Ex Post Facto is published annually by the students of the Department of History at San Francisco State University and members of the Kappa Phi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, the national History honors society. All views of fact or opinion are the sole responsibility of the authors and may not reflect the views of the editorial staff.

Questions or comments may be directed to Ex Post Facto, Department of History, San Francisco State University, 1600 Holloway Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94132. Contact us via email at epf@sfsu.edu. The Journal is published online at http://history.sfsu.edu/content/ex-post-facto-history-journal.

The Ex Post Facto editorial board gratefully acknowledges the funding provided by the Instructionally Related Activities Committee at San Francisco State University. The board also wishes to thank Dr. Eva Sheppard Wolf for her continued confidence and support, as well as all of the Department of History’s professors who have both trained and encouraged students in their pursuit of the historian’s craft. These professors have empowered their students to write the inspiring scholarship included in this publication. In addition to support from within our own department, we have also been fortunate to receive outstanding contributions from the SFSU School of Design. Therein we are particularly grateful for the assistance of Dr. Joshua Singer and Aitalina Indeeva. Lastly, we would like to thank the authors who have allowed us to share their work with our readership and the greater academic community.

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EGO POSTULO
INSPIRATIONEM TUA
O DEA CLIO
LETTER FROM THE MANAGING EDITORS

It with tremendous pride that we introduce the twenty-eighth volume of *Ex Post Facto*. Our 2019 edition contains nine articles ranging in theme from medieval perceptions of sight to the regulation and closure of San Francisco’s gay bathhouses in the 1980s. Each article captures a unique moment in time and, as evinced by this year’s apropos cover art, constitutes a formidable effort to contribute to the edifice of historical knowledge. Despite sustained and, in many cases, worthwhile challenges, revisions, and additions to this edifice, it is one that remains, much like the annual development of this journal, fundamentally collaborative in nature.

We would like to thank all of the authors who contributed their work to the journal, and happily acknowledge the outstanding efforts of the many professors who have supported them in doing so. We are equally indebted to the contributions of the members of our editorial staff, who have consistently sacrificed their own time to make this year’s volume of *EPF* as strong as possible. Our profound gratitude goes out to Dr. Eva Sheppard Wolf for the abundant guidance that she has offered us as our faculty mentor. We are also thankful for Sheri Kennedy’s enduring support and administrative expertise. Outside of the Department of History, we recognize the exceptional contributions of Aitalina Indeeva and Dr. Joshua Singer, both of SFSU’s School of Design, who volunteered their time and creativity to produce this volume’s cover. Without the inspiring contributions of all of the individuals listed above, as well as those of the many others who have guided them along the way, we would not have been able to publish this twenty-eighth volume of *EPF*.

As we present this edition, it is our hope that the special tradition of producing *Ex Post Facto* will continue for years to come, and will stand as both a reminder of the importance of historical inquiry and a testament to the power of collaboration. We very much hope that you enjoy this year’s rendition,

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# Table of Contents

**Islam in the Life and Words of Gandhi**  
*Mitchell Johnson*  
9-21  
Undergraduate Winner of the Joseph Mullins Prize in History

**Elf Battles: An Instance of Cultural Conflict between Christianity and Paganism in Late-Anglo-Saxon England**  
*Curtis Rager*  
23-34

**A New Age Dawning: The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb**  
*Julian Marasigan*  
37-56

**The Defense of San Francisco’s Gay Bathhouses as an Issue of Civil and Sexual Liberties During the AIDS Epidemic**  
*Brandon Michael Ball*  
59-70

**Darkness Halps Us to Feel Holy: The Classical Conception of Witchcraft in Sixteenth-Century Europe**  
*David Hlusak*  
73-104  
Graduate Winner of the Joseph Mullins Prize in History
WHAT’S IN A VIEW: AN EXAMPLE OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN
MUSLIM AND CHRISTIAN SCHOLARS AND THEIR CONVERGENCE
IN THE PERCEPTION OF MEDIEVAL SIGHT
Margaret J. Paz . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 107-127

THE SAILING SHIP AS THE LIFEBOOD OF THE SEVENTEENTH-
CENTURY ATLANTIC: FOUR LEGS OF THE VOYAGE OF
DE LIEFDE
Julie van den Hout . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 129-143

FLUID HORRORS: VAMPIRES AS THE FACE OF OTHERS IN THE
TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICA
Adam Nichols . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 145-160

ARABS IN AMERICA: THE HISTORY OF DEARBORN, MICHIGAN
Scott Pribble . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 163-194
Islam in the Life and Words of Gandhi

UNDERGRADUATE WINNER OF THE JOSEPH MULLINS PRIZE IN HISTORY

Mitchell Johnson

The modern, Western study of Mohandas K. Gandhi often seeks to place him in a Western context: Gandhi and King, Gandhi and Washington, Gandhi and the Christian establishment. Both academics and the public have contextualized him within the context of Western leaders, revolutionaries, and religions, to make his teachings more accessible and relatable to a Western canon. Unfortunately, this trend diminishes Gandhi’s own work and greatly limits our ability to learn from him as a remarkable thinker in his own right. The Mahatmas global stature makes him deserving of a close, detailed study in all aspects of his life without the constant restriction of a Western, Judeo-Christian lens.

Through close study of his life and career, it is evident that Gandhi’s work was defined as much by his relationship with the adherents of Islam as by the bureaucrats of the British Empire. While Western scholarship often rushes to examine his appraisal of Jesus and his disciples, Gandhi himself was more likely to invoke the words of Mohammad in a speech or letter. A very basic understanding of the geopolitics of South-Central Asia makes it clear that this is due to the large minority population of Muslims living side by side with Hindus, Sikhs, and Jains in colonial India. Gandhi, because of both his upbringing and lifelong goal of seeing an independent, peaceful, and whole India, asked himself the same question that many politicians and diplomats do today: how do we evaluate and fruitfully interact with Islam and its followers as per their central position in the world?

In answering that question from Gandhi’s perspective, this paper builds on a series of scholarly articles and academic journals looking at the same or relevant topics. Foremost among these is an article entitled “Islam and Ghandi: A Historical Perspective,” written by Amit Dey and published in the journal
Social Scientist in 2013. Dey’s piece is an insightful review of Gandhi’s historical interaction with Islam. It reads much like a biography, but also assesses Gandhi’s own method of historically contextualizing Islam in India. Dey’s work is especially useful in helping the reader consider the effects of Gandhi’s upbringing and how it primed him for thoughtful consideration of Islam.¹ Sheila McDonough’s work, Gandhi’s Response to Islam, provides an even more detailed study of these factors. Though a well-regarded scholar of Islam, McDonough sometimes neglects to acknowledge the particular political environment Gandhi was a part of in her book, but does provide a detailed understanding of the denominations of Islam that Gandhi encountered.² M.N. Srinivas’s piece, “Gandhi’s Religion,” is also useful, as it contains a meaningful and well-argued critique of Gandhi’s religious views in addition to a fair analysis of them as a whole.³ Srinivas spends very little time, however, assessing Islam’s place in Gandhi’s religious study: this leads one to conclude that perhaps too much of his understanding of Gandhi came from the work of B.R. Nanda, an author mentioned thirteen times in Srinivas’s article, and that he would benefit from a closer look at Gandhi’s own publications.

The work of these historians is enlightening and thought-provoking, but the most important reading that I have done has been a systematic review of the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi. In my own research, I found that Islam sometimes dominated Gandhi’s writing, particularly while he was living in South Africa. I came to this conclusion by accessing an online database of the Collected Works, published by the GandhiServe Foundation, and using a search command to find each mention of Islam, Muslims, or Muhammad.⁴ By filtering through Gandhi’s extensive writings, I have identified the place

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2 Sheila McDonough, Gandhi’s Responses to Islam (Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 1994).
Islam and its people had in his life, and have found an understanding of the Qur’an’s more recent footprint that should prove instructive for contemporary historians and many other social scientists. This paper will demonstrate that Islam was a major source of inspiration and spiritual instruction for Gandhi; he identified key universal values instilled in the religion by Mohammad and his followers, values which are echoed at the core of Gandhi’s own personal philosophies.

Gandhi was born and raised in the province of Gujarat, a coastal state in India sitting directly on top of ancient trade routes between Asia, Africa, and Europe. This crossroads of different cultures and belief systems was expressed in his upbringing, as Gandhi’s father hailed from a liberal Vaishnava background and worked as a government minister, while his mother came from a family of traders. The Gandhi family lived and worked with a diverse group of peers, including Jains, Parsis, and, most critically, Muslims; the Hindu majority here was only part of a broader community. A non-insular upbringing equipped Gandhi with the knowledge that he could appreciate and value other religions and ways of life without forsaking his own. This is indivisible from his ability to communicate and empathize with individuals from all walks of life, a vital skill he used to draw attention, sympathy, and support to his cause. This quality was founded on his belief in the innate value of life, best expressed in a quote that he often repeated, attributed to the avatar of Vishnu, Narasimha: “The different shapes into which gold was beaten gave rise to different names and forms; but ultimately it was all gold.” The pluralistic social composition of Gujarat is echoed in Gandhi’s vision of a diverse and independent India, which called for the peaceful coexistence of Muslims and Hindus.

Later, when living in South Africa, Gandhi found himself standing shoulder to shoulder with Muslims as they fought together for Indian rights, building his relationship to Islam all the while. Much of Gandhi’s most interesting writing on Islam, and discussion with Muslims about their religion, took place early in his life, particularly when he lived in South Africa. He was employed by a Muslim named Dada Abdullah, often associated himself with


7 McDonough, Gandhi’s Responses, 21.
the Hamidiya Islamic Society, and began his serious study of the Qur’an at this time. A Hindu raised to see Islam as alien may have been unlikely to give the Qur’an much consideration, but Gandhi would come to develop a unique personal understanding of religion. Based on his reading of the Qur’an, Bible, and other holy texts, he saw a single common chord in all religion, stating that “God, Allah, Rama, Narayan, Ishwar, Khuda were descriptions of the same Being.” By including Muslims in his activism, he demonstrated his acceptance of them and their god; he also stated that an oath in the name of Allah was as holy and sacred as one in the name of Krishna. Gandhi’s acknowledgement of Muslim beliefs helped legitimize their political concerns in the eyes of Hindus in South Africa, allowing the two religious groups to work together against the South African government. Colonial regimes such as the ones built by the British often pitted separate religious groups against each other to make it easier to exercise control over the region those groups inhabited; a Hindu-Muslim conflict does no good for either group, but makes their oppressor exponentially stronger in comparison. Part of the credit for recognizing this and rejecting the divisive tactics of colonialism can be attributed to Gandhi’s optimistic opinion of Islam.

A pertinent aspect of Gandhi’s writing is his tendency to recognize historical figures as paragons of certain personal qualities and behaviors. He often focuses on specific individuals and praises their work, citing it as inspiration for his own. It is a credit to Gandhi’s open mind that many of them are not Hindu or even Indian, and some that are deserve more study for the ways they stood against their surrounding social order. The presence of Muslims is readily apparent as well. In part due to the influence of his mother, who he described as a “Kabir-panthi,” Gandhi had an ardent love for Kabir, a fifteenth-century poet and saint. Kabir himself was raised Muslim but greatly influenced by the Hindu teachings of his mentor Ramananda;
because of this, Kabir would have easily symbolized the promise of a unified India to Gandhi. Kabir criticized adherents of both religions for self-centered practices, yet both religions praised him after his death and held his poetry in high regard. Gandhi would live to emulate Kabir in his willingness to point out the wrongful inequities within Hindu society.

In a more political turn, the Mughal emperor Akbar received praise from Gandhi for his “unerring insight” in using the tolerant traditions of his Muslim religion when ruling over an extremely religiously diverse India. The way Gandhi recognizes Akbar’s religious beliefs as a central tool in his administration of a large and diverse Indian empire makes it abundantly clear that Gandhi is not stating that Akbar performed his role as emperor in this way in spite of his religion, but in the best reflection of it. Gandhi attests to the quality of Akbar as both a leader and a Muslim who in Gandhi’s words “recognised the tolerant spirit of Islam,” using it to rule over much of the Indian subcontinent. Acknowledging the historical significance of Islam is integral to appreciating Islam’s place in a current India, respective to both Gandhi’s lifetime and the modern day. Gandhi saw Islam and its practice as a notable influence on the people of the Indian subcontinent; though it is clear that Hinduism is dear to him and that he sees it as a supremely developed religion, the recognition he gives Akbar and Islam is important in the validation it confers.

Gandhi’s praise for Muhammad himself is especially abundant; from his judgement of the country around him and the failings of contemporary religions, to his selfless leadership of the many followers he earned. In a lecture on religion he stated that Muhammad saw “moral anarchy rampant in Arabia,” and given the inability of Christianity or Judaism to reform the population, he took it upon himself to show the people of the land that

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12 Dey, “Islam and Gandhi,” 23
theirs was a miserable condition. The zeal that he roused in his compatriots was the true “mighty force of Islam” in Gandhi’s words. Using this passion, Muhammad led Muslims to become fearless warriors, able politicians, and to establish a stable theocratic state ruling over many nations of men. Gandhi then impressed upon his audience that the nature of this religious bond and the way it empowers Muslim communities must always be considered when interacting with them. It becomes clear as Gandhi wrote and spoke about Muhammad that he did not view him as a sort of archaic individual who has become more symbol than man. Instead, he saw an immediacy in the way that Muhammad impacted the world around him, a lasting legacy that constantly figured in Gandhi’s consideration of the Muslim world.

Muhammad is far more than just a figurehead in Gandhi’s appraisal; he is a man of incredible ability who raised his people up from misery into a holy independence. This point of view is due not only to Gandhi’s study of the Qur’an, but also to the sirat (prophetic biography), which details Muhammad’s life. Though Gandhi did not aim to be the head of state in his vision of a free India, he certainly sought to achieve many of the same things he states Muhammad did. The Mahatma worked for the good of his people, he wished to see an independent India guided by its spiritual principle, and he believed a bond among compatriots would be key to accomplishing this. These common methods and ideas figure heavily in Gandhi’s enduring magnum opus, the Hind Swaraj. In Gandhi’s estimation, the religious and social bond which Muhammad fostered was so significant that it was still the driving force behind modern Pan-Islamic movements. Current relations between the West and the Islamic world could certainly benefit from a similar respect for Islam and its prophet as the one evident in Gandhi’s writing.

16 Gandhi, “Lectures on Religion.”
Perhaps the facets of Islam most highly valued by Gandhi are its essential doctrines, which, in his opinion, emphasized a true spirit of equality. In his words, these keystones of Islam “offered equality to all that came within its pale, in the manner that no other religion in the world did. When, therefore, about 900 years after Christ, his followers descended upon India, Hinduism stood dazed.” In this statement, we see that Gandhi is willing to provide a history of Islam in India that is unwashed, and in addition to his praise of the “saints” of Islam, we can observe him extolling and demonstrating virtues of Islam while making no effort to dismiss the issues present in Hindu society both at the times he speaks of and lives in. These problems, consisting of deep social stratification and entrenched classism, led hundreds of thousands of Hindus to embrace the Shahada, the creed of Islam, and convert. Gandhi even commended the decision of many socially disadvantaged Hindus to convert to Islam. Many would consider these converts infidels and their lower status an indication of negative traits in Islam; Gandhi viewed its appeal to the disenfranchised as a strength worthy of admiration. Gandhi succinctly wrote that, to him and Islam, “there is no distinction between Brahmin and a Bhangi.” Regardless of a person’s social status, Gandhi felt they deserved the same respect and opportunity as any other, and he saw this as one of the most valuable lessons that Islam had to teach.

Gandhi did voice opinions that cast Islam in a less than positive light, though his qualms typically addressed what he felt were misdeeds by Muslims that ran counter to the better practice of their religion. When responding to Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, president of the Punjab Khilafat Committee, following his claim that a recent statement of Gandhi’s challenged the authority of the Qur’an in Muslim life, Gandhi explicitly stated that his immediate issue lay with the teachers, not the text itself. He felt it was abundantly clear that many had sought to use warped interpretations of the Qur’an to mislead. While


22 Gandhi, “Clarification.”

this was the core of his previous complaint concerning Muslim defense of stoning practices, Gandhi also stated he felt it was necessary and constructive to directly criticize a holy text when needed, saying that, “the early Muslims accepted Islam not because they knew it to be revealed but because it appealed to their virgin reason.” Gandhi demonstrates not only his appreciation for reason as a tool to judge all things, but his trust in the Qur’an as a powerful and convincing tool to instruct people. By making it clear he believes that Islam is a religion capable of standing up to and benefiting socially from intelligent critique, Gandhi gives the religion and its practitioners more credit than many of his peers. This also shows that Gandhi took issue with the tendency of many religious zealots, including certain Muslims, to take the entirety of their holy text at face value. Again, this suggests that he deeply valued what he saw as the common denominator in all religions; not each rote commandment they happen to mention in nonessential appendices to a religious text altered by fallible hands over the course of centuries, but the divine truth that founded his personal philosophy, the outline of his life’s work.

Gandhi also criticized Muslims for what he believed to be intolerant behavior, despite toleration being in his estimation a historical sociopolitical strength of Islam when spreading into new lands. In particular, he noted that the rigidity of their approach to religion was an obstacle when pursuing his goals of somewhat unitary religious appreciation, complaining that he had much more ease discussing the worthiness of the Qur’an with Hindus than the Vedas with Muslims. Gandhi should have perhaps considered the Shahada in this estimation. It becomes clear that at a certain point Gandhi could not reconcile himself or his philosophy with absolute and exclusive concepts of divinity. Gandhi, seeing Ram in the gods of many religious doctrines the world over, was simply not in a theological position to meet a system where only one deity could have any kind of legitimacy halfway. Although this may have been a stumbling block in some dialogues with scholars of Islam, Gandhi was exceedingly willing and able to engage with Muslims on a more immediate and practical issue of great contention in India, and one where he would become a voice calling for restraint and moderation in reaction among his fellow Hindus:

24 Gandhi, “My Crime.”

cow killing. In a letter to the editor published in the Bombay Press, he praised the “learning, true wisdom, and humility” of the Maulana Abdul Bari Saheb, made apparent in a conversation had while Gandhi was the Maulana’s guest.26

On this constant and sensitive source of conflict, the esteemed Maulana came to the uncommon conclusion that it was a necessity for Indian Muslims to abstain from cow-killing out of respect for their Hindu neighbors, despite Gandhi’s own position that it was an issue that could wait for a solution until “the ripening of true friendship between us” and “for an impartial discussion.”27 Perhaps inspired by the kind of generous acquiescence of Muslim leaders like the Maulana, rather than being motivated to take advantage of their kindness, Gandhi first stated only divine forces could truly protect the cow, and that the Rajas must stop offering beef to British guests before Hindus could ask Muslims to refrain from eating the same food in their own homes.28 This is an example of Gandhi’s practicality and pragmatism at its best; first, he humbles the militant Hindu who seeks to protect cattle using any means, and second, he redirects potentially negative energy towards the British occupation, away from the Muslims he saw as fellow Indian citizens and vital allies in the struggle for real freedom. Again, we see that Gandhi avoids or outright rejects participating in divisive political merry-go-rounds, which he recognizes can only weaken the position of the Indian people against British colonialism.

Gandhi does take up this more conciliatory approach to cow protection for reasons other than mere political pragmatism. He cites the principles in Hinduism that teach its adherents to not harm cattle as well as the compassion emphasized by the Qur’an when speaking about his disapproval of the use of a goad, a spiked stick used to jab working oxen to direct them and make them


carry their load to its destination quicker.\footnote{Mohandas K. Gandhi, “Speech at Mota Varachha,” Speech, Mota, Varachha, January 9, 1916, https://www.gandhiashramsevagram.org/gandhi-literature/mahatma-gandhi-collected-works-volume-15.pdf.} Gandhi spoke of a visit to the city of Surat in his home state of Gujarat, where he had witnessed the cruel use of such a tool and had not objected. Having grown wiser and more considerate of the daily practice of his own beliefs, Gandhi concluded that he must ask the Hindu and Muslim communities in Surat to abandon this practice, or he would walk rather than patronise such carts. On the part of the Hindus, he states, as long as they fail to treat the cow as their religion requires, they can ask no other to do the same.\footnote{Mohandas K. Gandhi, “Speech on Non-Co-Operation.”} Cow protection is a useful lens through which we can view several aspects of Gandhi’s relationship with Islam: what he judged to be good in the faith’s central philosophies, what it has in common with other religions, and how he felt that despite the myriad difficulties included in the endeavor, an independent India with both Hindus and Muslims was worth the effort.

The ideal of a truly independent India could in Gandhi’s eyes only be achieved by the nonviolent, passive form of resistance which he detailed in \textit{Hind Swaraj}, the enduring distillation of his personal philosophy of satyagraha.\footnote{Mohandas K. Gandhi, \textit{Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule}.} A letter from the Mahatma to a fellow activist helps shed light on the inspirational effects of Islam on Gandhi’s theory of satyagraha. Gandhi uses a story from the French conquest of Morocco in 1911 to explain to his new recruit what exactly the power of satyagraha was. In his anecdote, a group of Arab soldiers found themselves out of ammunition and under fire from French troops. Believing themselves to be fighting a war for their religion, Islam, the Arab soldiers believed that they had no recourse but to advance towards the enemy, crying “Ya Allah.” The shocked and inspired French refused to fire upon the desperate Arabs, and embraced them.\footnote{Mohandas K. Gandhi, “Letter to Shankarlal on ‘Ideas About Satyagraha,’” Mohandas K. Gandhi to Shankarlal Banker, September 2, 1917, https://www.gandhiashramsevagram.org/gandhi-literature/mahatma-gandhi-collected-works-volume-16.pdf.} Gandhi explains that these Muslim soldiers had no ill will or anger in their hearts, but refused to submit to their oppressor “because they themselves had the strength to suffer.”\footnote{Gandhi, “Letter to Shankarlal.”} Rather than a similar tale from the Ramayana, Gita, or similar work of Hindu literature,
Gandhi chose an explanation invoking Islam when speaking to a fellow Hindu about the concepts of humanity dearest to him. Having nothing to gain from an appeal to Islamic beliefs, this anecdote speaks to just how immediate Islam and the Muslim people were in his mind and heart.

Gandhi was equipped with an open mind at a young age, which permitted him to take to heart the teachings of many religions other than his own, none more so than Islam. My study of his works revealed to me a complex web of influence that Islam and those who practiced it had on the Mahatma, helping him to lead his own people towards independence. By giving the concerns of his Muslim cohabitants the respect that they deserved, and conferring a greater measure of legitimacy on them, he demonstrated the effects of his pluralist upbringing. Much as the different lifestyles of Hindus, Muslims, Jains, and Parsis had to coexist in Gujarat, so to would Gandhi seek to integrate their beliefs into his own philosophy, and ultimately into a united India. Though neither Gandhi nor the world would see that final vision come to fruition, the progress he helped guide stands as a testament to the relationship he developed with Islam and its followers. His appreciation for Islam as a religion and its adherents provides a progressive example for both non-believers and the devout.
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Elf Battles
An Instance of Cultural Conflict between Christianity and Paganism in Late Anglo-Saxon England

Curtis Rager

For many years in Anglo-Saxon and Germanic tradition, the word ælf referred to “feminine compounds expressing beauty or light.”\(^1\) This described elves that were deeply rooted in nature, evinced by the many prefixes attached to ælf such as mountain, wood, or water. After the introduction of Christianity throughout the late sixth and seventh centuries, however, elves moved from benign creatures to more evil and mischievous ones, thus giving rise to the concept of light and dark elves.\(^2\) These new, Christianized elves carried arrows and spears and were prone to prey on those ignorant of the invisible creatures. To treat men and livestock following these elf attacks, or ‘elf shot,’ Anglo-Saxons produced medical texts, the most prominent of which was the Leechdom: a collection of three books on medical remedies. At this time, Christian influences introduced prayer into Anglo-Saxon medicine, ultimately altering the treatment of ailments and injuries. My research will focus on the ways in which elf charms remained reflections of the society in which they existed. Just as medicinal practices existed both as traditional and magical, it is fitting to analyze how society treated elf shot in both traditional, or practical, ways and in magical ways—the latter of which remained closely tied to religion. I argue that prayer served not only as a method to boost the efficacy of remedies against elf shot, but also a symbolic Christian proxy in Christianity’s conflict with the Pagan traditions of late Anglo-Saxon England.

In order to fully examine this topic, it is necessary to define exactly what is meant by the terms elves and magic. When magic appears in sources, it

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is problematic because it clouds the image of a historical past. Magic represents the past through the lens of people’s beliefs and perceptions rather than historical fact. As Richard Kieckefer has put it, magic sat at the crossroads “where different pathways in medieval culture converge,” combining science and religion, popular and learned culture, and fiction and reality. In Anglo-Saxon England, magic existed in religion prior to the rise of Christianity. Upon Christianity’s arrival, it became necessary to include the important aspect of magical culture in the dichotomic world it created. Thus, magical beings of northern European lore (Celtic, Old Icelandic, and Scandinavian), such as elves, found themselves likened to demons and devils. Originally, they were invisible or hard-to-see land spirits, associated with the Germanic god Freyr, who induced diseases for no apparent reason. These diseases were known as elf shot because they were caused by elves shooting an invisible arrow or spear into a victim. The creation of the Leech books—a collection of three medical texts—is also problematic for historical study because such texts were “manifestly composite,” meaning they were not written in a single sitting and contained elements of Greek, Roman, Pagan, Christian, and Celtic influences. The numerous origins, influences, and languages involved in the creation of the Anglo-Saxon medical texts presents a problem for historians attempting to understand the societies in which they were used. It is important to keep in mind when examining these texts that, while they represent the beliefs of the society that placed its faith in the remedies, the texts were created slowly over time, involving numerous additions and changes. This limits our ability to draw conclusions about any specific time or individual, forcing conclusions to be about the more general Anglo-Saxon England.

The topic of Anglo-Saxon medicine has produced rich debate and historiography by many renowned historians. The medical texts of Anglo-Saxon England, the Leech books, and the Lacnunga are extremely difficult to translate, as they often contain a myriad of different languages and medically esoteric vocabulary. As such, many of the earlier authors writing on this topic

4 Jolly, Popular Religion, 135.
contribute new and improved translations of the texts. One of the earlier works on the topic is *Anglo-Saxon Magic*, by Dr. G. Storms, who wrote his first edition in 1948. Storm’s book concerns magic in the medical context, and is informed by his own translated, edited, and analyzed selections from the Leech books and Lacnunga. While the study is primarily a work of synthesis, Storms’ main contribution is his translation and explanation of the primary sources, which have been opposed by later historians.\(^6\) Throughout his analysis he downplays the place of magic, specifically magic containing Christian elements, in the texts. This is an argument that I, as well as others, have argued against.

Published in 1952, the book *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine* by J. H. G. Grattan and Charles Singer is another important early work examining magic and medicine. Although Grattan wrote the majority of the book, he died in 1951 before its conclusion. Singer then finished and published the text on Gratton’s behalf. With a heavier emphasis on illustrations and text images, Grattan and Singer, relying on their combined knowledge of medicine and history, employ the texts to craft a snapshot of medicine and science.\(^7\) Much like Storms, Grattan and Singer’s main contribution is their translations and edits to the texts. Primarily, the insight is in their extensive medical knowledge, rather than linguistic, which is what Storms focused on. While they place more emphasis on magical elements among the remedies than Storms, they fail to realize the information magic can give to one studying the past.

By the time M. L. Cameron wrote *Anglo-Saxon Medicine* in 1993, the historiographical conversation on the topic of Anglo-Saxon medicine had expanded significantly. His work moves away from a purely synthetic style, given that he both critiqued the work of previous scholars and also added several chapters focusing on the efficacy of the remedies presented in the Leech books. His work pushes back against the two earlier texts, as he attempts to refute much of their arguments and focuses more on a logistical analysis of herbs and ingredients.\(^8\) In focusing principally on herbs and ingredients, Cameron is able to offer the best understanding yet of the medicine in the texts and its effectiveness. He also offers the best explanation of the relationship

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\(^7\) Grattan and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic*, 3.

between prayer and medicine, explaining it as a booster to the efficacy of purely herbal remedies.

In 1996, Karen Louise Jolly introduced her work, *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context*. Jolly’s book is perhaps the most important work of the abovementioned group, as she pushes against many of the claims of earlier authors that downplayed the importance of magic, and changed the way that historians thought about the topic. The purpose and ultimate argument of her text is to define the exact kind of religion practiced in Anglo-Saxon England as “folk Christianity,” thereby helping to define the exact moment of syncretism as shown within the texts.\(^9\) Her work is primarily a study of the type of Christianity being practiced in Anglo-Saxon England, and demonstrates how magic and medicine can allow one access to the religious beliefs of societies. Current scholarship exists, understandably, as a study of Christianity. This paper, by highlighting the importance of prayer and elf shot to Anglo-Saxon medicine and religion, will provide an insight into the complexity of religious practices and beliefs of a society that is believed to have been universally Christian.

Anglo-Saxon medical practitioners, known as Leeches, believed that there existed both magical and traditional remedies. In order to boost the efficacy of such remedies, magical prayer remained an essential ingredient. It is important to note, as Cameron does, that the ingredients in traditional medicine were not themselves known to cause beneficial effects in the same way we know them to today.\(^10\) Rather, the remedies included ingredients and methods that, when taken together, induced effective results, and the Leeches knew these ingredients were needed to produce results for their patients. In other words, doctors, likely through hundreds of years of trial and error (many remedies date back to Greek or Roman practices) used techniques that worked and healed their patients, regardless of whether or not they knew the scientific benefit of these techniques.\(^11\) As one might expect, magical remedies provided additional potency when combined with traditional, herbal ones. Magic formulas and acts were often employed when “rational remedies had proven

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10 Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, 117.
ineffective.” The use of magical formulas can thus show us which ailments doctors were most successful at treating. For instance, a remedy in the third Leech book for a broken bone in the head included only herbs and ingredients for an ointment (in this case, solwherf, white clover plants, woodruff, and butter are made into a salve to treat the wound) and we can therefore assume that the doctors’ treatments for head wounds were effective. The remedies regarding more complex ailments, however, called for the inclusion of forms of magic in which Christian prayer was a very common form. Prayers worked the same as other forms of magic in that they were believed to boost the potency of the remedy. In Storms’ translation of the Leech books, one can find singing of the Litany, the Creed, and the Lord’s Prayer after the application of traditional ingredients. The inclusion of prayer after traditional medicine suggests that it was used as a reinforcement to boost the efficacy of the process through its power over natural forces. Additionally, it was associated with medicine that was intended to cure magical or otherworldly ailments, such as elf shot, further demonstrating its magical quality. This evidence, then, supports the conclusion that prayer was an element of magic.

Regarding elf shot, there is some debate on whether Christians ever believed that elves existed in their world and caused illness in late Anglo-Saxon England. Cameron, as well as other historians, is among the doubters. As Cameron states, “it is not clear that Anglo-Saxon physicians by the time of Bald or later still believed that some ailments were caused by elves.” Cameron then proceeds to cite Hexenschuss (witch-shot) as an example of a more “Christianized” version of an elf shot. The inclusion of Christian elements, however, is clear in remedies involving elf shot that would have been used at the time of Bald or later. For instance, in the third Leech book, in a recipe for a salve against the “elfin race” the directions conclude with, “and sign

12 Cameron, Anglo-Saxon Medicine, 130.
14 Storms, Anglo-Saxon Magic, 223.
15 Bald was a leech doctor responsible for much of the Leechbook collection. For more on this, see: Cameron, Anglo-Saxon Medicine, 142.
16 Cameron, Anglo-Saxon Medicine, 142.
him frequently with the sign of the cross, his condition will soon be better.”

Some historians, such as Storms, question the Christian connection to the crosses mentioned. However, the cross’ connection with the Christian faith is reinforced in the next remedy, lxii, wherein the cross is referred to as the “hallowed sign of Christ.” Remembering to take into account that Christian additions to the text would have been made at a later date, the fact that so many of the elf shot remedies include direct references to Christianity suggests that Christians would have very much believed in elves and the danger they could cause. In relation to this, Jolly states in summary of her main argument that the “long-term and unconscious process of amalgamation between folk and Christian traditions” existed, specifically in the elven and elf shot remedies. While her argument more so stresses the process of the amalgamation, it still acknowledges that a connection existed. This is especially evident in the older third book of the Leech books which includes many more Christianized elf remedies. As can be seen, people of late Anglo-Saxon England did indeed believe in elves and their ability to cause them bodily harm.

The conversion of England took place throughout the late sixth and seventh centuries because the rulers found Christianity to be more potent than the old religion. This understanding will prove important when examining the roles of religion in the proxy conflicts of the Leechdoms as it speaks to the disposition practitioners had in regard to the two faiths. In the “Conversion of Northumbria,” the chief priest of the king, Coifi, justified his conversion to Christianity by arguing that, “the religion which we have hitherto professed has, as far as I can learn, no virtue in it,” Coifi then goes on to clarify that he was the most loyalty devoted subject to their gods, yet had not been very highly rewarded for it. He subsequently advised the king that if they found the new religion to be, “more efficacious, we should immediately receive [the

17 Thomas Oswald Cockayne, “Leechbook III lxii” (London: Kraus Reprint, 1865), 345.
18 Thomas Oswald Cockayne, “Leechbook III lxii” (London: Kraus Reprint, 1865), 345.
Christians] without any delay.”

Clearly, the people of England based their beliefs on what they found to be immediately more powerful, and, as a result, began casting away long-existing Pagan beliefs of the late Anglo-Saxon period represented by the Leech books. Despite the conversion, Christian leaders in England still believed that paganism posed a major threat. In the “Sermon of the Wolf to the English,” an archbishop blames the troubles of the time on society’s breaking from the path of God. He also claims there are Wiccans and valkyries who, much like elves, belonged to an older Pagan faith that has been explained in the Christian faith as demons, found everywhere alongside the despisers of the laws of God. It is important to note the Archbishop is referring to a magical Wiccan, different from the one that exists in modern Paganism today. Clearly, Paganism was present enough in 1014 to cause the archbishop in England to release statements on the threat it posed to society. While little physical conflict took place as England transitioned from Paganism to Christianity, there was much cultural conflict, as the Leech texts prove to be true.

The dominant religion of the text manifested itself as Christian prayer within the proxy of Anglo-Saxon medicine. In a leechdom against elf disease, the instructions listed that one, “must sing upon the worts...put the worts under the altar, and sing over them...and drinks and prayers against every temptation of the fiend.” The remedy notes that one must pray over both the knife used to bleed the worts, as well as the worts themselves. The infusion of prayer takes place multiple times throughout the remedy, both in the knife and

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24 While it is unclear exactly when the events referenced in “The Conversion of Northumbria” took place, the conversion of England, and thus the events referenced, took place throughout the sixth century.


the patient. The magic of the prayer is healing, not destructive, showing that it is more potent than Pagan magic. In a remedy against evil runes containing certain elements of “elvish tricks” one must mix herbs into a powder and “lay them under the altar,” then “sing nine masses over them.” The magic of the masses imbues the herbs with power that is subsequently used to heal the patient. If these remedies are read as an example of magic, they reflect the beliefs of those both using and writing them. This meant that there was a clear belief in the power of the Pagan faith. The newer Christian faith, however, also had the magical power of healing. Healing takes a more potent position than the infecting faith as it is capable of undoing all of the damage caused. Thus, Christianity is shown to be the more persuasive faith because of the healing abilities in the Leech books.

In contrast to the presentation of Christianity as a more potent religion, the texts also present the faith as working defensively to ward off the advances of Paganism. In the remedy against elf shot, the worts on the body of the patient are symbolic of Paganism having infected the body of Christianity in England. The medical text shows Christianity in a defensive position, having to rid itself of the pesky Pagan faith. The Leech books also, curiously, contain a remedy for horses believed to have fallen victim of elf shot. In this case, the remedy calls for a cross to be marked on the horse’s forehead and Latin text to be written on the knife used to draw blood from the horse. It ends with the line, “Be the elf what it may, this is mighty for him to amends.” The remedy shows a fear that elves may even attack livestock, demonstrating the threat that Christianity felt for Paganism extended beyond faith itself. Early medieval societies relied very heavily on the produce provided by livestock. Any attack against this productivity thereby threatened the society as a whole. At the end of the remedy’s directions, the elf is portrayed as a persistent threat, further mirroring the danger of late Anglo-Saxon Paganism. Following the interpretation that magic is a reflection of society, we can see that this society believed itself to be under the attack of Paganism. Christianity, it seems, needed to defend its people and its livestock from the older faith, and

used prayer as the mechanism for this defense.

Paganism served the role of a weaker, yet aggressive, religion within the Anglo-Saxon medical texts. The lengthy sixty-second remedy against elf shot ends with the sentence, “this craft is powerful against every temptation of the fiend.”\(^{33}\) The fiend was the elf who had caused the “elf disease.”\(^{34}\) The elf, and the disease it caused, was subservient to the power of the Christian drink as one is meant to erase the effects of the other. The remedy even used the word ‘powerful’ when describing the effects of the drink. Furthermore, Paganism was painted as the evil faith in the remedy, as the elf was referred to as a fiend and it held the role of the infectious disease. The remedy is filled with Christian elements, further distancing Paganism from any role as a remedy. One stricken with a water-related elf disease has “nails of his hand livid, and the eyes tearful, and he will look downwards.”\(^{35}\) This remedy displays the power of Paganism as evil but inferior to Christianity since it is conquered by the cure. The elf causes the Christian victim to become weakened, the words “looking downwards” even suggest an emotional effect. The magic of Paganism reflects a Christian society that not only saw Paganism as weak and defeatable, but also something inherently evil, something to be feared.

The medical books also demonstrate the belief that Paganism was an aggressive attacker against the Christian society. Since this conflict exists within a medical text, it is bound by the logic and nature of the medical world; one religion is passive and the other active, one serves as an infection and the other serves as a cure. That said, this dynamic only considers the curing and treatment of the disease. As one must first contract the illness, it is here that Paganism plays an offensive role. Remedy lxii in the third Leech book portrays the Pagan elves as aggressive and seeking out harm to Christians. It describes the elves and goblins as unwanted “visitors” who are “tempting” people to do wrong, and the salve described will drive them away.\(^{36}\) The elves here take on the aggressive role and initiate contact between the two faiths, yet Christianity is only repelling the invading faith. The water elf disease described in a later remedy is also

initiated by the elf. The victim did not contract the weakened state because he had attacked Paganism but instead received it without warrant. The Christian society seems to be projecting its fears and beliefs on what Paganism was and did onto the illnesses they believed to be caused by them. They thought Paganism to be an aggressive attacker, not just upon their society, but on their bodies.

Magic is, and always has been, a troublesome mystery for historians. A magical text is best analyzed in an effort to symbolically reflect society’s mind, and this is especially true of the Leech books. Due to a lack of sources, it is often difficult to get a clear picture of the minds in Anglo-Saxon society, but magic is a unique element of history that allows us to do so. During a period of time when one might believe Paganism to be mostly absent from Christian beliefs and concerns, the Leech books show that this was not the case. Christians found Paganism to be an evil, persistent, and aggressive faith, and one that posed a real threat to their health and wellbeing. In this same way, the magic within the medical texts is best explained as a result of this fear. Most historians believe that Leech doctors often attributed sudden but easily explained changes in appearance to magical causes. This is better explained, instead, as both a fabrication in the minds of Christian believers and a manifestation of their fears. By using this analytical technique, magic shifts from a problem to a useful tool for the historian. It allows scholars to understand the minds of those they study, to get inside their heads, and explain and understand the societies of the past.

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A New Age Dawning
The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb

Julian Marasigan

On December 7, 1941 the Japanese Naval Air Service attacked the American naval base in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The surprise attack on Pearl Harbor would force the United States to join World War II, which had been raging in Europe since 1939. The following day, December 8, 1941 President Franklin Roosevelt delivered a speech before a joint session of Congress during which he stated the following:

Yesterday, December 7, 1941 a date which will live in infamy the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan…I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday December 7, 1941, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.¹

With these words, President Roosevelt declared war against the Japanese Empire. The United States was now involved in a global conflict that dragged soldiers to both Europe and the Pacific. The war in the Pacific was brutal, as the Allies battled to gain control of various territories that the Japanese had conquered throughout the 1930s. These battles were often long and hard fought as the Japanese proved willing to fight to the last man. The war in Europe ended with the surrender of Germany in May 1945. With the capitulation of Germany, the allies wanted to end the war with Japan as soon as possible.

While the leaders of China, Great Britain, the United States, France,

and the Soviet Union met in Potsdam, Germany to decide how to proceed with Germany, they also discussed possible tactics to end the war with Japan. Eventually, the leaders released the Potsdam Declaration, which outlined the terms of surrender for Japan and warned of the “prompt and utter destruction” of Japan if they did not surrender. The Japanese refused these terms and the United States went forward militarily with their plan to use a new weapon, the atomic bomb, on Japan. The decision to use the atomic bomb was not easy for America’s wartime leaders to make. Rather, it was a complicated process filled with multiple committees and many differing opinions. President Harry Truman followed the recommendations of these various committees and advisors when considering whether the United States military should use the atomic bomb. The United States military ultimately dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, before then dropping a second atomic bombing on Nagasaki three days later. After the two atomic bombings, the Japanese surrendered, ending the Second World War. Since the use of the atomic bomb, various questions have arisen: what led to the decision to use the atomic bomb? Who was involved? American policy-makers considered many factors in the decision to use the atomic bomb against Japan. This paper argues that the most important factors in their decision included a desire to end the war and prevent more American causalities, to position the United States diplomatically as a dominant world power, and to identify the capability of the atomic bombs.

Scholars have written about the decision to use the atom bomb since 1945 and have questioned the use of the bomb itself. They have looked at the decision from a strictly military perspective, studied it as just the beginning of atomic testing, and even reviewed it through the lens of one particular decision maker. Together, these scholarly writings show a larger picture of the various factor that went into the ultimate decision to drop the atomic bomb and often the moral implications of doing so.

In his book *Atomic Tragedy: Henry L. Stimson and the Decision to use the Atomic Bomb Against Japan*, Sean Malloy looks at the decision to use the atomic bomb through the lens of the life of one person, Henry L. Stimson, the

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2 “Potsdam Declaration,” July 26, 1945, Atomic Archive.
Secretary of War during World War II. Malloy explains how Stimson’s personal experiences shaped the decision to drop the atomic bomb. He characterizes Stimson as a man with Victorian values who dedicated the majority of his life to public service. Stimson’s Victorian values, such as wanting to take the moral high ground and avoid the unnecessary loss of life, made the decision to use the atomic bomb a difficult one. Ultimately, the desire to end the war and save American lives trumped Stimson’s Victorian values. Malloy concludes the book by considering the decision to use the atomic bomb a tragedy that helped usher in the atomic age.3

In Manhattan: The Army and the Atomic Bomb, Vincent Jones examines the entire Manhattan Project through the lens of U.S. military involvement. Jones describes how the military became involved in the development of atomic weapons, believing that Germany already possessed them. Jones traces the entire history of the Manhattan Project from a military perspective. In doing so, he describes the decision-making process that led to the use of the atomic bomb against Japan. Jones ultimately concludes that the decision was made in an effort to end the war. Jones also concludes that the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki proved both the power and danger of nuclear fission. Hiroshima and Nagasaki demonstrated both the need for international control of nuclear fission and its threat to humanity. Finally, Jones believes that despite all this, nuclear fission unearthed a new power source and identified radioactive isotopes that could be used for industrial purposes.4

Michael D. Gordin’s Five Days in August studies the decision to use the atomic bomb as part of a “shock strategy” that the United States was attempting to use against Japan to help end the war. While Gordin believes that the use of the atomic bomb helped end World War II, he also identifies it as the starting point for the Cold War between the United States and Soviet Union.5 Gordin argues that the dropping of the atomic bombs worked as part of this shock strategy because the decimation of two cities with very few pilots

caught the Japanese off guard. The destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki also helped to show how powerful the new weapon was and the threat it posed to the entire world.

In *Prompt and Utter Destruction: Truman and the Use of the Atomic Bomb Against Japan*, J. Samuel Walker analyzes the use of the atomic bomb through the eyes of President Harry Truman and America’s war time leaders. Walker discusses the other options that could have been used, such as invading Japan or preforming a demonstration of the atomic bomb. He also talks about President Truman, the other allied leaders, and their discussions at the Potsdam Conference. It was there that the allied leaders came to a consensus as to how they would address the defeated Germans and discussed strategies to end the war with Japan. Ultimately, Walker gives five reasons for the decision to use the nuclear bomb against Japan, which included the desire to end the war as quickly as possible. Walker believes that President Truman wanted to justify the expense of the Manhattan Project and show the Soviet Union America’s new atomic capabilities. Walker also believes that a desire for revenge against the Japanese for the attack on Pearl Harbor and the overall hatred of the Japanese were deciding factors. The final factor that Walker believes to have affected the decision to use the atomic bomb was the fact that there was no incentive not to use it. Moreover, Walker posits that the debate on the use of the atomic bomb will never be solved because all answers are based on conjecture and do not definitively prove that the United States was justified in using the atomic bomb.

Many scholars who write on the decision to use the atomic bomb have also attempted to dispel what they call the “myth” of its use, the belief that the United States had no choice but to drop the atomic bomb to help end the war. Scholars including Dennis Wainstock and Gar Alperovitz fall into the camp arguing that the “myth” of the atomic bomb needs to be dispelled.

In *The Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb*, Dennis D. Wainstock attempts to dispel some of the “myth” of the atomic bomb. Wainstock writes about Japan’s attempts at peace before the dropping of the atomic bomb. He also

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writes about the two sides of the debate on whether the U.S. should have used the atomic bomb or not. Wainstock then focuses on how the dropping of the atomic bomb helped end the war with Japan. Wainstock contends that the United States leaders decided to drop the atomic bomb to justify the money spent on the Manhattan Project and to prove its power to the Soviet Union.7

Gar Alperovitz’s book *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb* looks at the “myth” of the atomic bomb in an attempt to disprove the myth that Japan would not have surrendered without its use. Alperovitz states that as more information was declassified, the need to drop the atomic bomb diminished because the Japanese were running low on troops and would have surrendered sooner rather than later. Alperovitz believes that the decision to use the atomic bomb was not about ending the war but rather about the Soviets and the post-war atomic arms race.8 Taken together, the scholarship suggests that America’s war-time leaders used the atomic bomb against Japan as a way to save American lives, get revenge against the Japanese, and show the world, and particularly the Soviet Union, the power of this new atomic weapon.

The atomic bomb had its origins in the Manhattan Project, conceived by a group of scientists under military leadership working on the development of atomic fission and its possible applications. The United States’ military was most interested in the possible application of atomic fission towards the construction of a new type of weapon, the atomic bomb. The idea of building an atomic bomb was brought to the attention of President Franklin D. Roosevelt by an established physicist, Albert Einstein, in a letter dated 2 August 1939. In his letter, Einstein wrote about the possibility of using nuclear fission to build a bomb that would be more powerful than any bomb to date. Einstein wrote, “This new phenomenon would also lead to the construction of bombs, and it is conceivable – though much less certain – that extremely powerful bombs of a new type may be constructed.”9

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was highly classified and very few outside of the project knew fully what its participants were trying to achieve. In 1942, the Manhattan District was created to handle the work of the Manhattan Project. The main groups involved in the Manhattan Project included the military, led by Major General Leslie Groves, and scientists working throughout the United States, including Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, Dr. Vannevar Bush, and other physicists and scientists. In a memorandum intended for the Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson and President Harry S. Truman dated 23 April 1945, Groves, described the science of nuclear fission. He explained that when an atom of uranium is hit by a free neutron, it causes the atom to split in two and release a massive amount of energy that then creates an explosion much larger than any conventional bomb. Groves also described two possible designs of an atomic weapon. One, called the gun type, presented a plan in which a gun could shoot a projectile of uranium-235 at a target of uranium-235. When the two sources of uranium collided, it would create an explosion estimated to be equivalent to the force of 5,000 to 20,000 tons of TNT. The second type, called the implosion type, used a small sphere of plutonium surrounded by a larger sphere of explosives that, when detonated, would compress the plutonium to the point where it becomes super-critical and explodes, creating an explosion estimated to be equivalent to the force of 4,000 to 6,000 tons of TNT.10

Groves also described the history of the Manhattan Project and what other nations were doing in respect to developing nuclear fission. Groves explained that Great Britain was helping the United States with the Manhattan Project. He further stated that Russia had a strong interest in what the United States was doing and that the United States was keeping a close eye on them. According to Groves, Germany had been attempting to construct their own bomb. By April of 1945, however, Germany had no way of succeeding because most of the nuclear material in their country had been seized by the Allies and some of their testing sites had been destroyed. Japan, according to Groves, would not be able to build a bomb for the present war.11

Groves also mentioned that “the target is and was always expected

11 Groves, “Memorandum for the Secretary of War April 23, 1945.”
to be Japan.” Groves’ statement showed that, at least from the military’s perspective, the atomic bomb was always destined to be used against Japan. Groves ended with a description of the post war plans for nuclear capabilities and once again emphasized that the main goal of the Manhattan Project had been the development of atomic bombs for use against Japan. The information in this memorandum was necessary because President Franklin Roosevelt had died on 12 April 1945 and his Vice President, Harry Truman, was now the president. Groves hoped to give President Truman an overview of what the Manhattan Project was doing and the possibility that once finished the atomic bomb could, and in the military’s opinion should, be used against Japan.

The Target Committee was formed in the spring of 1945 to decide where the atomic bomb should be dropped in Japan. It consisted of scientists and military personnel, many of whom had been involved in the Manhattan Project. The first meeting of the Target Committee took place on 27 April 1945. During this meeting, the committee discussed many important issues including the basics of the bomb itself, the best time to drop the bomb, and the cities that would be targeted. Several major cities were mentioned including Hiroshima, Yawata, Tokyo, and Yokahoma. In their discussions of these various cities, members mentioned where each were on the priority lists of the government in terms of bombing. The committee also noted several cities that the military was systematically bombing with conventional weapons which included: Tokyo, Wagoya, Osaka, Kyoto, Kobe, and Nagasaki.

When the discussion of targets fell on Tokyo, it was noted by the committee that the military’s conventional bombing had all but destroyed the city, and if Tokyo was to be considered a target the only place left virtually

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12 Groves, “Memorandum for the Secretary of War April 23, 1945.”
13 Groves, “Memorandum for the Secretary of War April 23, 1945.”
14 J.A. Derry, “Notes on Initial Meeting of Target Committee,” April 27, 1945, National Security Archives.
15 Derry, “Notes on Initial Meeting of Target Committee.”
16 Derry, “Notes on Initial Meeting of Target Committee.”
untouched was the Emperor’s Palace. The committee also noted that the Twentieth Air Force was working on bombing every major city and military target in Japan and that they did not plan on saving a target for the atomic bomb. This meant that the Target Committee had to work quickly to recommend where to drop the atomic bomb so that a list of targets could be saved from the current conventional bombing. The Target Committee members wanted a mostly undamaged target because they did not want the atomic bomb to be seen as only more destructive because of damage already done by conventional bombings. The committee members also wanted to be sure that scientists could look at the results of the atomic bomb and determine its true power without the interference of previous damage. Finally, the committee members wanted to show Japan, the Soviet Union, and the rest of the world the true destructive power of the atomic bomb. As such, they selected a mostly undamaged target that would allow for the greatest impact because the damage could not be attributed to any other force.

The second meeting of the Target Committee occurred on 10 May 1945. At this meeting many topics were discussed once again, including the basics of the bomb itself and the potential consequences of the bomb. The committee recommended that Kyoto, Hiroshima, Yokohama, and the Kokura Arsenal be the first four choices for bombing sites. Once the committee decided on those four targets, they spoke about the “great importance” of psychological factors when selecting targets. According to the committee, “Two aspects of this are (1) obtaining the greatest psychological effect against Japan and (2) making the initial use sufficiently spectacular for the importance of the weapon to be internationally recognized when publicity on it is released.” The Target Committee was not only concerned with using the bomb to drive the Japanese to surrender and end the war, but also to use the bomb with employing the bomb statement to the world to show what the United States was capable of building and the damage that could be done. This statement to

17 Derry, “Notes on Initial Meeting of Target Committee.”
18 Derry, “Notes on Initial Meeting of Target Committee.”
19 J.A. Derry, “Summary of Target Committee Meetings on 10 and 11 May 1945,” May 12, 1945, Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and Museum.
20 Derry, “Summary of Target Committee Meetings on 10 and 11 May 1945.”
other nations was meant to serve as a deterrent from future war. Towards the end of World War II America’s military leaders began to realize that despite its alliance with the Soviet Union, the Soviets would pose the greatest threat to the United States after the war was over. The importance of making sure that the initial use of the atomic bomb was spectacular and would lead to international recognition of the atomic bomb’s importance points to American military leaders’ desire to show the Soviet Union what the United States was capable of and hopefully prevent future war between the two nations.

The Interim Committee was designed to discuss not only what to do with the atomic energy and the atomic bomb but also the future of atomic energy in the United States. In 1946 the duties of the committee were taken over by the Atomic Energy Commission. The chairman of the committee was the Secretary of War, Henry Stimson. The other members included the Undersecretary of the Navy, the Assistant Secretary of State, a few scientists, James Byrnes as a special representative of President Truman, and George Harrison as the alternate chairman.\(^{21}\)

When it came to selecting the cities in Japan that would be targeted by the atomic bomb, the Interim Committee ultimately concluded that it was strictly a military decision.\(^{22}\) Despite this, the Interim Committee recommended that, “…the bomb should be used against Japan as soon as possible; that it be used on a war plant surrounded by workers’ homes; and that it be used without prior warning.”\(^{23}\) The recommendation that the bomb be used on a war plant surrounded by workers’ homes shows that they wanted to ensure the atomic bomb was used on a military target but also wanted to see the extent of damage this new weapon could do. The committee’s recommendation that it be used without prior warning shows their desire to surprise the Japanese with the new weapon. The committee’s recommendation also demonstrated that they were not opposed to civilian casualties and wanted to inflict as much

\(^{21}\) R. Gordon Arneson, “Notes of the Meeting of the Interim Committee May 9, 1945,” May 9, 1945, Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and Museum.

\(^{22}\) This belief is noted in both the May 31st and June 1st 1945 Notes on the Interim Committee Meeting.

\(^{23}\) R. Gordon Arneson, “Notes of the Meeting of the Interim Committee June 1, 1945,” June 1, 1945, Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and Museum.
damage as possible.

Once it appeared that the United States would use the atomic bomb, they had to consider what to do about the Quebec Agreement of August 1943. According to the terms of the Quebec Agreement, the United States and Great Britain would never use atomic weapons against each other. The two countries also agreed to not attack or share information on nuclear bombs with another country without the other country’s permission. Additionally, the Quebec Agreement established the free flow of ideas and discoveries between the scientists in both countries. The problem that the Interim Committee noticed was that there was no guarantee that the British government would allow the United States to use the atomic bomb against Japan and recommended the revocation of the clause requiring permission in order to proceed with the plan to use the bomb against Japan. The recommendation to revoke this clause shows that the committee members were determined to use the atomic bomb against Japan no matter what any other country thought.

The Interim Committee also showed America’s leaders growing concern of the threat posed by the Soviet Union and what could happen if they achieved atomic capabilities. In the very first meeting of the Interim Committee on 9 May 1945, the representative of President Truman, James Byrnes, expressed the fear that if the Soviets were told about the Manhattan Project, they would want to be involved especially since the United States was working with Great Britain. Byrnes’ concern shows that while the Soviet Union was an ally, some in the American government believed the nation would eventually become their enemy. Furthermore, if the Soviet Union had nuclear capabilities, it would pose a threat to the United States. The desire to avoid Soviet involvement in the Manhattan Project is also seen in the Interim Committee’s recommendation to President Truman at Potsdam. They advised the president that he should inform the Soviet Premier, Joseph Stalin, of the atomic bomb, but avoid talking about international control of nuclear fission.

24 “Quebec Agreement,” August 19, 1943, Atomic Archive.
26 Arneson, “Notes of the Meeting of the Interim Committee May 9, 1945.”
for the time being. This recommendation further shows the desire to keep the Soviets from attaining nuclear capabilities as long as possible to give the United States the upper hand.

The Interim Committee also discussed what to do with nuclear capability after the war and how to keep the United States at the top when it came to nuclear capability. During his opening statements for the meeting on 31 May 1945, Stimson expressed the view that the achievement of nuclear fission should not only be looked at in terms of a new weapon but as a new relationship between man and the universe. Stimson also believed that while the advances in the field of nuclear fission were driven by the war, the implications of nuclear capability went far beyond the needs of the war itself. These statements show that despite the immediate military needs, nuclear fission had possibilities that extended beyond the atomic bomb itself. The Secretary of War hoped to use the Interim Committee not only to help in decisions involving the current use of nuclear fission but also in its use regarding future research, control, and developments. Ultimately, the Interim Committee decided it was important to continue researching nuclear fission with the hopes that new industrial and military uses could be identified.

It is important to note that the United States had an alternative plan if the bomb was not ready or failed. Codenamed “Operation Downfall,” the United States had a full invasion plan for the Japanese mainland. On 18 June 1945 President Truman, along with the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, met with several military leaders to discuss the current situation in the Pacific. President Truman claimed to have called the meeting because he wanted to know how far America could go with an invasion of Kyushu. He did not want a repeat of Okinawa, because it had been one of the costliest


29 Arneson, “Notes of the Meeting of the Interim Committee May 31, 1945.”

30 Arneson, “Notes of the Meeting of the Interim Committee May 31, 1945.”
battles of the entire war in the Pacific.\textsuperscript{31} Although the battle for Okinawa was successful, President Truman wanted to avoid a similar battle because he was worried that the United States would not have enough military personnel to successfully complete an invasion of Japan’s mainland.

During this meeting they discussed when the best time would be to launch this invasion and the casualties that were to be expected if an attempt to invade the island of Kyushu was made.\textsuperscript{32} The military leaders present noted that between 1 March 1944 and 1 May 1945 the casualty ratio in the Pacific was twenty-two to one.\textsuperscript{33} This ratio meant that for every one American killed by the Japanese, twenty-two Japanese were killed by the Americans. The military leaders also estimated that in the first 30 days of an invasion on Kyushu the casualties would be no more than the 31,000 men lost in taking Luzon, the main island of the Philippines, from the Japanese.\textsuperscript{34} However, an invasion of Japan’s mainland would be costly for both sides because of the Japanese’s commitment to fighting to the last man. A small group of scientists recommended that the United States not use the atomic bomb on a target in Japan and instead consider demonstrating its power somewhere without doing harm to anyone.\textsuperscript{35} These scientists were concerned that if the United States used the atomic bomb, it would set a precedence in modern warfare that could be disastrous to the world. Furthermore, some of these scientists went so far as to point out that the use of the atomic bomb could lead to an arms race and the fear of nuclear annihilation throughout the world.\textsuperscript{36} Ultimately the leadership of the United States ignored the concerns of these scientists, believing that a demonstration would not compel the Japanese to surrender or show the true power of the atomic bomb.

\textsuperscript{31} A.J. McFarland, “Minutes of Meeting Held at the White House,” June 1945, Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and Museum.

\textsuperscript{32} McFarland, “Minutes of Meeting Held at the White House.”

\textsuperscript{33} McFarland, “Minutes of Meeting Held at the White House.”

\textsuperscript{34} McFarland, “Minutes of Meeting Held at the White House.”

\textsuperscript{35} J. Robert Oppenheimer, “Recommendations on Immediate Use of Nuclear Weapons,” June 16, 1945, Atomic Archive.

\textsuperscript{36} Leo Szilard, “Petition to the President of the United States,” July 17, 1945, Atomic Archive.
In July 1945 the leaders of the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, and China met in Potsdam, Germany to discuss the future of the now defeated Germany and how to end the war with Japan. During his time at Potsdam, President Truman received notification of the successful test of the atomic bomb in New Mexico. This test proved the capabilities of the atomic bomb to those involved in the Manhattan Project and gave hope to the leaders of the United States that the atomic bomb would be ready to use to end the war sooner than the planned mainland invasion. President Truman noted in his diary kept during the Potsdam Conference that Joseph Stalin, leader of the Soviet Union, promised to enter the war against Japan by August 15.37 Once the leaders decided what to do with Germany they turned their attention to how to end the war with Japan which resulted in the Potsdam Declaration. The Potsdam Declaration laid out the terms of surrender expected of the Japanese which included the removal of all who had lead Japan during the war. The demand that all war-time leaders be removed was problematic for the Japanese because this included the Emperor, who to the Japanese, was divine and could not be removed from power by outside sources. Following the surrender, Japan would be occupied until the Allies believed they were capable of not repeating the past.38 The declaration also required unconditional surrender from the Japanese or there would be no choice but the “prompt and utter destruction” of Japan.39 The Potsdam Declaration showed that the Allies wanted the same surrender they had received from Germany, as implied by the phrase “prompt and utter destruction,” or else they were going to use the atomic bomb. Japan refused the Potsdam Declaration believing it to be nothing more than an empty threat.

On 25 July 1945 the final order to drop the atomic bomb was given by American military leaders to a special group of pilots trained to deploy the atomic bomb. According to the directions and the weather, the bombing

38 “Potsdam Declaration,” July 26, 1945, Atomic Archive.
would occur after August 3. The third of August was chosen because, by then, President Truman would be on his way home from the Potsdam conference. The order listed Hiroshima, Kokura, Niigata, and Nagasaki as the first four targets. These four targets included military personnel and civilians. Bombing these four areas could be justified as they contributed to Japan’s war effort and would allow scientists and others to see the damage that atomic bombs could do to any city, even one without military presence. The order further stated that additional bombs would be delivered on these initial four targets as soon as the bombs were ready and that further instructions would be given concerning other targets beyond those listed. Having multiple targets for the atomic bomb allowed for a backup plan if the weather around one area was bad. This part of the order also showed that the United States intended to use as many atomic bombs as necessary to end the war, beginning with these targets and continuing until the Japanese either surrendered or all of Japan was destroyed. The final part of the official bombing order told all involved that the discussion of the bomb was limited to President Harry Truman and his Secretary of War, Henry Stimson. The final part of the official bombing order was designed so that secrets of the atomic bomb would not get out. Ultimately, the United States military would drop two atomic bombs, one on 6 August 1945 on the city of Hiroshima and another three days later, 9 August 1945, on the city of Nagasaki. On 14 August 1945 Japan surrendered to the United States, ending one of the most devastating wars man had ever known.

The impact of the decision to use the atomic bomb to end World War II has reverberated throughout the second half of the twentieth century. Despite careful consideration of many factors, the following question still remains: was the United States right in using the atomic bomb? Whether the United States was indeed right, the U.S. leaders at the time believed they were justified in their actions because they helped save American lives and end a war that could have gone on much longer. The decision to drop the

41 General Handy, “Order to Drop the Atomic Bomb.”
42 General Handy, “Order to Drop the Atomic Bomb.”
43 General Handy, “Order to Drop the Atomic Bomb.”
atomic bomb shaped international politics throughout the second half of the twentieth century by creating an arms race between what became two world super-powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. The Cold War, and the accompanying arms race, ultimately led to multiple nations becoming nuclear powers. The threat of nuclear annihilation has faced the world ever since. Had leaders of the United States chosen not to use the nuclear bomb it is hard to say what the world would look like today without the existence of the atomic age.
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The Defense of San Francisco’s Gay Bathhouses as an Issue of Civil and Sexual Liberties During the AIDS Epidemic

Brandon Michael Ball

As the 1980s dawned, progressive movements such as the civil rights movement and the sexual revolution—both of which challenged the dominance of traditional conservative values and beliefs—swept across America. Out of these progressive movements, the gay community began to thrive in a way that had previously never been possible. For the community to form, however, it needed safe places where members could congregate and, given that this was a community based on sexuality, find sexual partners. Thus came the rise of gay establishments such as cruising bars, sex clubs, gay book stores and theaters, and bathhouses. These were some of the few spaces where gay and bisexual men could both find and engage with sexual partners. While all of these establishments became cornerstones of the gay sexual revolution, the bathhouses grew in popularity and became epicenters for the gay community. Entertainment events and casual gatherings were held at the baths, including holiday parties. At these events, the men would forge new families to replace those that had rejected them.¹ At the height of this gay sexual revolution, however, gay men started to grow sick and die from what many at first believed to be a rare form of cancer that only affected gay men.² In 1982, the National Broadcasting Corporation reported on a “new deadly sexually transmitted disease.”³ This virus and the deadly disease it causes would soon

come to be known as Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS).

In 1984, San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein and Dr. Mervyn Silverman, Director of the San Francisco Department of Public Health, led the city in an attempt to close, and later regulate, gay establishments that encouraged “high risk sexual activity” between male patrons. Many gay activists were against this movement. Most notable among these activists was Jerry Jansen, along with the Committee to Preserve Our Sexual and Civil Liberties. Both openly criticized how AIDS funding was allocated, distrusted government efforts to interfere with the lives of gay men, and believed Mervyn Silverman to be a liar. Jansen even went as far as to call him “Satan Silverman.”

Meanwhile, many other gay activists sided with the city officials and the Department of Public Health, desiring to either see the baths closed or to be used as vehicles to spread AIDS awareness and education on safer sex practices. The closure and regulation of San Francisco’s gay bathhouses in 1984 became a polarizing debate between the gay community, the San Francisco city government, and the Public Health Department. While the city claimed to have the gay community’s health at heart, many gay activists were skeptical, arguing that this government regulation was a waste of AIDS resources, an infringement on the civil liberties of gay men, and a move to further control and regulate the sexuality of gay


5 Box 3 of the Jerry Jansen Papers in the GLBT Historical Society’s archives contained evidence of the Committee to Preserve Our Sexual and Civil Liberties including letters, member details, and transcripts of group meetings. Little to no information about this group can be found elsewhere or online.


The story of the defenders of the gay bathhouses ultimately shows the extent to which gay activists worked to defend their long-restricted right to their own lives, sexuality, and community, even in the midst of a crisis.

The AIDS epidemic had already devastated the gay community by 1984 and San Francisco had the highest presence of HIV infection per capita in the United States. Public policy around the baths in the city and the reaction to these policies became a hotly debated topic. Many of the historians who have written on the topic lived through it as gay men in San Francisco. As such, they were able to produce unique insights into how divided the gay community was on the subject. One was Allan Bérubé, a historian who built his career studying the history of the gay community. In 1979, he helped establish the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project. Bérubé had both positive and negative views of San Francisco’s gay bathhouses. He displays these views in his collection of self-authored essays, *My Desire for History: Essays in Gay Community & Labor History*. In the essay “Don’t Save Us From Our Sexuality,” he criticizes the bathhouse owners for “pretending that AIDS and safe sex don’t exist.” Meanwhile, in “Resorts for Sex Perverts: A History of Gay Bathhouses,” he not only praises the history of the baths as pillars of the gay community and as safe places for men to have sex with men, but also argues that it was best to allow the baths to remain open. He believes that closing the baths would be costly to the city and, furthermore, would push unsafe sex practices elsewhere, rather than ending them outright. His main criticism of the baths is that many did not do enough to enforce city regulations or to promote safer sex practices. After his initial criticisms, Bérubé goes on to celebrate those establishments

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8 Letter from Jerry Jansen to San Francisco City Supervisor Quentin Kopp and Quentin’s response, December 5, 1984, Box 3, Jerry Jansen Papers 2003-11, GLBT Historical Society Archives.


that did provide condoms and AIDS education.

Another contemporary historian of the epidemic in San Francisco was Randy Shilts, a writer for the Bay Area Reporter. His 1987 book, *And the Band Played On*, intends to reveal “why AIDS was allowed to spread unchecked during the early days of the epidemic.”12 While Shilts offers many differing opinions, the arguments he presents largely support the closure of the bathhouses. Furthermore, he seems to blame the bathhouses for an increase in the spread of HIV. One example Shilts offers tells the story of Dr. Marcus Conant, a physician at the University of California, San Francisco. Dr. Conant was treating an HIV-positive patient who still frequented the baths.13 When he asked his patient if he was worried about further spreading the virus at the bathhouses, the patient said that “anyone who goes to the baths is a damn fool,” insinuating that patrons should already know the risks involved.14 Shilts goes on to relay the thoughts of Dr. Conant on men who still frequent the bathhouses: He had figured if it was unsafe the government would not let it operate. He thought of the men that would line up to have sex with this attractive patient and came to the conclusion that if individuals thought that the bathhouses really were dangerous, a responsible authority would step in. Instead, the bathhouses continued to prosper.15

Because the purpose of Shilts’ book is to show how not only the city, but also the gay community stood by and allowed the AIDS epidemic to spread unchecked, it is evident that Shilts blames the baths for ignoring the epidemic and fostering an increased spread of the virus through the promotion of anonymous, unprotected sex. Shilts’ position in support of the city’s public policy on bathhouses can be found in the Jerry Jansen Papers, a collection of documents located in the GLBT Historical Society archives. In a letter to a writer at the Bay Guardian, Jansen argues that many of the passages in Shilts’

13 Shilts, *And the Band Played On*, 413.
14 Shilts, *And the Band Played On*, 413.
book constituted “manipulation at its most despicable.” Jansen claims that Shilts used hyperbole and exaggeration in order to slander the bathhouses and turn public opinion against them.

Jerry Jansen was an academic and activist who lived in San Francisco from 1976 up until his death. He was responsible for documenting many of the debates over the city’s bathhouses in this period. Jansen was one of the first and most radical gay activists opposed to the closure of the baths. He was affiliated with multiple organizations that “worked to preserve and promote sexual freedom,” including the Committee to Preserve Our Sexual and Civil Liberties and The 15 Association, ”a social and sexual fraternity for men who engage in BDSM and have made substantial contributions to AIDS charities.”

Over his lifetime, Jansen donated numerous documents, letters, and ephemera to the GLBT Historical Society’s archives in San Francisco. These collections, a set of six boxes called The Jerry Jansen Papers, are filled with records of his activism, both independently and with groups, such as the Committee to Preserve our Sexual and Civil Liberties.

While much of the historiography around the epidemic and the bathhouses was written by gay men who lived through this initial period of the early 1980’s, one important work was by a later academic. Kevin J. Jackson, a graduate student at San Francisco State University, wrote his thesis on the topic. Though his field of study was geography, his thesis, *AIDS Induced Landscape Change: The Castro from 1980 to 2001*, was written in a historical context. It examines how San Francisco’s landscape was morphed over the years by the epidemic. He speaks of the bathhouses specifically over the course of three pages, citing the arguments of activists who protested the closures. Jackson’s thesis is filled with diagrams, interviews, and other well-researched evidence that the AIDS epidemic changed the landscape of San Francisco’s gay community. According to Jackson, San Francisco’s gay community was forced to desexualize due to the deaths caused by AIDS. In 1980, the Castro, San

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Francisco’s gay district, was filled with gay bars, sex clubs, and cruising spots. However, over the next decade, many of these establishments (especially sex clubs) disappeared. They were replaced by restaurants, coffee shops, and AIDS resources centers. Jackson blames this desexualization primarily on the gay community due to their fears that sex could lead to death. With the fall of San Francisco’s gay cruising scene came the rise of porn sales as a safer, alternative to partake in the frequent, casual sex of the previous decade.  

Many argued that “the government has been the major force for repression—for terrorizing—the gay community.”  

This was just as true of San Francisco’s local government as any. The move by the Department of Public Heath to shut down the bathhouses was not the first time the city had tried to shut down gay establishments. The decades old battles with city officials over safe places for gay and bisexual men to meet each other were still fresh in the memories of many gay men by the time the AIDS epidemic emerged.

Gay bars and bathhouses had existed in San Francisco in an unofficial fashion since the early 1900’s. These establishments were targeted by undercover police surveillance ever since city officials found out about them. One of the earliest bathhouse raids occurred in 1918 where the San Francisco Morals Department conducted surveillance and a raid on the Baker Street Club. Thirty-one men were arrested immediately, while further investigation led to twenty additional arrests.  

An increase in homophobia in the 1950’s led to the appearance of more official gay bathhouses to provide a “protective anonymity” to gay men seeking sexual partners. Because gay sex was still illegal in California, the rise in bathhouses came with the rise in police raids. In 1966, San Francisco

22 Bérubé, “Resorts for Sex Perverts,” 69.
police launched a crackdown on gay bathhouses after a raid of the 21st Street Baths in March of that same year. The raids of 1966 even affected other gay businesses as police patrolled the Tenderloin district, a neighborhood known as a popular haven for drag queens and transgender men and women. In August of that year, an officer entered Gene Compton’s Cafeteria and arrested a patron for cross-dressing. Today a plaque remains at the location in the Tenderloin commemorating the ensuing riot where “transgender women and gay men stood up for their rights and fought against police brutality, oppression, and discrimination.”

In 1976, San Francisco mayor George Moscone and California Representative Willie Brown successfully lobbied for the passage of the Consenting Adult Sex Bill. The bill finally decriminalized sex between consenting adult males. Despite this, the baths continued to be raided. The first major raid since 1966 occurred within the first year of the bill’s passage. Police raided the “Liberty Baths on Post St. and arrested three patrons for ‘lewd conduct’ in a public place.” The police were aware of the new law but wanted to test the bill’s true oversight. To the dismay of the officers, all charges on the bathhouse patrons who they arrested were dropped.

In 1984, Department of Public Health director Mervyn Silverman initiated a move to close and later regulate the baths. Gay activists argued that “if we lose the baths, we lose the battle for free expression, free association, and privacy.” To many, sexual freedom became synonymous with gay liberation. Silverman’s main argument for closing the baths was that they promoted unsafe sex. Closure, however, would just encourage the baths’ patrons to “relocate their sexual activity” to baths outside of the city or to other private and public

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26 California Assembly Bill No. 489.
27 Bérubé, “Resorts for Sex Perverts,” 73.
28 Fitzgerald, Cities on a Hill.
29 Jackson, “AIDS Induced Landscape Change,” 50.
spaces. The biggest issue here was the relocation of sex to public spaces. Public sex had always been popular, not only because it provided excitement from the risk and spontaneity of public sex, but also because it was safer than going somewhere private with a stranger. Many gay men feared bringing home a partner or going to a partner’s home to discover that their intention was to out, blackmail, or commit violence against them. The baths offered a better venue for many to have casual sex. They “offered a practical solution to the danger and the law enforcement problems,” as the SFPD tirelessly went undercover to patrol public parks, toilets, and other places “associated with sex in public spaces.”

The police were not the only agencies in the city using undercover operations to infiltrate the gay sexual community. Before the city ordered the closure of the baths, Mayor Dianne Feinstein, endorsed by all but one city supervisor, spent $50,000 of AIDS funding on the Hal Lipset Private Investigation Agency to employ a number of “sex spies.” These spies were to be used to covertly infiltrate the baths and report on all sexual activity that could lead to the spread of HIV. This “waste of taxpayer money” was intended by Feinstein to remain confidential, but an anonymous mole within her administration leaked an incriminating document to activist Jerry Jansen. Jansen was a prominent member of the Committee to Preserve Our Sexual and Civil Liberties, which was born out of the perceived government invasion of gay men’s privacy and sexuality, and advocated to keep the baths open. Appalled at this reported waste of funding dedicated to invading the privacy and anonymity of gay and bisexual men, Jansen sought confirmation on the matter. He contacted Quentin L. Kopp who served on the city’s Board of Supervisors. Kopp confirmed that the mayor had ordered the employment of sex spies.

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30 Bérubé, “Resorts for Sex Perverts,” 78.
31 Bérubé, “Resorts for Sex Perverts,” 78.
32 The Committee to Preserve our Sexual and Civil Liberties response to Bay Area Reporter article “Still Steaming,” May 9, 1987, Box 3, Jerry Jansen Papers 2003-11, GLBT Historical Society Archives.
33 Response from Quentin Kopp to Jerry Jansen, December 1, 1984, Box 3, Jerry Jansen Papers 2003-11, GLBT Historical Society Archives.
of “sex spies” at $50,000 even though he had personally voted against it.\textsuperscript{34} When Jansen confirmed Feinstein’s order to employ Lipset’s sex spies, he brought evidence to the committee to reveal this to the public. The committee demanded that this kind of funding be used towards “research to find a cure and of support and comfort for people with AIDS” instead of on criminalizing gay sex.\textsuperscript{35}

The committee believed that an attack “on places where gay men have sex” was “an attack on all gay/lesbian/bisexual people.”\textsuperscript{36} As the AIDS crisis worsened, the disease became an excuse for people to further discriminate against gays. The committee saw the city’s seemingly well-meaning attempt to close the bathhouses as an excuse to infringe on their right to their sexuality. Mayor Diane Feinstein did much to convince the committee that she was a sexual puritan trying to control gay sex. In August of 1984, she cancelled a police regulatory hearing that could have “made public that bathhouses provide a clean, safe, sanitary, and hygienic facility.”\textsuperscript{37} On December 13, 1984, she made the statement that “promiscuity kills,” and stressed that the only way that sexually active gay men should have sex is in a monogamous relationship.\textsuperscript{38} The committee took great offense to this, in conjunction with Public Health Director Mervyn Silverman’s ever-changing definition of high-risk sexual activity. After Judge Wonder ordered the bathhouses to be reopened in November 1984, Feinstein, Silverman, and the city attorney “rejected the concept of ‘safe sex.’” Their only concern seemed to become labeling all sex between males as “unsafe,” “a health hazard,” and “a public nuisance.”\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{34} Response from Quentin Kopp to Jerry Jansen, December 1, 1984, Box 3, Jerry Jansen Papers 2003-11, GLBT Historical Society Archives.

\textsuperscript{35} “Declaration of Sexual Liberation” of the Committee to Preserve Our Sexual and Civil Liberties, October 1984, Box 3, Jerry Jansen Papers 2003-11, GLBT Historical Society Archives.

\textsuperscript{36} Mission statement of the Committee to Preserve Our Sexual and Civil Liberties, Box 3, Jerry Jansen Papers 2003-11, GLBT Historical Society Archives.

\textsuperscript{37} Pamphlet accusing Diane Feinstein of instating a “Restoration of Puritanical Morals!” Box 3, Jerry Jansen Papers 2003-11, GLBT Historical Society Archives.

\textsuperscript{38} Letter from the Committee to Preserve Our Sexual and Civil Liberties to Diane Feinstein, Box 3, Jerry Jansen Papers 2003-11, GLBT Historical Society Archives.

\textsuperscript{39} Statement from the Committee to Preserve Our Sexual and Civil Liberties, Box 3, Jerry Jansen Papers 2003-11, GLBT Historical Society Archives.
Even after the closure of the baths and their reopening in late 1984, supporters of the bathhouses continued to fight on to preserve their civil and sexual liberties. Many of the advocates and owners of the bathhouses began organizing together as the Coalition for Healthy Sex to help prevent indictments and closures at the hands of the city. The defense of these sex clubs and bathhouses, however, would never be seen by the public as a defense of civil liberties. Most viewed these defenders and activists as being in denial of the epidemic that was raging around them. Despite this, the reality was that the gay community, their businesses, their bathhouses, and their rights and liberties had been trampled by the government since before their own community solidified. The defenders of the baths were not denying the severity of the plague, as some of their opponents argued; they were instead defending their long-restricted right to control their own lives, sexuality, and community. Even if the city only had the health and best interests of the gay community in mind, that legacy of repression was still a fresh memory for the gay community then, just as it is an ongoing reality for many today.

40 Recommended Standards for the Operation of Sex Clubs, Bathhouses, and Commercial Sex Establishments, Box 3, Jerry Jansen Papers 2003-11, GLBT Historical Society Archives; Sex Club Evaluation Questionnaire, Box 3, Jerry Jansen Papers 2003-11, GLBT Historical Society Archives.

41 Shilts, *And the Band Played On*, 415.
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In the early modern period, an epidemic of witch accusations erupted throughout Europe. Something new and evil was at work here, something that harmed women, caused them to desert their families, and prowl in the forests by night. This Evil disguised itself in “the body of a man,” and claimed to be a god. “He controlled their madness,” driving them outdoors to dance wild with ecstasy. A witness claimed to have seen these women chanting in raving orgies with goat-like creatures, while packs of them crept off to indulge in wanton sex. “My god it was eerie;” they struck their fennel wands against rocks and out poured icy spring water. Others raked the meadow with their fingers until milk oozed out. They destroyed cattle, devoured the raw flesh of goats, “flew, lifted like birds over the valley,” and raided the villages of the foothills, “grabbing everything – even children from their homes.” Men prepared themselves to hunt these iniquitous women and arrested them by the handful. The one they worshipped with “a lewd hypnotic dance” appeared as a man, but “now you trot like a bull, with horns sprouting from your head! Were you always… [an] animal?” For his plans to work, he needed a human disguise. When questioned about when these rituals took place, the “bull-horned son” merely replied, “Darkness helps us to feel holy.”

Witchcraft treatises produced during the sixteenth-century are filled with these types of descriptions. Many people had been accused of and tried for witchcraft and, more explicitly, for making concords with the Devil. Primarily women, the accused are said to have been transported over vast

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distances to make these pacts and participate in, what is called, the Witches’ Sabbat, with the expressed purpose of denouncing Christ, practicing sorcery to harm others, and to fornicate with demons. These gatherings supposedly took place at night where women danced wildly around the devil who appeared to them in the “terrible shape… of a goat.” The introduction, however, is not a description quoted from sixteenth-century demonological treatises, but is instead sourced entirely from a play that premiered nearly twelve hundred years earlier in ancient Athens. The play narrates the Orgium: the mystery rites of the Ancient god of wine, Bacchus. This paper argues that the demonologists of sixteenth-century Europe, with their treatment of classical sources, developed a general trend toward classicizing explanations of witchcraft, leading to a conceptualization of diabolism and the Witches’ Sabbat that mirrored the religious rites and myths of the Ancient Greeks and Romans.

After reviewing what contemporary historians have to say about the Witches’ Sabbat, its origins, and relationship to the Orgium, this study will develop the conception of witchcraft in the ancient world by reviewing the classical sources of ancient Greece and Rome. It will then examine ideas about witchcraft at the turn of the sixteenth-century to demonstrate that there are some concepts about witches that remained constant in Western thought, as well as to show how classical ideas began to further influence the witchcraft debate. Next, this paper will juxtapose descriptions of the Witches Sabbat from the mid- to late-sixteenth-century with classical motifs found in the works of


3 Orgium is the Latin noun which refers specifically to the mystery rites of Bacchus, originally from the Greek οργία with the same meaning. From Latin, this word first enters the French language as orgies, and then into the English language in the sixteenth-century as orgy, with a much lewder definition. Also, Bacchus is the Roman equivalent of the Ancient Greek god Dionysius.
the ancient bards, poets, satirists, playwrights, fabulists, and storytellers. This will show how dependent perceptions of witchcraft had become on classical stories as proofs and how liberally these sources were assigned credibility. It will then address the treatment of the classical works by the demonologists to show how they heavily impose their own ideas of religion upon the classical sources, showing how the demonologists struggle to reconcile their reverence for classical knowledge, while simultaneously condemning such ideas as heretical. Their interpretive conflict allowed them to further recognize classical influences in their understanding of contemporary witchcraft. Finally, I will discuss outliers in the witchcraft debate to show how they differ from the larger conversation but are not exempt from the influence of classical thought.

In 1931, Margaret A. Murray produced *The God of the Witches*. Her work argues for the continuation of ancient witchcraft or pagan cults surviving through the emergence of the Christian age. Murray offers thought provoking theories and compiles many primary sources for the historical discussion of witch cults. The possibility of a pagan cult remaining strong over such

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4 Bards refer specifically to performers of oral poetry accompanied by music. In the archaic Greek world, such performers were typically employed in the courts of kings. The Greek word *aoidos* (ἀοιδός) also referred to a classical Greek singer. In modern Homeric scholarship *bard* or *aoidos* is used as the technical terms for skilled oral epic poets in the tradition to which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are believed to belong. The performance of epic poetry was called *rhapsodia*, and its performer *rhapsodos*. But this word does not occur in the early epics or in contemporary lyric poetry, so it is unknown whether performers such as Hesiod and the bard(s) of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* would have considered themselves rhapsodes. It has been shown from comparative study of orality that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as well as the works of Hesiod come from a tradition of oral epics. In oral narrative traditions, there is no exact transmission of texts. Rather, stories are transmitted from one generation to another by such bards, who make use of formulas to aid in remembering vast numbers of lines. According to the classical historian Herodotus, Homer lived before the two poems were written down, asserting that the poems were written from Homer’s own dictation. Accordingly, bards or *aoidos* are not always considered poets themselves as they may not have necessarily composed or wrote the stories which they recited. For a deeper discussion on this topic and the accompanying debate, see Herodotus, *The Landmark Herodotus: The Histories*, ed. Robert B.Strassler, trans. Rosalind Thomas (New York, NY: Anchor Books, 2009), 2.53; and Robert Fagles, “Introduction,” in *The Iliad* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1990), 3-64.

an expanse of time, and without any detection, however, is profoundly unlikely. Carlo Ginzburg’s 1989 *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches’ Sabbath* seeks to understand and explain the origins of the Witches’ Sabbat by expanding on ideas put forth in his 1966 work, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* Ginzburg makes a compelling argument that centers on the notion that the elite classes of Europe misunderstood rural folk practices and, rather than recognizing them as remnants of ancient rites, condemned them as sorcery, magic, and witchcraft. By endeavoring to establish origins that would explain the Sabbat, rather than looking at its evolution, Ginzburg cites witch trials and sources that are from, and prior to, the fifteenth-century. His sources, however, do not describe the Sabbat in the popular conceptualization of an assembly of women in the dead of night dancing and fornicating with a goat-like devil, but instead, focus on the act of sorcery rather than on diabolism.

*Razor for a Goat: A Discussion of Certain Problems in the History of Witchcraft and Diabolism,* authored by Elliot Rose in 1962, is largely a response to Murray’s work. Rose attempts to answer the question of whether witchcraft persisted from the ancient period into the early modern, as posited by Murray, or if it was derived from heresy accusations ascribed by Christendom, as Ginzburg argues. In doing so, Rose claims that the description of the sixteenth-century Witches’ Sabbat would appear identical to the *Orgium* if shown to an ancient

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8 Ginzburg, *Ecstasies,* 90-94.

9 Sorcery refers to the act of producing unguents, poisons, and incantation to evoke or manipulate the supernatural powers of nature without the assistance of a god. Diabolism, on the other hand, is the act of making a pact with the Devil, usually including fornication, as well as renouncing the Christian faith to entreat the use of the Devil’s supernatural powers to cause harm to others.

Greek or Roman. However, Rose does not address this point with any depth. Instead, he dismisses the similarities by arguing that “ceremonies in honor of drunkenness could of course only survive on some other pretext when drunkenness had developed into a quite secular adjunct of ordinary social intercourse.”¹¹ Thus, the Sabbat could not be a remnant of an ancient religious practice that survived through the ages, despite their similarities. Like Rose, Stuart Clark briefly discusses these similarities in his 1997 study, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*.¹² He mentions that there were those in the late sixteenth-century who were making this very same connection. Nevertheless, Clark also does not explore this connection deeply, writing off the similarities between the Sabbat and *Orgium* as the ritual inversion of Christian practices that developed because of the savage form of the sixteenth-century class struggle.¹³ Modern historians have thus neglected to inquire directly into how or why the similarity between the Witches’ Sabbat and the Bacchic *Orgium* developed in the sixteenth-century. This paper aims to address this gap in the historiography. If remnants of ancient religious practice did not survive through the ages, as Rose suggests, a resurgence of thought and ideas cannot then be ruled out.

The classical sources from ancient Greek and Roman periods have many examples that make clear witchcraft was a concern within their societies. Ancient legal texts, such as the Twelve Tables of Rome, contain references and laws written against witchcraft.¹⁴ Cassius Dio’s *Roman History*, produced in the second-century, also explains that the first Roman Emperor, Caesar August, banned all astrologers and sorceresses from the city of Rome as a means to prevent revolutionary provocation.¹⁵ While these sources condemn witchcraft and harmful incantations, they do not define or elaborate upon them. Thus, if the ancient historian Tacitus is to be believed, witchcraft was more closely

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associated with the use of poisons and the rituals that accompany them, rather than supernatural abilities such as turning men into animals or flying on broomsticks—sorcery rather than diabolism.¹⁶ Many other, less credible, sources do contain stories about witchcraft, but these must not be taken as absolute truth. As poems, novels, and plays meant to entertain, these stories can only be used to establish a general understanding of how an ancient witch might have been perceived, being mindful that these are likely embellished or entirely fabricated concepts.

The Ancient Greek bard Homer offers some of the earliest accounts of witchcraft in *The Odyssey*.¹⁷ The witch, Circe, is said to have transformed Odysseus’ crew into hogs by means of a potion concocted from herbs mixed into the wine that she serves to the crew.¹⁸ Homer, however, does not firmly define Circe as a witch; but rather, she is a minor goddess of sorcery who, in later traditions, becomes associated with witchcraft. Circe’s niece, Medea, is also frequently connected with witchcraft in ancient mythical traditions. In her stories, she often uses ointments for different measures. She has Jason, the hero of the Argonauts, anoint himself for protection against dangers, and she uses poisons to kill others, sometimes including children.¹⁹ Medea is characterized as being cunning and deceptive. But rather than being strictly defined as a witch, she is a priestess of Hecate, an underworld deity of magic.

Lucian of Samosata, a Roman satirist, and Lucius Apuleius Madaurensis, a Roman novelist, offer more explicit accounts of witches. Both recount the story of “The Ass,” in which a man becomes curious about witchcraft and spies upon a woman through a keyhole or a cracked door as she anoints herself with a magical unguent. By this means, she suddenly transforms herself into an owl and flies away. The man then anoints himself with what he thinks is

¹⁸ Homer, *The Odyssey*, 163-182.
the same ointment and transforms himself into an ass rather than an owl. Apuleius expands on this story, as he combines several tales to shape his novel. Accordingly, there are descriptions of witches, labeled as old hags, who can cast love spells, control celestial bodies, transform men into various animals, and impede pregnancy. Later, he tells a tale about witches transforming themselves into small animals to sneak into the homes of others, cast sleeping spells, and steal appendages from the bodies of others.

Ancient law, histories, stories, and tales confirm that witchcraft has been a concern in the minds of people across time, throughout the human experience. Each of the supernatural abilities attributed to witches, attested by the ancient authors, is specifically addressed in *Malleus Maleficarum*, a demonological treatise produced in 1486. *Malleus Maleficarum* does contain elements similar to those found in the classical works, especially in terms of its own conception of witches. It is thus reasonable to advocate that certain ideas about witches have remained constant throughout Western culture. Accordingly, little had changed in the perception of witchcraft, at least up until 1486 when *Malleus Maleficarum* was first published.

Before the mid-sixteenth-century, there were few demonological treatises produced and minimal accounts of witchcraft written at length. The zenith of what is now termed the European Witch Craze, between 1550 and 1650, was a period in which most treatises were published and the witchcraft debate was at its height. In fact, “witchcraft trials were still rare from 1300 to 1500, occurring mostly in France, Germany, and Switzerland, with the charges

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23 Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum*, trans. by Montague Summers (Bronx, NY: Benjamin Blom, 1928); on transforming man into beast, see sections 1.10, 2.1.8; on harming others with poisons 2.1.5, 2.1.11, 2.1.12, 2.1.16, 2.2.8; on protecting themselves from injury, 1.5; on transporting themselves by use of ointments 2.1.3; on love spells 1.7, 2.1.4, 2.2.3; on manipulating weather 2.1.15, 2.2.7; on stealing bodily appendages 1.9, 2.2.4; on impeding procreation 1.8, 1.11, 2.1.6, 2.1.7, 2.2.2.

focused on sorcery rather than diabolism.” Malleus Maleficarum was authored in Germany by Heinrich Kramer, a Catholic clergymen and inquisitor, and Jacob Sprenger, a Dominican friar. The purpose of this text is to act as a kind of guide book to assist in recognizing and extirpating the ever-growing presence of witchcraft. Much like the trials prior to the sixteenth-century, which Ginzburg cites, Malleus Maleficarum contains conspicuously little detail about the Witches’ Sabbat. The treatise hints at such gatherings but never offers much explanation. Instead, the authors focus on the pact with the Devil rather than any ceremony or worship practiced in the assembly itself. The concord with Satan is said to be made by individuals either during a ceremony or privately. It involves the individual swearing faith to the Devil and promising to continually recommend new initiates. The initiate is obligated to renounce Christianity and promise to never venerate the Sacraments. The Dark Prince then demands soul and body from the inductee, and that he or she must prepare unguents from the bones and limbs of children for use with incantations, after which some initiates are said to copulate with devils. This description specifically focuses on diabolism, and less so on sorcery. It certainly fits Clark’s argument as an inversion of the traditional practices of the Christian Church, rather than demonstrating modeling on classical motifs.

Published at the turn of the sixteenth-century, Malleus Maleficarum becomes the first authoritative account of witch gatherings written at length. In exploring diabolism and witchcraft, it rarely cites ancient sources. Kramer and Sprenger most often reference the Bible or the works of important Christian leaders, past and contemporary, to formulate their arguments. When ancient sources are cited, however, they are typically used responsibly, quoting classical scholars whose authority is rooted in philosophy, the precursor to scientific reasoning. For example, when discussing astronomy, Kramer and Sprenger cite Claudius Ptolemy, a Greco-Roman mathematician, geographer,

26 Kramer and Sprenger, Malleus Maleficarum, 99.
27 Kramer and Sprenger, Malleus Maleficarum, 41, 99-100.
28 Clark, Thinking with Demons, 24.
and astronomer of the second-century.\textsuperscript{29} While less reliable ancient sources are occasionally adduced, they are not usually used in an authoritative capacity. \textit{Medea}, written by the Roman playwright Seneca, is quoted when arguing that nothing “is so much feared as the lust and hatred of a woman who has been divorced from the marriage bed.”\textsuperscript{30} This argument does not necessarily warrant the need for an authority to support its claim; rather, Seneca is referenced to add dimension to the argument or as a means for the authors to demonstrate their erudition and familiarity with the classical works.

Kramer and Sprenger go on to discuss an argument that advocates that devils cannot change men into beasts, even by illusion. They refute this argument by referencing the opinions of three doctors who believe that “the devil can deceive the human fancy so that a man really seems to be an animal.”\textsuperscript{31} They then support this argument by retelling the tale of the witch Circe, from Homer’s \textit{The Odyssey}, and how she transformed Odysseus’ men into swine. This scene from \textit{The Odyssey} is treated as if it were a factual account by the demonologists. The authors defend the supposed authenticity of this account by arguing that “when the companions of Ulysses were changed into beasts, it was only an appearance or deception of the eyes…. The beholder thought that he saw animals.”\textsuperscript{32} Yet, this argument is not supported by Homer’s text. Nevertheless, such precarious use of the classical works as proof are few in \textit{Malleus Maleficarum}. This suggests a focus on diabolism as well as an understanding of witchcraft that is beginning to be influenced by a classical depiction of witches through Homeric references.

By 1550, there is a substantial resurgence in the witchcraft conversation among European scholars. The works of Jean Bodin (1580), Nicholas Rémy (1595), Henry Boguet (1602), and Francesco Maria Guazzo (1608) follow the model of \textit{Malleus Maleficarum} but look to the ancient sources with much more

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{29} Kramer and Sprenger, \textit{Malleus Maleficarum}, 33, 17, 44-46, 81, 107.
\item \textsuperscript{30} Seneca’s play, \textit{Medea}, debuted circa 50CE and is a retelling of an Ancient Greek mythological tale; Kramer and Sprenger, \textit{Malleus Maleficarum}, 44.
\item \textsuperscript{31} Kramer and Sprenger, \textit{Malleus Maleficarum}, 61-62.
\item \textsuperscript{32} Ulysses is the Anglicized form of the name Odysseus; Kramer and Sprenger, \textit{Malleus Maleficarum}, 123; also see Homer, \textit{The Odyssey}, 163-182.
\end{enumerate}
These authors cite the classical sources as much as, if not more than, the Holy Bible or the works of salient Christian figures to rationalize their arguments. Bodin justifies the use of such sources by noting that “histories teach us that spells are not new illnesses,” and in “the earliest histories one finds that the territory of Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy… were already filled with this vermin.” Bodin’s argument is supported by referencing Roman law which, according to him, “Roman officials had derived from Greek laws,” to demonstrate that even they enforced “prohibitions and rigorous penalties… against witches.” But once he and the other demonologists begin to cite the works of the ancient poets, fabulists, bards, storytellers, and playwrights with as much fervor as the philosophers, lawmakers, historians, and scholars, a different picture begins to develop.

Taking a note from Malleus Maleficarum itself, Bodin, Rémy, and Boguet each reference Homer’s tale of Odysseus’ crew being transformed into swine by Circe to validate the idea that witches have the ability change man into beast. Although it is reasonable to assume that the tales of the ancient poets and storytellers may have kernels of truth hiding within them, it is unwise to take them as descriptions of absolute truths. Just as this study develops a model to help formulate an ancient perception of how witches may have been understood, the sixteenth-century authors do the same. However, they used Kramer and Sprenger’s sample from Homer as license to further justify all such notions. In many cases, these writers specifically cite classical stories in their arguments. At other times, the ideas they formulate about witches are clearly derived from other aspects of these very same classical myths. They are

33 Rémy often references the work of Bodin; Boguet frequently cites Bodin and Rémy; and Guazzo sources Rémy at great length, often quoting entire passages. Guazzo also cites Bodin and Boguet in his work. This suggests that a precedent has been set by previous demonologists that influence the thinking of those who came later.


35 Bodin, Demon-Mania, 39, 143.

taking what they read at face value rather than scrutinizing these sources to a responsible degree.

Among the most confounding arguments found in these demonological treatises is how women transport themselves across large expanses of land to meet at the Witches’ Sabbat. Accounts are given about curious husbands questioning the mysterious behavior of their wives. After inquiring about her frequent absences at odd hours, one man’s wife offers him an ointment with which they both grease their bodies. After chanting a few words, instantly “the Devil transported them… at least [a] fifteen days [sic]” journey.37 Another man is said to have spied his wife “lighting a candle… [and taking] a jar of ointment and spread[ing] it over herself, then with a few words she was transported away.”38 Other men are said to have curiously applied such ointment to their bodies to suddenly find themselves transported “to the assembly[,] each one lightly riding on a billy goat” or “on a great black ram which… carried through the air so quickly” that it was difficult to hold on over the passage.39 When discussing similar matters, Rémy actually quotes from the Ancient novelist, Apuleius, while Guazzo simply states, “as… testified… in Apuleius, *Golden Ass.*”40

These demonologists are clearly using the classical sources liberally. Even their so-called contemporary eye-witness examples of men spying their wives applying magic ointments sound identical to Lucian’s and Apuleius’ stories when the main character witnesses “what was happening through a chink in the door” or by putting his “eye to the keyhole.”41 After the witch smeared the ointment from head to toe, she held a “private conversation with the lamp.”42 Although the demonologists do not write that the witches transform themselves into birds, the witches nonetheless fly away. Similarly, The curious men also apply the ointment to themselves. However, they are not transformed

37 Bodin, Demon-Mania, 114-115. Also see Boguet, *EXAMEN OF WITCHES*, 41.
39 Bodin, *Demon-Mania*, 115-116; and Boguet, *EXAMEN OF WITCHES*, 41, 44. Also see Guazzo, Compendium, 34-35.
40 Rémy, *Demonolatry*, 47-48; and Guazzo, Compendium, 34-35.
in to asses, as in the classical stories, but are also whisked away.

Additionally, the description of being transported on the backs of goats or rams sounds curiously similar to the myth of Phrixus and Helle. Right before they are to be sacrificed, a “holy ram flew down and took the children away, travelling a long distance through the air.”\(^{43}\) The ram traveled so swiftly that Helle could not maintain her grip.\(^{44}\) The demonologists begin to combine ancient stories and myths to formulate their explanations of witchcraft in their own time. Kramer and Sprenger do mention that witches travel vast distances by night, but not necessarily by such fantastical means. They also neglect to specify where it is they go, whereas Bodin, Rémy, Boguet, and Guazzo, are very explicit that witches transport themselves to the Witches’ Sabbat.

Once at the Sabbat, Rémy says that Satan often “Deludes men by an Appearance of Righteousness.” He must not show himself with his horns hideously standing out, so he “most often fashioneth himself an angel of light” to convince people of his divinity.\(^{45}\) Guazzo cites a woman who declares that she had been “taught mysteries” by just such an angel and “was not infrequently thrown into a trance.”\(^{46}\) Additionally, Boguet discusses an account of a man who was thirsty, and upon drinking a “cursed” beverage “was at once possessed by a devil.”\(^{47}\) Such details strongly invoke the imagery found in the details that the ancient poets and playwrights have written about the Orgium of Bacchus, the ancient god of wine.

Bacchus was not an original member of the Pantheon of gods; hence, many of his myths are occupied with his endeavors to be recognized as a deity.\(^{48}\) When people resist his claim, he proves his supernatural essence by enacting


\(^{44}\) This is the fabled ram that bore the legendary Golden Fleece.

\(^{45}\) Rémy, Demonolatry, 31; see also Guazzo, Compendium, 136-147.

\(^{46}\) Guazzo, Compendium, 138.


terrible forces of nature, driving the impious mad, or punishing them with death. As a god of male fertility, Bacchus’ emblems include “the horns of a bull.” Appropriately, he is also known as the “bull-horned son.” His cult was a mystery cult, which means that only initiates could be taught his secret rites. Furthermore, the Bacchic ecstasy is a concept in which people can allow the god to enter them and take them over from within, through the consumption of wine, in what is known as enthuseosmos. The feeling of intoxication was believed to be a religious experience in which one could perceive the god first hand. As the god of wine, Bacchus is responsible for the unrestrained behavior that intoxication brings; his sphere of influence also includes the wild, bestial, behavior and irrational aspect of the human experience with which people may not otherwise be in touch. Thus, the sixteenth-century descriptions of Satan, including his efforts to be recognized as a divinity, his terrible horns, his mysterious rites, and his ability to possess people through drink and throw them into ecstatic trances, mirrors that of Bacchus.

The sixteenth-century descriptions of the Sabbat also include strange noises and dancing in the woods during the night. “Orgies of carnal indulgence” form the occasions where witches occupy themselves “with lewdness and dancing.” The dancing is hysterical, causing “more Fatigue than the Ordinary Dances of Men” as they “throw their heads like frantic folk.” While dancing and leaping, witches cry out chants and “they sing…

49 Powell, Classical Myth, 263.
51 The word ecstasy come from the Ancient Greek εκστασις or ekstasis, “standing outside oneself.” Enthuseosmos comes from the Ancient Greek ενθουσασμός, “being filled with the god,” and the origin of the English enthusiasm. Bodin, Boguet, Scot, and Weyer each discuss enthuseosmos in the sense that demons can enter the bodies of, and possess, humans. In these conversations, they reference the Pythic priestesses of Apollo. The ancients believed that Apollo would enter these women through enthuseosmos and speak through them to give his oracles. Powell, Classical Myth, 286.

52 Bodin, Demon-Mania, 118; and Boguet, EXAMEN OF WITCHES, 51.
53 Rémy, Demonolatry, 57; and Boguet, EXAMEN OF WITCHES, 5. Also see Bodin, Demon-Mania, 120.
54 Rémy, Demonolatry, 60.
the most obscene songs to the sound of a bawdy pipe.” They destroy cattle in various manners and are harshly punished if they do not do so. They are said to feast at these gatherings, but the food is described as undercooked or raw meats, sometimes even human flesh. These witches also strike and injure things with their wands and have “brooms or chimney-cleaners,” or sometimes “distaff[s],” which they danced with and rode upon to the Sabbat.

Part of Bacchus’ retinue included a group of women known as the maenads. They engaged in wild dancing, convulsing their heads to erratic music, typically in the wilderness by night (Figure 1). In the communal sparagmos and the omophagia, which led them to the direct experience of the god, they tore cattle apart and consumed them raw. Sometimes they hungered for human flesh, boiling children and tearing others “limb from limb.” Additionally, Bacchus armed each of his maenads with a thyrsus that could be used for worship, as a weapon, or to accord small miracles. This object could be a small wand made from a vine stem and equipped with a pinecone at its tip, or it could be a large fennel stock with a sheaf of ivy fixed at one end, resembling something like a broom, a chimney-cleaner, or a distaff (Figures 1, 2, 4).

The Bacchic maenads of the ancient world are the unmistakable archetype of Bodin, Rémy, Boguet, and Guazzo’s sixteenth-century witches.

These witches, they claim, can shrink into “the shape of mice or cats or locusts or some other small animal of the sort, according to their needs.” Demons, on the other hand usually take on the shape of a horse, but most

55 Guazzo, *Compendium*, 37-38; and Bodin 120. Also see Boguet, *EXAMEN OF WITCHES*, 56-57.

56 Bodin, *Demon-Mania*, 118-119; and Guazzo, *Compendium*, 101-102

57 Rémy, *Demonolatry*, 57, 3; and Boguet, *EXAMEN OF WITCHES*, 5.


61 Catullus, “Poem 64,” lines 250-260.

62 Rémy, *Demonolatry*, 104.
often “prefer taking on the shape of a goat.” Guazzo includes woodcut images in his work that shows demons with the upper bodies of men but possessing goat-like legs and small horns. Chiefly at the Sabbat, witches are said to be accompanied by such demons in their dances and rituals. The demonologists typically refer to these demons as Incubi or Succubi. As previously noted, they are said to play erratic music, and they often have carnal intercourse with the witches at these nocturnal gatherings.

The maenads, the ancients claim, transform into small animals, such as bats, in accordance with the needs of their nocturnal rituals. This is because these tiny creatures “love the darkness and reject the light.” And, by no surprise, Bacchus’ entourage also includes satyrs. Satyrs can be either human-horse or human-goat hybrid creatures of the woods. They behave without restraint, as one might expect of an animal, and accompany the assembly with inconsistent music played on drums and windpipes (Figure 1). Additionally, satyrs are hypersexualized creatures, often depicted with erect phalluses. They are known to attempt to sexually accost the maenads frequently, but never to any avail (Figure 4). According to Rose, the devils of the sixteenth-century are usually imagined along the lines of the satyrs and Pan; the borrowing being more direct and obvious after the Renaissance than it formerly had been (Figure 3).

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63 Rémy, Demonolatry, 70, 72.
64 Guazzo, Compendium, 36.
65 Boguet, EXAMEN OF WITCHES, 32, 56-57; and Rémy, Demonolatry, 11-26. Also see Guazzo, Compendium, 30-32; Bodin, Demon-Mania, 112-121.
66 Powell, Classical Myth, 271.
67 Not to be confused with a centaur. Centaurs possess the upper body of a man that emerges from the four-legged body of a horse where its neck would typically extend. Satyrs have human bodies, sometimes represented by having two horse or goat legs. They are depicted with having the tail of a horse or goat and either possess horse ears or small goat horns. See Figure 4.
69 Pan was a woodland deity of goatherds and fertility. He had the hooves and legs of a goat, pointed ears or a goat’s head, a small tail, and horns. Like satyrs, he was considered especially lustful. One of his myths has him inventing musical pipes from joining reeds of unequal length: the Pan Pipes or Pan Flute. Powell, Classical Myth, 190; and Rose, A Razor for a Goat, 133.
At this point in his description of the Sabbat, Boguet inserts imagery from yet another ancient myth. He recounts how “the Devil had… known her carnally, in the form of… a fowl” or “of a gander.” The origin of this extravagant claim can be found in Book VI of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* in which the god Jupiter had known the Aetolian princess Leda carnally in the form of a swan. This was an immensely inspirational myth among Renaissance artists that was reproduced in two paintings by Michelangelo and several other sixteenth-century artists. Although Bodin, Rémy, Boguet, and Guazzo affirm their works to be true—citing what they claim are eyewitness accounts and trial confessions—other contemporary demonologists challenged their arguments.

One opposing demonologist was Reginald Scot who authored *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* in 1584. He did not believe that witches could harness any supernatural power for conducting evil as Bodin, Rémy, Boguet, and Guazzo uphold. He argued that the “glorie and power of God be not so abridged and abased, as to be thrust into the hands or lips of lewd old women.” Scot ultimately concludes that “these writers, out of whome I gather most absurdities, are of the best credit and authoritie of all writers in this matter,” but argues that they never thoroughly analyzed their sources. Instead, they simply gave credence to every fable of the Jews, Christians, gentiles, poets, historiographers, and the learned and unlearned alike. Scot criticizes the evidence of these “witchmongers” as things said by the general council to be “meere fantastical, and imaginations in dreames; but affirmed by the ancient writers.” He believes that witchcraft was little more than fear and delusion, derived from the melancholic minds of foolish old women and scheming Catholics. As a Protestant, Scot reproaches the Catholics for their hypocrisy of accusing witches of eating children, while they themselves practice

70 A gander is a male goose. Boguet, *EXAMEN OF WITCHES*, 34.

71 Other sixteenth-century artists who were inspired to reproduce this scene in the visual arts include Correggio, da Vinci, Cellini, Pencz, and Veronese, to name only a few.


74 Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 27.

75 Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 51.
transubstantiation.\textsuperscript{76} Scot even makes “an asse of Bodin” while referencing the works of Lucian and Apuleius.\textsuperscript{77} He endeavors to make a mockery of the arguments found in the works of Bodin and others to show just how ridiculous they are.\textsuperscript{78}

Scot’s work was inspired by \textit{De Praestigiis Daemonum}, written in 1563 by Johann Weyer, a Dutch physician who had resided in Switzerland. Weyer believes in the evils and powers of demons; however, he does not think witches have any supernatural influences, or that they were enabled to do evils by the power imbued to them by demons. Being a physician, he argues that demons prey upon the weak, particularly frail old women, corrupting the appropriate humors and the imagination so that the victim believes that they accomplish the extravagant evils described by Bodin, Rémy, Boguet, and Guazzo.\textsuperscript{79} Weyer says that all can be explained by these women being “so maddened by the demon through forms impressed upon their powers of imagination.”\textsuperscript{80}

Although Weyer and Scot denounce fantastical tales of diabolism and witchcraft, they still indulge in the classical texts, relating them to the pagans of their own day. Christianity, with its fundamentally monotheistic doctrine, established any non-Christian deity as evil. Thus, the Christian Church actively attempted to stamp out pre-Christian beliefs.\textsuperscript{81} Murray’s perspective reminds that any “conquering deity was invested with all good attributes while the vanquished took a lower place and was regarded by the conquerors as a producer of evil.”\textsuperscript{82} Weyer reaffirms this idea when speaking about the religions of old.

From the outset of his book, in a section entitled “The Devil, his

\textsuperscript{76} Powell makes a thought-provoking, but perhaps presumptuous, claim regarding the concept of \textit{enthuseosmos}, stating that the Bacchic \textit{sparagmos} and \textit{ômophagia} have a direct correlation to Christian doctrine. Quoting from the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, 1549: “Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood... that we may evermore dwell in him and he in us.” Scot, \textit{The Discoverie of Witchcraft}, 51; and Powell, \textit{Classical Myth}, 287.

\textsuperscript{77} Scot, \textit{The Discoverie of Witchcraft}, 73-77.

\textsuperscript{78} Scot, \textit{The Discoverie of Witchcraft}, 32-33, 72-73, 76.

\textsuperscript{79} Weyer, \textit{Witches, De praestigiis daemonum}, 173.

\textsuperscript{80} Weyer, \textit{Witches, De praestigiis daemonum}, 176.

\textsuperscript{81} Rose, \textit{A Razor for a Goat}, 226-228.

\textsuperscript{82} Murray, \textit{The God of the Witches}, 15.
Origins, Aims, and Power,” Weyer libels the ancient gods of nearly all past religions as demons. He goes on to say that “the Greeks, whose foolishness and superstition, are second in notoriety only to that of the Egyptians.” In fact, he argues, the Devil convinced the ancients that there was a special divinity in each body existing in nature and “strengthened this belief by displaying himself in the form of those divinities.” If the ancient gods are understood to be demons, or simply the Devil himself, by the sixteenth-century writers, it becomes understandable for them to compare all that is known about the classical gods and their sacred rites to the witches and the evils of their own day. The demonologists unquestionably impose their ideas of religion on those of the past. Weyer, Boguet, and Bodin state that the fauns, satyrs, sylvans, and the woodland gods of the ancients were synonymous with the incubi and succubi sex demons found present in their descriptions of the Sabbat. Rose posits that satyrs and fauns were reinterpreted by the Church, then introduced by new names but in much their old guise. They are, in effect, “no more than demons, and were inordinately lustful and lascivious.”

When retelling the feats of Alexander the Great, Weyer actually substitutes “the Devil” in places that would have read “Zeus.” He reinforces this interchange by referencing how Alexander depicted himself with small

83 Weyer, *De praestigiis daemonum*, 15.
84 Weyer, *De praestigiis daemonum*, 15.
85 Sylvan, *meaning a thing/creature of the woods*, from the Latin *silva*: woods or forest, and *silvanus*: a woodland deity or personification of the forest.
86 The terms incubus and succubus come into Late Latin from the Early Latin compound verbs *in-cubare*: to lie on; and *sub-cubare*: to lie under. Each word contains a gender specific connotation appealing to the male active/dominant gender role and the female passive/submissive gender role respectively.
87 Weyer, *De praestigiis daemonum*, 16; and Boguet, *EXAMEN OF WITCHES*, 33; and Bodin, *Demon-Mania*, 41.
90 Weyer, *De praestigiis daemonum*, 27.
horns\textsuperscript{91} growing from his head. Likewise, when speaking of the Greeks, Bodin states, “we can follow the opinion of the ancients, who believed that God created all spirits in grace and without sin, and that some tried to rise up against Him, and they were cast down.”\textsuperscript{92} He supports this argument by claiming that the myth of the Gigantomachy\textsuperscript{93} is the same story found in Revelation 12:7-9 when Satan wages war on heaven. Granted, these stories do share similar themes that are found in the myths of many cultures. But they are hardly the same, and, if anything, the book of Revelation would have borrowed such ideas from the earlier written Gigantomachy, not the obverse.

By imposing their own religious beliefs on the ancient Greeks and Romans, the demonologists create an arduous dichotomy between which they must navigate. On one hand, they venerate the ancient authors for the shrewdness of their philosophy, the desirability of their governmental structures, and the beauty of their poetry. On the other hand, they convict them as heretics and devil worshippers for their polytheistic beliefs. Nevertheless, the demonologists quote the ancient writers when they intend to demonstrate their erudition, while the more unsettling aspects of ancient culture are condemned as the diabolism they observe in their own time. In arguing his points, Weyer references many of the same classical sources as Bodin, Rémy, Boguet, and Guazzo, but then again, he was writing before them. To be sure, these discussions about witches, which are associated with clearly classical concepts, were taking place before 1563, or Weyer would not have penned a

\textsuperscript{91} As the chief deity of a polytheistic religions, Zeus was typically considered synonymous with the principal deity of other polytheistic religions. Ammon, the primary Egyptian god, was depicted with large horns. Accordingly, Alexander the Great minted coins which depicted himself with small horns sprouting from his head. This imagery was intended to indicate that he was the son Zeus-Ammon. This claim was allegedly confirmed by the oracle of the sanctuary of the composite god at Siwa, Egypt.

\textsuperscript{92} Bodin, Demon-Mania, 47.

\textsuperscript{93} The Gigantomachy is an Ancient Greek myth in which Zeus and the Olympian gods established themselves as the rulers of the cosmos by overthrowing the rule of their grandparents, the primordial gods Gaea and Uranus. Gaea sent an army of giants led by Typhon, an enormous multi-headed creature sometimes depicted with serpent-like legs, against the Olympians, of which Bodin considers to be the ancient serpent called the devil and his angels. The Titans, the parents of the Olympians, were overthrown by the Olympians in previous struggle for supremacy, called the Titanomachy, although these myths are generally considered to be duplications of the same story. The primary issue with Bodin's interpretation is that the Titanomachy and the Gigantomachy are foundation myths that establishes the order of the cosmos, while the book of Revelation is an apocalyptic prophesy discussing the end of times.
work that so specifically argues against such conversations.

In 1558, Gerolamo Cardano, an Italian mathematician, in a vein similar to Scot and Weyer, argued that sorcery and diabolism were little more than the perverted delusions of old women who had an imbalance in their humors. Although Scot is not convinced, Cardano argues that the Sabbat has its roots in the Bacchic *Orgia*. Instead of simply looking to classical works for proofs that witchcraft truly exists, Cardano recognizes that the Sabbat and the *Orgium* have strikingly similar characteristics. “These things indeed had undoubtedly been born from the ancient rites of Bacchus, in which women openly practiced Bacchic ravings. Then by fear of the law which prohibited such things, they began to be celebrated secretly.” He argues that these activities were reestablished by the Dulcinians, a religious sect in Italy during the Late Middle Ages. In 1307, crusaders conquered the fortification of the Dulcinians, and they were burned at the stake as heretics. “But now there still remains a certain image of the dance, and of that shamelessness.” For Cardano, the Sabbat was a continuation of the Dulcinian movement that subsisted after it was thought to have been eradicated, then regained popularity among heretics in the sixteenth-century. Cardano, like Weyer, is balancing between this idea of praising classical knowledge while condemning their actions as sacrilegious. However, Cardano was not the only person in the sixteenth-century to recognize the familiarity the Sabbat bears to the *Orgium* through the lens of a heretical revival of ancient practices.

Pierre Crespet, a French theologian of the monastic Order of Celestines, “located the witches dance in a festive tradition that began with the Bacchanalian orgy, continued with Christian transvectors, and culminated with


95 *Orgia* being the plural form of *Orgium*. Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 34.


the masquerades of the Mâchéreroûte of contemporary Lyons.”\textsuperscript{98} Stewart Clark asserts that Crespet’s most striking claim is that “the Bacchanalia and the sabbat were in fact one rite.”\textsuperscript{99} Two other Frenchmen, François de Rosset and François Hédelin, elaborated on this idea in more detail in histoires tragiques, a genre of French fiction concerning the grim aspects of human nature. They claim that the two festivals were presided over by the same figure, Bacchus, being really a devil in the form of the goat. The celebrants in both the Sabbat and Orgium were satyrs and maenads. And just as Weyer explains, these celebrants were really just devils and witches respectively. The rituals, orgies, music, erratic dancing, and violent chants were one and the same. Rosset wrote that “the Orgies of Bachhus were nothing else but what is called today Sabbat.”\textsuperscript{100} He claimed that a demonic transmission through the ages guaranteed its continuity, an argument that Murray would have found compelling, but Rose refutes.

Yet another Frenchman, Jude Serclier of the Order of St. Ruff, followed a similar line of thinking in his 1609 L’Antidemon historial. Much like Weyer’s demonization of ancient deities, Serclier was trying to find the origins of the Sabbat within the fasti, the Roman festivals which were held on the first day of each month.\textsuperscript{101} Based on the work of the German theologian Andreas Gerhard, the French jurist Lambert Daneau also notes, “the classical Bacchanalia and the contemporary Mardigras are… described and condemned in language identical to that of which was currently being applied to the witches’ sabbat.”\textsuperscript{102} Likewise, Rémy touches on this idea, but he does not make an argument that these two festivals are actually connected.\textsuperscript{103} Rather, he tends to grab at any ancient material that might seemingly relate to witches as proof of their existence. But, of course, there are outliers that must now be addressed.

Alternatively, the demonologists from Spain and England draw their own examples of superstitious practitioners from contemporary life rather
than from pagan or classical sources. In 1538, Pedro Ciruelo, a Spanish mathematician and theologian, produced *A Treatise Reproving All Superstitions*. Writing early in the sixteenth-century, like Kramer and Sprenger, Ciruelo does reference ancient authorities, such as Aristotle, but he is more responsible with his sources, avoiding the less authoritative bards, playwrights, and storytellers. “Ciruelo did not describe any Satanic Sabbats, any Black Masses or ritual murders, any demonic incantations or verbal formulas adepts were said to employ when they renounced God and took on Satan for their lord.” Ciruelo seems to have an entirely alternative purpose for writing on this subject than that of the aforementioned demonologists. He intends to inform and reprove, rather than perpetuating curiosities of evils by providing his audience with descriptions of inverted religious rituals or vestiges of pagan ideas. But because so few demonological treatises were produced prior to 1550, there is little to which to compare Ciruelo’s work. When English thinkers enter the debate, however, they take a similar approach to that of Ciruelo.

In their concise treatises, George Gifford (1587) and King James I (1597) source historical confessions in judicial cases and the Bible itself. They omit much of the details regarding the activities of witches and instead focus on the spiritual danger one ran in seeking aid from witches or demons to gain health and possessions in this life, at the cost of damnation in the next. The method of James and Gifford, like Ciruelo, is, however, reflective of the societies in which they lived. England and Spain saw much fewer incidences of witchcraft than countries such as Germany and France. This is likely due to the different ways in which Protestants and Catholics understood their faith. Gifford and James wrote specifically to reproach the opinion of Scot who claimed that witches could not actually manipulate supernatural powers. Although convinced of the dangers of witches, they also did not believe in the

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108 Webber, “Introduction,” in *De praestigiis daemonum*, by Weyer, I.V.
fantastical tales presented by Bodin, Rémy, Boguet, and Guazzo. Nevertheless, when composing their moderate position on the subject, neither Gifford nor James could help but make analogies of navigating between Homer’s Scylla and Charybdis. Although they do not use classical works to substantiate their arguments, the use of such analogs speaks to the fact that the classic literature was a principal concept in the minds of educated men during the sixteenth-century and that it colored their opinions to a greater or lesser degree.

If Weyer’s work demonstrates anything, it is that the witch debate was in full motion before 1563, and Cardano’s monograph suggests a date even before 1558. Crespet, Rosset, Hédelin, Serclier, Gerhard, Daneau, and of course, Rémy are all writing well into the latter half of the sixteenth-century, if not the early seventeenth-century. So, they are coming in late to the conversation when they begin relating the Sabbat to the Bacchic Orgium. In order to create a consensus and a definition by which to prosecute witchcraft effectively, the image of witches and the conceptualization of the Sabbat had to first be established. The thinkers, jurists, theologians, and educated elites of Europe who were engaging in this debate were all subject to an education based on the classics.

The Italian Renaissance of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-centuries had “developed a new basis for elite secular learning, based upon the ancient Latin and Greek classics.” This situation, as previously argued, became a cause of increasing criticism from Renaissance humanists and theologians alike “who generally scorned university scholasticism’s preoccupation with metaphysics and natural philosophy and promoted the revival of the [pagan] values of ancient

109 Scylla and Charybdis were two mythical monsters, originally appearing in The Odyssey, that resided on either side of the narrow sea-lane between Italy and Sicily in which ancient epic heroes such as Odysseus, Jason, and Aeneas—risking certain peril—had to carefully navigate in between during their adventures. Gifford, Discourse of the Practises, C3; and King James I, King James the First Daemonologie (1597) Newes From Scotland: declaring the Damnable Life and death of Doctor Fian, a notable Sorcerer who was burned at Edenbrough in January Last. (1591), ed. G. B. Harrison (New York, NY: Barnes & Noble, 1966), 42.

110 Pearl, “Introduction,” in Demon-Mania, by Bodin, 15.
Greece and Rome.” This type of education had a paramount influence upon elite thinkers. They studied and came to revere the classical figures of the Greco-Roman world for the complexity of their poetry, the egalitarianism of their governmental structures, and the loftiness of their philosophies. Yet, they also understood these men of antiquity to be pagan heretics. No matter how great their ideas, their art, or their civilizations may have been, they remained demon-worshipping heathens, starkly opposed, at least religiously speaking, to their early modern Christian counterparts.

As Ginzburg’s work shows, there are little classicizing motifs found in the early witch trials that he reviewed. In 1486, Kramer and Sprenger use few classical concepts in their work, and, although he is an outlier, Ciruelo was writing in the first half of the sixteenth-century and “did not contribute to this consensus.” But, the accounts found in the demonological treatises produced after 1550 contain “extravagant claims, inspired by Ovid’s Medea and Circe as well as Apuleius’s Meroe and [were] as popular with poets and dramatists as with demonologists like Rémy.” The demonologists acknowledge that they were reading pagan texts and, in them, found stories that appeared to be cognates to the accounts they encountered while presiding over witch trials and within the larger European witchcraft debate. They inevitably begin to apply the classical conception of witches, as well as other imagery they find in pagan works, to their thinking, which shaped their understanding of witchcraft in their own age. This created a general trend toward describing witches as being synonymous with the notions of ancient rites and myths that these authors were familiar with. Both Ginzburg and Rose, for example, advocate

111 The quoted historian, Gary K. Waite, is specifically referring to the notion of pagan values since ancient cultural values were not necessarily returning to Europe along with the resurgence of the classical texts. In sixteenth-century Europe, the ancient Greeks and Romans were understood to be pagans and thus devil-worshippers. Accordingly, their art and the ideas found within their writings were associated with non-Christian values. Such values were seen by many, though certainly not by all, as a threat to the salvation that Christianity promises, especially while the Reformation was splintering the Catholic Church into many, potentially heretical, denominations of Christianity. Gary K. Waite, Heresy, Magic, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988), 53.


114 Bodin, Demon-Mania, 144.
that the name of the Roman goddess Diana was not originally mentioned by the accused in witch trials, but that it was suggested to the women by their inquisitors, thus the ancient goddess entered the transcripts of witch trials.\(^{115}\)

The larger discussion that ensued after the *Malleus Maleficarum*, which developed the defining characteristics of witchcraft, had not yet been solidified and propagated widely until the second half of the sixteenth-century; by then, however, a community of ideas became discernible. But through the influence of the juridical process and the demonological literature that was so heavily influenced by the classics, this effort created “the formation of an entire system of witchcraft beliefs and practices; marked by a distinct erotic flavor” that developed into a cohesive whole.\(^{116}\) France, in particular, was plagued more by these types of books than the rest of Europe. With the works of “such men as Bodin, Gregoire, Rémy, Bouget, de Lancre, and others less well known, the crime of witchcraft was taking on a more uniform appearance.”\(^{117}\) Early in the sixteenth-century, there was little consensus within the witchcraft debate and about the Sabbat. But, as the century moved forward, it crystallized with the increasing dissemination of both the classical works and demonological treatises within Europe. Once debates became something clearly classical in conception, the demonologists were able to recognize the Sabbat as the *Orgium*, accidentally discovering a conceptualization of witchcraft that they themselves created.

\(^{115}\) Ginzburg, *Ecstasies*, 92.

\(^{116}\) Webber, “Introduction,” in *De praestigiis daemonum*, by Weyer, II.

Figure 1. A maenad dancing wildly with a torch and *thyrsi*. She is accompanied by two satyrs, the satyr on the right is striking a drum. Red-figure kylix-krater from Apulia, 380–370 BC. Louvre, Paris.

Figure 2. Maenad carrying a thyrsus and a leopard. Copy of a Tondo of an Ancient Greek Attic white-ground klyx 490-480 BC. Vulci. Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich, Germany.
Figure 3. The goat-god Pan, with a human body, billy-goat’s head, feet, and tail, extends human hands towards the young goatherd. Red-figure, early-mid 5th century. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

Figure 4. A maenad defending herself with her _thrysus_ against the lecherous advances of a satyr. Ancient Greek kylix, 490-480 BC. Staatliche Antikensammlungen München Kat. 94.
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Beginning with Galen, a Greek physician, in 210 C.E and moving steadily through phases of understanding, eyesight has continually changed and adapted to the world in which it was studied—be it the world of St. Augustine in 397 or that of the University of Salerno in 1260. In this paper, I argue that sight perception was an everchanging field that adapted and molded itself through the lenses of the scholars who studied it. Moreover, I maintain that conceptions of sight perception remained dependent on social constructions and values regarding religion and culture. Although Galen, as mentioned above, studied sight in the third century, it was not until 1021, when the Book of Optics was written in the Islamic world, that a change in sight perception began to occur. While the text would not be reviewed until 1260, when the Book of Optics was finally translated into Latin and integrated into European medical theory, it remained one of the most authoritative works on optics until 1650.

Authors Ernst Pormann and Emilie Savage-Smith brought the questions of sight and the perception of the senses into scholarly conversation in their work, Medieval Islamic Medicine published in 2007. The text shows that while medieval medicine took longer to shift from religious understanding to a more scientific understanding, the questioning of Galen’s corpus was the first step towards the advancement of optical science. Islamic medicine, as they argue, took this step first, as demonstrated by the Book of Optics. This paper’s

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1 It is important to note that after the fall of the Roman empire and the rise of the Eastern Roman Empire beginning in the twelfth century, most ancient works were “lost” in the sense that progressive thoughts on medicine were no longer at the forefront of the Roman Empire’s scholarly agenda. Translations from Arabic to Latin thus integrated Galen’s thoughts on what the body meant into a cultural understanding for both Europe and Islam.
argument on sense perception not only agrees with this statement on the idea of the senses, but also asserts the existence of cultural changes over the ninth through thirteenth centuries that affected the understanding of eyesight within Europe. These cultural changes also made the reception of the *Book of Optics* more plausible despite cultural differences between Cross and Crescent. The importance and influence of Islamic medicine, as this paper aims to illustrate, is an important aspect within European medical advancements, because it helped to further advance the perception of sight from a primarily cultural outlook to a scientific one.

Anthropological work has also brought the perception of the senses, or how the senses work, from a physiological standpoint into a cultural understanding. Chris Woolgar, a professor of History and Archival Studies at the University of Southampton, notes that studies on the perception of the senses have “demonstrated that different societies have different approaches to perception, and even different ways of sensing—and that is no less true for societies in the past.” Woolgar’s statement bears truth in the European context, where sense was first understood culturally prior to the rise of a standard scientific understanding. In Islamic medical discourse, however, sense was up for debate and scientific study, as shown by the work of Pormann and Savage-Smith. By looking at the use of Galen’s medical theories in Muslim and European Christian medicine, the *Book of Optics* brings together a singular way to view sight. The *Book of Optics* can be seen as the birth of a scientific understanding of optics because it no longer conceptualized sight in terms of extramission, but instead introduced intromission theory, whereby light enters into the eye and is relegated to the brain.

As shown in the compilation edited by Stephen Nichols, Andreas Kablitz, and Alison Calhoun, *Rethinking the Medieval Sense: Heritage/Fascinations/Frames*, sense in Europe was colored by European cultural construction, such as religion. In the Islamic world, this was not the case. As such, medieval Eu-

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2 Chris Woolgar, “The Medieval Senses Were Transmitters as Much as Receivers – Chris Woolgar,” Aeon, accessed May 27, 2018, aeon.co/ideas/the-medieval-senses-were-transmitters-as-much-as-receivers.

3 Intromission is defined as emissions from the object into the eye, Extramission is emission from the eye to the object.
Europeans understood sense more than just a cognitive and natural response.\(^4\) I agree with the findings expressed in the compilation, but wish to add that if not for an integration and acceptance of learned knowledge—such as the universities’ translations of Islamic texts that challenged the Galenic corpus—cultural shifts in European academic knowledge may have never converged with Islamic works in institutions such as they did in Salerno beginning in 1260.

To demonstrate the unification of Muslim and Christian perceptions of sight, this essay is divided into sections outlining perceptions of sight and the circumstances leading to the *Book of Optics*’ importance to later medical knowledge. I will first look at how the ideas of perception and the body branched into separate perceptions by Galen. The perception of sight presented by Galen helps to establish the difference between Muslim and Christian perceptions, which would be contested due to culturally dependent understandings of the body. Finally, I will conclude with a discussion on the *Book of Optics*, its influence, and its legacy by bringing together two diverging views into a single stream of thought concerning the body. Integral change was ultimately brought about through the university system, specifically by the University of Salerno, in the thirteenth century.

In order to make an argument for the convergence of two streams of thought concerning the body, it is crucial to have an understanding of the influences of Galenic theory, as well as the ways in which Galen’s works shaped how the medical field later functioned. Galen’s contributions to the world of medicine were able to reintroduce Hippocratic theorems on the idea of the humors and the concept of bile.\(^5\) The basis for Galen’s research was humoral theory, where four humors coexisted within the body to create a healthy physical form. These humors were thought to be in balance, and sickness occurred from an accumulation of one bile over the other. Biles, in short, needed to be in balance to keep the body healthy. The four humors were categorized into blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm, which Hippocrates placed alongside

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5 Hippocratic Theorems are typically mathematical functions or theories that helped progress scientific and medical reasoning.
the four temperaments that the body used to function.\footnote{The Four temperaments are, \textbf{sanguine}, \textbf{melancholic}, \textbf{choleric}, and \textbf{phlegmatic}. Each temperament corresponds with a personality trait when the temperaments are out of balance.}

Going forward, Galen integrated Hippocrates’ treatises on sight. He included, for example, a focus on cataracts. Cataracts were, “growths on the eyelids, external and internal, in many cases destroying the sight, which are called ‘figs.’”\footnote{Hippocrates, “L 477 Hippocrates VII. Epidemics, Loeb Classical Library,” trans. W.H.S Jones, Archive.org, https://archive.org/stream/L477HippocratesVII.EpidemicsLoebClassicalLibrary/L477-Hippocrates%20VII.%20Epidemics%20%28Loeb%20Classical%20Library%29_djvu.txt.} The focus on cataracts served as the groundwork for Galen’s understanding of cataracts and how they obscured sight. Hippocrates’s more general understanding of sight then came to be regarded as an extension of taste which is pleased by colors and flavors. As his corpus states, “either kind of sweetness can be tested by the effects of a substance on sores, the eyes, and the sense of taste, which can also distinguish degrees.”\footnote{Hippocrates, “L 477 Hippocrates VII. Epidemics, Section XXVII on Nutriment, Loeb Classical Library.”} These degrees were inherent to what was pleasing to the mind and the body of the person experiencing them, just as how some people enjoy certain tastes and smells over others, some sights were more pleasing to the eye. The idea of pleasure to the mind was further explored by Hippocrates, who posited that “sweetness, in varying degrees, can appeal to the sense of sight, being aroused by colors and other beautiful combinations.”\footnote{Hippocrates, “L 477 Hippocrates VII. Epidemics, Section XXVII on Nutriment, Loeb Classical Library.”} The eye, therefore, is connected to other sensory organs. Hippocrates indicates this connection between the eyes and other organs through his belief that the eye could distinguish degrees of sweetness, similar to taste and smell. Sight, however, is not separated from these senses and can be marred by cataracts and other diseases. Looking at cataracts and anatomy illustrates the visual construct that Galen both worked with and passed down to medieval medicine.

Galen, a prolific writer, made his mark within philosophical writing
The abounding nature of his corpus meant that it was not just renowned, but also easily accessible to the Latinate world and, eventually, to the Islamic world through translation. Due to his extensive work and transcription of Greek medicine, his writings became a significant way for subsequent Muslim and Christian societies to rediscover Greek medicine, during the middle ages and even as late as the seventeenth century. The question of whether Galen’s work was contested, however, can be answered by looking at both medieval Islamic commentaries as well as additions to his work made by St. Augustine and other academic figures. The reception of Galen’s work changed based on the cultural acceptance of the perception of the body in areas both theological and medical. Advancement in medical practices was thanks to the contact between Islam and Europe in the scientific field. The cultural value that eyesight was inherently linked with the soul in Europe created a culturally constructed perception of the body. Even if bodies were inherently the same, the view of the body diverged significantly based on these cultural ties.

The idea that eyesight translates differently in European and Muslim medicine created a schism within medical knowledge that lasted for some time. Differences in translation are due in part to the ideas integrated into Galen’s theories. Through the integration of certain ideas, Galen became more accessible and was revitalized through translations, which were eventually absorbed into Muslim medical knowledge. Arabic translations of Galen’s work allowed for Islamic scholars to work with Galen before Europeans were able to rediscover the Galenic corpus through subsequent Islamic translations into Latin.

For example, a Syrian Christian named Hunayn ibn Ishaq al-Ibadi (هَنْيَنُ بْنُ إِبَادَةُ) translated Galen’s corpus under the title Jalinos into Arabic. Further contact with Galen was due in part to cultural contact between Syrians and the Greeks during the seventh century. Medieval Islamic medical thought quickly grew accustomed to Greek theory, which was then used as the Islamic world saw fit. Perceptions of sense, taste, touch, and sight thus became culturally determined within the medieval world.

Galen also became further accessible to the Islamic world through translation. Galen was translated by al-Rhazes (الرَّاحِزُ)
and other scholars. Through these translations, Galen’s works came to inform the ideas of Islamic scholars. The Science and Medical Academy of Ancient Islam adopted the work of Galen into their library. A later work titled “Doubts on Galen” by Rhazes, however, commented on the inaccuracy of Galen’s medical work.\footnote{11} Ibn-Zur (بی‌زور) and Ibn al-Nafis (بنی‌نافس) also began to question Galen’s ideas as the empirical values of observation and research became more important in the Islamic World.\footnote{12} Ibn-Zur and Ibn al-Nafis questioned Galen as they compared and contrasted him to Rhazes, Ibn-Sina (سینا‌بی‌سینا), and, later Avicenna, a much more Westernized scholar, despite his Persian roots.

Other prolific philosophers and physicians in the Islamic Golden Age also studied Galen and began to expand his line of reasoning.\footnote{13} Galen’s influence also reached Islam by way of humoral theory. Unfortunately for most patients, prognosis was an immediate concern and practices such as blood-letting became normal to cure excess bile.\footnote{14} Culturally, many practices from Greek tradition (such as the joy of the body and soul) were common among Islamic scholars throughout the Middle Ages. The most crucial issues in Islamic medicine dealt with the condition of the patient’s mind. Reminiscent of Galen, Rhazes’ work on sexual intercourse stated that sex could cure the state of mind and bring the body back into wellbeing.\footnote{15} However, there was less stress on the concept of spiritual wellbeing, through the acts of sexual intercourse. Islamic scholars, although producing texts that were similar to those of European thinkers, mentioned neither lovesickness nor other European cultural “diseases.”

A contradiction occurred when Avicenna and Rhaze challenged humoral theory and Galen’s famed theory on circulation. Even with contradic-

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\footnote{11} Peter Ernst Pormann et al., Medieval Islamic Medicine (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 40.

\footnote{12} George Saliba, Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011), 71. In the Islamic world during the Renaissance of the twelfth century, Islamic scholars rediscovered Galenic and ancient texts. They then proceed to question the works faster than Europe does due to mathematics.

\footnote{13} Pormann, Medieval Islamic Medicine, 40.

\footnote{14} Pormann, Medieval Islamic Medicine, 43.

\footnote{15} Pormann, Medieval Islamic Medicine, 49.
tory statements from other Islamic philosophers, Galen remained relevant in Unani medicine (عِناني بيط) — Arabic and Islamic medicine — as a cultural figure and a philosophical influencer who searched for the truth. Utilizing the idea of research and exploration established a research-based community where humors were explored through data collecting experiments and Galenic theories were commented on by non-Galenic thinkers. Experimentation, however, does not change the intimacies of the two traditions, as Islamic medical tradition was intrinsically tied to Greek and Roman medical tradition. The medical world in Islam was based on linguistic exchange, including languages such as Arabic, Persian, Greek, Hindu, Turkish, and Hebrew.  

Islamic culture, predisposed to exploration, left the Western world in debt to the knowledge coming from the East. Sense perception and medicine owed its existence in the West to translation and to the expansion of medieval Islamic medicine. Both came to need each other culturally and empirically, as medieval Islamic medicine had its origins in ancient Greece and the East then adopted these ideas into their own culture. Unification of scientific thought eventually locked data and exchange within the Western world, and then linked itself into the traditions of medieval Europe, despite the fact that the ideas came from different intellectual traditions.

A process of Arabic translation transmitted Galen’s ideas into the hands and minds of Europeans. From the eleventh century onward, translations of Galen from Arabic to Latin began to arrive in major centers of knowledge, such as Salerno, Italy. Galen again became a significant authority and quickly became known as the “medical Pope of the Middle Ages” by later scholars. Constantine the African provided one of the first translations of Galen from Arabic to Latin in Salerno, as well as Greek translations of De complexionibus. Both Galen’s text and Avicenna’s work became foundational texts within the Medieval Physician’s Academy. Translation thus helped bring Galen from the Arabic world back into Western medical thought.

Galen’s influence on medieval physiological knowledge cannot be denied. The influence of ideological and cultural structures allowed Galen’s med-
ical expertise to construct the senses of taste, touch, and sight. As scholars, we must consider how these senses were understood in a medieval context. While medieval bodies were not different from our own, the cultural perception of physical forms remains markedly dissimilar. The sense of smell and taste, for example, were the most important of all of the senses. Indeed, smelling a sweet odor as someone was confessing to a crime or sin could have been indicative of that individual’s release from the crime committed. Saints in death, furthermore, were said to have smelled sweet.

What is prominent is that “Plato, Euclid, Galen, and Augustine, believed the eye itself played a role in perception, emitting visual rays that sought out their objects and so allowed them to be seen.” 19 Sight and hearing had a different meaning than they do now. The perception of sight was inherently cultural and changed the way in which ordinary senses worked in the medieval world. Later scholarly ideas presented sight as the same sense as touch. The brain would receive information from the eye and perceive it for the subject, who could then comprehend what they were seeing or touching. In the medieval world, a perception was less straightforward and more open to extreme interpretation due to the religious and cultural beliefs. Sensational functions held meanings for Europeans that went far beyond just a bodily function. The best explanation of medieval sight perception comes from Woolgar, who clarifies that,

Sitting at my desk today, I can feel that it is hard and smooth; it might also be warm or cold to my touch. If I had sat here 600 years ago, my senses might have transmitted to the desk physical, moral and spiritual qualities, and it might have passed others to me: if this was a place that had been used by a holy or evil person, those qualities might reside in the desk. This perception was not the one-way transmission of ‘information’ that one anticipates today, but something much broader, and, in the highly moral world of the Middle Ages, the transfer of these broader qualities was of immense significance. 20

As he continues to note, “the sense operated by touch, or direct contact with


20 Woolgar, The Medieval Senses Were Transmitters as Much as Receivers.
the individual, which thereby initiated the process of perception.\textsuperscript{21} That said, sight in the early Middle Ages was conceptualized in terms of neo-Platonic thought and later reworked by St. Augustine to operate through extramission. Extramission held that the eye sent out a beam of light towards the object. The light then returned to the eye to create an image through physical interaction. Thanks to later studies, however, thinkers adopted intromission theory, which maintained that that the object was the sole component emitting light and it would pass through the air and into the eye with a process called multiplication of species.\textsuperscript{22} These were not direct contacts with the object but representations of the object that brought direct contact between the eye and the object’s remembrance. The idea of extramission was thought to bring the perceived and the perceiver into contact. The theory of Intromission removes this sense of direct contact by creating a new way to perceive how the eye would take in images.

We see, however, that in Europe the cultural understanding of perception outperforms a more scientific understanding. The cultural understanding that Europeans held changed when cultural physiological understanding changed in the twelfth century due to an influx of Islamic texts on the subject. Joachim Küpper argues that perception was a relatively loose term, and there was not a definite separation from the mind, the senses, and cognition.\textsuperscript{23} Various theories about how the body worked attempted to interlink sensory perception and cognition, which was not a standard model during the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{24} The idea of perception can be taken in many ways, each of which viewed the sensory functions of the body differently. To see these differences, one must understand the influence that both Plato and other earlier writers had on Avicenna and later medical scholars.

Platonic theory influenced early philosophers’ and physicians’ perception of the mind, body, and soul. Platonic theory, however, was not as readily accepted. Indeed, the Platonic understanding of the body stated that the sen-

\textsuperscript{21} Woolgar, \textit{The Medieval Senses Were Transmitters as Much as Receivers}.

\textsuperscript{22} Woolgar, \textit{The Medieval Senses Were Transmitters as Much as Receivers}.


\textsuperscript{24} Küpper, “Perception, Cognition and Volition,” 119.
sor had a small influence on the cognitive process. Aside from the Platonic model, the Aristotelian model survived into later medicine, because it was advocated by significant figures such as Avicenna, who devoted much of his research to theories with translations of the Galenic corpus and Hippocratic theory through Islamic translation of ancient texts.

In both variations of the model, the act of cognition was based on the perception of the senses. It appears, especially regarding medieval Europe, that sense perception was attributed to an Aristotelian concept of morality. Indeed, there was a connection between the uses of action, volition, and perception. Aristotle presents a moral, philosophical use that is purpose-oriented.25 The idea of purpose orientation was based on the feelings of eudaimonia (εὐδαιμονία, having a moral guard of spirit or well-being) and autarkēia (αὐτάρκεια, self-sufficiency). People, however, tend to turn towards perceptions of pleasure, honor, and excellency, which are only attainable by those who do not sacrifice virtue.26 The sense, therefore, takes in all the data of the surrounding world, which changes continuously and can never be an accurate system for sensory perception in early medieval thought. The concept of cognition in European cultural thought is primarily a moral-based code and a moral outlook that comes from a Christian view, which is based in theological understanding. The sense, therefore, unlike in Arabic medicine, was not separated from the divine.

Ideas of morality are seen through St. Augustine’s discussions of the sense of sight. Augustine not only worked with Galenic and Aristotelian tradition, but also combined such traditions with a theological point of view. As such, St Augustine’s influential formulation of vision prevailed throughout the Middle Ages, showcasing the idea of infection and sensation through the physical contact created by extramission theory. St. Augustine’s work entitled, De genesi ad litteram (On the Literal Meaning of Genesis), “proposed a tripartite distinction between carnal, spiritual, and intellectual seeing,” which helped to partially establish the theological conceptualization of medieval sight perception.27

25 Küpper, “Perception, Cognition and Volition,” 120.
26 Küpper, “Perception, Cognition and Volition,” 120.
While Arabic scholars employed observation and research to understand sight, European scholars viewed it through the lenses of sweetness, the good, and the divine. As Augustine speculated on his theory on sight, diverging perception was therefore hierarchal, “…with carnal seeing at the bottom of the hierarchy and intellectual seeing being the highest mode of vision.” These lines again show a moral aspect to sensory perception. As discussed before, sight occurred through direct contact with the object, and while extramission would allow physical contact, it was at the expense of infection for immoral aspects of the object.

Due to morality, Augustine, as noted above, saw sight as being more significant than hearing, because sight could bring one closer to the divine. An example of moral codification is found in Confessions book ten chapter thirty, with the sight of the concupiscientia oculorum (lust of the eyes). Confessions critiques sight as having become lost in the material world. Based on this evidence, in addition to his theory of hearing and music, we can establish that Augustine connected both cognition and sight to a single God known as Unum within the Christian world.

Ideas of the divine can also be attributed to his work on the verbum cordis (words or utterances of the heart), where he argues that the inner light is seen and not heard as stated in the de trinitae (Book fifteen, Chapter twenty). Here he posits that sight, when improperly extramitted, draws the soul away from the Lord and into decadence and hedonism. The individual would make contact with the infected object through extramission and become polluted. Augustine repeatedly established a moral and theological function of the sensor, as discussed above.

It may also be noted that literature, in addition to theology, influenced conceptualizations of sight on a cultural level by emphasizing love, life, and the divine. Equally important, the visionary process could also cause illness. Galen stated that when there was a humoral imbalance, illness would occur, as evinced by lovesickness. As the saying went, “love enters through the eyes, this phrase influenced many of the courtly romances and literary works of the

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time. While most individuals would be taught by the church that the physical body could be imparted by the act of seeing evil, literary tradition used sight to warn European courts of the ideas of overindulgence. Nancy Dzaja notes that lovesickness had a simple prognosis, as “medieval medical writings had more clearly defined pathogenesis for the disease. For example, the first stage occurs when the object of desire causes overheating of the “vital spirit.”

In short, eyesight was a part of the healthiness of the vital spirit and therefore the spirit could be knocked out of balance, creating illness.

Love sickness was a part of the cultural perception of sight. Dzaja continues to say that “the vital spirit inflames the middle ventricle of the brain, which was where the faculty of estimation (or the virtua aestimativa) is located, resulting in dryness in the faculty of imagination (virtus imaginative). Consequently, the image of the beloved becomes imprinted in the patient’s memory, causing obsession, decreased ability to reason, and abnormal behavior.” Galen attempted to provide a remedy to remove this obsession by stating “that men should make love for the sake of staying healthy, even if they derived no pleasure from it.” The idea was that health was linked directly to contact with the object and, by extension, the eye. Eyes, therefore, were the window to the body, mind, and soul for the individual in question. If a person became imbalanced, their situation could be remedied by removing themselves from visual contact with certain subjects, as the sufferer’s symptoms were thought to come from his or her eyes.

As Chaucer’s *The Knight’s Tale* states when discussing his behavior, “and in his behavior, he acted not only as if he had the lover’s sickness of Eros, but rather like madness sprung from melancholy in the cell of imagination in his brain.” Sickness then stemmed from his love being away from him, away

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30 This quote has been attributed to William Butler Yeates, but I could not locate a full citation. This quotation as been integrated into popular culture and the exact poem from which the line is drawn is hard to locate.


33 Dzaja, “Lovesickness: The Most Common Form of Heart Disease,” 68.

from his sight and his perception of reality. The knight is physically ill from the imbalance of bile engendered by the absence of his love. As Chaucer states that state that the “intellect that dwelt in his sick and sore heart began to wane just as the heartfelt death.” The idea of interconnectivity links the body and physical aspects of perception to the visual function of visionary experiences. Examples like the one presented here can be seen in conjunction with the works of romance and courtly literature, where lovesickness was a significant issue and courts themselves could be considered a place of overindulgence. Julie Singer notes that the physical understanding of sight created damage as love enters because it assaults the eyes. As the aforesaid examples indicate, poetic and literary traditions constructed a cultural understanding of the eye. The eye is a gateway to organic pollution, as evinced by Augustine and the disease of lovesickness. The eye was therefore vulnerable to both the moral lives and the cultural understanding of living an upright life in medieval Europe.

Therefore, extramission reception allows the physical object to cause pain to the body, whether through lack of seeing one’s love or, as Augustine presents, from seeing things that can drive an individual away from divinity. St. Augustine notes that “those who have unchaste eyes will strive in vain to live pure lives.” The idea of the eye being a receiver of negative attributes can also be connected to St. Jerome, who goes further to say that an unchaste eye is the sign of an impure mind. That being said, we see that in Europe the eye was more than a part of medical understanding, it was a gateway into the soul itself. As information that was received came into the mind, it could pollute the body in a physical sense. Indeed, Singer notes that most literary works regarding love, misery, or pain typically attribute suffering to the eyes. Given that the eyes were considered a gateway into the mind, extramission brings the object and the eye together in intimate contact that can pollute the body. Consequently, any research associated with the eyes was typically carried out to ensure that individuals could lead a virtuous life.

36 Julie Singer, Blindness and Therapy in Late Medieval French and Italian Poetry (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2011), 50.
37 Suzannah Biernoff, Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages (Basingstoke Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 46.
38 Singer, Blindness and Therapy in Late Medieval French and Italian Poetry, 50.
As Galen’s work entered the Islamic world, it was met with both praise and resistance, as medieval Islamic science was based on continuous observation through experiments and mathematical reasoning, as such, Galen’s work needed to be reexamined and changed. The ideas of perception were more morally based in Europe than in the Islamic world and more open for debate in the Islamic world, making for a divergent outlook of medical science. During the thirteenth century, Galen was an established theorist for the understanding of the body within European thought, was met with less contention within European medical circles. In Islam, however, he was a figure of dispute, conversation, and change. Although both fields of medicine believed in the extramission theory. However, work on the theory of refraction in the Medieval Islamic world turned from extramission into intromission. Intromission theory alleged that individuals no longer came into contact with the object, but that the object projected its remembrance and image to the individual.

Hasan Ibn al-Haytham (مثنها نب نسحلا نب نسحلا ،يلع وبأ)، known in the West as Alhazen, created intromission theory and based it on light and mathematics. He was born in Basra in 965 A.D. His paramount work is comprised of seven volumes that make up the Book of Optics (رظانملا باتك). The Book of Optics influenced and changed medieval visual perceptions across many disciplines for over six hundred years due to its dual conception in both the East and the West. In his early life, Alhazen was regarded as a young genius due to his abilities in math and physics and served as a Vizier, or high ranking official, in Iraq. He had little interest, however, in the empire itself and feigned mental illness to get away from the ire of the Caliphate. He later went into hiding for attempting to dam the Nile. The caliph was looking for him to take his life, but again he feigned mental illness to remain under house arrest. Alhazen’s imprisonment, however, helped kickstart his theoretical work on optics, as he had plenty of time to think while locked away.

After being released in 1020, he began extensive experiments on light. As he states, “our subject is obscure and the way leading to the knowledge of its nature difficult; moreover, our inquiry requires a combination of the

natural and the mathematical sciences." In short, the perception of light was not primarily viewed as a sensory function by Augustine and other writers, and the divine was not a present factor with Alhazen. Using a camera obscura—a pinhole screen or dark room—Alhazen was able to calculate that light moved in a straight line. These calculations also allowed him to calculate catoptrics (light reflecting from mirrors) and dioptrics (light filtering and reflecting on a lens) formulas. The Book of Optics is formed from these experiments, detailing the anatomy of the eyes (influenced by Galen), based on experiments with light, colors, and rainbows. Galenic influence on the other hand can be seen as cultural, and his prolific work passed to the Islamic world through contact with the Greeks. One can differentiate the work of Alhazen from others because Alhazen, unlike Augustine, expands upon Galen’s work scientifically rather than theologically.

At its most basic level the Book of Optics is a textbook presenting Alhazen’s work on light. The text also encourages further work on the subject. As Alhazen states, “the learned among them settled upon the opinion that vision is affected by a form which comes from the visible object to the eye and through which sight perceives the form of the object,” showing that working from established tradition could solve the object’s work within sight. Alhazen is not ignoring tradition, but like Islamic scholars before him, he is reworking and creating exploration through established research. There is a heavy cultural aspect to these works that cannot be erased, but Islamic medicine was willing to move to data and research and to ignore the weight of theological questions much more quickly than the West. Alhazen even created a call to other mathematicians to carry out research on sight perception by highlighting its importance. As Alhazen stated, “mathematicians, for their part, have paid more attention to this science than others. They have pursued its investigation, paying attention to its details and divisions.” Perception, therefore, moved into the realm of scientific study.

The move away from the theological perception of the sciences needed

42 Alhazen, The Optics of Ibn Al-Haytham, 4.
43 Alhazen, The Optics of Ibn Al-Haytham, 4.
backing by prominent thinkers in Western Europe, since the tradition of investigation was always performed through a Divine lens. What Alhazen promoted was an easily accessible way for others to repeat his experiments. The Book of Optics is most celebrated for its explanation of the concept of vision. Alhazen took vision and changed it from perception and cultural science into a genuine scientific methodological study. What he offered was a physical science that could be verified as reality though experimentation, exhibited by his idea that “vision can only occur” when “the eye senses a visible object after it had no sensation to it.”

The idea of sight became less abstract, as Alhazen was able to replace extramission with intromission. The object projected light towards the eye, creating an image of remembrance, and the individual no longer came into direct contact with any form of imbalance or pollution. Alhazen also uses the scaffolding provided by Galenic medical theory and furthered scientific research on how sight was perceived in practiced medicine. From him, there arose a physical understanding of visual perception that ignored the theological. Alhazen states that “furthermore, the fact that a single visible object is in some cases perceived as one, in others as two, is a proof that vision is not affected by the eye alone,” meaning that eye sight was also part of a complex system beyond just the eyes. The eye was no longer the primary function of perception, and neither was the individual. Refractory theory brought to light the idea that the object in view could perceive as well. This object could also affect sight perception. Indeed, Alhazen specifies that “when there is between the eye and the object a transparent stone, or any transparent body whatsoever the eye perceives the object behind it,” making it clear that the eye is functioning to perceive the object through the use of transparency and light over contact. The idea of lens was based on Galen’s anatomy of the eye, but Alhazen helps progress anatomical understanding thanks to his explanations on the function of sight. Revolutionizing the perception of sight and anatomy through culturally held observations about the eyes and vision, intromission theory was ready to be taken beyond the Islamic world.

In the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, Alhazen journeyed into

44 Alhazen, The Optics of Ibn Al-Haytham, 77.
45 Alhazen, The Optics of Ibn Al-Haytham, 86.
46 Alhazen, The Optics of Ibn Al-Haytham, 77.
the Latin-speaking world. By the thirteenth century, scholars in the Islamic world, including Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi and Kamal al-Din al-Farisi, expanded on Alhazen’s work, with al-Farisi even creating a new work, the *Revision of Optics*, which correctly perceived the rainbow using mathematics. Thanks to the work’s translation into Latin it traveled into the Western world. That said, “all indications are that this Latin version of the Kitab al-Manazir lay fallow for the next fifty years or so until it began to be studied in earnest by a succession of Latin thinkers, starting with Roger Bacon.” Becoming a foundational work for scholars such as Bacon and Witelo, Alhazen’s text acquired prestige in the Islamic world. Alhazen also enjoyed this level of prestige in the Christian world.

To conclude, visual perception was changed in the medical field from extramission to intromission and remained the prominent theory describing how sight worked through the integration and adoption of Islamic medical and scientific doctrine in the West. Science was viewed as a part of the divine, from astrology to bile, and Western culture dictated that the scientific would bring us closer to our Creator. Ideas of the Creator originated from science’s principle aim, which was to help us understand the world in which God allowed us to live and the bodies that he had bestowed upon the world. In the Islamic world, as previously discussed, there was a culture of observation and understanding through research. The cultural aspect of the world was understood and expanded scientifically rather than religiously. In Europe, however, there was no real line between the divine and the scientific world, as they were jointly understood as a singular path to truth and salvation. The shift in Europe towards intromission theory can be viewed culturally and academically, as it helped prevent religious pollution and was spread in universities where the works of Alhazen were being discussed.

The University of Salerno was the most prominent university for Western medicine in Europe after its founding in the ninth century. The university system, especially in Salerno, served as a site of cultural culmination. Salerno’s establishment as a pioneering institution gained the university papal recognition. Afterwards, researchers began to work on building curriculums in the

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areas of theology, philosophy, and other arts. Since a majority of the curriculum was in Latin, few people initially interacted with the Islamic World’s medicine. The University’s most prominent work in the examination of sight is the Schola Medica Salernitana. Scholars such as Constantine Africanus soon ushered the university into a neo-classical period, in which Galen was rediscovered, thereby allowing Salerno to push its expertise further and gain an international reputation. Because of its experimental importance, Salerno established itself as the head of medieval medical knowledge and the most prominent site for Western medicine in Europe.

What made Salerno stand out in the world of Western medicine, however, was its usages of non-Latin texts and their focus on discourses of prognosis. Curing diseases created a basis for the understanding of the body outside of the theological and the physical body became a focal point of medical knowledge. Luke Damaitre iterates that a majority of the original curriculum was created through “treatises together with commentaries by Galen, [which] constituted the core of the curriculum, a didactic collection that became known as Ars medicine (“the Art of Medicine”) and later as Articella (“the Little Art”).” Translation at universities played a prominent role in shaping scientific advancement. Thanks to institutions such as Salerno, translations of Galen and Hippocrates from the East entered Western Europe with Islamic commentaries. Salerno’s legacy lies in the creation of some of the most celebrated practitioners of Western Europe through its incorporation of Muslim medical texts and experiments. Medical practices in Salerno emphasized that the body was of primary concern because prognosis or the course of a disease, in general, proceeded through the identifiable stages of onset, increase, status, and decline,” based itself on the body’s display of disease, which comes from Galenic prognosis theory.

Mathematics created “the first wave [that] proceeded from the Hippocratic premise of periodicity, through the “quadrivial” or mathematical arts.” Alhazen’s work on optics, through mathematical reasoning, presents the eye

at its basest form and in a mathematical sense, rather than in a cultural sense. As Alhazen created a bridge between mathematics and the scientific arts, his experimentations became re-creatable. Salerno thus represents a truly intimate intermingling of two cultural understandings of the body by combining religious and empiricist culture with the physiological sciences. Individuals in the university system found religious sensitivity acceptable and, as universities grew, new knowledge created a Galenic linkage between the body and the heavens.

The university as a system within the medieval world combined the elements of the Islamic world with Western knowledge through the pursuit of research and understanding. The University of Salerno opened new conversations to scholars, so that they could experiment and learn from the other philosophical thinking of the time. The change from extramission to intromission created not only a practical understanding of sight but brought the mental world of Islam into the West and helped change the cultural view of the body therein. In doing so, these scholars removed the divine from the search to understand the body.

The shift in the understanding of sight occurred due to the convergence of Muslim and Christian thought. As cultural shifts took place in Europe, the sciences were able to ground themselves through preexisting Islamic research and expand the understanding of physiology. As knowledge converged, a change in cultural attitudes towards one another’s culturally specific styles of thinking took place. The integration of the sciences removed culturally specific language and created an empirical understanding of the body increasingly devoid of religious connotations.


The Sailing Ship as the Lifeblood of the Seventeenth-Century Atlantic: Four Legs of the Voyage of *De Liefde*

*Julie van den Hout*

The Atlantic region spans two hemispheres, encompasses two principal ocean systems, borders four continents, and is interspersed with multiple islands, large and small. It is an area that covers almost half the Earth. Atlantic History has expanded in a call to understand these geopolitically complex spaces, revealing entangled relationships between continental cores and colonial peripheries. But Atlantic studies framed by interactions between imperial powers, connections between land-based spaces, or relationships stretched across colonial outposts, often fail to include activity on the ocean itself as a vital and cohesive component of imperial matrices.

Maritime historian Marcus Rediker has referred to “terracentrism,” the belief that history can only be made on land, in asserting that most scholars have treated the ocean as an “anti-space,” an “a-historical void” between lands, where most “real” events occur. Like a negative space that surrounds the subject of an image, the ocean is, thus, often backgrounded in favor of more readily observable terrestrial histories. Much the opposite of a void, the ocean itself has historically been an occupied, meaningful space (albeit a potentially hostile one to those born without gills). It is a system that warrants deep consideration as both a connector of terrestrial spaces, and one that, in and of itself, directs much human activity atop a vast and tireless expanse.

If one foregrounds the ocean as the space between lands, then what connected the ocean to lands were ships. In the sixteenth- to eighteenth-century period of imperial expansion, oceangoing sailing vessels were an essential component of the imperial network engaged in the exchange of

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goods. While legal historian Laura Benton has described ships as extensions of imperial sovereignty, ships spent much of the time alone on the ocean as independent peripheral forces, self-contained floating locales, and self-sufficient by necessity. Nevertheless, historical studies surrounding ships have typically focused on sailors or commodities, with little attention given to the broader, vital activities of ships, or the system of ships, fundamental to the development of colonies. Cargo ships connected colonies to their metropoles and to each other, bringing provisions, building supplies, munitions, people, and animals necessary to support their remote settlements. In the seventeenth-century, sailing ships and their cargoes were lifelines, without which, the colonies could not survive. With the ocean as a fundamental common “ground,” these ships knitted lands together, and pose a new lens through which to analyze and conceptualize Atlantic History.

What can a cargo ship tell us about Atlantic History? Along with exposing a broad view of events occurring in this muted, lesser-examined, “negative” space of the ocean, interrogating cargo ships reveals much about the acquisition of shipped goods, how supplies journeyed, where and how they were used, and who touched them in between. Examining ships and their cargoes provides a glimpse into the colonial supply chain, while exploring the ways in which ships linked various spaces and individuals. Narrowing the view to the activities of one ship provides an opportunity to explore, in detail, the journey, the cargoes, the crews, and the colonial interdependences of sailing vessels on the North Atlantic. This paper looks closely at the voyage of a seventeenth-century Dutch merchant ship, *De Liefde*, in one place, and in one time period, in a case study aimed at underscoring the essential and active roles of oft-ignored ships in the development and historical study of the Atlantic World. The four legs of the voyage of *De Liefde* create a powerful presentation of the circulation of goods, animals, and people, within the continuity of one oceanic journey, and demonstrate the wide-ranging influence of ships in the context of the seventeenth-century Dutch North Atlantic.

The Dutch West India Company ship, *De Liefde*, left the Dutch Republic on March 27, 1655, on a voyage to distribute goods within the Dutch Atlantic colonial network. With supplies destined for Curaçao, the ship held provisions,
largely rye flour, along with biscuits, cheeses, preserved meats, vinegar, and mustard seed, as well as drinks such as brandy and beer. It also brought materials for boat maintenance, building supplies, and war munitions. Two months later, the ship departed Curaçao, carrying horses and salt for the North American colony of New Netherland. From New Netherland, De Liefde made a second journey to Curaçao in late fall, bringing additional provisions and supplies of grains and timber. On January 2, 1656, De Liefde left Curaçao with a cargo full of Caribbean dyewood and salt, returning safely to the Dutch Republic after a successful voyage that had begun in Amsterdam the previous spring.

The seafaring Dutch West India Company was formed in 1621, shortly after the expiration of the Twelve Years’ Truce between the Dutch Republic and Spain. Dutch maritime trade fleets had grown exponentially in the early seventeenth century, fueled by advances in shipbuilding coupled with abundant supplies of wood sourced by trade agreements with Scandinavian countries. While the Dutch East India Company traded for spices in the east, the Dutch West India Company was charged with disrupting Spanish and Portuguese concerns in the Atlantic. Though the promotion of trade, often driven by acquisition, was only a secondary function of the West India Company, the States General of the Dutch Republic granted a monopoly on the fur trade in the Dutch colony of New Netherland to the West India Company in its year of inception. In 1631, the granting of patroonships, tracts of land deeded to private investors, allowed the establishment of private trading colonies under the umbrella of the West India Company. Even as the supplies of beaver furs diminished and profits waned, New Netherland remained a West India Company stronghold for its strategic location for trade and as a Dutch presence to defend against the English. By the mid-seventeenth century, the population of New Netherland, consisting primarily of merchants, craftsmen,


5 Gehring and Schiltkamp, *Curaçao Papers*, 90, 94.

and farmers, had grown from approximately 2,000 to upwards of 8,000.\textsuperscript{7} New Netherland was the only one of the Dutch West India Company colonies to reach appreciable migration as the company’s focus remained predominantly on its military and commercial interests.\textsuperscript{8}

In 1634, the Dutch took control of the islands of Curaçao and Bonaire near St. Martin, where they had been harvesting salt until the previous year, when the resident Spanish drove them away.\textsuperscript{9} The Dutch found Curaçao only sparsely populated by the Spanish. Instead, the island was overrun with wild horses, cattle, as well as goats and sheep. While its arid terrain, inadequate fresh water supply, and poor harvests limited its potential for sustaining merchant activity, Curaçao had salt pans and deep-water harbors. Its Caribbean locale also gave it value as a stopover for Dutch privateers and its proximity to the Spanish-held territory of Tierra Firme made it desirable as a position from which to threaten the Spanish. Conversely, this proximity to nearby Spanish territories also made it vulnerable to attack. For this reason, Curaçao had the highest count of garrisoned Dutch soldiers in the North Atlantic, with 350, compared to 50–60 in New Netherland (far greater numbers were garrisoned in Brazil and West Africa).\textsuperscript{10} The island remained predominantly a military outpost with a population of less than a thousand, mostly West India Company soldiers, sailors, and administrators, though perpetually plagued by unreliable food stocks.\textsuperscript{11}

Provisioning peripheral outposts was an essential task of West India Company ships. In Amsterdam, The West India Company warehouse was built on the \textit{Oude Schans}, a wide canal situated on the IJ, the waterway between Amsterdam and the large, inland sea of the Dutch Republic. In the West India Company \textit{Pakhuis}, supplies were stored from incoming vessels and for loading for outgoing voyages. The 4,019 pounds of rye flour loaded onto \textit{De Liefde} 7 Oliver A. Rink, \textit{Holland on the Hudson, An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York} (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 164.


9 Klooster, \textit{The Dutch Moment}, 60.


for the soldiers, sailors, and colonial administrators on Curaçao would be made into bread, a staple of the seventeenth-century Dutch diet.\textsuperscript{12} 525 pieces of seaworthy hardtack accompanied six wheels of cheese, four from Edam and two from nearby Leiden, which would age well during the long journey. Easily preserved meats, such as three barrels of smoked bacon and other cured meats, would provide a source of protein. These were loaded along with a case of brandy and Brunswick mum, a popular ale made from malted grains and flavored with herbs.\textsuperscript{13} Three wooden milk measures, six strainers, and three wooden bowls for clarifying butter would likely be used to process milk yielded from the abundant cattle on Curaçao.\textsuperscript{14} Ships provided the bulk of the provisions, however, required for local sustenance.

Ships also provided materials necessary for maintaining facilities and fortification. In their letter accompanying De Liefde, the West India Company directors explained the shipment of supplies. “In order to keep the yachts and vessels, which must be used between Curaçao and the islands, continually seaworthy,” the necessities included barrels of tar and pitch, as well as moss for caulking.\textsuperscript{15} Additionally, De Liefde brought topsails, foresails, and jibs, along with twenty-five sail needles, sail thread, and forty balls of twine. The cargo also included an additional bale of French canvas for sail making and repairs. Thick hawsers and other various ropes and marlines were provided, along with a long fishing net. For carpentry work, the cargo included several thousand nails, along with three saws and three pieces of steel, weighing forty-five pounds each, likely for making hammers. There were thirty-three bushels of coal for the blacksmith and thirty-two gallons of trane oil, a fuel sourced from whales for use in oil lamps. De Liefde also carried munitions of war for the maintenance of the military and the general defense of the island. These included four kegs filled with fifty pounds of gunpowder each, along with two hundred pounds of wick for use in the firing of muskets.\textsuperscript{16}

The directors also described supplies shipped to facilitate salt

\textsuperscript{12} Gehring and Schiltkamp, \textit{Curaçao Papers}, 69.
\textsuperscript{13} Gehring and Schiltkamp, \textit{Curaçao Papers}, 87n86.
\textsuperscript{14} Gehring and Schiltkamp, \textit{Curaçao Papers}, 69.
\textsuperscript{15} Gehring and Schiltkamp, \textit{Curaçao Papers}, 68.
\textsuperscript{16} Gehring and Schiltkamp, \textit{Curaçao Papers}, 71.
procurement on Curaçao. “For the making and preparing of salt and such we are sending over, among other things, some Norwegian planks in order to make the saltpans fit and efficient,” they wrote.\(^{17}\) The cargo, indeed, included four large Norwegian planks, typically measuring eight feet long by one foot wide, for use in constructing a gantry for salt loading.\(^{18}\) While Curaçao was dependent on the Dutch Republic for supplies, the island’s southern bays held an important resource in salt, valuable to the Dutch as a trade commodity for other European destinations, and an essential preservative used by the herring fleets operating off their own home coast. While Curaçao had not yet become a center for the Dutch Atlantic slave trade, at least some enslaved Africans were already working in the saltpans there, as well as harvesting dyewood on nearby Bonaire.\(^{19}\)

What might have seemed like the least consequential of the supplies loaded for Curaçao by the West India Company may, in fact, have been one of the most essential. Last, but not least, *De Liefde* brought writing materials for correspondence and recordkeeping. The West India Company letter accompanying the cargo included the imperative to “send over at once . . . detailed lists of the number of horses and other livestock which are to be found on the islands, together with the quantity of wood and salt still on hand.”\(^{20}\) The West India Company administrative structure demanded the exchange of information by written reports, usually also requiring duplicate communications via two different ships in case of loss. *De Liefde’s* shipment of sixteen books of paper, eight bunches of quills, three pounds of ink, rulers, penknives, whetstones for sharpening, almanacs, and sealing wax were surely meant to assure secure, accurate, and timely reports from local administrators. The planning and assembling of essential supplies brought by ship required accurate assessment, thoughtful consideration, and a successful voyage.

As much as possible had to be anticipated in advance of ocean going voyages, as colonial supply ships needed to be equipped to survive alone anywhere from several weeks to months at sea. Preparation for *De Liefde’s*
journey across the Atlantic would have begun in the weeks leading up to the voyage. At a minimum, ships would be readied at the docks, meaning “well caulked and provided with anchors, ropes, tackle, sails, running and standing rigging, victuals and other necessaries.”

In addition to the cargo and the personal effects of the crew and any passengers, ships also needed to store food in the way of meats, cheeses, vegetables, dried fish, and grains, for the people as well as any animals it might be carrying. Personnel for the voyage had to be assembled. Besides the captain or skipper, such a journey would also require sailors to man the rigging, and often included a surgeon, boatswain, carpenter, ship’s steward, cook, sail maker, cooper, as well as various “mates,” as assistants. Merchant ships were accompanied by a supercargo to handle acquisitions and sales of trade goods. On De Liefde, Laurens van Ruyven was charged with overseeing the ship’s cargo during the voyage, as well as controlling the procurement and sale of goods.

Captained by Frieslander Anne Douwesen, De Liefde was a 360-ton, chartered West India Company fluytschip. The Dutch fluytschip was a versatile vessel developed in the late sixteenth century as an innovation in nautical design, having a wide hull and a narrow, high stern, in a trademark pear shape. A square-rigged merchant vessel with three masts, it was conceived to carry the highest load possible with a minimum of crew. The wide front hull created more space for cargo while allowing the ship to have a shallow draft, making it a practical vessel for sailing throughout the river tributaries of Europe. Though the fluytschip was commonly used for Atlantic trade and passenger transport, a fluytschip full of cargo left little rooms for armaments, making it a poor choice for sailing in contested waters.

Transatlantic ships attempted to chart the most efficient and secure courses that combined supply routes with trade. Ships leaving the West India

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22 A. J. F. van Laer, Register of the Provincial Secretary, 5.
23 Gehring and Schiltkamp, Curaçao Papers, 87.
24 Charles Gehring, Correspondence, 1654–1658, 53.
Company warehouse typically sailed north through the IJselmeer, the inland Dutch sea, to the sandy island of Texel adjacent to the North Sea. Thoroughly readied and outfitted with goods, supplies, and any passengers, the ships then waited in the harbor until the captain determined that a combination of opportune tides and east winds would carry them out to sea. Though it would be much later that patterns of Atlantic winds and currents were scientifically documented, long-term mariners were well aware of their existence and used them to sail the most efficient course possible. The clockwise, circular winds and currents of the North Atlantic described by historian Ian K. Steele as “a standing invitation for Europe to visit the Caribbean,” meant that ships leaving the Dutch Republic would often voyage first to the Caribbean, before making their way north to New Netherland.\(^{26}\) This, indeed, projected a logical pathway for *De Liefde*, determining its course from the Dutch Republic, first to Curaçao and then to New Netherland.

Underway, ships’ crews had to be prepared for any number of unpredictable circumstances, such as bad weather, course changes, pirate or enemy threats, as well as on-board perils such as food or water shortages, diseases, or even mutinies. There is very little recorded evidence about the voyage of *De Liefde* and its crew. But the detailed journal of a similar voyage by Antony de Hooges, passenger aboard *Den Coninck David* in 1641, provides a glimpse of the challenges crews faced on an Atlantic journey aboard a Dutch merchant ship. De Hooges made an entry for every day of his voyage from Amsterdam to New Netherland, via the Caribbean. Within a week of the journey, one of the eight horses the ship carried died and the ship’s mainsail was torn in two in bad weather. The damaged sail would have necessitated a hasty repair by the sailmaker on board. In the second week two calves died and the ship’s main yardarm broke. The ship’s carpenter repaired the broken beam by noon that same day. At a stop in Plymouth, England, the ship waited offshore for a few days for the fog to lift so the crew could haul more hay and water. But another horse and calf died and much of the water spilled in strong winds. For safety, *Den Coninck David* traveled in a caravan, always on guard for enemy ship sightings. By Tenerife, the companion ships took their leave from one another before heading out to the open sea. Nearing the Caribbean, the crew took

stock of their water and found only thirteen of their twenty-nine barrels full, after the iron hoops on the casks had sprung. This illustrates the crucial role of the cooper, who would have the skills to repair barrels used for much of the ships stores, including critical water. By the time Den Coninck David stopped in St. Kitts for water, twelve weeks into the voyage, there was only one barrel of water left. All four horses being transported on the starboard side of the ship, along with one from the leeward side, had died and been thrown overboard. On a more positive note, during the next, relatively uneventful, six-weeks from the Caribbean to New Netherland, one of the passengers gave birth to a baby on board. While De Hooges’ journal vividly illustrates the necessity of ships’ crews to be skilled, adaptable, and self-sufficient, it also demonstrates North Atlantic crews’ dependence on each other, and on others, in very real time and events.27

While ships carried horses and other animals to the colonies, necessary for labor and carriage, the importation of animals remained a costly and precarious undertaking. In the early years of establishing New Netherland, several ships were outfitted especially for animal transport, and caretakers offered bonuses for each animal that survived the transatlantic journey.28 Bringing horses from Curaçao to New Netherland, however, was less of a gamble. First, the voyage was much shorter and less potentially fraught than the journey from the Dutch Republic. Second, the supply of horses on the Dutch-controlled islands of Aruba and Bonaire, likely descended from the island’s earlier Spanish stock, seemed almost bottomless. While the Dutch did not have a secure presence on these smaller islands, they maintained a working relationship with the indigenous peoples there in activities such as cutting dyewood and rounding up horses. In 1654, the year before De Liefde’s spring arrival in Curaçao, the local commander “had the Indians make a general hunt and rounded up 600 mares and about 300 horses . . . to supply New Netherland.”29 When De Liefde left Curaçao, it carried horses, salt, and a

29 Gehring and Schiltkamp, Curaçao Papers, 61.
dignitary, bound for New Netherland.\textsuperscript{30}

Ships also conveyed personnel to serve between colonial locales. Peter Stuyvesant, West India Company Director-General of New Netherland and the Dutch-controlled islands in the Caribbean, resided on Manhattan in New Netherland, but he had been visiting Barbados and Curaçao during the winter and spring of 1655.\textsuperscript{31} In addition to the much needed horses and salt that it brought from Curaçao to New Netherland, the crew of De Liefde also hosted its highest superior on this second leg of the journey. And this was not the end of the crew’s show of its allegiance to the West India Company. Shortly after the ship arrived in New Netherland, Stuyvesant formulated an offensive on Swedish colonists who had built a fort on the Delaware River and named the area New Sweden. At the end of August, skipper Anne Douwesen and his ship were pressed into service to transport soldiers, munitions, and other materials for the confrontation. As was customary for ships’ captains while in port, Douwesen also served under Stuyvesant as a councilor during his stay New Netherland.\textsuperscript{32}

De Liefde served Stuyvesant once more in October when it left New Netherland with still sorely needed provisions and materials for Curaçao on the third leg of its voyage. The island’s food shortages seem to have made an impression on Stuyvesant, who sent foodstuffs from his personal plantation for the soldiers stationed there.\textsuperscript{33} Though New Netherland was originally established as a trading post, the Dutch also recruited farmers to produce necessary food for the colony and later, gave land to colonists for cultivation. Wheat and other grains grew generally well in the New Netherland climate, though these food stores were sometimes subsidized with Indian maize. Farms in New Netherland produced enough to support the colony, but never


\textsuperscript{31} Gehring and Schiltkamp, \textit{Curaçao Papers}, 81n76.


\textsuperscript{33} Gehring and Schiltkamp, \textit{Curaçao Papers}, 87.
enough extra provisions for extensive exports. The ship’s manifest provides an indication of the products produced in New Netherland. It included two hundred skipples of peas, wheat, and rye, along with mum ale. The French wine it carried likely came from the company stores. The ship also carried timberwork for a variety of uses: “33 beams, 24 deck support planks. . . five pieces for gun platforms, 15 spars and some pieces of plank for the watering trough and horse stall.” The abundance of timber in New Netherland had been extolled in several seventeenth-century publications, the most well-known by Adriaen van der Donck, wherein he describes the availability of hickory, oak, pine, spruce, and white cedar, “as good as it is in Norway.” Without robust forests of its own, the Dutch Republic had been dependent on Norwegian timber as an essential raw material, indispensable in the burgeoning Dutch shipbuilding industry, as well as for the making of casks for storing herring and whale blubber. The planks brought by De Liefde are a demonstration of ships directly linking and enabling commodities exchanges within the colonial complex.

De Liefde arrived in Curaçao mid-November, when it dropped off its cargo and took on 80,000 pounds of salt and 248,000 pounds of dyewood, destined for the Dutch Republic. Dyewood, or Brazilwood was prized for its vivid red hue for use in the linen industry that had flourished in Leiden after Flemish textile workers fled the Spanish Low Countries in the early seventeenth century. Besides the north coasts of Colombia and Venezuela, the Pacific Coast of Mexico, and Guatemala, species *Haematoxylum Brasiletto* grows only on the islands of Curaçao, Aruba, and Bonaire. Though Dutch cloth was favored for its lightness through seventeenth century Europe, there was intense

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35 Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland*.


38 Gehring and Schiltkamp, *Curaçao Papers*, 90.

competition for these dyes from French, Dutch, and English linen workers. This made the acquisition of Caribbean dyewood even more critical. The ship’s supercargo in charge of goods, Laurens van Ruyven, was compelled to stay behind in Curaçao as the new West India Company commissary on the island, after the current commissary died unexpectedly. On its departure, *De Liefde* stopped briefly at Aruba to load 23,100 additional pounds of dyewood, cut by the Amerindians there. The ship took on water and firewood before leaving on the final leg of its journey—a return to Amsterdam in the swift eastward Atlantic current.\(^40\)

A deeper focus on the Atlantic Ocean as a space of human interaction, especially its ships as the true and primary connectors of seventeenth-century Atlantic spaces, offers a potential new analytical framework for understanding Atlantic History. Examining the voyage of *De Liefde* tells us much about Atlantic History by the reach of the network created by ships on the Atlantic Ocean, involving the circulation of provisions, supplies, commodities, animals, and personnel. It allows us to examine trade routes, shedding light on how these routes were determined and the logistics required for preparing a transatlantic journey. It demonstrates provisioning and commodities exchanges in the Dutch North Atlantic as well as how and where some goods were procured. It illustrates the culture aboard merchant ships and the flexible, often contingent roles that crews, and the ship, itself, had to play for survival and in support of the maritime community. And it demonstrates how the shipped goods were used in the colonies. Each leg of the journey of *De Liefde* is an apt demonstration of how these interactions took place via the ocean, not as an interlude but as an everyday occurrence and, for some, a way of life. Atlantic History would do well to focus on the individual interactions that linked people across its various expanses. Sailing vessels have traditionally been thought of as cogs in the wheel of Atlantic trade systems, but they were much more than that. The activities of these ships were essential to, and compelled much of, what occurred in the Atlantic region. Ships were the imperative in the equation, connecting the people and goods in these various spaces without ever touching land.

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\(^40\) Gehring and Schiltkamp, *Curaçao Papers*, 94.
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5–6, 13–14.
When it comes to horror film monsters, there is perhaps none more prolific than the vampire. With their otherworldly demeanor, sharp fangs, and thirst for human blood, vampires have had a presence in American cinema for almost nine decades. While the appearance and goals of these monsters has changed over time, the psychological role of the vampire as an embodiment of the fears of the dominating culture remains constant. Popular American vampire films with widespread releases such as Dracula (1931) and The Addiction (1995) demonstrate these changes. Through these films I analyze how the portrayal of the vampire has shifted over time, as well as the connection between the shift in this portrayal and U.S. national fears. For this paper, popular means that the films analyzed had a widespread release in the United States. I have chosen film representations of vampires because the vampire of the cinema became the first truly American monster. Prior to popular vampire films, there was no mythical or legendary monstrous figure who represented the fears of the American people in popular culture. With an exploration of the vampire in American cinema, the underpinning fears of the dominant society become manifest and give scholars a glimpse into how society can adopt new phobias and tensions relatively quickly.

Historians have studied shifts in the representations of vampires in American cinema, including Nina Auerbach (1995), Laurence Rickels (1999), and Aspasia Stephanou (2014), and have built on one another to account for the cause of these shifts.¹ That said, connections between the portrayals of

vampires and threats to the national identity and persona are under-studied and in need of further examination. Therefore, by periodizing vampire portrayals in twentieth-century American cinema into three distinct periods, it becomes clear that the end of each representation period coincides with a change in the dominant national fears. These fears were ultimately linked to an idea that the national “body” was in danger of being corrupted by the vampire.\(^2\)

I begin this paper by addressing the earliest period of vampire representation, which I refer to as the Americanization years, then explain subsequent periods: The Blood-Red Menace, and, more recently, The Contagion. For each period, I analyze the representation of vampires in period films, the relationship between their depictions and U.S. national fears, and the shift from early representations of vampires to more current representations.

**Americanization of the Vampire**

The advent of vampire cinema in the United States started with the 1931 release of film studio Universal’s and director Tod Browning’s adaptation of Dracula. This marked the first period of vampire cinema which ran until approximately 1945.\(^3\) While other pseudo-vampire American films predate Dracula, such as the 1927 film London After Midnight, Browning’s seminal classic embodied the fears of the period and set the stage for future vampire

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\(^2\) Stephanou, *Reading Vampire Gothic*, 47-66. Stephanou argues about the connection between blame, blood, and the national identity. She pulls from the British Morley Roberts who argued that the nation could be seen as a host and any threat to the nation could be categorized a disease or growth that could be destroyed. Stephanou uses this view, a bio-political one, to analyze vampire novels. In this particular chapter she looks at AIDS and vampires in fiction. I have taken the ideas she presents and drew from, and changed them in order to analyze vampire films.

\(^3\) *Dracula*, Directed by Tod Browning (Universal City, California: Universal Studios, 1931), DVD. *Dracula* is the most widely known vampire film of the Americanization period, but it is not the only one. I chose it as it is the progenitor to the entire genre of vampire film, but other vampire films from this period include *Dracula’s Daughter* (1936) and *Son of Dracula* (1943). Both films were a product of Universal Studio.
cinema.\textsuperscript{4} Given that \textit{Dracula} was one of the earliest published vampire stories, film-maker and film historian Donald F. Glut wrote that \textit{Dracula} also “began the first cycle of authentic horror films in the United States.”\textsuperscript{5}

The cinematic vampire of the earliest period is the classic Byronic figure, centered around Count Dracula or his heretofore unknown children. He – and, in early vampire cinema, it is almost always a he – is seductive, erotic, and possesses “a hypnotic power which makes its questionable charms seem irresistible to its victims.”\textsuperscript{6} This earliest American cinematic vampire is perhaps the most foreign of all. While later films would sometimes portray the vampire as foreign, the early Draculas created the image of an invasive foreign monster remarkably different from Stoker’s vampire. Whereas in the 1897 novel \textit{Dracula} is described as wearing all black, having a large white mustache, bushy eyebrows, and pointed ears, Browning’s work portrays the count as a suave, well-groomed, tuxedo clad aristocrat.\textsuperscript{7} The foreignness of Dracula was made more pronounced and modern for the early twentieth century cinema audience. Later vampire films followed the same formula of the smooth foreign aristocrat who arrives in the city and attempts to corrupt the locals by turning them into vampires. Subsequent films of the period focused on Dracula’s fictional aristocratic children.

The films of the Americanization period not only emphasized the foreignness of the vampiric threat, but also focused on the quasi-sacredness of blood. One particularly noteworthy scene, occurring early in \textit{Dracula}, can illustrate this. Having just met the Count, solicitor Reinfield follows him up a winding staircase covered in cobwebs until, at the top, he breaks through an

\textsuperscript{4} The classic German vampire-film \textit{Nosferatu} was released in the United States two years prior to \textit{Dracula}. Even though \textit{Nosferatu} predates \textit{Dracula} the intended German shaped the design of the film’s vampire Count Orlock. Orlock embodied many of the anti-Semitic tropes present in Germany it must be excluded from this conversation pertaining to vampire films created primarily for American audiences, or those films which were heavily influenced by the fears present in the United States. It is interesting to contrast the repulsive visage of Count Orlock with other traditionally alluring and charming vampires such as Count Dracula or Carmilla. For a more in-depth look at the connection between vampires and antisemitism in Europe see Brenda S. Gardenour Walter, \textit{Our old monsters: witches, werewolves and vampires from medieval theology to horror cinema} (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland Publishing, 2015).

\textsuperscript{5} Donald F. Glut, \textit{The Dracula Book} (Metuchen, N.J: Scarecrow Press Inc, 1975), 119.

\textsuperscript{6} Alain Silver and James Ursini, \textit{The Vampire Film: From Nosferatu to Bram Stoker’s Dracula} – 3rd ed. (Winona, Minnesota: Limelight Editions, 2004), 54.

enormous web. Dracula remarks, “A spider spinning his web for the unwary fly. The blood is the life, Mr. Renfield.” Not only does this scene address the sacred nature of the blood, but it also reinforces the foreignness of Dracula. Bella Lugosi in his portrayal, due to the fact that he himself was an immigrant, made the foreign origins of the Count quite clear. In the novel, Dracula remarks to Jonathan Harker about his ambition to blend in with the locals in England. The count states, “none there are who would not know me for a stranger. That is not enough for me.” In the book Dracula cares about blending in and wishing to assimilate into English culture, but the film expresses a cultural anxiety about foreigners who do not seek to become part of the national identity. Such foreigners existed in a state that fundamentally threatened the safety of the nation by their refusal to assimilate. In this state, they could change the nation rather than the country changing the immigrant.

Additionally, throughout the film, Professor Van Helsing makes comments such as “[the vampire] must have blood or it dies.” After confronting Dracula, Van Helsing declares that the vampire “has fused his blood with that of Miss Mina. In life, she will now become the foul thing of the night that he is.” Most films in this period also hinted at the possibility of a conspiracy, or ignorance, that keeps the vampire from public knowledge and thus allows the danger to the public body to exist unhindered. This can be argued to be more of a case of ignorance as Van Helsing comments, “the superstition of yesterday can become the scientific reality of today.”

The cinema of this period demonstrated the foreign nature of the vampire and emphasized sacredness and power of blood. Even so, it is more difficult to ascertain the dominant fear of the time from a simple analysis of the films. There was no coherently visible social fear; there was no one group of “other” that could be pointed to as a source of concern. The films of the 1930s and early 1940s give credence to an argument for a general anxiety about foreigners/immigrants and how those foreign forces would hurt and ultimately destroy the nation. However, as difficult as it is to point to a specific fear pertaining to foreigners, the films of the Americanization period did provide evidence for

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8 Dracula, 11:38. Stoker, Dracula, 30.
10 Dracula, 62:55.
a fear of what can be described as “reverse-colonialism.”\textsuperscript{11} This is the way by which the former colonizing country is dramatically changed by the country which it once changed. This could also be seen as unease at the colonizing nation’s ability to control the colonized. After all, the only way the vampire could even succeed is if it were not completely destroyed by the dominating colonizer.

This fear of a reverse-colonialism, historian Rickels argues, is a kind of projection. Rickels states, “It is the East that threatens to attack the West; it is not we who are actively colonizing (and in effect cannibalizing) the East: it is the East that is packed with the animals and subhumans [sic] whose drive Westward we must stop in our tracks back East.”\textsuperscript{12} According to Rickels, the fear was that the vampire was an adept foreign threat who was able to use the previous colonial and interventionist policies of the United States against the nation. This foreign “other” was back for revenge and there was the possibility that the “other” could succeed in doing to the United States what Western society had done to the rest of the world. The danger existed in the possibility of Dracula succeeding in his mission, stripping away the Protestant Christian faith of much of Western society. Vampirism is in this way a form of forced conversion and results in the former Christian suddenly feeling complete revulsion to the beliefs and artifacts that had once provided comfort.

Not just a threat to faith, a victory by Dracula also meant that the vampire could take humanity back to a pre-industrial world. The world that the vampire inhabited was, to the audience, an archaic place of nobility and lacked the scientific advancements that appeared in early twentieth-century America. The cold, lifeless, and pre-industrial world that Dracula lives in stands in stark relief to the heroes who possess then-modern items, such as record players.

\textit{Dracula} was released less than two years into the Great Depression and captured the myriad of fears present: foreign influences, which were barely perceived or understood, that threatened the values and stability of a good, Christian society.\textsuperscript{13} The film vampire seems thus to conjure a “dark nostalgia” of a time before the Industrial Revolution; a time of plague, decadence, and paganism which through the eternal vampire threatened the order and restraint

\textsuperscript{11} Dracula, 41:27.

\textsuperscript{12} Rickels, \textit{The Vampire Lectures}, 12

of Western civilization. The cinematic vampire of this period embodied a foreign “other” that sought to regress the U.S. back into a world of chaos and decadence. Ultimately, “by virtue of its loathsome practices,” this vampire is “necessarily antithetical to society and its values.” This initial vampire was quite different from the representation that began appearing fourteen years later.

Cold War Fears: The Blood-Red Menace

Beginning in 1945 and ending in 1984, this second period of American vampire cinema offered an alternative view of vampires, aided by technological changes. Filmmakers could create more visually distinctive films, which embodied shifting public fears. While the previous era of vampire cinema was concerned with a more modern fear of foreigners, the movies of this period were interested in communism. Additionally, vampire cinema shifted away from relying solely on Dracula and his kin as the antagonists of films and staged a variety of new and threatening characters. While there were entire film series dedicated to the Count and his quest for blood, thanks to Hammer Horror Film Studios that played a large part in keeping the legacy of Dracula alive, other movies moved towards an emphasis on vampire slayers rather than the vampire itself, while still addressing the public’s fears.

The Last Man on Earth (1964) reflected on what it meant to be human and had moved away from a singular vampiric antagonist in order to address humanistic fears. However, it did so in a way that also addressed specific national

14 W. Scott Poole, Monsters in America: Our Historical Obsession with the Hideous and the Haunting (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2014), 59.
15 Silver and Ursini, The Vampire Film, 55.
16 For this period, I have chosen to analyze three films that are representative of the period: House of Dracula, Directed by Erle C. Kenton (Universal City, California: Universal Studios, 1945), DVD; Horror of Dracula, Directed by Terence Fisher (London: Hammer Film Productions, 1958), DVD; The Last Man on Earth, Directed by Ubaldo Ragona and Sidney Salkow (Los Angeles: American International Pictures, 1964), DVD. Other representative films of this period include: The Vampire (1957), and Scars of Dracula (1970), and Lemora (1975).
17 For this paper I include Hammer Films as being part of the American film tradition, but on a caveat. Because it is a British film company, I would not have included it, but ties to American producers tinged the films in a way to make the Hammer Horror films somewhat American.
fears. In the film, a scientist named Dr. Robert Morgan struggles daily as the last human against what seems to be an endless horde of vampires. He is the lone survivor whose blood is unpolluted. Morgan is thus justified, in his own views, in destroying the corrupted humanity around him. Morgan here is both the last human and an embodiment of an America that exists in a hostile world that has been taken over by a collective mass of “freaks” who wish to have total control of the world. While earlier a “master” vampire often orchestrated everything, in The Last Man on Earth vampires have a mob mentality and are more like the peasant revolutionaries that ushered in communism in Russia.

Additionally, another key shift during this time period was the movement towards a more apocalyptic depiction of the vampire. Dracula only hinted at the possibility of what could happen if the vampire succeeded. There was always the prospect that an army of vampires could arise if the protagonists failed to defeat the monster, but the threat was never fully realized. The viewer was left to wonder whether or not Dracula would have continued to convert others into the undead after turning Mina Harker into one of his brides. As ambiguous as the apocalyptic threat was during the first period, the films of this second period, Last Man and Horror of Dracula in particular, removed any sense of uncertainty and showed the viewers what would happen if the vampire and, by extension, the communists won. Dracula had brought death with him to the West, but the undead of this period brought with them the apocalypse. Describing the vampire as “less of a specter of an undead past,” Auerbach argues instead that the creature is “a harbinger of a world to come.” This undead world to come would be cold and emotionless; it would be devoid of true, meaningful love and life.

Lastly, one can note that in the films of this period there was a shift towards a more naturalistic explanation for vampirism. While in earlier films vampires are clearly supernatural in origin, and more specifically satanic, later

18 The Last Man on Earth, Directed by Ubaldo Ragona and Sidney Salkow (Los Angeles: American International Pictures, 1964), DVD.

19 The world of Last Man has already been described and I would just note that its post-apocalyptic world varies slightly from that of Horror of Dracula. While Horror is post-apocalyptic the threat in this film is far more concrete than Dracula (1931). Dracula’s strong interest in adding additional members to his undead family in Horror meant that a world not unlike the one presented in Last Man was possible.

20 Auerbach, Our Vampires, Ourselves, 63.
films, like Last Man and House of Dracula, found a biological basis for the creatures. In Last Man, it is bacteria that turns humans into the undead while in House of Dracula it is a parasite found in the blood which leads to un-life. In addition, it was not just in the origin of the vampire that science challenged the film vampire, modern medical techniques threatened the method by which vampires converted others. In both Horror of Dracula and House of Dracula the otherworldly threat of Dracula is shown to be surmountable as a blood transfusion is able to keep the effects of vampirism at bay.

In general, there was a tendency within the films of this period to make the origin and nature of the vampire even more natural by removing supernatural abilities such as the transformation into bats and wolves. This shift towards a more realistic existence occurred at the same time the international threat of the Cold War became more tangible. The shifts were “from solitary to multiple and communal,” and “from magical to mundane.” The shifts “demythologize the vampire, transform it from Satan’s agent on Earth into someone who more nearly resembles a member of a secret society or a subversive political association.” Whereas before the fear was vague and concerned with diffuse, diverse, and unknowable influences, the fear of communism and, by extension, nuclear annihilation, was far more concrete. As the threat to the national body became more tangible, it followed that the source of vampirism, the source of what can corrupt the “blood” of the nation, would also become more tangible.

However, at the same time that vampires were given naturalistic explanation for their origin, they also had begun to react more violently to the traditional means of repulsion, such as garlic and crosses. Previously, a cross would have caused a vampire to back away from the holy object, but the vampires of this period responded with snarls and were physically hurt by the presence of the cross. In Horror of Dracula, placing a crucifix in Mina’s

21 Aspasia Stephanou, Reading Vampire Gothic, 34-36.

22 Aspasia Stephanou, Reading Vampire Gothic, 35. Stephanou notes in the particular example of House of Dracula that Dracula himself somewhat inverts this as he uses the scientific approach of a transfusion rather than his bite to corrupt Dr. Edelmann.

23 In Horror of Dracula, Van Helsing, when Arthur Holmwood brings up the idea of vampires turning into wolves or bats, states that, “That’s a common fantasy,” 55:41.

hand causes her to become ill and the image of the crucifix to be burnt into her flesh.\textsuperscript{25} Sunlight also proved to be deadlier for vampires of this period. Previously, it was only a means to weaken the creatures, but later it became a weapon against the undead. In Dracula (1931), Dracula needs to flee sunlight not because it will destroy him, but because it would leave him vulnerable to attack. Conversely, in both House of Dracula and Horror of Dracula, it is the purifying powers of the sun that turns Dracula to dust. In a way, exposing the communist threat to the world destroys the ability of the communists to exist. These violent reactions reinforced a connection between communism and atheism. Vampires, like communists, were godless, and it made sense that they would be repelled or hurt by the divinity behind such objects. God would clearly favor the faithful vampire hunters, faithful Americans, over those that would defy him.

This period in American vampire cinema was defined by multiple shifts in the depiction of vampires. There was a general movement towards a more naturalistic explanation for vampirism. Additionally, some form of an apocalypse was more likely to occur now than during the Americanization period. The vampire threat had grown beyond the single blood-drinker of the 1930s and early 1940s. It was no longer a singular threat that could potentially destroy a nation. Instead, the danger became one of a legion of “others” who would corrupt or destroy those who were loyal to society. These changes would continue into the next, and last, period of American vampire cinema. The threats of the Cold War would fade and new dangers would arise from within the national body.

\textbf{The 1980’s and Beyond: Drugs, Sex, and Disease}

The year 1985 did not signal the end of the Cold War, but it was the first year of the final period of American vampire films. With a new generation of filmgoers, and new crises threatening American national identity, filmmakers transformed yet again the depiction of the vampire to address the needs of the nation. The public was no longer completely obsessed with the Cold War or communists. Instead, drug and sex addiction, HIV/AIDS, and homosexuality

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\textsuperscript{25} Horror of Dracula, 1:02:43.
\end{flushright}
had come to replace the menacing specter of the scheming anti-Americans.\textsuperscript{26} In the place of the Cold War horrors, the public was left to face their fears of an in-born threat that could destroy the nation in both body and soul.

One key aspect that distinguished the vampire films of this period from prior periods was the directness with which the films addressed the darker side of humans, which vampires more fully embraced. Specifically, the films openly depicted the taboo desires that vampires embodied. After all, vampires were the perfect means to address minority sexualities and yearnings because, as Cynthia Freeland describes, they are “polymorphously perverse.” This “perversion,” according to Freeland, lies in their search for blood, which is subversive because “[vampires] can find physical intimacy with a person of almost any gender, age, race, or social class.”\textsuperscript{27} Therefore, since vampires could fulfill their cravings from anyone, they were able to transcend societal distinctions that had previously separated the different classes and ranks of society from each other.

This perversion was on full display in the 1995 film, \textit{The Addiction}. While other American vampire films of the time had made passing references to vampirism as a destructive compulsion, \textit{The Addiction} confronted the audience directly with this idea. The vampires in \textit{The Addiction} are only immortal as long as they give into their thirst for blood and, if they resist, they slowly become human. Here, foregoing human blood is analogous to going “cold turkey” with a shared feeling of weakness. The main character, recently-turned vampire and graduate student Kathleen Conklin, demonstrates to the audience the destructive connection between the vampire’s desire for blood and a junkie’s desire for drugs. Soon after transforming, Kathleen is shown sticking a needle into a homeless man’s arm and then injecting herself with his blood. Further into the movie, the audience was treated to more drug metaphors as Kathleen attacks the lower members of society, turning them into vampires, thus hinting at an idea that the poor in society are more likely to fall prey to addictive habits.

The culpability of the poor victims in their own victimization was also addressed by this movie. In \textit{The Addiction}, the different vampires blame

\textsuperscript{26} There are two films from this period that I chose to examine. \textit{The Lost Boys}, Directed by Joel Schumacher (Burbank: Warner Bros, 1987), DVD; \textit{The Addiction}, Directed by Abel Ferrar (Universal City, California: October Films, 1995), DVD. Other representative films from the Contagion include \textit{Modern Vampires} (1998) and \textit{Bram Stoker’s Dracula} (1992).

their victims for the victim’s inability to stop them from drinking from, and thus corrupting, their bodies.\textsuperscript{28} If the intended victim was unwilling to fight back or scream did that mean they secretly desired what was about to happen? Could, or more importantly should, the infected be blamed for the pain and suffering that had been inflicted on them? The filmgoer was left to think that the victim, representing those who were either predisposed to drug addiction or homosexuality, had a natural fault that made them unable to resist and more easily corruptible. This early scene also involves issues of both sexuality and disease as it is after the main character is violated in a very sexual manner, the vampire presses up against Kathleen and licks her neck, that the vampire drinks from her and condemns her to un-life and addiction. Later, a doctor tries to comfort Kathleen by telling her that “the AIDS virus couldn’t manifest itself so quickly.”\textsuperscript{29} It is only after Kathleen is unable to order the vampire to leave her alone that she is bitten.

Similarly, the vampires of \textit{The Lost Boys} (1987) also suffer from a form of dependency, but not in the same many as that of \textit{The Addiction}. In this film they, the titular Lost Boys, are thrill seekers who are always out for their next adrenaline fix. Early in the film the Lost Boys hang from a trestle as a train crosses above. Obviously not worried about death they one-by-one let go and feel the rush as they hurtle towards the ground.\textsuperscript{30} The eternal youth that was given to them when they were made vampires is both an opportunity and, in a way, an obligation to seek out new dangers. For without that jolt of near un-death experiences, the price of immortality is hard to bear. Throughout the film the vampiric teens engage in various forms of decadence out of what can only be described as sheer boredom. These two examples show outcast members of society who need their “fix” in order to continue living but the fulfillment has to come through ways that the dominant society would see as either reckless or horrifying. Obviously, one is far more transgressive than the other, but both films are displays of taboo, by the national standards, behavior.\textsuperscript{31}

Of course, the vampires in the films of the Contagion period were not the first to display “unnatural” behavior, but here it is far more tangible than

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\textsuperscript{28} Stephanou, \textit{Reading Vampire Gothic}, 47-66.
\textsuperscript{29} \textit{The Addiction}, 05:15.
\textsuperscript{30} \textit{The Lost Boys}, 0:34:10-0:37:12.
\textsuperscript{31} Part of the tagline for \textit{The Lost Boys} is “Sleep all day. Party all night.”
\end{flushleft}
ever before. Here the thirst for blood, or excitement, was tied directly to what it meant to be a vampire. During this period the desires of the vampire became a necessity, a compulsion that had to be fed, and the fulfilment thereof threatened to corrupt or destroy the rest of the society. The vampirism of this period was far more threatening because, in the films of the period, it often only took a single bite or drop of blood for the human to be turned into a vampire. Previous vampires did not pose nearly the same threat level as those of this period. What once took the death of the intended victim now could be accomplished with a quick bite. A one-night stand replaced the older, courting nature of the vampire.

The treatment of sex and sexuality proved to be a key difference between the movies of this period and those of prior periods. Due, in part, to a more relaxed rating system, vampire films were able to discuss openly what prior films had been forced to hide or carefully maneuver around. As previously alluded to earlier, vampirism was often treated as the result of a sexual act; making it into a kind cannibalistic national STD, and in particular, one that could be compared to HIV/AIDS, which continued its existence by infecting and corrupting other members of the nation. Such a connection existed, as Richard Goldstein argues, because of “the fears and fantasies of those who regard the world of AIDS as emblematic of the ‘other.’”32 With the vampire being the ultimate “other,” it makes sense that the vampire became connected to HIV/AIDS and homosexuality.

Additionally, one can note the films also addressed homosexuality in a different, and more direct, approach than had previous films. It was neither a completely open nor unbiased approach, but it was far more obvious than what had been depicted before. In The Addiction there are repeatedly clear sexual tones between, initially, the female vampire who turns Kathleen and Kathleen herself, and, later, between Kathleen and her mostly female victims. Seduction, which played a major part in vampire stories films, was far more explicit in films during this period in comparison to similar seduction in earlier films such as Dracula’s Daughter (1936), especially seduction between women. Male homosexuality was handled similarly as demonstrated by the sexuality present in The Lost Boys. In the film there is obvious flirtation happening between the main character, Michael Emerson, and the leader of the Lost Boys, David. Originally meant to

be food for one of the new members of the vampire family, it is only after a soulful gaze between David and Michael that David decides to convert Michael rather than feed. Hinting at the homosexuality of the Lost Boys, David later asks, “How far are you willing to go, Michael?” The question really being asked is how far is Michael willing to go to fit in. The film asks Michael if he is willing to give up both his mortality and morality in order to be forever young.

It could be argued that the depiction of homosexuality in the films was no more open than that of the vampire Carmilla, the trio of Dracula’s brides, or the homoerotic connection between Harker and Dracula, but that would be erroneous. Those earlier female vampires hinted at a romantic or sexual relationship, but never went as far as to depict the female vampire as kissing, licking, or erotically embracing a woman before drinking blood. Even though such content was handled in a more open way, however, did not mean that it presented a favorable view of homosexuality. In general, the former-heterosexual characters of the films only displayed attraction towards the same sex once they had been tainted by a vampire. Thus, vampirism not only inflicted an individual with a perverse desire for the blood, the “life force” of the person and nation, but also a profane desire for the same sex. Ever-present was the fear that the sexually deviant vampire lurked around the corner. Emerging from the shadows, he would infect others with his sickness transforming the hopeless victim into a being just as sick and twisted in body and soul as he.

During this final period in vampire cinema, drugs, sex, and sexuality became the driving forces behind the depiction of the undead. With the threats of the Cold War fading, new dangers were addressed through cinema. A plague, that seemed to only hit gay men and drug users since, at the time, they were perhaps the most “other” of minorities, provided a new terror for the American public to worry about. Drugs, sex, and sexuality were perfect for a creature that eschewed normal societal rules and corrupted those around it.

**Conclusion**

This paper has explored the evolution of vampire cinema in twentieth-century America. Building upon the work of other researchers and through

33 _The Lost Boys_, 00:20:25-00:21:21.

34 _The Lost Boys_, 00:24:25.
the analysis of contemporary films, I have argued that there were three distinct periods in American vampire cinema. The trajectory of vampire cinema is easy to chart. The vampire emerged as a figure on the silver screen in 1931. In the earliest stage of vampire cinema, the undead embodied a general feeling of unease towards foreigners (with the basis in the idea of reverse colonialism). With the beginning of the Cold War, communists became the de facto threat to the national body. The vampire became more antagonistic towards religious symbols and adopted the role of a harbinger of apocalyptic change that threatened the American identity. The communist vampire died out in the 1980s and was replaced in movies by a hyper-sexualized creature that embodied fears of drugs, disease, and sex. Each period changed how the vampire acted and, more importantly, what national fears were being represented by the blood-drinkers. Weaknesses were explored, desires confronted, and both were strongly connected to popular ideas about the “other.” The vampire proved to be an excellent vehicle to portray threats to the national identity, which could be polluted or destroyed by the vampiric “other.”
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Much of the history of the United States revolves around people who have left their homeland, risking the lives of loved ones while searching for economic opportunity or escaping from some form of persecution. Most of these ambitious adventurers travelled thousands of miles to a strange foreign land where they knew few people, settling in small communities of individuals that shared some sort of religious, ethnic, or regional commonality. It was in these communities that immigrants found comfort and security, developing new identities in a new environment through their religion, art, clothing, and industry. American cities are still made up of many of these immigrant neighborhoods, from Little Italy in New York City to Chinatown in San Francisco. How do these ethnic and religious enclaves develop? What happens to them after subsequent generations become Americanized and lose touch with ancestral traditions? Moreover, how do some communities retain their traditional identity while also integrating into a vastly different culture?

In the southeast corner of Michigan, west of Lake Erie, lies the city of Dearborn, birthplace of Henry Ford and host of Ford Motor Company’s world headquarters. But Dearborn’s identity is not limited to the automobile. Dearborn also happens to be the home of the largest Arab community in the United States. Immigrating from Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Yemen, and Palestine, Arab Americans have become an integral part of Dearborn’s community, establishing businesses, building homes, and engaging in local politics. While other groups left the city during periods of economic decline, Arab Americans have steadily increased in population over the last one hundred years. Today, many Americans consider Dearborn to be the cultural center of Islam in the United States; it hosts the largest mosque in North America, the first Arab American newspaper in the country, and the Arab American National Mu-
seum. The story of this community is similar to the stories of other groups that have immigrated to the United States—challenging times of economic insecurity and prejudice, followed by periods of prosperity and integration, all while struggling to maintain a balance between Americanization and cultural traditionalism. At the same time, Arab Americans in Dearborn have been steadfast in their efforts to preserve their culture, even in the face of adversity. Generations after their families immigrated to a secular nation, Muslim women still wear the hijab and burka regularly, while many families continue to uphold their ancestral religious customs, praying several times per day and maintaining dietary restrictions.1

In a 2009 lecture at a Dearborn mosque, Dr. Jamal Badawi, a professor of Islamic Studies at Saint Mary’s University in Nova Scotia, reflected on Muslim interaction with non-Muslims, focusing on three themes: isolation, assimilation, and “positive integration.” Badawi urged his audience to reject both isolationism and assimilation in order to pursue the path of “positive integration,” where Muslims “maintain their cultural and religious distinctiveness, all the while participating in the larger society as full citizens.”2 In the case of Dearborn, Arab Americans had already integrated years before Badawi’s visit. After decades of being pushed and pulled by the forces of assimilation and isolation, the Arab community in Dearborn followed the path of positive integration, not because of a collective choice, but due to a number of external pressures. In the second half of the twentieth century, a constant flow of new immigrants into the city prevented the community from completely assimilating into the melting pot of American culture. At the same time, verbal attacks and protests by non-Muslims from other regions of the country prevented Dearborn Arabs from completely isolating themselves. This is not to say they

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1 The hijab and burka are types of Islamic clothing designed to cover the head or face of a woman as a symbol of modesty and religious faith. “What’s the difference between a hijab, niqab and burka?” BBC, accessed April 4, 2019, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news-round/24118241. Shi’a Muslims perform salah, or prayer, three times per day, while Sunni Muslims perform salah five times per day. “Centre for Islamic Shi’a Studies,” accessed April 4, 2019, https://www.shiastudies.org. In the 1990s, Barbara Aswad, professor of anthropology at Wayne State University, remarked that while walking down Warren Avenue she felt “transplanted back to the Middle East,” as she noticed men in “Muslim and village attire” (see footnote 49).

did not have individual agency, but rather that the Arab community in Dearborn was compelled to make a series of difficult choices that would shape the culture and identity of their neighborhoods. There were two paths, traditionalism and Americanization, and the Arab Americans of Dearborn were forced down both routes simultaneously. This is an examination of the forces and events that formed one of the largest Arab communities outside of the Middle East, as well as an effort to understand how this community has been able to maintain its traditions while simultaneously integrating into American culture. As waves of immigration from the Middle East nourished Arab culture and tradition in Dearborn, surges in political participation and engagement with other identity groups helped to establish a powerful voting bloc and a community that could not be marginalized.

Over the last century, five events have been central to the formation of the Arab-American identity in Dearborn. While some of these events may have been of greater significance than others, each played a critical role in the development of the community. The first major event was a wave of immigration from the Middle East in the early twentieth century, sparked by new economic opportunities in the automobile industry. These new immigrants settled in Dearborn in enclaves of those with similar ethnic and religious backgrounds, creating one of the first Arab communities in America. By the 1930s, many of the Arab Muslim immigrants felt that their children were losing connection with their religious heritage and set out to build mosques in the city. This was the second significant event for Arab Americans in Dearborn. The years of planning and construction of these mosques strengthened the community and united residents around a common culture. Third, the Immigration Act of 1965 had an immense impact on the local community as waves of new immigrants from Yemen and southern Lebanon imported more traditional conceptions of Islam, transforming the collective identity of Arab neighborhoods. The fourth major event occurred in the mid-1980s, when a conservative politician and a television movie perpetuated negative stereotypes about the community, forcing local Arabs to band together and fight back with a massive campaign calling for increased political participation. Finally, after the events of September 11, 2001, government officials and right-wing activists began to scrutinize and criticize the Arabs in Dearborn, creating a tense environment within the city. In spite of this agitation from outsiders, local residents largely
supported the community and treated them with respect. This suggested that the population had completely integrated into the city, having done so without sacrificing neither their cultural nor religious character. Each of these events is examined in greater detail below.

**Origins and Demographics**

Dearborn is located in Wayne County, Michigan, on the southwest corner of Detroit. Originally a dense forest area that Native Americans used for hunting and fishing, the region had no permanent residents until the late eighteenth century. The town was settled in 1786 by people of French ancestry, though by the nineteenth century most Dearborn residents were of Scottish and Scotch-Irish descent. Named after Revolutionary War hero Major Henry Dearborn, the city served as the United States Arsenal for the Western Frontier from the 1830s to the 1860s and a training center for Union troops during the Civil War. The arsenal officially closed in 1875, but its presence over four decades transformed Dearborn from a farming town into a small industrial city. Boom times were ahead. In 1918, Henry Ford completed construction on a new automobile factory in the city when the population was less than 5,000.³ Ford offered workers a generous salary of five dollars per day, attracting thousands of Americans looking for a higher standard of living. A period of rapid growth followed. By 1929, the factory employed 103,000 people, though most of them lived outside Dearborn.⁴ The city continued to grow and diversify throughout the twentieth century, building a sizable healthcare industry and a campus for the University of Michigan. However, its identity would be forever linked to the Ford Motor Company,


as Dearborn currently hosts both its world headquarters and the Henry Ford Museum of American Innovation. Today, Dearborn is the eighth largest city in the state of Michigan. It is also known for having the largest population of Arab Americans in the United States per capita.\(^5\)

The traditional source for racial and ethnic demographics by city is the United States Census Bureau; however, collecting data on Arab Americans has always been a difficult endeavor. The U.S. Census has categorized Arab Americans as “Whites” in population counts since 1952 and the organization did not focus on Arabs as an ethnic group until recently. The census does not provide data for religious affiliation or sect and there has also been a reluctance by some in the Arab community to participate in demographic surveys, especially since 9/11.\(^6\) In July 2004, the Census Bureau released data about Arab Americans by city to the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). When questioned by Arab American rights groups about the collection of data, “the DHS said they needed the information to put up Arabic signage in airports.” Because the department realized this would be viewed as a form of racial profiling, DHS officials later apologized and stated that they would not use the data.\(^7\) Another problem is the definition of the word, “Arab.” What exactly constitutes Arab ancestry? Is it the country of origin? If so, which countries specifically? Is it the Arabic language? There is much disagreement on this subject. In 2003, the U.S. Census Bureau released its first report on Americans who claimed Arab ancestry, while also “noting the lack of consensus about the definition of an Arab ethnic category.”\(^8\)

Despite these issues, data on the population of Arabs in Dearborn


\(^6\) Rosina J. Hassoun, *Arab Americans in Michigan* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2001), 5-6, accessed May 10, 2018, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/sfsu/detail.action?docID=3338239. “Arab Americans were reclassified by the United States Census Bureau from ‘Turks in Asia’ to ‘Syrians’ in the early 1900s and then to ‘White’ after 1952.” According to the Arab American Institute, Syrian immigrants in the early twentieth century successfully argued before American courts that they should be considered white (for naturalization purposes) because of their Syrian Caucasian origin.

\(^7\) Hassoun, 6.

has been compiled in a number of studies (see Figure 1) in recent years. The census report titled “Arab Population 2000” estimated that there were 29,181 Arab Americans in Dearborn out of a total of 97,759 residents.9 The Arab American Institute, co-founded by Dr. James Zogby, claimed that there were roughly 20,000 Arabs out of a population of 100,000 in 1985.10 The Charter County of Wayne estimated that 40,930 Dearborn residents claimed Arab ancestry out of a total population of 98,153, in 2010.11 While the number of residents in Dearborn has remained constant for decades, the proportion of Arabs has increased dramatically.

The breakdown of Arab Americans by ancestry or religion is even more problematic. One extensive survey of the Arab population provided details of religious backgrounds and countries of origin, but it focused on the larger Detroit metropolitan area rather than the city of Dearborn. Nevertheless, some general observations about the ancestry of the Dearborn Arab community can be made based on discussions with long-time residents and the American Community Survey, a year-round study conducted by the U.S.

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9 Cruz and Brittingham, “The Arab Population.”


Census Bureau.\textsuperscript{12} Today, the largest group of Arabs in Dearborn are of Lebanese ancestry, primarily from the Bint Jbeil region of southern Lebanon.\textsuperscript{13} The second largest Arab group in Dearborn originated from Yemen and the third largest immigrated from Iraq.\textsuperscript{14} Together, these three populations make up the vast majority of Arabs in Dearborn today. Large numbers of Palestinians have lived in Dearborn at certain times over the last sixty years but have since “moved en masse to Cleveland.”\textsuperscript{15} Approximately 27% of Dearborn residents are foreign-born and about 5% have immigrated since 2010.\textsuperscript{16} Other ancestral groups from the Middle East have dispersed across the larger Detroit metropolitan area.

Dearborn’s residents include significant populations from the two main sects of Islam, Sunni and Shi’a. Despite broad agreement on most aspects of Islam, Sunni and Shi’a Muslims have one crucial difference that has historically been a source of tension. In 632 A.D., when the Prophet Muhammad died, Muslims disagreed over who would become the next leader of the faith. Shi’a Muslims believed that the prophet’s family was divine and proposed that one of the Prophet Muhammad’s cousins become the spiritual leader of Islam, or caliph. Sunni Muslims argued that the next leader should be chosen by consensus. This difference, compounded with subsequent disagreements, has since led to conflict throughout the Middle East. Much of the animosity between the two sects is due to a power differential—Sunni Muslims have held most of the political power in the region, often marginalizing and mistreating the minority Shi’a populations. Today, more than 85% of the world’s Muslims belong to the Sunni sect.\textsuperscript{17} Although the exact percentages are unknown, Shi’a Muslims out-

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item Hassoun, Arab Americans in Michigan, 45–51. Also Mason Christensen, Interview with Archivist at the Dearborn Historical Museum.
\item Mason Christensen, Archivist at the Dearborn Historical Museum, e-mail message to author, May 7, 2018.
\item Alixa Naff et al., \textit{Arab Detroit: From Margin to Mainstream}, First Edition (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000), 54.
\item Christensen, Interview With Archivist at the Dearborn Historical Museum.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
number Sunnis in Dearborn. The majority of the city’s residents of Lebanese and Iraqi descent are Shi’a Muslims, while most of the Yemeni population is Sunni. Lebanese Christians make up a small minority of Dearborn’s Arabs, as many have left the city and moved to eastern Detroit.\textsuperscript{18} Despite the regional and religious differences, each of these groups played an important role in the city’s history and helped cultivate the identity of Arab Americans in Dearborn.

**Origins of Arab Migration: The First Half of the Twentieth Century**

The first Arabic speaking immigrants to the United States came from the Mt. Lebanon region of the Ottoman Empire in the 1870s and resided on the east coast in big cities like Boston and New York. In search of economic opportunities, some of these new immigrants traveled through the Midwest as door-to-door salesmen, peddling “dry goods and notions.” They finally settled in the Detroit area where the rapidly growing logging industry provided an abundance of potential customers.\textsuperscript{19} The *Detroit Free Press* reported that there were 75-100 Arabs in the city of Detroit in 1900, comprised mostly of Maronite Christians from the Mount Lebanon area.\textsuperscript{20} Muslim and Christian immigrants from the Middle East continued to trickle into Detroit and the surrounding towns for several years.

The main driver of Arab immigration to Dearborn came in 1918 when Henry Ford decided to build a massive new factory, the Rouge Plant, in his city of birth. The largest automobile manufacturing plant in the world at the time, the Rouge Plant was constructed in the southeast section of the city (also known as Southend) on Dix Avenue, manufacturing Eagle Boats for the U.S. Navy and the Fordson Tractor.\textsuperscript{21} A legend has circulated among the Dearborn Yemeni community that a young sailor from Aden was working on the Great Lakes when he ran into Henry Ford in the early 1900s. The entrepreneur told the Yemeni man about his new factory with jobs that paid a salary of $5 per

\textsuperscript{18} Christensen, Interview with Archivist at the Dearborn Historical Museum.

\textsuperscript{19} Naff et al., *Arab Detroit*, 51. Also Matthew Jabbar Stiffler, Interview with Archivist at Arab American National Museum, March 9, 2018.


\textsuperscript{21} “Timeline - History, Chronology - Ford Rouge Factory Tour.”
day. The young man immediately told his relatives about the opportunity and word-of-mouth set off a “chain migration of Yemeni Arabs to Dearborn.” According to the Henry Ford Museum, several Arab American organizations have tried to substantiate this story to no avail, but the rumor of the American dream was enough to entice people from more than 7,000 miles away.

One of the benefits of working for the Rouge Plant at the time was access to free English lessons. Taught by Ford employees, foreign workers were “required to attend” English classes “before or after their work shifts.” Many Arab newcomers appreciated and embraced this convenient program. Classes were implemented as part of Ford’s worker safety program and replicated by other companies throughout the United States in subsequent years. At the end of the program, a diploma was issued at a graduation ceremony featuring patriotic songs and speeches.

The highlight of the event would be the transformation of immigrants into Americans. Students dressed in costumes reminiscent of their native homes stepped into a massive stage-prop cauldron that had a banner across the front identifying it as the AMERICAN MELTING POT. Seconds later, after a quick change out of sight of the audience, students emerged wearing “American” suits and hats, waving American flags, having undergone a spiritual smelting process where the impurities of foreignness were burnt off as slag to be tossed away leaving a new 100% American.

Immigrants that sought naturalization used the Ford English School to fulfill many of the citizenship requirements that needed to be completed before taking the final exam. Drawn to the region by substantial wages and other benefits, Arab communities gradually “congregated in row houses” built by Ford “literally in the shadow of the Rouge Plant.”

The first significant wave of immigrants in Dearborn came from the southern Lebanon region of Greater Syria and Yemen following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire after World War I. “Dearborn began to emerge

22 Hassoun, Arab Americans in Michigan, 1.


24 “Ford Sociological Department & English School.”

25 Naff et al., Arab Detroit, 52.
as a center for Arab migration,” as families with hopes of finding economic security and political stability flocked to the city. Immigration to southeastern Michigan continued unabated until 1924 when the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act was passed, cutting off almost all immigration from non-European countries. This new law “brought migration from the Arab world to the United States to a virtual standstill” until the early 1950s, when restrictions were relaxed. Nevertheless, the city of Dearborn continued to grow during this period, as Arab Muslims from all over southeast Michigan and the United States moved to the city to find steady work and a familiar culture in the Southend district.

As the Arab community settled in Dearborn, families began to notice that their children had little knowledge about their cultural heritage, including their language and religion. These new Americans were so focused on economic survival that they had little time or energy to teach their children the traditions of their homeland. Muslim parents also discovered that Christian missionaries sometimes gave their children toys and candy as a way to introduce them to their churches. After watching immigrants from Croatia, Italy, and Poland build churches throughout Dearborn, the local “Syrian colony” decided that the city needed a cultural center for them and made plans to build the first mosques. These mosques would serve as religious centers as well as social halls, as members created language schools, match-making clubs for unmarried Muslims, and spaces where identities could be formed and cultivated. Many Muslims at the time contended that the religious aspects of these early mosques were secondary to the cultural and social activities. Decades later clerics and activists would argue that the first mosques of Dearborn were mere “ethnic clubs,” or nadī.

Building a mosque in Dearborn required money and a collaborative effort by local Muslims, but many had reservations because a recent attempt

26 Naff et al., Arab Detroit, 52.
27 Hassoun, Arab Americans in Michigan, 21–23.
28 “Syrian” is used interchangeably with southern Lebanese in this essay. Detroit newspapers used the term “Syrian” in reference to the Greater Syria region of the Ottoman Empire in the early to mid-twentieth century.
29 Howell, Old Islam in Detroit, 18–19, 97–99, 108. According to Howell, nadī is translated as “club,” and it implies a social rather than a religious function. In this instance, the word was “used dismissively.”
to build a community center in the area had ended in tragedy. In 1925, financial issues, conflicts between the Sunni and Shi’a communities, and a “murder that rocked the colony to its foundations” had stalled the completion of a mosque planned in the nearby town of Highland Park.\(^{30}\) Sunni and Shi’a Muslims argued over the religious direction of the Highland Park mosque for more than a year until the majority investor, Mohammad Karup, became frustrated with the discord and decided to put the building up for sale. In response, one of the original investors, Hussein Abbas, filed an injunction with the city to block the sale. One month later, Abbas was murdered in his sleep. The perpetrator was arrested by the police and he claimed that Karup had paid him $1,000 to murder Abbas.\(^{31}\) After a lengthy investigation, Karup was later acquitted of all charges, but the fiasco left a mark on the Muslim community in the region.\(^{32}\)

Sensing the potential for friction, the citizens of Dearborn solved the sectarian problem by building two mosques in the city, one Sunni and one Shi’a. In 1937, the Progressive Arabian Hashmie Society opened the first Shi’a mosque in Dearborn in a former bank building on Dix and Salina Avenues, later known as Hashmie Hall.\(^{33}\) The *Detroit Free Press* reported that 1,000 of the region’s “Mohammedan Syrian colony” attended the ribbon-cutting dedication ceremony for the “temple,” which cost more than $20,000 to build.\(^{34}\) Two years later, ten members of the Shi’a community “chipped in and bought the mortgage from the bank,” carrying it “without interest.” Mosque leaders then gathered to celebrate “their independence from debt,” by burning the old mortgage papers.\(^{35}\) Arab Muslims had officially created their first major landmark in the city of Dearborn.

In 1938, Dearborn Sunnis broke ground on their own mosque that


\(^{32}\) Howell, *Old Islam in Detroit*, 55–58.


\(^{34}\) “Moslems Dedicate Temple to Fulfill a 20-Year Dream,” 4.

would become known as the American Moslem Society (AMS).\textsuperscript{36} Also built by Muslims of Lebanese ancestry, this mosque was constructed a few blocks from Hashmie Hall, to serve as both a religious center and social club. The Syrian men and women who worked together to build these two mosques understood the significance of this achievement and its meaning for the community. Bonds were created during the long process of fundraising, construction, and administration that took place inside Hashmie Hall and AMS, relying “on the support of hard-working, loyal families who considered these institutions their second homes.”\textsuperscript{37} Although this was not a particularly religious group of individuals, ethnoreligious identities emerged, institutionalizing Islam in the city of Dearborn.\textsuperscript{38}

While Muslims were uniting together to create a community, they also made it a priority to become active American citizens by building ties with other residents and developing internal and external identities. One of the identity markers that non-Arab residents of the city ascribed to the Muslim community in this period was diligence. At the opening of the Hashmie Hall mosque in 1937, Circuit Court Commissioner William J. Cody remarked that the community was “hard-working” and “get along well.”\textsuperscript{39} Other outsiders also recognized Muslims’ allegiance to the United States. In 1939, the Detroit Free Press reported that the Muslims taught U.S. citizenship lessons at the mosques in the area, stating that the “45,000 Arabians of Detroit take their American duties seriously.”\textsuperscript{40} The first wave of Arab immigrants was simultaneously Americanizing and reconstructing the culture of their former countries. This was a process that would continue to be part of Arab Dearborn for decades to come.

Expanding Community: The Second Half of the Twentieth Century

\textsuperscript{36} “Dearborn Timeline.”
\textsuperscript{37} Howell, \textit{Old Islam in Detroit}, 98.
\textsuperscript{38} Howell, \textit{Old Islam in Detroit}, 97–101.
\textsuperscript{39} “Moslems Dedicate Temple to Fulfill a 20-Year Dream,” 4.
In the second half of the twentieth century, the Arab community in Dearborn continued to expand, with new immigrants coming from Palestine, Iraq, Yemen, and Lebanon. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (also known as the McCarran-Walter Act) relaxed the restrictions on non-European immigration set by the 1924 law, allowing “educated ‘Brain Drain’ scholars, engineers, etc., and significant numbers of Palestinian refugees” to enter the U.S. and eventually settle in southeast Michigan. Many Palestinians came to Dearborn as a result of the conflict with Israel. More than a decade later, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 opened the door for even more immigrants from the Middle East. Civil wars in the region brought a new wave of Sunni immigrants from Yemen into Dearborn in the late 1960s, as well as Shi’a from southern Lebanon in the 1970s and 1980s. According to a 1990 U.S. Census report, 75% of Arab Americans surveyed claimed to have arrived in the United States after the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 was passed.

New immigrants from Yemen and the Levant helped to develop two distinct neighborhoods in Dearborn as homes for the Arab community: Southend and East Dearborn. Southend was an industrialized, working-class neighborhood next to the Ford Rouge Plant, consisting of Sunni Muslims from Yemen and Palestine as well as Shi’a from southern Lebanon and Iraq. Geographically isolated from the rest of the city, Southend was also a very traditional neighborhood during this period, as new immigrants reintroduced their culture to a community that was already resistant to the changes occurring in other districts of Dearborn. In the 1960s, as the district had become rundown, the mayor of Dearborn, Orville Hubbard, attempted to turn Southend into a pure industrial zone, demolishing hundreds of homes and stores before the community was able to organize and protest the effort. Undeterred, the mayor made several attempts to redevelop the neighborhood until a federal injunction finally stopped him in 1973. This was the first political victory for the Arab community in Dearborn, and it provided a sense of mo-

41 Naff et al., Arab Detroit, 53.
42 Hassoun, Arab Americans in Michigan, 23.
43 The region known as the Levant includes countries bordering the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea.
44 Naff et al., Arab Detroit, 55.
mentum for future political activism. In the 1980s, factory layoffs added to the economic challenges of Southend; however, the neighborhood rebounded slightly in the next decade as the residents began to develop small businesses along Dix and Vernor Avenues. Redesigning many of the buildings to include Arabic arches and domes, Southend business owners worked to “create an ‘Arab town’ atmosphere that would bring tourists to the area.” At the end of the twentieth century, it was still an economically depressed area, though the majority Yemeni residents took pride in the cultural heritage that was prominently displayed throughout the neighborhood.\footnote{Hassoun, \textit{Arab Americans in Michigan}, 45–51. Also Mason Christensen, Interview with Archivist at the Dearborn Historical Museum.}

As Southend struggled, residents that had immigrated from southern Lebanon generations earlier began to move out. The district of East Dearborn experienced an influx of Lebanese Shi’a in the late 1970s, including former residents of Southend and new immigrants escaping civil war in Lebanon. As Arabs moved into East Dearborn, many of the residents that had immigrated from Eastern Europe fled the neighborhood, leaving some streets entirely populated with Arab Americans.\footnote{Hassoun, \textit{Arab Americans in Michigan}, 48.}

An ascendant middle-class district, East Dearborn experienced a development boom of Arab-owned businesses on Warren Avenue in the 1980s that became known as the “Middle East Market,” leading to an increase in real estate values.\footnote{Naff et al., \textit{Arab Detroit}, 55.} In 1990, Barbara Aswad, professor of anthropology at Wayne State University, remarked that while walking down Warren Avenue she felt “transplanted back to the Middle East,” as she counted more than fifty Lebanese shops and noticed men in “Muslim and village attire” and women with their heads covered. By the end of the twentieth century, East Dearborn and Southend had thirty Arab-owned restaurants, eight bakeries, and numerous other businesses.\footnote{Naff et al., \textit{Arab Detroit}, 19.}

One of the most significant events for Dearborn’s Arab community in the second half of the twentieth century was the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which loosened restrictions on refugees seeking asylum in the United States. Before this period, some Arab leaders lamented
the loss of cultural identity in Dearborn as residents were becoming increasingly Americanized. The restrictions placed on immigration from the Middle East from 1924 to 1952 had shielded a generation of Arab American residents from the traditional influences of the Arab World. Muslim women did not wear headscarves and the mosques in Dearborn had operated as social halls since the late 1930s, even hosting “American dances” on Friday nights.\textsuperscript{49} The Immigration Act of 1965 changed the trajectory of Arab Americanization, as large numbers of new Arab immigrants came to Dearborn, impacting both the Shi’a and Sunni Muslim communities in the city. As immigration continued throughout the late 1960s and 1970s, the new wave of Sunni Muslims eventually outnumbered the American-born Sunnis in Dearborn. These newcomers disapproved of the Americanized culture in the local mosques and sought to reestablish more conservative elements of the religion. The piano was removed from the Sunni AMS mosque, dances were eliminated, and American Arabs were no longer allowed to teach Sunday school. Sally Howell, Director of the Center for Arab American Studies at University of Michigan-Dearborn, stated that “this group took over the board of the mosque and they changed all the rules,”\textsuperscript{50} making the hijab mandatory for women and displacing many of the Arab Americans who built the mosque decades earlier. Over the course of a few years, the culture of Sunnis in Dearborn had been transformed. These events caused a considerable rift in the community, while simultaneously re-introducing many of the traditions that had been rejected or forgotten in the Dearborn mosques during periods of restricted immigration when some Arab Americans had almost fully assimilated into American culture.\textsuperscript{51}

The Shi’a community in Dearborn experienced a similar transformation. The Lebanese Civil War and Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon brought thousands of new Shi’a immigrants to Dearborn. These Muslims brought different forms of religious expression, challenging the culture of the Americanized residents of the city. Members of Hashmie Hall, which had been moved to a new location and renamed the Islamic Center of America (ICA)

\textsuperscript{49} Sally Howell, History of Islam in Dearborn, Dearborn Historical Museum (Dearborn, MI, 2018), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jv8hkA6F4vM, 0:42:30-0:45:30.

\textsuperscript{50} Howell, History of Islam in Dearborn, 1:13:40.

\textsuperscript{51} Howell, History of Islam in Dearborn, 1:05:30-1:14:30. For more on this subject, see Howell, Old Islam in Detroit, 22-26, 209-214.
in the 1960s, largely resisted efforts to change the culture. As a result, new mosques were created as “places of spiritual refuge” for the Shi’a immigrants. Imposing segregation by gender and dress codes for members, traditional attitudes were reestablished in the new Dearborn mosques, as Islamic principles melded and competed with American values.\(^52\) Eventually Arab Americans found that traditional Middle Eastern and American ideals could co-exist in the same city or even in the same individual, as Dearborn residents developed new identities that existed somewhere between the two value systems.

Arab Americans also began to develop their own social organizations in town.\(^53\) As the population grew, Arab American residents recognized that newcomers often needed assistance upon arrival to the city. A group of volunteers created the Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS) out of a Southend storefront in 1971 “to assist the integration process.”\(^54\) Offering a variety of social services to Arabs, regardless of religion or sect, ACCESS helped members of the community fill out government forms and settled disputes with landlords and employers. More importantly, the organization began to bring the “specific needs of the Arab American population to the forefront of local and regional politics,” lobbying for immigrants’ rights and forming multiethnic coalitions with Latino, Asian, and African American groups.\(^55\) The founding of ACCESS represented the beginning of an official Arab political presence in Dearborn that would continue to grow for the next few decades, but not without challenges.

Some significant setbacks occurred in the mid-1980s, as two specific incidents sent shockwaves through the Arab community of Dearborn. The first incident occurred in 1985, when a Republican mayoral candidate named Mike Guido mailed a campaign pamphlet to every home in Dearborn, titled “Let’s Talk About… the Arab Problem.” The mailing resorted to scare tactics concerning the recent wave of Arab immigrants, claiming they were “threatening our neighborhoods, the value of our property and our darned good way of

\(^52\) Howell, *Old Islam in Detroit*, 220.
\(^53\) Naff et al., *Arab Detroit*, 53.
\(^54\) “Dearborn Timeline.”
\(^55\) Naff et al., *Arab Detroit*, 56.


58 Gerdes, “Dearborn Arab Leaders.”

59 Roger Young, “Under Siege” (NBC, 1986), accessed March 19, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mJNtKSNBqFA. Also see: Mason Christensen, Interview with Archivist at the Dearborn Historical Museum.

own communities, similar to other immigrant groups.” In 1985, less than 6% of the 20,000 Arab Americans in Dearborn were registered to vote against Guido in the mayoral election. James Zogby, president of the Arab American Institute (AAI), was invited to the city to help Arab Americans with voter registration and community activism. The political attacks from Hollywood and the new mayor created a bond in the Arab community, as Sunni, Shi’a, and Christians worked together and organized rapidly. The results were significant and almost immediate: Just four years after Guido won the mayoral race, Dearborn voters elected Suzanne Sareini to become the first Arab-American city council member. In one decade, Arab American voter registration increased by more than 700%. Ironically, the political attacks on the community became a rallying cry for a community that had once been reluctant to get involved in politics. Political engagement eventually led to alliances with other communities in Dearborn. Though there would be problems with outsiders in the future, local politicians never attacked the Arab American community in Dearborn again.

The voter registration effort was a massive success for the Arabs of Dearborn. In 1996, Zogby wrote, “the lesson we have learned is that complaining and protesting, while useful in some instances, are limited in effectiveness. Organizing and registering to vote and mobilizing that vote, on the other hand, can produce real victories.” As Arabs began to vote in larger numbers in Dearborn, the community was rewarded with respect and unlikely allies. When Zogby’s AAI held its annual national leadership conference in Dearborn in 1996, former antagonist and current mayor, Mike Guido, spoke at the event, quoting the Quran and addressing the audience as “my dear brothers and sisters.” It was a remarkable turn of events. Political mobilization in the

61 Eide Alawan, Interview with the Interfaith Outreach Officer at the Islamic Center of America in Dearborn. May 11, 2018.
62 Zogby, “The Lesson of Dearborn.”
63 “Dearborn Timeline.”
64 Zogby, “The Lesson of Dearborn.”
65 Zogby, “The Lesson of Dearborn.”
late 1980s proved to be a milestone in the history of Arab Dearborn.

Other successes continued at the end of the twentieth century, as the Arab community achieved new levels of prosperity and began building homes in the wealthier district of East Dearborn. Educated immigrants from southern Lebanon with business acumen and an entrepreneurial spirit came to East Dearborn and revitalized the decaying neighborhood. The first Arab American newspaper in the United States, The Arab American News, opened in the city in 1984. Local businessmen in Dearborn created the non-profit American Arab Chamber of Commerce (AACC) in 1992. As the largest Arab business organization in the country, the AACC helped to promote businesses, train entrepreneurs, and create trade opportunities between companies in Michigan and the Middle East. At the turn of the millennium, Arab Americans in Dearborn “included in their ranks the CEO of Ford Motor Company, a U.S. senator, and the head of the United Auto Workers.” It was a time of relative peace and prosperity for Dearborn.

9/11

The events of September 11, 2001 put a tremendous strain on Arab communities throughout the United States. The details of the terrorist attack are well known, but its effect on Arab Americans was less widely reported. Regions with large populations of Arab Americans, especially the Detroit metropolitan area and Dearborn, bore the brunt of the hostilities towards Muslims after 9/11. Although no one involved in the attack had ties to the Detroit area, “working-class mosques, colorful Arabic storefronts, women and girls

67 “Dearborn Timeline.”
68 Alawan, Interview with the Interfaith Outreach Officer at the Islamic Center of America in Dearborn.
72 Baker et al., Citizenship and Crisis, 13.
wearing headscarves, and Arabic speakers gathering to watch Al-Jazeera broad-
casts made Dearborn an alluring backdrop for the initial coverage of the war
on terror.”73 A Michigan State Police report leaked to Newsweek magazine
stated that Dearborn and Detroit were a “hotbed of support for Mideast ter-
ror groups” and “fertile ground for terrorist fund-raising and recruiting.”74
CBS aired a 60 Minutes segment in November 2001 featuring Detroit FBI
director John Bell who repeated the assertions made by Michigan State Police
and revealed the FBI had questioned hundreds of Dearborn’s Arab residents
in a search for supporters of terrorism.75 The Arab advocacy organization,
ACCESS, reported that they had to open three additional counseling centers
to help the local population deal with feelings of grief and fear.76

Government surveillance of the Arab community in Dearborn be-
came part of the war on terror. An online publication, The Intercept, obtained
documents in 2013 from the National Counterterrorism Center that listed the
city of Dearborn as the home to the second largest “number of known or
suspected terrorists and their associates” (after New York City). This informa-
tion came from a database, known as Terrorist Identities Datamart Environ-
ment (TIDE), which was created in 2001 and identified suspects for potential
restrictions on travel. Dearborn was the only city with a population under one
million to make the top five on this list.77 The Detroit News discovered another
surveillance operation in 2015, when an airplane linked to an FBI counterter-
rorism program performed two lengthy flights over Dearborn in an attempt to
gather intelligence. This airplane was “equipped with high-tech cameras” and

73 Baker et al., Citizenship and Crisis, 69.

age/361649227.

75 “America’s Arabs,” 60 Minutes (CBS, November 25, 2001), https://search-alexander-
street-com.jpllnet.sfsu.edu/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cvideo_work%7C2770586.

76 Hassoun, Arab Americans in Michigan, 3.

77 Associated Press, “Arab-American Activists Enraged Over Dearborn’s Terrorist
com/2014/08/09/arab-american-activists-enraged-over-dearborns-terrorist-ranking/.
“technology that allows the FBI to track thousands of cell phones.” Though the FBI claimed the flights were not intended to target racial groups, this was yet another reason for Arab Americans in Dearborn to feel marginalized and scapegoated.

As one of the largest Arab communities outside the Middle East, Dearborn became a frequent target of political figures and right-wing rabble-rousers on talk radio and cable television. Provocations from outsiders were frequent. Rumors of groups of Muslims cheering on the 9/11 attacks in Dearborn spread throughout the nation though no evidence of the celebrations was ever produced. Wayne County deputy sheriff Ron Zamen stated that “Dearborn seemed to be the epicenter of the threats to avenge 9/11.” In April 2011, a pastor named Terry Jones (who infamously burned Qurans in Florida) visited Dearborn with the intention of protesting in front of the ICA mosque. Though the demonstration was blocked by court order, the event symbolized the tense nature of the relationship that had developed between the Arab American community and much of the country. Political figures referred to the city as “Dearbornistan” and made absurd claims that it operated under Sharia law. American hysteria descended on this quiet community in southeast Michigan that few people had heard of a decade earlier.

Occasionally, right-wing agitators would come to the city and provoke the Arab community into aggressive exchanges, creating a toxic environment that made corporate interests uncomfortable. Several Arab and Muslim events were cancelled as a result of these clashes. The annual Arab International Festival, after twenty years of celebrations, was canceled in 2013 after conflicts with outside groups caused liability insurance costs to skyrocket. The festival has yet to return to Dearborn. A community project on Warren Avenue called “Arab


79 Christensen, Interview with Archivist at the Dearborn Historical Museum.

80 Baker et al., Citizenship and Crisis, 77.

81 “Dearborn Timeline.”

Town” that was intended to boost tourism was discontinued. In addition, members of the Arab community became more standoffish during the tumultuous aftermath of 9/11. One resident reported that some of the Yemeni families in Dearborn “had withdrawn their children from school and public settings.” The tension in the city was palpable and unnerved both Arab and non-Arab residents.

While people outside Dearborn were suspicious and sometimes hostile, city residents of different faiths and ethnic backgrounds generally supported the Arab community. Attitudes within the city did not change significantly after the attacks on the World Trade Center because the Muslim community had developed relationships with other groups in Dearborn through organizations like ACCESS. Many Arabs in the city contend that they have never had a problem with city residents: “So when you have about 30 percent Arabs living with 70 percent non-Arabs, and that 70 percent has probably come across a Muslim or an Arab before, they knew we weren’t people who were going to blow everyone up.” People who were familiar with the Arab community in Dearborn did not harbor the same suspicions and resentments that pervaded much of the country.

The attacks of 9/11 also created opportunities for new friendships and alliances for the Arab Americans of Dearborn. Eide Alawan of the ICA reported that Christian and Jewish groups reached out to the Arab community immediately after 9/11 and “brought us into the fold.” Leaders of several different faith groups met on September 12, 2001 to build a coalition that would attempt to combat prejudices and resolve religious conflicts in Dearborn and neighboring cities (for example, the right to broadcast The Adhan over loud-

83 Christensen, Interview with Archivist at the Dearborn Historical Museum.
85 Christensen, Interview with Archivist at the Dearborn Historical Museum.
87 Alawan, Interview with the Interfaith Outreach Officer at the Islamic Center of America in Dearborn.
speakers in nearby Hamtramck). This group of clergy eventually formed the InterFaith Leadership Council of Metropolitan Detroit (IFLC). One day before the Terry Jones protest in 2011, the IFLC organized a rally in front of the ICA with Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant supporters joining hands to form a protective circle around the mosque. These public interactions with other religious organizations helped challenge people’s prejudices about Arab Americans who were often perceived as a community that preferred to keep to itself. Outreach efforts brought in new allies during a difficult period and the bonds that developed after 9/11 brought comfort to a community that felt like it was under siege.

Despite the controversies and turmoil, Arabs in Dearborn achieved some major milestones shortly after 9/11. The Islamic Center of America (as known as Masjid Dearborn) opened the largest mosque in all of North America in 2005. The ICA stands on Ford Road, a street named after the man whose automobile factory brought the first wave Arab immigrants to his hometown. Several other mosques opened in Dearborn as well, more than doubling the prayer space in the city since 9/11. Construction of the Arab American National Museum (AANM) was completed in 2005: “the first and only museum in the United States devoted to Arab American history and culture.” Located across from Dearborn City Hall, the $16 million, 38,500 square foot museum was the result of more than a decade of planning and fundraising. No ob-

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88 The Adhan is the formal announcement of the Muslim call to prayer, recited over a loudspeaker by a prayer leader from a mosque (or a recording) five times per day.


91 Alawan, Interview with the Interfaith Outreach Officer at the Islamic Center of America in Dearborn.

92 “Dearborn Timeline.”

93 Baker et al., Citizenship and Crisis, 88.

jections were raised by non-Arab residents to either project. These were remarkable feats considering the amount of negative attention heaped upon the community after 9/11. New waves of immigrants continued to settle in Dearborn after 2001, including thousands of refugees from the Iraq War. After 9/11, the city’s Arab Americans expanded in both number of residents and as a percentage of the city’s total population at a time when the community was enduring another challenging period in their history.

Conclusion

Many ethnic and religious groups that immigrate to the United States encounter pressures from other residents to integrate and assimilate. The concept of the melting pot has been embedded in the American psyche for more than a century. But what if a group of people wishes to continue its traditions and preserve its culture while still participating in American society? Islamic scholar Dr. Jamal Badawi called the compromise between assimilation and isolation “positive integration.” In the city of Dearborn, Michigan, Arab Americans stood on the edge of the melting pot for decades and found that they could uphold American values and maintain their cultural heritage simultaneously if they were willing to commit to two ideals: political participation and engagement with other communities. Developing successful businesses and building homes was not enough to earn the respect of other communities. Loud protests against unfair treatment without political support from other local organizations was often counterproductive. In order to successfully integrate into society, the Arab community learned that they needed to demonstrate their political strength to the city of Dearborn in order to preserve their cultural and religious identities without being isolated or marginalized.

The most significant event in the history of the Dearborn Arab community was the decision to become active participants in the political process.  


during the late 1980s. However, historian Sally Howell has argued that the protests by Arab residents in the 1960s and early 1970s that prevented the mayor from demolishing the Southend neighborhood was more historically noteworthy. While this event certainly marked the first major political victory for Arab Americans in Dearborn, it did not change the power structure of the city. Only voter participation altered the political dynamic of the region. When Mike Guido publicly disparaged the community a decade later in 1985, Dearborn Arabs still had no significant political presence in the city or the country. In fact, the 1984 Democratic presidential nominee, Walter Mondale, returned some of the political contributions he received from Arab Americans. In 1988, another Democratic presidential nominee, Michael Dukakis, rejected some endorsements from Arab American groups. These offenses only ceased after Arab Americans demonstrated that they were a consistent voting bloc and ultimately ushered in an era of political success. In 2014, residents of Dearborn elected an Arab American woman, Susan Dabaja, as president of its city council. Today, the majority of the Dearborn City Council is of Arab descent. A community that used to make up approximately 1% of the registered voters in the city now comprises one-third of them. This political turnaround was nothing short of remarkable. If Arab Americans had not been politically engaged in Dearborn when the attacks of 9/11 occurred, the community would have had few advocates outside the Arab population and the scrutiny would likely have been far more intense. Even after 9/11, when outsiders accused the residents of Southend and East Dearborn of disloyalty and the FBI conducted surveillance on Arab Americans in the city, the community persevered because they had already laid the difficult political groundwork of organizing and voting. It did not matter that many people outside of Dearborn were suspicious of Arab Americans. The Arab community had attained enough political power in Dearborn to prevent them from being mar-

97 Sally Howell, Director of the Center for Arab American Studies at University of Michigan-Dearborn, e-mail message to author, May 13, 2018. See pages 14-15 of this essay for a brief discussion of this topic.


99 Zogby, “Dearborn’s Arab Americans.”
ginalized in their own city.

In order to fully integrate into the larger society, Dearborn Arabs also needed to step outside their intimate community and build alliances with other religious and ethnic groups. Through the IFLC, Arab Americans in Dearborn won political allies in other religious organizations. It was these same organizations that stood with the Arab community during the difficult times after 9/11. Social organizations like ACCESS, which now has eleven locations throughout metropolitan Detroit, provided social services to both Arabs and non-Arabs to help build relationships with other groups in the region.\(^\text{100}\) ACCESS understood that the community could not thrive in isolation. Integration requires engagement with other groups to build powerful political coalitions.

The Arab American community in Dearborn has provided a model that can be replicated in other cities as well as on the national level. Arab groups throughout the country will need to learn the lessons of Dearborn in order to maximize their political power and promote policies that are important to their communities, especially in an age when the President of the United States has proposed a travel ban on seven Muslim-majority countries in the Middle East. Estimates for the number of Arab Americans in the United States range between 1.9 and 3.5 million and two-thirds of the population are concentrated in ten states: California, Michigan, New York, Florida, Texas, New Jersey, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.\(^\text{101}\) At least three of these are so-called battleground states that receive a disproportionate amount of attention during election cycles. Arab Americans who have felt demeaned by the president need to demonstrate their political presence in order to earn the respect of the political class. Mass voter registration drives and the promotion of talented Arab political candidates are paramount to the success of this community. Organizations that advocate for Arab Americans need to continue to develop relationships with other communities. The story of the Arab community in Dearborn is important because it provides a path for other immigrant groups to follow as well, especially those who wish to integrate while

\(^{100}\) “Our Roots | ACCESS,” ACCESS, accessed May 18, 2018, https://www.accesscommunity.org/about.

maintaining certain aspects of their heritage and traditional customs. While the Arab Americans of Dearborn did not always pursue the path of integration, the community eventually realized that legitimacy and respect required active participation in the political system of the city. Upon this realization, the community overcame substantial obstacles and developed a cultural identity that was both powerful and unique.
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