.
Conclusion

At its core, the ‘Singapore Story’ establishes an official narrative of the nation’s history beginning with a struggling nation left alone to fend for itself post-British colonialism and post-separation with Malaysia, rife with internal strife within different factions of groups, and influenced by external powers such as the influence of communism. This narrative further tracks Singapore’s burgeoning rise From Third World to First, the carefully-chosen title of first Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew’s account of the rise of the country from independence in 1965 to 2000.

This particular chronicle of history had specific purposes that benefited the PAP. Firstly, Singapore’s quest to modernize was justification for controversial actions of the past such as the detention of opposition figures, who were denounced as communists, a simplistic label that fed on tensions from the days of riots and unrest, to inspire support among the masses. Similarly, the need for Singaporeans to unite behind stable government in order to survive and fend for themselves fundamentally encouraged ruthless efficiency at the expense of free debate, a development that heavily rewarded the ruling government already in power. Finally, the promotion of homogenous multiculturalism perpetuated racial stereotypes like the ‘rural’ Malay compared to the ‘hardworking’ Chinese and helped to solidify support for the PAP, the brainchild of educated Chinese students. Of course, this narrative meant that little attention was paid to acknowledging the historical context of Singapore as an influential port in the Malay Kingdom centuries before British rule.

To maintain this narrative, the government has used different strategies that changed to suit the circumstances of the time. The initial direct suppression of opposition leaders eventually gave way to covert methods that drew parallels with a ‘hearts and minds’ style of strategy, which was more effective
and practical. This featured indirect forms of subjugation such as the use of memorials and public spaces to promote racial stereotypes that benefited the PAP. This strategy was the norm for most of Singapore’s history as an independent nation, reaching its height during the subsequent introduction of National Education in 1997. However, the introduction of modern technology drove dissension into the public sphere once again, which the government could not suppress entirely. Hence, a new strategy to control the narrative emerged, one that revolved around maintaining a front of reflection and acceptance of alternative viewpoints through the use of state-sponsored initiatives like the Singapore Memory Project. However, these were programs that only served to create positive sentiment through nostalgia and a reminder of the hard work of the past generation, while obscuring legitimate issues that deserve discussion.

It is worth observing that this narrative is not the only tool that the PAP has sought to consolidate their grip on power. The General Election of 1997 was marred with controversy when the Worker’s Party contended that Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong, together with Deputy Prime Ministers Dr. Tony Tan and Lee Hsien Loong, had interfered with the election process by loitering within the polling station of Cheng San Constituency. As a response, then Attorney-General Chan Sek Keong contended that the relevant statute of the Parliamentary Elections Act only prohibited loitering “within a radius of 200 metres of any polling station on polling day,” concluding that loitering inside the polling station itself did not constitute an offence. The judiciary branch has also been used to sue opposition members or foreign news outlets for crimes of slander or libel.

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While it is easy to make the case that Singapore’s government neglected historical context in order to create a narrative convenient to themselves, the country has undeniably featured spectacular growth in many areas, especially in the economy. For example, the per capita GDP of the country surged from US$2,489.785 in 1975 to US$23,792.607 in 2000, a near ten-fold increase over the span of 25 years. Additionally, there were legitimate threats to Singapore’s national security. The Konfrontasi from 1963-1966, an Indonesian effort to destabilize the merger between Malaya and Singapore, resulted in numerous bombings in the country that proved a necessary reminder of the fragile position that the island-state held in its formative years, justifying the need for the nation to unite under stable leadership.

On the other hand, I question the necessity of the extreme nature of the control exercised over the historical narrative in Singapore. It is plausible that the economic growth and prosperity of Singapore could have been achieved without resorting to the methods used by the government to manipulate the populace. Rather, the historical narrative supported by the ruling party appears to reflect their priority on the need to maintain absolute control without allowing any form of discussion to form naturally even to present day. This is a trend that could perhaps change soon. In recent years, the government has increased their efforts to celebrate the past, culminating in the upcoming Singapore Bicentennial of 2019, marking 200 years since British colonialism in 1819, which claims to feature an acknowledgement of Singapore before the colonial era. It remains to be seen if the government’s assurances of a nuanced view to the past will come to fruition.

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The “Threat” from Within: Arbogast, Stilicho, Gainas, and Fravitta

Jessica Powers

The following text examines the lives and careers of four prominent barbarian military commanders who held significant positions in the Roman Army during and immediately following the reign of Theodosius I. The four barbarian commanders examined are: Arbogast the Frank, Stilicho the Vandal, and the Goths Gainas and Fravitta. This paper seeks to evaluate the assertion made by some historians that the barbarization of the military was one of the leading causes of the decline and fall of the Western Roman Empire. Various secondary sources, both ancient and modern, are examined to compile a narrative of events that can be used to draw correlations about the consequences of each of these barbarians’ careers.
Abbreviations

During and immediately following the reign of Theodosius I, the Roman Empire faced a new threat to its survival: barbarian officers of the Roman army who obtained nearly unchallenged power. Arbogast the Frank and Stilicho the Vandal ruled the western half of the empire through various puppet emperors while the Goths Gainas and Fravitta maintained military superiority in the east. The threat of barbarian invasion at its northern and western facing frontiers had been an ever-increasing concern for the Empire since the reign of Marcus Aurelius and the beginning of the third wave of Indo-European invasions in 161 A.D. Additionally, as the emperor Valens demonstrated at the Battle of Adrianople in 378 A.D., barbarians residing within the empire were equally as destructive to the security and survival of the Empire as those residing outside its borders. Some historians have asserted that the barbarization of the military, which is to say the inclusion of foreign soldiers and commanders who had vastly different cultural, religious, and military practices, is one of the reasons for the decline and fall of the Western Roman Empire. The increased influence of the Roman military in Roman society and the barbarization of the empire were trends that had begun in the second century and culminated in the rise of these aforementioned barbarian commanders. And though all four of these barbarians provided loyal military service to the Empire, their actions both directly and indirectly helped facilitate the fall of the Western Roman Empire and the survival of the East.

Though the Battle of Adrianople and the reign of Theodosius I created the conditions for Arbogast, Stilicho, Gainas, and Fravitta to amass virtually undisputed power in the Roman Empire, the

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a87 Mitchell, pp. 206-219. The term barbarian is used in this paper to describe the Germanic tribes and kingdoms that were residing along the northern border of both the Eastern and Western halves of the Roman Empire. Romans coined the term barbarians to describe the small tribal bands of nomadic people living to their north who appeared to them as “unkempt, skin-clad”, and inferior. Though these barbarians did not meet the Roman standards of law, order, civility, religion, and culture, they were well known for their brute force military forays into Roman territory, which became a constant worry for Roman military commanders for centuries. Interestingly, the barbarian’s prolonged exposure to Roman military and cultural life at the borders of the empire eventually lead to the creation of formidable barbarian coalitions and kingdoms in the fourth and fifth centuries that borrowed many cultural and legal practices from the Romans.
militarization and barbarization of the Empire that began in the second century paved the way for this unprecedented shift in power. The militarization of the Empire began in 193 A.D. when the emperor Pertinax was murdered by the Praetorian Guard and “Rome was on the verge of anarchy; for the troops established as an imperial guard had now extorted the right to appoint the emperors, forcibly depriving the senate of its choice in the matter”. For the next ninety-one years, the history of the Roman Empire can be summarized as a series of emperors being elevated to the throne by their troops who spent most of their reign fighting civil wars against usurpers who were also elevated to the purple by their troops. The events of the third century solidified the power of the Roman Empire into the hands of the military, as they were the undisputed maker of emperors. In 284 A.D. the emperor Diocletian was elevated to the throne by his own troops and through his sweeping reforms, the chaos of the third century was halted. However, it was also through these reforms that the barbarization of the now all-powerful military truly began. Diocletian doubled the size of the military and was “forced to recruit many German [barbarian] mercenaries in the army because of a severe manpower shortage and the need to keep the coloni on their farms”. Fortunately, Diocletian and his successors had a healthy pool of barbarians to choose from for their armed forces due to the long standing tradition of settling barbarians inside the Empire in an effort to alleviate population shortages and because “they would be less dangerous as subjects within than as

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288 Zosimus, p. 3
289 Ibid, pp. 3-23. The pattern of accession and usurpation of control of the Roman Empire can be observed when reading Zosimus’ transcript of the anarchic third century found at the end of Book I in his New History. This pattern begins with the murder of Pertinax in 193 A.D. and ends with the accession of Diocletian in 284 A.D. It is important to note that there were attempts at dynastic succession during this period, notably the Severan dynasty, though they were few and short lived. In addition to civil wars with fellow usurpers, the emperors of the third century are also engaged in wars with the Scythians (Indo-European barbarian tribes), Persians, and Palmyrenes (Palmyrians).
290 Kulikowski, p. 32
291 Wolfram, p. 52. Wolfram states that some sources also cite a quadrupling of the armed forces; Langdon, p. 23
strangers without”. With barbarians living within the Empire and increasingly manning the powerful Roman military, the events of the third century established the environment in which the careers of Arbogast, Stilicho, Gainas, and Fravitta could feasibly exist.

Following the trajectory laid out in the third century, the emperors Valens and Theodosius I expanded the breadth and impact of the barbarians within the Roman Empire in the fourth century. In 376 A.D. a group of Goths arrived at the imperial border on the Danube and requested asylum in the Roman Empire from the vicious Huns that had invaded their territory; the Eastern emperor, Valens, approved this request and the Goths crossed the Danube. Valens ordered these Goths to be properly provisioned but for reasons that remain unclear, the Goths were mistreated and not properly fed which lead to their total rebellion within the Empire. Confronting this violent barbarian riot within the Empire, Valens met the Goths in battle at Adrianople on 9 August 378 A.D. and both Valens and 20,000 Roman troops, or two-thirds of the total Roman army, were killed by their Gothic opponents. The Battle of Adrianople was “almost a total massacre” and left the Roman military forces devastated by barbarians from within the Empire. With two-thirds of the Roman army destroyed, Valens’ successor in the east, Theodosius I, turned to the now common barbarian recruitment strategy and replenished his

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292 Bury, p. 31. Bury cites Marcus Aurelius as being the first Emperor to settle barbarians inside the Empire (in Pannonia and Moesia).
293 James, p. 51. According to James, there were a few groups of Goths who were seeking asylum from Valens in 376. The group of Goths that were approved to enter the Empire were a faction of the Tervingi tribe that were lead by Fritigern who was an Arian Christian.
294 Ibid; Zosimus claims that the Goths were only approved to settle within the Empire in 376 if they discarded their weapons. Accordingly, tribunes were sent across the Danube to disarm the Goths and escort them back across the Danube into the Empire. Zosimus states that, “all they did was select good-looking women, pursue mature boys for disgraceful purposes, and seize slaves and farmers... they carelessly allowed most of the barbarians to cross with their arms undetected” (p. 79). He points to this as the reason for the Goths’ “plundering” the Empire in 377-378.
295 Hughes, p. 11; James, p. 52
296 Zosimus, p. 81
forces with Gothic foederati.\textsuperscript{297} Theodosius I used his foederati to regain peace over the still plundering Goths in the Balkans and to later crush usurpation attempts.\textsuperscript{298} Though not all of Gothic lineage, the barbarians Arbogast, Stilicho, Gainas, and Fravitta all served under Theodosius I and became some of his most trusted military officers. Their loyal military service to the Empire, and Theodosius I, was handsomely rewarded through their elevation to unprecedented positions in the Roman Army and Imperium.

The first barbarian to rise to immense power at the behest of Theodosius I was the seemingly loyal, Arbogast the Frank. Arbogast, the nephew of Richomer and son of Bauto, was commander of the Western Roman forces who served the emperor Gratian in driving the encroaching Goths away from the Western frontiers.\textsuperscript{299} In 383 A.D. Gratian was killed and usurped by one of his Roman (non-barbarian) troops, Magnus Maximus, and in 388 A.D. Theodosius I came to the aid of the child emperor Valentinian II and his mother Justina to put down the rebel Magnus Maximus.\textsuperscript{300} Having returned Valentinian II to his “rightful throne”, the pretext for his civil war with Magnus Maximus, Theodosius I left for the Eastern Empire in 391 A.D. with “no intention of ceding power to the youth”.\textsuperscript{301} After defeating Magnus Maximus, Theodosius I appointed Arbogast, “a trusted and long-serving officer” as magister militum in the service of the young Valentinian II.\textsuperscript{302} With the loyalty of the Western Roman army and the blessing

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\textsuperscript{297} Hughes provides multiple definitions for foederati on page 46 of his text. To summarize, foederati are barbarian mercenaries who serve under their own, non-Roman commanders in the service of the Roman military.  
\textsuperscript{298} Langdon, p. 26  
\textsuperscript{299} James, p. 44; Kulikowski, p. 151  
\textsuperscript{300} Ibid, p. 158. Kulikowski states Magnus Maximus was “of Spanish origin”; Ibid, p. 114. Valentinian II was the half-brother of Gratian and split control over the Western Empire when their father, Valentinian I died. Valentinian II was “only a toddler” in 375 when his father died and he gained control over his portion of the Western Empire. His mother, Justina, was his regent until her death during the campaign against the usurper, Magnus Maximus (p. 162).  
\textsuperscript{301} Ibid, p. 162  
\textsuperscript{302} Ibid; Hughes, p. 19; Most modern sources are in agreement that Theodosius I was the one who appointed Arbogast magister militum for Valentinian II, however, Zosimus claims that Arbogast simply appointed himself to the Magistership when Baudo died and amassed enough power that Valentinian II could not challenge his authority when he returned to the throne after Magnus Maximus was killed (Zosimus, p. 95).
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of Theodosius I, Arbogast became the real ruling power in the west, “speaking freely to the emperor and opposing whatever he disliked”, which did not go unnoticed by the maturing Valentinian II.

Valentinian II’s frustration at his subordination to Arbogast became so great that he “…handed him a letter terminating his command. Arbogastes [Arbogast], when he read it, said that the emperor had not given him his command and could not take it away, and so saying tore up the letter, threw it on the floor, and went away”. Shortly after this incident, in May 392 A.D., Valentinian II “was found hanged in his residence”.

It remains unclear whether Valentinian II was murdered by Arbogast or committed suicide. Being a barbarian, Arbogast was unable to rule the Western Roman Empire in his own name, and with the death of Valentinian II it became evident that a new puppet emperor would be needed to assist him in maintaining his power. At the end of August 392 A.D., Arbogast decided, “…to have Flavius Eugenius, a former teacher of rhetoric and kindred pagan spirit who was Christian only outwardly, proclaimed emperor by the army”. The appointment of the pagan Eugenius won favor with the largely pagan Senators in Rome but caused palatable tension with the ardently orthodox Theodosius I.

Theodosius I declared holy war on the pagan usurpers and marched west with his top officers, Stilicho, Gainas, and Fravitta, where they met Arbogast and Eugenius at the river Frigidus near the Julian Alps on 5 September 394 A.D. The Battle of Frigidus lasted for two days; the victory of the first day being

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303 Zosimus, p. 95; Kulikowski, p. 162
304 Zosimus, p. 95
305 Hughes, p. 20
306 Most of the modern sources point to Valentinian II having committed suicide following his realization that he would never be the true ruling power in the West. Zosimus, on the other hand, very clearly points to Arbogast as Valentinian II’s murderer (Zosimus, p. 96).
307 Wolfram, p. 91. According to this source, Eugenius and Arbogast were both pagan.
308 Hughes, p. 22
309 Ibid, pp. 24-26. Hughes explicitly names Gainas and Fravitta as having taken part in the Battle of the Frigidus and also explicitly mentions on page 26 that Stilicho was not mentioned in the sources regarding this battle. Zosimus does, in fact, explicitly name Stilicho as a participant in the battle on page 97 of his work.
decidedly delivered to the pagans and the second day concluded with the overall victory being awarded to the Christians due to a shift in the wind that hampered Arbogast’s forces. Eugenius was captured during the battle and Arbogast committed suicide in the face of total defeat. Thus ended the life and career of the heretofore most powerful man, Roman or barbarian, in the West.

Though Arbogast loyally served the Roman Empire, defending its northern and western borders from other invading barbarians, his actions toward the end of his career had long lasting affects for the Empire, regardless of their motive. The power Arbogast was able to amass was unrivaled in the West, as Valentinian II painfully learned. Whether this power was given to him by the emperor Theodosius I or if he simply took it for himself, it was the first foray into consolidated, unchallenged military power of a barbarian military commander in the service of Rome, and his career trajectory served as a template for future barbarian military commanders in the West. In addition to the consolidation of legitimate power, Arbogast pulled the Empire into another civil war that invariably left the frontier defenses weaker against the ever-present barbarians from without. This model of subordination to the barbarian military commander and the weakening of frontier defenses are two contributing factors in the fall of the Western Roman Empire.

Using Arbogast’s template for unchallenged success in the West, Stilicho occupied his newly vacated seat at the head of the Western Imperial government. Though Stilicho was also of barbarian lineage he, unlike his predecessor Arbogast, was deeply enmeshed with Roman culture and society. Stilicho’s father was a Vandal cavalry officer under the emperor Valens and his mother was a high status

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310 Ibid. The sources vary on the exact effects of the wind during the second day of battle. Some say the wind kicked up snow from the nearby Alps that blinded the pagan forces, others say it was dust that did the blinding, and still others say that the wind caused the pagan’s weapons to fly back to their senders. Zosimus has a completely different tale stating that Theodosius I’s army attacked in the middle of the night on the second day robbing the sleeping pagans of a chance to fight back.
311 Ibid, p. 26
312 Ibid, p. 14
Roman. Stilicho pursued the road to Roman success through integration; he was an Orthodox Christian, which helped him integrate into Roman society and into House Theodosius. He was married to Theodosius I’s niece, Serena, and later married his own daughter to Theodosius I’s heir in the West, Honorius. Stilicho became so thoroughly integrated into Roman society and was so trusted by Theodosius I that he was named *magister militum* and asked to serve Theodosius I’s young son and heir, the emperor Honorius. In addition to his military command of the West, Stilicho claimed that on his deathbed, with no other witnesses present, Theodosius I named Stilicho commander over both the Western and Eastern Empires and their new child emperors, Honorius and Arcadius. Having loyally served his Emperor and his Empire, Stilicho the Vandal had seemingly successfully integrated himself into the upper-echelons of Roman society.

Due to the consolidation of power in the *magister militum* that was successfully achieved by Arbogast, Stilicho did not have anyone to challenge his authority in the West. Unfortunately, Stilicho’s claims to power in the East were immediately opposed by the current regent for Arcadius, Rufinus. Many times over his long career, Stilicho would attempt to assert power over the Eastern Empire, and each time was thwarted by the Eastern court. His first enemy in the East, Rufinus, was ambushed and murdered outside the gates of Constantinople when the Eastern troops returned from a campaign against

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313 Ibid. Hughes makes the claim that Stilicho’s mother was of high Roman status because of his successful military career and his marriage into the Theodosian house despite his half-Vandal heritage. Though Stilicho’s father was a high ranking military man himself, Hughes does not find evidence to suggest that the sons of barbarians were given preferential treatment and rank when they entered the army. Thus, Hughes believes it was his mother’s influence that allowed him to gain titles and commands in the Roman army.
314 Ibid, p. 15. According to multiple sources, Serena is both Theodosius I’s niece and his adoptive daughter. Hughes points out that Roman law situated adoption above birth in terms of status. Thus, Serena held more dynastic claim being the adoptive daughter of Theodosius I; Kulikowski, p. 164
315 Bury, p. 62; Wolfram, p. 92
316 Hughes, p. 30
317 Bury, pp. 62-63
Stilicho under the command of the Goth, Alaric. Rufinus was succeeded by the eunuch Eutropius who frequently set Stilicho and Alaric at odds with each other in the hopes of their mutually assured destruction. Eutropius also collaborated with the African, Gildo, to cut off the grain supply to the West, thus forcing Stilicho to abandon his military campaign in the East to save the West from starvation. The intrigue and military action taken from both halves of the Empire further weakened any attempts at a unified Empire and left the frontiers with weakened defenses as the infighting ensued. While it remains impossible to know if Stilicho’s repeated attempts to extend his sphere of influence eastward were motivated by sincere loyalty to Theodosius I’s dying wishes or pure ambition, it is certainly clear that these actions tarnished his generally unblemished reputation and negatively impacted the citizens of the Western Empire.

As already observed in his integration efforts and his relationship with the East, Stilicho is remembered as either a loyal servant of Rome or a brilliant double agent. This juxtaposition of character is most acutely observed in his military career. Prior to his ascension to power in the West, Stilicho rose quickly through the ranks in the military, becoming a general and chief of the guard by age 25. He also loyally served the emperor Theodosius I on many campaigns including his holy war against Arbogast and Eugenius. Even after the death of Theodosius I, Stilicho defended the Empire against a new wave of barbarian attacks on the northern and western frontiers, however, it is his defense of the Empire from

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318 Wolfram, p. 94. There is much speculation in the sources, including Wolfram, that the assassination of Rufinus was carried out via a plot hatched by Stilicho, Alaric, and Eutropius. The troops that carried out the assassination of Rufinus were returning from the stand-off between Stilicho and Alaric in 395 when Alaric was sent by Rufinus to challenge Stilicho’s claims to Illyria. The two forces parted ways without ever engaging in battle.
319 Hughes, pp. 88-100. Hughes’ 7th chapter: “The Rhine and the Greek Campaign, 396-7” (pp. 88-100) is just one example of Eutropius’ attempts to use Alaric and Stilicho against one another to maintain supremacy in the East.
321 Wolfram, p. 89
322 See note 30
barbarians within the Empire that cast his loyalty into question.\textsuperscript{323} Two years prior to the Battle of Frigidus, Stilicho was sent by Theodosius I to stop the plundering in Thrace that was being undertaken by the Gothic Rex, Alaric.\textsuperscript{324} Stilicho was able to surround Alaric’s forces but instead of delivering the fatal blow, he was ordered by Theodosius I to show Alaric and the Goths clemency, thus retreating and allowing Alaric to leave unharmed.\textsuperscript{325} The conclusion of this battle began a pattern of battlefield engagements between Stilicho and Alaric in which Stilicho orders his troops to retreat just before summarily defeating Alaric’s forces.\textsuperscript{326}

The saga of battles between Stilicho and Alaric, and the role they both played in the continued friction between the Western and Eastern halves of the Empire, had a devastating effect on Stilicho’s career and the survival of the Western Empire. Shortly after the death of Theodosius I, Stilicho marched east to claim Illyria as a Western province and Alaric was sent by Rufinus and Arcadius in the East to repel Stilicho.\textsuperscript{327} The two barbarians met on the battlefield in 395 A.D. and had a stand-off in Macedonia at Larissa.\textsuperscript{328} Stilicho eventually gave up his position and without engaging in battle, marched back to Italy; the Eastern troops, now under the command of Gainas, marched back East where Rufinus was ambushed and murdered.\textsuperscript{329} By 397 A.D. Alaric had fallen out of favor with the Eastern courts and was pillaging through Illyria.\textsuperscript{330} Stilicho was called to defend this Eastern province by Eutropius, and so engaged Alaric in battle. During this battle, Stilicho had the tactical advantage but just as he had done in

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\textsuperscript{323} Hughes, pp. 162-167. These pages contain the example of the invasion led by Radagaisus that was repelled by Stilicho. This is just one example of many that are available in Hughes’ text.
\textsuperscript{324} Wolfram, pp. 90-91
\textsuperscript{325} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{326} Bury’s assessment of this pattern is that there was outright collusion between Alaric and Stilicho. See Chapter 1 and 4 in Bury’s work for an exciting commentary of these events.
\textsuperscript{327} Wolfram, p. 93
\textsuperscript{328} Ibid. According to Wolfram, this stand-off lasted for several months.
\textsuperscript{329} Ibid. Bury claims that the stand-off was concluded when Alaric and Stilicho made a deal for future collusion.
\textsuperscript{330} Ibid, p. 94
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392 A.D., Stilicho retreated and allowed Alaric and his men to go free just before delivering the fatal blow. In 402 A.D., Stilicho had to leave his battle with the Vandals and Alans in Pannonia to return to Italy to once more deal with Alaric, who had besieged the imperial residence at Milan. Alaric retreated from Milan but set-up camp near Pollentia-Pollenzo where Stilicho and the imperial troops surprised the Goths on Easter Sunday. This battle ended in a draw and Alaric moved on to Verona. Another battle was fought in Verona, this time Alaric was left worse for ware and he retreated from Italy and settled in Dalmatia and Pannonia. Interestingly, after the events of 402 A.D., Stilicho named Alaric magister militum in service of the West with the intention of a joint military effort for control of the East. Unfortunately, Stilicho had to suspend this plan because the Rhine had frozen over and vicious barbarians were pouring into the Empire. As Stilicho was attempting to stop the hemorrhage at the Rhine, Alaric became impatient and once again rebelled inside Italy, leading to the ultimate downfall of Stilicho. Regardless of his motives or intentions in his battles with barbarians within the Empire and without, it is abundantly clear that Stilicho was an excellent military commander who staved off the downfall of the West through his military prowess. However, it was through the intrigue that surrounded his encounters with Alaric that lead to his downfall and the loss of a brilliant military commander in the West.

Following the death of Arcadius in the East, Alaric’s new rebellion in Italy, and the break in the Rhine frontier, Stilicho’s reputation in the Empire began to sour. Upon Arcadius’ death in 408 A.D.,

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331 Ibid. Here, Wolfram and Bury both point to a deal being made between Alaric and Stilicho as the reason the Goths were not destroyed. Eutropius named Stilicho an enemy of the Eastern Empire for the second time following this battle.
332 Ibid. pp. 95-96
333 Ibid.
334 Ibid.
335 Ibid.
336 Ibid. pp. 96-97
337 Ibid.
Stilicho once again attempted to assert his “rightful” dominance over the East by claiming dominance over Arcadius’ heir, Theodosius II. At this assertion, rumors began to surface that Stilicho intended to support the usurpation of his own son Eucherius to Theodosius II’s throne.\textsuperscript{339} Additionally, in his new rebellion in Italy, Alaric began extorting large payments from Rome through the threat of immediate violence against the city. Stilicho convinced the Roman Senate to pay Alaric’s ransom which added to the growing mistrust of Stilicho. As more and more barbarians rushed through the open Rhine frontier, the panicked Honorius was convinced that Stilicho was disloyal and had him executed. In 408 A.D., Stilicho’s career in the service of Rome ended, leaving the West without a commander in the face of continued internal and external barbarian threats.

As was observed with Arbogast, the career of Stilicho, whether wholly loyal, wholly disloyal, or a muddy combination, had lasting effects on the Western Empire. Having taken over and maintained the massive power held by Arbogast, Stilicho solidified the subordination of the Western Empire to the \textit{magister militum}, thus continuing the steady march toward total barbarian rule that the West would soon succumb to. Additionally, Stilicho’s regular conflicts with the East hardened the divide between the two halves of the Empire, began a destructive trend of the East paying independent barbarian tribes to move their plundering to the West, and ultimately left the frontier defenses weakened, allowing the barbarian flood across the Rhine to go unchecked. And lastly, Stilicho’s downfall and execution left the West without its capable commander. This created a power vacuum that pushed the barbarian troops who had been serving in the Roman Army, solely due to their loyalty to Stilicho, to join forces with Alaric and later

\textsuperscript{339} Ibid, p. 98
help him sack Rome. The barbarization of the upper-echelons of the Western government eventually proved fatal for the Western Roman Empire.

The impact of powerful barbarians in the West was ultimately disastrous, however, the barbarians left in command of the Roman Army in the East did not have the same devastating impact. Two Goths, the Arian Christian Gainas and the pagan Fravitta, gained military superiority in the East through loyal service to Theodosius I, in much the same way as Arbogast and Stilicho in the West. However, the powerful court in the East proved to be a check to their ability to amass unchallenged power. Gainas served under Theodosius I in the Battle of Frigidus, he later took command over the Eastern forces after the stand-off between Alaric and Stilicho in 395 A.D., and was given the title of magister militum in Thraciam after the assassination of Rufinus. Though he became a very powerful military commander, he sought the kind of unrivaled power his fellow barbarian Stilicho wielded in the West. His attempts to consolidate his power were thwarted by the powerful Eastern court and he soon found an opportunity to align with the Gothic rebel Tribigild. After being sent by Eutropius to stop Tribigild’s rebellion, Gainas feigned military destruction at the hands of Tribigild’s troops and convinced Eutropius to sue for peace. Now openly in alliance with Tribigild, Gainas gained an audience with the emperor Arcadius at which he demanded to be given titles and power that would set him at the same level as Stilicho, and safe passage through Europe. His demands were granted and he crossed the Bosphorus, taking up residence with his troops in Constantinople. Though it is unclear the exact intention of Gainas, it

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339 Ibid, pp. 97-98
340 Bury, p. 80; James, p. 167
341 See note 30; Wolfram, p. 93; Hughes, p. 127
342 Ibid.
343 Bury, pp. 83-86
344 Ibid, p. 87
345 Ibid.
appears that he devised a plan for a military coup with his troops now inside the capital city.\textsuperscript{346} Through a murky series of events, Gainas left Constantinople with a very small contingent of troops and while gone, the rest of his Gothic troops that were left inside the walls of Constantinople were murdered by the inhabitants of the capital.\textsuperscript{347} Gainas was then declared an enemy of the state and the loyal Gothic \textit{magister militum per Orientem}, Fravitta, was sent after him to destroy his remaining forces.\textsuperscript{348} The two Goths met in an epic sea battle that destroyed Gainas’ remaining troops.\textsuperscript{349} Fravitta, however, did not pursue the lone Gainas who eventually came upon a tribe of Huns lead by Uldes. Despite his attempts to win favor and safe passage with the Huns, Uldes killed Gainas and sent his head back to the emperor Arcadius.\textsuperscript{350} Despite his proven loyalty to the Roman Empire, Fravitta was latter caught in court intrigue surrounding Eudoxia and John Chrysostom and was executed in 404 A.D.\textsuperscript{351} With the death of Fravitta, the threat of barbarian superiority ended.

The barbarian commanders given power in the East by Theodosius I saw very different outcomes to their careers that began in tandem with their Western counterparts. Like Arbogast in the West, Gainas attempted to usurp power in the East, but unlike Arbogast, the majority of Gainas’ forces were destroyed by the civilians in Constantinople rather than the opposing army of an emperor. The two loyal commanders in the West and East, Stilicho and Fravitta, did come to a similar fate, being executed in the aftermath of intrigue. However, Fravitta never amassed as much power as Stilicho, so his death did not

\textsuperscript{346} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{347} Some sources site Gainas as laying a trap for seizing the city of Constantinople as the reason Gainas was sneaking out of the city. Other sources point to Gainas simply starting to move his troops with no ill-intention and yet still others cite a mishap with an old woman as the cause of the massacre; Bury, p. 88
\textsuperscript{348} Hughes, p. 128
\textsuperscript{349} Bury, p. 89; Hughes, p. 130. A triumphal column was built celebrating the defeat of Gainas, though Arcadius was depicted as the victor, not Fravitta.
\textsuperscript{350} Ibid, p. 126
\textsuperscript{351} Kulikowski, p. 156. Fravitta proved his loyalty to Theodosius I by killing his fellow Gothic general, Eriulf, when the latter supported disloyalty to Theodosius I. Fravitta killed Eriulf during a banquet hosted by Theodosius I.
spell immediate ruin for the Eastern Empire in their continued struggles against barbarians from within and without the Empire. When comparing the events and consequences of the careers of Arbogast, Stilicho, Gainas, and Fravitta, it becomes clear that the superiority of the court and the populous’ distrust of barbarians in the East prevented the reliance on, and subordination to, barbarian military leaders that became so disastrous in the West. Though the Eastern Empire’s military was equally as barbarized as the West, the strength of its non-barbarian, non-military court and the resistance of its people to the dominance of non-Romans enabled the East to survive while the West proceeded to fall in 476 A.D.

The historian J.B. Bury points to the barbarization of the military as one of the four reasons for the decline and fall of the Western Roman Empire. To this point, his commentary on the actions of some of the highest-ranking barbarians in the service of Rome, Arbogast, Stilicho, Gainas, and Fravitta, remains cynical. He does not believe that any of these barbarians held any loyalty to Rome and that all of their actions were taken to usurp Roman authority. Bury’s assessment, though potentially true, seems slightly two-dimensional. Generally speaking, it appears that, at the very least, these barbarian generals began their careers in loyal service to Rome or Theodosius I and overtime were driven to “disloyal” means to gain the status or title that was denied to them due to their barbarian ancestry. However, independent of the discussion of the intentions behind the actions of these four barbarian Roman commanders, it is clear that their actions did have a profound effect on the Roman Empire. Through Gainas and Fravitta’s service to Rome, the East rediscovered its unity as Romans and its strength in repelling foreign threats from within their Empire, which would lead to their continued survival for nearly a millennium. Unfortunately, Arbogast and Stilicho’s service to Rome exposed the fatally weakened Western civil government that proved to be an unprepared opponent to the barbarian dominance that began from within and ultimately overcame them from without.
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Intellectual Factions in the Mexican Revolution: Magón and Madero’s Brands of Liberalism

Patricia Viramontes

This research is a comparative analysis of the liberal ideology of two revolutionary figures in the Mexican Revolution: Ricardo Flores Magón and Francisco Madero. Examining the Mexican liberal consensus of the 19th and 20th century, this paper studies the ideological and political divide between journalist, Magón, and the eventual president of Mexico, Madero. United through a shared opposition of Porfirio Díaz’s thirty-year regime, Magón and Madero’s political ideologies stemmed from a recognition of the same issue: Mexico’s departure from liberalism. Advocating for liberalism in the early 1900s, which included support for free press, representative democracy, and decentralized power, Magón and Madero sought a return of the Mexican liberal state imagined in the Constitution of 1857. However, their solutions to this problem were rooted in divergent liberal ideologies. While Magón’s brand of liberalism found origins in class struggle, thus advocating for socio-economic reform, Madero emphasized solely political change as the source of transformation. Analyzing the ideological clash places Madero and Magón on a spectrum, where Madero and Magón’s revolutionary tactics color the former as a moderate, and the latter as a radical. This paper examines the reasoning behind their political rift, while providing a nuanced examination of the revolutionary figures, including their flaws and strengths. While research illustrates Madero as an idealist, this paper argues Magón’s radicalism and uncompromising nature aligns more with idealist qualities. By painting an image of the revolutionary terrain based on the different shades of liberalism, this paper is significant in providing an understanding of the ideological complexity that informed the beginnings of the revolution—an examination necessary to the future progression of Mexico.
From 1876 to 1911, Mexico witnessed the administration of Porfirio Diaz, a 30-year regime that proclaimed economic modernity achieved through a desertion of political liberalism. In pursuit of free press, free elections, and decentralized power, a sea of liberal intellectuals arose in opposition to the Porfiriato, beginning a revolutionary conflict entrenched in Mexico’s fight towards a resurrection of liberalism. Amongst the revolutionary currents, two liberals challenged Diaz while simultaneously becoming ideologically inharmonious: Ricardo Flores Magón and Francisco Madero.

Magón was a founder of the Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM) and writer for the anti-Diaz newspaper *Regeneración* who believed liberalism was rooted in the economic and social emancipation of the people, specifically the working class. From humble upbringings, Magón empathized with the struggles of laborers. However, Madero a wealthy hacendado and leader of the revolution in 1910, argued for a brand of liberalism concentrated on political freedom rather than socio-economic liberation as he led the anti-re-election party and advocated for free elections. For Madero, change found its source in electoral freedom. Liberalism would seep through Mexico’s soil with a new president. A comparison of Magón and Madero’s shared intellectual origins and the contrasting evolution of their liberal ideology provides a lens into the genesis of Mexico’s revolution. Moreover, a dissection of the errors and assets that informed their revolutionary goals further outlines each figure and their respective influence on the revolution. Developing into divergent liberal branches and informing Diaz’s opponents and the revolutionary landscape, Magón and Madero’s irreparable division on liberalism and approach to reform paints Magón as a radical revolutionary, and Madero as a moderate reformer. Yet, when Madero’s pragmatic nature is contrasted with Magón’s far-reaching ideology, Magón embodies idealism, opposing previous research attaching idealistic qualities to Madero.
However, their plans for change fell short. Their methodology proved to be unsuccessful as their plans for reform and approach to revolution encompassed flaws in both organization and execution. These flaws proved to be too much and their desire for a liberal nation ultimately failed to reach fruition. Through a comparison of their liberal brands, the differences between both Magón and Madero provide a nuanced lens into the ideological variation that colored the revolution. This analysis simultaneously examines how both liberals illustrate the complexity of reform in a post-Diaz Mexico and the paradoxical contradictions of revolutionary intentions.

The Porfiriato, the death of the Constitution of 1857, and the reawakening of Liberalism

As Diaz maintained a firm grasp on dictatorship, contemporary liberalism in Mexico witnessed its dying moments. The fight for secularization and free press that drove Benito Juarez and framed the Constitution of 1857 in the mid-19th century was consigned to oblivion. Promising “Poca Política y Mucha Administración,” (“Little Politics and A lot of Administration”) Diaz’s administration extolled social development and built an administration focused on stabilizing Mexico’s political terrain while also promising economic growth.\(^\text{352}\) The concept of individual rights was overshadowed by societal evolution from which, the progression of society through economic development was tangible, while rights were an abstract idea not in conformity with the reality of scientific politics.\(^\text{353}\) In accordance to Diaz’s rhetoric, the nation needed economic maturation and political stability, not individual rights.\(^\text{354}\) As individual rights were forgotten and the prospect of material progression reigned as the nation’s aspiration,
progress was symbolized by material advancements manifested through the construction and design of buildings and technology. Consequently, Diaz fashioned a version of liberalism that opposed Juarez’s ideology. Diaz’s administration embodied a conservative liberalism, therefore liberalism as a whole was not abandoned completely – it was remodeled.

Diaz’s rise was facilitated by the Cientificos, a group within Diaz’s administration focused on a societal progression “based on knowledge of the biological, social, and economic conditions of the country.” The Cientificos sculpted a methodology for Mexico’s development, the group used the threat of a continuation of Mexico’s unstable revolutionary past to placate potential threats to the peace of the Diaz regime. Bringing peace to Mexico, in the form of political stability and financial development, attempted to carry the nation towards modernity, with the hopes of inciting foreign investment.

Diaz’s regime, however, was fraught with contradictions, a hypocrisy that ran deep into his administration and one that was not overlooked by true liberals. While Diaz’s tyranny censored opposition, it left space for a limited form of free press. This strategic design was conducive to the construction of a democratic facade. Within this space existed the writings of many anti-Diaz liberals. However, opportunity to oppose Diaz was an exclusive privilege, as any anti-Diaz publication was surveilled. Consequently, writings deemed too threatening or too critical were targeted. Magón’s Regeneración became victim of Diaz’s censorship as his critique of the Porfiriato went further than Madero’s book La Sucesión Presidencial de 1910 (The Presidential Succession of 1910). Balancing compliments and praise with critique, Madero was initially not censored. He was able to move around this limited space, taking advantage of the doses of freedom allowed by the regime.

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355 Ibid., 31.
Diaz’s regime depended on the approval of Mexico’s citizenry; legitimacy was acquired through illusory practices rooted in expanding the perception of a democratic Mexico. Contributing to this facade were Diaz’s elections, which created the illusion of vote—until the election of 1910 when the election between Diaz and Madero revealed decades long election frauds. Liberals entrenched in Juarez’s pure liberalism saw beyond the scope presented by Diaz. Liberalism had left Mexico, free press was censored and free elections were merely a political ploy. Moreover, Diaz had cuddled with the church, granting it political and economic privileges, poking holes in separation of church and state deeply embedded in liberal ideology. The liberalism preached in the Constitution of 1857 had vanished and liberals throughout Mexico, including Magón and Madero, underwent a mission to establish its return.

To design the future, Magón and Madero looked at Mexico’s past, as their liberalism was entrenched in Benito Juarez’s fight and in the Constitution of 1857. The Constitution became a symbol of the manifestation of pure liberalism. Central to the document was the concept of liberty: liberty for slaves, freedom to choose profession, and freedom of expression and press. Espousing a limitation to church privileges, the constitution shifted political power to the individual. In essence, the constitution illustrated a liberal Mexico, an image Magón and Madero admired deeply. The version of liberalism engrained in the constitution was a pure form of liberalism. From this root, Magón and Madero developed their own branches. Regardless of their divisions, a mutual respect for pure liberalism framed their revolutionary aspirations. This shared esteem for mid-19th century liberalism united both liberals; their political and socio-economic disharmonies, however, created an irreparable schism.

357 “Pure Liberalism” is a reference to ideologies aligned with former president Benito Juarez’s branch of liberalism outlined in the Constitution of 1857. These “pure” ideologies referenced a liberalism that did not stray away from Juarez’ ideologies and one that countered Diaz.
359 Ibid.
Before the Divide

While Madero and Magón’s paths towards revolution saw a rift, their history witnessed a brief moment of union. Against Diaz, Magón was censored and eventually exiled to the United States, where he continued publication of his revolutionary publication, *Regeneración*. However, Magón’s revolution depended on support from Mexican citizens, specifically for funding. Because Magón was not from wealthy origins, while in exile in St. Louis, *Regeneración* was in dire need of financial assistance. In 1904, Madero donated money to help fuel *Regeneración*’s writings.\(^{360}\) Appreciating the strives of the PLM, as they did not embody anarchist sentiment during this time, Madero donated $2,000 to the newspaper—funds that proved to be crucial for the continuation of the paper.\(^{361}\) However, as Magón and the PLM radicalized, the support they once received from Madero faded. In 1906, when Madero was asked by PLM members to aid in combat by donating funds for arms, Madero refused.\(^{362}\) Believing violence was not yet a necessity, Madero no longer agreed with the mission of the PLM. The distinct liberal branches of both figures were beginning to solidify.\(^{363}\)

Strategy for Reform: Madero and Magón’s approach to Revolution

An important source for conflict is seen in Magón and Madero’s revolutionary methodology. The future of a rebellion depends on organization. In the case of Magón and Madero, their plans for attaining change drew a distinct line of separation between both intellectuals, highlighting the differences that informed their level of moderacy. Their tactics were underlined through how they addressed Diaz and described his regime, visible through their different writings.

\(^{361}\) Albro, *Always a Rebel*, 27.
\(^{362}\) Ibid., 62.
\(^{363}\) Poole, *Land and Liberty*, 18
As tensions against Diaz began to seep overtly through the mainstream terrain, Madero released *La Sucesión Presidencial en 1910*, which called for no reelection, a suffrage, and for the resignation of Diaz in order to begin a new era in Mexican politics. Madero’s tone lends itself to an analysis regarding the manner through which he refers to Diaz, and how it relates to his strategy for political change. Rather than place the blame for Mexico’s corruption solely on Diaz, Madero offers a panoramic view of Mexico’s government, highlighting how the corruption in Mexico owed its existence to a large array of people and institutional changes, not just Diaz’s tyranny. Madero argues, “the people securing most of Diaz’s confidence are those that commit the gravest abuses.”\(^{364}\) While this seems like a complete vindication, Madero artfully danced around appraisal and condemnation. He goes on to say that despite not doing, nor directing, most of the abuses, Diaz “[was] still responsible before the Nation’s eyes and before the severe judgment of history” for the Nation’s current state.\(^{365}\) Madero tactfully distributed blame and drew a multifaceted explanation for Mexico’s departure from liberalism.

This strategy rightfully placed responsibility on Diaz, while also petting his ego— a pragmatic approach at easing through censorship laws while gaining Diaz’s attention. Specifically, Madero acknowledged Diaz as having played a crucial role in the development of Mexico, emphasizing his contribution to placating instability and disharmony in the nation:

La obra del General Díaz ha consistido en borrar los odios profundos que antes dividían a los mexicanos y en asegurar la paz por más de 30 años...[El] acabó con nuestro espíritu turbulento e inquieto y ahora que tenemos la calma necesaria y comprendamos [cuanto] deseable es el reinado de la ley, estamos aptos para concurrir pacíficamente a la las urnas electorales y depositar nuestro voto. (The work of General Díaz has consisted in erasing the deep hatreds that previously divided Mexicans and in securing peace for more than 30 years ... [He] ended our turbulent and restless


\(^{365}\) Ibid., 196.
spirit and now that we have the necessary understanding of [how ] desirable is the reign of the law, we are apt to concur peacefully to the ballot box and deposit our vote).\textsuperscript{366}

Madero offered praise for Diaz’s ability to prolong an era of peace in Mexico. In doing so, Madero appeased Diaz in an attempt not to offend him. This action provides a lens into Madero’s strategy; he was able to understand Diaz’s control over censorship and how to best approach Diaz’s fragile ego.

While strategic, Madero genuinely appreciated Diaz’s role in maintaining a peaceful Mexico. Madero’s perspective on Diaz’s stability stemmed from his family’s acquaintance with prosperity during the Porfiriato. Madero was a member of a wealthy landowning family who had benefited economically through Diaz’s “program of enforced peace, economic development, and selective prosperity.”\textsuperscript{367} Consequently, his opinion of Diaz was influenced by his own upbringing.

Moreover, Madero’s tactics are further understood through his attempt at convincing Diaz to peacefully resign—an effort that highlighted Madero’s fear of revolution. Madero held a strong commitment to diplomacy, bloodshed was a last resort. A peaceful transition of power within Mexico was his aspiration. Consequently, Madero framed Diaz’s resignation as beneficial for Diaz’s historical persona. If Diaz allowed the Mexican people to participate in free elections through his resignation, his “career would be so glorious, that he would overshadow his previous history, and his faults would pale in the face of his glory.”\textsuperscript{368} Madero, in his calculative nature, understood Diaz’s commitment to his image and utilized his knowledge to further his peaceful agenda.

Madero’s choice to paint a multi-dimensional image of Diaz highlights his moderacy, while underlining his allegiance to diplomacy. Madero prudently referenced Diaz’s positive qualities, initially

\textsuperscript{366} Ibid., 297.  
\textsuperscript{368} Ibid., 302
maneuvering through censorship laws. Madero’s choice not to radically attack Diaz and his administration reveals his non-extreme platform. By not presenting a complete attack on Diaz, Madero outlines himself as a moderate yet pragmatic figure who understood an unbalanced political assault on Diaz would be counterproductive to the goal of transforming Mexico. Although Madero would later be persecuted by Diaz, that would occur after *La Sucesión Presidencial de 1910* had reached the masses. His message had already been heard before Diaz’s surveillance could successfully silence Madero.

In addition, Madero’s attempt to convince Diaz to resign paints the former as an admirer of the era of peace within the Porfiriato. Revolution was a fearsome topic, a chaotic event meant to be avoided. Madero wished to move peacefully within the existing institutions; bloodshed and rebellion would cause chaos and rupture the fabric of stability that cloaked Mexico under Diaz. A true moderate, Madero’s initial plan for reform anticipated pacifism as a central principle.

In a more overt fashion, Magón did not hide his criticisms of Diaz behind compliments. Through articles in *Regeneración* and within the reform plan issued by the PLM in 1906, Magón’s radical nature is made clear. Unlike Madero, Magón’s strategy did not consider Diaz’s ego. This inability to calculate Diaz’s reaction, while a sign of radicalism, perhaps led to Magón’s early persecution. Early *Regeneración* articles presented an obvious critique of the Diaz administration, and while Magón did not author each article, its publication infers his approval. In an article entitled “La Lucha Por La Libertad,” written on January 7, 1901, *Regeneración* challenges the democratic image Diaz wore, stating liberal institutions had been “evicted by centralism and autocracy.”

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369 Ricardo Flores Magón, “La Lucha Por La Libertad,” *Regeneración*, January 17th, 1901. Full Quote: de modo que una administración que comenzó liberal termina conservadora y que las instituciones democráticas y federales han sido desalojadas por el centralismo y la autocracia.
the mere title of a 1901 article, “Mucha Política, Poca Administración,” which highlights the hypocrisy of Diaz’s centralism.370

In the “Programa del Partido Liberal Mexicano” of 1906, Magón and the PLM outlined their social, economic, and political goals. Akin to Madero’s *La Sucesión Presidencial*, the program called for reform to ooze through Mexico. However, unlike Madero, the program does not compliment Diaz. Rather, a deliberate attack to Diaz’s regime is outlined, as Magón and PLM members reference the economic and social destruction maintained by the dictatorship:

> “Gracias á la Dictadura de Porfirio Díaz, que pone el poder al servicio de todos los explotadores del pueblo, el trabajador mexicano ha sido reducido á la condición más miserable; en dondequiera que presta sus servicios, es obligado á desempeñar una dura labor de muchas horas por un jornal de unos cuantos centavos. El capitalista soberano impone sin apelación las condiciones del trabajo, que siempre son desastrosas para el obrero, y éste tiene que aceptarlas por dos razones: porque la miseria lo hace trabajar á cualquier precio ó porque, si se rebela contra el abuso del rico, las bayonetas de la Dictadura se encargan de someterlo.” (Thanks to the Dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz, who places power at the service of all the exploiters of the people, the Mexican worker has been reduced to the most miserable condition; wherever he serves, he is obliged to perform a hard labor of many hours for a wage of a few cents. The sovereign capitalist imposes without appeal the conditions of work, which are always disastrous for the worker, and he has to accept them for two reasons: because the misery makes him work at any price or because, if he rebels against the abuse of the rich, the bayonets of the Dictatorship make him submissive”).371

Not only does Magón assault Diaz and his regime, he protects the labor class against the economic violence imposed by Diaz, hinting at a radicalism that would only grow in the following years.

> It is important to note the role class played during this period of persecution. As an *hacendado*, a land-owner of an hacienda, Madero held a privilege unique to the wealthier classes; an attack on Madero’s writings was a political risk, his wealth allowed him a political advantage. On the contrary,

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Magón’s membership to the middle class did not afford him the same privileges, he was vulnerable to censorship. Aware of the class distinctions, Magón unsuccessfully navigated through his susceptibility as he continued to push his limits despite the risk. Although faced with severe censorship, Magón continued to spread his message despite the possibility of suppression.

An attack on Diaz represents Magón’s uncompromising nature, while depicting the lack of prudence Madero effectively carried. Magón detested Diaz with his entire essence; he did not venerate Diaz’s dictatorship by any means. However, unlike Madero’s brief flirtation with free expression, Magón’s program, along with his newspaper, failed to evade persecution early on. While Madero took advantage of limited freedoms, Magón did not respect the restrictions in the same light. Persecution affected the PLM’s outreach; their revolution was dependent on censorship, a fact later seen in the contrasting size of their supporters.

Moreover, it is crucial to note the year Magón and Madero chose to issue their reform programs. Characteristic of Magón’s desire for immediate change, PLM’s program was released in 1906, while Madero’s La Sucesión Presidencial was published in 1910, an election year. For Magón, revolution could not adhere to the election cycle, reform was a dire necessity. However, Madero’s commitment to electoral rights motivated his strategy. Willing to work within the existing institutions, Madero tactfully issued the release of his book in an election year, where potential for reform could occur within the domain of upcoming elections. On the contrary, Magón’s 1906 release did not garner similar attention due to the political awareness that arises in the midst of an election year. Despite flaws in revolutionary strategy, Magón’s radical attack on Diaz illustrates a bravery and unshakable oath to those oppressed by the regime, a dedication that did not dare appease to the threat of Diaz’s powers.
However, the evolution of their methodology highlights both their initial desires and how their motives progressions illustrated a growing commitment to revolution within both individuals. Madero was not by nature a revolutionary; his goals centered on moderate reform.\textsuperscript{372} Regardless, Madero experienced his own form of radicalism, as made apparent in his Plan de San Luis Potosí. Once Madero’s limited free expression reached its expiration date— that is once Diaz deemed Madero’s growing popularity a threat after his attempt at winning the presidential election— Madero was persecuted. In exile, a more persistent plan was proposed where the polite nature of La Sucesión progressed into a more reserved militancy.

Written on October 5th, 1910, the plan is notable for two reasons: its portrayal of Diaz and its call for an uprising. While his former book attempted to compliment Diaz, the plan painted Diaz as tyrannical. Speaking to the Mexican citizenry, Madero condemned the President, stating he had “dishonored [the people’s flag], emblem of [the] country and symbol of military honor, causing it to be the...symbol of oppression.”\textsuperscript{373} As aforementioned, Madero framed Diaz’s ability to bring stability to the nation in a positive light, however his portrayal changed in the plan. Madero disparaged the era of peace and contended that the stability was “full of shame for the Mexican nation, because its basis [was] not law, but force.\textsuperscript{374}

A stark shift in the manner through which Madero addresses Diaz marks an aggressive evolution; his ideological alteration regarding rebellion warrants examination. Fearful of revolution in La Sucesión Presidencial, the plan de San Luis calls for a rebellion of the masses.\textsuperscript{375} A justification for bloodshed

\textsuperscript{373} Francisco I. Madero, “Plan de San Luis Potosí,” (1910).
\textsuperscript{374} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{375} Ibid.
envelops the plan. This change symbolizes Madero’s ability to compromise his pacifist beliefs for the manifestation of political liberties.

Echoing Madero’s ideological evolution, Magón’s ideology witnessed severe radicalism, as made apparent through the phases of *Regeneración*. In 1900, the birth year of the newspaper, *Regeneración* carried the subtitle “Periódico Jurídico Independiente” (Independent Legal Newspaper). The newspapers provided a space for readers to “denounce infringements of justice from any corner of the republic.” Initially, the paper focused on judicial issues, without attacking Diaz directly. In 1906, the same year the PLM plan was released, it used “Periódico Independiente de Combate” (Independent Combat Newspaper), embodying an overt militant transition. Describing itself a “combat” publication defined the paper as an oppositional platform whose identity was anti-Diaz. In 1912, Magó delineated his audience with the subtitle “Escrito por Trabajadores y para los Trabajadores” (Written by Workers and for Workers). Magón illustrates the labor class was the center of the revolution, and that *Regeneración* was exclusively for the workers, not the wealthy. Nearing its end, in 1917, *Regeneración* adopted the subtitle Periódico Revolucionario (Revolutionary Newspaper), a clear embodiment of the commitment to revolution. These transitions, although mere titular alterations, symbolize a broader radicalism. Although Magón was “labeled an anarchist... fully capable of leading a revolution” in 1906, early in his revolutionary path, his radical ideologies reached their peak later in his life. Like Madero, Magón’s perspectives on revolution did not remain stagnant. Rather, both figures were ever growing, developing

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376 *Regeneración*, August 7th, 1900.
379 *Regeneración*, January 6th, 1912.
381 Albro, *Always a Rebel*, 63.
their ideologies to fit the context of the revolutionary moment. Their strategies for reform reflected this evolution.

**Socio-Economic vs. Political Reform**

Further analyzing their methodologies, their ideologies regarding socio-economic policy reform demands broader examination of Magón and Madero’s differing revolutionary agenda. Madero’s plan for reform stemmed from an emphasis on a transfer of power intertwined with the enrichment of political rights. Consequently, Madero’s branch of liberalism mirrored that of Juarez; electoral rights embodied the essence of individualism and reignited the pulse of liberalism. Madero’s platform encompassed two themes: effective suffrage and no reelection.\(^{30a}\) Crucial to Madero’s reform was the expansion of democratic ideals within Mexico. Political rights would be a catalyst to further transformation; thus, implementing liberalism was not an immediate occurrence. Rather, electoral rights would trigger a process of reform. In a speech made in 1909, Madero signaled this gradual change:

> El día que el pueblo haga uso del sufragio, firmísima base de la democracia, ese día estaremos seguros de que todas las demás leyes que diman del sufragio efectivo serán respetadas; la soberanía de los estados y la libertad de los municipios será un hecho y los ciudadanos podrán gozar de todas las prerrogativas que nos concede nuestra Constitución. (The day that the people make use of suffrage, the very basis of democracy, that day we will be sure that all the other laws that resign from effective suffrage will be respected; the sovereignty of the states and the freedom of the municipalities will be a fact and the citizens will be able to enjoy all the prerogatives granted by our Constitution).\(^{30b}\)

Once political rights were secured, all other barriers to voting would be torn down and freedom would reign.

\(^{30a}\) Madero, *La Sucesión Presidencial*, 320.

\(^{30b}\) Speech made by Madero during a session by the Democratic Nationalist Party, Wednesday December 15th, 1909.
According to Madero in *La Sucesión Presidencial*, the centralism and absolute power facilitated by Diaz was the core issue of plaguing Mexico. Diaz had cheated elections, discrediting the voice of the people as he won reelection. On the other hand, Madero carried a Rousseauian belief: power should come from the people. Thus, the concept of elections was at the forefront of his rebellion. All other reform would trickle down once suffrage was restored.

While effective suffrage planted the seed of transformation, cultivating political parties promoted further change. Madero writes, “if the nationcomes to organize itself strongly in political parties, in the end it will find that its rights will be respected, and once [rights are respected], the precedent will be set...and the politician [will] owe its power to the law, and to the people...[and] will always be towards them and obey their mandates.”

Political liberation is the mother of all change, according to Madero. Moreover, political rights and electoral participation begins a process towards reform; revolution does not happen overnight. Rather, it is an organized set of events whose origins lay in the vote.

In the eyes of Madero, political rights spearheaded change, a concept contested by Magón. The PLM leader asserted true revolution found its conception in labor reform. Political change did not encapsulate broad transformation, electoral modifications did not promise expeditious improvements. Magón understood labor reform could not wait for change to filter through the political sphere and eventually affect social policies. The working class was oppressed by multiple forces, of which Diaz was only one. Thus, a transition of power, while crucial, was not the core of Mexico’s hardship. Mexico’s laborers, angered at business owners, knew economic corruption was not solely Diaz’s doing, but

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dependent on capitalist forces. Strikers, encouraged by PLM, had voiced their disappointment with the economic state of the nation for years.\(^5\) Laborers could no longer be patient.

Supporting the advancement of the labor class, Magón argued economic liberty encompassed more social effects than political liberty. Instead of concentrating on electoral freedom, Magón outlined the citizenry should realize “their true interest is in working towards economic liberty, the base of all true liberties, the solid foundation on which the grand edifice of human emancipation can be built.”\(^6\) Implementing liberalism relied on economic freedom; policies aimed at removing the shackles of the working class would lead to social reform.

Just as Madero urged organization, Magón also admired a methodological and structured approach at reform. In the PLM’s 1906 plan, social and economic policies were outlined—a detailed resolution different from anything Madero foresaw. The program, or manifesto to the people of Mexico, represented a novel branch of liberalism, one “infused with new doctrines of social radicalism.”\(^7\) These social policies were reforms to the Constitution of 1857. Magón aimed to intertwine the enfranchisement of the working class with the liberalism professed in 1857. Like Madero, reelection was repudiated, illustrating how electoral power held some importance within Magón’s agenda.\(^8\) In addition, educational reform was detailed, as well secularization, removing influence of the church, and livable wages.\(^9\)

Aversion towards the attention placed on political liberty can be traced to Magón’s anarchist sentiment. Becoming further radicalized through censorship and through trans-border movements,

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\(^5\) James D. Cockcroft, Intellectual Precursors of the Mexican Revolution, 1900-1913. (University of Texas, 1968), 135.
\(^7\) Hale, The Transformation of Liberalism, 121.
\(^8\) “Programa del Partido Liberal Mexico y Manifiesto a la Nacion,” 1906.
\(^9\) Ibid.
Magón protested the capitalist forces governments instrumentalized against its people. He believed the government had a narrow interest focused only on the wealthy. Thus, the political liberty professed by Madero seemed unattainable to Magón. Magón argued that regardless of electoral rights, the government would be fraught with elites, because financial prosperity garnered political power. To hold political office, wealth was necessary; without economic freedom, however, the financial means and education needed to enter the political sphere would “not [be] common to the poor.”

In pursuit of economic reform, Magón was inspired by the flaws of past revolutions that focused primarily on political and not economic liberty. Illustrating a story of the intersection between liberals who fought during the Juarez-era and those fighting against Diaz, “Dos Revolucionarios” simultaneously compared and contrasted Mexico’s revolutionaries across history. In the writing, the old liberal shares his disillusionment with rebellion, while the modern liberal offers a youthful hope for Mexico’s future. While the author of this article is unknown, its publication in Regeneración infers Magón’s support for the writing. As depicted in the article, Magón learned from false promises of change through political freedom as influential elements to construct his liberal branch. Liberty is birthed from revolutions that look beyond replacements of governmental offices. According to Magón, liberty will not rise once a new person inhabits a seat in the house of government; rather, an economic reconstruction is needed. In conversation with the old liberal, the modern revolutionary describes the source of subjugation, and the prospect of change:

La opresión es un árbol; la raíz de este árbol es el llamado derecho de propiedad; el tronco, las ramas y las hojas son los polizontes, los soldados, los funcionarios de todas clases, grandes y pequeños. Pues bien: los revolucionarios viejos se han entregado a la tarea de derribar ese árbol en todos los tiempos; lo derriban a retornar, a crecer y a robustecer. Eso ha sido así porque no han atacado la raíz del árbol maldito; a todos les ha dado miedo sacarlo de cuajo y echarlo a la

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lumbre. Ves pues, viejo amigo mío, que has dado tu sangre sin provecho. Yo estoy dispuesto a dar la mía porque será en beneficio de todos mis hermanos de cadena. Yo quemaré el árbol en su raíz. (Oppression is a tree; the root of this tree is the so-called property right; the trunk, the branches and the leaves are the policemen, the soldiers, the officials of all classes, big and small. Well: the old revolutionaries have given themselves to the task of tearing down that tree at all times; they bring it down to return, to grow and to strengthen. That has been so because they have not attacked the root of the accursed tree; Everyone has been afraid to get it out of the way and throw it into the fire. You see, old friend of mine, that you have given your blood without profit. I am willing to give mine because it will be for the benefit of all my chain brothers. I will burn the tree at its root).392

Oppression would not cease through political freedom; destruction of capitalist forces that enslaved workers would truly free the working class, according to Magón’s ideologies, doctrines labeled as Magónismo.

Although Madero prioritized political rights over social and economic reform, he was not ignorant to the pleas of the working class. For Madero, socio-economic changes were dependent on political changes, they were not symbiotic. Madero understood the perils faced by laborers throughout Mexico. As an hacendado, Madero aspired to treat the workers on his property with dignity, offering benefits to laborers.393 In his Plan de San Luis, Madero held a tight grasp on the flaws of corrupt capitalism, arguing Diaz’s administration worked to “enrich a small group.”394 Madero was aware of the severe wealth inequality. However, Madero and Magón disagreed on the role of government in regulating labor rights, underlining a distinct quality separating their different liberal branches.

**Regulation and Labor Reform: The dimensions of Madero and Magón’s different Liberal Branches**

The role of government intervention was a contested point between both figures, underlining their distinct versions of liberalism. Embodying classic liberalism, Madero believed in a limited central

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government. Informed by Diaz’s abuse of power, Madero detested a government without limits on its power, an attitude that contributed to his emphasis on political rights over socio-economic. For Madero, the extent of the government’s power was limited; it was not the responsibility of the government to take it upon itself and trigger distribution of labor rights, doing so would assume the will of the people.

Rather, the voice of the people would find a vessel for expression through the ballot, and in demanding their concerns, the government would address them. This ideology echoed elements of Juarez’s “pure” liberalism. However, the Constitution of 1857 went beyond political rights, as it touched on alleviating social concerns, such as education. Although Madero was aware of the social disparity facing regions in Mexico, electoral systems framed his reform as all other socio-economic issues took a backseat.

Reflecting traditional liberalism, political equality and a decentralized central government were at the core of Madero’s liberal brand. While Madero was sensitive to the complaints of the working class, he did not believe government should intervene in the economic affairs of private hacendados. Madero hoped the elite class would provide respectable living and rights for the workers; he did not seek government to regulate the matter. As a traditionalist, Madero viewed the relationship between an hacendado and a laborer as a private matter, government intervention would be minimal. 395

Deviating from classic liberalism, Magón’s version of liberalism included a relatively expanded governmental role, as he advocated for economic and social rights. Consequently, Magón’s branch sprouted leaves hued with the calls for labor activism. He placed responsibility on the government, demanding that it immediately provide the Mexican people with labor and educational rights. Contrary to the anti-regulation sentiment embodied by Madero, the PLM specifically outlined demands for government regulation. Specifically, demands included “regulation of domestic service,” in addition to

395 Madero, La Sucesion Presidencial, 215.
requiring factory owners to offer sanitary working areas and workers compensation in case of injury.\textsuperscript{396} In accordance with the regulations, the government had a regulatory role in Magón’s program.

However, within this expanded identity lies a contradiction of Magón’s own ideologies. As an anarchist, Magón wrote on his distrust for all governments, believing them to be inherently evil, stating all “governments are repugnant.”\textsuperscript{397} However, he advocated for government intervention in placating labor issues. Perhaps this was a product of his evolutionary ideology, or of his own ideological inconsistency. Nonetheless, Magón’s liberal branch partially redefines traditional liberalism as he expands the reach of the government in promoting equality, creating a branch inclusive to the struggles for labor, educational, socio-economic rights.

**Opinions on the Societal Influence and Power of the Church in a Liberal Mexico**

Further outlining their ideological branches, further issues such as the influence of the church illustrate a deeper separation between both figures. The different strategies utilized by both figured contributed to the manner in which they depicted the role of the church. Integrating the traditional liberal tenet of secularization, Madero and Magón agreed on the separation of church and state. Rather, the dividing issue surrounds the illustration they presented to the church of a post-Diaz world. In the context of the church’s growing power under Diaz, Magón advocated limiting the political influence of the church. Laying out his plan for reform, the PLM delineates separating religious affiliated schools from the state.\textsuperscript{398} Embodying the separation of church and state, Magón draws a clear line, dividing the relationship between private religious education and the public sphere. As a result, his brand of

\textsuperscript{396} “Programa del Partido Liberal Mexico y Manifiesto a la Nacion,” 1906.
\textsuperscript{397} Poole, *Land and Liberty*, 21.
\textsuperscript{398} “Programa del Partido Liberal Mexico y Manifiesto a la Nacion,” 1906.
liberalism borrowed from “pure” and classic thought, illustrating Magón’s bond to traditional liberal philosophy.

Although Madero opposed the unequal authority of the church under Díaz, his solution to the church’s influence focused on the democratic role of the church in government. In accordance to his commitment to democratic ideals, Madero promoted the church’s influence in the public sphere, encouraging their expression in topics related to politics. As stated in La Sucesión Presidencial, Madero believed the church contributed to a climate of discussion necessary to launch Mexico further into a democracy. Liberty, according to his writings, “debe cobijar con sus amplias alas a todos los mexicanos,” including the church.399

While Madero and Magón both agree that the church and the state should remain separate entities, Madero was more nuanced in his ideology. He accentuates the importance of the church’s contribution to a democratic atmosphere, thus advocating for separation while defending the church as a crucial element to the public arena. The PLM did not emphasize the democratic role of the church; it merely delineated a clear dissociation between both parties. For Madero, this segregation required deeper attention, specifically concerning the importance of the church in facilitating a democratic environment.

Madero’s focus on the role of the church, though limiting the power of the institution when compared to the church under Díaz, offered the institution a voice. Madero provided the church with a platform to retain some influence, the same as any other citizen. Unlike Madero, the PLM did not specify the function of the church in a representative government. Advocates of the church at the time understood their ability to maintain power under Madero’s administration, as an outlet to express their

399 Madero, La Sucesión Presidencial, 304.
voices was not overtly illustrated by the PLM. Thus, Madero’s commitment to expanding democratic
tenets appealed to the church in a way the PLM failed to do. Understanding the strength of the church,
crafting a pathway for the church’s expression symbolizes Madero’s tactical nature; he delivered an
invitation to the church in which he outlined a new democratic era in the hope that they would accept it.

**The Role of Revolutionary Violence**

Magón and Madero’s perspectives on militancy carry a similar, yet contrasting, tone. Although
Magón’s anarchism often recounts him as an advocate for violence, it is important to analyze the
hesitancy that underpinned his radicalism. Embodying reluctance, Madero perceived violent rebellion as
a last resort, prioritizing reform through pacifism and diplomacy. While Magón’s support for violence
warrants a second glance, Madero’s evolving stance on violence accentuates his willingness to bargain
with his own revolutionary tactics.

Militance did not claim an abundance of space during Magón’s early revolutionary years. While
dissent was highlighted in early *Regeneración* publications, violence was not. Intellectual rebellion was at
the core of the *Regeneración*’s initial phase, and was not overtly mentioned in the 1906 PLM Plan.
However, as Magón became more radical, violence began to filter through his rebellious agenda. Despite
the exclusion of violence in the PLM’s program, “the party had consistently called for armed revolution
since 1906.”\footnote{Lomnitz, *The Return of Comrade*, 238.} In an article published in *Regeneración* on December 17, 1910, approximately two
months after Madero’s Plan de San Luis, Magón justifies the use of violence. Entitled, “El Horror a la
Revolución” (“The Fear of the Revolution”), Magón illustrates the people’s perceived fear of violence, as
he attempts to convince the readers of the necessity for militant uprising. He justifies physical combat by
arguing the inevitably of death for the laborer, stating, “si se tiene que morir aplastado por la tiranía
capitalista y gubernamental en tiempo de paz, ¿por qué no morir mejor combatiendo lo que nos aplasta?” (“If you have to die crushed by capitalist and governmental tyranny in peacetime, why not die better by fighting what crushes us?”)Paired with Magón’s anarchism, militance was aimed at disrupting the capitalist economic system, not only at attacking supporters of the status quo. His targets were greater than just Diaz.

While his calls for militancy were loud, Magón’s personal sacrifice on the battlefield was nonexistent. Although his incarcerations prevented physical participation with the growing revolution, during moments of freedom he remained in the United States, separated from the increasing bloodshed across the border. Proclaiming the importance of militant rebellion, Magón “stayed safely behind the lines.” His commitment to militant rebellion excluded his own physical participation. Magón’s prolonged stay in the United States secured him a position similar to that of a military chief: he demanded rebellion but remained physically separated from the revolutionary trenches in Mexico.

Madero’s position on violence adapted to the revolutionary moment and to his own advancements. The Plan de San Luis’s militant air, released in October of 1910, was part of Madero’s larger organized scheme. It was not released on a whim; rather, it was a tactical response to Diaz’s resistance to resignation, Madero’s censorship, and a product of Madero’s own growing popularity. Fearful of the potential chaos born from rebellion, Madero’s call came after his attempt at diplomatic relations with Diaz in La Sucesión Presidencial, and after Diaz’s election fraud, which declared Madero’s loss and Diaz’s victory. It is important to note Madero never believed his pacifist notions would convince Diaz, but reigning reform through pacifism was worthy of an attempt. Madero argues he was always well

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402 Lomnitz, The Return of Comrade, 376.
aware Diaz “would [never] bow to the will of the nation.”\textsuperscript{403} In accordance with his organized nature, militancy was plan B. Moreover, this relatively radical shift came after “building a political machine and having run a political campaign throughout Mexico.”\textsuperscript{401} Madero sensed the anger from the citizenry following the election and, therefore, his call was strategic, a result of Madero’s methodology.

Understanding the role of violence, Madero supported an organized level of violence in \textit{La Sucesión Presidencial} if Diaz did not resign. Yet, this call for rebellion was quieter than the one issued in later months through the Plan de San Luis. A reluctance to participate in violence and risk the peace and order sustained under Diaz, symbolized Madero’s fear for potential anarchism.\textsuperscript{405} Thus, an organized rebellion was crucial and depended on the sacrifice of as few bodies as possible:

\ldots es preferible que algunas víctimas sean sacrificadas por la victoriosa espada que nos domina, y no que se vaya a ensangrentar el país con un número muy superior, como el que resultaría de una revolucion. (\ldots it is preferable that some victims are sacrificed by the victorious sword that dominates us, rather than having a country bloodied with a much higher number, like the one that would result from a revolution)\textsuperscript{406}

A radical revolution was not Madero’s aim; he was “never a revolutionary.”\textsuperscript{407} Consequently, he was apprehensive to a mass violent uprising. Although issued an overt call for rebellion in the Plan de San Luis, he still attempted to design the most unchaotic attempt at rebellion possible. To provide guidance and organization, Madero set a date for the revolution to begin, the 20th of November.\textsuperscript{408} This planned “beginning” would be born in city centers, as people would join together wearing matching ribbons—a symbol of Madero’s attempt at a uniformed protest.\textsuperscript{409} Although this coming together was never realized,

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{403} Madero, “Plan de San Luis Potosí,” 1910.
  \item \textsuperscript{404} Lomnitz, \textit{The Return of Comrade}, 236.
  \item \textsuperscript{405} Madero, \textit{La Sucesión Presidencial}, 295.
  \item \textsuperscript{406} Ibid., 295.
  \item \textsuperscript{407} Womack, \textit{Zapata}, 57.
  \item \textsuperscript{408} Madero, “Plan de San Luis Potosí,” (1910).
  \item \textsuperscript{409} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
a perceived blow for Madero’s scheme, rebellion eventually erupted nonetheless, signaling the capacity to meet mishaps with growth.

Contrary to Magón, Madero’s uprising did not exclude his own physical involvement. The Plan de San Luis carried an important message to its readers: Madero’s own willingness to die for the movement. Underlining the continuous spirit of Juárez, Madero issued his sacrifice:

...and I will know how to put into practice the example of those of our heroes who brought us independence and liberty, and, like them, I shall know how to fight bravely, if I am not destroyed by the bullets of the enemies of our people, and finally I shall know how to die—a glorious death, defending, at your side, the institutions of a Republic.  

Underlining his willingness to die, Madero’s statement that rattled his supporters and further illustrated his commitment for reform. By the time the Plan de San Luis came to be, Madero had made a name for himself through the 1910 election; Maderistas were at the forefront of reform, the plan merely solidified their position. Framing himself as a martyr was a tactical, yet genuine, attempt to mobilize Maderistas and the citizenry. While Magón’s radicalism did not manifest in a promise to physically contribute on the battlefield, his consistent call for violence still deems Magón a radical. Although his physical presence did not find its way to Mexican soil, his spirit nonetheless transcended borders, and mobilized Magónistas.  

While Madero’s hesitance embodies his moderacy, his overt call for an armed uprising signals an ideological shift towards a radical sentiment, highlighting the complexity behind Madero’s ideology and his capacity to adapt.

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410 Ibid.
The Evolution of Maderistas: How Magón and Madero’s supporters illustrate the progression of the Revolution and the Marginalization of Magón’s movement.

While Madero saw his rise, Magón’s support declined and ultimately deepened the divide between Madero’s political and Magón’s economic movement. Magón’s radicalism repelled upper classes, creating an exclusive clusive of Magónistas, which only grew smaller as Madero’s popularity peaked. Potential for a realized PLM program dwindled as his group of supporters paled in comparison to Madero’s growing mobilizations. As Madero’s rebellion stretched through Mexico, the ideological differences between Magón and Madero were magnified. Magón’s increasingly anarchist agenda removed any possible alliance between Madero and Magón. Donations on behalf of Madero to Regeneración ceased; the distinct liberal branches had formalized into distinct movements.

Despite the differences, there was an attempt on behalf of Madero to placate Magón’s radicalism and join the Maderistas. In pursuit of a united movement, “an electoral formula that included Ricardo Flores Magón as vice presidential candidate was explored.”\(^{412}\) However, Magón refused the offer, unwilling to abandon his goal of true emancipation for what he felt was a pseudo movement. Soon after, Magón was imprisoned in Baja California, leaving space for Madero’s movement to rise as the most prominent in the fight for liberalism.\(^{413}\)

While Madero’s forces inched closer to realizing a Mexico without Diaz, Magón’s revolution seemed increasingly less likely. Consequently, former supporters of the PLM switched camps and advocated for Madero’s victory, including Magón’s brother, Jesus.\(^{414}\) Magón’s commitment to his strife

\(^{412}\) Lomnitz, The Return of Comrade, 287.
\(^{413}\) Ibid., 292.
\(^{414}\) Ibid., 293.
could not be shaken, and hatred for Madero evolved from political to personal roots.\textsuperscript{415} As Madero’s movement progressed and he gained support from the wealthier strata, a class familiar to Madero’s hacendado origins, Magón argued Maderistas had stolen the revolution from the labor classes. A clear break was defined following Magón’s release from jail when Magón’s published an anti-Madero article in \textit{Regeneración} entitled “Francisco I. Madero es en Traidor a la Causa de la Libertad.” (“Francisco I. Madero is a Traitor to the Cause of Freedom”). Given Madero’s alliance with higher classes, Magón believed Madero’s potential for societal transformation was compromised. Delineating himself and the PLM from Madero, he states: “no contamos en nuestras filas con millonarios, ni contamos con el apoyo de los banqueros norteamericanos, como sucede con Madero.” (“…we do not have millionaires in our ranks, nor do we have the support of American bankers, as we see with Madero.”)\textsuperscript{416} From Magón’s perspective, Madero’s movement was an arm of the wealthy class and his victory would only continue the subjugation of the working class.

Moreover, in a letter written by Magón in May of 1911, Madero outlines the indifference between a Diaz administration and one led by Madero. Change would not find conception under Madero, because, as Magón wrote, “Madero [was] not the revolution. Madero is simply a leader of the forces at present under his command.”\textsuperscript{417} Magón continued, as he reinforced the core difference between both liberal branches: “the revolution of the Mexican liberal party is not a political but a true economic revolution.”\textsuperscript{418}

\textsuperscript{415} Ibid., 375.
\textsuperscript{416} Magón, “Francisco I. Madero es en traidor a la causa de la libertad,” \textit{Regeneración}, (February, 25 1911).
\textsuperscript{417} Magón, “Letter to E.E. Kirk,” (Los Angeles, California: May 24th, 1911).
\textsuperscript{418} Ibid.
However, absent from Magón’s analysis of Madero’s movement is the hacendado’s working class support. Because of his tactical waltz with censorship and ability to campaign, Madero’s writings had spread throughout the nation’s landscape as he travelled throughout regions, speaking to large crowds that encircled him. However, when Madero began to threaten Diaz, after the popularity of *La Sucesión Presidencial*, he was surveilled and eventually imprisoned. As a result, his imprisonment “stirred even plain farmers, sharecroppers, and day laborers” who had found a haven for hope in Madero. Madero’s movement became the eminent rebellion, acquiring multi-faceted support. Magón’s economic revolution was pushed to the margins.

The Paradox of Magón’s Working Class Commitment and Madero’s Allegiance to Organization

While attention to detail guided both Magón and Madero’s planning, an inability to foresee potential shortcomings exposed a deep paradox within their otherwise detailed revolutionary methodology. Madero’s focus on countering chaos in all its forms was contradicted by the lack of specificities within his plans. His focus on democratic reform through political liberty did not take into account the absence of socio-economic freedoms central to Magón’s platform. Unlike the specific policies intertwined in the PLM program, Madero depended on his promise of electoral freedom. Questions concerning the future of the revolution post-Diaz were not answered. In Madero’s plan, the citizenry would embrace democracy and policies affecting them would follow suit. His focus on structure failed to manifest after he became president, as fifteen months into his presidency, Madero “had to deal with two major uprisings involving the vast sections of the nation...these developments disrupted the economic life of the nation.”

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419 Womack, Zapata, 58.
420 Ibid., 58.
421 Ross, Apostle of Democracy, 250.
Highlighting another contradiction, Magón’s anti-elitism and devotion to the emancipation of laborers induced an unexpected conundrum. Expressing his disagreement to Madero’s alliance with the higher classes, and thus with capitalist classes, Magón outlines himself as exclusively on the side of the working class, stating his devotion to the side of his “poor brothers...and not on the side of the rich, nor the politicians, who are the oppressors of the poor.” Distancing himself from a large societal segment, Magón’s attempt at differentiating his cause from that of Madero hindered widespread national growth. While at the same time, Madero’s inclusive rebellion allowed him to gain prominence.

Moreover, Magón was imprisoned in Leavenworth’s Federal Penitentiary in Kansas during a crucial moment and was not released until 1910, when the situation on the ground in Mexico was no longer in sync with the liberal’s political strategy. By the time of his release, Madero’s rebellion had sprouted; economic reform had taken a back seat as advocacy for democratic rights bloomed throughout regions. Paired with Madero’s ability to communicate with the citizenry, relationship with the press, and his “ample personal funds and the courage to tour the country and lead political rallies,” Madero’s message found its way to the front line of the revolutionary terrain. Madero had a stronger grip on reform, and Magón’s radical liberalism faded into the background as many Magónistas and economic liberals began to support Madero and his seemingly concrete rebellion. While Magón’s popularity cannot be downplayed, in comparison to Madero, his number of supporters had decreased and the goal of the revolution had solidified into a purely political and electoral strife with Maderistas taking lead.

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422 Magón, “Francisco I. Madero es en traidor a la causa de la libertad,” (Feb 25 1911). Full Quote: “Soy un revolucionario y lo seré hasta que exhile el último aliento. Quiero estar siempre al lado de mis hermanos los pobres para luchar por ellos, y no al lado de los ricos ni de los políticos, que son opresores de los pobres.”
423 Lomnitz, Zapata, 234
424 Ibid., 236.
425 Ibid., 287.
As detailed as Magón and Madero’s strategies were, flaws rose to the surface. Madero’s decision to trust electoral rights as Mexico’s healer failed to fill a gap for economic changes, leading to a short-term goal. Magón’s radical and overt condemnation of elite classes birthed fear within the wealthier and urban strata. Madero, however, was attuned to the concerns of upper classes and gained the support of the wealthy who also sought reform. His ability to provide a space wide enough for a multi-faceted group of supporters was conducive to a growing popularity Magón was unable to compete with. Paradoxically, their methodology failed to patch holes that would lead to shortcomings. While Magón’s plan was far-sighted in nature and specific enough for prolonging the revolution, Madero encompassed the support necessary to realize one.

**Idealism and Revolution**

Although Magón’s PLM plan held specifications omitted in Madero’s strategy, Magón’s commitment to his ideology and his belief in the emancipation of the labor classes through a destruction of capitalism, paired with his inability to seek compromise illustrates an idealistic nature unique to Magón. Madero’s short-term plan, while dependent only on suffrage, does not highlight an idealism comparable to Magón’s. Madero worked within existing institutions, gaining influence from foreign examples of democracy. He was not searching to overthrow a dominant economic system like capitalism, nor was he naive to mistakes of class exclusion. Madero was meticulous in his approach to reform, sculpting a plan for rebellion that embodied a pragmatism which countered, and highlighted, Magón’s idealism.

Swept by the pursuit of revolution, Magón and *Regeneración* became subject to Diaz’s surveillance. Madero’s strategic approach to condemning Diaz, along with his status acquired through wealth, provided a period, although brief, for growing readership. On the contrary, Magón’s attack of
Diaz resulted in a rapid exile to the United States where he faced continued attempts at censorship. However, Magón’s ability to find outlets of expression deserves acknowledgment. While in the U.S, messages from Regeneración moved through U.S. border towns, facilitating the distribution of Regeneración in Mexico. Magón and his supporters in border towns, “[employed] a political smuggling network” made up of “small shopkeepers stationed along the U.S-Mexican border and railroad workers inside Mexico.” Through these channels, copies of Regeneración were sent into Mexico partially bypassing Diaz’s censorship. Despite his attempts at smuggling writings, surveillance on both sides of the border were powerful; U.S authorities, aligned with Diaz, incarcerated Magón. Life in prison hindered Magón’s messages and his physical involvement with the movement. His belief that his messages would overcome Diaz’s censorship.

Magón’s anti-church rhetoric also proved to be costly, for it isolated Magónistas from potential partners, as it outlined his uncompromising commitment to radicalism. The PLM’s proposal to silence the church through restricting religious education highlights Magón’s belief that removing the power of the church would be feasible. Moreover, it underlines Magón’s inability to seek compromise within existing institutions— an inability to find a middle ground that hindered his rebellion as Madero’s popularity progressed.

Believing true reform was only possible through economic policy, Magón dismissed any possibility of uniting with Madero’s political movement; curtailing the future of his own revolution. Magón remained committed to socio-economic revolution and refused to sacrifice his true aim for what

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426 Cockcroft, Intellectual Precursors of the Mexican Revolution, 125
427 Ibid., 119.
he believed was an unworthy rebellion. Although Magón’s supporters understood Madero’s movement stood a higher chance of realization, Magón’s idealism blurred his foresight. While all others abandoned the economic rebellion, Magón still believed in the movement, even as he neared death. In the last writing piece ever included in Regeneración, Magón exhibits the continuation of his revolution, which went on long after Madero’s life. Opposing any version of capitalist and corrupt power, Magón shared his distrust of the war in Europe:

“Tu no tienes nada tuyo que defender en las trincheras europeas, donde solo se disputan intereses de los capitalistas...Al primer anuncio de declaración de guerra, enarbola la bandera roja de Tierra y Libertad, y acaba para siempre con las instituciones que te quieren arrastrar a la matanza europea.” (“You have nothing to defend in the European trenches, where only the interests of the capitalists are disputed ... At the first declaration of war, raise the red flag of Land and Liberty, and end forever the institutions that love you drag to European slaughter”).

The fight for economic emancipation ran through Magón’s veins; the future was free, a vision he chose to believe although it opposed reality. While Madero looked at foreign democratic nations for influence, Madero refused to align with capitalist powers. His idealism stands apart from Madero; his methodology for revolution and the finish line drawn shine a light on Magón’s anti-capitalist utopian dream.

Politics of Hopefulness

Embedded within Magón and Madero’s visions lay an eternally blooming sense of hope. While their ideological divisions paved divergent revolutionary paths, each road was underpinned by a shared belief in a freer nation. In the obscurity of the Diaz regime, both longed for the warmth of the sun, clinching on to optimism. Although this hope wore different hues—either economic or political—faith in a societal awakening united Magón and Madero’s revolutions. The essence of hope fueled the dream of liberty and manifested itself into Magón and Madero’s writings. Writing against Diaz and for the

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428 Magón, Regeneración, October 6th, 1917.
mobilization of the working class, Magón represented the promise of transformation, arguing revolution would birth “una sistema que garantice a todo ser humano el pan, la tierra, y la libertad.” (“A system that guarantees every human being bread, land, and freedom”). In the midst of oppression, Magón emphasized faith; freedom was not a doubt, but a truth. Magón used the allure of hope to call upon prospective revolutionaries. Searching deep within humanity’s instinctive desire for happiness, hope found an organic conception within the movement. Magón accentuated the promise of life, as he professed, “todos tenemos derecho de vivir…vivir significa ser libre y ser feliz. Tenemos, pues, todos derecho a la libertad y a la felicidad.” (“we all have the right to live … to live means to be free and to be happy. We all have the right to freedom and happiness”). Magón’s rhetoric was colored with optimism and an inherent belief in humanity often contrasted by his oppositional writings focused on destruction.

In a similar light, a conviction in the Mexican citizenry embroidered Madero’s politics. Echoing Magón’s belief in the Mexican people’s natural desire for freedom, Madero incorporated hopeful rhetoric into his campaign. Traveling across Mexico, Madero touched souls amongst Mexico’s vistas and mountains. As he toured the nation, Madero declared, “en todas partes, en todos los corazones de los Mexicanos palpita el deseo de la libertad.” (“everywhere, in all the hearts of Mexicans, the desire for freedom pulsates”). Madero’s politics stemmed from a belief in a uniting vision of freedom which encompassed the Mexican citizenry. While ignorance once threatened the people’s livelihood, the capacity to dream was a revitalizing force. Wearing hope on his sleeve, Madero’s optimism mobilized followers, as revolutionaries “recognized they were not alone,” including a schoolteacher who “in watching Madero stand up to Diaz...[was] once encouraged and shamed into hope, the spring of

430 Magón, “Vamos Hacia La Vida,” Regeneración, (July, 1907)
action.”432 Madero watered the spirit of hope, as his campaign “had been a crusade: the result was not in
winning of votes, but in the winning of hearts.”433 Faith was the pulse of Madero’s campaign, illuminating
his path granting it vivacity. For both figures, hope was stronger than fear.

**Conclusion: Looking Ahead**

The pursuit of liberalism during the Mexican Revolution was couched in an ideological debate
regarding the essence of freedom. Ricardo Flores Magón and Francisco Madero were divided along
different fronts, as economic liberalism reigned superior to electoral freedom in the eyes of Magón, and
political liberty defined Madero’s battle. While their methodology was intricate in its design, flaws
manifested nonetheless planting holes within their revolutionary visions. United through a reverence for
Benito Juárez’s era of liberalism and a shared trust in the nation’s capacity to realize revolution, Magón
and Madero failed to join together in a solidified movement against Díaz. While Madero led a rebellion
that brought an end to the Porfiriato, his plan’s ambiguity on topics beyond political rights needed traces
of detail found within Magón’s PLM proposals to survive. In addition, Magón’s idealism required a
pragmatic partner.

Just as Magón and Madero looked to their political ancestors for revolutionary inspiration,
contemporary Mexico requires introspection. Understanding the historic shortcomings of revolutionary
figures deconstructs their heroic capes. In this deconstruction lies an analysis of revolution and an
outline for future revolutionaries. While studying the branches of liberalism that informed the nation’s
ideological topography, an inquiry into the origins of the Mexican Revolution is necessary.
Simultaneously, an examination into the practices of revolutionaries’ highlights both their shortcomings

432 Womack, *Zapata*, 57
433 Ibid., 57.
and strengths. As exemplified by Madero and Magón, great minds do not often think alike. Ideological consensus within revolutionary eras is, at times, an illusion. Yet, these divisions should not poison the waters of revolution, as unifying elements, such as hope, cleanse any tainting. To inch towards progress, union must be the source of change. Learning from the limitations and resilience of Madero and Magón, the importance of a collaborative cohort is accentuated. Divisions both strengthen the capacity for progression through discussion, while simultaneously threatening revolutionary success. A study into Magón and Madero poses a question, one which probes into the notion of division, its power, and its role in the future of Mexico. It is the people’s responsibility to decide whether to succumb to division, or to resist its power.
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In 1791, France was the first country in modern world history that emancipated its Jews as citizens. Yet a century later, anti-Semitism was not only rife but became a political apparatus and rallying point in France. In this paper, I trace the roots of secular anti-Semitism in the late-nineteenth-century France to the Enlightenment era by examining the philosophes’ discussions on Jews. I argue that the Enlightenment philosophes, most notably Voltaire, supported emancipation not because of the belief in equality, but because they believed that Jews were degenerate and foreign, and emancipation would potentially transform the “corrupt” Jew into “civilized” Frenchman. The attacks on Jews and the ambivalences within the Enlightenment thinking laid the ideological foundation of modern, secular anti-Semitism.

431 In this paper, “philosophes” refer to the French intellectuals of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment.
In 1791, in the spirit of universalism and tolerance advocated by Enlightenment philosophes such as Voltaire, the French National Assembly issued the Emancipation of the Jews of France, and France became the first country in modern world history that extended equality and citizenship rights to its Jewish population. In the following decades, the emancipation survived the Bourbon restoration and two tumultuous revolutions, yet in the late nineteenth century, France became the frontline of modern secular anti-Semitism. As shown by the Dreyfus Affair, anti-Semitism received widespread support and became a political apparatus and rallying point. However, much literature on French liberalism and modern Western civilization has dismissed the emergence of anti-Semitism in France as a sudden break from the Enlightenment and its successes in rejecting prejudices and promoting equality. Contrary to the view that the rise of anti-Semitism was an unexpected, drastic departure from the universalist principle that guided the development of modern France, the lineage of secular anti-Semitism can be traced back to the eighteenth-century Enlightenment Era. The philosophes argued that Jews were obstinate and degenerated and emancipation might be able to transform Jews into civilized French citizens.

Attributing a negative collective character to Jews, the philosophes underlined the urgency for reforms and supported emancipation, which was less a product of the belief in equality but more a thought experiment on whether mankind is perfectible. In response to the philosophes’ debate on the status and treatment of Jews, many Jewish thinkers and leaders also embraced the philosophes’ discourse on Jewish decadence and advocated transformation. The philosophes’ vehement attacks on Jews based on their perceived foreignness and vices became the foundation of modern secular anti-Semitism which

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argued that it was not just the religion but the inherent character of Jews that was alien and vicious. Using the works of Voltaire, Isaac De Pinto, and anti-Semites including Édouard Drumont, this paper will demonstrate the similarity between the rhetoric used by the philosophes and the late-nineteenth-century anti-Semites and then challenge the perceived rupture between the Enlightenment and the omnipresence of anti-Semitism in the French Third Republic.

During the Enlightenment, many philosophes advocated emancipation because they believed it would convert the corrupt and unchanging Jew to a rational citizen, and such transformation would answer the question that loomed above the philosophes: whether or not mankind was improvable through embracing progressive ideals. Preoccupied with topics on the malleability of human nature and the power of reason, tolerance and liberty, the philosophes often perceived the vices and suffering of Jews through such prisms. Prominent French philosophes including Montesquieu often characterized Jews as an obstinate, deceptive and greedy people not open to progress and reason and obsessed with usury and petty businesses. As the outspoken opponents of the Catholic Church and other organized religions, the philosophes, especially Voltaire, also portrayed Jews as victims of Christian fanaticism as well as their own religion and superstition. Jews were invoked in the discussions of the modern nation and sovereignty, in which they were seen by philosophes such as Rousseau as foreigners of a Jewish nation with “eternal separation” from non-Jews. Endorsing the stereotypes of Jews, the philosophes constructed ‘the Jew’ as an antithesis of the Enlightenment ideals such as progress, reason, secularism and morality. As Ronald Schechter points out, “[t]he Jews provided the best test for the hypothesis of

\[\text{Ibid., 37.}\]
\[\text{Ibid., 40-41.}\]
\[\text{Ibid., 47.}\]
\[\text{Ibid., 55-56.}\]
human perfectibility, for if the most notoriously inflexible of people could change, then, a fortiori, anyone could change.” While the asserted vices and degenerate character of Jews made them the perfect subjects of the philosophes’ thought experiments such allegations also laid important foundations for modern secular anti-Semitism.

As the philosophes attacked Jews for their purported degeneracy, many philosophers attributed the causes of Jewish infamy to persecution and argued for emancipation to transform Jews. For example, both Montesquieu and Voltaire believed that the limited opportunities that Jews had in Europe and the disdain of the Christian-majority population towards commerce pushed Jews to participate in usury and become deceitful. Montesquieu went on and envisioned that through embodying the Enlightenment principles, Jews could possibly “rise to a level of moral and philosophical excellence.” Other philosophes were more radical and promoted full emancipation, and some even argued for more extreme measures such as turning Jews into farmers to eradicate their greed and restore their morals. Thus, the philosophes’ advocacy of emancipation rested in the idea that Jews were corrupt and in need of moral regeneration. As the philosophes constructed the notion of the citizen “less in terms of a rights-bearing person and more in terms of a set of moral qualities,” emancipation was granted not because of equality and natural rights but potential transformation of Jews into morally qualified citizens of the indivisible nation.

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441 Ibid., 53.
442 Ibid., 41, 51.
443 Ibid., 42.
444 Ibid., 85.
445 Ibid., 101.
The philosophes’ rhetoric, which reaffirmed stereotypes and promoted emancipation to transform the corrupt Jew, was also adopted by prominent Jewish thinkers to argue for granting Jews equal rights. Isaac De Pinto, a distinguished Portuguese-Jewish economist and philosopher, wrote in his letter to Voltaire that Voltaire’s charges of Jewish degeneracy could only be applied to the German and Polish Jews but not the acculturated Portuguese Jews. De Pinto argued that Portuguese Jews were morally superior and “the mean characters of certain Polish and German Jews are not to be laid to the charge of that ancient, divine, and sacred religion.” He attributed the causes of decadence among German Jews to persecution:

Is it surprising that a people who are deprived of all the privileges of society... that among them human nature, debased and degraded, should seem to have no acquaintance with anything but worldly want? The sharp stings of want inspire these martyrs to it with every means of banishing or lessening it. That contempt which is heaped on them chokes up all the seeds of virtue and honor; there can be no sense of shame, where undeserved contempt precedes guilt; to cover the innocent with ignominy is to pave the way to it.

Although De Pinto intended to criticize the discrimination and deprivation of rights that Eastern European Jewry suffered, he essentially accepted the philosophes’ accusations of Jews being depraved. Like the gentile French philosophes, De Pinto attacked inequality and supported equal rights to Jews not because he believed that (German and Polish) Jews were equal to others, but because they were degenerate due to their environment and thus the environment ought to be changed. Although its aim was to repudiate Voltaire’s criticism of Jews as barbaric and vicious, Pinto’s letter was used by anti-Semites as evidence of Jewish decadence.

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In addition to acculturated intellectuals like Isaac De Pinto, Jewish leaders in the nineteenth-century France also inherited the philosophes’ language of Jewish degeneration and transformation. Joshua Schreier points out that state institutions, such as the Central Consistory, a body of Jewish notables and representatives organized by Napoleon, as well as Jewish organizations like the Alliance Israélite Universelle were set up to “augur a moralized and modern Judaism” and to uplift Jews in France and abroad through education and adherence to civil laws.\textsuperscript{448} Jewish participation in the civilizing mission of the French colonial empire further reflects how French Jews embraced the philosophes’ ideals of Jewish regeneration. After France colonized Algeria in 1830, the Consistory and the Alliance expanded their effort to reform Jews in North Africa and embarked on programs to organize the local Jewish population, build schools, and provide welfare.\textsuperscript{449} As the French Jews were to the philosophes, to the French Jewish reformers, the Algerian Jews were the victims of persecution and fanaticism in need of “emancipation, regeneration, and integration.”\textsuperscript{450}

Moreover, as many philosophes considered Jews to be not only degenerate but foreign and argued that emancipation could transform Jews into Frenchmen, emancipation was not a recognition of pluralism and inclusive citizenship but an attempt to destroy particularism. As Pierre Birnbaum argues in his book \textit{Anti-Semitism in France}, the French state, from the Ancien Régime to the Second Empire, was always a strong state that was “interventionist […] and intolerant of social and political diversity because it claimed to embody national legitimacy in itself.”\textsuperscript{451} While the liberal philosophes challenged many features of the absolutist regime, the philosophes’ notion of citizenship and their enthusiasm towards a

\textsuperscript{449} Ibid., 87.
\textsuperscript{450} Ibid., 89.
common national identity still adhered to the traditional strong state model that Birnbaum points out. Such emphasis on homogeneity in the public sphere was carried onto the discussions of Jews and emancipation. Besides Rousseau, political writers such as Philippe-François de Latour-Foissac and Pierre-Louis Lacretelle contended that Jews belonged to a separate nation and they had to be turned into Frenchmen through regeneration in order to become productive and noble.452 Jewish philosopher De Pinto, who advocated for equality and tolerance, also acclaimed assimilation rather than maintaining or displaying one’s Jewish identity. In order to demonstrate that Portuguese Jews were not barbaric and were different from their Eastern European coreligionists, Jewish philosopher De Pinto wrote in his letter to Voltaire that Portuguese Jews had “no beards, nor anything peculiar in their dress,” but they were similar to European gentiles and “vie[d] with the other nations of Europe in refinement, elegance and show, and differ from them in worship only.”453 De Pinto’s somewhat dismissive tone towards conspicuous Jewish distinctiveness reflects that he might share with the other philosophes the underlying assumption that Jews had to suppress their identity and be acculturated to become recognized as civilized Europeans. The distinction between Jews and Frenchmen and the urgency to make Jews French imply that although Enlightenment thinking and emancipation granted Jews religious freedom and equality, they did not tolerate a discrete Jewish identity. The assertion that Jews were foreign and the intolerance of Jewishness embedded in the Enlightenment thinking and emancipation became important roots of anti-Semitism.

On the other hand, French-Jewish intellectuals in the nineteenth century endorsed such perceived distinction between Jews and French and utilized it as a strategy of self-defense against anti-

452 Schechter, Obstinate Hebrews, 76-77, 81.
Jewish attacks. Inspired by historians such as François Guizot, Augustin Thierry and Amadée Thierry, Jewish thinkers argued that France was always consisted of different racial groups that had migrated to France and possessed distinctive characteristics. Jews, like the Gauls and the Franks, were intrinsically different and therefore they should have the “natural right to difference” safeguarded by the modern French state that acted as “a mediator between racial groups of unequal strength.” Some Jewish writers, such as Gustave d’Eichthal, were more radical and contended that Jewish racial distinctiveness should be protected because the Jewish race had made important contributions to the world by introducing commerce, the banking system, and its religion and Mosaic principles. Although the differentiation between Jews and French, a notion perpetuated by the Enlightenment philosophes, was used by Jewish leaders to justify Jewish distinctiveness, it was soon exploited by anti-Semites in the late-nineteenth century to argue that Jews were biologically and eternally foreign.

As emancipation was not only grounded in hostility towards Jews and rejection of pluralism but also viewed as a thought experiment on human perfectibility, the philosophes’ advocacy of emancipation reflects the fundamental ambivalence towards Jews within the Enlightenment. Such ambivalence laid the important ideological groundwork for modern anti-Semitism. The contradictory attitudes towards Jews and emancipation were remarkably apparent in the works of Voltaire, which were frequently borrowed by anti-Semites of the late nineteenth century and sparked continuous debates among scholars on whether Voltaire was anti-Jewish or accepting of Jews.


Ibid., 14.

Ibid., 15-17.
As a vocal advocate of progress and reason, Voltaire castigated fanaticism and promoted religious tolerance which was later embraced by emancipation. Voltaire ardently attacked the “ridiculous ignorance” of Christians for killing Jews in the name of defending Jesus Christ. In *Treatise on Toleration* he condemned religious persecution as unjust and disrespectful to God, “not only is it very cruel…to persecute those who do not think as we do, but it seems rather risky to pronounce their eternal damnation… must each individual usurp the rights of the Divinity and decide in His place the eternal fate of all human beings?” Yet in the same book, Voltaire also affirmed the anti-Semitic statement that Jews faced “eternal punishment that result[ed] from their incredulity.” Voltaire’s belief in the permanent punishment of Jews reflects that contrary to what the literature on French liberalism has insisted, Enlightenment thinking and its construct of a modern French state were not void of religious influences. As shown by Voltaire’s changing views towards religious Jew-hatred, the Enlightenment did not completely reject oppression of Jews. In the contrary, Voltaire’s attitude towards Jews descended into modern anti-Semitism that supported the return to complete exclusion of Jews from the national body in the pre-emancipation era.

On the other hand, since emancipation was constructed by the philosophes as a thought experiment on human perfectibility rather than a commitment to universalism, the philosophes’ shifting attitudes towards the changeability of Jews weakened the argument for emancipation. Many philosophes were fundamentally ambivalent towards whether mankind could be improved and therefore ambivalent towards whether Jews could be changed. Like many other philosophers, Voltaire “switched nervously

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457 Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews*, 47.
between a comforting narrative of progress and a nagging suspicion” that human beings were unchangeable and as a result he often shifted between faith and skepticism towards the malleability of Jews.461 Voltaire’s conflicting attitude towards Jews is evident in his exchange with Isaac de Pinto. De Pinto had published a letter to Voltaire refuting his accusation of Jews as an ignorant and barbaric people, and Voltaire responded with a letter in which he expressed hope in the moral and intellectual capability of Jews. Not only did Voltaire apologize for his “cruel and unjust” description of Jews but he also acknowledged that there were “very learned and respectable persons” among Jews.462 Voltaire even admitted that he was “wrong in attributing to a whole nation the vices of some individuals.”463 He went on, “if you are a philosopher, as you seem to be, you will think as those gentlemen do, but you will not say it. [...] As you are a Jew, remain so. [...] But be a philosopher.”464 Here Voltaire even suggested the possibility of Jews achieving intellectual excellence and even joining his rank as a philosophe. However, the same quote also reveals that Voltaire believed that in order to become civilized, Jews including the well-known economist De Pinto needed to first cast off the Jewish religion and identity and to think and speak as other philosophers. Voltaire’s opposing views towards Jews reflects that, contrary to the literature and popular belief in the Enlightenment’s full embrace of equality, the philosophes were hesitant in affirming the flexibility of Jews and tolerating Jewish distinctiveness. Furthermore, in Philosophical Dictionary, Voltaire gave Jews little historical and cultural significance but frequently exemplified Jews as savages incapable of producing civilization and intellectual work. He described Jews as “ignorant, rude, still lacking the arts” and accused them of “copy[ing] as best they could the ancient,

461 Ibid.
462 Guénée, Letters of Certain Jews, 60.
463 Ibid.
464 Ibid., 61-63.
flourishing and industrious nation.” Voltaire’s disdain and accusation against Jews as perpetually barbaric contradicted, if not rejected, the possible capability of Jews in achieving regeneration and intellectual excellence. As the philosophes distrusted and, in the case of Voltaire, dismissed the malleability of Jews, their argument that emancipation was a means of improving the obstinate Jews was already challenged within the Enlightenment itself. The philosophes’ suspicion that Jews were immutable was easily reiterated and manipulated by anti-Semites who argued that Jews were inherently corrupt and could not be improved.

Moreover, in arguing that emancipation could regenerate Jews, Voltaire and many other philosophes violently attacked Jews and attributed vices and an atrocious collective character to Jews. In his letter to Isaac De Pinto, right after Voltaire apologized for his generalization of Jews, he condemned Jews as a group in saying “I shall tell you as frankly, that there are many who cannot endure your laws, your books, or your superstitions. They say your nation has done, in every age, much hurt to itself and to the human race.” Such criticism was mild compared to Voltaire’s denunciation of Jews as barbaric, deceitful and immoral in his other works. In his book Treatise on Tolerance, ironically, Voltaire declared, “in the whole history of this people there is no sign of generosity, magnanimity or beneficence.” Voltaire even viciously declared that Biblical Jews were cannibals, and he cynically said, “why should the Jews not have been cannibals? It would have been the only thing the people of god lacked to be the most abominable on earth.” Under the topic of “Hell” in Philosophical Dictionary, Voltaire constructed an imaginary author of the Jewish laws, explaining to the reader why Jews did not have punishment after life:

466 Ibid., 19.
467 Voltaire, Treatise on Toleration, 78.
468 Voltaire, Philosophical Dictionary, 40.
We admit that we are exceedingly ignorant; that we learned to write very late; that our people was a savage and barbaric horde which, as we have shown, wandered for half a century in uninhabitable deserts; that it finally usurped a small country by the most odious rapine and the most detestable cruelties ever recorded in history. We had no intercourse with civilized nations; how can you expect us (the most earthly of men) to have invented a wholly spiritual system?  

Not only did Voltaire construct the ambivalences of the Enlightenment, but his attacks on Jews implied that the inherited, eternal character of Jews was foreign, evil and dangerous. Voltaire claimed that Jews “regard us as idolaters and, although we tolerate them today, they could easily kill us off and spare only our marriageable daughters if they had the power to do so.” Through the anti-Semitic character of Cicero in Voltaire’s *Letters of Memmius to Cicero*, Voltaire said, “they (Jews) are, all of them, born with raging fanaticism in their hearts, just as the Bretons and the Germans are born with blond hair. I would not be in the least bit surprised if these people would not some day become deadly to the human race.” Voltaire’s allegations of collective, innate vices against Jews transcended medieval Jew-hatred based on religious and economic reasons and were extensively borrowed by anti-Semites, who argued that “not merely their (Jewish) religion but their essential and lasting character was evil.”

The parallel between Voltaire’s antagonism towards Jews and the anti-Semitic attacks made by later right-wing nationalists in the Third Republic then becomes clear. As Voltaire referred to Jews as “thieving and fugitive,” Édouard Drumont, a famous anti-Semitic writer in the Third Republic, attacked Jews in his book *Jewish France* as enemies of the French laborers and foreigners who benefited

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469 Ibid., 185. 
473 Ibid., 290. 
from fraud and speculation. In his newspaper La Libre Parole, Drumont accused Jews as being foreign, deceptive and disloyal in the same way as Voltaire and other philosophes did highlighting that “one sees in them (Jews) the usurer who completes the ruination of the indebted officer, the tradesman who speculates on the soldier’s hunger, the spy who traffics without shame in the secrets of national defense.” Like the philosophes who spoke of Jews as another nation, Maurice Barrès, another infamous anti-Semitic figure that arose during the Dreyfus Affair, also distinguished Jews, “[the children] of Judea”, from French, “the children of Gaul”. He assaulted Jews as “the foreigner” and “parasite [that] poisons us [Frenchmen].”

Attacking Jews as degenerate and incorrigible and declaring that the French nation was intolerant of the Jewish identity, modern secular anti-Semitism was not a temporary detour from the Enlightenment and the French Republican traditions. In fact, from the works of Voltaire, Édouard Drumont and Maurice Barrès, there is a clear lineage from the Enlightenment to the rise of anti-Semitism in the late nineteenth century. By arguing that Jews were collectively degenerate and in need of transformation, the philosophes provided the ideological framework for both emancipation and modern, secular anti-Semitism. Emancipation was not simply a consequence of French universalism and tolerance, as many scholars have claimed, but a product of the ambivalences within the Enlightenment towards human perfectibility, the notion of citizenship and the construction of identities. By tracing the connection between the Enlightenment and the emergence of anti-Semitism, one can see how literature on French liberalism has glorified the impact of the Enlightenment. It is through this narrative that one

476 Burns, France and the Dreyfus Affair, 10.
477 Ibid., 7.
478 Ibid.
can see how emancipation was rooted not in equality but in the belief that allegedly uncivilized minorities could potentially be changed.

The story of Jews as thought experiments of the Enlightenment perhaps can offer us a different perspective in looking at France’s current problems with its ethnic minorities. Are the conflicts a result of the clashes between nationalism and multiculturalism, or a tradition of exclusiveness deeply embedded in the Enlightenment thinking? The story of Jews in France provides us with a tool to not only analyze the present but also to re-examine our own often rose-tinted perception of the glorious, revolutionary past.
Bibliography


